A Triptych Reference

The Angels

Nature, Knowledge, Will, Fall, Order, and Ministry

The treatise of Saint Thomas Aquinas,
with the *Celestial Hierarchy* and the witness of the Fathers

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1 The Angels in Scripture

Scripture names these spirits by what they do. The Hebrew *mal'akh*, the Greek *angelos*, and the Latin *angelus* each mean one who is sent with a word. John Paul II gives the sense of both terms: "angelo (*angelus*) vuole infatti dire 'messaggero'. L'ebraico 'malak', usato nell'Antico Testamento, significa più propriamente 'delegato' o 'ambasciatore' " (general audience, 30 July 1986). Aquinas gives the same account: "Angel means 'messenger.' " Every heavenly spirit is an angel in so far as it makes divine things known, and the lowest order keeps the common name because it announces to men immediately (*ST* I q. 108 a. 5 ad 1).

1.1 The Name of an Office

The verse on which the Fathers built this teaching is Ps 103[104]:4, "Who makest thy angels spirits: and thy ministers a burning fire," which Hebrews applies to the angels in contrast with the Son (Heb 1:7). Augustine, expounding it, first sets the existence of the angels on faith and on the scriptural record: though their appearing is hidden from our eyes, *tamen esse Angelos novimus ex fide, et multis apparuisse scriptum legimus*. He then distinguishes nature from office:

> *Spiritus autem Angeli sunt; et cum spiritus sunt, non sunt angeli; cum mittuntur, fiunt angeli. Angelus enim officii nomen est, non naturae. Quaeris nomen huius naturae, spiritus est; quaeris officium, angelus est: ex eo quod est, spiritus est; ex eo quod agit, angelus est.* (Augustine, *Enarrationes in Psalmos* 103, s. 1, 15)

The Catechism quotes this passage as its answer to the question "Who are they?" (CCC 329).

Gregory the Great teaches the same distinction in his homily on the lost drachma, adding the Greek gloss: *Graeca etenim lingua angeli nuntii, archangeli vero summi nuntii, vocantur. Sciendum quoque quod angelorum vocabulum, nomen est officii, non naturae*. The holy spirits are always spirits, but angels only *tunc ... cum per eos aliqua nuntiantur*, when something is announced through them; and he cites the same psalm verse (*Homiliae in Evangelia* 34.8). Aquinas reads the verse under its other aspect: it is the *sed contra* for the angel's entire incorporeity, "Who makes His angels spirits" (*ST* I q. 50 a. 1). The Fathers read the office in *angelos* and Aquinas the nature in *spiritus*; both readings take the verse of the same creatures (see §8.1).

Because the word names an office, Scripture gives it to men who carry God's word: the priest "is the angel of the Lord of hosts" (Mal 2:7); the Forerunner is "my angel" who prepares the way (Mal 3:1; Matt 11:10); the seven stars in the hand of the Son of man "are the angels of the seven churches" (Apoc 1:20). Yet the Epistle that calls them all "ministering spirits" sets the Son above them by "a more excellent name" (Heb 1:14, 4).

1.2 The Law and the Historical Books

The patriarchs. The first angels named in Scripture guard a closed door: God "cast out Adam: and placed before the paradise of pleasure Cherubims, and a flaming sword, turning every way, to keep the way of the tree of life" (Gen 3:24). "The angel of the Lord" finds Agar by a fountain in the wilderness and bids her return (Gen 16:7–11), and calls to her again from heaven over the dying Ismael (Gen 21:17). The Catechism gathers these episodes into its summary of the angels' presence "since creation and throughout the history of salvation": "they closed the earthly paradise; protected Lot; saved Hagar and her child; stayed Abraham's hand; communicated the law by their ministry ... and assisted the prophets" (CCC 332).

At the vale of Mambre "there appeared to him three men standing near to him" (Gen 18:2); two of them go on to Sodom as "the two angels" (Gen 19:1), sent to destroy the city (Gen 19:13, 15–16). Augustine holds that the three "who it is not to be doubted were angels" were the ones in whom the Lord appeared, "although some think that one of them was Christ," and answers that opinion from Lot's addressing the two as "Lord" in the singular and from Heb 13:2 (*De civitate Dei* XVI.29). The meal Abraham served raises Aquinas's question whether angels perform the acts of life in assumed bodies; their eating was "not a true eating, but figurative," as Raphael says: "I seemed indeed to eat and to drink with you but I use an invisible meat" (Tob 12:19; *ST* I q. 51 a. 3 ad 5; see §9.1).

At the sacrifice of Isaac "an angel of the Lord from heaven called to him" (Gen 22:11–12) and speaks in the first person of God (Gen 22:15–16); Augustine takes this as the rule for every such passage: when the angel speaks, the Lord speaks by him (*De Trinitate* III.11.23–25). Jacob sees in sleep "a ladder standing upon the earth ... the angels also of God ascending and descending by it" (Gen 28:12), a vision Christ promises fulfilled in himself (John 1:51). Returning from Laban, Jacob is met by "the angels of God" and names the place Mahanaim (Gen 32:1–2 [32:2–3]); that night he wrestles with "a man" whom Osee calls an angel (Gen 32:24 [32:25]; Osee 12:4 [12:5]); dying, he blesses in the name of "the angel that delivereth me from all evils" (Gen 48:16).

The Exodus and the Law. At the burning bush the Douay, with the Vulgate, reads that "the Lord appeared to him in a flame of fire out of the midst of a bush" (Exod 3:2); Stephen says that "there appeared to him, in the desert of mount Sina, an angel in a flame of fire in a bush," and Augustine cites Stephen to show that God's voice there came by an angel (Acts 7:30, 35; *De Trin.* III.11.24). "The angel of God, who went before the camp of Israel" passes behind it at the Red Sea (Exod 14:19), and the covenant promises him as guide: "Behold I will send my angel, who shall go before thee ... and my name is in him" (Exod 23:20–21), the verse Aquinas makes the *sed contra* that some angels are sent in ministry (*ST* I q. 112 a. 1; see §16.4).

The Law gives the angels a place in Israel's worship: "two cherubims of beaten gold" spread their wings over the propitiatory, whence God speaks (Exod 25:18–22). The New Testament holds that the Law itself came through angels: Israel "received the law by the disposition of angels" (Acts 7:53); it was "ordained by angels in the hand of a mediator" (Gal 3:19); "the word spoken by angels became steadfast" (Heb 2:2), which Augustine reads as testimony that under the Old Testament "not only those visible things, but also the word itself, was wrought by angels" (*De Trin.* III.11.22).

The conquest and the judges. "An angel of the Lord stood in the way against Balaam" with a drawn sword, seen first by the ass (Num 22:22–23, 31). Before Jericho a man with a drawn sword answers Josue, "I am prince of the host of the Lord" (Jos 5:13–15). An angel greets Gedeon at the winepress (Judg 6:11–12); the angel who announces Samson's birth refuses his name—"Why askest thou my name, which is wonderful?"—and ascends in the flame of Manue's sacrifice (Judg 13:3, 18, 20).

The kings. An angel twice wakes Elias under the juniper tree with bread and water (3 Kgs [1 Kgs] 19:5–7). At Dothan the Lord opens the servant's eyes and "behold, the mountain was full of horses, and chariots of fire round about Eliseus" (4 Kgs [2 Kgs] 6:16–17). In one night "an angel of the Lord came, and slew in the camp of the Assyrians a hundred and eighty-five thousand" (4 Kgs [2 Kgs] 19:35).

Tobias. The Book of Tobias is Scripture's fullest narrative of an angel's ministry to one household (Vulgate numbering). The prayers of Tobias and Sara "were heard in the sight of the glory of the most high God: And the holy angel of the Lord, Raphael was sent to heal them both" (Tob 3:24–25). He appears as a beautiful young man, and Tobias does not know "that he was an angel of God" (Tob 5:5–6); asked his lineage, he gives a man's name, "I am Azarias the son of the great Ananias" (Tob 5:18). At the end he discloses his ministry and rank: "I offered thy prayer to the Lord"; "For I am the angel Raphael, one of the seven, who stand before the Lord" (Tob 12:12, 15); John Paul II reads the book as showing that the angels present men's petitions to God (general audience, 30 July 1986). To the objection that Raphael, once sent, no longer stands before the Lord, Aquinas answers with Gregory that those sent on our salvation "can always assist and see the face of the Father" (*ST* I q. 112 a. 3).

The Machabees. The second book of Machabees records heavenly horsemen defending the Temple and Israel. Against Heliodorus "there appeared to them a horse, with a terrible rider upon him," and "two other young men, beautiful and strong, bright and glorious" who scourged him (2 Mac 3:25–26). In battle five heavenly horsemen conduct the Jews, two covering Machabeus with their arms (2 Mac 10:29–30); on the march a horseman goes before them "in white clothing, with golden armour" (2 Mac 11:8).

1.3 Job, the Psalms, and the Prophets

Job. In the heavenly court "the sons of God came to stand before the Lord, Satan also was present among them" (Job 1:6; cf. 2:1). Aquinas answers with Gregory that Satan is not said to have *assisted* but to be "present among the assistants," for though he has lost beatitude he retains the angelic nature (*ST* I q. 112 a. 3 ad 3). God asks Job where he was "when the morning stars praised me together, and all the sons of God made a joyful melody" (Job 38:7).

The Psalms. The Psalter sings the angels as guardians and as choir. "The angel of the Lord shall encamp round about them that fear him: and shall deliver them" (Ps 33[34]:8). "For he hath given his angels charge over thee; to keep thee in all thy ways. In their hands they shall bear thee up: lest thou dash thy foot against a stone" (Ps 90[91]:11–12); the devil quotes these verses to Christ at the pinnacle of the Temple (Matt 4:6), and Aquinas makes the first of them the *sed contra* for the guardianship of men by angels (*ST* I q. 113 a. 1; see §17.5). "Bless the Lord, all ye his angels: you that are mighty in strength, and execute his word, hearkening to the voice of his orders ... you ministers of his that do his will" (Ps 102[103]:20–21). The Catechism joins this verse to Matt 18:10: the angels are servants and messengers of God "with their whole beings" (CCC 329). The angels stand at the summit of the cosmic praise (Ps 148:2), and the psalmist sings "in the sight of the angels" (Ps 137[138]:1; *Directory* 215). Man was made "a little less than the angels" (Ps 8:6; cf. Heb 2:7); the manna is "the bread of angels" (Ps 77[78]:25), and the plagues of Egypt were sent "by evil angels" (Ps 77[78]:49).

Isaias. In the year of Ozias's death the prophet sees the Lord enthroned: "Upon it stood the seraphims: the one had six wings, and the other had six wings: with two they covered his face, and with two they covered his feet, and with two they flew. And they cried one to another, and said: Holy, holy, holy, the Lord God of hosts, all the earth is full of his glory" (Isa 6:2–3). "One of the seraphims flew to me, and in his hand was a live coal," and touching the prophet's lips said, "thy iniquities shall be taken away" (Isa 6:6–7). Aquinas gives two readings of the sending: following Dionysius (*CH* 13), the angel sent was of an inferior order and was called a Seraph "in an equivocal sense, because he came to 'kindle' the lips of the prophet"; or a Seraph acted through an inferior angel (*ST* I q. 112 a. 2 ad 2). From Isa 6:3 he also takes the *sed contra* that one order contains many angels (*ST* I q. 108 a. 3). The lament over the king of Babylon, "How art thou fallen from heaven, O Lucifer, who didst rise in the morning? ... I will be like the most High" (Isa 14:12–14), Aquinas reads "of the devil under the figure of the prince of Babylon" (*ST* I q. 63 a. 5).

Ezechiel. By the river Chobar Ezechiel sees "the likeness of four living creatures," each with four faces and four wings (Ezek 1:5–6), and later identifies them: "I understood that they were cherubims" (Ezek 10:20). The oracle against the king of Tyre, "Thou wast the seal of resemblance, full of wisdom, and perfect in beauty. Thou wast in the pleasures of the paradise of God: every precious stone was thy covering" (Ezek 28:12–13), Gregory reads of the first angel created, whose nine precious stones signify the nine orders with which he was adorned (*Hom. in Ev.* 34.7). Aquinas cites the same chapter as "said to the devil in the person of the King of Tyre" (*ST* I q. 63 a. 5) and discusses its "Thou a cherub stretched out" (Ezek 28:14) in asking whether the highest of the fallen was the highest of all (*ST* I q. 63 a. 7; see §13.1).

Daniel. "The angel of the Lord went down with Azarias and his companions into the furnace" and made its midst "like the blowing of a wind bringing dew" (Dan 3:49–50, in the Greek portion of Daniel which the Vulgate carries). Before the Ancient of days "thousands of thousands ministered to him, and ten thousand times a hundred thousand stood before him" (Dan 7:10). Aquinas makes the verse the *sed contra* for the great number of the angels (*ST* I q. 50 a. 3), and he reports two readings of its proportion: Gregory takes "thousands of thousands" in a partitive sense and holds that those who minister outnumber those who assist, while Dionysius holds that "the multitude of angels surpasses all the multitude of material things" (*ST* I q. 112 a. 4 ad 2). Daniel is the first book to name an angel. "Gabriel, make this man to understand the vision" (Dan 8:16); he comes "flying swiftly" at the evening sacrifice (Dan 9:21). The angel who answers Daniel's prayer reports that "the prince of the kingdom of the Persians resisted me one and twenty days" until Michael came to help, and that he will return to fight that prince with "Michael your prince" (Dan 10:13, 20–21). At the end "shall Michael rise up, the great prince, who standeth for the children of thy people" (Dan 12:1). Jerome reads the prince of Persia as the angel entrusted with that kingdom, who resisted Israel's release on behalf of his province (*In Danielem* on 10:13; §5.6), and Gregory as the good angel set over it; Aquinas follows Gregory and explains the "resistance" as the angels' consulting the divine will over the merits of peoples, "not that

their wills are in opposition" (*ST* I q. 113 a. 8). From Dan 10:13 he assigns the guardianship of the human race to the Principalities, "or perhaps to the 'Archangels' " (*ST* I q. 113 a. 3).

Zacharias. The night visions of Zach 1–6 are mediated throughout by "the angel that spoke in me" (Zach 1:9), who intercedes for Jerusalem (Zach 1:12). The high priest Jesus stands "before the angel of the Lord: and Satan stood on his right hand to be his adversary. And the Lord said to Satan: The Lord rebuke thee, O Satan" (Zach 3:1–2), the rebuke Michael repeats in Jude 9.

1.4 The Gospels

The infancy. The Gospel opens with angelic annunciations. "An angel of the Lord, standing on the right side of the altar of incense" appears to Zachary (Luke 1:11) and names himself: "I am Gabriel, who stand before God" (Luke 1:19). "The angel Gabriel was sent from God into a city of Galilee, called Nazareth" (Luke 1:26); his greeting, "Hail, full of grace" (Luke 1:28), is answered by Mary's "Behold the handmaid of the Lord" (Luke 1:38; see §19). Gregory explains why an archangel came: *Ad hoc quippe ministerium summum angelum venire dignum fuerat, qui summum omnium nunciabat*; it was fitting that the highest angel should come to this ministry, since he announced the highest thing of all (*Hom. in Ev.* 34.8). Joseph is instructed three times by an angel in sleep (Matt 1:20; 2:13, 19). To the shepherds an angel stands in the brightness of God, "and suddenly there was with the angel a multitude of the heavenly army, praising God" (Luke 2:9, 13), a song that "has not ceased resounding in the Church's praise" (CCC 333).

The public life. After the temptation, in which the devil had quoted the psalm of the guardian angels, "the devil left him; and behold angels came and ministered to him" (Matt 4:11). Christ makes the angels agents of the harvest: "the reapers are the angels" (Matt 13:39); they "shall gather out of his kingdom all scandals" (Matt 13:41) and "separate the wicked from among the just" (Matt 13:49). "There shall be joy before the angels of God upon one sinner doing penance" (Luke 15:10): Gregory's Homily 34, preached on this lection, reads the ten drachmas as the nine orders of angels with man created tenth, *ut compleretur electorum numerus*, that the number of the elect might be completed (*Hom. in Ev.* 34.6), and Aquinas counts that joy among the angels' accidental reward (*ST* I q. 62 a. 9 ad 3). Lazarus "was carried by the angels into Abraham's bosom" (Luke 16:22). "I saw Satan like lightning falling from heaven" (Luke 10:18).

Two sayings bear on the angels' nature and their care for men. "See that you despise not one of these little ones ... their angels in heaven always see the face of my Father" (Matt 18:10). Aquinas's *sed contra* for a guardian angel for each man is Jerome's comment on this verse, "Great is the dignity of souls, for each one to have an angel deputed to guard it from its birth"; and he reports Chrysostom's reading that the text speaks of the highest angels (*ST* I q. 113 a. 2; a. 3 obj. 1). The risen "shall neither marry nor be married," being "equal to the angels" (Matt 22:30; Luke 20:36), the verse John Paul II takes for the angels' immortality (general audience, 6 August 1986).

The judgment. The angels come with the Son of man: he "shall send his angels with a trumpet and a great voice" to gather the elect (Matt 24:31), though "of that day and hour no one knoweth: no, not the angels of heaven" (Matt 24:36). "When the Son of man shall come in his majesty, and all the angels with him" (Matt 25:31)—the verse with which the Catechism opens its paragraph on Christ as "the centre of the angelic world" (CCC 331)—he will say to the reprobate, "Depart from me, you cursed, into everlasting fire, which was prepared for the devil and his angels" (Matt 25:41); Aquinas draws from the verse that all the demons are subject to the first of them (*ST* I q. 63 a. 8).

The Passion and Resurrection. In the garden Christ could ask the Father for "more than twelve legions of angels" (Matt 26:53), and "there appeared to him an angel from heaven, strengthening him" (Luke 22:43). At the tomb an angel rolls back the stone, "his countenance ... as lightning and his raiment as snow," and tells the women, "He is not here. For he is risen" (Matt 28:2–3, 6); Mary Magdalen "saw two angels in white, sitting" where the body had lain (John 20:12). The Catechism sums up this ministry: the angels "protect Jesus in his infancy, serve him in the desert, strengthen him in his agony in the garden," and "evangelize" by proclaiming his Incarnation and Resurrection (CCC 333).

1.5 Acts and the Apostle

The Acts of the Apostles. The Church's first years are guarded by angels. An angel opens the prison for the apostles (Acts 5:19); Cornelius sees "an angel of God coming in unto him" (Acts 10:3); an angel frees Peter, "and the chains fell off from his hands" (Acts 12:7), and the disciples, told he is at the gate, answer, "It is his angel" (Acts 12:15). On the ship to Rome "an angel of God, whose I am and whom I serve, stood by me this night" (Acts 27:23).

The Pauline letters. No creature, "neither death, nor life, nor angels, nor principalities, nor powers," separates us from God's love (Rom 8:38). The apostles are "a spectacle to the world and to angels and to men" (1 Cor 4:9); the saints "shall judge angels" (1 Cor 6:3); the woman is veiled "because of the angels" (1 Cor 11:10); the tongues "of men and of angels" are nothing without charity (1 Cor 13:1); an angel preaching another gospel is anathema (Gal 1:8). Christ is set "above all principality and power and virtue and dominion" (Eph 1:21), and through the Church God's wisdom is made known "to the principalities and powers in heavenly places" (Eph 3:10); the same names serve for the fallen, against whom is our wrestling (Eph 6:12). All were made in the Son, "whether thrones, or dominations, or principalities, or powers" (Col 1:16). Against a false cult the Apostle warns, "Let no man seduce you, willing in humility and religion of angels" (Col 2:18; see §23). The Lord will come "with the voice of an archangel" (1 Thess 4:15 [4:16]),[1] "revealed from heaven with the angels of his power" (2 Thess 1:7). Timothy is charged "before God and Christ Jesus and the elect angels" (1 Tim 5:21).

Hebrews. The Epistle to the Hebrews gives Scripture's most sustained comparison of Christ with the angels. He is "made so much better than the angels as he hath inherited a more excellent name than they" (Heb 1:4); the first-begotten is adored by them (1:6); "Are they not all ministering spirits, sent to minister for them who shall receive the inheritance of salvation?" (1:14). The Word "nowhere doth ... take hold of the angels: but of the seed of Abraham" (2:16). The faithful are come "to the company of many thousands of angels" (12:22) and are bidden to hospitality, "for by this some, being not aware of it, have entertained angels" (13:2). Aquinas takes Heb 1:14 as the principal objection that all angels are sent, and answers by distinguishing the assisting and ministering orders (*ST* I q. 112 aa. 2–4; see §16.4).

The Catholic Epistles. The prophets ministered the Gospel "on whom the angels desire to look" (1 Pet 1:12; *ST* I q. 58 a. 1 ad 2); Christ is at God's right hand, "the angels and powers and virtues being made subject to him" (1 Pet 3:22). "God spared not the angels that sinned, but delivered them, drawn down by infernal ropes to the lower hell" (2 Pet 2:4); "the angels who kept not their principality but forsook their own habitation, he hath reserved under darkness in everlasting chains" (Jude 6). The good angels, "greater in strength and power," "bring not ... a railing judgment" (2 Pet 2:11); Jude gives the example: "When Michael the archangel, disputing with the devil, contended about the body of Moses, he durst not bring against him the judgment of railing speech, but said: The Lord command thee" (Jude 9). See §13.

1.6 The Apocalypse

The last book shows the angels in the liturgy of heaven and in the government of history. John hears "the voice of many angels round about the throne ... (and the number of them was thousands of thousands)" (Apoc 5:11). Four angels hold the four winds while the servants of God are signed in their foreheads (7:1–3); seven angels stand in God's presence (8:2), and another offers a golden censer from which "the smoke of the incense of the prayers of the saints ascended up before God" (8:3–4), the text under which the Church entrusts the faithful's prayers to the angels' ministry (Apoc 5:8; *Directory* 215).

"There was a great battle in heaven: Michael and his angels fought with the dragon, and the dragon fought, and his angels. And they prevailed not: neither was their place found any more in heaven. And that great dragon was cast out, that old serpent, who is called the devil and Satan, who seduceth the whole world. And he was cast unto the earth: and his angels were thrown down with him" (Apoc 12:7–9). Aquinas takes the dragon's tail that "drew the third part of the stars of heaven" (12:4) as the *sed contra* that the sin of the highest angel was the cause of the

[1] The Douay numbers 1 Thess 4 in seventeen verses, the Clementine Vulgate and modern editions in eighteen; the archangel's voice is Douay 4:15.

others' sinning (*ST* I q. 63 a. 8). Gregory reads the battle of the end, when the enemy who desired likeness to God, overthrown by Michael, learns *quia ad Dei similitudinem per superbiam nullus exsurgat*, that no one rises to God's likeness by pride (*Hom. in Ev.* 34.9); John Paul II reads the chapter of the struggle that grows more violent as the end approaches (general audience, 20 August 1986).

The book ends with the measure of the honour due to angels. Twice John falls down to adore the angel and is refused: "See thou do it not … Adore God" (Apoc 22:8–9; cf. 19:10). See §22 and §23.

1.7 The Scriptural Names of the Orders

Scripture uses nine names for the ranks of the angels, and the Fathers gathered them into nine orders. Gregory argues from Scripture alone: angels and archangels, he says, are attested on almost every page of Scripture, *pene omnes sacri eloquii paginae testantur*, cherubim and seraphim often in the prophets; Paul names four orders to the Ephesians and, writing to the Colossians, adds the thrones, so that *quinque sunt ordines, qui specialiter exprimuntur*; with the rest, *proculdubio novem esse angelorum ordines inveniuntur*, without doubt nine orders of angels are found (*Hom. in Ev.* 34.7). Aquinas's *sed contra* for the propriety of the names is "the authority of Holy Scripture wherein they are so named" (*ST* I q. 108 a. 5).

Order	**Scriptural locus (*ST* I q. 108 a. 5, s.c.)**	**Gregory's gloss (*Hom. in Ev.* 34.8–10)**
Seraphim	Isa 6:2, 6	*ardentes vel incendentes*: joined to God with no spirit between, they burn with incomparable love
Cherubim	Ezek 1; cf. 10:15–20 (also Gen 3:24; Exod 25:18–22)	*plenitudo scientiae*: the nearer their contemplation of God's brightness, the fuller their knowledge
Thrones	Col 1:16	God sits in them and through them decrees his judgments
Dominations	Eph 1:21 (also Col 1:16)	they surpass the principalities; *dominari vero est etiam subjectos quosque possidere*
Virtues	Eph 1:21 (also 1 Pet 3:22)	through them signs and miracles are most often done
Powers	Eph 1:21 (also Col 1:16; Rom 8:38)	adverse powers are subject to them and restrained from tempting men as much as they would
Principalities	Eph 1:21 (also Col 1:16; Rom 8:38)	they preside over the good spirits and dispose what is to be done
Archangels	Jude 9 (also 1 Thess 4:15 [4:16])	*summi nuntii*: they announce the highest things
Angels	"many places of Scripture"	*nuntii*: they announce the lesser things

Aquinas notes that Dionysius and Gregory agree on the grades of all the orders except the Principalities and the Virtues, and that "each of these placings may claim authority from the words of the Apostle": Eph 1:21 counts the middle orders upward and places the Virtues between the Powers and the Dominations, as Dionysius does, while Col 1:16 counts downward from the Thrones (*ST* I q. 108 a. 6; §15.1; Appendices A and B).

Three angels bear proper names in the canonical Scriptures. Michael is "one of the chief princes" and "your prince" (Dan 10:13, 21), "the great prince" (Dan 12:1), "the archangel" (Jude 9), and leader of the angels against the dragon (Apoc 12:7). Gabriel interprets Daniel's visions (Dan 8:16; 9:21) and announces the births of the Forerunner and of Christ (Luke 1:19, 26). Raphael heals and guides the house of Tobias (Tob 3:25; 12:15). Gregory holds that the names are given for their ministries to us, and interprets them: *Michael namque, quis ut Deus; Gabriel autem, fortitudo Dei; Raphael vero dicitur medicina Dei* (*Hom. in Ev.* 34.8–9). The angel of Manue refuses to give a name (Judg 13:18), and Raphael, while hidden, gives a man's (Tob 5:18). The Church regulates the use of further names (§23; Appendix J).

2 The Faith of the Church

The Church confesses the angels in her Creed, and across sixteen centuries her councils, popes, and catechisms have unfolded that confession: against the dualists who made the devil a second principle beside God, against the Origenists who made angels and souls one family of fallen minds, and against the modern reduction of the angels to figures of speech (Appendix G).

2.1 The Creed: Maker of Things Invisible

The Creed of Nicaea (325) and the creed received as that of the Council of Constantinople (381) confess the one God as maker of all things visible and invisible. The Constantinopolitan text, in the Latin that the Roman Church uses, reads *factorem caeli et terrae, visibilium omnium et invisibilium* (DS 150). Under the "things invisible" the Church confesses the angels. The whole unseen creation stands under the one Creator, and no spirit is a second principle beside God or an emanation of his substance. Every later act on the angels unfolds this article, and Paul VI's *Credo* of 1968 names what it has always meant: the things invisible are "the pure spirits which are also called angels."

2.2 The Patristic Acts: Leo, Constantinople, Braga

Leo I to Turibius (447). In the letter *Quam laudabiliter* to Turibius, bishop of Astorga (21 July 447), Leo the Great answered a list of Priscillianist errors. The sixth held that the devil was never good, that his nature is not God's work, and that he emerged *ex chao et tenebris*, from chaos and darkness, as the principle and substance of evil. Leo replies that the true faith confesses the substance of every creature, spiritual or corporeal, to be good, and that evil has no nature, *quia Deus, qui universitatis est conditor, nihil non bonum fecit*: God, the founder of all things, made nothing that is not good (DS 286). He then states the doctrine that the later councils take up:

> *Unde et diabolus bonus esset, si in eo quod factus est permaneret. Sed quia naturali excellentia male usus est 'et in veritate non stetit' (Jo 8, 44), non in contrariam transiit substantiam, sed a summo bono, cui debuit adhaerere, descivit.* (DS 286)

The devil would be good if he had remained in what he was made. Because he misused his natural excellence, he did not pass into a contrary substance; he withdrew from the highest good to which he ought to have held fast. Leo's teaching passed into the canons of Braga and, through them, into the Lateran confession.

Constantinople (543). The edict of the Emperor Justinian to Menas, patriarch of Constantinople, was published in a synod of Constantinople in 543 with nine anathematisms against Origen and his followers (DS 403–411). Five touch the angels. The first condemns the teaching that human souls pre-existed as minds and holy powers (*mentes ... et sanctae virtutes*) who grew sated with the contemplation of God, cooled in charity, and were sent into bodies as punishment (DS 403). The error made angels and souls one class of spirits differing only in the degree of their fall; the canon keeps them distinct in origin and in destiny. The fourth condemns the claim that the Word became like all the heavenly orders, a cherub among the cherubim and a seraph among the seraphim (DS 406): the Word took human nature, not the nature of any angel. The sixth condemns the teaching that the heavens, sun, moon, stars, and the waters above the heavens are ensouled rational powers (DS 408). The seventh condemns the teaching that Christ will be crucified in the world to come for demons as he was for men (DS 409). The ninth condemns the teaching that the punishment of demons and of impious men is temporary and will end in their restoration (*restitutionem et redintegrationem*, DS 411). These anathemas are the earliest synodal witness that the punishment of the demons is without end.

Braga I (561). The first Council of Braga, a provincial synod of the Suevic kingdom, issued a series of anathematisms, chiefly against the Priscillianists. Four concern the angels. It condemns anyone who believes that human souls or angels came from the substance of God (DS 455), or that human souls first sinned in a heavenly dwelling and were cast down into bodies (DS 456). The seventh canon repeats the error that Leo had answered and anathematizes it:

> *Si quis dicit, diabolum non fuisse prius (bonum) angelum a Deo factum, nec Dei opificium fuisse naturam eius, sed dicit eum ex chao et tenebris emersisse nec aliquem sui habere auctorem, sed ipsum esse principium atque substantiam mali . . . , an. s.* (DS 457)

The eighth condemns the belief that the devil made some creatures in the world and that he produces thunder, lightning, storms, and droughts by his own authority (DS 458). The twelfth and thirteenth condemn the claims that the forming of the human body in the womb is the work of demons and that the creation of all flesh is the work of wicked angels (DS 462–463). The demons can work in the world, as Scripture shows, but only as creatures under God's permission; they create nothing and command nothing by right. Against a dualist system the synod thus stated what the universal faith already held and what Lateran IV would define.

The early professions. The *Statuta Ecclesiae Antiqua*, a collection from southern Gaul of the later fifth century, directs that a bishop-elect be examined on whether he holds that the devil became evil not by his condition but by his will (*si diabolus non per condicionem, sed per arbitrium factus sit malus*, DS 325). Innocent III put the same sentence into the profession of faith prescribed for Durand of Osca and the Waldensians who returned to communion (*Eius exemplo*, 18 December 1208): *Diabolum non per condicionem, sed per arbitrium malum factum esse credimus* (DS 797). By the eve of the Fourth Lateran Council, then, the goodness of the devil's created nature and the voluntary origin of his evil were part of the confession required of a bishop and of a reconciled heretic.

2.3 The Fourth Lateran Council (1215)

The Fourth Lateran Council, convened by Innocent III and held in November 1215, opened its constitutions with the profession *Firmiter credimus*. It was framed against the Cathars, who taught two principles and ascribed the visible world to an evil god. The chapter confesses the one God as

> *creator omnium visibilium et invisibilium, spiritualium et corporalium: qui sua omnipotenti virtute simul ab initio temporis utramque de nihilo condidit creaturam, spiritualem et corporalem, angelicam videlicet et mundanam: ac deinde humanam, quasi communem ex spiritu et corpore constitutam. Diabolus enim et alii daemones a Deo quidem natura creati sunt boni, sed ipsi per se facti sunt mali. Homo vero diaboli suggestione peccavit.* (DS 800)

God, by his almighty power, at the beginning of time made from nothing both the spiritual and the corporeal creature, the angelic and the earthly, and afterwards the human creature, which shares in both, being made of spirit and body. The devil and the other demons were created good in nature by God; they became evil of themselves. Man sinned at the devil's suggestion. The same chapter ends with the judgment, in which the reprobate will receive perpetual punishment with the devil (*illi cum diabolo poenam perpetuam*, DS 801).

In this solemn profession of an ecumenical council the Church defines five truths concerning the angels. First, there are spiritual creatures distinct from the corporeal world, and they are called angelic. Second, they were made by God from nothing, and not from his substance or from any pre-existing stuff. Third, their creation belongs to the beginning of time: angels are not eternal, and their existence has a beginning. Fourth, the devil and the other demons are creatures good by nature, whose evil is their own act and not their nature. Fifth, their punishment, which the reprobate share, is perpetual.

The words *simul ab initio temporis* confess that both creatures, the spiritual and the corporeal, began with time. Aquinas reads them also of the angels' creation together with the visible world and holds this the more probable view, while the contrary opinion of many Greek Fathers, that the angels were made before it, "is not to be deemed erroneous" (*ST* I q. 61 a. 3; §12).

2.4 Florence and Trent

Florence (1442). The bull of union with the Copts, *Cantate Domino* (4 February 1442; 1441 in the Florentine reckoning), confesses the one God as creator *omnium visibilium et invisibilium*, who *universas, tam spiritales quam corporales, condidit creaturas: bonas quidem, quia a summo bono factae sunt, sed mutabiles, quia de nihilo factae sunt*: he made all creatures, spiritual and corporeal, good because made by the highest good, but mutable because

made from nothing; and it asserts that there is no nature of evil (*nullamque mali asserit esse naturam*, DS 1333). It then condemns the Manichaean doctrine of two first principles, one of visible and the other of invisible things (DS 1336). The decree adds one word to the Lateran confession, and that word bears on the angels: their created goodness is mutable. A spirit made from nothing can turn from the good, and the fall of some angels is thus possible without any defect in their Maker. The council confirms what Lateran IV had defined.

Trent (1546). The decree on original sin (Session V, 17 June 1546) says that Adam, by his transgression, incurred *captivitatem sub eius potestate, 'qui mortis' deinde 'habuit imperium' . . . , hoc est diaboli*: captivity under the power of him who thenceforth "had the empire of death" (Heb 2:14), that is, of the devil (DS 1511). In defining original sin the council teaches the real power of the devil over fallen man, a power held not by right but by the captivity that sin brought about (§18).

2.5 The First Vatican Council (1870)

The dogmatic constitution *Dei Filius* (24 April 1870) repeated the Lateran text in its first chapter, adding that God created not to increase his beatitude but to manifest his perfection (*non ad augendam suam beatitudinem . . . sed ad manifestandam perfectionem suam*), and by his most free counsel:

> *liberrimo consilio simul ab initio temporis utramque de nihilo condidit creaturam, spiritualem et corporalem, angelicam videlicet et mundanam, ac deinde humanam quasi communem ex spiritu et corpore constitutam.* (DS 3002)

The fifth canon on God the creator anathematizes whoever does not confess that the world and all things in it, both spiritual and material, were brought forth by God from nothing according to their whole substance (*et spirituales et materiales secundum totam suam substantiam a Deo ex nihilo esse productas*, DS 3025). The canon was directed against pantheism and against the theory that creation is necessary. It defines, for the angels as for every creature, that nothing in them pre-exists their creation. Vatican I thus renewed the Lateran definition in the same words and added the defined freedom of the act by which God made them.

2.6 *Humani generis* (1950)

In the encyclical *Humani generis* (12 August 1950), Pius XII listed among the opinions that threatened the foundations of Catholic doctrine that "some also question whether angels are personal beings, and whether matter and spirit differ essentially" (n. 26; *Quaestio etiam a nonnullis agitur num Angeli creaturae personales sint*, DS 3891). Against writers who read the angels as personifications of divine action or figures of religious language, Pius XII closes the question: the angels are personal beings. On this encyclical the Catechism teaches that the angels are "personal and immortal creatures" (CCC 330, citing DS 3891), endowed with intellect and will.

2.7 Paul VI: The Credo and the Audience of 1972

The Credo of the People of God (1968). At the close of the Year of Faith, on 30 June 1968, Paul VI pronounced a solemn profession of faith that repeats in substance the creed of Nicaea, with the developments the time required (*Credo* 3). Its first article confesses God as creator "of things invisible such as the pure spirits which are also called angels" (*Credo* 8), and the Latin text cites DS 3002 at that point. Near its end the *Credo* places the saints in heaven "associated with the holy angels in the divine rule exercised by Christ in glory" (*Credo* 29). The *Credo* thus names what the Church has always understood by the Creed's "things invisible."

The audience "Deliver us from evil" (1972). At the general audience of 15 November 1972, Paul VI said that one of the greatest needs of the Church was defence against that evil which we call the Devil (*la difesa da quel male, che chiamiamo il Demonio*). Evil, he said, is *non più soltanto una deficienza, ma un'efficienza, un essere vivo, spirituale, pervertito e pervertitore*, no longer a deficiency only but an efficiency, a living being, spiritual, perverted and perverting; and he added, *Terribile realtà. Misteriosa e paurosa.* He then drew the line: whoever refuses to

recognize this reality as existing, or makes of it a principle in its own right, *esce dal quadro dell'insegnamento biblico ed ecclesiastico*, goes outside the framework of biblical and ecclesiastical teaching. He cited DS 800 and added a caution that guards the doctrine from excess: *Non è detto che ogni peccato sia direttamente dovuto ad azione diabolica*, not every sin is directly due to diabolical action. The Pope's teaching rests on the Lateran text, which he cites: to deny the devil's existence is to depart from the Church's teaching.

2.8 *Christian Faith and Demonology* (1975)

On 26 June 1975 *L'Osservatore Romano* published a study entitled *Fede cristiana e demonologia*, prepared by an expert at the request of the Congregation for the Doctrine of the Faith, which in its prefatory note strongly recommended the study as a sure basis for reaffirming the doctrine of the magisterium.

The study reviews the witness of Scripture, the Fathers, and the councils, and shows how the Church holds the existence of the demons. Lateran IV, framed against dualism, confesses that the devil and the other demons were created good and became evil of themselves. That chapter is a single confession, and *ciascun punto principale di esso ha egualmente valore dogmatico*, each principal point of it has equal dogmatic value: a text that teaches how the demons became evil teaches that they exist. In the Church's constant faith and practice, above all in her liturgy and her life of prayer, *l'esistenza del mondo demoniaco si rivela come un dato dogmatico*, the existence of the demonic world shows itself a dogmatic datum.

2.9 The Catecheses of John Paul II (1986)

In the summer of 1986, within his catecheses on the Creed, John Paul II gave six general audiences on the angels and the demons (9, 23, and 30 July; 6, 13, and 20 August), the fullest papal catechesis on the angels.

The first audience (9 July) set the angels within the Creed: the truth about them is *collaterale* to the central revelation of God in Christ, yet inseparable from it. The second (23 July) treated the free choice and moral test of the angels, and the refusal expressed in the words *Non ti servirò!*, the "I will not serve" of Jer 2:20. The third (30 July) turned to the name: *angelus* means messenger, and the Hebrew *mal'ak* means more properly *delegato* or *ambasciatore*; the Pope drew the offices of the angels from Ps 102[103], the Book of Tobias, and the princes of the nations in Daniel 10.

The fourth audience (6 August) is the most doctrinal. It restated the Lateran and Vatican definitions (DS 3002), described the angels as immaterial, immortal, and personal, and named Raphael, Gabriel, and Michael as the three whom Scripture names. It set out the nine choirs as Dionysius arranges them and taught the ministry of the guardian angels, citing Basil. The fifth (13 August) presented the fall of Satan by the Lateran text, called him with the Gospel "the prince of this world" (*principe di questo mondo*), and stated that possession is not excluded. The sixth (20 August) closed the series: the power of Satan is not infinite, Christ has conquered him, the Church exercises that victory in exorcism, and the faithful pray *Angele Dei* to their guardian.

2.10 The Catechism and the Compendium

The *Catechism of the Catholic Church* (1992; Latin typical edition 1997) gathers the whole of this doctrine for the universal Church.

The angels (CCC 328–336). The Catechism opens with the strongest statement of any modern act: "The existence of the spiritual, non-corporeal beings that Sacred Scripture usually calls 'angels' is a truth of faith. The witness of Scripture is as clear as the unanimity of Tradition" (CCC 328). It takes the distinction between office and nature from Augustine (CCC 329; *Enarr. in Ps.* 103, s. 1, 15). It teaches that "as purely spiritual creatures angels have intelligence and will: they are personal and immortal creatures, surpassing in perfection all visible creatures" (CCC 330). It places them in relation to Christ: "Christ is the centre of the angelic world" (CCC 331); they were created through and for him, and they serve the whole economy of salvation from creation to the judgment (CCC 332–333). The whole life of the Church "benefits from the mysterious and powerful help of angels" (CCC 334); the liturgy joins them in adoration and venerates certain of them (CCC 335). Human life "from infancy to death" is surrounded by their care, and the Catechism quotes Basil: "Beside each believer stands an angel as protector and shepherd leading him to life" (CCC 336).

The fall of the angels (CCC 391–395). The Catechism sees behind the disobedience of our first parents "a seductive voice, opposed to God," which Scripture and Tradition identify as a fallen angel called Satan or the devil (CCC 391), and quotes DS 800. The fall "consists in the free choice of these created spirits, who radically and irrevocably rejected God and his reign" (CCC 392). "It is the irrevocable character of their choice, and not a defect in the infinite divine mercy, that makes the angels' sin unforgivable" (CCC 393), and the Catechism cites John Damascene: there is no repentance for the angels after their fall, as there is none for men after death. Scripture shows the devil as "a murderer from the beginning" who tried to divert Jesus from his mission (CCC 394), yet "the power of Satan is, nonetheless, not infinite" (CCC 395): he is a creature, and his action is permitted within a providence that brings good out of it. The summary at CCC 414 gathers the teaching: "Satan or the devil and the other demons are fallen angels who have freely refused to serve God and his plan. Their choice against God is definitive."

The Compendium (2005). The *Compendium* approved by Benedict XVI on 28 June 2005 condenses the same doctrine. The angels are "purely spiritual creatures, incorporeal, invisible, immortal, and personal beings endowed with intelligence and will" (*Compendium* 60); they surround Christ, serve his saving mission, and accompany human life with their protection (*Compendium* 61). The fall of the angels is the free and irrevocable rejection of God by spirits created good, and the power of Satan is not infinite (*Compendium* 74–75).

2.11 The Church's Teaching by Degree

The Church's teaching on the angels, each truth with its degree and the act that teaches it:

Grade	Proposition	Basis
Defined	Spiritual creatures, the angelic, exist and were created by God from nothing at the beginning of time	Lateran IV, DS 800; Vatican I, DS 3002, 3025
Defined	The angels are not of God's substance and are not eternal	Lateran IV, DS 800; Vatican I, DS 3025; cf. Braga I, DS 455
Defined	The devil and the other demons were created good by nature and became evil of themselves	Lateran IV, DS 800; cf. Leo I, DS 286; Braga I, DS 457; Innocent III, DS 797
Defined	The punishment of the demons is perpetual	Lateran IV, DS 801; cf. Constantinople 543, DS 411
Church teaching	The existence of the angels is a truth of faith; the existence of the demons is a dogmatic datum of the ordinary and universal teaching	CCC 328; CDF study 1975; Paul VI, 15 Nov. 1972
Church teaching	The angels are personal and immortal, with intellect and will	*Humani generis* 26, DS 3891; CCC 330; *Compendium* 60
Church teaching	The fall was a free and irrevocable choice; the demons' sin is unforgivable because of that character	CCC 392–393, 414
Church teaching	The demons create nothing and rule nothing by their own authority; Satan's power is not infinite	Braga I, DS 458, 462–463; CCC 395
Church teaching	Each of the faithful has a guardian angel	CCC 336; John Paul II, 6 Aug. 1986
Common teaching	The angels were created together with the visible world; many Greek Fathers held them made before it, an opinion not erroneous	DS 800 *simul*; *ST* I q. 61 a. 3
Common teaching	Nine orders of angels, gathered from the names in Scripture	Gregory, *Hom. in Ev.* 34.7; *ST* I q. 108 a. 6; John Paul II, 6 Aug. 1986

Grade	Proposition	Basis
Disputed	The ordering of the nine orders among themselves	Dionysius and Gregory; *ST* I q. 108 a. 6

The number of the angels, the object and instant of the first sin, and the ordering of the orders are taught by the Fathers and Doctors. On the names of the angels the Church has spoken: Scripture names Michael, Gabriel, and Raphael, and from the Roman synod of 745 to the *Directory on Popular Piety* of 2001 the Church has forbidden the invention of others (Appendix G; §23; Appendix J).

3 Before the Fathers: Israel's Writings and the Philosophers

The Fathers learned the angels from the Scriptures, and they read the Scriptures within an inheritance wider than the canon. The Greek Bible of the Apostles names the angels where the Hebrew names the sons of Israel or the sons of God. The writers of Israel in the last centuries before Christ told of the Watchers who fell, of the seven who stand before God, of the angels of the nations and the angel who intercedes for Israel. Philo of Alexandria set Moses' angels beside the daemons of the philosophers, and the poets and philosophers of Greece taught of spirits between the gods and men. The Fathers knew all of this. They received what agreed with the Scriptures and the rule of faith, corrected what was mixed with error, and rejected what contradicted the faith, and in each case the judgment was made by Scripture as the Church received it and by the faith she confesses: that the angels are creatures of the one God, made good, free, and sent to serve the salvation of men, and that the demons are angels who fell by their own will.

3.1 The Angels of the Septuagint

The Greek translation of the Law and the Prophets was the Bible of the Apostles' mission to the nations and of the Greek Fathers, and its Psalter passed into the Latin Church through the Vulgate. Augustine holds that its departures from the Hebrew may themselves be the Holy Spirit's work: "the Septuagint translators are justly believed to have received the Spirit of prophecy; so that, if they made any alterations under His authority, and did not adhere to a strict translation, we could not doubt that this was divinely dictated" (*De civitate Dei* XV.23). Several of those departures concern the angels, and on them the Fathers built.

The angels of the nations (Deut 32:8–9). In the Song of Moses the Greek reads: "When the Most High divided the nations, when he separated the sons of Adam, he set the bounds of the nations according to the number of the angels of God. And his people Jacob became the portion of the Lord, Israel was the line of his inheritance" (Deut 32:8–9, Septuagint, Brenton). The Douay, with the Vulgate and the Hebrew, reads that God "appointed the bounds of people according to the number of the children of Israel." Clement of Rome quotes the Greek form (*1 Clem.* 29), and Justin, arguing with Trypho from the Hebrew, notes: "The Seventy have translated it, 'He set the bounds of the nations according to the number of the angels of God' " (*Dial.* 131). Clement of Alexandria teaches that "by an ancient and divine order the angels are distributed among the nations. But the glory of those who believe is 'the Lord's portion' " (*Strom.* VII.2). Origen reads the verse with the tower of Babel: the nations "are called a part of the angels," handed over at the dispersion to the angels who led them to their lands (*De principiis* I.5.2; *C. Cels.* V.29–30; see §4.7). Basil joins the Song to Daniel's princes of Persia and of the Greeks: some angels are set over whole nations, one angel rules and another is subject, and all are angels by nature (*Adversus Eunomium* III.1, PG 29).

Eusebius draws the Christological consequence. The nations "were distributed among the invisible guardians of the nations, that is the angels, by the decision of the Most High God, and His secret counsel unknown to us. Whereas to One beyond comparison with them, the Head and King of the Universe, I mean to Christ Himself, as being the Only-begotten Son, was handed over that part of humanity denominated Jacob and Israel" (*Demonstratio evangelica* IV.7). Irenaeus and Hilary read the same verse of the Gospel's going out to the nations. Paul at Athens preached one God who made one race of men, "as also Moses declared," and "that people which believes in God is not now under the power of angels, but under the Lord's [rule]" (Irenaeus, *Adv. haer.* III.12.9). Hilary, on the promise "I will give thee the Gentiles for thy inheritance" (Ps 2:8), says that the nations baptized and taught are *non iam secundum diuinam illam Moysi cantionem angelorum dominatui deditae neque secundum eorundem numerum diuisae, sed in*

dominicam familiam susceptae: no longer given over to the rule of angels according to Moses' divine song, nor divided by their number, but taken into the Lord's household (*Tract. in Ps.* 2.31).

Dionysius gives the verse its place in the hierarchy. The lowest order has charge of men, and so "the Word of God has assigned our Hierarchy to Angels, by naming Michael as Ruler of the Jewish people, and others over other nations. For the Most High established borders of nations according to number of Angels of God" (*CH* 9.2; Dan 10:13, 21). He at once excludes a reading the verse might seem to allow. If the nations went after false gods, "we ought not to throw the blame of the other nations wandering after those which are no gods upon the direct guidance of the Angels, but ... they themselves, by their own declension, fell away" (*CH* 9.3); and "never must we think that the Godhead is leader of Jews by lot, and that Angels, independently, or as of equal rank, or in opposition, or that certain other gods, preside over the other nations." There is one Providence over all, and "all the Angels who preside over each nation, elevate, as far as possible, those who follow them with a willing mind, to It as their proper Head" (*CH* 9.4; see §6.9). Aquinas receives the teaching through the order of Principalities, "who, as presiding over the government of peoples and kingdoms (which occupies the first and principal place in the Divine ministrations), are the first in the execution thereof" (*ST* I q. 108 a. 6), and he holds with Gregory that "the prince of the kingdom of Persia was a good angel appointed to the guardianship of that kingdom" (*ST* I q. 113 a. 8; see §15.1, §17.5). The Catechism teaches the same of the nations after Babel, "each entrusted by divine providence to the guardianship of angels," and cites for it the Septuagint of Deut 32:8 (CCC 57).

The angels of God before the Lord (Job 1:6; 2:1; 38:7). Where the Hebrew and the Douay say that "the sons of God came to stand before the Lord, Satan also was present among them," the Greek reads: "behold, the angels of God came to stand before the Lord, and the devil came with them" (Job 1:6, Septuagint; so also 2:1). Aquinas reads the Latin text in the Greek's sense: Satan "is not described as having assisted, but as present among the assistants," having kept "a nature like to the angels" (*ST* I q. 112 a. 3 ad 3, with Gregory). At the founding of the world the Douay hears that "the morning stars praised me together, and all the sons of God made a joyful melody" (Job 38:7); the Greek reads, "When the stars were made, all my angels praised me with a loud voice." The Greek verse became the Fathers' chief argument for the time of the angels' creation, and they drew opposite conclusions from it. Augustine: since the angels praised God when the stars were made on the fourth day, "The angels therefore existed before the stars," and being among the works of the six days they are "that light which was called 'Day' " (*De civ. Dei* XI.9). Cassian's Abbot Serenus: "Those then who were present at the creation of the stars, are most clearly proved to have been created before that 'beginning' in which it is said that heaven and earth were made" (*Conl.* VIII.7; see §5.7). Aquinas records both opinions: the Greek Fathers "all ... hold the creation of the angels to have taken place previously to that of the corporeal world," while the more probable opinion holds that they were created with it, for "the angels are part of the universe"; the contrary "is not to be deemed erroneous" (*ST* I q. 61 a. 3; see §12.1). The Fourth Lateran Council confesses that God *simul ab initio temporis utramque de nihilo condidit creaturam, spiritualem et corporalem, angelicam videlicet et mundanam* (DS 800).

At Gen 6:2 the Greek manuscripts divide: Brenton's text has "the sons of God," and he notes that the Alexandrine manuscript reads "angels of God." Augustine knew the variation: "The Septuagint indeed calls them both angels of God and sons of God, though all the copies do not show this, some having only the name 'sons of God' " (*De civ. Dei* XV.23). On this reading the Watchers' history turns (§3.2).

The worship of the angels given to the Son. The Greek Song of Moses ends, "let all the angels of God worship him" (Deut 32:43, Septuagint), and the Greek Psalter has "worship him, all ye his angels" (Ps 96[97]:7); Hebrews takes the words of the Son's entry into the world: "And let all the angels of God adore him" (Heb 1:6). The Vulgate Psalter, following the Greek, keeps the angels where the Hebrew speaks of God or the mighty: man was made "a little less than the angels" (Ps 8:6; Heb 2:7); in the desert "Man ate the bread of angels" (Ps 77[78]:25; Wis 16:20); "I will sing praise to thee in the sight of the angels" (Ps 137[138]:1). From this last verse Benedict gives his monks their rule of psalmody: *In conspectu angelorum psallam tibi. Ergo consideremus qualiter oporteat in conspectu Divinitatis et angelorum eius esse*, and so stand to sing that the mind agrees with the voice (*Regula* 19).

The Law given through angels (Deut 33:2). Where the Douay reads that the Lord came from Sinai with "In his right hand a fiery law," the Greek has "on his right hand were his angels with him" (Deut 33:2, Septuagint). The New Testament teaches that Israel "received the law by the disposition of angels" (Acts 7:53), "ordained by angels in the hand of a mediator" (Gal 3:19), "the word spoken by angels" (Heb 2:2). On these texts Aquinas determines

that "God made the Law by His own authority, but He promulgated it through the angels," while the perfect law was given by "the incarnate God immediately" (*ST* I-II q. 98 a. 3 and ad 3).

The Angel of great counsel (Isa 9:6; 63:9). Where the Douay names the Child "Wonderful, Counsellor, God the Mighty," the Greek reads, "his name is called the Messenger of great counsel" (Isa 9:6, Septuagint; *megalēs boulēs angelos*). Justin counts "the Angel of great counsel" among the titles of Christ (*Dial.* 126), and Origen answers Celsus that the prophecy calls Jesus "not simply an angel, but the 'Angel of the great counsel:' for He announced to men the great counsel of the God and Father of all things" (*C. Cels.* V.53). At Isa 63:9, where the Douay reads that "the angel of his presence saved them," the Greek has "not an ambassador, nor a messenger, but himself saved them," and Irenaeus reads it of the Incarnation: not a mere man "nor [one] without flesh—for the angels are without flesh" was to save us, but "the Lord Himself" (*Adv. haer.* III.20.4).

The furnace and the watcher. The Greek portion of Daniel, which the Vulgate carries, adds to the story of the three young men that "the angel of the Lord went down with Azarias and his companions into the furnace," and the king blesses the God "who hath sent his angel, and delivered his servants" (Dan 3:49, 95). In their canticle the young men call the angels to praise next after the heavens: "O ye angels of the Lord, bless the Lord: praise and exalt him above all for ever" (Dan 3:58). Augustine proves from it that the angels are God's works: among the works called to bless the Lord, "the angels are named" (*De civ. Dei* XI.9).

In Nabuchodonosor's dream the Aramaic chapters of Daniel give the angels a name of their own: "behold a watcher, and a holy one came down from heaven"; the sentence on the king is "the decree by the sentence of the watchers" (Dan 4:10, 14 [4:13, 17]). Jerome explains the word. For *vigil* Theodotion kept the Aramaic itself, *ir*, which *significat autem angelos quod semper vigilent; et ad Dei imperium sint parati. Unde et nos crebris pernoctationibus imitamur angelorum officia*: it signifies the angels, because they are ever wakeful and ready at God's command; and so we too, by frequent night vigils, imitate the office of the angels (*In Dan.* 4:10). Watcher is the name the Enochic books give to the angels, holy and fallen alike.

3.2 The Books of Enoch and the Watchers

The Book of Enoch gathers under the name of the patriarch who "walked with God" (Gen 5:24) the vision of the heavenly court, the fall of the Watchers and their judgment, Enoch's journeys through heaven and Sheol, and the parables of the judgment to come.[2] The Epistle of Jude quotes it: "Now of these Enoch also, the seventh from Adam, prophesied, saying: Behold, the Lord cometh with thousands of his saints: To execute judgment upon all" (Jude 14–15). The prophecy stands at the head of the book: "And behold! He cometh with ten thousands of His holy ones To execute judgement upon all, And to destroy all the ungodly" (1 En 1:9). Jude's "angels who kept not their principality but forsook their own habitation," reserved "under darkness in everlasting chains, unto the judgment of the great day" (Jude 6), and Peter's angels "drawn down by infernal ropes to the lower hell ... to be reserved unto judgment" (2 Pet 2:4) speak in the book's terms of darkness, bonds, and judgment; Augustine refers them to the first fall of the devil and his angels (*De civ. Dei* XV.23). The Council of Trent received Jude among the canonical books (DS 1503); the Book of Enoch the Church did not receive, and the Fathers weighed it each by his own judgment.

The fall of the Watchers (1 En 6–8). The Book of the Watchers tells the history of Gen 6:1–4 as a history of angels. "And the angels, the children of the heaven, saw and lusted after them, and said to one another: 'Come, let us choose us wives from among the children of men and beget us children' " (1 En 6:2). Their leader Semjâzâ fears to bear the penalty alone, and they bind themselves by an oath: "they were in all two hundred; who descended in the days of Jared on the summit of Mount Hermon, and they called it Mount Hermon, because they had sworn and bound themselves by mutual imprecations upon it" (6:6). They took wives and taught them charms, enchantments, and the cutting of roots, and the women bore giants who devoured the labour of men and at last men themselves (7:1–5). Azâzêl "taught men to make swords, and knives, and shields, and breastplates, and made known to them the metals of the earth and the art of working them, and bracelets, and ornaments, and the use of antimony, and the beautifying of the eyelids"; others taught astrology and the signs of sun and moon (8:1–3).

[2]English of 1 Enoch from R. H. Charles, *The Book of Enoch* (London: SPCK, 1917), with the translator's critical signs omitted.

The judgment of the Watchers (1 En 9–16). Michael, Uriel, Raphael, and Gabriel look down and see the blood shed on the earth, and they carry the cry of men before God: "to you, the holy ones of heaven, the souls of men make their suit, saying, 'Bring our cause before the Most High' " (9:1–3). God answers by his archangels. Raphael is to "Bind Azâzêl hand and foot, and cast him into the darkness," where he will lie until "the day of the great judgement" when "he shall be cast into the fire" (10:4–6); Gabriel is sent against the giants; Michael is to bind Semjâzâ and his fellows "fast for seventy generations in the valleys of the earth, till the day of their judgement" (10:11–12). Enoch is sent to "the Watchers of the heaven who have left the high heaven, the holy eternal place, and have defiled themselves with women" (12:4). They beg him to intercede, and God's answer states the order they broke: "You should intercede for men, and not men for you" (15:2). "But you were formerly spiritual, living the eternal life, and immortal for all generations of the world. And therefore I have not appointed wives for you; for as for the spiritual ones of the heaven, in heaven is their dwelling" (15:6–7). Of the giants' spirits the book says, "the giants, who are produced from the spirits and flesh, shall be called evil spirits upon the earth, and on the earth shall be their dwelling" (15:8). The fallen "have been in heaven, but all the mysteries had not yet been revealed to" them, and what they knew they "made known to the women" (16:3). Uriel shows Enoch the place where the angels who joined themselves to women shall stand, whose "spirits assuming many different forms are defiling mankind and shall lead them astray into sacrificing to demons as gods" (19:1).

The holy Watchers. The same book shows the unfallen angels in their service. Before the throne of the Great Glory "ten thousand times ten thousand (stood) before Him, yet He needed no counselor. And the most holy ones who were nigh to Him did not leave by night nor depart from Him" (14:22–23; Dan 7:10). In the Parables the court sings the song of Isaias: "Those who sleep not bless Thee: they stand before Thy glory and bless, praise, and extol, saying: 'Holy, holy, holy, is the Lord of Spirits: He filleth the earth with spirits' " (39:12; Isa 6:3). Around the throne are "Seraphin, Cherubic, and Ophannin: And these are they who sleep not And guard the throne of His glory" (71:7), and with them God summons "all the angels of power, and all the angels of principalities" (61:10), names that stand beside the Apostle's (Col 1:16). Four presences surround the Lord, one of whom intercedes for those on earth and another fends off "the Satans" from accusing them: "This first is Michael, the merciful and long-suffering: and the second, who is set over all the diseases and all the wounds of the children of men, is Raphael: and the third, who is set over all the powers, is Gabriel: and the fourth, who is set over the repentance unto hope of those who inherit eternal life, is named Phanuel" (40:6–9). The righteous are promised that God "will appoint guardians from amongst the holy angels To guard them as the apple of an eye" (100:5).

The Fathers who received the Watchers. The second-century apologists tell the fall of the angels in the book's terms, without naming it. Justin teaches that God "committed the care of men and of all things under heaven to angels whom He appointed over them. But the angels transgressed this appointment, and were captivated by love of women, and begat children who are those that are called demons" (*2 Apol.* 5). Athenagoras, who says "we say nothing without witnesses, but state the things which have been declared by the prophets," tells of angels who "fell into impure love of virgins" and begot the giants (*Legatio* 24), and distinguishes, as Enoch does (1 En 15:8–16:1), the fallen angels, who "haunt the air and the earth," from "the souls of the giants, which are the demons who wander about the world" (*Leg.* 25). Irenaeus knows Enoch's embassy to the Watchers (1 En 12–16): Enoch "discharged the office of God's legate to the angels although he was a man ... because the angels when they had transgressed fell to the earth for judgment" (*Adv. haer.* IV.16.2; cf. IV.36.4). Clement of Alexandria gives the Enochic account of the secrets: "the angels who had obtained the superior rank, having sunk into pleasures, told to the women the secrets which had come to their knowledge; while the rest of the angels concealed them, or rather, kept them against the coming of the Lord" (*Strom.* V.1; 1 En 16:3), and in his notes on Jude he takes the Apostle's words as confirming the prophecy (*Adumbr. in Iud.*).

Tertullian names the book and defends it. The ornaments of women were first given by "those angels, to wit, who rushed from heaven on the daughters of men," who "had laid bare the operations of metallurgy, and had divulged the natural properties of herbs, and had promulgated the powers of enchantments, and had traced out every curious art, even to the interpretation of the stars" (*De cultu feminarum* I.2; 1 En 8:1–3). To those who refuse "the Scripture of Enoch" because the Jewish canon does not admit it, he answers that "since Enoch in the same Scripture has preached likewise concerning the Lord, nothing at all must be rejected by us which pertains to us," and that "Enoch possesses a testimony in the Apostle Jude" (*De cultu fem.* I.3). Against idolatry he quotes it twice: "Enoch had preceded, predicting that 'the demons, and the spirits of the angelic apostates, would turn into idolatry all the elements ... that they might be consecrated as God, in opposition to God' "; and again, "Ye who serve stones, and ye who make images of gold, and silver, and wood, and stones and clay, and serve phantoms, and demons, and spirits in fanes ...

shall find no help from them" (*De idololatria* 4; 1 En 19:1; 99:7). The astrologers are condemned with "those angels, the deserters from God, the lovers of women," who "were likewise the discoverers of this curious art" (*De idol.* 9), and the Apostle's "because of the angels" (1 Cor 11:10) means "those, to wit, whom we read of as having fallen from God and heaven on account of concupiscence after females" (*De virginibus velandis* 7; see §5.1). Cyprian repeats the teaching of the arts: "All which things sinning and apostate angels put forth by their arts, when ... they forsook their heavenly vigour. They taught them also to paint the eyes with blackness drawn round them in a circle" (*De habitu virginum* 14).

Lactantius gives the fullest Latin form, with the good beginning that Jubilees also tells (§3.3). God *misit angelos ad tutelam cultumque generis humani*, "sent angels for the protection and improvement of the human race; and inasmuch as He had given these a free will, He enjoined them above all things not to defile themselves with contamination from the earth." The devil enticed them by women, and their offspring, "neither angels nor men," were admitted neither to heaven nor to hell: "Thus there came to be two kinds of demons; one of heaven, the other of the earth" (*Div. Inst.* II.14, CSEL; II.15 in ANF). Sulpicius Severus still tells it in his *Chronica* (I.2).

The Fathers who weighed the book. Origen cites Enoch and hesitates over him. Jared was born "as it is written in the Book of Enoch—if any one cares to accept that book as sacred—in the days when the sons of God came down to the daughters of men" (*Comm. in Io.* VI.25; 1 En 6:6); against Celsus he notes that "the books which bear the name Enoch do not at all circulate in the Churches as divine" (*C. Cels.* V.54). Hilary knows the oath on Hermon and the meaning Enoch gives the name. *Hermon* is interpreted *anathema*, and *fertur autem id, de quo etiam nescio cuius liber extat, quod angeli concupiscentes filias hominum, cum de caelo descenderent, in hunc montem maxime excelsum conuenerint*: it is related, and some book exists about it, that the angels who desired the daughters of men came together on this highest mountain when they descended from heaven. He goes no further: *sed haec praetermittamus. quae enim libro legis non continentur, ea nec nosse debemus* (*Tract. in Ps.* 132.6). Jerome records that Jude's letter "because in it he quotes from the apocryphal book of Enoch it is rejected by many. Nevertheless by age and use it has gained authority and is reckoned among the Holy Scriptures" (*De viris illustribus* 4).

The Fathers who set the Watchers aside. From the third century the reading of Gen 6 as a history of angels gives way to the reading of the sons of God as the line of Seth. Julius Africanus holds that "the descendants of Seth are called the sons of God on account of the righteous men and patriarchs who have sprung from him"; if angels are meant, "we must take them to be those who deal with magic and jugglery, who taught the women the motions of the stars" (*Chronographia*, fragment 2). Chrysostom sets out to overturn what he calls the tales of those who speak without examination. He challenges them to show where angels are called sons of God: Scripture, he says, gives the name to men (Ps 81[82]:6; Isa 1:2; Exod 4:22), never to angels. If they say the angels fell by this very act, Scripture teaches that the devil and his host fell before the first man was formed, since "by the envy of the devil, death came into the world" (Wis 2:24); and the bodiless nature could not receive such desire, for in the resurrection "they shall neither marry nor be married, but shall be as the angels of God in heaven" (Matt 22:30). The sons of God are those descended from Seth and from Enos, of whom it is written that he "began to call upon the name of the Lord" (Gen 4:26); the daughters of men are those of Cain's line (*Hom. in Gen.* 22.2–3).

Augustine gives the Latin Church its settled reading: "certainly I could by no means believe that God's holy angels could at that time have so fallen," and the angels that sinned of 2 Pet 2:4 are rather "these who first apostatized from God, along with their chief the devil" (*De civ. Dei* XV.23). Of the book he says: *Scripsisse quidem nonnulla divine illum Enoch, septimum ab Adam, negare non possumus, cum hoc in epistula canonica Iudas apostolus dicat*, "We cannot deny that Enoch, the seventh from Adam, left some divine writings, for this is asserted by the Apostle Jude in his canonical epistle"; but "the writings which are produced under his name, and which contain these fables about the giants, saying that their fathers were not men, are properly judged by prudent men to be not genuine" (*De civ. Dei* XV.23). They are not rejected "because the authority of these men who pleased God is rejected, but because they are not believed to be theirs" (XVIII.38). Cassian's Serenus holds that "spiritual existences" cannot "have carnal intercourse with women," and reads the sons of God as Seth's holy line, called " 'angels of God,' or as some copies have it 'sons of God' "; the corrupt arts came through the daughters of Cain and were carried past the Flood by Ham, "In this way then that common notion, according to which men believe that angels delivered to men enchantments and diverse arts, is in truth fulfilled" (*Conl.* VIII.21). The arts are still the devils' teaching, taught through men.

Aquinas and the Church. Aquinas answers the objection from Gen 6:4 in Augustine's words, "God's holy angels could not fall in such fashion before the deluge. Hence by the sons of God are to be understood the sons of

Seth" (*ST* I q. 51 a. 3 ad 6; see §9.1). The Church confesses that *Diabolus enim et alii daemones a Deo quidem natura creati sunt boni, sed ipsi per se facti sunt mali* (Lateran IV, DS 800): the demons are angels fallen by their own will, not wicked by nature (*ST* I q. 63 a. 4), and their sin was of the kind that belongs to a spirit, for "a spiritual nature cannot be affected by such pleasures as appertain to bodies" (*ST* I q. 63 a. 2; see §13). The Watchers' history supplied the Fathers with much that remains. The fallen are held in darkness until the judgment (1 En 10:4–6, 12; Jude 6; 2 Pet 2:4), and Aquinas teaches that the darksome atmosphere is their prison "until the judgment day," while "some of them are even now in hell" (*ST* I q. 64 a. 4, with Augustine; see §13.2). The demons draw men to worship them as gods (1 En 19:1; 99:7), for "all the gods of the Gentiles are devils" (Ps 95[96]:5; 1 Cor 10:20). The holy angels carry the prayers of men (1 En 9:3; 40:6), as Raphael does (Tob 12:12) and the angel with the golden censer (Apoc 8:3–4). The righteous have guardians from among the holy angels (1 En 100:5), as the little ones have angels who "always see the face of my Father" (Matt 18:10; *ST* I q. 113 a. 2; see §17.5). The unions with women, the giants, and the demons born of them the Fathers after Augustine set aside.

3.3 Jubilees, the Little Genesis

The Book of Jubilees retells Genesis and the beginning of Exodus as a revelation given to Moses on Sinai by "the angel of the presence," who dictates the history "from the beginning of creation" (Jub 1:27; 2:1). It reached the Fathers in Greek as the *Little Genesis*.[3] Epiphanius takes from it the names of the wives of Cain and Seth, naming the book *ta Iōbēlaia*, which he says is also called the Little Genesis (*Panarion* 39.6.1, PG 41). Jerome, glossing a word of Numbers, finds it nowhere in the Hebrew Scriptures *absque libro apocrypho, qui a Graecis ... id est parva Genesis, appellatur* (*Ep.* 78, eighteenth station, PL 22).

The angels on the first day (Jub 2:2–3). Jubilees gives the angels' creation a day: "For on the first day He created the heavens which are above and the earth and the waters and all the spirits which serve before Him—the angels of the presence, and the angels of sanctification, and the angels [of the spirit of fire and the angels] of the spirit of the winds, and the angels of the spirit of the clouds, and of darkness, and of snow and of hail and of hoar frost, and the angels of the voices and of the thunder and of the lightning, and the angels of the spirits of cold and of heat, and of winter and of spring and of autumn and of summer, and of all the spirits of His creatures which are in the heavens and on the earth ..." (Jub 2:2). The angels are witnesses of the rest of the work: "And thereupon we saw His works, and praised Him, and lauded before Him on account of all His works; for seven great works did He create on the first day" (Jub 2:3), the image of the Septuagint's Job (Job 38:7). Epiphanius carries the list into Christian teaching without naming the book: the holy measure is the twenty-two works of the six days, and on the first God made the upper heavens, the earth, the waters, and *ta pneumata ta leitourgounta enōpion autou*, the spirits that minister before him, angels of the presence and of glory, of winds and clouds, of snow and hail, of thunders and lightnings, of cold, heat, and the seasons, seven greatest works in all (*De mensuris et ponderibus* 22, PG 43; Jub 2:2–3, 23). Augustine reaches the first day from Scripture alone (*De civ. Dei* XI.9), and Aquinas holds as more probable that the angels were created with the corporeal world (*ST* I q. 61 a. 3).

The angels of wind, cloud, and season answer to the angels whom the Fathers set over the elements (Athenagoras, *Leg.* 24; see §4.4); Aquinas teaches that as the lower angels are ruled by the higher, "so are all corporeal things ruled by the angels," and adds, "This is not only laid down by the holy doctors, but also by all philosophers who admit the existence of incorporeal substances" (*ST* I q. 110 a. 1; see §16). The angel of the presence "who went before the camp of Israel" dictates the Law's history to Moses (Jub 1:29; Exod 14:19), in agreement with the Greek of Deut 33:2 and with the New Testament that the Law came through angels (*ST* I-II q. 98 a. 3).

The Watchers sent for good (Jub 4:15, 22; 5:1–10). Jubilees places the Watchers' coming in the days of Jared, like Enoch, but gives it a good beginning: "in his days the angels of the Lord descended on the earth, those who are named the Watchers, that they should instruct the children of men, and that they should do judgment and uprightness on the earth" (4:15). Enoch "was moreover with the angels of God these six jubilees of years," and "he testified to the Watchers, who had sinned with the daughters of men" (4:21–22). Against the angels "whom He had sent upon the earth" God commanded "to root them out of all their dominion, and He bade us to bind them in the depths of the earth" until "the day of the great condemnation" (5:6, 10). Justin and Lactantius give the same order

[3]English from R. H. Charles, *The Book of Jubilees or the Little Genesis* (London: SPCK, 1917), translated from the Ethiopic.

of events, the angels first appointed to the care of men and fallen in that charge (*2 Apol.* 5; *Div. Inst.* II.14), and Irenaeus's Enoch testifies to the angels as God's legate (*Adv. haer.* IV.16.2), though none of them names Jubilees.

Mastema and the tenth part (Jub 10:1–11; 17:16; 48). After the Flood the unclean demons lead Noah's grandchildren astray, and Noah prays that they be bound, "for Thou alone canst exercise dominion over them" (10:6). "The chief of the spirits, Mastêmâ," asks that some remain, "for if some of them are not left to me, I shall not be able to execute the power of my will on the sons of men"; God answers, "Let the tenth part of them remain before him, and let nine parts descend into the place of condemnation" (10:8–9). "The prince Mastêmâ" proposes the testing of Abraham, as Satan asks for Job (17:16; Job 1:9–12), and he strengthens Pharaoh's sorcerers, but the angel says, "The evils indeed we permitted them to work, but the remedies we did not allow to be wrought by their hands" (48:10). The book teaches that the power of the evil spirits is permitted, limited, and ordered by God. Aquinas teaches the same of the demons' assault: "The assault itself is due to the malice of the demons ... But the ordering of the assault is from God, Who knows how to make orderly use of evil by ordering it to good" (*ST* I q. 114 a. 1); and of their place, that until the judgment "the demons are in this dark atmosphere for our trial: although some of them are even now in hell" (*ST* I q. 64 a. 4). Aquinas draws the same division between the spirits bound and those left for man's trial from Augustine and the order of providence.

The nations and their spirits (Jub 15:31–32). Jubilees reads the division of the nations otherwise than the Septuagint: "over all hath He placed spirits in authority to lead them astray from Him. But over Israel He did not appoint any angel or spirit, for He alone is their ruler, and He will preserve them and require them at the hand of His angels" (15:31–32). The Fathers who read Deut 32:8 in the Greek hold the contrary on both points. Dionysius denies that the nations' wandering is to be laid "upon the direct guidance of the Angels" and teaches that the angels of the nations lead their peoples toward the one God (*CH* 9.3–4); Scripture and Dionysius give Israel an angelic prince, Michael (Dan 10:21; 12:1; *CH* 9.2); Eusebius gives Israel to the Word himself (*Dem. evang.* IV.7). The Catechism teaches with the Greek Song that the nations are entrusted "to the guardianship of angels" (CCC 57), and Aquinas that their princes are good angels executing God's judgments (*ST* I q. 113 a. 8).

3.4 The Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs

The *Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs* give the dying counsels of the twelve sons of Jacob. The book reached the Church in a Greek text that names Christ in many places; Sinker, its translator for the Ante-Nicene library, judged its author a Jew converted to Christianity.[4] Origen cites it by name: *Sed et in aliquo quodam libello, qui appellatur testamentum duodecim patriarcharum, quamvis non habeatur in canone, talem tamen quendam invenimus sensum, quod per singulos peccantes singuli Satanae intelligi debeant*; in a little book called the Testament of the Twelve Patriarchs, though it is not in the canon, we find the sense that for each sinner a satan is to be understood (*Hom. in Iesu Nave* 15.6, GCS 7).

The heavens and their ranks (T. Levi 2–5). Levi is taken up through seven heavens. The lower hold the instruments of judgment, the higher are holy: "In the heaven next to it are the angels of the presence of the Lord, who minister and make propitiation to the Lord for all the ignorances of the righteous; and they offer to the Lord a reasonable sweet-smelling savour, and a bloodless offering ... And in the heaven next to this are thrones, dominions, in which hymns are ever offered to God" (T. Levi 3). The angels are ranked, the highest nearest God, their service is worship, and among the ranks are the Apostle's thrones and dominions (Col 1:16). The offering of the angels of the presence answers to the angel of the Apocalypse who offers "the prayers of all saints" (Apoc 8:3). Origen gives the same service in Christian terms: the angels "ascend, bearing the supplications of men, to the purest of the heavenly places in the universe," and descend with God's gifts; yet "every prayer, and supplication, and intercession, and thanksgiving, is to be sent up to the Supreme God through the High Priest, who is above all the angels, the living Word and God" (*C. Cels.* V.4).

The angel who intercedes (T. Levi 5; T. Dan 6). The angel who leads Levi names himself: "I am the angel who intercedeth for the race of Israel, that He smite them not utterly, because every evil spirit attacketh it"

[4]English from R. Sinker's translation, *Ante-Nicene Fathers* vol. 8 (American edition, 1886), cited by testament and chapter.

(T. Levi 5). Dan bids his sons "draw near unto God, and to the Angel that intercedeth for you, for He is a Mediator between God and man for the peace of Israel. He shall stand up against the kingdom of the enemy" (T. Dan 6). The office of the intercessor is Michael's in Daniel (Dan 12:1) and in Hermas (*Sim.* VIII.3; see §4.2). The name of Mediator the Church gives to Christ alone: "there is one God: and one mediator of God and men, the man Christ Jesus" (1 Tim 2:5). Aquinas makes the verse the *sed contra* that mediation is proper to Christ, and grants the angels a share in it only as ministers: they "fulfill the office of mediator, not indeed principally and perfectively, but ministerially and dispositively" (*ST* III q. 26 a. 1 and ad 2, where he cites Augustine, *De civ. Dei* IX.13). The Testaments' intercessor is received as the ministering angel of Israel and corrected where the name Mediator would place him beside the Son.

The two spirits and the spirits of error. "Two spirits wait upon man—the spirit of truth and the spirit of error; and in the midst is the spirit of the understanding of the mind, to which it belongeth to turn whithersoever it will" (T. Judah 20). A man's end shows whether he knew "the angels of the Lord from the angels of Satan," for the soul that served evil "is tormented by the evil spirit," but if "it hath known the angel of peace, it shall comfort him in life" (T. Asher 6). "The mind of the good man is not in the power of the deceit of the spirit of Beliar, for the angel of peace guideth his soul" (T. Benjamin 6). Reuben counts "seven spirits of error," first "the spirit of fornication" (T. Reuben 2–3). The Fathers carried these teachings. Hermas taught that "There are two angels with a man—one of righteousness, and the other of iniquity" (*Mand.* VI.2), and Cassian's Serenus, citing Hermas with Matt 18:10, teaches that "two angels, a good and a bad one, cling to each one of us" (*Conl.* VIII.17). Origen, in the homily that names the Testaments, teaches that the adverse spirits are ranked by the vices: *est aliqui fornicationis spiritus, est et irae; spiritus alius est avaritiae, alius vero superbiae*, a spirit of fornication, of anger, of avarice, of pride; each kind has one prince, *innumeros vero esse, qui in hoc ei officio pareant*, and innumerable spirits who obey him in that office; and above them all stands one prince of all wickedness (*Hom. in Iesu Nave* 15.5). Aquinas receives the order of the assault and corrects its extent. The demons "through pride usurp a semblance of Divine power, by deputing certain ministers to assail man, as the angels of God in their various offices minister to man's salvation" (*ST* I q. 114 a. 1); yet the devil is the direct cause of some sins only, "for all sins are not committed at the devil's instigation, but some are due to the free-will and the corruption of the flesh," as Origen himself teaches (*ST* I q. 114 a. 3, citing *Peri Archon* III; see §18.2). The good angel who guides the soul is the guardian angel of the Church's teaching (*ST* I q. 113 aa. 1–2).

The Testaments also keep the Watchers. The women "allured the Watchers before the flood," who "changed themselves into the shape of men" (T. Reuben 5), and "the Watchers changed the order of their nature, whom also the Lord cursed at the flood" (T. Naphtali 3; see §3.2).

3.5 The Seven Who Stand before God

Tobias and the Books of the Machabees are Scripture for the Church, and their angels are expounded with the canon (§1). One teaching of Tobias meets the Enochic books. Raphael names his rank: "For I am the angel Raphael, one of the seven, who stand before the Lord" (Tob 12:15). The Greek of Tobias adds their office: the seven holy angels present the prayers of the saints and go in and out before the glory of the Holy One (Tob 12:15, Greek). John sees "seven angels standing in the presence of God" (Apoc 8:2). Enoch names seven "holy angels who watch": Uriel, "over the world and over Tartarus"; Raphael, "over the spirits of men"; Raguel; Michael, "set over the best part of mankind"; Saraqâêl; Gabriel, "over Paradise and the serpents and the Cherubim"; and Remiel (1 En 20:1–8). Clement of Alexandria teaches that "The first-born princes of the angels, who have the greatest power, are seven" (*Strom.* VI.16). Origen ascribes to three of them the offices Enoch gives: "to Raphael ... the work of curing and healing; to Gabriel, the conduct of wars; to Michael, the duty of attending to the prayers and supplications of mortals" (*De princ.* I.8.1; 1 En 40:9), though he grounds the offices in merit earned before the world (see §4.7). Gregory holds that the angels take their names from their ministries when they come to us, *apud nos etiam nomina a ministeriis trahunt* (*Hom. in Ev.* 34.8–9; see §1).

The names Enoch adds did not enter the Church's prayer. In 745 the Roman synod under Pope Zachary heard read the prayer of Aldebert, which invoked eight angels by name, beginning with Uriel and Raguel; the bishops answered that, Michael excepted, Aldebert had invoked demons under the names of angels, and that *non plus quam trium angelorum nomina cognoscimus, id est Michael, Gabriel, Raphael* (Concilium Romanum, a. 745, MGH *Concilia* II.1, pp. 42–43). The *Directory on Popular Piety and the Liturgy* (2001) repeats the rule: "The practice of assigning names to the Holy Angels should be discouraged, except in the cases of Gabriel, Raphael and Michael whose names are contained in Holy Scripture" (no. 217). The seven are Scripture's; of their names the Church keeps three (see Appendix J; §23).

3.6 Philo of Alexandria

Philo, the Jewish philosopher of Alexandria and a contemporary of the Apostles, expounded the Law of Moses in the language of the Greek schools, and the Fathers read him. Clement names "the Pythagorean Philo" as a witness to the antiquity of the Hebrews' philosophy (*Strom.* I.15); Origen holds that the allegorists of the Law, Philo among them, "have so successfully hit the meaning (of the sacred writers), that even Grecian philosophers would have been captivated" (*C. Cels.* IV.51); Jerome places him "among the ecclesiastical writers" and lists among his works "Concerning the confusion of tongues," "Concerning giants," and "That dreams are sent by God" (*De vir. ill.* 11).[5] These are the treatises in which he speaks of the angels.

Angels, daemons, and souls. On Gen 6:2, which he reads "the angels of God," Philo writes: "Those beings, whom other philosophers call demons, Moses usually calls angels; and they are souls hovering in the air" (*De gigantibus* 6). Some souls descend into bodies; others the Creator employs "as hand-maidens and servants in the administration of mortal affairs" (12), the good among them "ambassadors of man to God, and of God to man, and sacred and holy on account of this blameless and most excellent office" (16). On Jacob's ladder he says of the purest souls: "philosophers in general are wont to call these demons, but the sacred scripture calls them angels, using a name more in accordance with nature. For indeed they do report (*diangellousi*) the injunctions of the father to his children, and the necessities of the children to the father." They ascend and descend "not because God ... has any need of interpreters; but because it is the lot of us miserable mortals to use speech as a mediator and intercessor" (*De somniis* I.141–142; cf. *De plantatione* 14).

The Fathers received the teaching that the angels are named by their office. Origen: "Having thus learned to call these beings 'angels' from their employments, we find that because they are divine they are sometimes termed 'god' in the sacred Scriptures, but not so that we are commanded to honour and worship in place of God those who minister to us" (*C. Cels.* V.4). Augustine gives it its classic form: *Angelus enim officii nomen est, non naturae* (*Enarr. in Ps.* 103, s. 1, 15; see §1). Philo's making of angels, daemons, and souls one kind the Church rejects. Aquinas reports that Origen "held that human souls and angels are all of the same species" (*ST* I q. 75 a. 7, citing *Peri Archon* III.5); the canons against Origen issued at Constantinople in 543 anathematize whoever says *praeexsistere hominum animas, utpote quae antea mentes fuerint et sanctae virtutes*, that men's souls pre-existed as minds and holy powers and were sent into bodies for punishment (DS 403); and Aquinas determines that soul and angel differ in species, since in incorporeal substances "there cannot be diversity of number without diversity of species" (*ST* I q. 75 a. 7). Origen remembers Philo's reading of Gen 6 without naming him: "even before us there was one who referred this narrative to the doctrine regarding souls, which became possessed with a desire for the corporeal life of men" (*C. Cels.* V.55).

The king and his powers. Philo explains the plurals of "Let us make man" and "Come, let us go down and confuse" by God's powers. God is one, but "has about him an unspeakable number of powers"; in the air is "a most sacred company of incorporeal souls ... for the word of prophecy is accustomed to call these souls angels," marshalled "in their suitable ranks" as "servants and ministers of the ruler" (*De confusione linguarum* 171–174). "It is suitable to the character of the king to associate with his own powers," though "the Father of the universe has no need of anything" (175). Aquinas gives the ministry of the angels a deeper reason. God governs all things immediately in the design of his providence, but in its execution "He governs some things by means of others," because "it is a greater perfection for a thing to be good in itself and also the cause of goodness in others"; and "That an earthly king should have ministers to execute his laws is a sign not only of his being imperfect, but also of his dignity" (*ST* I q. 103 a. 6 and ad 3; see §16). Philo grounds the ministry in God's dignity and man's weakness, Aquinas in the communication of God's goodness.

Whether the angels made man. Philo goes further: "Very appropriately therefore has God attributed the creation of this being, man, to his lieutenants, saying, 'Let us make man,' in order that the successes of the intellect may be attributed to him alone, but the errors of the being thus created, to his subordinate power" (*De conf.* 179; cf. *De opificio mundi* 72–75). The Fathers reject it. Justin will not grant "that the dogma of that heresy which is said to be among you is true, or that the teachers of it can prove that [God] spoke to angels, or that the human frame was the workmanship of angels"; the Father spoke to the Son (*Dial.* 62). Irenaeus: "It was not angels, therefore, who made

[5] English of Philo from C. D. Yonge, *The Works of Philo Judaeus* (London: Bohn, 1854–1855), cited by the section numbers of the modern editions.

us, nor who formed us, neither had angels power to make an image of God ... For with Him were always present the Word and Wisdom, the Son and the Spirit" (*Adv. haer.* IV.20.1). Aquinas determines that creation belongs to God alone (*ST* I q. 45 a. 5) and that "We must not imagine that when God said 'Let us make man,' He spoke to the angels, as some were perverse enough to think" (*ST* I q. 91 a. 4 ad 2); the angels could "act as ministers in the formation of the body of the first man, in the same way as they will do at the last resurrection by collecting the dust" (*ST* I q. 91 a. 2 ad 1).

The giants. In the *Questions on Genesis* Philo reads Gen 6:4 of angels: the giants "were sprung from a combined procreation of two natures, namely, from angels and mortal women," and "sometimes Moses styles the angels the sons of God, inasmuch as they were not produced by any mortal" (*Quaest. in Gen.* I.92). Ambrose follows him: *non poetarum more gigantas illos terrae filios uult uideri diuinae scripturae conditor, sed ex angelis et mulieribus generatos adserit*, Scripture means not the poets' sons of the earth but men begotten of angels and women (*De Noe* 4.8, CSEL 32.1, where Schenkl marks the source in Philo). The Latin Church after Augustine sets the reading aside (§3.2).

3.7 Israel's Writings and Their Reception

From Israel's writings outside the canon the Fathers kept the substance of the angels' ministry: the angels set over peoples and over the elements, their praise at the founding of the world, the Law given through them, their intercession and the carrying of prayers, the guardian of the just, the seven who stand before God, and the binding of the fallen in darkness until the judgment. They refused the marriages of angels with women, the demons as spirits of giants, an angel called mediator beside Christ, and man made by angels. The Septuagint's angels they received as Scripture.

Writing and locus	**Teaching**	**Patristic reception**	**Disposition**
Deut 32:8–9, Septuagint	The nations bounded by the number of the angels of God; Israel the Lord's portion	*1 Clem.* 29; Justin, *Dial.* 131; Clement, *Strom.* VII.2; Origen, *De princ.* I.5.2; Basil, *Adv. Eun.* III.1; Eusebius, *Dem. ev.* IV.7; Dionysius, *CH* 9.2–4	Received: CCC 57; *ST* I q. 108 a. 6; q. 113 a. 8; in Christ the nations pass to the Lord (Irenaeus III.12.9; Hilary, *Tr. Ps.* 2.31)
Job 1:6; 2:1, Septuagint	The angels of God stand before the Lord, the devil among them	Gregory, as Aquinas cites him	Received: *ST* I q. 112 a. 3 ad 3
Job 38:7, Septuagint	All the angels praised God when the stars were made	Augustine, *De civ. Dei* XI.9 (first day); Cassian, *Conl.* VIII.7 (before the world)	Received; created with the corporeal world, the common teaching (*ST* I q. 61 a. 3)
Deut 32:43; Ps 8:6; 77[78]:25; 96[97]:7; 137[138]:1, Septuagint and Vulgate	The angels adore the Son; man a little less than the angels; bread of angels; psalmody before the angels	Heb 1:6; 2:7; Wis 16:20; Benedict, *Regula* 19	Received as Scripture
Deut 33:2, Septuagint; Jub 1:27–2:1	The angels at Sinai; the angel of the presence gives the Law	Acts 7:53; Gal 3:19; Heb 2:2	Received: *ST* I-II q. 98 a. 3
Isa 9:6; 63:9, Septuagint	The Angel of great counsel; not an angel but the Lord himself saves	Justin, *Dial.* 126; Origen, *C. Cels.* V.53; Irenaeus III.20.4	Received of Christ
Dan 3:49, 58; 4:10, 14	The angel in the furnace; the angels bless the Lord; the watchers	Augustine, *De civ. Dei* XI.9; Jerome, *In Dan.* 4:10	Received as Scripture
1 En 1:9	The Lord comes with his holy ones to judge	Jude 14–15; Tertullian, *Cult. fem.* I.3; Augustine, *De civ. Dei* XV.23	Received through Jude; book Apocryphal (Trent, DS 1503; Jerome, *Vir. ill.* 4)

Writing and locus	Teaching	Patristic reception	Disposition
1 En 6–8; 15–16	Watchers took wives, begot giants, taught arts; giants' spirits are demons	Justin, *2 Apol.* 5; Athenagoras, *Leg.* 24–25; Irenaeus IV.16.2; Clement, *Strom.* V.1; Tertullian, *Cult. fem.* I.2; Cyprian, *Hab. virg.* 14; Lactantius II.14	Rejected: Africanus, frag. 2; Chrysostom, *Hom. in Gen.* 22; Augustine XV.23; Cassian VIII.21; *ST* I q. 51 a. 3 ad 6; q. 63 a. 2; Lateran IV (DS 800)
1 En 10:4–12; Jub 5:6–10	The fallen bound in darkness until the judgment	Jude 6; 2 Pet 2:4; Augustine XV.23	Received: *ST* I q. 64 a. 4
1 En 19:1; 99:7	Fallen spirits lead men to sacrifice to demons as gods	Tertullian, *Idol.* 4 (quoted as Enoch)	Received with Ps 95[96]:5; 1 Cor 10:20
1 En 9:3; 40:6	Archangels carry men's cause and prayers before God	Origen, *C. Cels.* V.4	Received with Tob 12:12; Apoc 8:3–4
1 En 14:22–23; 39:12; 61:10; 71:7	Those who sleep not sing the Sanctus; angels of powers and principalities	Jerome, *In Dan.* 4:10 (watchers)	Received with Isa 6:3; Dan 7:10; Col 1:16 (*ST* I q. 108 a. 5)
1 En 100:5	Guardians from the holy angels for the righteous	Parallel only	Received with Matt 18:10 (*ST* I q. 113 a. 2)
1 En 20; 40:9	Seven named archangels; Raphael over diseases	Clement, *Strom.* VI.16; Origen, *De princ.* I.8.1	Seven received (Tob 12:15; Apoc 8:2); names beyond three rejected (Roman synod 745; *Directory* 217)
Jub 2:2–3	The angels created on the first day, praising God's works	Epiphanius, *De mens.* 22; Augustine, *De civ. Dei* XI.9 (parallel)	Created with the corporeal world, the common teaching (*ST* I q. 61 a. 3); angels over the elements received (*ST* I q. 110 a. 1)
Jub 4:15	Watchers first sent to instruct men	Justin, *2 Apol.* 5; Lactantius II.14 (parallel)	Corrected: good angels are sent to men (*ST* I q. 112); the unions rejected
Jub 10:8–11; 48:10	A tenth of the spirits left to Mastema; evils permitted and limited	Parallel only	Received in substance: *ST* I q. 114 a. 1; q. 64 a. 4
Jub 15:31–32	Spirits over the nations lead them astray; no angel over Israel	Dionysius, *CH* 9.3–4; Eusebius, *Dem. ev.* IV.7	Corrected: CCC 57; *ST* I q. 113 a. 8
T. Levi 3	Ranks in the heavens; angels of the presence offer a bloodless offering; thrones, dominions	Origen, *C. Cels.* V.4	Received in substance (Apoc 8:3; Col 1:16)
T. Levi 5; T. Dan 6	The angel who intercedes for Israel, called Mediator	Hermas, *Sim.* VIII.3 (Michael)	Corrected: one Mediator (1 Tim 2:5); angels mediate ministerially (*ST* III q. 26 a. 1 ad 2)
T. Judah 20; T. Asher 6; T. Benj. 6	Two spirits; angels of the Lord and of Satan; the angel of peace guides the soul	Hermas, *Mand.* VI.2; Cassian, *Conl.* VIII.17	Received: *ST* I q. 113 aa. 1–2; q. 114 a. 1
T. Reuben 2–3	Seven spirits of error, beginning with fornication	Origen, *Hom. in Iesu Nave* 15.5–6 (names the book)	Corrected: *ST* I q. 114 a. 3
Philo, *De gig.* 16; *De somn.* I.141–142	Angels named for their office as messengers	Origen, *C. Cels.* V.4; Augustine, *Enarr. in Ps.* 103	Received
Philo, *De gig.* 6–16	Angels, daemons, and souls one kind	Origen, *C. Cels.* V.55	Rejected: DS 403; *ST* I q. 75 a. 7
Philo, *De conf.* 171–175	God rules through his powers as a king through ministers	Parallel	Received and deepened: *ST* I q. 103 a. 6
Philo, *De conf.* 179; *De opif.* 72–75	"Let us make man" said to subordinate powers	Justin, *Dial.* 62; Irenaeus IV.20.1	Rejected: *ST* I q. 45 a. 5; q. 91 a. 4 ad 2

Writing and locus	Teaching	Patristic reception	Disposition
Philo, *Quaest. in Gen.* I.92	Giants from angels and women	Ambrose, *De Noe* 4.8	Received by Ambrose; rejected after Augustine

3.8 The Greek Poets and Philosophers

The Greeks spoke for many centuries of beings set between God and men. Hesiod sang of spirits who watch over mortal men; Socrates obeyed a sign that came to him from boyhood; Plato taught that the daemonic nature carries men's prayers to the gods and the gods' commands to men, that each soul has a guardian allotted to it, and that the Maker of the world made lesser gods who are immortal by his will; Aristotle proved that the heavens are moved by substances without matter; and the later Platonists built from these a whole ladder of gods, angels, and daemons, with rites to climb it. The Fathers knew these writings well, and many of them had been schooled in them. They received what the philosophers had glimpsed of the created spirits, corrected it by revelation, and unmasked the gods of the nations as the fallen angels, for "all the gods of the Gentiles are devils" (Ps 95[96]:5) and "the things which the heathens sacrifice, they sacrifice to devils and not to God" (1 Cor 10:20). Scripture itself gives the pattern: at Athens Paul quoted the Greek poets, "For we are also his offspring" (Acts 17:28), and among those who believed was "Dionysius the Areopagite" (Acts 17:34), under whose name the Church received the *Celestial Hierarchy* (§6).

Aquinas states the rule of this reception at the opening of his treatise *On Separate Substances*, written, he says, because he could not be present at the solemn office of the angels:

> *Intendentes igitur sanctorum Angelorum excellentiam utcumque depromere, incipiendum videtur ab his quae de Angelis antiquitus humana coniectura aestimavit: ut si quid invenerimus fidei consonum, accipiamus; quae vero doctrinae repugnant Catholicae, refutemus.* (*De substantiis separatis*, prooem.)

Intending to set forth, as far as may be, the excellence of the holy angels, he begins with what human conjecture thought of the angels in ancient times, so that whatever agrees with the faith may be accepted and whatever is repugnant to Catholic doctrine refuted. The Fathers had done the same, witness by witness.

3.8.1 Hesiod and the watchers over men

The oldest Greek witness is Hesiod's *Works and Days*. After the golden race of men who lived under Cronos had passed from the earth, the poet says,

> they are called pure spirits dwelling on the earth, and are kindly, delivering from harm, and guardians of mortal men; for they roam everywhere over the earth, clothed in mist and keep watch on judgements and cruel deeds, givers of wealth. (Hesiod, *Works and Days* 121–126, tr. Evelyn-White)

Later in the poem he warns unjust princes that "the deathless gods are near among men," and that "upon the bounteous earth Zeus has thrice ten thousand spirits, watchers of mortal men, and these keep watch on judgements and deeds of wrong as they roam, clothed in mist, all over the earth" (252–255). Hesiod thus holds three things that the Fathers will recognize: a great multitude of spirits, a charge over men, and a watch kept over justice. Scripture uses the same word for an angel. Daniel saw in his vision "a watcher, and a holy one" come down from heaven, and the sentence against the king is "the decree by the sentence of the watchers, and the word and demand of the holy ones" (Dan 4:10, 14); the Douay note calls the watcher "A vigilant angel."

Plato reads Hesiod in the *Cratylus*. Asked what the name "demon" means, Socrates recalls the golden race and quotes the lines, "They are holy demons upon the earth, Beneficent, averters of ills, guardians of mortal men," and concludes: "he called them demons, because they were daemones (knowing or wise) ... every wise man who happens to be a good man is more than human (daimonion) both in life and death, and is rightly called a demon" (*Cratylus* 397e–398c, tr. Jowett). For Plato, then, the daemon is a knower, and the good man becomes one after death. Plutarch in turn names Hesiod the first to distinguish four rational natures, gods, daemons, heroes, and men (*De defectu oraculorum* 10).

The Fathers took up Hesiod's lines and the etymology together. Lactantius quotes the poet's verse on the spirits who dwell on the earth as guardians of mortal men, *Hesiodus ita tradit*, and explains it: "And this is said for this purpose,

because God had sent them as guardians to the human race; but they themselves also, though they are the destroyers of men, yet wish themselves to appear as their guardians, that they themselves may be worshipped, and God may not be worshipped" (*Divinae institutiones* II.14.7–8, Brandt; ANF II.15; *custodes eos humano generi deus miserat*). Lactantius sets the sending of these guardians within the history of the Watchers (§3.2) and reads the poet by it: Hesiod saw truly that God set guardians over men, and the fallen spirits have taken the guardians' name to steal the worship due to God. He also receives the etymology: the grammarians say that daemons are named *quasi daēmonas, id est peritos ac rerum scios*, skilled and acquainted with matters; they know many future things, but not all, since God's counsel is hidden from them (II.14.6).

Eusebius turns Hesiod's line against the gods it was used to honour. If there were good gods and daemons, why did they suffer men to propitiate evil daemons with human sacrifice? "And shall 'The thrice ten thousand guardians of mankind,' I mean their shepherds and preservers … deliver up their dearest ones to their enemies and foemen, fierce as wild beasts …?" (*Praeparatio evangelica* IV.17, tr. Gifford). The guardians of the poets did not guard; they were of one will with the demons.

Augustine sets the etymology beside the Apostle. "They are called demons from a Greek word meaning knowledge," *Daemones enim … dicuntur (quoniam vocabulum Graecum est) ab scientia nominati*; and "the apostle, speaking with the Holy Spirit, says, 'Knowledge puffeth up, but charity buildeth up.' … The demons, then, have knowledge without charity, and are thereby so inflated or proud, that they crave those divine honors and religious services which they know to be due to the true God" (*De civitate Dei* IX.20, tr. Dods; 1 Cor 8:1). The Platonist's praise of the daemon as a knower becomes, in Augustine, the diagnosis of the demon's pride. Isidore hands the etymology to the Latin Middle Ages in the same words as Lactantius, and adds that the demons' knowledge comes partly from keener sense, partly from the experience of a very long life, and partly *per Dei iussum angelica revelatione*, by angelic revelation at God's command (*Etymologiae* VIII.11.15–16). Aquinas receives it from Augustine: *Daemones enim in Graeco a scientia nominantur quae sine caritate, secundum sententiam apostoli, per superbiam inflat*: demons are named in Greek from knowledge, which without charity, as the Apostle says, puffs up through pride (*De substantiis separatis* 20). The chain runs from the *Cratylus* through Lactantius, Augustine, and Isidore to Aquinas; Plato and the Fathers agree on the word and differ on the thing, since for the Fathers the name *demon* belongs to the fallen.

Hesiod's guardians have their true fulfilment in the guardian angels. Aquinas determines that "each man has an angel guardian appointed to him," taking as *sed contra* Jerome on Matt 18:10, "Great is the dignity of souls, for each one to have an angel deputed to guard it from its birth" (*ST* I q. 113 a. 2; §17.5). Where Hesiod made the guardians men of a golden age raised to a higher state, the Church confesses that the angels are a distinct creation, spiritual creatures made from nothing (Lateran IV, DS 800; §2).

3.8.2 Socrates' sign

At his trial Socrates told the Athenians why he had kept out of public life: "You have heard me speak at sundry times and in divers places of an oracle or sign which comes to me, and is the divinity which Meletus ridicules in the indictment. This sign, which is a kind of voice, first began to come to me when I was a child; it always forbids but never commands me to do anything which I am going to do" (Plato, *Apology* 31c–d, tr. Jowett). After his condemnation he took its silence as a verdict: "the oracle made no sign of opposition, either when I was leaving my house in the morning, or when I was on my way to the court … It is an intimation that what has happened to me is a good, and that those of us who think that death is an evil are in error" (40a–c). The indictment itself had charged him with introducing new divinities.

Plutarch gave this sign its most careful philosophical account. In the *Discourse concerning Socrates's Daemon*, Simmias explains that it was no apparition and no audible voice, "but more probably a declaration of a Daemon, by which the very thing that it would declare was immediately and without audible voice represented to his mind"; for "the understanding of a superior nature and a more divine soul may excite an inferior soul, touching it from without," and "the conceptions of the Daemons carry a light with them, and shine to those that are able to perceive them, so that there is no need of words" (*De genio Socratis* 20, tr. Goodwin). The account resembles the Thomist doctrine of angelic illumination, in which "the inferior intellect is strengthened by the action of the superior intellect" and intelligible species are proposed to it (*ST* I q. 111 a. 1; §14).

The Fathers who name the sign divide in judging it. Justin honours Socrates as a witness of the Word against the demons. The evil demons, he says, had shown themselves to men who, "not knowing that these were demons, … called them gods"; "And when Socrates endeavoured, by true reason and examination, to bring these things to light,

and deliver men from the demons, then the demons themselves, by means of men who rejoiced in iniquity, compassed his death, as an atheist and a profane person, on the charge that 'he was introducing new divinities;' and in our case they display a similar activity" (*1 Apology* 5, ANF). Socrates "taught men to reject the wicked demons," and Christ "was partially known even by Socrates (for He was and is the Word who is in every man)" (*2 Apology* 10). Justin speaks of Socrates' mission, not of his sign; the Latin apologists speak of the sign, and name it a demon. Tertullian: "The philosophers acknowledge there are demons; Socrates himself waiting on a demon's will. Why not? since it is said an evil spirit attached itself specially to him even from his childhood—turning his mind no doubt from what was good"; and in the same place, "Plato also admits the existence of angels," *Angelos quoque etiam Plato non negavit* (*Apologeticum* 22.1–2). In the treatise *On the Soul* he calls the demon that "clave to him from his boyhood" "the very worst teacher certainly, notwithstanding the high place assigned to it by poets and philosophers" (*De anima* 1). Minucius Felix writes that "Socrates knew it, who, at the nod and decision of a demon that was at his side, either declined or undertook affairs" (*Octavius* 26), and Lactantius that Socrates spoke of a demon ever about him, who had clung to him from boyhood and by whose will his life was ruled (*Div. inst.* II.14.9). Clement of Alexandria names the sign without condemning it: reading Plato's allotted guide as the guardian angel, he adds, "Perhaps also the demon of Socrates suggested to him something similar" (*Stromata* V.14; §3.8.3). Augustine presses Apuleius on the same point: the Platonist "asserts most distinctly, and proves at great length, that it was not a god but a demon," and so "he ought not to have entitled it, Concerning the God, but Concerning the Demon of Socrates" (*De civ. Dei* VIII.14, tr. J. J. Smith).

The Fathers judge Socrates' sign differently: Justin sees in Socrates a man who by reason turned from the demons and glimpsed the Word; Clement names his sign without censure; Tertullian, Minucius, and Lactantius judge the spirit that attended him to have been one of the demons. All agree that the demons are real, that they sought worship under the gods' names, and that the one teacher who expels them is Christ.

3.8.3 Plato: the daemonic between God and man

Plato's teaching on the daemons lies scattered through the dialogues, and the Fathers read it closely.

The interpreters. In the *Symposium* Diotima tells Socrates that Love is "a great spirit (daimon), and like all spirits he is intermediate between the divine and the mortal." His power is this: "He interprets ... between gods and men, conveying and taking across to the gods the prayers and sacrifices of men, and to men the commands and replies of the gods; he is the mediator who spans the chasm which divides them ... For God mingles not with man; but through Love all the intercourse and converse of God with man, whether awake or asleep, is carried on"; and "these spirits or intermediate powers are many and diverse" (*Symposium* 202d–203a, tr. Jowett). Plato here sees two truths and one error. The truths are that there are many spirits between God and man, and that they carry to men what God commands; the error is that God does not mingle with man.

Minucius Felix names the dialogue. Plato "without hesitation, tell[s] of both angels and demons. And in his Symposium also, does not he endeavour to explain the nature of demons? For he will have it to be a substance between mortal and immortal—that is, mediate between body and spirit" (*Octavius* 26), and Lactantius likewise (*Div. inst.* II.14.9). Origen answers the same doctrine as Celsus had taken it up. Christians, he says, "acknowledge that angels are 'ministering spirits,' " who "ascend, bearing the supplications of men, to the purest of the heavenly places ... and ... come down from these, conveying to each one, according to his deserts, something enjoined by God. Having thus learned to call these beings 'angels' from their employments ... [we are not] commanded to honour and worship in place of God those who minister to us." For "every prayer, and supplication, and intercession, and thanksgiving, is to be sent up to the Supreme God through the High Priest, who is above all the angels, the living Word and God" (*Contra Celsum* V.4, ANF; Heb 1:14). Origen keeps the office Plato described—the ascent of prayers and the descent of gifts—and gives it to the angels, named from their office; the mediation of worship he reserves to Christ, and the name *demon* he reserves to the wicked, since it "is always applied to those wicked powers, freed from the encumbrance of a grosser body, who lead men astray" (V.5).

Augustine answers the maxim that God does not mingle with man, which Apuleius had repeated from Plato. It led the Platonists to place demons in the air "that they may carry to the gods the prayers of men, to men the answers of the gods: for Plato held, they say, that no god has intercourse with man," *quoniam nullus deus miscetur homini, quod Platonem dixisse perhibent* (*De civ. Dei* VIII.18, tr. J. J. Smith). He answers with irony: *Praeclara igitur sanctitas Dei, qui non miscetur homini supplicanti, et miscetur daemoni arroganti*, a fine holiness in God, who does not mingle with the man who prays and does mingle with the arrogant demon (VIII.20). His answer is the Incarnation: "Good

angels, therefore, cannot mediate between miserable mortals and blessed immortals, for they themselves also are both blessed and immortal; but evil angels can mediate, because they are immortal like the one party, miserable like the other. To these is opposed the good Mediator" (IX.15), who became mortal for a time and remains blessed for ever. Augustine expounds these books at length (§5.10). Aquinas keeps what was true in Diotima's word: "The angels in their own nature stand midway between God and men" (*ST* I q. 64 a. 4). The Church teaches that the angels are "servants and messengers of God" and that Christ is the centre of the angelic world (CCC 329, 331; §2).

The allotted guardian. Three dialogues give each soul a daemon of its own. In the *Phaedo* Socrates tells that "after death, as they say, the genius of each individual, to whom he belonged in life, leads him to a certain place in which the dead are gathered together, whence after judgment has been given they pass into the world below"; the impure soul "is after many struggles and many sufferings hardly and with violence carried away by her attendant genius" (*Phaedo* 107d–108b, tr. Jowett, who renders *daimōn* as "genius"). In the vision of Er at the end of the *Republic*, the prophet of Lachesis proclaims to the souls about to be born: "Your genius will not be allotted to you, but you will choose your genius ... the responsibility is with the chooser—God is justified" (*Republic* X 617d–e); when the souls had chosen, Lachesis "sent with them the genius whom they had severally chosen, to be the guardian of their lives and the fulfiller of the choice" (620d–e). The *Timaeus* places the daemon within: "God gave the sovereign part of the human soul to be the divinity of each one" (*Timaeus* 90a).

Clement of Alexandria reads the tale of Er as a witness to the angels. By the fiery men who seize the wicked in Er's vision Plato means "the angels, who seize and punish the wicked" (Ps 103[104]:4); and "indicating 'the angels' as the Scripture says, 'of the little ones, and of the least, which see God,' and also the oversight reaching to us exercised by the tutelary angels, he shrinks not from writing ... [that Lachesis] sends along with each one, as his guide in life, and the joint accomplisher of his purposes, the demon which he has chosen" (*Stromata* V.14, ANF; Matt 18:10). Clement receives Plato's allotted guide as a figure of the guardian angel.

Justin reads another sentence of the same speech: "Plato, when he says, 'The blame is his who chooses, and God is blameless,' took this from the prophet Moses," who tells that God said to the first man, "Behold, before thy face are good and evil: choose the good" (*1 Apology* 44).

Origen corrects the doctrine of the allotted daemon by the Gospel. Against Celsus, who would have men give first-fruits to the demons set over the world, he sets the thousands who stand before God and "deem it their office and duty to attend to" those who pray, and answers the Greeks with the Lord's word: "Let the learned Greeks say that the human soul at its birth is placed under the charge of demons: Jesus has taught us not to despise even the little ones in His Church, saying, 'Their angels do always behold the face of My Father which is in heaven.' And the prophet says, 'The angel of the Lord encampeth round about them that fear Him, and delivereth them' " (*Contra Celsum* VIII.34; Matt 18:10; Ps 33[34]:8). Tertullian makes the same correction from the other side. Every heathen birth is consecrated to idols, and "On this principle of early possession it was that Socrates, while yet a boy, was found by the spirit of the demon. Thus, too, is it that to all persons their genii are assigned, which is only another name for demons" (*De anima* 39). For Tertullian the Roman *genius* is a demon that seizes the child at birth; for Origen the good guardian given to the little ones is an angel. Both deny the name *demon* to any guardian sent by God.

The *Phaedo*'s guide of the dead has its parallel in the Gospel, where Lazarus "was carried by the angels into Abraham's bosom" (Luke 16:22). Tertullian names the pagan figure: at death the soul rejoices or fears "as soon as it sees the very angel's face, that arraigner of souls, the Mercury of the poets" (*De anima* 53); and where Rome invoked goddesses of childbirth, "We, on our part, believe the angels to officiate herein for God" (37). Aquinas determines what the Fathers had gathered from the Gospel: each man has an angel guardian, appointed "from the very moment of his birth," following Jerome against those who placed it at baptism (*ST* I q. 113 aa. 2, 5; §17).

The made gods of the Timaeus. In the *Timaeus* the Maker, having framed the visible gods of heaven, speaks of the rest: "To know or tell the origin of the other divinities is beyond us, and we must accept the traditions of the men of old time who affirm themselves to be the offspring of the gods" (*Timaeus* 40d). Then he addresses all the gods he has made: "Gods, children of gods, who are my works ... since ye are but creatures, ye are not altogether immortal and indissoluble, but ye shall certainly not be dissolved ... having in my will a greater and mightier bond than those with which ye were bound at the time of your birth" (41a–b). Plato here teaches that the gods below the Maker are made, and that their immortality rests on his will.

Athenagoras quotes the passage on "the other demons" in full and reads Plato's reserve as a hidden judgment: "because he thought it impossible to believe that gods beget and are brought forth, ... on this account it was that he

declared it to be beyond his powers to know and to speak concerning the origin of the other demons" (*Legatio* 23, ANF). Eusebius hears irony in the same lines: Plato "speaks thus against his own judgement on account of the laws" (*Praep. ev.* XIII.1).

Augustine receives the made gods of the *Timaeus* as the holy angels, provided that they are held to be created and blessed by cleaving to God: "If the Platonists prefer to call these angels gods rather than demons, and to reckon them with those whom Plato, their founder and master, maintains were created by the supreme God, they are welcome to do so, for I will not spend strength in fighting about words. For if they say that these beings are immortal, and yet created by the supreme God, blessed but by cleaving to their Creator and not by their own power, they say what we say, whatever name they call these beings by," *hoc dicunt quod dicimus, quolibet eos nomine appellent* (*De civ. Dei* IX.23, tr. Dods). Scripture itself calls them gods, "The God of gods, the Lord hath spoken" (Ps 49[50]:1), but "the name of demon is so detestable that we cannot bear in any sense to apply it to the holy angels" (IX.23).

Eusebius presses the correction further. The Hebrews teach that "the intermediate nature of rational beings is generated and not without beginning," and that from the "fall and transgression" of spirits, powers, angels, and archangels "they derive the race of daemons." Plato, "although, like the Hebrews, he supposes the rational natures to be incorporeal and intelligible essences, ... does not mean to admit that they have arisen out of nothing," but derives them from "an effluence of the First Cause." If the daemons flowed from the good gods, whence came their wickedness? The Hebrews answer that "having no previous existence it has come into being by the effective power of the Cause of all," and has not goodness "inseparably attached" to it as God has (*Praep. ev.* XIII.15). The Church confesses the same in the profession of Lateran IV: God *sua omnipotenti virtute simul ab initio temporis utramque de nihilo condidit creaturam, spiritualem et corporalem, angelicam videlicet et mundanam ... Diabolus enim et alii daemones a Deo quidem natura creati sunt boni, sed ipsi per se facti sunt mali* (DS 800; §2).

Aquinas reads the address of the *Timaeus* otherwise than Augustine. An objection to the incorruptibility of the angels quotes the address and argues that "gods such as these can only be understood to be the angels"; Aquinas answers: "By the expression 'gods' Plato understands the heavenly bodies, which he supposed to be made up of elements, and therefore dissoluble of their own nature; yet they are for ever preserved in existence by the Divine will" (*ST* I q. 50 a. 5 obj. 2 and ad 2). He determines that the angels are incorruptible by their nature, being subsisting forms; the perfect immortality that includes immutability they have by grace (a. 5 corpus and ad 1; §8.1). Augustine takes the made gods of the *Timaeus* to be the angels; Aquinas takes them to be the heavenly bodies. Both hold that whatever Plato meant, the angels are made by God and blessed in him.

Shepherds and allies. In the *Laws* Plato tells that in the age of Cronos, "God, in His love of mankind, placed over us the demons, who are a superior race, and they ... taking care of us and giving us peace and reverence and order and justice never failing, made the tribes of men happy and united"; Cronos did with men "as we do with flocks of sheep" (*Laws* IV 713c–e, tr. Jowett). The *Statesman* tells the same age: "the several parts the universe were distributed under the rule of certain inferior deities ... There were demigods, who were the shepherds of the various species and herds of animals" (*Statesman* 271d). In the tenth book of the *Laws*, arguing against the impious, the Athenian asks whether one soul or more orders the heavens: "More than one ... we must not suppose that there are less than two—one the author of good, and the other of evil" (*Laws* X 896e); and later: "there is, as we affirm, an immortal conflict going on among us, which requires marvellous watchfulness; and in that conflict the Gods and demigods are our allies, and we are their property" (906a).

Clement and Eusebius both hear Scripture in the tenth book. For Clement, "that the devil so spoken of by the Barbarian philosophy, the prince of the demons, is a wicked spirit, Plato asserts in the tenth book of the Laws," and in the lines on the immortal conflict Plato "expressly emits that apostolic sentiment, 'Our contest is not with flesh and blood, but principalities, with powers' " (*Stromata* V.14; Eph 6:12). Eusebius quotes the same passages: "thousands of years before Plato was born this doctrine also had been acknowledged by the Hebrews," who call "the adverse power devil, and the good powers angels of God" (Job 1:6); and Plato's phrase that men are "the possessions of gods and daemons" paraphrases the Septuagint's Deut 32:8, "according to the number of the angels of God" (*Praep. ev.* XI.26; §3.1).

Plato's picture of the ages under Cronos, with lesser powers set over the parts of the world and the kinds of living things, has its Christian counterpart in the angels' government of bodies. Aquinas declares the continuity in plain words: "The holy doctors held with the Platonists that different spiritual substances were placed over corporeal things." For this he cites Augustine, "Every visible thing in this world has an angelic power placed over it," and Origen on the ass of Balaam, that "the world has need of angels who preside over beasts, and over the birth of animals, and trees, and plants, and over the increase of all other things" (*ST* I q. 110 a. 1 ad 3, citing *De div. qq. 83*

q. 79 and *Hom. in Num.* 14; §16.2). Athenagoras had given the same office its Christian form: "this is the office of the angels,—to exercise providence for God over the things created and ordered by Him; so that God may have the universal and general providence of the whole, while the particular parts are provided for by the angels appointed over them" (*Legatio* 24).

Aquinas marks the limit of this continuity. Plato, as Aquinas reads him through Nemesius (cited under Gregory of Nyssa's name), divided providence into three, and the third, "over human affairs, he assigned to demons, whom the Platonic philosophers placed between us and the gods" (*ST* I q. 22 a. 3). Aquinas rejects the division: "Plato's opinion is to be rejected, because he held that God did not govern all things immediately, even in the design of government" (*ST* I q. 103 a. 6 ad 1). God's providence, as the plan of order, reaches every thing immediately; its execution he carries out through intermediaries, "not on account of any defect in His power, but by reason of the abundance of His goodness; so that the dignity of causality is imparted even to creatures" (*ST* I q. 22 a. 3). Plato saw the ministers; he did not see that the King governs every least thing himself.

3.8.4 Aristotle and the movers of the heavens

Aristotle reached the separate substances by another road. In the twelfth book of the *Metaphysics* he argues that the first mover, unmoved and eternal, produces the first and single movement of the heavens; but since the planets have other eternal movements, "each of these movements also must be caused by a substance both unmovable in itself and eternal ... Evidently, then, there must be substances which are of the same number as the movements of the stars, and in their nature eternal, and in themselves unmovable, and without magnitude" (*Metaphysics* XII.8, 1073a, tr. Ross). Following the astronomers Eudoxus and Callippus he counts the spheres, fifty-five or forty-seven, and concludes: "Let this, then, be taken as the number of the spheres, so that the unmovable substances and principles also may probably be taken as just so many; the assertion of necessity must be left to more powerful thinkers" (1074a). He ends with the tradition of his ancestors:

> Our forefathers in the most remote ages have handed down to their posterity a tradition, in the form of a myth, that these bodies are gods, and that the divine encloses the whole of nature. The rest of the tradition has been added later in mythical form with a view to the persuasion of the multitude and to its legal and utilitarian expediency ... But if one were to separate the first point from these additions and take it alone—that they thought the first substances to be gods, one must regard this as an inspired utterance. (XII.8, 1074b)

In the treatise *On the Heavens* he adds that "all men have some conception of the nature of the gods, and all who believe in the existence of gods at all, whether barbarian or Greek, agree in allotting the highest place to the deity" (*De caelo* I.3, 270b, tr. Stocks), and that the stars must be conceived "as enjoying life and action" (II.12, 292a).

Aristotle's separate substances enter the doctrine of the angels through Aquinas, who reads the twelfth book with care and corrects it at three points. First, the number. Aristotle "strove to find out the number of the separate substances according to the number of the first movements"; Maimonides tried to harmonize this with Scripture by holding that the angels, as immaterial substances, are as many as the heavenly movements. Aquinas determines against both that "the angels, even inasmuch as they are immaterial substances, exist in exceeding great number, far beyond all material multitude," on the authority of Daniel, "Thousands of thousands ministered to Him, and ten thousand times a hundred thousand stood before Him" (Dan 7:10), and of Dionysius (*CH* 14). Aristotle's own argument, he notes, would conclude only "if the separate substances were made for corporeal substances"; "Hence Aristotle says (Metaph. xii, text 44) that this is not a necessary argument, but a probable one" (*ST* I q. 50 a. 3 and ad 3; §8.1). The *Contra Gentiles* makes the same correction and adds reasons of its own: the order of the universe asks that the nobler things exceed the less noble in number, as the heavenly bodies exceed the elements in magnitude; *excedunt igitur in numero intellectuales substantiae separatae omnium rerum materialium multitudinem*, the separate intellectual substances therefore exceed in number the multitude of all material things (*SCG* II.92 n. 7).

Second, the range of their government. "Aristotle ... laid down (Metaph. xi, 8) that the heavenly bodies are moved by spiritual substances ... But he did not say that there were any spiritual substances with immediate rule over the inferior bodies, except perhaps human souls"; because "many things are done in the inferior bodies besides the natural corporeal actions," the Christian doctrine holds that the angels preside over the lower bodies as well (*ST* I q. 110 a. 1 ad 2). Third, the demons. In *On Separate Substances* Aquinas weighs the two masters. Aristotle's way "by motion" is surer, since it does not depart far from what the senses show, but it is less sufficient than Plato's. Things appear *in hominibus qui a Daemonibus opprimuntur, et in magorum operibus*, in men oppressed by demons and in

the works of magicians, that only an intellectual substance can do; some Aristotelians traced them to the stars, as Porphyry's letter to Anebo shows, but their cause *plane quis poterit secundum Platonicos assignare, si dicantur haec per Daemones procreari*, one can plainly assign with the Platonists, if they are said to be produced by demons (*De substantiis separatis* 2). He notes also that Aristotle's proof proceeds from the eternity of motion, *quae fidei veritati repugnat*, which is repugnant to the truth of the faith, and shows that it stands without it, since the uniformity of the heavenly motions equally requires a mover of infinite power (ibid.). Of the demons, he adds, *nec ipse nec eius sequaces fecisse mentionem*, neither Aristotle nor his followers is found to have made mention (4).

Aquinas finds three agreements between Plato and Aristotle on the separate substances: in their mode of being, since both hold that all below the first are one and good by participation in it; in the condition of their nature, since both hold them free of matter yet composed of potency and act; and in providence, since both hold that the higher provide for the lower under one first good, *sicut unum imperatorem vel dominum*, as under one emperor or lord (*De sub. sep.* 3). The first two agreements are the Thomist doctrine of the angelic substance itself: "Although there is no composition of matter and form in an angel, yet there is act and potentiality" (*ST* I q. 50 a. 2 ad 3; §8). On Aristotle's "inspired utterance" his commentary on the *Metaphysics* observes that the ancients handed on *per modum fabulae* that the separate substances are gods; *Si autem solum primum principium vocetur Deus, est unus tantum Deus*, if only the first principle is called God, there is one God only; and if one takes from the fables only this, *quod dii sunt quaedam substantiae immateriales, putabitur esse dictum divine et secundum verisimilitudinem*, that the gods are certain immaterial substances, it will be thought to have been said divinely and with likelihood (*In Metaph.* XII lect. 10 n. 31).

3.8.5 Plutarch and Apuleius: the daemons of the air

The Platonists of the first and second centuries after Christ made Plato's scattered sayings into a doctrine. Plutarch gives it in the dialogue *Why the Oracles Cease to Give Answers*. Those "who have ranked the genus of Daemons between that of Gods and men have solved greater doubts and difficulties, as having found the knot which does, as it were, join and hold together our society and communication with them" (*De defectu oraculorum* 10, tr. Goodwin). Xenocrates, Plato's friend, likened the gods to the equilateral triangle, men to the scalene, and daemons to the isosceles, since they are "endued with the passions and perturbations of the mortal nature, and the force and power of the divine"; to deny the daemons is to destroy "that nature (as Plato says) which serves as an interpreter and messenger between them both." God is not present in oracles himself, but commits them "to his officers, the Daemons, who are the spies and scouts of the Gods, wandering and circuiting about at their commands,—some beholding and ordering the sacred ceremonies and oblations offered to the Gods, others being employed to revenge and punish the high misdemeanors and enormous injustices of men" (13). The shameful stories told of the gods are "passions fitting to be attributed not to Gods, but to Daemons" (15); and "It is not only Empedocles who affirms there are bad Daemons, but even Plato, Xenocrates, and Chrysippus" (17). The oracles fail because "the Daemons who are appointed for the government and superintendency of oracles" have departed (15). Then Plutarch tells how a voice from the island of Paxi called to the pilot Thamus, "When you are arrived at Palodes, take care to make it known that the great God Pan is dead," and how, when he cried it aloud, many voices were heard lamenting; the story reached Tiberius (17).

Apuleius of Madaura set the same doctrine in Latin, in his treatise *On the God of Socrates*. He grants Plato's maxim, *nullus deus miscetur hominibus* (*De deo Socratis* 4), and fills the gap with the daemons:

> Besides, there are certain divine powers of a middle nature, situate in this interval of the air, between the highest ether and the earth below, through whom our aspirations and our deserts are conveyed to the Gods. These the Greeks call by name "daemons," and, being placed as messengers between the inhabitants of earth and those of heaven, they carry from the one to the other, prayers and bounties, supplications and assistance, being a kind of interpreters and message carriers for both. (*De deo Socratis* 6, tr. Bohn 1853)

His definition became the classic one: "demons are as to genus animated beings, as to mind rational, as to feelings passive, as to body aerial, as to duration eternal," *daemones sunt genere animalia, ingenio rationabilia, animo passiva, corpore aeria, tempore aeterna* (13). The daemon who guarded Socrates belongs to a higher class: "Plato is of opinion that a peculiar demon is allotted to every man, to be a witness and a guardian of his conduct in life, who, without being visible to any one, is always present, and is an overseer not only of his actions, but even of his thoughts. But when life is finished, and the soul has to return to its judges, then the demon who has presided over it immediately

seizes, and leads it as his charge to judgment" (16). In Latin, he says, the daemon that is each man's own soul may be called the *Genius* (15).

The Fathers answered both men by name. Eusebius quotes Plutarch's chapters at length to prove from Plutarch's own pages that the oracles were "the abodes of evil daemons" (*Praep. ev.* V.3–5, 16–17), and he reads the voice at Paxi by its date:

> But it is important to observe the time at which he says that the death of the daemon took place. For it was the time of Tiberius, in which our Saviour, making His sojourn among men, is recorded to have been ridding human life from daemons of every kind: so that there were some of them now kneeling before Him and beseeching Him not to deliver them over to the Tartarus that awaited them. (*Praep. ev.* V.17, tr. Gifford)

The silence of the oracles, which Plutarch explained by the departure of the daemons, Eusebius explains by the coming of Christ: "all the oracles and divinations of daemons are dead" (V.1). Where Plutarch had said that the fables of the gods are the sufferings of daemons, Eusebius adds that "the deeds of Giants and Titans celebrated in song among the Greeks" may be the story of the giants of Gen 6 (V.4), a reading that belongs with the Watchers (§3.2).

Augustine answers Apuleius through the eighth and ninth books of the *City of God*. He reports the threefold division of rational animals into gods in heaven, men on earth, and demons in the air (*De civ. Dei* VIII.14), and takes the definition apart clause by clause: of what worth is it to be "aerial in body, ... since a soul of any kind whatsoever is to be set above every body?" And "how much less are they really worthy of divine honor,—those aerial animals who are only rational that they may be capable of misery, passive that they may be actually miserable, and eternal that it may be impossible for them to end their misery!" (VIII.16). The demons' place in the air is no rank but a prison: they are "spirits most eager to inflict harm ... swollen with pride, pale with envy, subtle in deceit; who dwell indeed in this air as in a prison ... because, cast down from the height of the higher heaven, they have been condemned to dwell in this element as the just reward of irretrievable transgression" (VIII.22). The good spirits whom the Platonists call good demons Scripture calls angels: "we, following Scripture, according to which we are Christians, have learned that some of the angels are good, some bad, but never have we read in Scripture of good demons" (IX.19).

Aquinas receives Augustine's judgment and states his own. An objection in the *Summa* quotes Augustine's commentary on Genesis, where the demons are called "animals of the atmosphere"; Aquinas answers that "Augustine speaks, not as asserting the fact, but merely using the opinion of the Platonists, who maintained that there are some aerial animals, which they termed demons," and determines that the angels have no bodies naturally united to them (*ST* I q. 51 a. 1 ad 1; §9.1). Origen, he adds, held the contrary, "being deceived here as he was also in many other points, by following the opinions of the ancient philosophers" (ibid.). The Platonists' division of the heavens, on the other hand, Aquinas receives at one point. They named as gods the intellectual substances above the moon and as demons those beneath it, some good and some bad; Aquinas cites Damascene (*De fide orth.* II) for the view that the highest of those who sinned was set over the terrestrial order, and judges: "Nor is this opinion to be rejected as contrary to faith; because the whole corporeal creation is governed by God through the angels" (*ST* I q. 63 a. 7; §13.1). The dwelling of the demons in the dark air until the judgment Aquinas takes from Augustine (§13.2).

Apuleius's allotted demon, witness of thoughts and leader of the soul to judgment, has its truth in the guardian angel of the Gospel (§3.8.3). Its name did not pass over. Lactantius says of the demons that *sibi geniorum nomen adsumunt; sic enim latino sermone daemonas interpretantur*, they take to themselves the name of genii, for so the Latins translate "demons" (*Div. inst.* II.14.12); Tertullian writes that the genii assigned to all persons are "only another name for demons" (*De anima* 39). The guardian whom God gives is called an angel.

3.8.6 Plotinus, Porphyry, and Iamblichus

Plotinus wrote a treatise *Of Our Individual Guardian*, the fourth of the third *Ennead*. He takes Plato's allotted daemon inward: "What then is our guardian? It is one of the powers of our soul ... our guardian is the power immediately superior to the one that we exercise, for it presides over our life without itself being active. ... If then we live on the plane of the sense-life, our guardian is reason; if we live on the rational plane, our guardian will be the principal superior to reason ... Plato truly said that 'we choose our guardian'; for, by the kind of life that we prefer, we choose the guardian that presides over our life" (*Enneads* III.4.3, tr. Guthrie, who renders *daimōn* as "guardian"). In the treatise on love he keeps the daemons' middle rank: "The deities are impassible, while the Guardians, though eternal, can experience passions; placed beneath the deities, but next to us, they occupy the middle place between

deities and men" (III.5.6). Porphyry's *Life* tells that an Egyptian priest, calling up Plotinus's guardian in a chapel of Isis at Rome, saw instead "a divinity of an order superior to that of guardians" (*Life of Plotinus* 10).

Plotinus's guardian is a power of the soul; the guardian of the Gospel is a person, an angel who beholds the face of the Father (Matt 18:10) and is appointed to the man from birth (*ST* I q. 113 aa. 2, 5). Augustine received from Plotinus something greater. The higher spirits, the Platonists taught, "have the same source of happiness as ourselves,—a certain intelligible light, which is their God, and is different from themselves, and illumines them that they may be penetrated with light"; Plotinus compares God to the sun and the soul to the moon that has its light from the sun, and says that the heavenly spirits derive "their blessed life, and the light of truth" from the same source as we do; in this he is "agreeing with the gospel where we read, ... 'That was the true Light which lighteth every man that cometh into the world' " (*De civ. Dei* X.2; John 1:9). Angels and men have one light, which is God.

Porphyry gives a full account of the good and the evil daemons. In the second book *On Abstinence* he distinguishes the souls that govern the regions under the moon "conformably to reason," which "are to be considered as good daemons," presiding over "certain animals, or fruits ... showers of rain, moderate winds, serene weather"; among these "those transporters, as Plato calls them, [in his Banquet] are to be enumerated, who announce the affairs of men to the Gods, and the will of the Gods to men" (*De abstinentia* II.38, tr. Taylor). The others, who do not rule the spirit they are joined to, are "malefic demons." Eusebius quotes these chapters in Gifford's rendering to convict the pagan cult by its own philosopher: the evil daemons "wish to be gods, and the power who presides over them wishes to be thought the supreme god. These are they who delight 'in libations and burnt-offerings,' by which very things the spiritual and bodily element is nourished and fattened" (*Praep. ev.* IV.22, quoting *De abst.* II.38–42). Eusebius draws the conclusion that not only the poets but "also those of the philosophers who were thought to be earnest about the gods" had worshipped "not gods but wicked daemons" (IV.22).

Origen had answered the same doctrine as Celsus put it. Christians maintain "with regard not only to the fruits of the earth, but to every flowing stream and every breath of air," that these come to be "only in consequence of the agency and control of certain beings whom we may call invisible husbandmen and guardians; but we deny that those invisible agents are demons"; to the demons, if they have any share, belong "famine, blasting of the vine and fruit trees, pestilence" as executioners of God's judgments (*Contra Celsum* VIII.31). Hence "they who partake of corn and wine, and the fruits of trees, of water and of air, do not feed with demons, but rather do they feast with divine angels, who are appointed for this purpose" (VIII.32). What Porphyry gave to good daemons, Origen gives to the angels, and the gifts they bring are received with thanksgiving to God. Of the demons Origen affirms: "according to our belief, it is true of all demons, that they were not demons originally, but they became so in departing from the true way" (VII.69; Ps 95[96]:5); with God's favour, "we have also the good-will of all angels and spirits who are friends of God," who join "their own prayers and intercessions" to ours (VIII.64).

Iamblichus answered Porphyry's questions in the work *On the Mysteries*, and in it the words *angel* and *archangel* enter the Platonic ladder. Porphyry had asked "by what indication the presence of a God, or an angel, or an archangel, or a daemon, or a certain archon, or a soul, may be known"; Iamblichus answers that the appearances of angels "are more simple than those of daemons, but are subordinate to those of the Gods; those of archangels approximate in a greater degree to divine causes" (*De mysteriis* II.3, tr. Taylor). The theurgist sought these appearances by rites. Augustine names what they were. Porphyry "promises some kind of purgation of the soul by the help of theurgy," and "distinguishes angels from demons, asserting that the habitation of the latter is in the air, while the former dwell in the ether and empyrean"; but the theurgists, like the magicians they despise, are "the slaves of the deceitful rites of the demons whom they invoke under the names of angels," and the lovely appearances of "angels or gods" seen in their rites are what the Apostle means when he speaks of "Satan transforming himself into an angel of light" (*De civ. Dei* X.9–10; 2 Cor 11:14). In the letter to Anebo, Augustine grants, Porphyry wrote in "a better tone" and "repudiates all demons" as drawn by the fumes of sacrifice (X.11).

Porphyry himself had said "that there are some angels who visit earth, and reveal divine truth to theurgists, and others who publish on earth the things that belong to the Father, His height and depth." Augustine receives the second class and draws the consequence: "Can we believe, then, that the angels whose office it is to declare the will of the Father, wish us to be subject to any but Him whose will they declare? And hence, even this Platonist himself judiciously observes that we should rather imitate than invoke them" (X.26). The holy angels refuse the sacrifice that belongs to God alone, "in allegiance to whom they themselves find their blessedness," and aid men "with sincere kindliness, and usurp over us no dominion, but declare to us Him under whose rule we are then fellow-subjects" (ibid.). What the Platonists lacked was the way: "You see in a fashion, although at a distance, although with filmy eye, the country in which we should abide; but the way to it you know not" (X.29). The way is the Incarnation.

Aquinas takes up the whole Platonic series when he gives the causes of idolatry. The Platonists "said that there is one supreme god, the cause of all things. After him they placed certain spiritual substances created by the supreme god. These they called 'gods,' on account of their having a share of the godhead; but we call them 'angels.' After these they placed the souls of the heavenly bodies, and beneath these the demons which they stated to be certain animal denizens of the air" (*ST* II-II q. 94 a. 1). Of idolatry itself, besides the causes on man's part, there was a "completive" cause "on the part of the demons, who offered themselves to be worshipped by men, by giving answers in the idols, and doing things which to men seemed marvelous. Hence it is written (Psalm 95:5): 'All the gods of the Gentiles are devils' " (a. 4). In the sixth age, he adds, "idolatry was banished by the doctrine and power of Christ, who triumphed over the devil" (a. 4 ad 2). Eusebius had read the voice at Paxi in the same light.

3.8.7 Proclus and the Dionysian corpus

Proclus, whom Aquinas calls *Platonicus*, set out the school's teaching on first causes in two hundred and eleven propositions, and the corpus under the name of Dionysius the Areopagite speaks the same language of procession, of triads, of the higher illuminating the lower, and of participation in the first good (§6). Aquinas knew both and says so. The *Book of Causes* he recognized as drawn from Proclus. In Greek, he writes, there is the book of Proclus the Platonist, *continens CCXI propositiones, qui intitulatur elementatio theologica*; in Arabic there is the book the Latins call *On Causes*, which is not found in Greek at all and so seems to have been excerpted *ab aliquo philosophorum Arabum ex praedicto libro Procli*, by one of the Arab philosophers from Proclus's book (*Super librum De causis*, prooem.).

Of Dionysius he writes that the difficulty of his books comes first from this, *quia plerumque utitur stilo et modo loquendi quo utebantur Platonici, qui apud modernos est inconsuetus*, that he mostly uses the style and manner of speech of the Platonists, which is unusual among the moderns. The Platonists posited separate forms of natural things, a man apart from matter, a horse apart from matter; this *fidei non consonat nec veritati*. But they also posited one first principle, the very essence of goodness and unity and being, *quod dicimus Deum*, and from which all other things are good or one or being by derivation; and *quantum ad id quod dicebant de primo rerum principio, verissima est eorum opinio et fidei Christianae consona*, as to what they said of the first principle of things, their opinion is most true and consonant with the Christian faith (*In librum B. Dionysii De divinis nominibus*, prooem.). Hence Dionysius calls God the Good itself, the super-good, the goodness of every good.

Aquinas makes the Dionysian doctrine his chief authority on the Catholic teaching about the angels: after surveying Plato and Aristotle he turns to what the Christian religion asserts on each point, using chiefly the teaching of Dionysius, *qui super alios ea quae ad spirituales substantias pertinent excellentius tradidit*, who handed on the things that concern the spiritual substances more excellently than the others (*De sub. sep.* 18). There he corrects the Platonists' chain of causes: all spiritual substances, not only the highest, are produced immediately by God, as Dionysius teaches (ibid.; chs. 9–11). One Platonic principle he keeps in the *Summa*'s treatise on the angels, that "the nearer things are to the one first principle, the smaller they are in number"; it holds, he says, "as regards the number of orders, as six administer and three assist" (*ST* I q. 112 a. 4 ad 2; §16).

3.8.8 The Fathers' account of the continuity

The Fathers did not only use the philosophers; they explained why the philosophers had seen what they saw. They gave three accounts, and held them together.

The first is that the Greeks learned from Moses. Justin says of Plato's account of the making of the world, "it was from our teachers—we mean the account given through the prophets—that Plato borrowed his statement that God, having altered matter which was shapeless, made the world" (*1 Apology* 59); "It is not, then, that we hold the same opinions as others, but that all speak in imitation of ours" (60). Clement devotes long chapters to showing that "the philosophy of the Hebrews will be demonstrated beyond all contradiction to be the most ancient of all wisdom" (*Stromata* I.21) and to the Greeks' borrowings from the Hebrews (V.14), and among the things borrowed he counts the angels who punish, the guardian angels, the devil, and the spiritual combat (§3.8.3). Eusebius gathers the whole argument in the *Preparation for the Gospel*, where "the philosophy of Plato in very many points contains a translation, as it were, of Moses and the sacred writings of the Hebrews into the Greek language" (*Praep. ev.* XIII, preface), and he copies Clement's chapter at length (XIII.13).

Augustine tempers the claim by chronology. Some thought that Plato had heard Jeremiah in Egypt, "which opinion I myself have expressed in certain of my writings. But a careful calculation of dates ... shows that Plato was born about a hundred years after the time in which Jeremiah prophesied" and died before the Seventy translated the Scriptures into Greek. Yet Augustine still inclines to think that Plato learned their contents "through an interpreter," moved above all by the name God gave Moses through the angel, "I am who am," a truth "which Plato zealously held, and most diligently commended" (*De civ. Dei* VIII.11; Exod 3:14).

The second account is that the Word sows seeds of truth in every man. "Whatever either lawgivers or philosophers uttered well, they elaborated by finding and contemplating some part of the Word. But since they did not know the whole of the Word, which is Christ, they often contradicted themselves" (Justin, *2 Apology* 10). "For each man spoke well in proportion to the share he had of the spermatic word ... Whatever things were rightly said among all men, are the property of us Christians" (13). For Clement philosophy was God's gift to the Greeks for their time: "philosophy was given to the Greeks directly and primarily, till the Lord should call the Greeks. For this was a schoolmaster to bring 'the Hellenic mind,' as the law, the Hebrews, 'to Christ' " (*Stromata* I.5).

The third account concerns the angels themselves. Clement records the opinion that philosophy came to men as a thing stolen: "It was then some power or angel that had learned something of the truth, but abode not in it, that inspired and taught these things, not without the Lord's knowledge ... but without His prohibition" (*Stromata* I.17). Elsewhere he gives the gentler account, grounded in the angels of the nations: "regiments of angels are distributed over the nations and cities. And, perchance, some are assigned to individuals" (VI.17); and the Lord "also gave philosophy to the Greeks by means of the inferior angels. For by an ancient and divine order the angels are distributed among the nations" (VII.2). Clement sets the two accounts side by side: philosophy stolen by a power that did not abide in the truth, yet turned by Providence to good (I.17), and philosophy given through the angels set over the nations (VII.2), which are the Septuagint's reading of Deut 32:8 (§3.1).

Eusebius sets the Hebrews' doctrine of the angels beside the Greeks'. The Hebrews, he says, teach that after God and his Word there are "the intelligent and rational Powers" surpassing man's power to describe "both for multitude and for variety of form," ordered like the stars, for "one star differeth from another star in glory"; Scripture names them "angels, and archangels, and spirits, and divine powers, and heavenly hosts, principalities, and powers, and thrones, and dominions" (*Praep. ev.* VII.15; 1 Cor 15:41). "Such are the doctrines received from the Hebrews, which we have preferred to the erroneous polytheism and daemonism of the Greeks, knowing and duly honouring divine powers as servants and ministers of God the universal King, but confessing Him alone as God, and worshipping Him alone" (ibid.). The fallen, led by him whom Isaiah calls the day star, received an abode in Tartarus; "of this race a small fragment left on the earth and in the sublunar air to exercise the athletes of piety, has become a joint cause of the polytheistic delusion of mankind," and the Hebrews alone from the earliest ages taught "that 'all the gods of the nations are daemons' " (VII.16; Isa 14:12–14; Ps 95[96]:5). Plato "alone of all the Greeks touched the threshold of truth," yet "sinks with the common people of Athens" when he honours the gods of the city (XIII.14); therefore "we must abandon this philosopher ... but must honour Moses, and the Hebrew oracles" (ibid.).

Augustine gives the Platonists the first place among the philosophers and says why. "It is evident that none come nearer to us than the Platonists" (*De civ. Dei* VIII.5); whoever taught that God "is both the maker of all created things, the light by which things are known, and the good in reference to which things are to be done," "we prefer these to all other philosophers, and confess that they approach nearest to us" (VIII.9). What they said truly is the Church's by right, as Israel took the gold of Egypt:

> Moreover, if those who are called philosophers, and especially the Platonists, have said aught that is true and in harmony with our faith, we are not only not to shrink from it, but to claim it for our own use from those who have unlawful possession of it. ... some truths in regard even to the worship of the One God are found among them. Now these are, so to speak, their gold and silver, which they did not create themselves, but dug out of the mines of God's providence which are everywhere scattered abroad, and are perversely and unlawfully prostituting to the worship of devils. (*De doctrina christiana* II.40.60, tr. Shaw)

The image fits the angels exactly. The gold is the philosophers' knowledge of a multitude of created spirits between God and man, bearers of his will, guardians of men, movers of the heavens, ordered in ranks, some fallen into envy and pride. The idols are the worship paid to those spirits under the names of gods, the rites that fed the demons with blood and smoke, and the theurgy that sought the angels by incantation. The Fathers carried the gold out and left the idols. Aquinas, reading the same philosophers eight centuries later, gathers the reception into a sentence: "The

holy doctors held with the Platonists that different spiritual substances were placed over corporeal things" (*ST* I q. 110 a. 1 ad 3); and of the Platonists' gods, "we call them 'angels' " (*ST* II-II q. 94 a. 1).

3.8.9 The philosophers and their reception by locus

Philosopher and locus	Teaching	Patristic reception	Disposition
Hesiod, *Works and Days* 121–126, 252–255	The golden race become pure spirits, guardians of mortal men; thirty thousand watchers over justice	Lactantius quotes 122–123: God sent guardians, whose name the fallen usurp (*Div. inst.* II.14.7–8); Eusebius turns the thirty thousand guardians against the gods (*Praep. ev.* IV.17)	Received as to guardians sent by God; corrected as to their origin; the fallen unmasked (Lactantius). Guardian angels: *ST* I q. 113 a. 2
Plato, *Cratylus* 397e–398c	Daemon named from knowing; the good man becomes a daemon	Lactantius II.14.6; Augustine, *De civ. Dei* IX.20; Isidore, *Etym.* VIII.11.15	Etymology received; knowledge without charity puffs up (Augustine, 1 Cor 8:1). Aquinas, *De sub. sep.* 20
Plato, *Apology* 31c–d, 40a–c	Socrates' sign from childhood, which forbids	Justin, *1 Apol.* 5, *2 Apol.* 10; Tertullian, *Apol.* 22, *De anima* 1; Minucius, *Oct.* 26; Lactantius II.14.9; Clement, *Strom.* V.14	Disputed among the Fathers: Socrates a foe of the demons (Justin); his spirit an evil demon (Tertullian, Minucius, Lactantius); named without censure as a source of Plato's allotted guide (Clement)
Plato, *Symposium* 202d–203a	The daemonic interprets between gods and men; "God mingles not with man"	Minucius, *Oct.* 26; Origen, *C. Cels.* V.4–5; Augustine, *De civ. Dei* VIII.18, 20, IX.15	Office received and given to the angels (Origen); maxim rejected; Christ the one Mediator (Augustine)
Plato, *Republic* X 617d–e, 620d–e; *Phaedo* 107d–108b	A daemon allotted to each soul, guardian of its life and guide after death	Clement, *Strom.* V.14; Origen, *C. Cels.* VIII.34; Tertullian, *De anima* 39, 53; Justin, *1 Apol.* 44	Received as a figure of the guardian angel (Clement); corrected by Matt 18:10 (Origen); the pagan *genius* rejected as a demon (Tertullian). *ST* I q. 113 a. 5
Plato, *Timaeus* 40d–41b	Made gods, immortal by the Maker's will; the origin of the other daemons beyond telling	Athenagoras, *Leg.* 23; Augustine, *De civ. Dei* IX.23; Eusebius, *Praep. ev.* XIII.1, 15	Received as the angels if created and blessed by cleaving to God (Augustine); emanation corrected to creation from nothing (Eusebius; Lateran IV, DS 800). Aquinas reads the gods as heavenly bodies (*ST* I q. 50 a. 5 ad 2)
Plato, *Laws* IV 713c–e; *Statesman* 271d	Daemons set by God as shepherds over men and kinds of living things	Athenagoras, *Leg.* 24, the angels' particular providence (parallel)	Received: "The holy doctors held with the Platonists" (*ST* I q. 110 a. 1 ad 3); the threefold providence rejected (*ST* I q. 103 a. 6 ad 1)
Plato, *Laws* X 896e, 906a	A good and an evil soul in the heavens; gods and daemons our allies in an immortal conflict	Clement, *Strom.* V.14; Eusebius, *Praep. ev.* XI.26	Received as from Moses: the devil and the spiritual combat (Eph 6:12); Job 1:6
Aristotle, *Metaphysics* XII.8, 1073a–1074b	Unmoved movers as many as the heavenly motions, by probable argument; the first substances are gods	Aquinas, *ST* I q. 50 a. 3; *SCG* II.92; *De sub. sep.* 2–4; *In Metaph.* XII lect. 10	Corrected: the angels exceed all material multitude (Dan 7:10); rule the lower bodies too (*ST* I q. 110 a. 1 ad 2)

Philosopher and locus	Teaching	Patristic reception	Disposition
Plutarch, *De defectu oraculorum* 10–17	Daemons midway, officers of the gods, some evil; oracles fail when they depart; "Great Pan is dead"	Eusebius, *Praep. ev.* V.1, 3–5, 16–17	Rejected as to worship: the oracles were demons', silenced under Tiberius by Christ
Apuleius, *De deo Socratis* 4, 6, 13, 16	Aerial, passive, eternal daemons carry prayers; each man's allotted guardian	Augustine, *De civ. Dei* VIII.14–22, IX.19	Rejected: the air is the demons' prison; good spirits are angels, never "good demons." Aerial bodies: *ST* I q. 51 a. 1 ad 1
Plotinus, *Enneads* III.4.3; III.5.6	The guardian a higher power of one's own soul; daemons passible, between gods and men	Augustine, *De civ. Dei* X.2 (on illumination)	Parallel on the guardian; received on the one light of angels and men (John 1:9)
Porphyry, *De abstinentia* II.38–42; letter to Anebo	Good daemons over fruits and weather; evil daemons crave worship and sacrifice	Eusebius, *Praep. ev.* IV.22; Origen, *C. Cels.* VIII.31–32 (the same doctrine in Celsus); Augustine, *De civ. Dei* X.9–11, 26	Good powers received as angels (Origen); demon-worship rejected; imitate, do not invoke, the angels (Augustine)
Iamblichus, *De mysteriis* II.3	Gods, archangels, angels, daemons, archons, souls, known by apparitions in theurgy	Augustine, *De civ. Dei* X.9–10	Rejected: demons invoked under the names of angels (2 Cor 11:14)
Proclus, *Elements of Theology* (through the *Liber de causis*)	The order of first causes in 211 propositions, as Aquinas describes it	Aquinas, *In De causis* prooem.; *In De div. nom.* prooem.; *De sub. sep.* 18	Received as to the first principle; separate forms rejected; all spirits created immediately by God

4 The Greek Fathers before Dionysius

The writers who received the faith from the apostles and their disciples speak of the angels as part of the Church's preaching. They confess that the angels are creatures of the one God, made through his Word, beyond number, ordered in ranks, free, and sent to minister to the salvation of men; that they stand over nations, churches, and persons, and carry the prayers of the faithful before God; and that the devil and his angels were made good and fell by their own will. Irenaeus sets the angels in the rule of faith that the Church "has received from the apostles and their disciples": Christ will come to judge, and will send "the angels who transgressed and became apostates" into everlasting fire (*Adv. haer.* I.10.1). Origen, laying out what the Church has handed down before he begins to inquire, names the same two articles: that the devil and his angels exist, and "that there are certain angels of God, and certain good influences, which are His servants in accomplishing the salvation of men" (*De principiis*, preface 6, 10). Between the letter of Clement of Rome and the dialogues of Methodius this teaching is stated, argued from Scripture, defended against pagans and Gnostics, and pressed into speculation. The Catechism calls the existence of the angels "a truth of faith" and appeals to "the unanimity of Tradition" (CCC 328); these writers are that Tradition's first voices, and every later Father builds on what they wrote.[6]

4.1 Clement of Rome, Ignatius, and the Martyrs

Clement of Rome. The letter of the Roman Church to the Corinthians, written in Clement's name, turns to the angels when it exhorts the Corinthians to obedience and concord. The good servant is prompt in well-doing, and the pattern of promptness is the host of heaven:

[6]English quotations of the Fathers are from the *Ante-Nicene Fathers* (Edinburgh translation, American edition of 1885–1887), cited by each witness's own divisions.

> Let us consider the whole multitude of His angels, how they stand ever ready to minister to His will. For the Scripture saith, "Ten thousand times ten thousand stood around Him, and thousands of thousands ministered unto Him, and cried, Holy, holy, holy, [is] the Lord of Sabaoth; the whole creation is full of His glory." And let us therefore, conscientiously gathering together in harmony, cry to Him earnestly, as with one mouth, that we may be made partakers of His great and glorious promises. (*1 Clem.* 34)

Clement joins Daniel's myriads (Dan 7:10) to Isaias's seraphim (Isa 6:3) and draws the lesson of the liturgy from them: the angels minister and cry the thrice-holy with one voice, and the Church, gathered in concord, cries "as with one mouth." Clement's letter thus already sets the assembly's praise beside the angels' Sanctus. The same letter reads Moses' song in the Greek Bible, "He fixed the bounds of the nations according to the number of the angels of God. His people Jacob became the portion of the Lord" (*1 Clem.* 29; Deut 32:8–9). The Douay, with the Vulgate and the Hebrew, reads that God "appointed the bounds of people according to the number of the children of Israel" (Deut 32:8); the Septuagint reading that Clement quotes carries the Greek teaching on the angels of the nations, which Clement of Alexandria and Origen develop. Clement of Rome also carries the contrast of Hebrews: Christ is "by so much greater than the angels, as He hath by inheritance obtained a more excellent name than they," for God "maketh His angels spirits, and His ministers a flame of fire," while to the Son he says, "Thou art my Son" (*1 Clem.* 36; Heb 1:4–5, 7; Ps 103[104]:4).

Ignatius of Antioch. On his way to martyrdom Ignatius writes to the Trallians that he could tell them of heavenly things, but fears to harm them as infants in Christ: "even I, though I am bound [for Christ], yet am not on that account able to understand heavenly things, and the places of the angels, and their gatherings under their respective princes, things visible and invisible" (*Trall.* 5). The bishop knows that the angels have their stations, that they are gathered into companies, and that the companies stand under princes; he treats this as the higher teaching of the mature, and holds himself still a learner before it. The longer recension of the letter, an interpolated expansion of the Ignatian text, names what Ignatius left unnamed: "the angelic orders, and the different sorts of angels and hosts, the distinctions between powers and dominions, and the diversities between thrones and authorities, the mightiness of the Æons, and the pre-eminence of the cherubim and seraphim" (*Trall.* 5, longer recension).

Ignatius sets the whole of this heavenly order under the Cross. To the Smyrnaeans he writes: "Let no man deceive himself. Both the things which are in heaven, and the glorious angels, and rulers, both visible and invisible, if they believe not in the blood of Christ, shall, in consequence, incur condemnation" (*Smyrn.* 6). No rank in heaven stands outside the economy of the blood of Christ. The prince of this world, on the other side, is kept in ignorance of it: "the virginity of Mary was hidden from the prince of this world, as was also her offspring, and the death of the Lord; three mysteries of renown, which were wrought in silence by God" (*Eph.* 19). When the star shone above all the other stars, "every kind of magic was destroyed, and every bond of wickedness disappeared; ignorance was removed, and the old kingdom abolished, God Himself being manifested in human form" (*ibid.*). The Church's worship breaks the same power: "when ye assemble frequently in the same place, the powers of Satan are destroyed, and the destruction at which he aims is prevented by the unity of your faith" (*Eph.* 13).

Barnabas, the Letter to Diognetus, and Polycarp. The Epistle of Barnabas opens its teaching on the two ways with the angels who preside over them: "There are two ways of doctrine and authority, the one of light, and the other of darkness ... For over one are stationed the light-bringing angels of God, but over the other the angels of Satan" (*Barn.* 18). The Letter to Diognetus measures the Incarnation by the angels: God did not send to men "any servant, or angel, or ruler, or any one of those who bear sway over earthly things, or one of those to whom the government of things in the heavens has been entrusted, but the very Creator and Fashioner of all things" (*Diogn.* 7). The author takes for granted that angels bear rule over earthly and heavenly things; the point is that the Son is above them all. At the stake Polycarp blesses "the God of angels and powers, and of every creature" (*Mart. Pol.* 14), and the Church of Smyrna says of the martyrs who endured before him that the Lord revealed to them the good things laid up for those who endure, "inasmuch as they were no longer men, but had already become angels" (*Mart. Pol.* 2).

4.2 The Shepherd of Hermas

No writing of the first Christian centuries is so full of angels as the *Shepherd*. Its revelations are given by the Church in the form of an aged woman and then by an angel in the garb of a shepherd, and its teaching on repentance is spoken throughout by angels.

The tower and the first-created angels. In the third Vision the Church shows Hermas "a great tower, built upon the waters, of splendid square stones," built by six young men while "myriads of men were carrying stones to it" (*Vis.* III.2). The tower is the Church herself, "founded on the word of the almighty and glorious Name" (III.3). Hermas asks who the builders are:

> "These are the holy angels of God, who were first created, and to whom the Lord handed over His whole creation, that they might increase and build up and rule over the whole creation. By these will the building of the tower be finished." "But who are the other persons who are engaged in carrying the stones?" "These also are holy angels of the Lord, but the former six are more excellent than these." (*Vis.* III.4)

The Church is built by angels: a first rank, created first and charged with the whole creation, and a multitude of lesser angels who bring the stones. The stones themselves are the apostles, bishops, teachers, and deacons, the martyrs, and the faithful; and the young in faith who are being fitted into the building "are admonished by the angels to do good" (III.5). The ninth Similitude returns to the tower and gives it its centre. The multitude who build "are all glorious angels, and by them accordingly is the Lord surrounded," and the gate of the tower is the Son of God: "The glorious man is the Son of God, and those six glorious angels are those who support Him on the right hand and on the left. None of these glorious angels will enter in unto God apart from Him" (*Sim.* IX.12). The first-created angels stand at the Son's right hand and left and sit in the Lord's council, and they themselves come to the Father only through the Son. The fifth Similitude has the same order: in the parable of the vineyard "the stakes are the holy angels of the Lord, who keep His people together," and "the friends and fellow-councillors are the holy angels who were first created"; the Lord "took, therefore, as fellow-councillors His Son and the glorious angels"; God gave the people to his Son, "and the Son appointed His angels over them to keep them" (*Sim.* V.5–6).

Michael and the glorious angel. In the eighth Similitude "a glorious angel of the Lord, who was very tall" stands beside a great willow that overshadows plains and mountains, and cuts from it rods for all who are called by the name of the Lord; later he receives the rods back, examines them, and crowns with palms those whose rods have put out shoots and fruit (*Sim.* VIII.1–2). The Shepherd explains:

> This great tree that casts its shadow over plains, and mountains, and all the earth, is the law of God that was given to the whole world; and this law is the Son of God, proclaimed to the ends of the earth ... And the great and glorious angel Michael is he who has authority over this people, and governs them; for this is he who gave them the law into the hearts of believers: he accordingly superintends them to whom he gave it, to see if they have kept the same. (*Sim.* VIII.3)

Daniel's Michael, the great prince who stands for the children of his people (Dan 12:1), is here the prince of the new people of God, examining the fidelity of each believer. In the seventh Similitude "the glorious angel" governs the discipline of Hermas's household: it is he who has commanded that Hermas be afflicted for a time, because his house has sinned, until they repent (*Sim.* VII).

The angel of repentance. The Shepherd himself is an angel. He comes to Hermas "a man of glorious aspect, dressed like a shepherd," and says, "I have been sent by a most venerable angel to dwell with you the remaining days of your life"; Hermas calls him "the shepherd, even the angel of repentance" (*Vis.* V). He is Hermas's guardian: at the end of the book the angel who first sent him says, "I have delivered you and your house to the Shepherd, that you may be protected by him," and tells Hermas that "he is in great honour and dignity with God, and that he is a president with great power, and mighty in his office. To him alone throughout the whole world is the power of repentance assigned" (*Sim.* X.1). The Shepherd reports on his charge: "he had a good report of you to me, ... and he may report well of these to me, and I to the Lord" (X.2). Guardianship runs upward in a chain from the man to

his angel, from the angel to the glorious angel, and from him to the Lord. Hermas gives thanks that God "had pity on all that call upon His name; and sent the angel of repentance to us who sinned against Him, and renewed our spirit" (*Sim.* IX.14).

The two angels with each man. The sixth Mandate teaches the discernment of spirits by the two angels who attend every man:

> "There are two angels with a man—one of righteousness, and the other of iniquity." ... "The angel of righteousness is gentle and modest, meek and peaceful. When, therefore, he ascends into your heart, forthwith he talks to you of righteousness, purity, chastity, contentment, and of every righteous deed and glorious virtue." ... "First, he [the angel of iniquity] is wrathful, and bitter, and foolish, and his works are evil, and ruin the servants of God." (*Mand.* VI.2)

Each angel is known by the thoughts he raises in the heart; Hermas is to trust the one and "bid farewell" to the other. Origen cites this Mandate, with Barnabas's two ways, as the Church's witness that good and evil thoughts are suggested by good and evil angels (*De princ.* III.2.4). The prophet in the assembly is filled by an angel of the same order: when the church prays, "then the angel of the prophetic Spirit, who is destined for him, fills the man" (*Mand.* XI).

The devil, the angels of punishment, and the angel over the beasts. Hermas's devil is fearsome only to the empty. "Fear not the devil; for, fearing the Lord, you will have dominion over the devil, for there is no power in him" (*Mand.* VII). The angel of repentance speaks as his master: "fear not the devil; for there is no power in him against you, for I will be with you, the angel of repentance, who am lord over him. The devil has fear only, but his fear has no strength" (*Mand.* XII.4). "The devil can wrestle against these, overthrow them he cannot" (XII.5). He goes about the servants of God as a man tests his wine-jars, passing the full ones and looking for the empty, and he enters those whom he finds empty of faith (XII.5). The sixth Similitude shows two further angels: a merry shepherd in yellow who is "the angel of luxury and deceit," who wears out the souls of the servants of God, and a stern shepherd who is "the angel of punishment; and he belongs to the just angels, and is appointed to punish," who afflicts the wandering with losses, want, and sickness until they repent (*Sim.* VI.2–3). The chastising angel is a holy angel; his severity serves repentance. The fourth Vision gives the angels a charge over the animal creation: when Hermas meets a monstrous beast on the Campanian road and escapes it by faith, he is told that "the Lord has sent His angel, who has rule over the beasts, and whose name is Thegri, and has shut up its mouth" (*Vis.* IV.2; cf. Dan 6:22 [6:23]).

The *Shepherd* gives the Church her earliest full picture of angelic guardianship: a personal angel sent to each penitent, a prince over the people of God, holy angels charged with chastisement and with the beasts, first-created angels who build the Church and never approach the Father except through the Son.

4.3 Justin Martyr

The host of good angels. Justin writes to the emperors to answer the charge of atheism. The Christians deny the gods of the poets, whom he unmasks as demons, but not the true God:

> And we confess that we are atheists, so far as gods of this sort are concerned, but not with respect to the most true God, the Father of righteousness and temperance and the other virtues, who is free from all impurity. But both Him, and the Son (who came forth from Him and taught us these things, and the host of the other good angels who follow and are made like to Him), and the prophetic Spirit, we worship and adore, knowing them in reason and truth. (*1 Apol.* 6)

Justin sets the "host of the other good angels" in his confession immediately after the Son whom they follow and to whom they are made like. The Son is their captain; the good angels form his retinue. The same Apology states the rule of worship in the Lord's words: "that we ought to worship God alone, He thus persuaded us: 'The greatest commandment is, Thou shalt worship the Lord thy God, and Him only shall thou serve' " (*1 Apol.* 16). The Christian honours the angels as the host of the Son and adores God alone.

The angels' charge and their transgression. In the Second Apology Justin explains why the just suffer if God is their helper. God made the world for man, subjected earthly things to him, ordered the heavenly elements for the seasons, and

> committed the care of men and of all things under heaven to angels whom He appointed over them. But the angels transgressed this appointment, and were captivated by love of women, and begat children who are those that are called demons; and besides, they afterwards subdued the human race to themselves, partly by magical writings, and partly by fears and the punishments they occasioned, and partly by teaching them to offer sacrifices, and incense, and libations. (*2 Apol.* 5)

Justin reads the sons of God of Genesis 6 as angels who had received the care of men and betrayed it (Gen 6:2–4; see §3.2); the demons are their offspring, and the gods of the nations are these angels and demons under the names they gave themselves. Augustine and Chrysostom read the sons of God as the descendants of Seth, and Aquinas follows Augustine (*De civ. Dei* XV.23; Chrysostom, *Hom. in Gen.* 22; *ST* I q. 51 a. 3 ad 6; see §3.2). The substance of Justin's teaching stands in either reading: God gave the angels charge over men, and some angels betrayed their charge and made themselves the gods of the heathen.

The fall was an act of freedom. "God in the beginning made the race of angels and men with free-will," so that "they will justly suffer in eternal fire the punishment of whatever sins they have committed" (*2 Apol.* 7). The Dialogue with Trypho states it at the end, as Justin's last word to his Jewish hearers: God, "wishing men and angels to follow His will, resolved to create them free to do righteousness; possessing reason, that they may know by whom they are created, and through whom they, not existing formerly, do now exist." If Scripture foretells that some angels and men will be punished, "it did so because it foreknew that they would be unchangeably [wicked], but not because God had created them so" (*Dial.* 141). When Trypho protests that it is blasphemy to say that angels sinned, Justin answers from Scripture: the Septuagint Isaias says that "the princes in Tanis are evil angels," the devil stands among the angels before the Lord in Job and at the right hand of the priest in Zacharias, and David sang that "the gods of the nations are demons" (*Dial.* 79; Isa 30:4, LXX; Job 1:6; Zach 3:1; Ps 95[96]:5). The devil is "an apostate from the will of God," overthrown by Christ when he asked "to be worshipped as God, contrary to the Scripture" (*Dial.* 125), and Christ foretold that he "would be sent into the fire with his host, and the men who follow him" (*1 Apol.* 28).

The Angel who is God. Justin's longest treatment of angels concerns an Angel who is more than an angel. Against Trypho he argues that the One who appeared to Abraham at Mamre, to Jacob, and to Moses in the bush is "another God and Lord subject to the Maker of all things; who is also called an Angel, because He announces to men whatsoever the Maker of all things ... wishes to announce to them" (*Dial.* 56). He works through Genesis 18–19 with his hearers. Of the three men at Mamre, two were angels sent to Sodom; the third, who promised Sarah a son and returned when Isaac was born, is called God. When the two went on to Sodom, "He remained behind, and communed with Abraham," and it is he who "rained on Sodom sulphur and fire from the Lord out of heaven" (Gen 19:24): "one of the three, who is both God and Lord, and ministers to Him who is in the heavens, is Lord of the two angels" (*Dial.* 56). Trypho grants that they "were wrong in believing that the three who were in the tent with Abraham were all angels" (*ibid.*). At the bush the text says that "the Angel of the Lord appeared to him in a flame of fire" and then that "the Lord called to him out of the bush" (Exod 3:2–4), and Justin concludes that "this same One alone who is called an Angel, and who is God, appeared to and communed with Moses" (*Dial.* 60). The First Apology sums it up: the Word of God "is called Angel and Apostle; for He declares whatever we ought to know, and is sent forth to declare whatever is revealed," and he appeared of old "sometimes in the form of fire, and sometimes in the likeness of angels" (*1 Apol.* 63).

Justin's reading of the theophanies distinguishes the created angels sharply from this Angel. The Angel is "begotten from the Father, by His power and will, but not by abscission"; he is not a temporary radiance of the Father like sunlight that returns to the sun, and neither are the angels. Some held that the Father makes his power spring forth and return, and "in this way, they teach, He made the angels. But it is proved that there are angels who always exist, and are never reduced to that form out of which they sprang" (*Dial.* 128). The angels are abiding creatures with their own being. At Mamre the two angels "are nourished in the heavens ... even though they are not nourished by food similar to that which mortals use," as the manna is called angels' food; and the Scripture that says they ate at Abraham's table speaks as we say that fire devours all things (*Dial.* 57; Ps 77[78]:25). Augustine reads Mamre otherwise: God appeared "in three men, who it is not to be doubted were angels, although some think that one of them was Christ," and Abraham and Lot addressed the Lord in them because "God was in them as He was wont to

be in the prophets" (*De civ. Dei* XVI.29). Aquinas follows Augustine: Abraham offered food to the angels as to men "in whom, nevertheless, he worshipped God," and their eating was figurative (*ST* I q. 51 a. 2 s.c.; a. 3 ad 5; see §1).

4.4 Athenagoras, Tatian, and Theophilus

Athenagoras: the providence of the angels. Athenagoras's Plea for the Christians answers the charge of atheism with the Trinity and adds the angels to the Christian account of the divine order:

> Nor is our teaching in what relates to the divine nature confined to these points; but we recognise also a multitude of angels and ministers, whom God the Maker and Framer of the world distributed and appointed to their several posts by His Logos, to occupy themselves about the elements, and the heavens, and the world, and the things in it, and the goodly ordering of them all. (*Leg.* 10)

The angels are appointed by God through the Logos and posted to the elements and the heavens. Athenagoras defines their office in a sentence that governs Greek angelology after him:

> For this is the office of the angels,—to exercise providence for God over the things created and ordered by Him; so that God may have the universal and general providence of the whole, while the particular parts are provided for by the angels appointed over them. (*Leg.* 24)

Like men, the angels are free. "Some, free agents, you will observe, such as they were created by God, continued in those things for which God had made and over which He had ordained them; but some outraged both the constitution of their nature and the government entrusted to them." Among these is "the spirit which is about matter, who was created by God, just as the other angels were created by Him, and entrusted with the control of matter and the forms of matter"; he "became negligent and wicked in the management of the things entrusted to him," and others of the angels about the first firmament "fell into impure love of virgins," from whom the giants were begotten (*Leg.* 24); Athenagoras reads Genesis 6 with Justin. The devil is not a second principle: nothing is really opposed to God, "for even if anything had placed itself in opposition to God, it would have ceased to exist"; he is opposed only to "the good that is in God" (*ibid.*). The fallen angels "haunt the air and the earth, and are no longer able to rise to heavenly things" (*Leg.* 25). The demons draw men to idols, "eager for the blood of the sacrifices," and when souls are misled by empty images the demons "cause to flow into the mind empty visions as if coming from the idols and the statues" and claim for themselves the glory of any healing (*Leg.* 26–27). Aquinas receives the teaching that the angels are set over corporeal things as the common teaching of the holy doctors, quoting Augustine, Damascene, and Origen (*ST* I q. 110 a. 1).

Tatian: the Logos framer of the angels. Tatian, Justin's hearer at Rome, who after his master's death fell away to found the sect of the Encratites, wrote in his Address to the Greeks that "the Logos, too, before the creation of men, was the Framer of angels," and that angels and men were each "made free to act as it pleased, not having the nature of good, which again is with God alone" (*Or.* 7). The fall began among the angels. When men attached themselves "to one who was more subtle than the rest, having regard to his being the first-born, and declared him to be God," the Logos excluded "the beginner of the folly and his adherents from all fellowship with Himself"; "that first-begotten one through his transgression and ignorance becomes a demon; and they who imitated him ... are become a host of demons" (*ibid.*). The translators' note gives the Greek here as *angelos prōtogonos*, the first-born angel. The demons "do not indeed die easily, for they do not partake of flesh; but while living they practice the ways of death"; their immortality will serve their punishment (*Or.* 14). "None of the demons possess flesh; their structure is spiritual, like that of fire or air," and they are seen only by those whom the Spirit of God indwells; "on this account the nature of the demons has no place for repentance" (*Or.* 15); "being smitten by the word of God, they depart in terror" (*Or.* 16). Tatian says that the demons, "having received their structure from matter and obtained the spirit which inheres in it, became intemperate and greedy" (*Or.* 12); Aquinas treats the view that created spirits have bodies naturally united to them and rejects it (*ST* I q. 51 a. 1).

Theophilus of Antioch. Theophilus names the devil in his account of Eden. Eve, deceived by the serpent, became the author of sin, and behind the serpent stood "the wicked demon, who also is called Satan, who then spoke to her through the serpent, and who works even to this day in those men that are possessed by him"; "he is called

'demon' and 'dragon,' on account of his [*apodedrakenai*] revolting from God. For at first he was an angel" (*Ad Autol.* II.28). The Greek pun joins *drakōn*, dragon, to the verb of running away: the dragon is the deserter. Satan's envy follows the first sin into the second generation: when he saw Adam and Eve living and begetting children, "being carried away with spite because he had not succeeded in putting them to death," and saw Abel pleasing to God, "he wrought upon the heart of his brother called Cain, and caused him to kill his brother Abel. And thus did death get a beginning in this world" (II.29). The pagan poets spoke from the same spirits, "and these spirits of error themselves confess that they are demons who also formerly inspired these writers" when the possessed are exorcised "in the name of the living and true God" (II.8).

4.5 Irenaeus of Lyons

Irenaeus writes against the Gnostic systems in which angels or a demiurge made the world against the will, or without the knowledge, of the highest God. His teaching on the angels is the Church's answer: one God made all things through his Word, and the angels are among the things made.

Creatures, not creators. "Those ... who say that the world was formed by angels ... contrary to the will of Him who is the Supreme Father, err first of all in this very point." If the angels acted against God's will, they would be stronger than he; if with his will, the work is his, "for if He is the Former of the world, He too made the angels, or at least was the cause of their creation" (*Adv. haer.* II.2.1–3). God does not need instruments: he "created and made all things by His Word, while He neither required angels to assist Him in the production of those things which are made, nor of any power greatly inferior to Himself." He gave each creature its nature, and "conferred on spiritual things a spiritual and invisible nature, on super-celestial things a celestial, on angels an angelical" (II.2.4). Man too was made by God's own hands: "It was not angels, therefore, who made us, nor who formed us, neither had angels power to make an image of God ... For with Him were always present the Word and Wisdom, the Son and the Spirit, by whom and in whom, freely and spontaneously, He made all things" (IV.20.1). The Father, "being in no want of angels," nevertheless "has a vast and unspeakable number of servants. For His offspring and His similitude do minister to Him in every respect; that is, the Son and the Holy Spirit, the Word and Wisdom; whom all the angels serve, and to whom they are subject" (IV.7.4).

The angels are therefore works of the Creator whom the Gnostics despise. Irenaeus turns their own boast against them: if the things above the heavens came forth from their spiritual seed, "then let them inform us what is the nature of things invisible, recount the number of the Angels, and the ranks of the Archangels, reveal the mysteries of the Thrones, and teach us the differences between the Dominations, Principalities, Powers, and Virtues. But they can say nothing respecting them; therefore these beings were not made by them" (II.30.6). What heretic can show a work to rival "those existences which are above heaven, and which do not pass away, such as Angels, Archangels, Thrones, Dominions, and Powers innumerable" (II.30.3)? Irenaeus names the orders of Scripture as he finds them in Paul, sets no fixed rank among them, and declares them all creatures. John proves it: "all things, whether Angels, or Archangels, or Thrones, or Dominions, were both established and created by Him who is God over all, through His Word," for "all things were made by Him" (III.8.3; John 1:3; Ps 32[33]:6, 9). Since they have received a beginning, the name of God belongs to none of them, "so that He indeed who made all things can alone, together with His Word, properly be termed God and Lord" (III.8.3). The Son, co-existing with the Father from the beginning, "always reveals the Father to Angels, Archangels, Powers, Virtues, and all to whom He wills that God should be revealed" (II.30.9).

The Church's prayer. Irenaeus contrasts the Church's works of power with the magic of the heretics: "Nor does she perform anything by means of angelic invocations, or by incantations, or by any other wicked curious art; but, directing her prayers to the Lord, who made all things, in a pure, sincere, and straightforward spirit, and calling upon the name of our Lord Jesus Christ, she has been accustomed to work miracles for the advantage of mankind" (II.32.5). The Church's power flows from the name of Christ and prayer to the Creator; the names of angels used as spells belong to the sorcerers.

Freedom and the apostasy. "In man, as well as in angels, He has placed the power of choice (for angels are rational beings), so that those who had yielded obedience might justly possess what is good, given indeed by God, but preserved by themselves" (IV.37.1). The devil is no exception. "We do not find that the devil created anything whatsoever, since indeed he is himself a creature of God, like the other angels." God "made neither angels nor men so

by nature"; those who do not obey him "are sons and angels of the devil, because they do the works of the devil" (IV.41.1–2). The eternal fire "was not originally prepared for man, but for him who beguiled man, and caused him to offend—for him, I say, who is chief of the apostasy, and for those angels who became apostates along with him" (III.23.3; Matt 25:41). In the parable of the tares "we learn that this was the apostate angel and the enemy, because he was envious of God's workmanship" (IV.40.3; Matt 13:25).

Irenaeus gives the devil's sin a precise root. The devil was "one among those angels who are placed over the spirit of the air, as the Apostle Paul has declared in his Epistle to the Ephesians"; "becoming envious of man, [he] was rendered an apostate from the divine law: for envy is a thing foreign to God" (V.24.4; Eph 2:2). His whole power "consists in transgression and apostasy," and he can go only so far as to "deceive and lead astray the mind of man into disobeying the commandments of God" (V.21.3; V.24.3); in Eden "he disputed about God, as if God was not there, for he was ignorant of the greatness of God," and was proved "a liar and a murderer" (V.23.1–2; John 8:44). Satan, whose Hebrew name "signifies an apostate," was overcome by the Son of man with the words of the Law in the three temptations, so that "as in the beginning he enticed man to transgress his Maker's law, and thereby got him into his power," he should be bound by man "with the same chains with which he had bound man" (V.21.2–3). This is the recapitulation: Christ "summed up in Himself this enmity" of Gen 3:15, being "made man from a woman," and trod on the serpent's head (IV.40.3). The Word "conquering him by means of human nature, and showing him to be an apostate, has, on the contrary, put him under the power of man" (V.24.4; Luke 10:19). Irenaeus also holds, with Justin, that before the Flood "the angels that sinned had commingled" with the race of men (IV.36.4), and that Enoch, "although he was a man," was God's legate to the angels "because the angels when they had transgressed fell to the earth for judgment" (IV.16.2).

4.6 Clement of Alexandria

Clement's *Stromata* present the Christian *gnōstikos*, the perfect believer who knows God, as one who lives in the company of the angels and climbs the ladder of their order toward God.

The ordered ascent. The seventh book sets the angel in the scale of being: "the best thing on earth is the most pious man; and the best thing in heaven, the nearer in place and purer, is an angel, the partaker of the eternal and blessed life. But the nature of the Son, which is nearest to Him who is alone the Almighty One, is the most perfect." To the Son "is placed in subjection all the host of angels and gods" (*Strom.* VII.2). All government descends from him through ranks:

> But, as I think, characteristic of the highest power is the accurate scrutiny of all the parts, reaching even to the minutest, terminating in the first Administrator of the universe, who by the will of the Father directs the salvation of all; some overlooking, who are set under others, who are set over them, till you come to the great High Priest. For on one original first Principle, which acts according to the [Father's] will, the first and the second and the third depend. Then at the highest extremity of the visible world is the blessed band of angels; and down to ourselves there are ranged, some under others, those who, from One and by One, both are saved and save. (*Strom.* VII.2)

Clement illustrates the chain with the magnet: "As, then, the minutest particle of steel is moved by the spirit of the Heraclean stone, when diffused over many steel rings; so also, attracted by the Holy Spirit, the virtuous are added by affinity to the first abode, and the others in succession down to the last" (*ibid.*). The same power passes down the whole series of rings, from the Son through the angels to the least of the saints; each ring is drawn and draws. Clement has here the principle that Dionysius will set out as hierarchy: an order in which the higher receive from God and hand on to the lower, so that the lower are brought up to God through them. The angels, too, had to learn: "we also have already heard that angels learned the truth, and their rulers over them; for they had a beginning" (*Strom.* VI.7), and their teacher is the First-begotten, by whom all things were made; God himself is "separated as He is from even the archangels" (*ibid.*).

At the summit Clement places the seven: "The first-born princes of the angels, who have the greatest power, are seven" (*Strom.* VI.16), the heptad that he finds throughout creation, from the planets to the phases of the moon (cf. Tob 12:15; Apoc 8:2).

The angels of nations and of persons. Clement joins the Song of Moses to the government of the world: "by an ancient and divine order the angels are distributed among the nations. But the glory of those who believe is 'the Lord's portion' " (*Strom.* VII.2; Deut 32:8–9, LXX). The providence of God reaches men through ministers: "the divine will being conveyed to human souls, particular divine ministers contributing to such services. For regiments of angels are distributed over the nations and cities. And, perchance, some are assigned to individuals" (*Strom.* VI.17). God's benefits reach men with "angels at the same time lending encouragement. For by angels, whether seen or not, the divine power bestows good things. Such was the mode adopted in the advent of the Lord" (*ibid.*). In the Church, the presbyters serve for improvement and the deacons for ministry, and "in both these ministries the angels serve God, in the management of earthly affairs" (*Strom.* VII.1). Clement holds that the Son "gave philosophy to the Greeks by means of the inferior angels" (*Strom.* VII.2), so that the partial truths of the Greek sages came to them through the angels set over their nation.

The Church on earth and the angelic glory. The grades of the Church are modelled on heaven: "the grades here in the Church, of bishops, presbyters, deacons, are imitations of the angelic glory, and of that economy which, the Scriptures say, awaits those who, following the footsteps of the apostles, have lived in perfection of righteousness" (*Strom.* VI.13). The perfect advance through these grades of glory, "for glory differs from glory," until they grow into "a perfect man" (*ibid.*; 1 Cor 15:41; Eph 4:13).

Prayer with the angels. The man of knowledge prays with the angels and is kept by them. "Whence, as is right, there being only one good God, that some good things be given from Him alone, and that some remain, we and the angels pray. But not similarly. For it is not the same thing to pray that the gift remain, and to endeavour to obtain it for the first time" (*Strom.* VII.7). The angels pray for perseverance in a good already possessed; men pray to receive it. The perfect Christian "prays in the society of angels, as being already of angelic rank, and he is never out of their holy keeping; and though he pray alone, he has the choir of the saints standing with him" (VII.12). His last progress is to receive directly what the angels mediated: the Saviour "wishes him no longer to stand in need of help by angels, but to receive it from Himself, having become worthy, and to have protection from Himself by obedience" (VII.13). The warning attends the ascent: the Christian "will pray that he may never fall from virtue," for "he knows that some of the angels, through carelessness, were hurled to the earth, not having yet quite reached that state of oneness" (VII.7).

4.7 Origen

Origen of Alexandria is the first to treat the angels in a systematic work, and the first to press the questions that the later schools determine: when the angels were made, whether their ranks come from nature or from merit, whether a fallen spirit can return, how angels and demons act on the mind, and when a guardian is given. His *De principiis* survives entire only in the Latin of Rufinus, which the English translation renders.

4.7.1 The Church's preaching and the rational natures

Origen opens by setting apart what the Church has defined from what remains to be searched out. Among the articles of the apostolic preaching he lists that every rational soul "has a struggle to maintain with the devil and his angels, and opposing influences, because they strive to burden it with sins" (*De princ.* preface 5); that "regarding the devil and his angels, and the opposing influences, the teaching of the Church has laid down that these beings exist indeed," and that it is held by most "that the devil was an angel, and that, having become an apostate, he induced as many of the angels as possible to fall away with himself" (preface 6); and that "there are certain angels of God, and certain good influences, which are His servants in accomplishing the salvation of men" (preface 10). Their manner of being and the time of their creation Origen reserves for inquiry.

The first book gathers the scriptural names of the heavenly and hostile powers. There are holy angels, "ministering spirits, sent forth to minister for them who shall be heirs of salvation"; Paul names "thrones, and dominions, and principalities, and powers"; and the Apostle's praise of Christ above "every name that is named, not only in this world, but also in that which is to come" shows that there are further orders "which may not be named in this world, but will be named in the world to come" (I.5.1; Heb 1:14; Col 1:16; Eph 1:21). Against them stand the devil and his angels and the principalities with whom we wrestle (I.5.2; Eph 6:12). The nations themselves are "called a part of the

angels," for the Most High "fixed the boundaries of the nations according to the number of the angels of God" (I.5.2; Deut 32:8, LXX).

The fall of the anointed cherub. Origen asks whether the holy powers are holy by nature and the evil powers evil by nature, and answers from the prophets that no creature is either. Ezechiel's lament over the prince of Tyre cannot be spoken of a man: "Thou hast been the seal of a similitude, and a crown of comeliness among the delights of paradise ... From the day when thou wert created along with the cherubim, I placed thee in the holy mount of God. Thou wert in the midst of the fiery stones: thou wert stainless in thy days, from the day when thou wert created, until iniquities were found in thee" (I.5.4; Ezek 28:12–15, as Origen reads it). "Or what fiery stones can he imagine in the midst of which any man could live?" The power addressed "was formerly holy and happy; from which state of happiness it fell from the time that iniquity was found in it, and was hurled to the earth, and was not such by nature and creation" (I.5.4). Isaias's Lucifer teaches the same: "if, as some think, he was a nature of darkness, how is Lucifer said to have existed before? Or how could he arise in the morning, who had in himself nothing of the light?" The Lord confirms it: "Behold, I see Satan fallen from heaven like lightning" (Luke 10:18). "For at one time he was light," and he fell and "had his glory turned into dust"; he is the apostate, the "fugitive," of the Septuagint Job, "Thou wilt take with a hook the apostate dragon" (I.5.5; Isa 14:12–14; Job 40:20 [40:25], LXX). Origen's conclusion is what the Fourth Lateran Council defines, that the devil and the other demons were created good by nature and became evil of themselves (DS 800): spotless purity exists essentially only in the Father, Son, and Holy Spirit, and "no one is pure either by essence or nature, and ... no one was by nature polluted" (I.5.5). Aquinas reads both oracles of the devil, Isaias's "under the figure of the prince of Babylon" and Ezechiel's "in the person of the King of Tyre," and from Ezechiel's cherub concludes that "the first angel who sinned is called, not a Seraph, but a Cherub" (*ST* I q. 63 a. 5; a. 7 ad 1; see §13.1).

No nature incapable of good. Origen presses the point to the devil himself: "not even the devil himself was incapable of good; but although capable of admitting good, he did not therefore also desire it, or make any effort after virtue. For, as we are taught by those quotations which we adduced from the prophets, there was once a time when he was good, when he walked in the paradise of God between the cherubim" (I.8.3). The holiness of every creature is received: "If there is any other nature which is holy, it possesses this property of being made holy by the reception or inspiration of the Holy Spirit, not having it by nature" (*ibid.*).

4.7.2 Offices and merits

Origen holds that the diversity of the angelic offices answers to the merits of the spirits who hold them. The opinion is his own and he sets it out with care. The Gnostics said that one Creator could not justly make some spirits rulers and others subjects without cause, and inferred many creators. Origen answers that the diversity is just because it follows desert:

> A similar method must be followed in treating of the angels; nor are we to suppose that it is the result of accident that a particular office is assigned to a particular angel: as to Raphael, e.g., the work of curing and healing; to Gabriel, the conduct of wars; to Michael, the duty of attending to the prayers and supplications of mortals. For we are not to imagine that they obtained these offices otherwise than by their own merits, and by the zeal and excellent qualities which they severally displayed before this world was formed; so that afterwards in the order of archangels, this or that office was assigned to each one, while others deserved to be enrolled in the order of angels, and to act under this or that archangel, or that leader or head of an order. (*De princ.* I.8.1)

The same just judgment assigns angels to churches and to persons: "to one angel the Church of the Ephesians was to be entrusted; to another, that of the Smyrnæans; one angel was to be Peter's, another Paul's; and so on through every one of the little ones that are in the Church, for such and such angels as even daily behold the face of God must be assigned to each one of them; and there must also be some angel that encampeth round about them that fear God" (I.8.1; Apoc 2:1, 8; Matt 18:10; Ps 33[34]:8). In the account of the end Origen gives the ranks in a list: of those who remained in the beginning, some "obtained, in the ordering and arrangement of the world, the rank of angels; others that of influences, others of principalities, others of powers, that they may exercise power over those who need to have power upon their head. Others, again, received the rank of thrones, having the office of judging or ruling ...

others dominion" (I.6.2). "The angelic office does not exist except as a consequence of their desert; nor do 'powers' exercise power except in virtue of their moral progress" (I.8.4). The same rule holds among the opposing powers, who "have obtained these degrees in evil in proportion to their conduct" (*ibid.*).

The merit is earned "before this world was formed." In the second book Origen states the ground: God in the beginning created "so great a number of rational or intellectual creatures ... as He foresaw would be sufficient," a definite number, since "God has arranged all things in number and measure" (II.9.1; Wis 11:21). Having no cause of diversity in himself, "He created all whom He made equal and alike," and their free will "incited each one either to progress by imitation of God, or reduced him to failure through negligence"; the variety of the world, from the super-celestial beings "clothed with heavenly and resplendent bodies" to the lot of men at birth, follows "from the freedom of the individual will" (II.9.3, 6). Because the rational natures began to be, they are "necessarily changeable and mutable; since whatever power was in their substance was not in it by nature, but was the result of the goodness of their Maker" (II.9.2).

The end and the return. Origen carries the same principle to the end of all things, and there he offers his thought "in the style of a disputation rather than of strict definition" (I.6.1). Those who fell "have not been removed irrecoverably, but have been placed under the rule of those holy and blessed orders," by whose aid they may be restored (I.6.2). Of the devil and his angels he asks "whether any of these orders who act under the government of the devil ... will in a future world be converted to righteousness because of their possessing the faculty of freedom of will, or whether persistent and inveterate wickedness may be changed by the power of habit into nature," and leaves the answer to the reader (I.6.3). A passage that Jerome translated in his letter to Avitus goes further: "angels may become men or demons, and again from the latter they may rise to be men or angels" (fragment after I.8).

The Church judged these opinions. The synod held at Constantinople in 543 condemned the pre-existence of souls as minds that cooled from the love of God, and the teaching that the punishment of demons will end in their restoration (DS 403, 411; see §2). Aquinas answers the merit of the first creation with the goodness of the whole: God made things unequal for the perfection of the universe, and inequality from merit belongs to the distribution of rewards (*ST* I q. 47 a. 2 and ad 3); he judges erroneous Origen's opinion that every created will can turn to good or evil, since the demons are obstinate in evil (*ST* I q. 64 a. 2; see §13).

4.7.3 The opposing powers and the struggle

The third book treats the assault of the demons with a physician's precision. Scripture names the enemy throughout: the serpent in Eden, inspired by the devil; the lying spirit who offered to deceive Achab, "from his own (free) will and choice"; Satan who moved David to number the people; the adversary of Job, "defeated through the patience of Job"; the tempter of the Saviour, who entered Judas (*De princ.* III.2.1; 3 Kgs [1 Kgs] 22:20–22; 1 Par [1 Chr] 21:1; Eph 6:11–12).

Origen will not make the devil the cause of every sin. "The more simple among the believers" think that "if there were no devil, no single human being would go astray," but hunger, thirst, and the other natural desires do not come from him; man can exceed their measure unprompted (III.2.1–2). The demons seize the occasion of the first excess: "we receive certain initial elements, and, as it were, seeds of sins, from those things which we use agreeably to nature; but when we have indulged them beyond what is proper, and have not resisted the first movements to intemperance, then the hostile power, seizing the occasion of this first transgression, incites and presses us hard in every way" (III.2.2). Aquinas makes this passage the ground of his answer that not every sin is due to the devil's temptation (*ST* I q. 114 a. 3; see §18.2).

The combat is just, because providence matches each man to his enemy as the presidents of the games pair wrestlers of equal age and strength, "so that one individual fights against one temptation of the flesh, another against a second ... one has to resist this or that hostile power, another has to combat two or three at the same time" (III.2.3; 1 Cor 10:13). The mind is the field of both kinds of angels. Thoughts "sometimes proceed from ourselves, and sometimes are originated by the opposing powers; not seldom also are they suggested by God, or by the holy angels," as Raphael accompanied Tobias and the angel spoke within Zacharias (III.2.4; Tob 5–6; Zach 1:14). Yet what is suggested to the heart is "a (mental) commotion only, and an incitement instigating us either to good or evil," and "it is quite within our reach, when a malignant power has begun to incite us to evil, to cast away from us the wicked suggestions" (*ibid.*).

The princes of the nations. Among the powers are the princes of this world whose wisdom Paul will not speak (1 Cor 2:6–8). Origen reads them as spiritual rulers of nations: "in the holy Scriptures we find that there are princes over individual nations; as in Daniel we read that there was a prince of the kingdom of Persia, and another prince of the kingdom of Græcia, who are clearly shown, by the nature of the passage, to be not human beings, but certain powers," and the prince of Tyre in Ezechiel is "a kind of spiritual power" (III.3.2; Dan 10:13, 20). Each of these princes has his own wisdom, which he imparts to his nation, the occult philosophy of the Egyptians or the astrology of the Chaldeans; and when they saw the Saviour come to destroy false wisdom, "not knowing what was concealed within Him, they forthwith laid a snare for Him," and crucified the Lord of glory (*ibid.*; Ps 2:2; 1 Cor 2:8).

4.7.4 Prayer, worship, and the angels of the nations

Against the pagan philosopher Celsus, Origen states how Christians honour the angels and to whom they pray. Celsus had said that if the Christians speak of angels descending to men, they must call them gods or demons. Origen answers:

> For we indeed acknowledge that angels are "ministering spirits," and we say that "they are sent forth to minister for them who shall be heirs of salvation;" and that they ascend, bearing the supplications of men, to the purest of the heavenly places in the universe, or even to supercelestial regions purer still; and that they come down from these, conveying to each one, according to his deserts, something enjoined by God to be conferred by them upon those who are to be the recipients of His benefits. Having thus learned to call these beings "angels" from their employments, we find that because they are divine they are sometimes termed "god" in the sacred Scriptures, but not so that we are commanded to honour and worship in place of God those who minister to us, and bear to us His blessings. For every prayer, and supplication, and intercession, and thanksgiving, is to be sent up to the Supreme God through the High Priest, who is above all the angels, the living Word and God. (*C. Cels.* V.4)

The angels are named from their office; they carry prayers up and blessings down; the prayer itself goes to God through Christ, the High Priest above the angels. "It is enough to secure that the holy angels of God be propitious to us, and that they do all things on our behalf, that our disposition of mind towards God should imitate as far as it is within the power of human nature the example of these holy angels, who again follow the example of their God" (V.5). The Christian gains the favour of the angels by imitating them. The name "demons," by contrast, "is always applied to those wicked powers, freed from the encumbrance of a grosser body, who lead men astray" (V.5).

The eighth book develops the teaching. Had Celsus meant by the servants of God "Gabriel and Michael, and the other angels and archangels," and defined what he meant by worship, Origen would have answered him on that question; but Celsus's servants of God are the demons, and to them no honour is due; "we worship with all our power the one God, and His only Son, the Word and the Image of God, by prayers and supplications; and we offer our petitions to the God of the universe through His only-begotten Son" (VIII.13). "All angels are not said to be angels of God, but only those that are blessed: those that have fallen away into sin are called 'angels of the devil' " (VIII.25). If Christians wish for friends beyond God and his Son,

> we are taught that "thousand thousands stood before Him, and ten thousand times ten thousand ministered unto Him." And these, regarding all as their relations and friends who imitate their piety towards God, and in prayer call upon Him with sincerity, work along with them for their salvation, appear unto them, deem it their office and duty to attend to them, and as if by common agreement they visit with all manner of kindness and deliverance those who pray to God, to whom they themselves also pray. (*C. Cels.* VIII.34)

"Let the learned Greeks say that the human soul at its birth is placed under the charge of demons: Jesus has taught us not to despise even the little ones in His Church, saying, 'Their angels do always behold the face of My Father which is in heaven' " (VIII.34; Matt 18:10). The guardian angel prays with his charge:

> And the Christian will suffer nothing, for "the angel of the Lord will encamp about them that fear Him, and will deliver them," and his "angel," who "always beholds the face of his Father in heaven," offers up his prayers through the one High Priest to the God of all, and also joins his own prayers with those of the man who is committed to his keeping. (*C. Cels.* VIII.36)

God "sets His divine angels to watch over those who are worthy of such guardianship, so that they can suffer nothing from demons," and the believer who has accepted the guidance of Jesus, "the 'Angel of the great counsel,' " has nothing to fear from the whole host of demons (VIII.27; Isa 9:6, LXX). Origen asks of God "all help, and the guardianship of holy and good angels, to defend us from the earth-spirits intent on lust, and blood, and sacrificial odours" (VIII.60). A little later he gives the teaching its most exultant form:

> as the motion of the shadow follows that of the body which casts it, so in like manner it follows, that when we have the favour of God, we have also the good-will of all angels and spirits who are friends of God. For they know who are worthy of the divine approval, and they are not only well disposed to them, but they co-operate with them in their endeavours to please God: they seek His favour on their behalf; with their prayers they join their own prayers and intercessions for them. We may indeed boldly say, that men who aspire after better things have, when they pray to God, tens of thousands of sacred powers upon their side. (*C. Cels.* VIII.64)

Origen also sets angels over the fruits of the earth. Celsus urged that the demons control the goods of life and must be propitiated; Origen replies that "it is not demons, but angels, who have been set over the fruits of the earth, and over the birth of animals, it is the latter that we praise and bless, as having been appointed by God over the things needful for our race; yet even to them we will not give the honour which is due to God. For this would not be pleasing to God, nor would it be any pleasure to the angels themselves" (VIII.57). Aquinas quotes Origen's homily on Balaam's ass for the same teaching: "the world has need of angels who preside over beasts, and over the birth of animals, and trees, and plants" (*ST* I q. 110 a. 1, citing *Hom. in Num.* 14).

The division of the nations. Celsus held that the regions of the earth were allotted to superintending spirits, so that each nation's customs are rightly kept. Origen answers with the Song of Moses in the Septuagint, "He set the bounds of the people according to the number of the angels of God; and the portion was His people Jacob" (*C. Cels.* V.29; Deut 32:8–9), read with the story of Babel (Gen 11:1–9). He reads the history as a veiled mystery. The nations that departed from the east and built the tower were "handed over ... to angels of character more or less severe, and of a nature more or less stern, until they had paid the penalty of their daring deeds; and they were conducted by those angels, who imprinted on each his native language, to the different parts of the earth according to their deserts" (V.30). Those who kept the original speech became the Lord's portion (V.31), and their prince is "far more powerful than the others," since he can take from every nation those who turn to him and give them laws (V.32). Christians therefore do not keep the customs set by the spirits of the nations; "we see that it is a religious act to do away with the customs originally established in the various places by means of laws of a better and more divine character, which were enacted by Jesus" (V.32).

4.7.5 The angels of the little ones

Origen's commentary on the saying "See that ye despise not one of these little ones" is the Church's first extended reflection on the guardian angel (Matt 18:10). The Douay reads: "See that you despise not one of these little ones: for I say to you, that their angels in heaven always see the face of my Father who is in heaven."

Origen distinguishes littleness and greatness of soul, which, unlike stature of body, depend on free will and progress. The little ones are the new-born who "long for the reasonable milk," who need the nursing-fathers and nursing-mothers of Isaias, and he asks "whether it is their angels who bring them in their bosom" (*Comm. in Matt.* XIII.26; 1 Pet 2:2; Isa 49:22–23). So long as we are imperfect we need an angel, as Jacob said, "The angel who delivered me from all the evils"; but "when we have become perfected, and have passed through the stage of being subject to nursing-fathers and nursing-mothers and guardians and stewards, we are meet to be governed by the Lord Himself" (XIII.26; Gen 48:16; Gal 4:1–2). Moses, knowing himself among the great, refused the promise, "My angel shall go before you," and asked that the Lord himself go with him (*ibid.*; Exod 32:34; 33:15).

He then asks when the angels take up their charge: "from what time 'by the laver of regeneration' ... or, whether from birth they had been appointed, according to the foreknowledge and predestination of God," and gathers texts for the second view (XIII.27; Ps 70[71]:6; Gal 1:15). A further exposition would have the angel given after regeneration, so that "during the period of unbelief they are under the angels of Satan; but, after the regeneration, He who has redeemed us with His own blood consigns us to a holy angel, who also, because of his purity, beholds the face of God" (XIII.28). To the objection from the house of Mary, where the disciples said of Peter at the gate, "It is his angel"

(Acts 12:15), Origen answers that "the word of Rhoda was not necessarily a dogma," nor perhaps the word of those who spoke without exact knowledge (XIII.28). Aquinas recites Origen's two opinions and follows Jerome, who holds the guardian given at birth (*ST* I q. 113 a. 5; see §17.5 and §20.7).

4.8 Gregory the Wonderworker

Gregory, Origen's pupil and afterwards bishop of Neocaesarea, delivered at his departure from Caesarea a thanksgiving to his master. It contains the most personal testimony of the age to a guardian angel. After giving thanks to God through the Word, he turns to "any of those beings who are not seen, but yet are more godlike, and who have a special care for men":

> it shall be addressed to that being who, by some momentous decision, had me allotted to him from my boyhood to rule, and rear, and train,—I mean that holy angel of God who fed me from my youth, as says the saint dear to God, meaning thereby his own peculiar one. (*Pan. Or.* 4)

Gregory reads Jacob's blessing as a confession of Jacob's own angel (Gen 48:15–16), and applies it to himself. He cannot say whether Jacob's angel was a created angel of high rank or "perchance the Angel of the Mighty Counsel Himself," but he praises "that being, whosoever he is, who has been the wonderful guide of our childhood, who in all other matters has been in time past my beneficent tutor and guardian," the angel "who still at this present time sustains, and instructs, and conducts me" (*ibid.*). The office of tutor and guardian, he says, suits no human friend, "for we are all blind," but "only him who sees beforehand all that is for the good of our soul." The angel's greatest gift was to bring him, a stranger from Pontus, to Origen. Gregory had set out for Berytus to study law, and it was "a certain divine companion and beneficent conductor and guardian" who carried him past it to Caesarea; that divine angel "gave over this charge to him, and did, if I may so speak, perchance take his rest here, not indeed under the pressure of labour or exhaustion of any kind (for the generation of those divine ministers knows no weariness)" (*Pan. Or.* 5). Leaving his master, Gregory asks Origen to pray that God "may send us a good conductor, some angel to be our comrade on the way" (*Pan. Or.* 19; cf. Tob 5).

4.9 Methodius of Olympus

Methodius, bishop and martyr, wrote against Origen on the resurrection and in praise of virginity; his teaching on the angels guards the distinction of natures that Origen's speculation blurred.

The ninety-nine sheep. In the *Banquet of the Ten Virgins* Thaleia expounds the parable of the lost sheep (Luke 15:4–7). The Word "is the chief Commander and Shepherd of the heavenly ones, whom all reasonable creatures obey and attend, who tends in order and numbers the multitudes of the blessed angels." Man was made to be part of this flock, created incorrupt "that he might honour the king and maker of all things, responding to the shouts of the melodious angels which came from heaven." When he fell, the Lord "came from heaven into (a human) life, leaving the ranks and the armies of angels. For the mountains are to be explained by the heavens, and the ninety and nine sheep by the principalities and powers which the Captain and Shepherd left when He went down to seek the lost one" (*Symp.* III.6). The number of the flock is not complete without man; the angels and men together form one choir of praise under one Shepherd. Methodius also teaches that children, even those born of adultery, "are committed to guardian angels," which would be impossible if their existence were against the will of God (*Symp.* II.6).

The distinction of the orders. In the dialogue on the resurrection Methodius answers the claim that the risen, being "as the angels," must shed their flesh (Matt 22:30). God, he says, "ordained the nature of immortal beings to be distributed not only among angels and ministers, but also among principalities, and thrones, and powers. For the race of angels is one, and that of principalities and powers another; because immortal beings are not all of one order, and constitution, and tribe, and family":

> And neither do the cherubim, departing from their own nature, assume the form of angels; nor, again, do angels assume the form of the others. For they cannot be anything but what they are and have been made. ... For each one among created things must remain in its own proper place, that none may be

> wanting to any, but all may be full: heaven of angels, thrones of powers, luminaries of ministers; and the more divine spots, and the undefiled and untainted luminaries, with seraphim, who attend the Supreme Council, and uphold the universe; and the world of men. (*De res.* I.10)

Men will be like the angels, not angels: Christ "did not say 'they shall be angels,' but like angels, in being, for instance, crowned, as it is written, with glory and honour; differing a little from the angels, while near to being angels" (I.12; Ps 8:6). Against Origen's passage of minds from order to order, Methodius holds each order fixed in the nature God gave it: "if we granted that men are changed into angels, it would follow that we say that angels also are changed into powers, and these into one thing and the other, until our argument proceed too far for safety" (I.10). Aquinas holds the same distinction of nature, and teaches that men are taken up into the angelic orders by grace, not by a change of nature (*ST* I q. 108 a. 8).

The devil over matter. Photius's synopsis of the treatise reports that Methodius, "as was said also by Athenagoras," held that the devil is "a spirit, made by God, in the neighbourhood of matter, as of course the rest of the angels are, and that he was entrusted with the oversight of matter, and the forms of matter." The angels were made "for the care of the universe; in order that, while God exercises a perfect and general supervision over the whole ... the angels appointed for this purpose take charge of particulars. Now the rest of them remained in the positions for which God made and appointed them; but the devil was insolent, and having conceived envy of us, behaved wickedly in the charge committed to him" (*De res.*, in Photius, *Bibl.* cod. 234, 7). Here the line from Athenagoras to Methodius is explicit: the angels are the stewards of particular providence, and the devil a steward who, out of envy of man, betrayed his stewardship.

The dragon and the images of the angels. Expounding the woman clothed with the sun, Thekla reads the dragon as "the devil, who lies in wait to destroy the Christ-accepted mind of the baptized," and the stars swept down by his tail as "the bodies of heresies," called a third part because they err concerning one of the three Persons (*Symp.* VIII.10; Apoc 12:3–4). Aquinas takes the same verse of the angels drawn into sin by the first angel (*ST* I q. 63 a. 8 s.c.). A fragment of Methodius on the resurrection, preserved by John Damascene in his defence of the holy images, compares the honour given to the king's images with the images of the angels: "The images of God's angels, which are fashioned of gold, the principalities and powers, we make to His honour and glory" (*De res.* II, fragment).

4.10 The Ante-Nicene Fathers and Their Reception

The teaching of the Greek writers before Nicaea, with the place where Aquinas or the Church receives it:

Witness	Locus	Teaching	Received at
Clement of Rome	*1 Clem.* 34; Dan 7:10; Isa 6:3	The angels are innumerable, stand ready to God's will, and cry the Sanctus; the assembly cries with them	*ST* I q. 50 a. 3 (s.c. Dan 7:10); CCC 335
Clement of Rome	*1 Clem.* 29; Deut 32:8, LXX	The nations are bounded by the number of the angels; Israel is the Lord's portion	*ST* I q. 108 a. 6; *ST* I q. 113 a. 8
Ignatius	*Trall.* 5	The angels have their stations and are gathered under princes	*ST* I q. 108 aa. 1–2
Ignatius	*Smyrn.* 6; *Eph.* 19	Heavenly powers stand under the blood of Christ; the mysteries of the Virgin and the Cross were hidden from the prince of this world	*ST* I q. 64 a. 1 ad 4
Barnabas; Hermas	*Barn.* 18; *Mand.* VI.2	Angels of light and angels of Satan attend the two ways; a good and an evil angel attend each man	*ST* I q. 113 a. 2; *ST* I q. 114 a. 1

Witness	Locus	Teaching	Received at
Hermas	*Vis.* III.4; *Sim.* V.5–6; IX.12	First-created angels build the Church; none comes to God except through the Son	CCC 331
Hermas	*Sim.* VIII.3	Michael has authority over the people of God and examines their keeping of the law	—
Hermas	*Vis.* V; *Sim.* X.1; *Mand.* XII.4–6	The angel of repentance guards the penitent; the devil can wrestle but not overthrow the faithful	*ST* I q. 113 a. 1; *ST* I q. 114 a. 1 ad 2
Justin	*1 Apol.* 6, 16	The host of good angels follows the Son; worship is given to God alone	CCC 331
Justin	*2 Apol.* 5, 7; *Dial.* 141	God gave angels the care of men; angels, like men, were made free, and some transgressed	*ST* I q. 59 a. 3; *ST* I q. 113 a. 1; Lateran IV (DS 800)
Justin; Athenagoras; Irenaeus	*2 Apol.* 5; *Leg.* 24; *Adv. haer.* IV.36.4	The sons of God of Gen 6 are angels who sinned with women	Read otherwise: *ST* I q. 51 a. 3 ad 6, with Augustine
Justin	*Dial.* 56–60, 128; *1 Apol.* 63	The Word appeared as the Angel at Mamre and the bush; the angels are abiding creatures, not emanations	*ST* I q. 51 a. 2 s.c.; a. 3 ad 5
Athenagoras	*Leg.* 10, 24	The Logos posted the angels to the elements; God's general providence works through their particular care	*ST* I q. 110 a. 1
Tatian	*Or.* 7, 14–15	The Logos framed the angels; the first-born angel fell and the demons with him; the demons have no repentance	*ST* I q. 63 a. 8; *ST* I q. 64 a. 2
Theophilus	*Ad Autol.* II.28–29	The devil was at first an angel; his envy moved Cain	*ST* I q. 63 a. 2
Irenaeus	*Adv. haer.* II.2; II.30; III.8.3; IV.20.1	All orders are creatures of the one God through the Word; angels create nothing	*ST* I q. 45 a. 5 (s.c.); *ST* I q. 61 a. 1; Lateran IV (DS 800)
Irenaeus	*Adv. haer.* IV.37.1; IV.41.1; V.24.4	Angels have free choice; the devil is God's creature and fell through envy of man	*ST* I q. 63 aa. 2, 4; Lateran IV (DS 800)
Irenaeus	*Adv. haer.* III.23.3; IV.40.1	The eternal fire was prepared for the devil and his angels	Constantinople 543 (DS 411); *ST* I q. 64 a. 4
Clement of Alexandria	*Strom.* VII.2	The angels are ranked some under others from the Son down to men, and draw men up as a magnet draws rings	*ST* I q. 106 aa. 1, 3; *ST* I q. 108 a. 1
Clement of Alexandria	*Strom.* VI.17; VII.2	Angels are set over nations and cities, and perhaps over individuals	*ST* I q. 113 aa. 2, 4; *ST* I q. 108 a. 6
Clement of Alexandria	*Strom.* VI.13; VII.12	The grades of the Church imitate the angelic glory; the perfect pray in the society of angels	*ST* I q. 108 a. 8
Origen	*De princ.* preface 6, 10	The Church preaches that the devil and his angels exist and that good angels serve man's salvation	Lateran IV (DS 800); CCC 328

Witness	Locus	Teaching	Received at
Origen	*De princ.* I.5.4–5; I.8.3	Ezek 28 and Isa 14 speak of an angel fallen by his own will; no creature is good or evil by nature	*ST* I q. 63 aa. 4–5; a. 7 ad 1
Origen	*De princ.* I.6.2; I.8.1, 4; II.9.6	Offices and ranks are assigned by merit earned before the world	Answered: *ST* I q. 47 a. 2; *ST* I q. 62 a. 6; Constantinople 543 (DS 403)
Origen	*De princ.* I.6.3	Whether the demons may be converted is left to the reader	Answered: *ST* I q. 64 a. 2; Constantinople 543 (DS 411)
Origen	*De princ.* III.2.2–4	Not every sin comes from the devil; good and evil angels suggest thoughts	*ST* I q. 111 aa. 2–3; *ST* I q. 114 a. 3
Origen	*De princ.* III.3.2; *C. Cels.* V.29–32	Princes rule the nations; the nations were allotted to angels at Babel	*ST* I q. 108 a. 6; *ST* I q. 113 a. 8 (the prince of Persia a good angel, with Gregory)
Origen	*C. Cels.* V.4–5; VIII.13, 34, 36, 64	Angels bear prayers to God and join their prayers to ours; prayer goes to God through Christ the High Priest	CCC 335–336
Origen	*C. Cels.* VIII.57	Angels preside over the fruits of the earth and the birth of animals	*ST* I q. 110 a. 1
Origen	*Comm. in Matt.* XIII.26–28	The little ones have angels who see the Father's face; whether from birth or from baptism	*ST* I q. 113 a. 5
Gregory the Wonderworker	*Pan. Or.* 4–5, 19	A guardian angel rears, teaches, and conducts a man from boyhood	*ST* I q. 113 aa. 2, 5; CCC 336
Methodius	*Symp.* III.6	The ninety-nine sheep are the angels; man completes the flock	—
Methodius	*De res.* I.10–12	Each order keeps its nature; the risen are like the angels, not angels	*ST* I q. 108 a. 8
Methodius	*De res.*, in Photius, *Bibl.* cod. 234, 7	The devil was set over matter and fell through envy of man	*ST* I q. 110 a. 1; *ST* I q. 63 a. 2

4.11 Athanasius of Alexandria

After Nicaea the teaching on the angels is drawn into the defence of the Son's Godhead. The Arians held the Word to be the first and greatest of the creatures, the instrument through whom God made the rest. Athanasius answers by setting the angels, with all their orders, among the things made, and the Son on the side of the Maker. What he says of the angels is therefore said with care: they are creatures, many and ranked, ministers sent and worshippers of the Son; they do not create, and God needs none of them in order to create. In the *Life of Antony* the same bishop hands on the desert's teaching on the fallen angels, their wiles, their weakness, and the discernment of spirits.[7]

4.11.1 The angels among the things made

The Arian formula called the Son "a creature, but not as one of the creatures." Athanasius replies that the phrase distinguishes nothing, for no creature is simply like another. The six days bring forth light and night, sun and moon, beasts and man, none as another; and in the unseen creation likewise, "nor the Angels as the Thrones, nor the Thrones as the Authorities, yet they are all creatures, but each of the things made according to its kind exists and

[7]English quotations of the Nicene Fathers are from Philip Schaff's *Nicene and Post-Nicene Fathers*, cited by the witness's own divisions.

remains in its own essence, as it was made" (*Orationes contra Arianos* II.19). Rank among creatures is real, and it is not causality. "Star, for instance, differs from star in glory," yet "it follows not for all this that some are lords, and others servants to the superior, nor that some are efficient causes, others by them come into being, but all have a nature which comes to be and is created, confessing in their own selves their Framer" (II.20).

From this Athanasius draws the teaching that the angels do not create:

> For none of things which are brought to be is an efficient cause, but all things were made through the Word: who would not have wrought all things, were He Himself in the number of the creatures. For neither would the Angels be able to frame, since they too are creatures, though Valentinus, and Marcion, and Basilides think so, and you are their copyists; nor will the sun, as being a creature, ever make what is not into what is. (*C. Ar.* II.21)

The Arians answered that created nature could not bear to be made by the unmediated hand of God, and so needed a mediator. Athanasius turns the argument on itself. If the Word is a creature, then he too needs a medium in his own making, and that medium another, "and thus tracing back and following out, we shall invent a vast crowd of accumulating mediators; and thus it will be impossible that the creation should subsist" (II.26). God is neither too proud to make the least things nor too weak to make them himself; the Lord who numbers the sparrows and clothes the grass of the field is the one who made them (II.25). The Arian picture would ascribe to God "jealousy, in that He has not taught many how to frame, so that there may be around Him, as Archangels and Angels many, so framers many; and weakness, in that He could not make by Himself, but needed a fellow-worker, or under-worker." "But God is deficient in nothing: perish the thought!" (II.29).

The distinction that settles the matter is between making and ministry. Moses led the people and delivered the Law, but "to minister is of things originate as of servants, but to frame and to create is of God alone, and of His proper Word and His Wisdom" (II.27). Ministers God has in abundance: "For there are many Archangels, many Thrones, and Authorities, and Dominions, thousands of thousands, and myriads of myriads, standing before Him, ministering and ready to be sent" (II.27; cf. Dan 7:10). The multitude of the angels is the sign of their creatureliness; the Word is one, and there are "not many Words, but one only Word of the one Father, and one Image of the one God" (II.27). Aquinas determines the same point: creation is the act proper to God alone, and no creature creates, not even as God's minister (*ST* I q. 45 a. 5); the Fourth Lateran Council confesses the one God as "creator omnium visibilium et invisibilium, spiritualium et corporalium" (DS 800).

4.11.2 The Son is no angel

The Arians pressed Heb 1:4, where the Son is "made so much better than the angels," as a comparison between beings of one kind. Athanasius first fixes the time and person of the text: the Apostle speaks of the Word made flesh, whose ministry surpasses the ministry of the Law "spoken by angels" (Heb 2:2). Then he weighs the word itself. "This is why throughout he uses no comparison, such as 'become greater,' or 'more honourable,' lest we should think of Him and them as one in kind, but 'better' is his word, by way of marking the difference of the Son's nature from things originated" (*C. Ar.* I.55). Scripture says wisdom is "better" than rubies and one day in God's courts "better" than a thousand, though stones and wisdom share no nature:

> In like manner there is nought akin between the Son and the Angels; so that the word 'better' is not used to compare but to contrast, because of the difference of His nature from them. And therefore the Apostle also himself, when he interprets the word 'better,' places its force in nothing short of the Son's excellence over things originated, calling the one Son, the other servants; the one, as a Son with the Father, sitting on the right; and the others, as servants, standing before Him, and being sent, and fulfilling offices. (I.55)

Those who make the Son one of the angels in nature repeat the Gnostics, for Valentinus "said that the Angels were one in kind with the Christ, and Carpocrates that Angels are framers of the world" (I.56). The whole contrast of Heb 1 is between the one who sits and those who stand: "If the Son be in the number of the Angels, then let the word 'become' apply to Him as to them ... or be the Son standing with them all as a ministering Spirit, sent forth to minister Himself as they are" (I.62). The angels minister "ascending and descending," and when they come they say "I am sent unto thee"; of the Son it is written, "And let all the Angels of God worship Him" (I.61; Heb 1:6).

Worship is the decisive sign. Had the Son been only the highest creature, Scripture would have called him "greater than Archangels, and more honourable than the Thrones"; instead it calls him Son, and "the Angels ministered unto Him, as being one beyond themselves; and they worship Him, not as being greater in glory, but as being some one beyond all the creatures, and beyond themselves, and alone the Father's proper Son according to essence" (II.23). Creature does not worship creature, "but servant Lord, and creature God." The angel of the Apocalypse forbids John to worship him, and the angel of Manue refuses the sacrifice: "Therefore to God alone appertains worship, and this the very Angels know, that though they excel other beings in glory, yet they are all creatures and not to be worshipped, but worship the Lord" (II.23; Apoc 22:9; Judg 13:16).

The same reasoning governs the angels of the patriarchs. When Jacob blesses the sons of Joseph, "the angel that delivereth me from all evils, bless these boys" (Gen 48:16), Athanasius holds that "none of created and natural Angels did he join to God their Creator"; "he shewed that it was no created Angel, but the Word of God," the Angel of great Counsel, "whom he joined to the Father in his prayer" (*C. Ar.* III.12). No one prays to receive a gift from God and an angel together, for "it is proper then to an Angel to minister at the command of God, and often does he go forth to cast out the Amorite, and is sent to guard the people in the way; but these are not his doings, but of God who commanded and sent him" (III.12). When the angels appear, the seer knows that he has seen an angel and not God; Zacharias saw an angel and Isaias saw the Lord. At the bush "the Angel of the Lord was seen in a flame of fire," and the Lord called to Moses; "yet was not the Angel the God of Abraham, but in the Angel God spoke. And what was seen was an Angel; but God spoke in him" (III.14; Exod 3:2–6). The angels, "as it is written, are 'ministering spirits sent forth to minister,' and are heralds of gifts given by Him through the Word to those who receive them" (III.14; Heb 1:14). Aquinas too refers the apparitions to the Son: "all the apparitions in the Old Testament were ordained to that one whereby the Son of God appeared in the flesh" (*ST* I q. 51 a. 2 ad 1).

4.11.3 The fall and the air

The good angels keep their place by willing what God wills. Athanasius says so in passing, against the Arian claim that the Son is one with the Father only by agreement of will; were that the measure, the Thrones and Dominions would be sons too, for "what God wills, that will they ... For they would not have remained in their own glory, unless, what the Father willed, that they had willed also." The one who did not remain heard the word of Isaias against Lucifer, fallen from heaven (*C. Ar.* III.10; Isa 14:12). The fallen spirits now hold the lower air. Explaining why the Lord chose death on the Cross, Athanasius writes:

> And once more, if the devil, the enemy of our race, having fallen from heaven, wanders about our lower atmosphere, and there bearing rule over his fellow-spirits, as his peers in disobedience, not only works illusions by their means in them that are deceived, but tries to hinder them that are going up ... while the Lord came to cast down the devil, and clear the air and prepare the way for us up into heaven ... by what other kind of death could this have come to pass, than by one which took place in the air, I mean the cross? (*De incarnatione* 25.5)

"For thus being lifted up He cleared the air of the malignity both of the devil and of demons of all kinds" (25.6; Eph 2:2; Luke 10:18). Aquinas assigns the demons the same double abode: hell by reason of their sin, and "the darksome atmosphere" for the exercise of men until the judgment (*ST* I q. 64 a. 4).

4.11.4 Antony's discourse on the demons

In the long discourse that Athanasius places in the mouth of Antony (*Vita Antonii* 16–43) the father of monks teaches his disciples about the fallen angels. It is spoken to monks, and its aim is practical: not to describe the demons' nature, "for others of greater powers than we possess," but "to know their wiles against ourselves" (21).

Their origin and envy. "Great is their number in the air around us, and they are not far from us" (21; Eph 6:12). Antony begins with the faith of the Church on their origin:

> First, therefore, we must know this: that the demons have not been created like what we mean when we call them by that name; for God made nothing evil, but even they have been made good. Having fallen, however, from the heavenly wisdom, since then they have been grovelling on earth. (22)

Their motive is envy: "out of envy of us Christians they move all things in their desire to hinder us from entry into the heavens; in order that we should not ascend up thither from whence they fell" (22). Their first weapon is the evil thought; when that fails, the phantasm, "taking the forms of women, wild beasts, creeping things, gigantic bodies, and troops of soldiers." "For they are nothing and quickly disappear, especially if a man fortify himself beforehand with faith and the sign of the cross" (23). They imitate psalmody and echo the reading of Scripture, rouse the monk to prayer, urge immoderate fasting, and put on the appearance of holy men, "not for the sake of piety or truth, but that they may carry off the simple to despair" (25). Even when they speak truly, as when they confessed Christ the Son of God, the Lord silenced them, "that He might accustom us never to give heed to them even though they appear to speak what is true" (26).

Their weakness. The centre of the discourse is the weakness of the demons since Christ. "Since the Lord visited earth, the enemy is fallen and his powers weakened" (28). Antony argues from their own behaviour. Spirits who pass through shut doors and haunt the whole air, and who hate the servants of God, would destroy them at once if they could; that they threaten, gather in crowds, and change their shapes shows that they cannot:

> But the demons as they have no power are like actors on the stage changing their shape and frightening children with tumultuous apparition and various forms: from which they ought rather to be despised as shewing their weakness. At least the true angel of the Lord sent against the Assyrian had no need for tumults nor displays from without, nor noises nor rattlings, but in quiet he used his power and forthwith destroyed a hundred and eighty-five thousand. (28; 4 Kgs 19:35)

The history of Job teaches the same: "the devil was not the strong man, but God who delivered Job to him to be tried," and he had to ask permission twice. The demons of Gerasa could not enter the swine without leave; "if they had power not even against swine, much less have they any over men formed in the image of God" (29). The Saviour drew the devil "like a dragon" "with a hook," and he was bound by the Lord "as a sparrow, that we should mock him" (24). The fire in which the demons appear is "no true light," but "the preludes and likenesses of the fire prepared for the demons" (24). What they fear is the life of the servants of Christ: "the fasting, the sleeplessness, the prayers, the meekness, the quietness, the contempt of money and vainglory, the humility, the love of the poor, the alms, the freedom from anger of the ascetics, and, chief of all, their piety towards Christ" (30). "For they are cowards, and greatly fear the sign of the Lord's Cross, since of a truth in it the Saviour stripped them, and made an example of them" (35; Col 2:15).

Antony confirms the teaching from what he himself endured. A demon "exceeding high" announced, "I am the power of God and I am Providence," and at the name of Christ "he, big as he was, together with all his demons, disappeared" (40). Satan himself came to his door complaining that the monks cursed him undeservedly: "I am not he who troubles them, but they trouble themselves, for I am become weak ... The Christians are spread everywhere, and at length even the desert is filled with monks." Antony replied, "For the coming of Christ hath made thee weak, and He hath cast thee down and stripped thee"; and the devil, "having heard the Saviour's name, and not being able to bear the burning from it, vanished" (41). The enemy adapts himself to the soul he finds: "they approach us in a form corresponding to the state in which they discover us," so that the fearful are terrified the more and the joyful put them to flight. "Thus the enemy, seeing Job fenced round with them, withdrew from him; but finding Judas unguarded, him he took captive" (42).

Their foreknowledge. The demons' predictions deceive the simple, and Antony explains them without granting the demons any power over the future. "For they know none of those things which are not yet in existence; but God only is He who knoweth all things before their birth" (31). They see a traveller set out and outrun him; they see rain in Ethiopia and announce the Nile's flood before it reaches Egypt (31–32). When they guess aright they do what physicians, pilots, and farmers do: "For experienced physicians also, since they see the same malady in different people, often foretell what it is, making it out by their acquaintance with it" (33). Aquinas determines the same with the same image: angels know the future in its causes, surely where the causes are necessary and conjecturally where they usually hold, "thus the doctor knows beforehand the health of the patient"; the future in itself belongs to God alone (*ST* I q. 57 a. 3). A soul "perfectly pure and in its natural state" sees further than the demons, "for it has the Lord who reveals to it," as Eliseus saw the hosts that stood about him (*Vita Antonii* 34; 4 Kgs 6:17).

The discernment of visitations. Antony's teaching on discernment distinguishes the visit of a holy angel from the assault of a demon. When spirits come by night and say, "we are the angels," the monk is to sign himself and pray, and they vanish (35). The two visitations differ in their manner and in their fruit:

> The vision of the holy ones is not fraught with distraction ... But it comes so quietly and gently that immediately joy, gladness and courage arise in the soul. For the Lord who is our joy is with them, and the power of God the Father. (35)
>
> But the inroad and the display of the evil spirits is fraught with confusion, with din, with sounds and cryings such as the disturbance of boorish youths or robbers would occasion. From which arise fear in the heart, tumult and confusion of thought, dejection, hatred towards them who live a life of discipline, indifference, grief, remembrance of kinsfolk and fear of death, and finally desire of evil things, disregard of virtue and unsettled habits. (36)

Fear may attend both, but not in the same way. When Gabriel came to Zacharias and to Mary, and the angel to the women at the tomb, their fear "arose not from timidity, but from the recognition of the presence of superior beings," and the angels at once took it away (35). "For joy and a settled state of soul show the holiness of him who is present" (36). The demons never remove fear; they increase it, and at last demand, "fall down and worship," as they deceived the Greeks into worshipping them (37). Hence the sign: "whenever there is any apparition, be not prostrate with fear, but whatsoever it be, first boldly ask, Who art thou? And from whence comest thou? And if it should be a vision of holy ones they will assure you, and change your fear into joy" (43; Josh 5:13). Even the power to cast out demons is no ground of boasting, "for the working of signs is not ours but the Saviour's work" (38). Athanasius relates at the end of the *Life* that Antony, caught up in spirit, saw his soul led through the air by his conductors while "bitter and terrible beings" sought to bar the way, and learned "against what mighty opponents our wrestling is" (65).

4.12 Cyril of Jerusalem

Cyril's *Catecheses* are lectures to those preparing for baptism and to the newly baptized. The angels appear in them as the catechumen meets them in the creed and in the rites: as the witnesses of his baptism, as creatures of the Son and servants of the Spirit, as the hosts of the judgment, and as the choir whose hymn he joins at the altar. Because the lectures teach the faith to beginners, their angelology is the Church's common teaching in its plainest form.

The devil, once an archangel. Cyril opens the matter of sin with its first author. The devil "sinned, not as having received necessarily from nature the propensity to sin ... but having been created good, he has of his own free will become a devil, and received that name from his action. For being an Archangel he was afterwards called a devil from his slandering: from being a good servant of God he has become rightly named Satan; for 'Satan' is interpreted the adversary" (*Cat.* II.4). The proof is Ezechiel's lament over the king of Tyre, which Cyril reads of the devil: "Thou wast perfect in thy ways from the day of thy creation, until iniquity was found in thee" (Ezek 28:15). "Very rightly hath he said, were found in thee; for they were not brought in from without, but thou didst thyself beget the evil" (II.4). The fall is final. The devil disguises himself as an angel of light, "not that he may reascend to where he was, for having made his heart hard as an anvil, he has henceforth a will that cannot repent" (IV.1; 2 Cor 11:14). God rules over him and bears with him, not from weakness but for two purposes, "that he might disgrace himself the more in his defeat, and that mankind might be crowned with victory"; men are "greatly honoured as having conquered him who was once an Archangel" (VIII.4).

Creatures of the Son. Against those who ascribe the world to angels, Cyril sets the creed's "by whom all things were made": "For whether visible or invisible, whether thrones or dominions, or anything that is named, all things were made by Christ"; "Silenced be they who say that the world is the workmanship of Angels, who wish to steal away the dignity of the Only-begotten" (XI.21; Col 1:16). "Christ made all things, whether thou speak of Angels, or Archangels, of Dominions, or Thrones" (XI.23). The orders are real and ranked, and their very names set a limit to curiosity. Cyril imagines the catechumen climbing through the heavens to ask the angels how the Son was begotten; the angels of the first heaven answer, "We have above us beings greater and higher; ask them," and the Thrones, Dominions, Principalities, and Powers decline the question too, "for they know it not" (XI.11). "Tell me first, O most daring man, wherein does Throne differ from Dominion, and then scrutinise what pertains to Christ.

Tell me what is a Principality, and what a Power, and what a Virtue, and what an Angel: and then search out their Creator" (XI.12). "Be not ashamed to confess thine ignorance, since thou sharest ignorance with Angels" (XI.13).

Vision according to capacity. The angels of the little ones behold the Father's face (Matt 18:10), but, Cyril explains, "the Angels see God not as He is, but as far as they themselves are capable ... The Angels therefore behold as much as they can bear, and Archangels as much as they are able; and Thrones and Dominions more than the former, but yet less than His worthiness: for with the Son the Holy Ghost alone can rightly behold Him" (VI.6). The measure of each order's vision is the measure of its rank; the Only-begotten reveals the Father "to each according to his own capacity ... through the Holy Ghost." Aquinas draws the line between vision and comprehension: the blessed angels see God's essence, but no created intellect comprehends it (*ST* I q. 12 a. 1 ad 1; q. 12 a. 7).

Servants of the Spirit. The name "spirit" is common to many things: "Thus an Angel is called spirit, our soul is called spirit, and this wind which is blowing is called spirit ... and a devil our adversary is called spirit" (XVI.13; Ps 103[104]:4). The Holy Spirit is distinguished from them all as Lord. Cyril leads his hearers up through the heavens in thought:

> Ascend, I say, in imagination even unto the first heaven, and behold there so many countless myriads of Angels. Mount up in thy thoughts, if thou canst, yet higher; consider, I pray thee, the Archangels, consider also the Spirits; consider the Virtues, consider the Principalities, consider the Powers, consider the Thrones, consider the Dominions;—of all these the Comforter is the Ruler from God, and the Teacher, and the Sanctifier. Of Him Elias has need, and Elisseus, and Esaias, among men; of Him Michael and Gabriel have need among Angels. Naught of things created is equal in honour to Him. (XVI.23)

The ascent is ordered: angels, archangels, spirits, virtues, principalities, powers, thrones, dominions, with the Dominions at the summit. The angels "are sent forth to minister," but the Spirit "searches even the deep things of God" (XVI.23; Heb 1:14; 1 Cor 2:10). The same lecture contrasts the coming of the Spirit with the assault of the unclean spirit. The devil comes upon a soul "like a wolf upon a sheep, ravening for blood ... His coming is most fierce; the sense of it most oppressive; the mind becomes darkened" (XVI.15). The Spirit's coming is otherwise: "First, His coming is gentle; the perception of Him is fragrant; His burden most light; beams of light and knowledge gleam forth before His coming. He comes with the bowels of a true guardian" (XVI.16). Cyril's contrast agrees with Antony's rule of discernment.

The number of the angels and the judgment. Cyril reckons the multitude at the judgment: every nation now living, the barbarians, the dead of a thousand years, all from Adam. "Great indeed is the multitude; but yet it is little, for the Angels are many more. They are the ninety and nine sheep, but mankind is the single one" (XV.24; Luke 15:4). He argues from the size of the heavens: "The whole earth is but as a point in the midst of the one heaven, and yet contains so great a multitude; what a multitude must the heaven which encircles it contain?" Daniel's "thousand thousands" are named "not that the multitude is only so great, but because the Prophet could not express more than these" (XV.24; Dan 7:10). Aquinas reasons in the same way from the greatness of the heavens: as incorruptible bodies exceed the corruptible in magnitude, so "the immaterial substances as it were incomparably exceed material substances as to multitude" (*ST* I q. 50 a. 3). At the judgment the angel hosts encompass the enemies of Christ so that they cannot flee, and gather the elect from the four winds; "though thou be in the field, the Angels shall take thee" (XV.22–23). The virgin and the chaste will "shine as an Angel" (XV.23).

The angels in the rites. The candidates are told that each "is about to be presented to God before tens of thousands of the Angelic Hosts" (III.3), and that at their washing "Angels shall dance around you, and say, Who is this that cometh up in white array, leaning upon her beloved?" (III.16; Cant 8:5). After baptism Cyril explains the anaphora. Following the thanksgiving, the priest and people make mention of the whole creation,

> of Angels, Archangels, Virtues, Dominions, Principalities, Powers, Thrones; of the Cherubim with many faces: in effect repeating that call of David's Magnify the Lord with me. We make mention also of the Seraphim, whom Esaias in the Holy Spirit saw standing around the throne of God, and with two of their wings veiling their face, and with twain their feet, while with twain they did fly, crying Holy, Holy, Holy,

> is the Lord of Sabaoth. For the reason of our reciting this confession of God, delivered down to us from the Seraphim, is this, that so we may be partakers with the hosts of the world above in their Hymn of praise. (*Mystagogical Catechesis* V.6; Ps 33[34]:4; Isa 6:2–3)

Cyril names nine orders, from the Angels to the Seraphim, and gives the reason for the Sanctus: the Church receives the hymn from the Seraphim in order to share it. Aquinas explains the same place in the Roman Mass: after the Preface "the people devoutly praise Christ's Godhead, saying with the angels: 'Holy, Holy, Holy' " (*ST* III q. 83 a. 4); and the Catechism teaches that "in her liturgy, the Church joins with the angels to adore the thrice-holy God" (CCC 335).

4.13 Basil of Caesarea

Basil's teaching on the angels is spread through his defence of the Holy Spirit, his homilies on the six days, his books against Eunomius, and his homilies on the Psalms. Its centre is a doctrine of sanctification: the angels are holy, not by nature, but by the Spirit.

4.13.1 Holy by the Spirit

In *De Spiritu Sancto* Basil argues that the Spirit is inseparable from the Father and the Son in every work, and he takes his first proof from the first creation:

> Moreover, from the things created at the beginning may be learnt the fellowship of the Spirit with the Father and the Son. The pure, intelligent, and supermundane powers are and are styled holy, because they have their holiness of the grace given by the Holy Spirit. (*De Spiritu Sancto* 16.38)

Moses tells only of the visible creation, but the believer may reason from the seen to the unseen and "glorify the Maker by whom all things were made, visible and invisible, principalities and powers, authorities, thrones, and dominions, and all other reasonable natures whom we cannot name" (16.38; Col 1:16). In that creation the three Persons work as one: "the ministering spirits subsist by the will of the Father, are brought into being by the operation of the Son, and perfected by the presence of the Spirit. Moreover, the perfection of angels is sanctification and continuance in it" (16.38). The Father, the Word, and the Spirit are "the Lord who gives the order, the Word who creates, and the Spirit who confirms," and confirmation is "the perfecting according to holiness … firmness, unchangeableness, and fixity in good" (16.38; Ps 32[33]:6).

The holiness of the angels is therefore received, and received in measure:

> The powers of the heavens are not holy by nature; were it so there would in this respect be no difference between them and the Holy Spirit. It is in proportion to their relative excellence that they have their meed of holiness from the Spirit. The branding-iron is conceived of together with the fire; and yet the material and the fire are distinct. Thus too in the case of the heavenly powers … their sanctification, being external to their substance, superinduces their perfection through the communion of the Spirit. They keep their rank by their abiding in the good and true, and while they retain their freedom of will, never fall away from their patient attendance on Him who is truly good. (16.38)

The fall of some establishes the freedom of all: the wicked spirits' "fall establishes our statement of the freedom of the will of the invisible powers; being, as they are, in a condition of equipoise between virtue and vice, and on this account needing the succour of the Spirit" (16.38). Take away the Spirit, and "the hosts of the angels are disbanded, the dominions of archangels are destroyed, all is thrown into confusion, and their life loses law, order, and distinctness." Gabriel foretells by the Spirit's foreknowledge; the thrones and dominions live their blessed life because they behold the Father's face, "but to behold it is impossible without the Spirit!" Basil gives the image of a house at night: withdraw the light, and gold is trodden on as though it were iron. The heavenly order would lose its law like an army without its general, "or a chorus its harmony without the guidance of the Coryphæus." "How could the Seraphim cry 'Holy, Holy, Holy,' were they not taught by the Spirit how often true religion requires them to lift their voice in this ascription of glory?" The angels are "perfect from the moment of the creation," and in their creation "there is … the

presence of the Holy Spirit, who confers on them the grace that flows from Him for the completion and perfection of their essence" (16.38).

Three determinations of the *Summa* answer to this chapter. Aquinas holds it "more probable, and more in keeping with the sayings of holy men," that the angels were created in sanctifying grace (*ST* I q. 62 a. 3); that grace and glory were given them "according to the degree of their natural gifts" (*ST* I q. 62 a. 6), as Basil's "in proportion to their relative excellence"; and that the blessed angels cannot sin (*ST* I q. 62 a. 8), which is Basil's "fixity in good."

Basil states the angels' nature with a reserve that Aquinas does not share: "their substance is, peradventure, an aerial spirit, or an immaterial fire ... wherefore they exist in space and become visible, and appear in their proper bodily form to them that are worthy" (16.38; Ps 103[104]:4). Elsewhere he sets the angels in place against the Spirit's omnipresence: "The angel who stood by Cornelius was not at one and the same moment with Philip"; the Spirit alone fills the world (23.54). Aquinas determines that the angels are altogether incorporeal and assume bodies only for our sake (*ST* I q. 50 a. 1; q. 51 aa. 1–2), and that an angel is in a place by applying his power there, and in one place only at a time (*ST* I q. 52 aa. 1–2).

Witnesses, tutors, and guardians. Why does Paul charge Timothy "before God and Christ Jesus and the elect angels" (1 Tim 5:21)? Not because the angels are glorified with the Father and the Son. "The Spirit is called on as Lord of life, and the angels as allies of their fellow-slaves and faithful witnesses of the truth." The saints deliver God's commands before witnesses, and the angels will be present when the Lord comes to judge (*De Spiritu Sancto* 13.29; Luke 12:8). "And so the apostle, knowing the angels to be set over men as tutors and guardians, calls them to witness" (13.30).

4.13.2 The intelligible creation

In the first homily on the six days Basil speaks of a creation before the visible world:

> It appears, indeed, that even before this world an order of things existed of which our mind can form an idea, but of which we can say nothing, because it is too lofty a subject for men who are but beginners and are still babes in knowledge. ... The Creator and Demiurge of the universe perfected His works in it, spiritual light for the happiness of all who love the Lord, intellectual and invisible natures, all the orderly arrangement of pure intelligences who are beyond the reach of our mind and of whom we cannot even discover the names. They fill the essence of this invisible world, as Paul teaches us. "For by him were all things created that are in heaven, and that are in earth, visible and invisible whether they be thrones or dominions or principalities or powers" or virtues or hosts of angels or the dignities of archangels. (*Hexaemeron* I.5)

To this invisible world God added the visible one, "both a school and training place where the souls of men should be taught and a home for beings destined to be born and to die" (I.5). The intelligible creation was not in darkness: "The orders of angels, the heavenly hosts, all intellectual natures named or unnamed, all the ministering spirits, did not live in darkness, but enjoyed a condition fitted for them in light and spiritual joy" (II.5). When Basil later speaks of the vine as an image of the soul, he names the angels among its supports: God has surrounded human souls "with the authority of His precepts and a guard of angels. 'The angel of the Lord encampeth round about them that fear him' " (V.6; Ps 33[34]:8). Aquinas records that the Greek Fathers held the angels created before the visible world, and judges the contrary more probable without deeming the Greek opinion erroneous (*ST* I q. 61 a. 3 and ad 1; see §12.1).

4.13.3 The angel beside each believer

The third book against Eunomius answers the claim that the Spirit, being third in order, must be of another nature. Basil's reply turns on the angels, who differ in rank and are one in nature. All the angels, he says, as they share one name, share one and the same nature; yet some of them preside over nations (*ethnōn proestēkasin*) and others accompany each one of the faithful. As a whole nation is worth more than one man, so the dignity of the angel of a nation, the *ethnarchēs* angel, must exceed that of the angel entrusted with the care of one person. That an angel is with each of the faithful, *hoion paidagōgon tina kai nomea tēn zōēn dieuthynonta*, as a tutor and shepherd directing

his life, no one will gainsay who remembers the Lord's word on the little ones whose angels always see the face of the Father (*Adversus Eunomium* III.1, PG 29, 656B–657A; Matt 18:10).

The angel at each believer's side is a *paidagōgos*, the tutor who leads a child, and a *nomeus*, a shepherd. The Catechism quotes the sentence in its teaching that human life "from infancy to death" is surrounded by the angels' watchful care: "Beside each believer stands an angel as protector and shepherd leading him to life" (CCC 336). Basil gathers his proofs. The Psalmist says, "The angel of the Lord shall encamp round about them that fear him" (Ps 33[34]:8), and Jacob, in the Septuagint that Basil quotes, names the angel who delivered him from his youth (Gen 48:16). That angels preside over whole nations Moses teaches in his song, where the Most High divided the nations and set their bounds according to the number of his angels (Deut 32:8, which Basil reads in the Septuagint; the Vulgate has "the children of Israel"). Daniel heard the angel say that "the prince of the kingdom of the Persians" withstood him and that "Michael, one of the chief princes, came to help" him, and that "the prince of the Greeks" was coming (Dan 10:13, 20). A *archistratēgos* of the Lord's host appeared to Joshua at the Jordan; the Lord spoke of "more than twelve legions of angels"; and the chief captain of angels ranked in legions is plainly a ruler (Josh 5:14; Matt 26:53). The conclusion concerns the Spirit, but it states Basil's angelology exactly: among the angels one rules and another is subject, yet all are angels by nature; the difference lies in dignity, the communion in nature (III.2).

Aquinas gives the same reason for the rank of the Principalities, who preside "over the government of peoples and kingdoms," because "the good of a nation is more divine than the good of one man," and cites the prince of the Persians (*ST* I q. 108 a. 6; Dan 10:13). The individual guardian he places in the lowest order, "whose place it is ... to announce the 'lesser things' " (*ST* I q. 113 a. 3).

4.13.4 The homilies on the Psalms

Basil's homily on Psalm 33 gives the guardian angel a pastoral warmth that the treatise against Eunomius does not need. On the verse "The angel of the Lord shall encamp round about them that fear him: and shall deliver them," he teaches that an angel attends (*paredreuei*) every one who has believed in the Lord, unless we drive him away by evil works. As smoke puts bees to flight and a foul smell drives out doves, so lamentable and foul-smelling sin drives off the angel who guards our life, *ton phylaka tēs zōēs hēmōn angelon*. If the soul has works worthy of an angel's keeping, and a mind rich in the contemplations of truth, God of necessity sets watchers and guardians beside it, *phrourous kai phylakas*, and walls it round with a guard of angels (*Hom. in Ps.* 33.5, on v. 8).

The psalm says the angel will "encamp," and Basil marvels that one angel is likened to a whole army and a crowded camp (*stratopedon*, *parembolē*): for the greatness of him who guards you the Lord grants you a camp, and for the angel's strength he walls you round on every side with the safety that comes from him. As the walls of a city keep off the enemy's assaults on every side, so the angel fortifies you in front, guards your rear, and leaves neither flank unguarded (33.5). The same homily teaches the fear of God by the judgment. Before the dread tribunal of Christ, beside the man who has done much evil in his life, stand fearful and gloomy angels, looking fire and breathing fire for the bitterness of their will, their faces like night for their gloom and hatred of men (33.8; Ps 33[34]:12). And on the verse that sets the eyes of the Lord on the just and his face against evildoers, Basil recalls Matt 18:10: man cannot see God's face and live, but the angels of the little ones in the Church always behold the face of the Father. Our flesh is a veil; the angels, having no such covering, are hindered by nothing from gazing without ceasing on the face of God's glory, and we too shall know face to face when we become sons of the resurrection (*Hom. in Ps.* 33, on vv. 16–17).

In the homily on Psalm 48 Basil reads "the just shall have dominion over them in the morning" (Ps 48[49]:15) of the angels: God handed the redeemed over to the upright, that is, to his holy angels, to shepherd them; for to each of the faithful an angel is joined (*parezeugmenos*), worthy to behold the Father who is in heaven (*Hom. in Ps.* 48.9). Basil's teaching that sin drives the angel off is answered in the *Summa* by the rule that the guardian "never forsakes a man entirely, but sometimes he leaves him in some particular," by not preventing trouble or even sin, "according to the ordering of Divine judgments" (*ST* I q. 113 a. 6).

4.14 Gregory of Nazianzus

Damascene, as Aquinas quotes him, calls Gregory "the Theologian," and Aquinas, through Jerome, cites his authority as one against which no one has raised objection (*ST* I q. 61 a. 3, obj. 1 and corpus). His teaching on the angels is woven into his orations: the second theological oration, the festal sermons on the Nativity, the Lights, and Pentecost,

and his farewell to Constantinople. He speaks of the angels as lights, the first overflow of the Light that is God, and as the choir that circles the First Cause.

The natures and the names. In the second theological oration Gregory leads his hearers from the visible world to the invisible one. Taking the Tabernacle as a figure of the whole creation, he asks whether we shall "pass the first veil, and stepping beyond the realm of sense, ... look into the Holy Place, the Intellectual and Celestial creation." Even this we cannot see incorporeally, "since it is called—or is—Fire and Spirit." He reads the psalm verse of the angels' nature:

> The Angel then is called spirit and fire; Spirit, as being a creature of the intellectual sphere; Fire, as being of a purifying nature; for I know that the same names belong to the First Nature. But, relatively to us at least, we must reckon the Angelic Nature incorporeal, or at any rate as nearly so as possible. (*Oratio* 28.31; Ps 103[104]:4)

Then, as far as the mind can go, he names what we know:

> ... we know there are Angels and Archangels, Thrones, Dominions, Princedoms, Powers, Splendours, Ascents, Intelligent Powers or Intelligencies, pure natures and unalloyed, immovable to evil, or scarcely movable; ever circling in chorus round the First Cause (or how should we sing their praises?) illuminated thence with the purest Illumination, or one in one degree and one in another, proportionally to their nature and rank ... so conformed to beauty and moulded that they become secondary Lights, and can enlighten others by the overflowings and largesses of the First Light. (28.31)

The list joins six names that Scripture gives to three names drawn from the angels' activity: Splendours, Ascents, Intelligences. Gregory does not rank them. He continues with their offices: they are "Ministrants of God's Will, strong with both inborn and imparted strength, traversing all space, readily present to all at any place through their zeal for ministry and the agility of their nature ... different individuals of them embracing different parts of the world, or appointed over different districts of the Universe, as He knoweth who ordered and distributed it all" (28.31). They are "Hymners of the Majesty of the Godhead, eternally contemplating the Eternal Glory, not that God may thereby gain an increase of glory ... but that there may never be a cessation of blessings to these first natures after God." His purpose is humility: "even the secondary natures surpass the power of our intellect; much more then the First" (28.31).

The first creation and the fall of Lucifer. In the oration on the Nativity Gregory sets the angels first in the order of creation. God's goodness could not rest in contemplating itself; "Good must be poured out and go forth beyond Itself to multiply the objects of Its beneficence."

> He first conceived the Heavenly and Angelic Powers. And this conception was a work fulfilled by His Word, and perfected by His Spirit. And so the secondary Splendours came into being, as the Ministers of the Primary Splendour; whether we are to conceive of them as intelligent Spirits, or as Fire of an immaterial and incorruptible kind, or as some other nature approaching this as near as may be. I should like to say that they were incapable of movement in the direction of evil, and susceptible only of the movement of good, as being about God, and illumined with the first rays from God ... but I am obliged to stop short of saying that, and to conceive and speak of them only as difficult to move because of him, who for his splendour was called Lucifer, but became and is called Darkness through his pride; and the apostate hosts who are subject to him, creators of evil by their revolt against good and our inciters. (*Or.* 38.9)

The fall of Lucifer through pride is Gregory's reason for calling the angelic nature difficult to move to evil rather than immovable. "Then when His first creation was in good order, He conceives a second world, material and visible" (38.10). The intelligible natures are "akin to Deity"; the sensible are "utterly alien to It" (38.10). Man is made last, from both worlds: "a new Angel, a mingled worshipper, fully initiated into the visible creation, but only partially into the intellectual" (38.11). Aquinas reports this oration through Damascene, "He first of all devised the angelic and heavenly powers, and the devising was the making thereof," and on its account refuses to call the Greek opinion

erroneous (*ST* I q. 61 a. 3 obj. 1 and corpus). On the first sin Aquinas agrees with Gregory that it was pride (*ST* I q. 63 a. 2).

Lights from the Light. The oration on the Holy Lights places the angel in a descending order of lights. "God is Light," the highest and unapproachable.

> A second Light is the Angel, a kind of outflow or communication of that first Light, drawing its illumination from its inclination and obedience thereto; and I know not whether its illumination is distributed according to the order of its state, or whether its order is due to the respective measures of its illumination. A third Light is man. (*Or.* 40.5)

Gregory leaves open whether rank follows illumination or illumination rank. Aquinas answers that grace and glory were given the angels according to the degree of their natural gifts (*ST* I q. 62 a. 6), so that the orders are "adequately distinguished by the gifts of grace, but dispositively by natural gifts" (*ST* I q. 108 a. 4). Sinlessness belongs to God; "I venture to say also that it belongs to the Angelic nature too; or at least, I would affirm that nature to be very nearly sinless, because of its nearness to God" (40.7). In the second Easter oration the angels are "the first luminous nature, next to the first nature of all, because springing directly from it," and "scarcely Angels themselves could offer gifts worthy of its rank, those first and intellectual and pure beings, who are also eye-witnesses of the Glory That is on high" (45.2).

The Spirit in the angels. With Basil, Gregory ascribes the angels' firmness to the Holy Spirit. At Pentecost he preaches: "He wrought first in the heavenly and angelic powers, and such as are first after God and around God. For from no other source flows their perfection and their brightness, and the difficulty or impossibility of moving them to sin, but from the Holy Ghost" (*Or.* 41.11). The Spirit is "penetrating all spirits that are intelligent, pure, most subtle (the Angel Hosts I think)" (31.29). Yet the angels are creatures and share in some measure the mutability of creatures: "perhaps the same may be said of the Angels and the whole of that superior nature which is second to the Trinity alone; although they are simple in some measure and more fixed in good, owing to their nearness to the highest Good" (31.15).

The angels of the churches and the feast. Gregory holds that each church has its angel. In his last farewell to Constantinople, spoken before the bishops of the Council of 381, he hears the Lord call to "the presiding Angels, for I believe, as John teaches me in his Revelation, that each Church has its guardian," bidding them prepare the way of his people (*Or.* 42.9; Apoc 1:20; 2:1; Isa 62:10). Taking leave of the city, he closes the same oration: "Last of all, and most of all, I will cry,—farewell ye Angels, guardians of this church, and of my presence and pilgrimage, since our affairs are in the hands of God" (42.27). The priest "is to take his stand with Angels, and give glory with Archangels, and cause the sacrifice to ascend to the altar on high" (2.73). At the Nativity the Church keeps feast with the angels: "With Shepherds glorify Him; with Angels join in chorus; with Archangels sing hymns. Let this Festival be common to the powers in heaven and to the powers upon earth. For I am persuaded that the Heavenly Hosts join in our exultation and keep high Festival with us to-day ... because they love men, and they love God" (38.17).

4.15 Gregory of Nyssa

Basil's younger brother gives the angels a place in his account of the whole creation, of man's fall, and of Christ's victory. Three teachings stand out in him: that the devil fell through envy of man; that the multiplication of men would have followed the angels' manner had man not sinned; and that an angel and a demon stand at each man's side.

The fall of the power set over the earth. In the *Catechetical Oration* Gregory explains the origin of evil by "an argument such as the following we have received by tradition from the Fathers." God joined the intellectual and the sensible worlds, so that nothing in creation should be without its share in the higher, and man is the meeting of both. The angelic powers came first, each with its charge:

> Since, then, the intellectual nature had a previous existence, and to each of the angelic powers a certain operation was assigned, for the organization of the whole, by the authority that presides over all things,

> there was a certain power ordained to hold together and sway the earthly region, constituted for this purpose by the power that administers the Universe. Upon that there was fashioned that thing moulded of earth, an "image" copied from the superior Power. Now this living being was man. . . . He to whom the administration of the earth has been consigned takes it ill and thinks it not to be borne, if, of that nature which has been subjected to him, any being shall be exhibited bearing likeness to his transcendent dignity. (*Oratio catechetica* 6)

Evil has no being of its own; it is "the deprivation of goodness, just as a shadow which supervenes at the passage of the solar ray." The uncreated alone is unchangeable; the created power "could choose by a spontaneous movement whatever he liked," and "when he had closed his eyes to the good . . . like one who in the sunshine lets his eyelids down upon his eyes and sees only darkness," he became cognisant of the contrary to goodness. "Now this is Envy" (6). Once turned, he fell "like a rock, torn asunder from a mountain ridge, which is driven down headlong by its own weight," and made his intellect the instrument of vice, deceiving man "to become his own murderer with his own hands" (6). Aquinas places pride first in the angel's sin and envy after it, the devil grieving "over man's good, and also over the Divine excellence" (*ST* I q. 63 a. 2). He reports the like teaching of Damascene, "that the highest of those who sinned was set over the terrestrial order" (*ST* I q. 63 a. 7; see §13.1).

Christ's victory repays the deceiver in kind. The devil could not bear the unveiled presence of God, so "the Deity was hidden under the veil of our nature, that so, as with ravenous fish, the hook of the Deity might be gulped down along with the bait of flesh, and thus, life being introduced into the house of death, and light shining in darkness, that which is diametrically opposed to light and life might vanish" (24). "He who first deceived man by the bait of sensual pleasure is himself deceived by the presentment of the human form" (26). Gregory speaks of that healing as reaching even "him, too, who had wrought our ruin" (26); the Church confesses the punishment of the demons to be everlasting, and the synod of Constantinople in 543 condemned the teaching that it will end or that the demons will be restored (DS 411; Lateran IV, DS 801).

How the angels increase. Gregory asks why man was made male and female, if the resurrection restores him to the life of the angels, who do not marry, as the Lord answered the Sadducees (Luke 20:34–36). The armies of the angels "are in countless myriads" without marriage;

> so, in the same way, if there had not come upon us as the result of sin a change for the worse, and removal from equality with the angels, neither should we have needed marriage that we might multiply; but whatever the mode of increase in the angelic nature is (unspeakable and inconceivable by human conjectures, except that it assuredly exists), it would have operated also in the case of men, who were "made a little lower than the angels," to increase mankind to the measure determined by its Maker. (*De hominis opificio* 17.2)

God foresaw the fall and gave man a manner of increase suited to fallen nature, "in order that the multitude of human souls might not be cut short by its fall from that mode by which the angels were increased and multiplied" (17.4). Gregory's question has its own answer: the angels "exist in countless myriads, being one essence, and at the same time numerically many" (17.3). Aquinas, for his part, holds each angel a species of its own and their number exceedingly great, "far beyond all material multitude" (*ST* I q. 50 aa. 3–4; see §8.1).

The hundredth sheep. Against Eunomius Gregory expounds Heb 1:6, "when he bringeth in the first begotten into the world," of Christ's return in glory, when "the company of all the angels worships Him Who comes in the name of the First-begotten, in their rejoicing over the restoration of men." The angels rejoice over each sinner rescued, and judge our perdition their own loss; "when the sheep is brought safe to the hundred above, (and we surely—humanity that is to say—are that sheep which the Good Shepherd saved by becoming the first-begotten,) then especially will they offer, in their intense thanksgiving on our behalf, their worship to God" (*Contra Eunomium* IV.3, in the NPNF division; Luke 15:4–7).

The angel and the demon at each man's side. In the *Life of Moses* Gregory reads the meeting of Moses and Aaron as the soul's meeting with its angel, and he gives the teaching as one that holds its credit from the tradition of the fathers, *ek patrikēs paradoseōs*. When our nature fell into sin, God did not leave our fall without his providence, but set beside the life of each man, as an ally (*eis symmachian*), an angel of those who have received the bodiless

nature; on the other side the corrupter of our nature contrived the like by a wicked and evil-working demon; and man, standing between the two companions whose aims are opposed, himself makes the one prevail over the other (*De vita Moysis* II, PG 44, 337D–340A). The good angel sets before the reason the goods of virtue that hope sees; the other, the material pleasures that enslave the senses. When a man turns from the bait of evil and sets his soul like a mirror toward the hope of good, the brother's alliance meets him and stands by him, for the angel is in a manner a brother to the rational and intellectual part of the soul (PG 44, 340). It is not in doubt, he says, that the angel is akin to the soul in its intelligible and bodiless being, was made before us, and stands by those who wrestle with their adversaries. The Church teaches that an angel watches over each human life (CCC 336), and Aquinas teaches the assault of the demons as permitted by God and ordered by him to man's good (*ST* I q. 114 a. 1).

4.16 Ephrem the Syrian

Ephrem writes in Syriac and in verse, and his angelology is sung. His usual name for the angels is "the Watchers," the wakeful ones; he delights to set them beside the "vigil-keepers" of the Church, who watch through the night of the Nativity.[8]

The Watchers at the Nativity. "Joyous were to-day the Watchers, that the Wakeful came to wake us! Who would pass this night in slumber, in which all the world was watching?" (*Hymns on the Nativity* I). The descent of the angels to the shepherds joins heaven to the Church's vigil:

> To-day the angels, and the archangels,—descended to sing—a new song on earth.—In this mystery they descend, and rejoice with the vigil-keepers. ... For this is the night that joined, the Watchers on high with the vigil-keepers.—The Watcher came to make watchers in the midst of creation.—Lo! the vigil-keepers are made comrades with the Watchers:—the singers of praise are made, companions of the Seraphs. (*Nat.* XIV.3–4)

Christ is "the Watcher" who came to make men watchers. Gabriel, "chief of Angels, called Him 'My Lord' ... to teach that He was his Lord, not his fellow.—Gabriel had with him, Michael as fellow:—the Son is Lord of the servants" (XIV.23). The thousands who stand before the throne cannot search him out, "for all of them stand, in silence to serve" (XIV.21; Dan 7:10). One angel announced the conception, but a multitude the birth, "for greater is the joy of the Birth than the Conception" (XV.36–37). "It was not Seraphim He sent us, nor yet did Cherubim come down among us;—there came not Watchers or Ministers, but the Firstborn to Whom they minister" (XVI.8).

The Watchers at the font. In the hymns for the Epiphany the angels rejoice over the newly baptized. The lowly man who has put on Christ in the water "is great in the sight of the Watchers" (*Hymns for the Epiphany* IV.10). "The Angels and the Watchers rejoice—over that which is born of the Spirit and of water ... The Seraphins who sing 'Holy' rejoice,—that they who are made holy have been increased" (VI.7). "For lo! the Angels rejoice—over one sinner if he repent:—how much more do they now rejoice—that in all churches and congregations,—lo! Baptism is bringing forth—the heavenly from the earthly!" (VI.8; Luke 15:10). Baptism itself becomes a guard like the host about Eliseus: "Elisha was the equal of the Watchers ... The camp of the Watchers was round about him;—thus let Baptism be unto you,—a camp of guardians" (VIII.19; 4 Kgs 6:17). Another hymn of the series closes with the whole Church, above and below: "From every mouth with one consent,—of those beneath and those above,—Watchers, Cherubin, and Seraphin,—the baptized, the sealed, and the hearers,—let each of us cry aloud and say,—'Glory to the Lord of our feasts!'" (VI.20).

The Watchers in Hades. In the Nisibene hymns Death speaks of the Resurrection. The angels who sat in the tomb, one at the head and one at the feet, are to him an invasion of his realm: "Death has seen the Watchers in Hell; the immortal instead of the mortal; and he said Confusion has entered our abode ... That the dead have come forth out of Hell, and the Watchers that die not have entered therein" (*Carmina Nisibena* XXXVI.15; John 20:12).

[8] Quotations are from the hymns in the *Nicene and Post-Nicene Fathers*, second series, vol. 13.

4.17 John Chrysostom

Chrysostom's homilies on Matthew, John, Acts, and the Epistles pause again and again where the text names the angels. His angelology is pastoral: the angels serve our salvation, they are fellow-servants and tutors, they stand about the altar, and their presence is a reason for sobriety and for joy.

4.17.1 Ministering spirits

The third homily on Hebrews expounds Heb 1:6–14. The Father "bringeth in the First-Begotten" and commands the angels to worship him, and the Apostle sets the angels' making against the Son's throne: "Behold, the greatest difference! that they are created, but He uncreated" (*Hom. in Heb.* 3.1). On the last verse Chrysostom turns to the hearers:

> Ver. 14. "Are they not all ministering spirits, sent forth to minister for them who shall be heirs of salvation?" What marvel (saith he) if they minister to the Son, when they minister even to our salvation? See how he lifts up their minds, and shows the great honor which God has for us, since He has assigned to Angels who are above us this ministration on our behalf. ... this is the office of Angels, to minister to God for our salvation. So that it is an angelical work, to do all for the salvation of the brethren: or rather it is the work of Christ Himself, for He indeed saves as Lord, but they as servants. And we, though servants are yet Angels' fellow-servants. (3.4)

"And yet the space between angels and men is great; nevertheless he brings them down near to us, all but saying, For us they labor, for our sake they run to and fro: on us, as one might say, they wait. This is their ministry, for our sake to be sent every way" (3.4). Chrysostom runs through the examples: the shepherds, Mary, Joseph, the tomb, the Ascension, Peter freed from prison, Philip, Cornelius, Paul; "Dost thou see that they minister to us on God's behalf, and that they minister to us in the greatest matters?" (3.4). The Son too was sent, but not as servant; indeed he was not sent in the way the angels are, "for He did not pass from place to place, but took on Him flesh: whereas these change their places, and leaving those in which they were before, so come to others in which they were not." The Apostle's word is also comfort: "What fear ye? Angels are ministering to us" (3.4).

The glory of the angels makes the glory of our nature in Christ the greater. On "for nowhere doth he take hold of the angels" (Heb 2:16) Chrysostom exclaims: "For in very deed it is a great and a wonderful thing, and full of amazement that our flesh should sit on high, and be adored by Angels and Archangels, by the Cherubim and the Seraphim. For myself having oftentimes thought upon this, I am amazed at it" (5.1). Yet the angels do not comprehend God. On "No man hath seen God at any time" (John 1:18) he teaches that "what God really is, not only have not the prophets seen, but not even angels nor archangels. If you ask them, you shall not hear them answering anything concerning His Essence, but sending up, 'Glory to God in the Highest' ... If you desire to learn something from Cherubim or Seraphim, you shall hear the mystic song of His Holiness" (*Hom. in Jo.* 15.1; Luke 2:14; Isa 6:3). Aquinas cites this homily as the first objection to the vision of God's essence, and answers that Chrysostom speaks "of the vision of comprehension" (*ST* I q. 12 a. 1 obj. 1 and ad 1).

4.17.2 Principalities and powers

In the homilies on Colossians Chrysostom meets teachers who would bring men to God through the angels. On Col 1:16 he notes that Paul names the thrones and dominions because their creation by Christ was in question: "what is granted, he lets alone, but what is doubted he asserts"; "whether" and "or" embrace all things, "but the Spirit is not amongst the 'powers' " (*Hom. in Col.* 3). The peace made by the blood of the Cross (Col 1:20) was a peace with heaven as well as among men:

> Why then place ye confidence in Angels? saith he. For so far are they from bringing you near, that they were ever your enemies, except God Himself had reconciled you with them. Why then run ye to them? Wouldest thou know the hatred which the Angels had against us, how great it was; and how averse to us they always were? They were sent to take vengeance in the cases of the Israelites, of David, of the Sodomites, of the Valley of weeping. Not so however now, but, on the contrary, they sang upon the earth with exceeding joy. (*Hom. in Col.* 3)

"He brought these first down hither, and then he took up man to them; earth became heaven, because that heaven was about to receive the things of earth" (3). Human nature, once below the stones in its idolatry, is now set "higher in dominion than the Angels, and the Archangels, and the thrones, and the dominions" (5; Col 1:27). On the "religion of angels" (Col 2:18): "There are some who maintain that we must be brought near by Angels, not by Christ, that were too great a thing for us"; such a man "hath not seen Angels, and yet is affected as though he had," and he has let go the Head: "Why, letting go the Head, dost thou cling to the members?" (7).

The principalities of Col 2:15 are the fallen ones: "He means the diabolical powers." The devil, expecting to take Christ, "lost even those he had; and when That Body was nailed to the Cross, the dead arose. There death received his wound, having met his death-stroke from a dead body" (6). In Ephesians the powers against whom we wrestle are named as the holy powers are named: "'Principalities, and powers,' he speaks of; just as in the heavenly places there are 'thrones and dominions, principalities and powers' " (*Hom. in Eph.* 22; Eph 6:12; Col 1:16). The warning follows: "if 'the principalities' are incorporeal, if they are 'rulers of the world,' if they are 'the spiritual hosts of wickedness,' how, tell me, canst thou live in self-indulgence?" (22).

The mystery of the Church was hidden even from the angels. On Eph 3:10 Chrysostom has Paul answer his own question: "art thou enlightening Angels and Archangels and Principalities and Powers? I am, saith he ... But whence hath this been made manifest to the Angels? By the Church." "When we were taught it, then were they also by us" (*Hom. in Eph.* 7). The angels knew that "the Lord's portion was His people" and that the Gentiles would be called, "but that it was to the same privileges as Israel, yea, even to sit upon the throne of God, this, who would ever have expected?" (7; Deut 32:9). Aquinas teaches that the angels knew the mystery of the Incarnation in general from the beginning and learned its special conditions afterward (*ST* I q. 57 a. 5 and ad 1).

4.17.3 The angel of each believer

Three homilies give Chrysostom's teaching on the guardian angel. On Matt 18:10 he draws the conclusion broadly: "Hence it is evident, that the saints have angels, or even all men," and he cites 1 Cor 11:10 and the Septuagint of Deut 32:8, "according to the number of the angels of God." Of the text itself he says: "here He is discoursing not of angels only, but rather of angels that are greater than others. But when He saith, 'The face of my Father,' He means nothing else than their fuller confidence, and their great honor" (*Hom. in Matt.* 59.4). Aquinas cites the reading as an objection to his placing the guardians in the lowest order, and answers that Chrysostom "can be taken to mean the highest in the lowest order of angels," adding that "it is, however, probable that the greater angels are deputed to keep those chosen by God for the higher degree of glory" (*ST* I q. 113 a. 3 obj. 1 and ad 1). On Acts 12:15, where the disciples at Mary's door say of Peter, "It is his angel," Chrysostom states flatly: "This is a truth, that each man has an Angel" (*Hom. in Act.* 26). In the homily on Col 1:20 he ties the guardian to the new order of the Church:

> At first the Angels were according to the number of the nations; but now, not to the number of the nations, but that of the believers. Whence is this evident? Hear Christ saying, "See that ye despise not one of these little ones, for their Angels do always behold the face of My Father which is in heaven." For each believer hath an Angel; since even from the beginning, every one of those that were approved had his Angel, as Jacob says, "The Angel that feedeth me, and delivereth me from my youth." If then we have Angels, let us be sober, as though we were in the presence of tutors; for there is a demon present also. Therefore we pray, asking for the Angel of peace. (*Hom. in Col.* 3; Gen 48:15–16)

Chrysostom speaks now of "each man," now of "each believer," as Basil does of "each of the faithful." Aquinas records two opinions, that the guardian is given at baptism and that he is given at birth, and follows Jerome in the second: the guardian is given with the nature, not with the grace of baptism (*ST* I q. 113 a. 5; see §17.5). The same presence grounds a rule of modesty. Paul bids the woman be veiled "because of the angels" (1 Cor 11:10), and Chrysostom paraphrases: "'For although thou despise thine husband,' saith he, 'yet reverence the angels' " (*Hom. in 1 Cor.* 26).

4.17.4 The angels about the altar

Chrysostom returns again and again to the angels' presence at the Eucharist. In the treatise *On the Priesthood* he sets the priest's office among the heavenly orders:

> For the priestly office is indeed discharged on earth, but it ranks amongst heavenly ordinances; and very naturally so: for neither man, nor angel, nor archangel, nor any other created power, but the Paraclete Himself, instituted this vocation, and persuaded men while still abiding in the flesh to represent the ministry of angels. Wherefore the consecrated priest ought to be as pure as if he were standing in the heavens themselves in the midst of those powers. (*De sacerdotio* III.4)

Priests "have received an authority which God has not given to angels or archangels," for to no angel was it said, "Whatsoever ye shall bind on earth shall be bound in Heaven" (III.5; Matt 18:18). When the priest invokes the Holy Spirit and offers "the most dread sacrifice," the angels are there:

> At such a time angels stand by the Priest; and the whole sanctuary, and the space round about the altar, is filled with the powers of heaven, in honor of Him who lieth thereon. For this, indeed, is capable of being proved from the very rites which are being then celebrated. I myself, moreover, have heard some one once relate, that a certain aged, venerable man, accustomed to see revelations, used to tell him, that he being thought worthy of a vision of this kind, at such a time, saw, on a sudden, so far as was possible for him, a multitude of angels, clothed in shining robes, and encircling the altar, and bending down, as one might see soldiers in the presence of their King, and for my part I believe it. (VI.4)

Another told him that when those who have received the mysteries with a pure conscience are about to die, "angels keep guard over them for the sake of what they have received, and bear them hence" (VI.4). The same teaching sounds in the homilies. "Look, I entreat: a royal table is set before you, Angels minister at that table, the King Himself is there, and dost thou stand gaping?" (*Hom. in Eph.* 3). It is "a sacrifice, at which the very Angels tremble" (3). In the litany for the catechumens the deacon bids them, "Pray ye, Catechumens, for the angel of peace"; Chrysostom explains, "for there is an angel that punisheth ... Wherefore we bid them ask for the angel of peace, teaching them to seek that which is the bond of all good things, peace" (*Hom. in 2 Cor.* 2; Ps 77[78]:49). Aquinas, expounding the Roman Canon, speaks in the same way of "the angel standing by at the Divine mysteries" who presents the prayers of priest and people to God (*ST* III q. 83 a. 4 ad 9; Apoc 8:4).

The angels will also stand at the judgment, and fear with us. Chrysostom bids the fallen Theodore see the heavenly assembly of "angels, archangels, thrones, dominions, principalities, powers" (*Ad Theodorum lapsum* I.11), and at the judgment "even the angels themselves are holden by much fear, and not angels only but also archangels and thrones, and dominions, and principalities and authorities," because their fellow-servants are called to account (I.12).

4.17.5 The demons do not govern the world

Against those who excused their sins by saying that the world is given over to demons, Chrysostom preached three homilies on the devil's power. The demons' treatment of the Gerasene swine shows what their rule would be: "Thus do Demons govern" (*De diabolo tentatore* I.6). Had God entrusted the world to them, "they would have confused and disturbed everything"; the order of the sun, stars, and seasons shows the providence that governs it (I.6). The devil "does not overcome by force, nor by tyranny, nor through compulsion, nor through violence," as Job's flocks and the swine show, for he could touch neither without permission from above (II.1). Why then is he not removed? Because "if the antagonist were taken away he who overcomes is thereby injured": the diligent would "neither exhibit their own power, nor win crowns" (II.1). Nor is the devil evil by nature. "Let the Devil be allowed to be exceeding wicked, not by nature, but by choice and conviction"; his very names, slanderer and wicked one, name acts and not an essence, and his wickedness "was not indeed with him at the beginning, but afterwards came upon him; wherefore he is called apostate." He is called wicked above all others because, though wronged in nothing, "when he saw mankind had in honour, he straightway envied him his good" (II.2). Aquinas determines the same of the assault of the demons: the assault is the demons' malice, its ordering is God's, "Who knows how to make orderly use of evil by ordering it to good" (*ST* I q. 114 a. 1).

4.18 The Nicene Fathers and Their Reception

The teaching of the Greek and Syriac Fathers from Athanasius to Chrysostom, with the place where Aquinas or the Church receives it:

Witness	Locus	Teaching	Received at
Athanasius	*C. Ar.* II.19–21, 26–29	The orders are creatures; angels do not create; God needs no created mediator in order to create	*ST* I q. 45 a. 5; Lateran IV (DS 800)
Athanasius	*C. Ar.* I.55–62; II.23	The Son is "better" than the angels by nature, not by degree; the angels worship him; worship belongs to God alone	CCC 331, 333
Athanasius	*C. Ar.* III.12–14	The angels minister at God's command; in the angel of the bush God spoke	*ST* I q. 51 a. 2 ad 1
Athanasius	*C. Ar.* III.10; *De inc.* 25	The good angels remain by willing what God wills; the fallen hold the lower air, cleared by the Cross	*ST* I q. 64 a. 4
Athanasius	*V. Ant.* 22, 28–30, 35, 41	The demons were made good and fell; since Christ they are weak, act by permission, and flee the Cross and Christ's name	Lateran IV (DS 800); *ST* I q. 114 a. 1
Athanasius	*V. Ant.* 31–33	The demons know the future only by conjecture, as physicians do	*ST* I q. 57 a. 3
Athanasius	*V. Ant.* 35–37, 43	A holy visitation brings calm and joy; a demonic one, tumult and fear	—
Cyril of Jerusalem	*Cat.* II.4; IV.1; VIII.4	The devil, once an archangel, fell by free will; his will cannot repent	*ST* I q. 63 aa. 4–5; *ST* I q. 64 a. 2
Cyril	*Cat.* XI.21–23	Christ made all the orders; the world is not the work of angels	CCC 331; *ST* I q. 45 a. 5
Cyril	*Cat.* VI.6; XI.11–13	Each order sees God according to its capacity; none knows the Son's generation	*ST* I q. 12 aa. 1, 7
Cyril	*Cat.* XVI.23	Angels, archangels, spirits, virtues, principalities, powers, thrones, dominions: the Spirit is their Ruler and Sanctifier	*ST* I q. 62 a. 3
Cyril	*Cat.* XV.24	The angels are the ninety-nine sheep; their number exceeds all mankind	*ST* I q. 50 a. 3
Cyril	*Myst.* V.6	Nine orders named in the anaphora; the Church sings the Seraphim's hymn to share it	*ST* III q. 83 a. 4; CCC 335
Basil	*De Sp. S.* 16.38	The powers are holy by the Spirit, not by nature, in measure of their excellence; perfected at creation	*ST* I q. 62 aa. 3, 6, 8
Basil	*De Sp. S.* 16.38; 23.54	The angels' substance is perhaps aerial spirit or immaterial fire; they are in one place	Answered: *ST* I q. 50 a. 1; *ST* I q. 52 a. 2

Witness	Locus	Teaching	Received at
Basil	*Hex.* I.5; II.5	The intelligible creation and its orders existed before the visible world, in light	*ST* I q. 61 a. 3 and ad 1
Basil	*Adv. Eun.* III.1	An angel is beside each believer as tutor and shepherd; greater angels rule nations	CCC 336; *ST* I q. 108 a. 6; *ST* I q. 113 a. 2
Basil	*Hom. in Ps.* 33.5; 48.9	An angel attends every believer; sin drives him off; a guard of angels walls the just	*ST* I q. 113 aa. 4, 6
Gregory Nazianzen	*Or.* 28.31	Angels, archangels, thrones, dominions, princedoms, powers, splendours, ascents, intelligences; ministers and hymners; set over regions	*ST* I q. 108 a. 5; *ST* I q. 110 a. 1
Gregory Nazianzen	*Or.* 38.9–11	God first conceived the angelic powers; Lucifer fell through pride; man is a "new Angel"	*ST* I q. 61 a. 3; *ST* I q. 63 a. 2
Gregory Nazianzen	*Or.* 40.5, 7; 41.11	The angel is a second light; its firmness in good is from the Spirit	*ST* I q. 62 aa. 6, 8; *ST* I q. 106 a. 1
Gregory Nazianzen	*Or.* 42.9, 27	Each church has its guardian angel	—
Gregory of Nyssa	*Or. cat.* 6	The power set over the earth fell through envy of man	Pride first: *ST* I q. 63 a. 2
Gregory of Nyssa	*Or. cat.* 24, 26	The deceiver is deceived by the hook of the Godhead	Restoration of the demons condemned: Constantinople 543 (DS 411)
Gregory of Nyssa	*De hom. op.* 17	The angels increase in their own manner, one essence and many in number	*ST* I q. 50 aa. 3–4
Gregory of Nyssa	*Vita Moysis* II	By tradition of the fathers, an angel and a demon attend each man	CCC 336; *ST* I q. 113 a. 2; *ST* I q. 114 a. 1
Ephrem	*Nat.* XIV; XV–XVI	The Watchers sing at the Nativity; the Son is Lord of Gabriel and Michael	CCC 333
Ephrem	*Epiph.* VI.7–8, 20; VIII.19	The Watchers and Seraphim rejoice over the baptized; baptism is a camp of guardians	—
Chrysostom	*Hom. in Heb.* 3.4	All angels are ministering spirits sent for our salvation; we are their fellow-servants	*ST* I q. 112 a. 1; *ST* I q. 57 a. 5 ad 1; CCC 331
Chrysostom	*Hom. in Jo.* 15.1	Not even the angels see what God is	*ST* I q. 12 a. 1 obj. 1 and ad 1
Chrysostom	*Hom. in Col.* 3, 7; *Hom. in Eph.* 7	Angels were reconciled by the Cross; men are not brought to God by angels; the angels learn the mystery through the Church	*ST* I q. 57 a. 5
Chrysostom	*Hom. in Matt.* 59.4	The angels of Matt 18:10 are greater angels; all men have angels	*ST* I q. 113 a. 3 obj. 1 and ad 1
Chrysostom	*Hom. in Act.* 26; *Hom. in Col.* 3	Each man, each believer, has an angel; a demon too is present; pray for the angel of peace	*ST* I q. 113 aa. 2, 5; CCC 336

Witness	Locus	Teaching	Received at
Chrysostom	*De sac.* III.4; VI.4; *Hom. in Eph.* 3	Angels fill the sanctuary at the sacrifice and minister at the table	*ST* III q. 83 a. 4 ad 9; CCC 335
Chrysostom	*De diab. tent.* I.6; II.1	The demons do not govern the world; the devil overcomes by deceit, not force	*ST* I q. 114 a. 1

5 The Latin Fathers before Dionysius

The Latin Church spoke of the angels long before it wrote a treatise on them. Its first witnesses were apologists who met the gods of Rome as demons and drove them out in the name of Christ; then bishops and exegetes who found the angels in the Psalms, the Prophets, and the Gospels; then a monk who carried to Gaul what the fathers of the Egyptian desert had learned of the spirits in combat. Across three centuries they teach with one voice that God made the angels good and that the devil and his companions fell by their own will; that the demons deceive by subtlety and speed, and yield to the name of Christ; that the holy angels praise God without ceasing, carry the prayers of the faithful, and keep each soul from its birth; and that the heavenly powers stand in ranks whose names Scripture gives. On the manner of the first sin, the bodies of spirits, the princes of the nations, and the time of the angels' creation they speak in their own voices and divide. Augustine gathers this witness, and the Latin schools received his teaching (§5.10).

5.1 Tertullian

Tertullian of Carthage (d. about 220) speaks of the angels and the demons as an apologist before the magistrates of Rome, as a controversialist against Marcion and his disciples, and as a teacher of prayer and patience, and in each office the spirits enter his argument.

The demons in the *Apology*. Tertullian begins from what the pagans themselves concede. The philosophers acknowledge demons, Socrates waited on one, the poets know them, the common people curse by Satan "as though from some instinctive soul-knowledge of him," and the magicians are "witnesses to the existence of both kinds of spirits." Scripture adds their origin: "We are instructed, moreover, by our sacred books how from certain angels, who fell of their own free-will, there sprang a more wicked demon-brood, condemned of God along with the authors of their race, and that chief we have referred to" (*Apol.* 22.3). Their business is single: "Their great business is the ruin of mankind." They lay diseases on the body and drive the soul into sudden excesses, and their nature fits them for both: "Their marvellous subtleness and tenuity give them access to both parts of our nature" (*subtilitas et tenuitas*, 22.5). Their action is known only by its effects, like the unseen blight that withers the grain in the flower.

Their speed explains how they counterfeit divinity:

> Every spirit is possessed of wings. This is a common property of both angels and demons. So they are everywhere in a single moment; the whole world is as one place to them; all that is done over the whole extent of it, it is as easy for them to know as to report. Their swiftness of motion is taken for divinity, because their nature is unknown. (*Apol.* 22.8)

The Latin is terse: *Omnis spiritus ales est: hoc angeli et daemones.* What the demons foretell they have borrowed. "The purposes of God, too, they took up of old from the lips of the prophets, even as they spoke them; and they gather them still from their works, when they hear them read aloud"; their weather-lore comes from "their commerce with the clouds." Their cures are a fraud: "first of all, they make you ill; then, to get a miracle out of it, they command the application of remedies ... and straightway withdrawing hurtful influence, they are supposed to have wrought a cure."

In the next chapter Tertullian lays down a challenge to the courts. "Let a person be brought before your tribunals, who is plainly under demoniacal possession. The wicked spirit, bidden to speak by a follower of Christ, will as readily make the truthful confession that he is a demon, as elsewhere he has falsely asserted that he is a god" (23.4). The Christian's power over them is the name of the Judge:

> Why, all the authority and power we have over them is from our naming the name of Christ, and recalling to their memory the woes with which God threatens them at the hands of Christ as Judge, and which they expect one day to overtake them. Fearing Christ in God, and God in Christ, they become subject to the servants of God and Christ. So at our touch and breathing, overwhelmed by the thought and realization of those judgment fires, they leave at our command the bodies they have entered, unwilling, and distressed, and before your very eyes put to an open shame. (*Apol.* 23.15–16)

Their confession becomes a testimony for the Gospel: "your very gods kindle up faith in our Scriptures, they build up the confidence of our hope."

The angels who sinned with the daughters of men. The "authors of their race" in *Apol.* 22.3 are, for Tertullian, the angels of Gen 6:2, "The sons of God seeing the daughters of men, that they were fair, took to themselves wives of all which they chose." He names them "those angels, to wit, who rushed from heaven on the daughters of men," and teaches that they disclosed to men the working of metals, the powers of herbs and enchantments, and "every curious art, even to the interpretation of the stars," with the ornaments and paints of women (*De cultu feminarum* I.2). The astrologers are condemned with "those angels, the deserters from God, the lovers of women," who discovered their art: "The city and Italy are interdicted to the astrologers, just as heaven to their angels" (*De idololatria* 9). He reads the Apostle's "because of the angels" (1 Cor 11:10) by the same history: women are to be veiled "because on account of 'the daughters of men' angels revolted from God" (*De oratione* 22). Cyprian and Lactantius share this reading; Cassian answers it with the line of Seth (§5.7), and Aquinas, following Augustine, reads the sons of God as the sons of Seth (*ST* I q. 51 a. 3 ad 6).

The devil made good (*Adversus Marcionem* II.10). Marcion blamed the Creator for the devil who tempted Adam. Tertullian answers that what God made was an angel, and that the devil made himself. The malice and the slander of God in Paradise came "most certainly not from God, who made the angel good after the fashion of His good works. Indeed, before he became the devil, he stands forth the wisest of creatures; and wisdom is no evil." The proof is Ezekiel's lament over the prince of Tyre, which he reads of the devil: "this angel was both by creation good and by choice corrupt." Glossing "full of wisdom, perfect in beauty," he adds "(this belongs to him as the highest of the angels, the archangel, the wisest of all)"; and he shows that the lament cannot fit a man, for none was born in God's paradise "nor placed with a cherub upon God's holy mountain, that is to say, in the heights of heaven, from which the Lord testifies that Satan fell" (Ezek 28:12–16; Luke 10:18).

The fall was an act of freedom God had given for glory: "he was himself as a spirit no less (than man) created, with the faculty of free-will. For God would in nothing fail to endow a being who was to be next to Himself with a liberty of this kind." He departed from his created condition "through his own lusting after the wickedness which was spontaneously conceived within him." Why was he not destroyed at once? Because God "afforded room for a conflict, wherein man might crush his enemy with the same freedom of his will as had made him succumb to him ... wherein also the devil might receive a more bitter punishment, through being vanquished by him whom he had previously injured." The Fourth Lateran Council confesses the same in its creed: the devil and the other demons were created good by nature and became evil of themselves (DS 800; §2). Aquinas takes the covering cherub of Ezek 28:14 for the highest angel who sinned, and holds it more probable that he was the highest of all (*ST* I q. 63 a. 7 and ad 1; see §13.1).

Impatience and envy (*De patientia* 5). Treating patience, Tertullian looks for the birth of its contrary in the adversary, and finds it at the creation of man:

> Therefore I detect the nativity of impatience in the devil himself, at that very time when he impatiently bore that the Lord God subjected the universal works which He had made to His own image, that is, to man. For if he had endured (that), he would not have grieved; nor would he have envied man if he had not grieved. Accordingly he deceived him, because he had envied him; but he had envied because he had grieved: he had grieved because, of course, he had not patiently borne. (*De pat.* 5)

The Latin has *natales inpatientiae in ipso diabolo deprehendo* (5.5). Whether malice or impatience came first in "that angel of perdition" he declines to settle: the two "grew up indivisible in one paternal bosom." Impatience, conceived of the devil's seed, bore anger and then Cain's murder. Aquinas determines that the first sin of the angel was pride and that envy followed from it (*ST* I q. 63 a. 2).

The bodies the angels assume (*De carne Christi* 3 and 6). Against Marcion, who gave Christ a phantom flesh, Tertullian appeals to the angels of the Old Testament, who "have been changed into human form, and have even borne about so veritable a body, that Abraham even washed their feet, and Lot was rescued from the Sodomites by their hands; an angel, moreover, wrestled with a man so strenuously with his body, that the latter desired to be let loose" (Gen 18–19; 32). If angels remained angels while bearing true bodies, God can become man without ceasing to be God. Their bodies came from nothing and returned to nothing, yet "there was solidity in their bodily substance" (ch. 3).

Against Apelles, who gave Christ an unborn flesh on the pattern of the angels, Tertullian draws the contrast between the missions. "Never did any angel descend for the purpose of being crucified, of tasting death, and of rising again from the dead ... They had not come to die, therefore they also (came not) to be born." He then states his own view of the angelic nature and power:

> It is plain that the angels bore a flesh which was not naturally their own; their nature being of a spiritual substance, although in some sense peculiar to themselves, corporeal; and yet they could be transfigured into human shape, and for the time be able to appear and have intercourse with men. Since, therefore, it has not been told us whence they obtained their flesh, it remains for us not to doubt in our minds that a property of angelic power is this, to assume to themselves bodily shape out of no material substance. (*De carne Christi* 6)

The Latin makes the power a property of the angel: *proprium angelicae potestatis, ex nulla materia corpus sibi sumere* (6.10). The angelic nature is *substantiae spiritalis—etsi corporis alicuius, sui tamen generis* (6.9), spiritual, yet a body of its own kind: Tertullian, who holds even the soul to be corporeal (*De anima* 5–7), gives the angels a body of their own. Aquinas determines that the angels have no bodies naturally united to them, and that the bodies they assume are formed of air, "condensing it by the Divine power in so far as is needful" (*ST* I q. 51 aa. 1–2; a. 2 ad 3; see §9.1).

The angels at prayer (*De oratione*). Expounding "Hallowed be thy name," Tertullian asks when the name of God is not holy, since it sanctifies all things, "He to whom that surrounding circle of angels cease not to say, 'Holy, holy, holy?' In like wise, therefore, we too, candidates for angelhood, if we succeed in deserving it, begin even here on earth to learn by heart that strain hereafter to be raised unto God, and the function of future glory" (*De orat.* 3.3; Isa 6:3). The Christians who pray are *angelorum ... candidati*, learning now the heavenly office they will keep for ever. When he rebukes those who sit down as soon as prayer is ended, it is irreverence "under the eye of the living God, while the angel of prayer is still standing by" (ch. 16). His treatise closes on prayer as the praise of the whole creation: "The angels, likewise, all pray; every creature prays" (ch. 29; *Orant etiam angeli omnes*). The Church still joins the angels in the thrice-holy hymn (CCC 335).

Angels and demons about the soul (*De anima*). In the treatise on the soul the good angels appear at birth and death. The pagans assigned goddesses to every stage of gestation; "We, on our part, believe the angels to officiate herein for God" (ch. 37). At death the soul, set free, "exults or it fears, according as it finds what lodging is prepared for it, as soon as it sees the very angel's face, that arraigner of souls" (ch. 53). The demons attend the same thresholds. Among the heathen the evil spirit claims the child at birth through the rites that consecrate it to idols, and "to all persons their genii are assigned, which is only another name for demons" (ch. 39). Under the cover of the dead the demons counterfeit ghosts, and in exorcism a demon will claim to be a kinsman of the possessed, a gladiator, or a god; "and yet for all that, the demon, after trying to circumvent the bystanders, is vanquished by the pressure of divine grace, and sorely against his will confesses all the truth" (ch. 57).

5.2 Minucius Felix and Cyprian

The *Octavius*. In the dialogue of Minucius Felix the Christian Octavius answers the pagan appeal to auguries and oracles by going to "the very source of error and perverseness." He describes the demons as fallen spirits:

> There are some insincere and vagrant spirits degraded from their heavenly vigour by earthly stains and lusts. Now these spirits, after having lost the simplicity of their nature by being weighed down and immersed in vices, for a solace of their calamity, cease not, now that they are ruined themselves, to ruin others; and being depraved themselves, to infuse into others the error of their depravity and

> being themselves alienated from God, to separate others from God by the introduction of degraded superstitions. (*Octavius* 26)

Chapter 27 sets out their works: consecrated under statues and images, they "lurk there, and by their afflatus attain the authority as of a present deity," breathe into the prophets, "animate the fibres of the entrails, control the flights of birds, direct the lots." "For they are both deceived, and they deceive; inasmuch as they are both ignorant of the simple truth, and for their own ruin they confess not that which they know." Like Tertullian, Minucius rests the proof on exorcism. The demons confess what they are "as often as they are driven by us from bodies by the torments of our words and by the fires of our prayers," and "when abjured by the only and true God, unwillingly the wretched beings shudder in their bodies, and either at once leap forth, or vanish by degrees, as the faith of the sufferer assists or the grace of the healer inspires" (ch. 27).

Cyprian. Cyprian of Carthage (d. 258) takes up the same description almost word for word. The spirits worshipped in the idols "are impure and wandering spirits, who, after having been steeped in earthly vices, have departed from their celestial vigour by the contagion of earth, and do not cease, when ruined themselves, to seek the ruin of others" (*Quod idola dii non sint* 6). They lurk under statues and "excite diseases to force them to worship of themselves"; adjured through the true God, they "at once yield and confess, and are constrained to go out from the bodies possessed" (ch. 7). To the proconsul Demetrianus he makes the challenge Tertullian had made: "Oh, would you but hear and see them when they are adjured by us, and tortured with spiritual scourges, and are ejected from the possessed bodies with tortures of words, when howling and groaning at the voice of man and the power of God, feeling the stripes and blows, they confess the judgment to come!" (*Ad Demetrianum* 15).

Cyprian's own contribution is the account of the devil's fall by envy. In the treatise *On Jealousy and Envy* he traces that vice to its source "at the very beginnings of the world":

> He who was sustained in angelic majesty, he who was accepted and beloved of God, when he beheld man made in the image of God, broke forth into jealousy with malevolent envy—not hurling down another by the instinct of his jealousy before he himself was first hurled down by jealousy, captive before he takes captive, ruined before he ruins others. (*De zelo et livore* 4)

"How great an evil is that, beloved brethren, whereby an angel fell, whereby that lofty and illustrious grandeur could be defrauded and overthrown, whereby he who deceived was himself deceived!" From that envy, as Wisdom says, death entered the world (Wis 2:24), and "they who are on his side imitate him." Cain's hatred of Abel, Esau's of Jacob, the brothers' of Joseph, Saul's of David all descend from the first angel's envy. With Tertullian, Cyprian also names the "sinning and apostate angels" as the teachers of cosmetics, who "forsook their heavenly vigour" (*De habitu virginum* 14).

5.3 Lactantius

Lactantius, the African teacher of rhetoric whom Constantine charged with the education of his son Crispus, gave in the second book of the *Divine Institutes*, "Of the Origin of Error," a full narrative of his own on the origin of the devil and the demons.[9]

The origin of the devil. Before the world, Lactantius teaches, God "produced a Spirit like to Himself, who might be endowed with the perfections of God the Father." He continues:

> Then He made another being, in whom the disposition of the divine origin did not remain. Therefore he was infected with his own envy as with poison, and passed from good to evil; and at his own will, which had been given to him by God unfettered, he acquired for himself a contrary name. From which it appears that the source of all evils is envy. For he envied his predecessor, who through his stedfastness is acceptable and dear to God the Father. (*Div. inst.* II.8.4–5)

[9]Book and chapter numbers follow Brandt's edition (CSEL 19, 1890). The ANF translation numbers the chapters of Book II cited here one higher (II.9, 15–17) and the *Epitome* chapters 22–23 as 27–28.

The Latin gives the principle in five words: *cunctorum malorum fontem esse liuorem.* This being "who from good became evil by his own act, is called by the Greeks *diabolus*: we call him accuser, because he reports to God the faults to which he himself entices us" (II.8.6). Lactantius here makes the devil's envy the envy of the first-begotten Son; Tertullian, Cyprian, and Cassian place it on man, and the Church confesses with all of them that the devil became evil by his own will (DS 800).

The angels sent to guard men. Lactantius's account of the other demons begins with a mission of the holy angels. When men had multiplied, God, foreseeing that the devil, "to whom from the beginning He had given power over the earth," would corrupt or destroy them, "sent angels for the protection and improvement of the human race" (*misit angelos ad tutelam cultumque generis humani*, II.14.1). Because He had given them free will, He commanded them above all "not to defile themselves with contamination from the earth, and thus lose the dignity of their heavenly nature." The ruler of the earth drew them, while they dwelt among men, into intercourse with women. "Then, not being admitted into heaven on account of the sins into which they had plunged themselves, they fell to the earth. Thus from angels the devil makes them to become his satellites and attendants." Their offspring, "neither angels nor men, but bearing a kind of mixed nature," were not admitted into hell, as their fathers were not into heaven: "Thus there came to be two kinds of demons; one of heaven, the other of the earth. The latter are the wicked spirits, the authors of all the evils which are done, and the same devil is their prince" (II.14.3–5).

Their knowledge is real but bounded: "They are acquainted, indeed, with many future events, but not all, since it is not permitted them entirely to know the counsel of God; and therefore they are accustomed to accommodate their answers to ambiguous results" (II.14.6). The poet who calls the demons "the guardians of mortal men" has half the truth, "because God had sent them as guardians to the human race; but they themselves also, though they are the destroyers of men, yet wish themselves to appear as their guardians, that they themselves may be worshipped, and God may not be worshipped" (II.14.7–8). They cling to households under the name of *genii* and, being spirits, "insinuate themselves into the bodies of men" (II.14).

The demons subject to the just. They injure, Lactantius continues, "but those only by whom they are feared, whom the powerful and lofty hand of God does not protect." They fear the worshippers of God, "adjured by whose name they depart from the bodies of the possessed: for, being lashed by their words as though by scourges, they not only confess themselves to be demons, but even utter their own names ... because they cannot speak falsely to God, by whom they are adjured, nor to the righteous, by whose voice they are tortured" (II.15).

The obedience of the holy angels. Against the pagan pantheon he sets the holy angels in their true place. The demons "feigned that there are many heavenly beings, and one king of all, Jupiter; because there are many spirits of angels in heaven, and one Parent and Lord of all, God." The angels refuse divine honour:

> nor do the angels, inasmuch as they are immortal, either suffer or wish themselves to be called gods: for their one and only duty is to submit to the will of God, and not to do anything at all except at His command. For we say that the world is so governed by God, as a province is by its ruler; and no one would say that his attendants are his sharers in the administration of the province, although business is carried on by their service. ... nor is there anything in the angels except the necessity of obedience. Therefore they wish no honour to be paid to them, since all their honour is in God. (*Div. inst.* II.16)

The image of the province and its officers gives the angels their part in the government of the world; Aquinas gives its reason in the order of universal and particular powers (*ST* I q. 110 a. 1; §16).

The *Epitome.* Lactantius's own abridgement gives the story its sharpest form: the angels sent "to instruct the race of men, and to protect them from all evil" were seduced, and "being condemned by the sentence of God, and cast forth on account of their sins, they lost both the name and substance of angels. Thus, having become ministers of the devil, that they might have a solace of their ruin, they betook themselves to the ruining of men, for whose protection they had come" (*Epit.* 22.9–11). Cassian and the later Latin tradition place the fall of the rebel angels with their leader, before the fall of man (§5.7; §13); the mission of the holy angels as guardians of the human race, which Lactantius sets at the head of his narrative, is the teaching of the whole tradition (*ST* I q. 113 a. 1).

5.4 Hilary of Poitiers

Hilary of Poitiers (d. 367), the defender of the Nicene faith in Gaul, expounded the Psalms in a series of tractates in which the angels are a constant presence.[10]

A world full of angels. On "Blessed are they that search his testimonies" (Ps 118[119]:2), Hilary asks what God's testimonies are, and answers that the whole of creation is under witnesses. The Apostle charges Timothy "before God and Christ Jesus and the elect angels" (1 Tim 5:21), and so no one lives in an empty world: *plena sunt enim omnia diuinis testimoniis; et omne hoc, uacuum quod putatur, repletum angelis dei nihilque est, quod non haec diuinorum ministeriorum frequentia incolat.* All things are full of God's witnesses; all this space that is thought empty is filled with the angels of God, and there is nothing that this throng of divine ministers does not inhabit (*Tract. in Ps.* 118, Aleph 7). Men will not steal before a witness; how much more should a Christian fear to sin, knowing himself surrounded on every side by the witness of spiritual powers? *metuimus adsistentes undique nobis choros angelorum et plenum ministeriis caelestibus mundum?*—do we fear the choirs of angels standing round us and a world full of heavenly ministries? If the angels of the little ones see the Father daily (Matt 18:10), we may fear the witness of those whom we know both to remain with us and daily to stand before God. The devil, too, is a witness, *puncto temporis omnem amplitudinem mundi huius obeuntem*, going round the whole breadth of the world in a moment, to whom it is sweet that we sin, that he may glory in the witness of our sins; for this is his proper cunning, *instigare ad peccandum et arguere peccantes*, to incite to sin and to accuse those who sin (Aleph 8; Apoc 12:10).

The laws of the angels. On "So shall I always keep thy law, for ever and ever" (Ps 118[119]:44), Hilary observes that there are laws of the world to come as of this, and among them *leges angelorum*: some angels, standing with the Cherubim, praise God *indefessa uoce*, with unwearied voice, while others stand before the face of God, unseen by us, *tamquam lege officii proprioris*, as by the law of a nearer office; and the prophet knows *pusillorum angelos deum cotidie ex quadam lege conspicere*, that the angels of the little ones behold God daily by a certain law (Vau 8).

The Church and its guard. The heavenly Jerusalem, Hilary teaches on Ps 124[125], is the Church, *ecclesia angelorum multitudinis frequentium*, crowded with the multitude of angels, the Church of the first-born (Heb 12:22–23), and those who stand firm in it lack neither the guard of the saints nor *angelorum munitiones*, the ramparts of the angels (124.4–5). The mountains round about Jerusalem are the apostles, patriarchs, and prophets, or rather the angels, *qui ecclesiam quadam custodia circumsaepiunt*, who fence the Church about with a kind of guard. Yet the psalm adds that the Lord is round about his people, lest that guard be thought sufficient; Moses, told that the angel would go before him, begged the Lord himself to go with him (Exod 33:2, 15): *bonum quidem praesidium angeli, sed melius domini*—the guard of an angel is good, but the Lord's is better; for the spiritual wickednesses and powers of this air fly about us on every side (124.6).

The angels of churches, nations, and little ones. On "Let thy ears be attentive to the voice of my supplication" (Ps 129[130]:2), Hilary explains that God has no bodily ears, and then turns to those spirits who may be called his eyes and ears:

> *meminimus esse plures spiritales uirtutes, quibus angelorum est nomen, uel ecclesiis praesidentes, sunt enim secundum Iohannem Asianis ecclesiis angeli, sunt et Moyse testante secundum numerum angelorum fines gentium Adae filiis constituti. sunt et domino docente pusillorum angeli cotidie deum uidentes. sunt secundum Raphael ad Tobiam loquentem angeli adsistentes ante claritatem dei et orationes deprecantium ad dominum deferentes.* (*Tract. in Ps.* 129.7)

Angels preside over the churches of Asia (Apoc 1:20); the bounds of the nations were fixed by the number of the angels (Deut 32:8, in the Septuagint form Hilary reads); the angels of the little ones see God daily; and Raphael tells of angels who stand before God's glory and carry to him the prayers of those who pray (Tob 12:12, 15). Hilary draws the conclusion with care: *intercessione itaque horum non natura dei eget, sed infirmitas nostra.* It is not God's nature that needs their intercession, but our weakness, since they are "ministering spirits, sent to minister for them who shall receive the inheritance of salvation" (Heb 1:14); God is ignorant of nothing we do, but our infirmity needs the

[10] Hilary's Latin follows Zingerle's edition, CSEL 22 (1891), with its orthography and section numbers.

ministry of spiritual intercession to ask and to obtain. Aquinas teaches the same when he says that we pray to the saints, "whether angels or men, not that God may through them know our petitions, but that our prayers may be effective through their prayers and merits," citing the angel with the incense of the saints' prayers (*ST* II-II q. 83 a. 4; Apoc 8:4).

Guardians of a weaker nature. On Ps 134[135]:7, "He bringeth forth winds out of his stores," Hilary reads the winds as the angels of whom it is written, "Who makest thy angels spirits" (Ps 103[104]:4), and among them the angels of the little ones who daily see God. They are sent for salvation, and our weakness needed them:

> *hi igitur spiritus ad salutem humani generis emissi sunt; neque enim infirmitas nostra nisi datis ad custodiam angelis tot tantisque spiritalium caelestium nequitiis obsisteret, opus ad id fuit naturae potioris auxilio.* (*Tract. in Ps.* 134.17)

These spirits were sent out for the salvation of the human race; our weakness, unless angels had been given for its guard, could not have withstood so many and so great spiritual wickednesses in high places; there was need of the help of a stronger nature. So the Lord strengthened the trembling Moses: "Behold I will send my angel, who shall go before thee" (Exod 23:20, 23). Earlier in the same tractate Hilary names the ranks to whom the Apostle's word about "gods many" (1 Cor 8:5) belongs far more than to men: *angelis, archangelis, thronis et dominationibus, potestatibus, principatibus* (134.9); and he passes over the wonder of *thronorum, dominationum, principatuum et potestatum, Cherubim et Seraphim, angelorum et archangelorum* to the works of God in sky and sea (134.12).

Psalmody in the sight of the angels. "I will sing praise to thee in the sight of the angels" (Ps 137[138]:1) moves Hilary to a full statement of the angels' presence to the faithful. The prophet thinks it too little to sing before men, who see only bodily acts; he hastens to do what spiritual natures behold, *scit enim se sub specula angelorum uitam omnem moresque agere, et ubique haec diuinorum ministeriorum auxilia fidelibus cunctis adsistere.* He knows that he passes his whole life and conduct under the watch of the angels, and that everywhere these helps of the divine ministries stand by all the faithful, as it is written, "The angel of the Lord shall encamp round about them that fear him" (Ps 33[34]:8). The law was ordained by angels (Gal 3:19), and Eliseus showed that human weakness is defended by angels: when the Syrian host surrounded the city, the prophet prayed that his servant's eyes might be opened, "and behold, the mountain was full of horses, and chariots of fire round about Eliseus" (4 Kgs 6:17). Before such angels the psalmist sings, to please spiritual beings by the contemplation of spiritual works (137.5).

5.5 Ambrose

Ambrose of Milan (d. 397) writes of the angels chiefly as a theologian of the Trinity. His treatises *On the Holy Spirit* and *On the Faith* measure the angels against the Spirit and the Son, and in doing so state what the angels are: creatures, limited, holy by grace, advancing in knowledge, ministers.

Creatures circumscribed by their substance. The Spirit is not a creature, Ambrose argues, because He is infinite: "Since then, every creature is confined within certain limits of its own nature, and inasmuch as those invisible operations, which cannot be circumscribed by place and bounds, yet are closed in by the property of their own substance; how can any one dare to call the Holy Spirit a creature, Who has not a limited and circumscribed power?" (*De Spiritu Sancto* I.7). The Spirit fills all things; "Of what Angel does the Scripture say this? of what Dominion? of what Power? ... For Angels were sent to few, but the Holy Spirit was poured upon whole peoples." Aquinas cites this chapter for the principle that spiritual creatures, though not in place as bodies are, "are none the less circumscribed by their substance" (*ST* I q. 50 a. 1 obj. 3 and ad 3; §8.1).

Holy by the grace of the Spirit. The same chapter teaches that the angels owe their holiness to the Spirit who sanctifies them:

> But in like manner as the Spirit sanctifying the apostles is not a partaker of human nature; so, too, He sanctifying Angels, Dominions, and Powers, has no partnership with creatures. But if any think that the holiness of the Angels is not spiritual, but some other kind of grace belonging to the property of

> their nature, they will forsooth judge Angels to be inferior to men. ... But since Angels come down to men to assist them, it must be understood that the nature of Angels is higher as it receives more of the grace of the Spirit, and that the favour awarded to us and to them comes from the same author. (*De Spir. S.* I.7.83)

"But how great is that grace which makes even the lower nature of the lot of men equal to the gifts received by Angels, as the Lord Himself promised, saying: 'Ye shall be as the Angels in heaven.' Nor is it difficult, for He Who made those Angels in the Spirit will by the same grace make men also equal to the Angels" (I.7.84). Earlier Ambrose had said that "Whether you speak of Angels, or Dominions, or Powers, every creature waits for the grace of the Holy Spirit," and that "the nature of Angels evidently can be changed" (I.5.62–63). The angels' holiness is grace, not nature; the higher nature receives the fuller grace. Aquinas teaches that an angel needs grace to turn to God as the object of beatitude, and that grace and glory were given to the angels according to the degree of their natural gifts (*ST* I q. 62 aa. 2, 6; §12.2).

The Spirit's river, Ambrose writes, "seems to flow more abundantly among those celestial Thrones, Dominions and Powers, Angels and Archangels, rushing in the full course of the seven virtues of the Spirit," and makes glad "that heavenly nature of the creatures with the larger fertility of His sanctification" (I.16.178).

The Seraph a minister. To those who cite the Seraph who purged Isaiah's lips as proof that a creature forgives sins, Ambrose answers that the coal from the altar is the grace of the Spirit, and that "even if the Seraph had taken away sin, it would have been as one of the ministers of God appointed to this mystery. For thus said Isaiah: 'For one of the Seraphim was sent to me' " (I.10.113–115; Isa 6:6–7). The contrast is drawn in balanced clauses:

> The Spirit, also, is indeed said to be sent, but the Seraph to one, the Spirit to all. The Seraph is sent to minister, the Spirit works a mystery. The Seraph performs what is commanded, the Spirit divides as He wills. The Seraph passes from place to place, for he does not fill all things, but is himself filled by the Spirit. (*De Spir. S.* I.11.116)

The angels before the mysteries. In *On the Faith* Ambrose confesses that the generation of the Son is beyond the knowledge "not mine alone, but the angels' also. It is above Powers, above Angels, above Cherubim, Seraphim, and all that has feeling and thought"; and he bids the questioner, "Do thou, then (like the angels), cover thy face with thy hands, for it is not given thee to look into surpassing mysteries!" (*De fide* I.10.64–65; Isa 6:2). The angel's immortality is a gift: "an angel is not absolutely immortal, his immortality depending on the will of the Creator" (III.3.19). At the Ascension the angels themselves wondered:

> For a Conqueror came, adorned with wondrous spoils, the Lord was in His holy Temple, before Him went angels and archangels, marvelling at the prey wrested from death, and though they knew that nothing can be added to God from the flesh ... nevertheless, beholding the trophy of the Cross ... they sought some broader and more lofty passage for Him on His return. (*De fide* IV.1.6)

The angels bade their princes lift up the gates (Ps 23[24]:7–10); others asked "Who is the King of glory?" "Howbeit, seeing that the angels (as well as ourselves) acquire their knowledge step by step, and are capable of advancement, they certainly must display differences of power and understanding, for God alone is above and beyond the limits imposed by gradual advance" (IV.1.9–10). Aquinas teaches that the angels learn the mysteries of grace by revelation, the higher more deeply than the lower, and that even the higher learned particulars of the Incarnation after the beginning (*ST* I q. 57 a. 5 and ad 1; §10.4).

The angels to be entreated. In his treatise *On Widows* Ambrose counsels the widow burdened with sin to seek intercessors, as Peter and Andrew prayed for Peter's mother-in-law:

> The flesh is weak, the soul is sick and hindered by the chains of sins, and cannot direct its feeble steps to the throne of that physician. The angels must be entreated for us, who have been to us as guards; the martyrs must be entreated, whose patronage we seem to claim for ourselves by the pledge as it were of their bodily remains. (*De viduis* 9.55)

The guardians given to us are also our intercessors, and the faithful are to ask their prayers. The Church invokes the angels' help in her liturgy (CCC 335), and Aquinas justifies prayer to angels and saints as prayer that they intercede (*ST* II-II q. 83 a. 4).

5.6 Jerome

Jerome (d. 420), translator and exegete, speaks of the angels in his commentaries and letters as a reader of the Hebrew and Greek text. Three of his judgements stand in the *Summa* under his name: the guardian angel of every soul from birth, the antiquity of the angels before our world, and the princes of the nations in Daniel; his reading of the name of the Seraphim agrees with the etymology Aquinas gives.[11]

Each soul's angel from birth. Commenting on "See that you despise not one of these little ones: for I say to you, that their angels in heaven always see the face of my Father who is in heaven" (Matt 18:10), Jerome reads the verse as a tempering of the severe precept that precedes it. The Lord has commanded that hand, foot, and eye be cut off when they scandalize, that is, every tie of kinship that leads to sin; now he adds mercy to severity: as far as lies in you, despise no one, but seek their healing by your own salvation; if they persist in sin, it is better that you be saved alone than perish with many. Then the reason:

> *Quia angeli eorum in caelis vident semper faciem Patris. Magna dignitas animarum, ut unaquaeque habeat ab ortu nativitatis in custodiam sui angelum delegatum.* (*In Matth.* III, on 18:10)

Great is the dignity of souls, that each should have, from the beginning of its birth, an angel delegated to its keeping. Jerome joins to the verse the angels of the seven churches of the Apocalypse (Apoc 1:20–3:14) and the Apostle's command that women's heads be veiled in the churches "because of the angels" (1 Cor 11:10). This sentence is the *sed contra* of Aquinas's article on the guardian of each man, and decides his article on the moment the guardianship begins: the benefits given to man as a Christian begin with baptism, those given to him as a rational creature at birth; "and with reason" Jerome places the angel's charge at birth (*ST* I q. 113 aa. 2, 4–5; §17.5). The Church teaches that "from infancy to death human life is surrounded by their watchful care and intercession" (CCC 336).

The Seraphim (Letter 18). Writing to Pope Damasus from Constantinople in 381, Jerome expounds Isaiah's vision (Isa 6:1–7) and asks what the Seraphim are, how they stand round God and fly, and why they cry one to another. First the name: *Seraphim sicut in interpretatione Nominum Hebraeorum invenimus, ardor, aut incendium, aut principium oris eorum, interpretantur*—the name means burning, fire, or the beginning of their mouth (*Ep.* 18.6). He finds the saving fire, which set the disciples' hearts burning on the road to Emmaus (Luke 24:32), in the sacred books; and so the two Seraphim, in his own mystical reading, are the two Testaments that stand round God, *cum per ea Dominus ipse discatur*, since through them the Lord himself is learned. Aquinas gives the same etymology when he explains why the first angel who sinned is called a Cherub and not a Seraph: "Seraphim means 'those who are on fire,' or 'who set on fire' " (*ST* I q. 63 a. 7 ad 1; cf. *ST* I q. 108 a. 5 ad 5).

The wings that veil the face and feet are for Jerome the veils over God's beginning and end: *Velabant faciem non suam, sed Dei. Quis enim ejus scire potest principium, quid antequam istum conderet mundum, in rerum fuerit aeternitate: quando Thronos, Dominationes, Potestates, Angelos, totumque ministerium caeleste condiderit?* They veiled not their own face but God's; for who can know his beginning, what he was in the eternity of things before he founded this world, when he made the Thrones, Dominations, Powers, Angels, and the whole heavenly ministry? The feet hide what will follow the consummation of the world; only the middle, from creation to the Incarnation, Scripture opens to us (18.7). He reports as well the reading of a Greek most learned in the Scriptures, that the Seraphim are *virtutes quasdam in caelis*, powers in heaven who stand before God's judgement-seat and praise him, *et in diversa ministeria mittantur, maximeque ad eos qui purgatione indigent*, and are sent on divers ministries, above all to those who need purgation (18.9). He closes on the daily grace of the vision: *Quotidie ad nos mittitur Seraphim, quotidie ingemiscentium atque dicentium: O miser ego, quoniam compunctus sum, ora purgantur.* Every day a Seraph is sent to us; every day the mouths of those who groan and say, Woe is me, for I am pierced, are purged, and, freed from sin, they prepare themselves for the ministry of God. And since the Septuagint makes *Seraphim* neuter and Symmachus masculine, he adds, *Nec putandum sexum esse in Virtutibus Dei*: there is no sex in the Powers of God (18.17).

[11] Jerome's Latin follows Migne: Letter 18 in PL 22, the commentary on Daniel in PL 25, and the commentaries on Matthew, Ephesians, and Titus in PL 26; Letter 18 is cited by the sections of Vallarsi's text printed there.

The ages before our world. The same question of the angels' antiquity returns in Jerome's commentary on Titus. Expounding the life God "promised before the times of the world" (Titus 1:2), he finds the ages of the angels beyond reckoning: *Sex mille necdum nostri orbis implentur anni: et quantas prius aeternitates, quanta tempora, quantas saeculorum origines fuisse arbitrandum est, in quibus angeli, throni, dominationes, caeteraeque virtutes servierint Deo.* Six thousand years of our world are not yet fulfilled; how many eternities, how many times, how many beginnings of ages must we think there were before, in which the angels, thrones, dominations, and the other powers served God (*In Tit.*, on 1:2)! Aquinas sets this text as the first objection in his article on the time of the angels' creation and answers that "Jerome is speaking according to the teaching of the Greek Fathers"; he holds it more probable that the angels were created with the corporeal world, and declares the contrary opinion not erroneous (*ST* I q. 61 a. 3 and ad 1; §12.1).

The heavenly ministries. On Eph 1:21, "Above all principality and power and virtue and dominion," Jerome asks where the Apostle found these names, and answers that Paul, reading the Law spiritually, saw in the kings, princes, captains, and centurions of Numbers and Kings the image of other princes and kingdoms: *quod scilicet in caelestibus sint principatus, sint potestates, sint dominationes atque virtutes, et caetera ministeriorum vocabula*, names of ministries that neither we can name nor, he thinks, Paul himself, set in a heavy body, could number. An earthly empire has its prefects, judges, and provinces, its counts, dukes, and tribunes; *et putamus Deum, Dominum dominorum et regem regnantium, simplici tantum ministerio contentum?*—and shall we think that God, the Lord of lords and King of kings, is content with a single ministry (*In Eph.* I, on 1:21)?

The princes of the nations (Daniel 10). The angel who came to Daniel said, "the prince of the kingdom of the Persians resisted me one and twenty days: and behold Michael, one of the chief princes, came to help me" (Dan 10:13). Jerome answers the question why the angel did not come at once, though the prayer was heard on the first day, and takes the prince of Persia for the angel entrusted with that nation:

> *Videtur mihi hic esse angelus cui Persis credita est, juxta illud quod in Deuteronomio legimus: Quando dividebat Altissimus gentes et disseminabat filios Adam, statuit terminos gentium juxta numerum angelorum Dei. . . . Restitit autem princeps, id est, angelus Persarum, faciens pro credita sibi provincia, ne captivorum omnis populus dimitteretur.* (*In Dan.*, on 10:13)

The prince is the angel to whom Persia was entrusted (Deut 32:8, again in the Septuagint form), resisting on behalf of the province committed to him, lest the whole people of the captives be let go. He withstood twenty-one days, *enumerans peccata populi Judaeorum, quod juste tenerentur captivi, et dimitti non deberent*, recounting the sins of the Jewish people, that they were justly held captive and ought not to be released. Jerome also links these princes to the Apostle's "princes of this world" who knew not the wisdom of God (1 Cor 2:6–8). Then Michael came, *angelus Michael qui praeest populo Israel*, the angel set over the people of Israel; *Principes autem primos, archangelos intelligimus*—by the "chief princes" we understand the archangels. At the angel's departure "the prince of the Greeks" entered before God *ut accusaret et Persarum principem atque Medorum*, that the kingdom of the Macedonians might succeed; *Et revera mira sacramenta Dei*, and truly God's mysteries are wonderful (on 10:20–21). Aquinas reports Jerome's exposition and Gregory's, and explains the princes' "resistance" as the consulting of the divine will on the merits of the peoples; the guardianship of nations he gives to the Principalities or perhaps the Archangels, calling Michael "one of the princes" (*ST* I q. 113 aa. 3, 8; §17.5). Cassian reads the prince of Persia otherwise (§5.7).

5.7 John Cassian and Abbot Serenus

John Cassian, formed in the monastery at Bethlehem and in the desert of Scete, completed his *Conferences* between 426 and 428 to set before the monks of Gaul the teaching of the Egyptian fathers. The two conferences of Abbot Serenus (VII and VIII) give the desert's account of the angels and demons in the spiritual combat. Serenus, a monk of such purity that an angel was sent in a vision to take from him the fiery humour of the flesh (VII.2), answers the questions of Germanus in two night-long conversations.

Incitement, not compulsion. Germanus complains that so great a swarm of enemies drives the mind where it would not go. Serenus answers: "we mean that they oppose our progress in such a way that we can think of them as only inciting to evil things and not forcing. . . . as there is in them ample power of inciting, so in us there is a supply

of power of rejection, and of liberty of acquiescing." God's help fights on our side "with much greater power than their hosts fight against us," and so "no one can be deceived by the devil but one who has chosen to yield to him the consent of his own will" (*Conl.* VII.8).

How the demons touch the soul. Spirit can be joined to spirit imperceptibly, for there is "some sort of similarity and kinship of substance" between them; "But it is impossible for spirits to be implanted in spirits inwardly or united with them in such a way that one can hold the other; for this is the true prerogative of Deity alone" (VII.10). The possessed are not a counter-example. The unclean spirit does not enter "the actual substance of the soul," but "seizes on those members in which the vigour of the soul resides, and laying on them an enormous and intolerable weight overwhelms it with foulest darkness," as wine or fever may do; this is why the Lord gave Satan power over Job's flesh but said, "only preserve his soul" (VII.12; Job 2:6). Cassian draws the principle that God alone penetrates spirits, and here states an opinion of his own: though angels, archangels, and souls are spiritual natures, "yet we ought certainly not to consider them incorporeal. For they have in their own fashion a body in which they exist, though it is much finer than our bodies are ... from which it is clearly gathered that there is nothing incorporeal but God alone" (VII.13). Gennadius repeats the doctrine (§5.8); Aquinas determines that the angels are altogether incorporeal (*ST* I q. 50 a. 1; §8.1).

The sand in the dark. Do the demons then see our thoughts? "Nobody doubts that unclean spirits can influence the character of our thoughts," but only from without; "they cannot possibly come near to those which have not yet come forth from the inmost recesses of the soul." They read the outward man: the monk who looks anxiously at the sun and asks the hour has admitted gluttony; the one who groans silently or changes colour has taken anger into his heart; "And it is no wonder that this is discovered by those powers of the air, when we see that even clever men can often discover the state of the inner man from his mien and look and external bearing" (VII.15). Serenus gives an image from the night:

> For just as some thieves are in the habit of examining the concealed treasures of the men in those houses which they mean to rob, and in the dark shades of night sprinkle with careful hands little grains of sand and discover the hidden treasures which they cannot see by the tinkling sound with which they answer to the fall of the sand ... so these too, in order to explore the treasures of our heart, scatter over us the sand of certain evil suggestions, and when they see some bodily affection arise corresponding to their character, they recognize as if by a sort of tinkling sound proceeding from the inmost recesses, what it is that is stored up in the secret chamber of the inner man. (*Conl.* VII.16)

Aquinas teaches the same distinction: a secret thought is known to God in itself, but to angels and demons in its effects, "not merely by outward act, but also by change of countenance" (*ST* I q. 57 a. 4; §10.4).

Ranks of evil and the order of combat. "Not all devils can implant all the passions in men, but ... certain spirits brood over each sin," some over uncleanness, others over blasphemy, anger, gloominess, or vainglory, "and each one implants in the hearts of men that sin, in which he himself revels" (VII.17). There is no lasting concord among wicked spirits, yet they arrange their assaults; they "observe times and changes among themselves" and haunt particular places, and advance one by one, so that when one is beaten "he must make way for another spirit to attack it still more vehemently" (VII.19). The contest is proportioned: "with beginners and feeble folk only the weaker spirits join battle," and the assaults grow as the athlete of Christ grows, for no saint could bear their malice "were it not that the merciful judge of our contest, and president of the games, Christ Himself, equalized the strength of the combatants" (VII.20; 1 Cor 10:13). The demons labour and suffer confusion in defeat, and are destroyed "with a double destruction: first, because while men are seeking after holiness, they, though they possessed it, lost it, and became the cause of man's ruin; secondly, because being spiritual existences, they have been vanquished by carnal and earthly ones" (VII.21).

The limits God sets. "But that they have not the power of hurting any man is shown in a very clear way by the instance of the blessed Job, where the enemy did not venture to try him beyond what was allowed to him by the Divine permission"; the demons themselves begged leave to enter the swine, and could not of their own will enter even unclean beasts, much less men made in the image of God (VII.22; Matt 8:31). The elders, Serenus adds, found the demons' power diminished since the first anchorites, "either the malice of the devils has been beaten back by the

power of the cross penetrating even to the desert, and by its grace which shines everywhere; or else our carelessness makes them relax" (VII.23). They cannot enter a body until they have first taken possession of the mind (VII.24), and those possessed by sins are more wretched than those possessed by devils (VII.25). Therefore the possessed are not to be despised, since "none of them can be tempted at all by them without God's permission," and all such trials are sent "as by a most kind father and most compassionate physician" (VII.28). Nor were they kept from communion: the elders "thought that it ought to be given to them daily," for when received "it, so to speak, burns out and puts to flight the spirit which has its seat in his members" (VII.30). Aquinas cites this conference for giving Communion to those vexed by unclean spirits (*ST* III q. 80 a. 9 ad 2); the ordering of every assault to the good of the elect he refers to God (*ST* I q. 114 a. 1; §18.2).

The kinds of demons. There exist "in unclean spirits as many desires as there are in men": some only mock travellers, others delight in bloodshed, others inspire pride or blasphemy, and Serenus reports "a demon openly confessing that he had proclaimed a wicked and impious doctrine by the mouths of Arius and Eunomius." Scripture's names for them, from asps and basilisks to "the prince of this world," describe "their fierceness and madness under the sign of those wild beasts" (VII.32).

The fall of the angels. In the second conference Germanus asks whether the principalities and powers of Eph 6:12 were created to fight against men. Serenus first sets down the rule: "God forbid that we should admit that God has created anything which is substantially evil, as Scripture says 'everything that God had made was very good' " (VIII.6; Gen 1:31). He then gives the tradition of the fathers on the creation of the angels:

> None of the faithful question the fact that before the formation of this visible creation God made spiritual and celestial powers, in order that owing to the very fact that they knew that they had been formed out of nothing by the goodness of the Creator for such glory and bliss, they might render to Him continual thanks and ceaselessly continue to praise Him. (*Conl.* VIII.7)

Those "present at the creation of the stars," who praised God "with a loud voice" (Job 38:7, Septuagint), were made before the heaven and the earth, as Jerome had also taught, and as Aquinas grants may be held without error (*ST* I q. 61 a. 3); the Apostle enumerates them in order, "whether they be angels or archangels, whether they be thrones or dominions, whether they be principalities or powers" (Col 1:16 as Cassian cites it). Out of that number "some of the leaders fell," as Ezekiel's lament over the prince of Tyre and Isaiah's over Lucifer show (Ezek 28:12–19; Isa 14:12–14); the dragon drew with him "the third part of the stars" (Apoc 12:4); the angels "who kept not their first estate" are reserved "in everlasting chains under darkness" (Jude 6). Hence the ranks among the demons, for one of two reasons: "either that they still retain those differences of rank ... from the station of their former rank in which they were severally created, or else that, though themselves cast down from heavenly places, yet, as a reward for that wickedness of theirs in which they have graduated in evil, they claim in perversity these grades and titles of rank among themselves, by way of copying those virtues which have stood firm there" (VIII.8). Aquinas holds that the demons keep the orders of their nature, which they have not lost (*ST* I q. 109 a. 1; §15.2).

Pride, then envy. Germanus had believed that the devil fell through envy of Adam. Serenus shows from Genesis that the serpent was already "more subtle than all the beasts of the earth" before the temptation, a name no Scripture would give to Gabriel or Michael, and concludes: "that first fall of his, which was due to pride, and which obtained for him the name of the serpent, was followed by a second owing to envy," when he saw man "called to that glory, from which he remembered that he himself, while still one of the princes, had fallen" (VIII.10). The order of the two sins is Aquinas's own (*ST* I q. 63 a. 2). The devil's lie and murder come from the same source: created "a spirit or an angel and good," with no Father but God, he "became puffed up by pride and had said in his heart: 'I will ascend above the heights of the clouds, I will be like the Most High,' " and so became not only a liar "but also the father of the actual lie" (VIII.25; John 8:44).

The powers of the air and the princes of nations. "The atmosphere which extends between heaven and earth is ever filled with a thick crowd of spirits," and Providence has mercifully withdrawn them from our sight, lest men be driven out of their wits by dread or corrupted by their example (VIII.12). Aquinas assigns the dark air to the demons as a place of punishment, that they may tempt men for their exercise (*ST* I q. 64 a. 4). Serenus reads Daniel's prince of Persia as "a hostile power, which favoured the nation of the Persians an enemy of God's people," and the

prince of the Greeks as another such patron; from which "antagonistic powers raise against each other those quarrels of nations," each "striving with restless jealousy on behalf of those whom he presides over, against the patron of some other nation" (VIII.13). They are called principalities and powers "because they rule and preside over different nations, and at least hold sway over inferior spirits and demons," and they will be destroyed when Christ delivers the kingdom to the Father (1 Cor 15:24; VIII.14). Aquinas reads the same verse of the ending of the offices of leading others to the end (*ST* I q. 108 a. 7 ad 1).

The names of the holy powers. The same titles belong "to the better sort," and they are "names of office and of worth or dignity": angels "from their office of bearing messages," archangels "because they preside over angels, 'dominions' because they hold dominion over certain persons, and 'principalities' because they have some to be princes over, and 'thrones' because they are so near to God and so privy and close to Him that the Divine Majesty specially rests in them as in a Divine throne" (VIII.15). Aquinas gives the Thrones the immediate knowledge of the types of the divine works (*ST* I q. 108 a. 5 ad 6).

The tribunal of the demons. That the demons obey worse powers Serenus proves by Scripture and by a brother's vision. Sheltering in a cave, the brother saw "innumerable troops of demons" gather round their prince, who sat "as on some lofty tribunal" and examined each: the idle he drove out with shame, the successful he dismissed "with the highest praise ... as most brave warriors"; one boasted that after fifteen years he had that night overthrown a well-known monk, and the brother, going to Pelusium, found the report true (VIII.16). Aquinas says that the demons "usurp a semblance of Divine power, by deputing certain ministers to assail man, as the angels of God in their various offices minister to man's salvation" (*ST* I q. 114 a. 1).

Two angels with every man. "Holy Scripture bears witness that two angels, a good and a bad one, cling to each one of us." Of the good the Saviour speaks in Matt 18:10; "the angel of the Lord shall encamp round about them that fear Him" (Ps 33[34]:8); of Peter the disciples said, "It is his angel" (Acts 12:15). "But of both sorts the book of the Shepherd teaches us very fully" (VIII.17). The adversary who plotted against Job "always plotted against him but never could entice him to sin," worsted "by the Lord's protection which ever shielded him." Antony's victory over the demons sent against him by two philosophers practised in magic confirms that "demons cannot possibly find an entrance into the mind or body of anyone, nor have they the power of overwhelming the soul of anyone, unless they have first deprived it of all holy thoughts" (VIII.19).

The sons of God. Asked about the angels of Gen 6:2, Serenus answers: "We cannot possibly believe that spiritual existences can have carnal intercourse with women." The sons of God are the line of Seth, "by reason of its sanctity termed 'angels of God,' or as some copies have it 'sons of God,' " who took wives of the daughters of Cain and learned their wickedness; the knowledge of nature handed down from Adam they turned "at the suggestion of devils to profane and harmful uses"; and "in this way then that common notion, according to which men believe that angels delivered to men enchantments and diverse arts, is in truth fulfilled" (VIII.21). Cassian thus keeps Tertullian's tradition of the forbidden arts and gives it to men instructed by devils.

5.8 Leo the Great and Gennadius

Leo. Leo the Great's letter to Turibius (447), with its teaching *diabolus bonus esset, si in eo quod factus est permaneret*, belongs to the acts of the Church (DS 286; §2). His sermons give the angels their place in the mysteries of Christ. At the Ascension the apostles rejoiced, "when in the sight of the holy multitude, above the dignity of all heavenly creatures, the Nature of mankind went up, to pass above the angels' ranks and to rise beyond the archangels' heights, and to have Its uplifting limited by no elevation until, received to sit with the Eternal Father, It should be associated on the throne with His glory" (*Serm.* 73.4). The two angels at the Ascension taught the Church "not to doubt that all things are subjected to Him on Whom the ministry of angels had waited from the first beginning of His Birth"; as an angel announced the conception and heavenly voices the birth, as messengers first attested the Resurrection, "so the service of angels was employed to foretell His coming in very Flesh to judge the world, that we might understand what great powers will come with Him as Judge, when such great ones ministered to Him even in being judged" (*Serm.* 74.4). The Catechism summarizes the same life of the Word incarnate as "surrounded by the adoration and service of angels" (CCC 333).

Gennadius, *On the Dogmas of the Church.* Gennadius, a priest of Marseilles writing at the close of the fifth century, gathered the Church's teaching into short articles, a book that was at times cited under the name of Augustine; Aquinas cites it as *De ecclesiasticis dogmatibus* without an author.[12] Its articles on the angels are brief and exact.

The angels were made with the first creation: *In principio creavit Deus coelum, et terram, et aquam ex nihilo. Et cum adhuc tenebrae ipsam aquam occultarent, et aqua terram absconderet, facti sunt angeli et omnes coelestes virtutes, ut non esset otiosa Dei bonitas.* While darkness still hid the waters, the angels and all the heavenly powers were made, that God's goodness might not be idle but show itself in them through long spaces before the visible world was formed and adorned (ch. 10). With Cassian, Gennadius confesses nothing incorporeal but God, and gives his reason: *Creatura omnis corporea est, angeli et omnes coelestes virtutes corporeae, licet non carne subsistant. Ex eo autem corporeas esse credimus intellectuales creaturas, quod localiter circumscribuntur*: the angels are bodies, though not of flesh, because they are circumscribed in place, like the soul and the demons (chs. 11–12); and they are immortal, having no flesh by which to fall (ch. 13). Against Origen, no restoration awaits the demons: they will not *in angelicam qua creati sunt redeant dignitatem*, return to the angelic dignity in which they were made, but the Lord's sentence stands, "Depart from me, you cursed, into everlasting fire, which was prepared for the devil and his angels" (ch. 9; Matt 25:41). The Council of Constantinople of 543 anathematizes the same restoration (DS 411).

On the fall and the perseverance of the angels, Gennadius states the doctrine that the schools received. Evil *non est a Deo creata, sed a diabolo inventa, quia et ipse bonus a Deo creatus est*: the devil, created good and free, became the inventor of evil and envied in others what he had lost in himself (ch. 57). The holy angels hold their good by fidelity, not by nature:

> *Angeli vero, qui in illa qua creati sunt beatitudine perseverant, non natura possident bonum, ut non mutarentur cum caeteris, sed arbitrio servantes bonam voluntatem, et bonum conditionis, et fidem suo Domino rependendo.* (*De eccl. dogm.* 59)

They keep a good will by their own choice, repaying their Lord the good of their condition and their faith, and so are rightly called holy angels. Chapter 60 repeats Leo's sentence on the devil, *bonus esset, si in eo quod factus est permaneret.* The angels fixed in the love of God received, when the proud fell, the reward that no rust of stealing fault can touch them, and they remain in the contemplation of their Maker without end (ch. 61); after Satan's fall with his legions, those who stood were so confirmed that they cannot fall (ch. 62). Aquinas sets chapter 59 as the first objection of his article on whether the angels were created in beatitude, and teaches that the beatified angels cannot sin (*ST* I q. 62 a. 1 obj. 1; a. 8; §12.2).

Three articles on the demons and the mind close the book's angelology. *Internas animae cogitationes diabolum non videre certi sumus, sed motibus eas corporis ab illo et affectionum indiciis colligi experimento didicimus*: the devil does not see the soul's inner thoughts but gathers them from the movements of the body and the signs of the affections; the secrets of the heart are known to Him alone of whom it is written, "thou only knowest the heart of all the children of men" (ch. 81; 3 Kgs 8:39). *Non omnes malae cogitationes nostrae semper diaboli instinctu excitantur, sed aliquoties ex nostri arbitrii motu emergunt*; good thoughts are always from God (ch. 82). And the demons do not enter the soul in substance, but are joined to it by pressure from without: *Illabi autem menti illi soli possibile est qui creavit*, to enter the mind is possible to Him alone who created it (ch. 83). These are Cassian's conclusions in the form of articles. Aquinas takes chapter 82 as the *sed contra* of his article on whether all sins come from the devil's temptation, and chapter 83 when he denies that the devil dwells in Antichrist by indwelling, since "the Trinity alone dwells in the mind" (*ST* I q. 114 a. 3; *ST* III q. 8 a. 8 obj. 2 and ad 1).

5.9 The Latin Fathers before Dionysius and Their Reception

Aquinas cites Ambrose, Jerome, Cassian, and the book of Gennadius by name, and teaches much of the rest in his own words; where he determines otherwise, his article stands against that Father's teaching. The councils and the Catechism take up the goodness of the devil's created nature, the angels' care from birth, and the prayer the Church makes with them and to them.

[12] Chapter numbers follow Elmenhorst's text as printed in PL 58. The *Summa* cites the same chapters as xxix (ch. 59), xlix and lxxxii (ch. 82), and lxxxiii (ch. 83).

Witness	Locus	Teaching	Received at
Tertullian	*Apol.* 22.3–8	Fallen angels and their brood ruin men; subtlety and tenuity; "every spirit is possessed of wings"; prophecy stolen, cures feigned	*ST* I q. 114 a. 4 (the demons' wonders are not miracles in the strict sense)
Tertullian	*Apol.* 23.4, 15–16	Demons confess under exorcism and depart at the name of Christ the Judge	—
Tertullian	*Adv. Marc.* II.10	The devil made good, the wisest angel, corrupt by his own choice (Ezek 28)	DS 800; *ST* I q. 63 a. 7 and ad 1
Tertullian	*De pat.* 5	Impatience and envy toward man, God's image, the devil's first fault	*ST* I q. 63 a. 2 (pride first, envy after)
Tertullian	*De carne Christi* 3, 6	Angels assume true flesh from nothing; their nature spiritual yet bodily of its kind	*ST* I q. 51 aa. 1–2 (no natural body; assumed bodies of air)
Tertullian	*De orat.* 3.3; 16; 29	The angels' unceasing Sanctus; Christians "candidates for angelhood"; the angel of prayer	CCC 335
Tertullian; Cyprian; Lactantius	*De cultu fem.* I.2; *De hab. virg.* 14; *Div. inst.* II.14	Angels fell through the daughters of men (Gen 6:2) and taught forbidden arts	Answered: Cassian, *Conl.* VIII.21; *ST* I q. 51 a. 3 ad 6
Minucius Felix	*Octavius* 26–27	Demons degraded from heavenly vigour; lurk in idols; confess and flee when adjured	—
Cyprian	*De zelo et livore* 4	The devil fell by envy of man made in God's image	*ST* I q. 63 a. 2
Lactantius	*Div. inst.* II.8	The devil a spirit made after the Son, fallen by envy of him	—
Lactantius	*Div. inst.* II.14.1; II.16	Angels sent to guard mankind; they serve as officers of a province, wanting no honour	*ST* I q. 113 a. 1; *ST* I q. 110 a. 1
Hilary	*Tract. in Ps.* 118 Aleph 7–8; 137.5	The world full of angels; life lived under their watch	CCC 336
Hilary	*Tract. in Ps.* 129.7; 134.17	Angels of churches, nations, little ones; they carry prayers; guards of a weaker nature	*ST* I q. 113 aa. 1–3; *ST* II-II q. 83 a. 4
Ambrose	*De Spir. S.* I.7	Every creature circumscribed by its substance	*ST* I q. 50 a. 1 obj. 3 and ad 3
Ambrose	*De Spir. S.* I.7.83–84	Angels holy by the Spirit's grace; the higher nature receives more grace	*ST* I q. 62 aa. 2, 6
Ambrose	*De fide* IV.1.9–10	Angels wonder at the Ascension and advance in knowledge step by step	*ST* I q. 57 a. 5
Ambrose	*De viduis* 9.55	The angels given as guards are to be entreated	*ST* II-II q. 83 a. 4; CCC 335
Jerome	*In Matth.* III (18:10)	Each soul has an angel from its birth	*ST* I q. 113 aa. 2, 4–5 (*sed contra*)
Jerome	*Ep.* 18.6–7, 17	Seraphim "burning"; veiling God's beginning and end; a Seraph sent daily to purge	*ST* I q. 63 a. 7 ad 1; *ST* I q. 108 a. 5 ad 5
Jerome	*In Tit.* (1:2)	Angels served God for ages before our world	*ST* I q. 61 a. 3 obj. 1 and ad 1 (contrary more probable)

Witness	Locus	Teaching	Received at
Jerome	*In Dan.* (10:13, 20–21)	The prince of Persia the angel entrusted with Persia; Michael over Israel; princes are archangels	*ST* I q. 113 aa. 3, 8
Cassian	*Conl.* VII.10–13	Demons press on the body, never enter the soul; only God incorporeal	*ST* I q. 50 a. 1 (angels wholly incorporeal)
Cassian	*Conl.* VII.15–16	Demons read thoughts by bodily signs, as thieves by sand	*ST* I q. 57 a. 4
Cassian	*Conl.* VII.17–23	Spirits specialize; combat proportioned; no power without God's leave	*ST* I q. 114 a. 1
Cassian	*Conl.* VII.30	Communion not refused to the possessed	*ST* III q. 80 a. 9 ad 2
Cassian	*Conl.* VIII.7–8	Angels made before the visible world; leaders fell; demons keep or usurp ranks	*ST* I q. 61 a. 3; *ST* I q. 109 a. 1
Cassian	*Conl.* VIII.10	The devil's first fall by pride, the second by envy	*ST* I q. 63 a. 2
Cassian	*Conl.* VIII.12–14	The air full of spirits; hostile patrons of nations; their principalities ended at the last	*ST* I q. 64 a. 4; *ST* I q. 108 a. 7 ad 1
Cassian	*Conl.* VIII.17	A good and a bad angel with every man	*ST* I q. 113 a. 2; *ST* I q. 114 a. 1
Leo	*Serm.* 73.4; 74.4	Human nature raised above the angels; angels minister from the Nativity to the Judgment	CCC 333
Gennadius	*De eccl. dogm.* 9	No restoration of the demons	Constantinople (543), can. 9 (DS 411)
Gennadius	*De eccl. dogm.* 59, 61–62	The holy angels keep the good by will; confirmed after Satan's fall	*ST* I q. 62 a. 1 obj. 1; *ST* I q. 62 a. 8
Gennadius	*De eccl. dogm.* 81–83	The devil does not see inner thoughts; not all evil thoughts are his; God alone enters the mind	*ST* I q. 57 a. 4; *ST* I q. 114 a. 3; *ST* III q. 8 a. 8

5.10 Augustine

Augustine of Hippo is the principal Western authority on the angels. He wrote no treatise devoted to them, yet no Latin Father says so much about them or says it in so ordered a way. The angels are the first work of God, the light of the first day, the elder citizens of the one City of God; some of them fell by their own will, and the place they left is filled from redeemed men; the holy angels govern the visible creation under God, bear his word to men, and refuse the sacrifice that belongs to him alone. The teaching runs through his greatest works: the literal commentary on Genesis (*De Genesi ad litteram*), the *City of God* (*De civitate Dei*), the third book *On the Trinity* (*De Trinitate*), and the *Enchiridion*, the handbook on faith, hope, and charity written for Laurentius. Shorter works add the name of their office (a sermon on Psalm 103), the limits of the demons' knowledge (*De divinatione daemonum*), and the rule of the honour paid to the angels (*De vera religione*).

Aquinas's treatise on the angels cites him in every question of *ST* I qq. 50–64 except q. 53, and in every question of qq. 106–114 (§§10, 12, 13, 16). Augustine's own order runs from the creation of the angels and their knowledge, through the division of the two societies and the fall of the devil, to the repair of the heavenly city, the angels' part in God's government, the worship they refuse and the worship they share, and the vision they already enjoy.

5.10.1 Spirit by nature, angel by office

Augustine teaches that the word *angel* names what the angels do, not what they are. Preaching on the verse "Who makest thy angels spirits: and thy ministers a burning fire" (Ps 103[104]:4, Douay), he first sets down the fact. Their appearing is hidden from our eyes, since they belong *in quadam republica magna imperatoris Dei*, in a great commonwealth of God the emperor; *tamen esse Angelos novimus ex fide, et multis apparuisse scriptum legimus, et tenemus, nec inde dubitare fas nobis est* — yet we know by faith that the angels exist, we read that they have appeared to many, and we hold it, nor may we doubt it. Then the distinction:

> *Spiritus autem Angeli sunt; et cum spiritus sunt, non sunt angeli; cum mittuntur, fiunt angeli. Angelus enim officii nomen est, non naturae. Quaeris nomen huius naturae, spiritus est; quaeris officium, angelus est: ex eo quod est, spiritus est; ex eo quod agit, angelus est.* (*Enarrationes in Psalmos* 103, s. 1.15)

While they simply are spirits they are not yet angels; when they are sent, they become angels. The Catechism of the Catholic Church opens its account of who the angels are with this passage: " 'Angel' is the name of their office, not of their nature. If you seek the name of their nature, it is 'spirit'; if you seek the name of their office, it is 'angel': from what they are, 'spirit,' from what they do, 'angel' " (CCC 329). Augustine illustrates from human life: *Nomen naturae homo, officii miles: nomen naturae vir, officii praeco.* A man becomes a herald; a herald does not become a man. So God takes those *qui erant iam spiritus conditi a creatore Deo*, spirits already made by the Creator, and makes them his angels *mittendo eos nuntiare quod iusserit*, by sending them to announce what he has commanded. The burning fire of the verse he reads first of the fire in the bush and of fire sent from heaven to do God's bidding: *cum esset, in natura sua erat; cum egit quod iussum est, ministerium implevit* — while it simply was, it was in its own nature; when it did what it was bidden, it fulfilled a ministry. In the spiritual sense God makes his preachers his angels, and Paul was sent to the carnal Corinthians *tamquam angelus de coelo ad terram*, as an angel from heaven to earth; for *fervens spiritu, ignis ardens est omnis minister Dei*, every minister of God fervent in spirit is a burning fire (s. 1.16).

The *City of God* gives the same exegesis in the course of another argument: "He makes those who are by nature spirits His angels by appointing them to the duty of bearing His messages. For the Greek word angelos, which in Latin appears as 'angelus,' means a messenger" (*De civitate Dei* XV.23). In the Latin, God makes them angels *iniungendo eis officium nuntiandi*, by enjoining on them the office of announcing. The same passage leaves open whether the "flaming fire" names the bodies of the ministers or the love with which they ought to burn, "as with a spiritual fire" — a sign of the reserve Augustine keeps on the question of angelic bodies (§5.10.7).

The literal commentary on Genesis adds why God has messengers at all. He does not need them to learn about lower things, for he knows all things simply and unchangeably; he has them for our sake and for theirs, because to stand before him, to consult him about what lies below, and to obey his commands *bonum est eis in ordine propriae naturae atque substantiae*, is good for them in the order of their own nature. By this general name the whole heavenly city is called, *quo nomine generali universa illa superna civitas nuncupatur, quem primum diem conditum existimamus* — the city which Augustine takes to be the first day that was made (*De Genesi ad litteram* V.19.37). Aquinas keeps the same derivation: *Angelus nuntius dicitur*, and all the heavenly spirits are called angels inasmuch as they manifest divine things (*ST* I q. 108 a. 5 ad 1).

5.10.2 The light of the first day

The eleventh book of the *City of God* begins the history of the two cities with the angels, "who constitute a large part of this city, and indeed the more blessed part, since they have never been expatriated" (XI.9). Genesis does not say plainly "whether or when the angels were created," yet they cannot have been omitted from the works from which God rested; if they are mentioned, it is "implicitly under the name of 'heaven' ... or perhaps rather under the name of 'light.' " That they were made, Scripture elsewhere says outright. The canticle of the three children calls on "all ye works of the Lord" and then names the angels among them (Dan 3:57–58); Psalm 148 bids the angels and hosts praise God, "for He commanded, and they were created" (Ps 148:2, 5); "Here the angels are most expressly and by divine authority said to have been made by God."

The argument for the day of their making proceeds by elimination. Job, in Augustine's text, has God say, "When the stars were made, the angels praised me with a loud voice" (Job 38:7). The angels therefore existed before the stars, which were made on the fourth day, and the works of the second and third days are named. "There is no question, then, that if the angels are included in the works of God during these six days, they are that light which was called 'Day,' and whose unity Scripture signalizes by calling that day not the 'first day,' but 'one day' " (Gen 1:5). The

second day and the rest "are not other days; but the same 'one' day is repeated to complete the number six or seven." The doctrine follows from the exegesis:

> For when God said, "Let there be light, and there was light," if we are justified in understanding in this light the creation of the angels, then certainly they were created partakers of the eternal light which is the unchangeable Wisdom of God, by which all things were made, and whom we call the only-begotten Son of God; so that they, being illumined by the Light that created them, might themselves become light and be called "Day," in participation of that unchangeable Light and Day which is the Word of God, by whom both themselves and all else were made. (XI.9)

The Latin puts the whole in a clause: *ut ea luce inluminati, qua creati, fierent lux*, lit by the light by which they were made, so that they might become light. "The true Light, which lighteth every man that cometh into the world" (John 1:9) "lighteth also every pure angel, that he may be light not in himself, but in God; from whom if an angel turn away, he becomes impure, as are all those who are called unclean spirits." Their impurity is a privation, for *Mali enim nulla natura est; sed amissio boni mali nomen accepit* — evil has no nature; the loss of good has received the name of evil (XI.9). The next chapters draw the consequence for the angels who stood. They "were never at any time or in any way darkness, but, as soon as they were made, were made light; yet they were not so created in order that they might exist and live in any way whatever, but were enlightened that they might live wisely and blessedly" (XI.11).

The commentary on Genesis gives the same reading in the terms of form and formation. The light of the first day signifies the making of the spiritual and intellectual creature, *in qua natura intelleguntur omnes Angeli sancti atque Virtutes*, in which nature all the holy Angels and Virtues are understood. That is why Scripture does not add "and God made" after "Let there be light": *quia non primo cognovit rationalis creatura conformationem suam, ac deinde formata est; sed in ipsa sua conformatione cognovit, hoc est illustratione veritatis, ad quam conversa formata est* — the rational creature did not first know its formation and then receive it; it knew it in the very act, by the illumination of the truth to which it turned and so was formed (*De Gen. ad litt.* II.8.16). The spiritual creature, made in its unformed beginning, was formed by turning to its Creator, *a sua quadam informitate ad Creatorem conversa atque formata* (IV.22.39). Aquinas meets this reading as an objection when he determines that the angels were created in grace, and answers that the lack of form preceded their formation by nature and not by time (*ST* I q. 62 a. 3 obj. 1, ad 1; §12.2).

Augustine holds the creation of the angels with the world, not before it. God *creavit omnia simul*, as Ecclesiasticus says (Ecclus 18:1; *De Gen. ad litt.* IV.33.52), and among the things made at once he set the spiritual creature above the bodily, because the spiritual can be changed only through time and the bodily through time and place: *Spiritalem autem creaturam corporali praeposuit; quod spiritalis tantummodo per tempora mutari posset, corporalis autem per tempora et locos* (VIII.20.39). God, who moves neither in time nor place, moves the created spirit through time and the body through time and place; Aquinas answers with this text the objection that the angels, being above time, were made from eternity (*ST* I q. 61 a. 2 ad 2). Augustine knows another opinion, which puts the angels before "In the beginning" and reads that phrase as "in the Word," the Beginning. He will not contend against it, "chiefly because it gives me the liveliest satisfaction to find the Trinity celebrated in the very beginning of the book of Genesis":

> Let each one, then, take it as he pleases; for it is so profound a passage, that it may well suggest, for the exercise of the reader's tact, many opinions, and none of them widely departing from the rule of faith. At the same time, let none doubt that the holy angels in their heavenly abodes are, though not, indeed, co-eternal with God, yet secure and certain of eternal and true felicity. (XI.32)

His own preference he states at the close of the book. The man of God did not omit the angels, "whether he included them in the words 'in the beginning,' because He made them first, or, which seems most likely, because He made them in the only-begotten Word"; and "heaven and earth" name the whole creation, "either as divided into spiritual and material, which seems the more likely, or into the two great parts of the world" (XI.33). Aquinas carries both opinions as Augustine does: the angels' creation together with the corporeal world is "the more probable," and the contrary "is not to be deemed erroneous"; if it is held, "In the beginning" must be read "In the Son" (*ST* I q. 61 a. 3; §12.1). The Church has since defined what both opinions share, that God *simul ab initio temporis utramque de nihilo condidit creaturam, spiritualem et corporalem, angelicam videlicet et mundanam* (Lateran IV, DS 800; §2).

One reading Augustine set aside. Some understood the angels by the waters above the firmament (Gen 1:6–7), the waters below being visible water, or the bad angels, or the nations; if that were so, "then it does not here appear when the angels were created, but when they were separated" (XI.34). He had himself once written, in the last book of the

Confessions, that the firmament was made between spiritual waters above and bodily waters below, and later judged the phrase unconsidered: *non satis considerate dictum est; res autem in abdito est valde* (*Retractationes* II.6.2).

5.10.3 Knowledge in the Word and in their own nature

Augustine's doctrine of angelic knowledge grows out of the formulas of Genesis 1. Each work is announced three times: *Et dixit Deus: Fiat*; *Et sic est factum*; *Fecit Deus.* The first refers the work to the eternity of the Word; the second to the knowledge of it made in the intellectual creature; the third to the thing made in its own kind. So the creation of the heaven was first in the Word of God, as in begotten Wisdom; *deinde facta est in creatura spiritali, hoc est in cognitione Angelorum secundum creatam in illis sapientiam*, then it was made in the spiritual creature, that is, in the knowledge of the angels, according to the wisdom created in them; and then the heaven itself was made in its own kind (*De Gen. ad litt.* II.8.16, 19). The angels' knowledge of every other work is therefore prior to the work, since they were made first: as the reason by which a creature is made is prior in the Word to the creature made, so the knowledge of that reason comes first in the intellectual creature *quae peccato tenebrata non est*, not darkened by sin, and then the making of the creature follows (II.8.17). The angels do not see sensible things as cattle do, *solo sensu corporis*; if they use any such sense, they recognize by it what they know better within, in the Word by whom they are lit. Nor did they advance to wisdom as we do, from the visible to the invisible (Rom 1:20), *qui ex quo creati sunt, ipsa Verbi aeternitate sancta et pia contemplatione perfruuntur* — from the moment they were made they enjoy the eternity of the Word in holy and devout contemplation, and looking thence upon creatures they approve what is rightly done and reprove sin (II.8.17). God showed his holy angels beforehand what he was going to make, and they knew his mind only so far as he showed it: "For who hath known the mind of the Lord?" (Rom 11:34; II.8.18). Aquinas answers with this chapter the objection to his determination that the angels do not understand by species drawn from things (*ST* I q. 55 a. 2 ad 1), makes it the *sed contra* of his article on whether their intellect is ever in potency (q. 58 a. 1), and takes from it the twofold procession of things from the Word, into the angelic mind and into their own natures (q. 56 a. 2).

From here comes the figure for which Augustine is best known in angelology, the day, the evening, and the morning of the angelic mind. If the light of the first day is spiritual, it was made after darkness as the spiritual creature turned from its unformed state to the Creator, *ita et post vesperam fiat mane*, so after evening morning is made when, having known its own nature, *qua non est quod Deus*, by which it is not what God is, it refers itself to the praise of the light which God is (IV.22.39). Evening is the angels' knowledge of a creature in itself; morning is their turning from that knowledge to praise, in which they receive from the Word the knowledge of the next work to be made. The great difference between knowing a thing in the Word and knowing it in its own nature fixes the names, the one belonging to the day and the other to the evening (IV.23.40; §10.5). Beside the light seen in the Word, every knowledge of a creature in itself may be called night; beside the error of those who do not know even the creature, it may be called day. So the life of the faithful is light beside the life of unbelief (Eph 5:8), and night beside the day in which, *aequales Angelis facti*, made equal to the angels, we shall see God as he is (2 Pet 1:19; IV.23.40). The holy angels, *in quibus prima omnium creata est sapientia*, in whom created wisdom was the first of all things made, always see the face of God and enjoy his only Word; they therefore know the whole creation first in the Word, where the eternal reasons of all things are, and then in the creature itself, *quam sic noverunt tamquam infra despicientes*, which they know as looking down upon it, and which they refer to the praise of him in whose truth they see its reasons. At once it becomes morning, because the angelic knowledge does not stay in the thing made. Had the angelic nature turned instead to itself and taken more delight in itself than in him by whose participation it is blessed, *intumescens superbia caderet, sicut diabolus* — swelling with pride, it would fall, as the devil fell (IV.24.41). The doctrine of the angels' knowledge and the doctrine of the fall are one doctrine seen from two sides.

For this reason the six days have no night. *Tunc enim nox ad diem pertinet, non dies ad noctem*: the night belongs to the day and not the day to the night, when the high and holy angels refer what they know of the creature to the honour and love of him in whom they contemplate its eternal reasons; *eaque concordissima contemplatione sunt unus dies, quem fecit Dominus, cui coniungetur Ecclesia de hac peregrinatione liberata* — by that most concordant contemplation they are the one day which the Lord has made, to which the Church, freed from this pilgrimage, will be joined (IV.25.42; Ps 117[118]:24). The day is repeated through the works *non circuitu corporali, sed cognitione spiritali*, not by a bodily circuit but by spiritual knowledge (IV.26.43). Augustine will not have this taken as a figure laid over the real days. Christ is called light properly and stone figuratively; so here, *Ubi enim melior et certior lux, ibi verior etiam dies: cur ergo non et verior vespera et verius mane?* — where the light is better and more certain, there the day is truer; why not then a truer evening and a truer morning? (IV.28.45).

Evening, morning, and day are not successive in the angels as they are on earth. The angels of the high heavens hold all three together (IV.29.46), and in the heavenly homeland all three are always present: *ubi semper est dies in contemplatione incommutabilis veritatis, semper vespera in cognitione in seipsa creaturae, semper mane etiam ex hac cognitione in laude Creatoris* — there it is always day in the contemplation of unchangeable truth, always evening in the knowledge of the creature in itself, always morning in the praise of the Creator that rises from that knowledge (IV.30.47). While the works were being made, the order was of causes and not of delays: *Mens vero angelica pura caritate inhaerens Verbo Dei*, the angelic mind cleaving to the Word of God by pure charity, saw the works in the Word before they were made (IV.32.49). Of the first light Augustine says, *adhaesitque creanti luci lux creata, videns illam et se in illa, id est rationem qua facta est. Vidit etiam se in se* — the created light clung to the creating light, seeing it, and itself in it, that is, the reason by which it was made; it saw itself also in itself (IV.32.50). The six days are ordered *prius et posterius habens in connexione creaturarum, in efficacia vero Creatoris omnia simul*, with before and after in the connection of creatures, and all at once in the efficacy of the Creator; and God's rest on the seventh day is his rest *in conspectu Angelorum suorum*, in the sight of his angels (IV.35.56).

The *City of God* gives the doctrine to a wider audience (XI.7, 29). The holy angels know God

> not by audible words, but by the presence to their souls of immutable truth, i.e., of the only-begotten Word of God; and they know this Word Himself, and the Father, and their Holy Spirit, and that this Trinity is indivisible, and that the three persons of it are one substance, and that there are not three Gods but one God; and this they so know that it is better understood by them than we are by ourselves. (XI.29)

They know the creature in the wisdom of God, "as if in the art by which it was created," and "know themselves better in God than in themselves" (XI.29). The English "noonday knowledge" renders Augustine's *tamquam in diurna cognitione*, a day-knowledge, set against *in se ipsis autem tamquam in uespertina*, an evening knowledge in themselves.

The angels' knowledge is not confined to creation. They knew from the ages the mystery of the kingdom of heaven revealed at the appointed time for our salvation, since the seed that came in its time was "ordained by angels in the hand of a mediator" (Gal 3:19); and the Apostle's word that the manifold wisdom of God is made known "to the principalities and powers in heavenly places through the church" (Eph 3:10) means that the Church was first there, where the Church of the resurrection will be gathered (*De Gen. ad litt.* V.19.38–39; 1 Tim 3:16). Aquinas cites this text in the objection of his article on the angels' knowledge of the mysteries of grace and again of the demons' knowledge (*ST* I q. 57 a. 5 obj. 1; q. 64 a. 1 obj. 4).

Between this knowledge and the demons', Augustine draws the line that Aquinas follows. The good angels "have a more certain knowledge even of those temporal and mutable things, because they contemplate their principles and causes in the word of God"; the demons "only foresee a larger part of the future than men do, by reason of their greater acquaintance with the signs which are hidden from us. Sometimes, too, it is their own intentions they predict. And, finally, the demons are frequently, the angels never, deceived" (*De civ. Dei* IX.22). Aquinas receives Augustine at each step: in the division of morning and evening knowledge (*ST* I q. 58 aa. 6–7), in the angels' conjecture of secret thoughts (q. 57 a. 4), and in the knowledge left to the demons (q. 64 a. 1; §§10.5, 13.2).

5.10.4 The two societies of angels

When God "divided the light from the darkness" (Gen 1:4), Augustine sees the separation of the holy angels from the unclean. "To me it does not seem incongruous with the working of God, if we understand that the angels were created when that first light was made, and that a separation was made between the holy and the unclean angels, when, as is said, 'God divided the light from the darkness; and God called the light Day, and the darkness He called Night.' For He alone could make this discrimination, who was able also before they fell, to foreknow that they would fall, and that, being deprived of the light of truth, they would abide in the darkness of pride" (*De civ. Dei* XI.19). He reads the wording closely. After "Let there be light" comes "God saw the light that it was good"; after the division no such approval follows, "lest both should be designated good, while one of them was evil, not by nature, but by its own fault." So "the light alone received the approbation of the Creator, while the angelic darkness, though it had been ordained, was yet not approved" (XI.20). Aquinas gives the answer of this chapter to the objection that the darkness of Genesis 1 signifies demons wicked from their creation: the division is made by God's foreknowledge (*ST* I q. 63 a. 5 ad 2).

The same exegesis returns at the close of the book, where the fall is taught from the Second Epistle of Peter: "God spared not the angels that sinned, but delivered them, drawn down by infernal ropes to the lower hell, unto torments, to be reserved unto judgment" (2 Pet 2:4, Douay). The holy angels are rightly called light, for even we who live by faith are light in the Lord (Eph 5:8), and the apostates are darkness. Then Augustine sets the two societies against each other in a run of antitheses:

> we understand these two societies of angels,—the one enjoying God, the other swelling with pride; the one to whom it is said, "Praise ye Him, all His angels," the other whose prince says, "All these things will I give Thee if Thou wilt fall down and worship me;" the one blazing with the holy love of God, the other reeking with the unclean lust of self-advancement. ... the one, at God's pleasure, tenderly succoring, justly avenging,—the other, set on by its own pride, boiling with the lust of subduing and hurting; the one the minister of God's goodness to the utmost of their good pleasure, the other held in by God's power from doing the harm it would; the former laughing at the latter when it does good unwillingly by its persecutions, the latter envying the former when it gathers in its pilgrims. (XI.33)

The two communities are "the one both by nature good and by will upright, the other also good by nature but by will depraved" (XI.33). Aquinas cites this chapter in the objection that the demons can know no truth, since the good angels are separated from them as light from darkness, and answers it with the three ways in which the demons still know truth: by the subtlety of their nature, by revelation from the holy angels, and by long experience (*ST* I q. 64 a. 1 obj. 5, ad 5).

The division leaves the order of natures standing and reorders merit. By nature the angels stand above men, "the immortal such as the angels, above the mortal, such as men"; "but of such consequence in rational natures is the weight, so to speak, of will and of love, that though in the order of nature angels rank above men, yet, by the scale of justice, good men are of greater value than bad angels" (XI.16). Nor are there four cities, two of angels and two of men, "but rather two in all, one composed of the good, the other of the wicked, angels or men indifferently" (XII.1). Aquinas cites this sentence for the one hierarchy of all rational creatures under God (*ST* I q. 108 a. 1; §15.1).

The twelfth book asks where the two wills came from. The difference arose "not from a difference in their nature and origin ... but from a difference in their wills and desires":

> While some steadfastly continued in that which was the common good of all, namely, in God Himself, and in His eternity, truth, and love; others, being enamored rather of their own power, as if they could be their own good, lapsed to this private good of their own, from that higher and beatific good which was common to all ... they became proud, deceived, envious. The cause, therefore, of the blessedness of the good is adherence to God. (XII.1)

The fault proves the nature: "when we say that it is a fault of the angelic creature that it does not cleave to God, we hereby most plainly declare that it pertained to its nature to cleave to God" (XII.1). The commentary on Genesis names the two loves that divided the angels before they divided men, *alter sanctus ... alter immundus; alter socialis, alter privatus*, the one holy and social, the other unclean and private, the one subject to God and the other his rival, and says of them that *praecesserunt in Angelis; alter in bonis, alter in malis*, they went before in the angels, one in the good, the other in the evil, and then distinguished the two cities founded in mankind (*De Gen. ad litt.* XI.15.20).

The cause of the evil angels' misery is that they turned from him who supremely is to themselves, "and this vice, what else is it called than pride? For 'pride is the beginning of sin' " (XII.6; Ecclus 10:15). Of the evil will itself there is no efficient cause. "If the further question be asked, What was the efficient cause of their evil will? there is none" (XII.6). No other will can make it evil, and no lower thing, for every nature is good, and "when the will abandons what is above itself, and turns to what is lower, it becomes evil—not because that is evil to which it turns, but because the turning itself is wicked" (XII.6). Augustine concludes:

> Let no one, therefore, look for an efficient cause of the evil will; for it is not efficient, but deficient, as the will itself is not an effecting of something, but a defect. For defection from that which supremely is, to that which has less of being,—this is to begin to have an evil will. Now, to seek to discover the causes of these defections,—causes, as I have said, not efficient, but deficient,—is as if some one sought to see darkness, or hear silence. (XII.7)

In Latin the paradox is a play of two words, *non enim est efficiens sed deficiens, quia nec illa effectio sed defectio.* The will could not become evil unwilling, and its defections are justly punished, "being not necessary, but voluntary"

(XII.8). Pride in particular "is not the fault of him who delegates power, nor of power itself, but of the soul that is inordinately enamored of its own power, and despises the more just dominion of a higher authority" (XII.8). This is the analysis Aquinas gives of the angel's first sin, a sin in a spiritual good sought "not according to proper measure or rule" (*ST* I q. 63 a. 1 ad 4; §13.1).

The good will has a cause, and its cause is God. Augustine argues by dilemma. If the good angels made their own will good, they did so either without will, and it was not their doing, or with a will already good, and then they had it already:

> And who made this will, which already they had, but He who created them with a good will, or with that chaste love by which they cleaved to Him, in one and the same act creating their nature, and endowing it with grace? And thus we are driven to believe that the holy angels never existed without a good will or the love of God. (XII.9)

The Latin has *simul eis et condens naturam et largiens gratiam*, at once establishing their nature and bestowing grace. Of the angels who fell Augustine gives two possibilities and chooses neither: "These angels, therefore, either received less of the grace of the divine love than those who persevered in the same; or if both were created equally good, then, while the one fell by their evil will, the others were more abundantly assisted, and attained to that pitch of blessedness at which they became certain they should never fall from it" — in his Latin, *aut minorem acceperunt diuini amoris gratiam ... illi amplius adiuti*. He then applies to the angels the verse on charity:

> We must therefore acknowledge, with the praise due to the Creator, that not only of holy men, but also of the holy angels, it can be said that "the love of God is shed abroad in their hearts by the Holy Ghost, which is given unto them." And that not only of men, but primarily and principally of angels it is true, as it is written, "It is good to draw near to God." And those who have this good in common, have, both with Him to whom they draw near, and with one another, a holy fellowship, and form one city of God—His living sacrifice, and His living temple. (XII.9; Rom 5:5; Ps 72[73]:28)

Aquinas makes the question and answer of this chapter the *sed contra* of his article that the angels were created in grace, which he calls "more probable, and more in keeping with the sayings of holy men" (*ST* I q. 62 a. 3; §12.2); he cites the same chapter for charity poured into the angels by the Holy Spirit (q. 60 a. 5 obj. 4; q. 108 a. 4 obj. 2), and for the one society of angels and men into which the saints are taken (q. 108 a. 8).

5.10.5 The fall of the devil

Augustine's teaching on the devil's fall is built on one verse of the Gospel: "He was a murderer from the beginning: and he stood not in the truth, because truth is not in him" (John 8:44, Douay). He reads it against the Manichees, who gave the devil a nature of his own from an evil principle. "The Lord did not say, 'The devil was naturally a stranger to the truth,' but 'The devil abode not in the truth,' by which He meant us to understand that he had fallen from the truth, in which, if he had abode, he would have become a partaker of it, and have remained in blessedness along with the holy angels" (*De civ. Dei* XI.13); his not abiding in the truth is the cause of its not being in him, and not the reverse (XI.14). "The devil sinneth from the beginning" (1 John 3:8) cannot mean that he was made sinful, "for if sin be natural, it is not sin at all." The prophets speak against it: the king of Babylon, "How art thou fallen, O Lucifer, son of the morning!" (Isa 14:12), and the prince of Tyre, "Thou hast been in Eden, the garden of God" and "Thou wast perfect in thy ways" (Ezek 28:13, 15), in whose persons the devil is addressed. "And if these passages cannot well be otherwise interpreted, we must understand by this one also, 'He abode not in the truth,' that he was once in the truth, but did not remain in it" (XI.15). He sinned "from the beginning of his sin, when by his pride he had once commenced to sin." The dragon "made to be a sport to His angels" (Job 40:14; Ps 103[104]:26) was doomed to that mockery after his sin, and "how much more, then, is this angelic nature, which surpasses in dignity all else that He has made, the handiwork of the Most High!" (XI.15).

The Church confesses the same truth in the words of the Fourth Lateran Council: the devil and the other demons were created good by nature and became evil of themselves (DS 800; §2). Augustine draws from it the lesson of providence. God, "as He is the supremely good Creator of good natures, so is He of evil wills the most just Ruler; so that, while they make an ill use of good natures, He makes a good use even of evil wills. Accordingly, He caused the devil (good by God's creation, wicked by his own will) to be cast down from his high position, and to become the mockery of His angels,—that is, He caused his temptations to benefit those whom he wishes to injure by them"

(XI.17). The devil's sin is spiritual: "though we cannot call the devil a fornicator or drunkard, or ascribe to him any sensual indulgence (though he is the secret instigator and prompter of those who sin in these ways), yet he is exceedingly proud and envious" (XIV.3); Aquinas makes this the *sed contra* of his article that only pride and envy can be in the angels (*ST* I q. 63 a. 2).

The eleventh book of the commentary on Genesis gives the fullest treatment. The devil's nature is good, and it still lives; his evil is a will moved inordinately, preferring lower goods to higher, so that a rational spirit, delighting in its own power for its excellence, *tumesceret superbia, per quam caderet a beatitudine spiritalis paradisi, et invidentia contabesceret* — swelled with pride, by which it fell from the beatitude of the spiritual paradise, and wasted away with envy (*De Gen. ad litt.* XI.13.17). Some said that the devil fell because he envied man made in God's image. Augustine answers that envy follows pride and does not precede it, and defines both:

> *Cum igitur superbia sit amor excellentiae propriae, invidentia vero sit odium felicitatis alienae, quid unde nascatur satis in promptu est. . . . Superbiendo igitur invidus, non invidendo quisque superbus est.* (XI.14.18)

Pride is the love of one's own excellence, envy the hatred of another's happiness; one becomes envious by being proud, and not proud by being envious. Pride is the beginning of all sin, and with it the Apostle's "root of all evils," avarice taken in its general sense as the desire for more than is due for the sake of one's own excellence: *Hac enim et diabolus cecidit, qui utique non amavit pecuniam, sed propriam potestatem* — by this the devil fell, who did not love money but his own power (XI.15.19; 1 Tim 6:10). Aquinas's order of the angel's sins, pride first and envy after, is Augustine's (*ST* I q. 63 a. 2; §13.1).

When he fell, Scripture does not say. That he fell before he envied man is plain, and Augustine judges it reasonable to think that he fell from the very beginning of time:

> *Non autem frustra putari potest, ab initio temporis diabolum superbia cecidisse, nec fuisse ullum antea tempus quo cum Angelis sanctis pacatus vixerit et beatus, sed ab ipso exordio creaturae a suo creatore apostatasse.* (XI.16.21)

On this reading both clauses of John 8:44 speak of a beginning: he was a murderer from the beginning of man, since he killed the first man, and he did not stand in the truth from the beginning of his own creation, *qui staret si stare voluisset*, who would have stood had he willed to stand. The reason is the certainty of the blessed. The holy angels are not uncertain of their eternal life (*Nam quomodo beati, si incerti?*—for how could they be blessed if uncertain?). How then could the devil have lived blessed among them without foreknowing his sin and punishment? (XI.17.22). Some answered that the devil was not of the supercelestial angels but of those made lower in the world and distributed through its offices, and that such angels might be blessed in a lower way, by hope. Augustine reports the opinion without adopting it: *mihi autem, fateor, unde hoc secundum Scripturas asseram, non interim occurrit* — for my part, I confess, I do not yet see how I could assert this from the Scriptures (XI.19.26).

Created evil the devil was not. Those who read Job's "beginning of the creation of God" so contradict "God saw all the things that he had made, and they were very good" (Gen 1:31) and the justice of the everlasting fire "prepared for the devil and his angels" (Matt 25:41); what is punished in him is *nullo modo . . . naturam quam Deus creavit, sed malam propriam voluntatem*, not at all the nature God made, but his own evil will (XI.21.28). Then comes Augustine's most exact sentence on the fall:

> *Sed factus continuo se a luce veritatis avertit, superbia tumidus, et propriae potestatis delectatione corruptus: unde beatae atque angelicae vitae dulcedinem non gustavit, quam non utique acceptam fastidivit, sed nolendo accipere deseruit, et amisit.* (XI.23.30)

Made, he turned at once from the light of truth, swollen with pride and corrupted by delight in his own power; he never tasted the sweetness of the blessed and angelic life, which he did not receive and then despise, but deserted and lost by refusing to receive it. He fell *non ex eo quod acceperat . . . sed ex eo quod acciperet, si subdi voluisset Deo*, not from what he had received, but from what he would have received had he been willing to be subject to God. The oracles of Isaiah and Ezekiel, he adds, fit the devil's body, the multitude of the wicked of which he is the head, better than the head himself (XI.24.31–25.32).

He closes the inquiry with a *complexio* of four possibilities: the devil fell by impious pride from the beginning of his creation, from the beatitude he would have received had he willed; or there are angels of a lower ministry in this

world among whom he lived, and from whom he fell *tamquam archangelus*, as an archangel, with the angels subject to him, if that can be asserted at all; or the holy angels, if the devil once lived among them, received the certainty of their perseverance only after his fall; or else one must ask by what desert he and his companions were set apart before their sin, so that they did not foreknow their fall while the others were certain of their perseverance. Whichever is true, two things are certain: the sinning angels are thrust into the dark prison of this air to be reserved for judgment (2 Pet 2:4), and the holy angels' eternal life is not uncertain, nor will ours be, when after the resurrection we are joined to them (XI.26.33). The *Enchiridion* states the outcome in the language of the Creed. The rebel angels were not all propagated from one, as men are from Adam, and so were not bound by an inherited guilt; "the rest remained steadfast in piety and obedience to their Lord, and obtained, what before they had not enjoyed, a sure and certain knowledge of their eternal safety, and freedom from the possibility of falling" (*Enchiridion* 28); "what catholic Christian does not know that no new devil will ever arise among the good angels, as he knows that this present devil will never again return into the fellowship of the good?" (*De civ. Dei* XI.13). The Catechism teaches the same irrevocability: "There is no repentance for the angels after their fall" (CCC 393).

Augustine and Aquinas answer the question of the moment differently. Augustine leaves the four possibilities open and inclines, in the commentary on Genesis, to a fall at the very beginning of the devil's creation, though never to a creation in evil; in the *City of God* he reads Isaiah and Ezekiel to say that the devil was once in the truth and did not remain (XI.15). Aquinas records that Augustine does not count as Manichaean the opinion that the devil was wicked from the first instant of his creation, but judges that it "was reasonably rejected by the masters as erroneous"; he takes the sentence of *City of God* XI.15 as the *sed contra* of his article on the interval and determines as "more probable" that the devil sinned at once after the first instant of his creation (*ST* I q. 63 aa. 5–6; §13.1; Appendix L). The opinion Augustine reports, that the devil and his angels were of the lower orders set over the world, reappears in Aquinas as Damascene's, against Gregory's that the first of them was the highest of all (*ST* I q. 63 a. 7; q. 61 a. 4 ad 2).

The devil fell by his own will, and he tempts only by God's leave. He was not permitted to tempt the woman except through the serpent, nor the man except through the woman, and his power of temptation is bounded: *tentandi voluntatem habet diabolus, in potestate autem nec ut faciat habet, nec quo modo faciat* — the devil has the will to tempt, but neither whether he does it nor how is in his power (*De Gen. ad litt.* XI.27.34). God does this through the holy angels, *subdens videlicet angelos malos Angelis bonis, ut malorum improbitas, non quantum nititur, sed quantum sinitur possit* — subjecting the evil angels to the good, so that the wickedness of the evil can do not as much as it strives to do but as much as it is allowed (XI.22.29); and it is so until the saints judge angels (1 Cor 6:3).

5.10.6 The restoration of the heavenly city

The angels who fell are not restored; the part of the rational creation that fell among men is restored in part, and fills the place the angels left. The *Enchiridion* gives the plan of God:

> And so it pleased God, the Creator and Governor of the universe, that, since the whole body of the angels had not fallen into rebellion, the part of them which had fallen should remain in perdition eternally ... but that, on the other hand, mankind, who constituted the remainder of the intelligent creation, having perished without exception under sin, both original and actual, and the consequent punishments, should be in part restored, and should fill up the gap which the rebellion and fall of the devils had left in the company of the angels. (*Enchiridion* 29)

The promise that the saints "are equal to the angels" (Luke 20:36) carries it, and "the Jerusalem which is above, which is the mother of us all, the city of God, shall not be spoiled of any of the number of her citizens, shall perhaps reign over even a more abundant population" (*Enchiridion* 29). The number of the saints and of the demons is unknown to us and present to the Creator, who "ordereth all things in measure, and number, and weight" (Wis 11:21). The last book of the *City of God* states the same plan: God gathers from the condemned race *tantum populum gratia sua ... ut inde suppleat et instauret partem, quae lapsa est angelorum*, so great a people by his grace as to supply and restore the fallen part of the angels, so that the beloved city "is not defrauded of the full number of its citizens, but perhaps may even rejoice in a still more overflowing population" (*De civ. Dei* XXII.1). Aquinas assumes the same when he reasons that, if the chief of the devils was of the highest order, some fell from every order, "just as men are taken up into every order to supply for the angelic ruin" (*ST* I q. 63 a. 9 ad 3); and his article that men are taken up into the angelic orders rests on the one society of angels and men that Augustine teaches (q. 108 a. 8; §15.1).

The *Enchiridion* places all this within the Creed. After the Holy Spirit the Creed names the holy Church, and the Church must be understood whole:

> not that part of it only which wanders as a stranger on the earth ... but that part also which has always from its creation remained steadfast to God in heaven, and has never experienced the misery consequent upon a fall. This part is made up of the holy angels, who enjoy uninterrupted happiness; and (as it is bound to do) it renders assistance to the part which is still wandering among strangers: for these two parts shall be one in the fellowship of eternity, and now they are one in the bonds of love, the whole having been ordained for the worship of the one God. (*Enchiridion* 56)

Neither part of the Church wishes to be worshipped instead of God, and the order of the Creed itself proves the divinity of the Holy Spirit: if he were a creature he would belong to the Church, "to that part of it which is in the heavens," and would be part of a temple rather than the God who has one (56). Christ did not die for the angels. "Yet what was done for the redemption of man through His death was in a sense done for the angels, because the enmity which sin had put between men and the holy angels is removed, and friendship is restored between them, and by the redemption of man the gaps which the great apostasy left in the angelic host are filled up" (61). The holy angels, "taught by God, in the eternal contemplation of whose truth their happiness consists, know how great a number of the human race are to supplement their ranks"; and so "all things are gathered together in one in Christ, both which are in heaven and which are on earth" (62; Eph 1:10; Col 1:20).

On the ranks of that society Augustine confesses ignorance. The whole company is called by the general name of angels, for "to which of the angels said God at any time, Sit on my right hand?" (Heb 1:13); yet some are called archangels; whether the archangels are the "hosts" of the psalm (Ps 148:2), and what the four names of the Apostle signify, "thrones, or dominations, or principalities, or powers" (Col 1:16),

> let those who are able answer these questions, if they can also prove their answers to be true; but as for me, I confess my ignorance. I am not even certain upon this point: whether the sun, and the moon, and all the stars, do not form part of this same society, though many consider them merely luminous bodies, without either sensation or intelligence. (*Enchiridion* 58)

The Latin is briefer and stronger: *dicant qui possunt, si tamen possunt probare quod dicunt: Ego me ista ignorare confiteor*; and the second name of the psalm is *Virtutes*. Augustine does not rank the orders. He knows that there are degrees in the heavenly city, for he teaches that in the city to come "no inferior shall envy any superior, as now the archangels are not envied by the angels" (*De civ. Dei* XXII.30); but the ordering of the nine choirs comes to the West from Dionysius and Gregory, and Aquinas determines it after them (*ST* I q. 108 aa. 5–6; §§6, 15.1; Appendix A). The same reserve covers the bodies in which angels appeared: how they were seen and touched, so that the patriarchs washed their feet and Jacob wrestled with one, and how they speak within the soul, "the angel that spoke in me" (Zach 1:9), is a question that is "a useful exercise for the intellect, if the discussion be kept within proper bounds, and if we avoid the error of supposing ourselves to know what we do not know" (*Enchiridion* 59). More necessary is to discern Satan when he transforms himself into an angel of light (2 Cor 11:14; 60).

5.10.7 Angels and demons in the government of the world

The third book *On the Trinity* asks how God appeared to the fathers. Before answering, Augustine lays down how God governs the bodily world at all, and turns to the heavenly country:

> For there the will of God, "who maketh His angels spirits, and His ministers a flaming fire," presiding among spirits which are joined in perfect peace and friendship, and combined in one will by a kind of spiritual fire of charity ... thence diffuses itself through all things by certain most perfectly ordered movements of the creature; first spiritual, then corporeal ... But as the more gross and inferior bodies are governed in due order by the more subtle and powerful ones, so all bodies are governed by the living spirit; and the living spirit devoid of reason, by the reasonable living spirit; and the reasonable living spirit that makes default and sins, by the living and reasonable spirit that is pious and just; and that by God Himself, and so the universal creature by its Creator. (*De Trinitate* III.4.9)

"And so it comes to pass that the will of God is the first and the highest cause of all corporeal appearances and motions. For nothing is done visibly or sensibly, unless either by command or permission from the interior palace, invisible and

intelligible, of the supreme Governor" — *de interiore invisibili atque intellegibili aula summi Imperatoris* — "in that far-reaching and boundless commonwealth of the whole creature" (III.4.9). This is the text by which the *Summa* teaches that all bodies are ruled by the angels: Aquinas makes it the *sed contra* of the article that the corporeal creature is governed by the angels (*ST* I q. 110 a. 1), and cites it again for the ordering of the orders and for the government of the demons by the good angels (q. 108 a. 6; q. 109 a. 4 *sed contra*; §16.2). The commentary on Genesis states the same rule: *sublimibus Angelis Deo subdite fruentibus, et Deo beate servientibus, subdita est omnis natura corporea, omnis irrationalis vita, omnis voluntas vel infirma vel prava* — to the high angels who enjoy God in subjection to him and serve him in blessedness, all bodily nature is subject, all irrational life, every will weak or depraved; they contemplate God without place or time and carry out his commands in lower things (*De Gen. ad litt.* VIII.24.45). God thus presides over his whole creation by a twofold work of providence, *naturis, ut fiant; voluntatibus autem, ut sine suo iussu vel permissu nihil faciant*, over natures that they may be, over wills that they may do nothing without his command or permission (VIII.24.45). In the book of eighty-three questions Augustine puts the rule in a sentence that Aquinas quotes: *unaquaeque res visibilis in hoc mundo habet potestatem angelicam sibi praepositam, sicut aliquot locis divina Scriptura testatur* — every visible thing in this world has an angelic power set over it, as divine Scripture testifies in several places (*De diversis quaestionibus octoginta tribus* q. 79.1; *ST* I q. 110 a. 1).

Miracles belong to the same government. The same power works in the ordinary course of nature and in the rain at Elijah's prayer or the water made wine; "when, for the admonition of men, they are thrust in by an unusual changeableness, then they are called miracles" (*De Trin.* III.5.11–6.11). The magicians of Pharaoh made serpents and failed at the third plague, the lice, confessing "This is the finger of God" (Exod 8:19); so "not even those angels and powers of the air that transgressed ... through whom magic arts have whatever power they have, can do anything except by power given from above" (III.7.12). The angels are not creators, good or bad. Hidden seeds of all things lie in the elements, *occulta quaedam semina in istis corporeis mundi huius elementis latent* (III.8.13), and "as mothers are pregnant with young, so the world itself is pregnant with the causes of things that are born" (III.9.16); the angels, knowing those seeds by the subtlety of their perception, may apply them and hasten their growth, but

> it is not right to think not only the bad but even the good angels to be creators ... But neither do the good angels do these things, except as far as God commands, nor do the evil ones do them wrongfully, except as far as He righteously permits. For the malignity of the wicked one makes his own will wrongful; but the power to do so, he receives rightfully, whether for his own punishment, or, in the case of others, for the punishment of the wicked, or for the praise of the good. (III.8.13)

The opening of the same chapter, that "the matter of visible things is subservient" not "to the bidding of those wicked angels; but rather to that of God" (III.8.13), is Aquinas's *sed contra* for his article that bodily matter does not obey the angels' mere will, and the doctrine of the seeds is his *sed contra* for the angels' power to move bodies locally and his answer on the demons' wonders (*ST* I q. 110 aa. 2–3; q. 114 a. 4 ad 2). His reply on the magicians follows the eighty-three questions: *magi per privatos contractus, boni christiani per publicam iustitiam, mali christiani per signa publicae iustitiae* — magicians work wonders by private compacts, good Christians by public justice, bad Christians by the signs of public justice (*De div. qq. 83* q. 79.4; *ST* I q. 114 a. 4 ad 3; §18.2).

On this ground Augustine determines that the appearances of God to the patriarchs were wrought through angels. "It is manifest, accordingly, that all those appearances to the fathers, when God was presented to them according to His own dispensation, suitable to the times, were wrought through the creature. And if we cannot discern in what manner He wrought them by ministry of angels, yet we say that they were wrought by angels" (*De Trin.* III.11.22). Scripture is his authority: the Epistle to the Hebrews distinguishes the word "spoken by angels" from the salvation "spoken by the Lord," and asks, "Are they not all ministering spirits, sent to minister for them who shall receive the inheritance of salvation?" (Heb 1:14; 2:2–3). Stephen tells that an angel appeared to Moses in the bush (Acts 7:30), and the angel who called to Abraham on the mountain swore "By myself I have sworn, saith the Lord" (Gen 22:16; III.11.24–25). Above all, the Law was received "by the disposition of angels" (Acts 7:53) and "ordained by angels in the hand of a mediator" (Gal 3:19); in those angels "were certainly the Father, and the Son, and the Holy Spirit," figuratively signified by a creature and not seen in their substance, and the Son "was in some wonderful and unspeakable manner in the angels, by whose disposition the Law itself was given" (III.11.26). Augustine names the contrary reading, of those who, because the Scripture there specifies an angel, "will have the Son of God Himself and in Himself to be understood" (III.11.23), and answers it with the plural of the Epistle, "by angels." The Catechism teaches that the angels "communicated the law by their ministry" (CCC 332). At Sinai "great marvels were wrought, by the ministry of angels, before the people on the mount where the law was being given" (*De civ. Dei* X.13), and God's word is heard "by the mental ear of His ministers and messengers," and what they receive "they execute without delay or difficulty in the sensible and visible world" (*De civ. Dei* X.15).

Augustine is as reserved about the manner of these works as he is sure of the fact. Whether the angels, "secretly working by the spiritual quality of their body abiding still in them, assume somewhat from the inferior and more bodily elements," which they change "like a garment," or change their own bodies, "it reaches further than my purpose can carry me to inquire" (*De Trin.* III.1.5; cf. III.10.21). He speaks at times, with the learned of his day, of the angels' and demons' bodies as of subtle or aerial substance, and he does not make it a point of faith: if anyone holds that the devils have no bodies, "this is not a matter either to be laboriously investigated, or to be debated with keenness" (*De civ. Dei* XXI.10). Aquinas reads him so: Augustine "often makes use of this opinion in his books, although he does not mean to assert it" (*ST* I q. 54 a. 5). The Church teaches that the angels are "purely spiritual creatures" (CCC 330), and Aquinas determines that they have no bodies naturally united to them and assume bodies when they appear (*ST* I q. 51 aa. 1–2; §9.1); for the second article he cites Augustine (*De civ. Dei* XVI) that the angels appeared to Abraham in assumed bodies.

Within the same government Augustine gives the demons' power and its limits. The little book *On the Divination of Demons* grew from a conversation during the holy days of the octaves, when some claimed that the demolition of the temple of Serapis at Alexandria had been foretold (*De divinatione daemonum* 1.1). Augustine answers that what God permits is not thereby good (2.6), and then explains the demons' powers from their nature:

> *Daemonum ea est natura, ut aerii corporis sensu terrenorum corporum sensum facile praecedant; celeritate etiam propter eiusdem aerii corporis superiorem mobilitatem non solum cursus quorumlibet hominum vel ferarum, verum etiam volatus avium incomparabiliter vincant.* (3.7)

Their aerial bodies give them keener senses and swifter movement than any man, beast, or bird, and their long life a far greater experience; yet no one prefers a dog to a good man for its scent (3.7). Their foreknowledge is conjecture. They often foretell what they themselves will do, since they receive power to send diseases, to corrupt the air, and to persuade the perverse, *per illam subtilitatem suorum corporum corpora hominum non sentientium penetrando, seseque cogitationibus eorum per quaedam imaginaria visa miscendo*, penetrating men's bodies unperceived by that subtlety and mingling themselves with their thoughts through certain imaginary visions, waking or sleeping (5.9). They foretell from natural signs, as a physician foresees health in the body, and they learn men's dispositions from signs the mind expresses in the body (5.9). Of that last claim Augustine later wrote, *rem dixi occultissimam audaciore asseveratione quam debui* — I spoke of a most hidden thing with bolder assertion than I ought. That such things reach the demons' knowledge, experience has shown; but whether by signs given from the body or by some other spiritual power can hardly or not at all be found out by men (*Retractationes* II.30). Aquinas quotes both the treatise and the retractation (*ST* I q. 57 a. 4; §10.4). Their divination is far from prophecy, *quam Deus per sanctos Angelos suos et Prophetas operatur*, which God works through his holy angels and prophets; when the demons repeat what they have heard of God's disposition they neither deceive nor are deceived, but in their own predictions they are often both. They are deceived because an order from above overturns their plans, and because what they foresee from natural causes is changed *ab Angelis Deo summo pie servientibus alia dispositione ignota daemonibus*, by the angels who serve the most high God, by a disposition unknown to the demons; and they deceive from envy, rejoicing in men's errors (6.10).

The demons' present dwelling is the dark air. The commentary on Genesis calls them *aeria ... animalia*, aerial living beings, and supposes that if the transgressors with their prince, *nunc diabolo, tunc archangelo*, now the devil, then an archangel, were before their sin in the upper and calmer air, it is no wonder that after sin they were thrust down into this murk; for some of ours, *nonnulli nostri*, Augustine adds, do not think them to have been heavenly or supercelestial angels (*De Gen. ad litt.* III.10.14). If they bore heavenly bodies before, these may have been changed in punishment into an aerial quality, so that they can suffer from fire; and the dark air is to them *quasi carcer ... usque ad tempus iudicii*, a kind of prison until the time of judgment (III.10.15). Aquinas makes this the *sed contra* of his article on the demons' place of punishment (*ST* I q. 64 a. 4), and reads Augustine's "upper atmosphere" as said of the angels who sinned only (q. 61 a. 4 ad 2).

5.10.8 The worship of the one God

The eighth to tenth books of the *City of God* are Augustine's treatise on the cult of spirits. The Platonists, whom he counts the noblest of the philosophers, divided rational souls into gods in heaven, demons in the air, and men on earth, and held with Apuleius that the demons carry the prayers of men to the gods and the gifts of the gods to men, since "no god has intercourse with man" (VIII.14, 18, 20). Apuleius defined them: "Demons are of an animal nature, passive in soul, rational in mind, aerial in body, eternal in time" (VIII.16). Augustine turns the definition against them: better bodies are no title to worship (VIII.15), and passion of soul is the mark of misery, so that they are

"aerial animals who are only rational that they may be capable of misery, passive that they may be actually miserable, and eternal that it may be impossible for them to end their misery!" (VIII.16). The demons, then, are not messengers between gods and men:

> we must believe them to be spirits most eager to inflict harm, utterly alien from righteousness, swollen with pride, pale with envy, subtle in deceit; who dwell indeed in this air as in a prison, in keeping with their own character, because, cast down from the height of the higher heaven, they have been condemned to dwell in this element as the just reward of irretrievable transgression. (VIII.22)

What we may share with the holy angels is not their mediation but their will. We come to their benevolence "through resembling them in the possession of a good will, through which we are with them, and live with them, and worship with them the same God ... it is not in locality we are distant from them, but in merit of life" (VIII.25). The Church's honour of the martyrs follows the same rule: no priest at an altar over a martyr's body says "I offer to thee a sacrifice, O Peter, or O Paul, or O Cyprian," for sacrifice is offered there to "the God who made them both men and martyrs, and associated them with holy angels in celestial honor" (VIII.27).

The ninth book answers those who distinguish good demons from bad. The holy angels feel no anger when they punish, no fellow-suffering when they relieve, no fear when they aid; Scripture ascribes such emotions to them "because, though they have none of our weakness, their acts resemble the actions to which these emotions move us" (IX.5); Aquinas, citing the book, says that none of these is said of the angels by way of passion (*ST* I q. 59 a. 4 ad 2). A mediator between miserable mortals and the blessed immortals would have to share something with each; the good angels cannot be such mediators, and the evil angels can be, but only to separate:

> Good angels, therefore, cannot mediate between miserable mortals and blessed immortals, for they themselves also are both blessed and immortal; but evil angels can mediate, because they are immortal like the one party, miserable like the other. To these is opposed the good Mediator, who, in opposition to their immortality and misery, has chosen to be mortal for a time, and has been able to continue blessed in eternity. ... There is, then, a wicked mediator, who separates friends, and a good Mediator, who reconciles enemies. (IX.15)

Christ is Mediator as man, not as Word, and he does not lead us to the angels to be blessed by sharing their nature, "but He leads us straight to that Trinity, by participating in which the angels themselves are blessed. Therefore, when He chose to be in the form of a servant, and lower than the angels, that He might be our Mediator, He remained higher than the angels, in the form of God" (IX.15; 1 Tim 2:5). The Church confesses Christ "the sole mediator and way of salvation" (Paul VI, profession of faith *Solemni hac liturgia*, the Credo of the People of God, 1968, n. 23). Scripture itself refuses the name of demon to the good: "never have we read in Scripture of good demons" (IX.19). The name, taken from knowledge, fits them, for "Knowledge puffeth up: but charity edifieth" (1 Cor 8:1): "The demons, then, have knowledge without charity" (IX.20). When they cried, "What have we to do with thee, Jesus of Nazareth? Art thou come to destroy us?" (Mark 1:24), "it is clear that they had great knowledge, and no charity"; Christ made himself known to them "not as to the holy angels, who know Him as the Word of God, and rejoice in His eternity, which they partake, but as was requisite to strike with terror," by temporal effects of his power (IX.21). Aquinas cites this chapter for the measure of the demons' knowledge of the Incarnation (*ST* I q. 64 a. 1 ad 4). The Platonists may call the holy angels gods, since Scripture calls even men gods (Ps 81[82]:6); but "the name of demon is so detestable that we cannot bear in any sense to apply it to the holy angels" (IX.23).

The tenth book shows that the holy angels themselves desire worship to be given to God alone. The worship called in Greek *latreia*, "the service due to God only," belongs "only to that God who is the true God, and who makes His worshippers gods" (X.1). "If he does not worship God, he is wretched, because deprived of God; if he worships God, he cannot wish to be worshipped in God's stead" (X.3). The true sacrifice is every work done that we may cleave to God in holy fellowship, and "the whole redeemed city ... is offered to God as our sacrifice through the great High Priest" in the sacrament of the altar (X.6). Of that sacrifice the angels are part:

> It is very right that these blessed and immortal spirits, who inhabit celestial dwellings, and rejoice in the communications of their Creator's fullness, firm in His eternity, assured in His truth, holy by His grace, since they compassionately and tenderly regard us miserable mortals, and wish us to become immortal and happy, do not desire us to sacrifice to themselves, but to Him whose sacrifice they know themselves to be in common with us. For we and they together are the one city of God, to which it is said in the psalm, "Glorious things are spoken of thee, O city of God;" the human part sojourning here below, the angelic aiding from above. (X.7)

In the Latin they know themselves to be God's sacrifice *nobiscum*, with us, and the heavenly city is a council-house where *geritur namque ibi cura de nobis*, care is taken for us. When the angels hear our prayers, "it is He Himself who hears us in them, as in His true temple not made with hands" (X.12). Between angels who demand sacrifice and angels who direct it to God the choice is plain, for those who direct it to God "prove how sincerely they love us, since they wish by sacrifice to subject us, not to themselves, but to Him by the contemplation of whom they themselves are blessed" (X.16). When we offer ourselves to God in sacrifice,

> It is then that the angels, and all those superior powers who are mighty by their goodness and piety, regard us with pleasure, and rejoice with us and assist us to the utmost of their power. But if we offer such worship to them, they decline it; and when on any mission to men they become visible to the senses, they positively forbid it. (X.19)

Scripture gives the examples: the angel of the Apocalypse says, "See thou do it not. I am thy fellow servant ... Adore God" (Apoc 19:10; 22:9), and Paul and Barnabas, imitating the holy angels, refused the sacrifice of the Lycaonians (Acts 14). The proud spirits who exact worship delight not in the smoke of victims but "with the suppliant spirit which they deceive and hold in subjection" (X.19). Christ, who in the form of God receives sacrifice with the Father, "in the form of a servant He chose rather to be than to receive a sacrifice," and "He designed that there should be a daily sign of this in the sacrifice of the Church, which, being His body, learns to offer herself through Him" (X.20). The power granted to the demons to persecute the city is "not merely harmless, but even useful to the Church, completing as it does the number of martyrs" (X.21), and men of God cast out the power of the air "by exorcising it, not by propitiating it" (X.22).

The short treatise *On True Religion* puts the rule of the angels' honour in a sentence. Whatever the highest angel worships, the lowest man must worship, *Quod ergo colit summus angelus, id colendum est etiam ab homine ultimo*, for angel and man are wise and truthful from the one unchangeable Wisdom and Truth; the best angels wish us to worship with them the one God by whose contemplation they are blessed. We love them, and do not envy them their readier joy, but love them the more because we are bidden to hope for the same:

> *Quare honoramus eos caritate, non servitute. Nec eis templa constituimus: nolunt enim se sic honorari a nobis; quia nos ipsos cum boni sumus, templa summi Dei esse noverunt.* (*De vera religione* 55.110)

We honour them with love, not with servitude; we build them no temples, for they do not wish to be so honoured, knowing that we ourselves, when we are good, are temples of the most high God; and rightly the angel forbade the man to adore him, being his fellow servant. Augustine adds the confidence of the communion of saints: *Quisquis Angelorum diligit hunc Deum, certus sum quod etiam me diligit. Quisquis in illo manet, et potest humanas preces sentire, in illo me exaudit* — whatever angel loves this God, I am sure that he loves me too; whoever abides in him and can perceive human prayers hears me in him (55.112). The Church joins with the angels to adore the thrice-holy God and invokes their assistance (CCC 335); she venerates the heavenly spirits and "has recourse to their prompt intercession" (*Directory on Popular Piety and the Liturgy* 215; §§22, 23).

5.10.9 The sons of God

"The sons of God seeing the daughters of men, that they were fair, took to themselves wives of all which they chose" (Gen 6:2, Douay). Augustine reads the verse otherwise than many before him (§4). He knows their reading, "whence many suppose that they were not men but angels," since in some copies the same persons are called angels of God (*De civ. Dei* XV.22), and he refuses it. That angels appeared in bodies that could be seen and touched, Scripture testifies; whether some spirits embodied in air are capable of lust, as many reports affirm, "I dare not determine"; "but certainly I could by no means believe that God's holy angels could at that time have so fallen, nor can I think that it is of them the Apostle Peter said, 'For if God spared not the angels that sinned, but cast them down to hell' ... I think he rather speaks of these who first apostatized from God, along with their chief the devil, who enviously deceived the first man under the form of a serpent" (XV.23). Scripture calls godly men angels, as John the Baptist (Mark 1:2) and the priest (Mal 2:7). Giants were on the earth before the marriages as well as after (Gen 6:4). And the text itself decides: after the angels of God took wives, "the Lord God said, My Spirit shall not always strive with these men, for that they also are flesh":

> For by the Spirit of God they had been made angels of God, and sons of God; but declining towards lower things, they are called men, a name of nature, not of grace; and they are called flesh, as deserters of the Spirit, and by their desertion deserted [by Him]. (XV.23)

The formula answers the one in the sermon on Psalm 103: there "angel" names an office, here "men" names a nature and "sons of God" a grace. He sets aside the writings under the name of Enoch that tell of angelic fathers of the giants: Enoch left "some divine writings," as Jude attests (Jude 14), but the books produced under his name "are properly judged by prudent men to be not genuine" and stand outside the canon (XV.23). His conclusion is that "the sons of God, who were according to the flesh the sons of Seth, sunk into this community when they forsook righteousness" (XV.23). Aquinas quotes the chapter for this conclusion (*ST* I q. 51 a. 3 ad 6; §9.1).

5.10.10 The angels in the heavenly city

The last book of the *City of God* returns to the angels at its beginning and near its end. In the eternal city "all the citizens shall be immortal, men now for the first time enjoying what the holy angels have never lost" (XXII.1). God made nothing better than the spirits to whom he gave intelligence and made "capable of contemplating and enjoying Him, and united in our society, which we call the holy and heavenly city, and in which the material of their sustenance and blessedness is God Himself, as it were their common food and nourishment." Those he foreknew would fall he left free, "deeming it to be more befitting His power and goodness to bring good out of evil than to prevent the evil from coming into existence"; and he "rewarded those who continued in their attachment to the supreme good with the assurance of endless stability as the meed of their fidelity" (XXII.1).

The angels already see what we hope to see. The peace of God passes all human understanding, and the angels understand it in their own measure; of the face-to-face vision promised to us (1 Cor 13:12) Augustine says:

> Such also is now the vision of the holy angels, who are also called our angels, because we, being rescued out of the power of darkness, and receiving the earnest of the Spirit, are translated into the kingdom of Christ, and already begin to belong to those angels with whom we shall enjoy that holy and most delightful city of God of which we have now written so much. Thus, then, the angels of God are our angels, as Christ is God's and also ours. They are God's, because they have not abandoned Him; they are ours, because we are their fellow-citizens. (XXII.29)

The saying of the Lord, "their angels in heaven always see the face of my Father" (Matt 18:10), is read here of that fellowship: "As, then, they see, so shall we also see; but not yet do we thus see" (XXII.29). The *Enchiridion* says the same of the peace of heaven. It passes our understanding, "not that of those who always behold the face of their Father"; "But when we shall be equal unto the angels of God then we shall see face to face, as they do; and we shall have as great peace towards them as they have towards us, because we shall love them as much as we are loved by them" (*Enchiridion* 63). In that city there will be degrees of honour and glory, and no envy, "as now the archangels are not envied by the angels" (*De civ. Dei* XXII.30). Aquinas determines that men are taken up into the angelic orders by grace, not by nature, on the promise that the children of the resurrection are equal to the angels, and rejects a separate society of the saved on Augustine's word that there is one society of men and angels (*ST* I q. 108 a. 8; §15.1).

5.10.11 The Augustinian loci and their reception

Work and locus	Teaching	Received by Aquinas at	Grade
***Enarr. in Ps.* 103, s. 1.15; *De civ. Dei* XV.23; *De Gen. ad litt.* V.19.37**	"Angel" names the office of messenger; by nature they are spirits; the whole heavenly city bears the name	Parallel: *ST* I q. 108 a. 5 ad 1 (*Angelus nuntius dicitur*)	Church teaching (CCC 329 quotes the *Enarratio*)

Work and locus	Teaching	Received by Aquinas at	Grade
***De civ. Dei* XI.9, 11, 32–34; *De Gen. ad litt.* II.8.16; IV.22.39; VIII.20.39**	The angels are made by God, signified by the light of the first day, formed by turning to the Word, created with the world	*ST* I q. 61 a. 1 ad 1 (XI.9); q. 61 a. 2 ad 2 (VIII.20); q. 61 a. 3; q. 62 a. 3 obj. 1 and ad 1 (II.8)	Defined that they were created from nothing at the beginning of time (DS 800); Common teaching of the Latin Doctors that they were created with the corporeal world, the Greek Fathers holding them made before it (q. 61 a. 3)
***De Gen. ad litt.* II.8.16–19; IV.22.39–35.56; *De civ. Dei* XI.7, 29**	Knowledge of things in the Word (day, morning) and in their own nature (evening), referred always to praise, held at once	*ST* I q. 55 a. 2 ad 1; q. 56 a. 2; q. 58 a. 1 s.c.; q. 58 a. 2 s.c.; q. 58 aa. 6–7 s.c.	Common teaching (§10.5)
***De Gen. ad litt.* V.19.38–39; *De civ. Dei* IX.20–22**	The angels knew the mystery of the kingdom from the ages; the demons know by conjecture and by temporal effects, and are often deceived	*ST* I q. 57 a. 5 obj. 1; q. 64 a. 1 obj. 4, ad 4	Common teaching
***De civ. Dei* XI.16, 19–20, 33; XII.1; *De Gen. ad litt.* XI.15.20**	Two societies of angels, alike good by nature, divided by will; with men, two cities and not four	*ST* I q. 63 a. 5 ad 2 (XI.19); q. 64 a. 1 obj. 5 (XI.33); q. 108 a. 1 (XII.1)	Defined that the demons were created good and became evil by their own will (DS 800); Common teaching on the two cities
***De civ. Dei* XII.6–8**	The evil will has no efficient cause but a deficient one, the defection of the will from the highest good	Parallel: *ST* I q. 63 a. 1 ad 4 (a good sought without its rule)	Common teaching
***De civ. Dei* XII.9**	The good will created with the nature; grace given with it; the fallen had less grace, or the others more help; charity poured out by the Holy Spirit	*ST* I q. 62 a. 3 s.c.; q. 60 a. 5 obj. 4; q. 108 a. 4 obj. 2; q. 108 a. 8	Disputed whether the angels were created in sanctifying grace: more probable for Aquinas (q. 62 a. 3), grace added after creation for the Lombard and Bonaventure (§12.2; §20.5)
***De civ. Dei* XI.13–15, 17; XIV.3**	The devil did not stand in the truth, was not made evil, sinned from the beginning of his sin; proud and envious, not carnal	*ST* I q. 63 a. 2 s.c. (XIV.3); a. 5 co., ad 1, ad 2, ad 4; a. 6 s.c. (XI.15)	Defined that the devil was created good and became evil of himself (DS 800)
***De Gen. ad litt.* XI.13.17–27.34**	Pride before envy; the devil fell from what he would have received; possibly at the very beginning; four possibilities; he tempts only as permitted	Order of pride and envy: *ST* I q. 63 a. 2; the moment determined otherwise: q. 63 aa. 5–6; the lower-order opinion: q. 63 a. 7	Common teaching that pride was the first sin; Disputed whether the devil ever stood in grace (Appendix L)
***Enchir.* 28–29, 61–62; *De civ. Dei* XI.13; XXII.1**	The fall irrevocable and the rest confirmed; the ruin repaired from redeemed men; the number known to God	*ST* I q. 63 a. 9 ad 3; q. 108 a. 8	Church teaching on irrevocability (CCC 393); Common teaching on the repair of the ruin
***Enchir.* 56–60; *De civ. Dei* XXII.30**	The Church includes the holy angels; the orders named, their differences unknown; archangels above angels	Ordering given after Dionysius and Gregory: *ST* I q. 108 aa. 5–6	Common teaching that the angels belong to the one Church; Disputed on the ordering (§15.1)
***De Trin.* III.4.9–9.18; *De Gen. ad litt.* VIII.24.45–25.47; *De div. qq. 83* q. 79**	The bodily creation governed through the spiritual; the angels not creators; the seeds of things; the demons' power only by permission	*ST* I q. 110 a. 1 s.c. and co.; a. 2 s.c.; a. 3 s.c.; q. 108 a. 6; q. 109 a. 4 s.c.; q. 114 a. 4 ad 2–3	Common teaching

Work and locus	Teaching	Received by Aquinas at	Grade
***De Trin.* III.10.19–11.27; *De civ. Dei* X.13, 15**	The theophanies and the Law wrought by angels, God speaking by them	—	Church teaching that the Law was given by the angels' ministry (CCC 332; Acts 7:53; Gal 3:19); Disputed whether the Son appeared in his own person (*De Trin.* III.11.23)
***De div. daem.* 3.7–6.10; *Retract.* II.30; *De Gen. ad litt.* III.10.14–15; *De civ. Dei* XXI.10**	The demons' keen sense, speed, and experience; conjectural foreknowledge; thoughts known by signs, with reserve; the dark air their prison	*ST* I q. 57 a. 4; q. 54 a. 5; q. 61 a. 4 ad 2; q. 64 a. 4 s.c.	Common teaching on conjectural knowledge; Church teaching that the angels are purely spiritual (CCC 330); Thomist position that they have no bodies (q. 51 a. 1)
***De civ. Dei* VIII.14–IX.23**	The demons false mediators; Christ the one Mediator; the good angels not called demons	*ST* I q. 59 a. 4 ad 2 (IX.5); q. 64 a. 1 ad 4 (IX.21); q. 63 a. 4 ad 1 (X.11)	Church teaching (Paul VI, *Credo* 23; 1 Tim 2:5)
***De civ. Dei* X.1–7, 12, 16, 19–22; *De vera rel.* 55.110–112**	Sacrifice to God alone; the angels offered with us and refusing worship; honour of love, not servitude	—	Church teaching that the Church adores God with the angels and invokes them (CCC 335; Directory 215); Common teaching on love, not servitude
***De civ. Dei* XV.22–23**	The sons of God are the sons of Seth, not angels	*ST* I q. 51 a. 3 ad 6	Common teaching in the West after Augustine; the earlier Fathers dissent (§4)
***De civ. Dei* XXII.1, 29–30; *Enchir.* 63**	The angels see God face to face; they are our angels as fellow-citizens; men equal to them, in degrees without envy	*ST* I q. 108 a. 8	Church teaching that the angels behold the face of the Father (CCC 329; Matt 18:10); Common teaching on degrees of glory

6 The Celestial Hierarchy

The Church learned the names and the order of the nine choirs from Scripture, and learned to read them as one sacred order from the Greek writings that bear the name of Dionysius the Areopagite, the member of the Athenian council converted by St. Paul's sermon on the Areopagus (Acts 17:34). The corpus contains four treatises, the *Celestial Hierarchy*, the *Ecclesiastical Hierarchy*, the *Divine Names*, and the *Mystical Theology*, and ten letters; the treatises also refer to other works of the author, such as a "Treatise concerning the Divine Hymns" (*CH* 7.4) and a "symbolic theology" (*CH* 15.6), which are not extant. The *Celestial Hierarchy* is addressed "To my Fellow Presbyter Timothy" and signed "Dionysius the Presbyter."

The East received the writings first. Severus, patriarch of Antioch (512–518), cites them in a letter to an abbot John; they were quoted at the conference held at Constantinople in 533; and Sergius of Resaina (d. 536) put them into Syriac (J. Stiglmayr, "Dionysius the Pseudo-Areopagite," *Catholic Encyclopedia* V, 1909). Since the studies of Hugo Koch and Stiglmayr in 1895, which showed the author's use of the Neoplatonist Proclus, the corpus is dated to about the year 500. Benedict XVI reads the name the author took as an act of humility: he "did not want to glorify his own name" but "truly to serve the Gospel, to create an ecclesial theology" (General Audience, 14 May 2008). John Damascene, gathering the Greek Fathers' teaching on the angels in the eighth century, sets the Dionysian order at its centre: "as that most holy, and sacred, and gifted theologian, Dionysius the Areopagite, says, All theology, that is to say, the holy Scripture, has nine different names for the heavenly essences. These essences that divine master in sacred things divides into three groups, each containing three" (*De fide orthodoxa* II.3).

In the West Gregory the Great, preaching on the ninety-nine sheep and the ten drachmas, invokes the author by name: *Fertur vero Dionysius Areopagita, antiquus videlicet et venerabilis Pater, dicere* that it is from the lesser companies that angels are sent to outward ministry (Gregory, *Hom. in Ev.* 34.12). In 827 the Byzantine emperor Michael II sent the writings among his gifts to Louis the Pious. Hilduin, abbot of Saint-Denis, had them translated into Latin, and

in his life of the saint identified Denis, the martyr of Paris, with the Areopagite (J. P. Kirsch, "Hilduin, Abbot of St-Denis," *Catholic Encyclopedia* VII, 1910; Stiglmayr, *loc. cit.*). About 858 John Scotus Eriugena made a new Latin version at the instance of Charles the Bald, which became the main channel of Dionysius to the Middle Ages. The masters of Saint-Victor, Hugh foremost among them, built on his doctrine, and Peter Lombard, Alexander of Hales, Albert, Thomas, and Bonaventure adopted his theses (Stiglmayr, *loc. cit.*); Benedict XVI says that he was "virtually rediscovered in the 13th century, especially by St Bonaventure." Aquinas cites the corpus more than ninety times in the two treatises on the angels alone and follows it as the master of the whole arrangement of the hierarchies (§15.1; Appendix F).

The treatise has fifteen chapters. Chapters 1–2 establish why the angels are revealed through symbols, even through unlike ones; chapter 3 defines hierarchy; chapters 4–5 treat the name "angel"; chapters 6–9 give the nine orders in three triads; chapter 10 summarizes; chapters 11–14 answer particular questions of name, mission, and number; and chapter 15 interprets the bodily images under which Scripture shows the angels. Benedict XVI calls the whole a "symphony of the cosmos that goes from the Seraphim to the Angels and Archangels."

Two matters of vocabulary govern every page. First, the Dionysian triads are, from the highest: *seraphim*, *cheroubim*, *thronoi*; *kyriotetes*, *dynameis*, *exousiai*; *archai*, *archangeloi*, *angeloi*. Latin theology renders the middle triad *Dominationes, Virtutes, Potestates*, so that Dominations, Virtues, and Powers correspond to Parker's "Lordships," "Powers," and "Authorities." Second, Gregory the Great gives the same nine names in a different order in the middle of the scale, placing Principalities above Powers and Virtues below them (Gregory, *Hom. in Ev.* 34.7, 10); Aquinas weighs the two orderings and judges that "little or no difference exists in reality" between them (*ST* I q. 108 a. 6 ad 4; see §15.1 and Appendices A and B).[13]

6.1 That every divine illumination, whilst going forth lovingly to the objects of its forethought under various forms, remains simplex. Nor is this all. It also unifies the things illuminated.

Locus: *CH* 1; PG 3, col. 120B

Reception in Aquinas: *ST* I q. 108 a. 1 co.; *ST* I q. 111 a. 1 co.

The treatise opens with a verse of St. James, "Every good gift and every perfect gift is from above, and cometh down from the Father of Lights" (Jas 1:17), and draws from it the law that governs all that follows. Light proceeds from the Father as a gift, and as it comes to us "restores us again gradually as an unifying power, and turns us to the oneness of our conducting Father, and to a deifying simplicity" (*CH* 1.1). The procession of light is therefore also a return: what goes forth from God draws back to God what it reaches.

The second section turns the principle into a prayer. The author invokes "Jesus, the Paternal Light, the Real, the True, 'which lighteth every man coming into the world,' " through whom we have access to the Father, and asks to be raised to the illuminations "handed down by our fathers in the most sacred Oracles," there to "gaze, as we may, upon the Hierarchies of the Heavenly Minds manifested by them symbolically for our instruction" (*CH* 1.2). The study of the angels begins in Christ and in the Scriptures, not in speculation. The divine ray is multiplied in going forth and yet "remains firmly and solitarily centred within itself in its unmoved sameness," and it raises those who aspire to it and "makes them one, after the example of its own unifying Oneness." The same section gives the sentence that Aquinas makes his own: "it is not possible that the supremely Divine Ray should otherwise illuminate us, except so far as it is enveloped, for the purpose of instruction, in variegated sacred veils" (*CH* 1.2). The veils are the images of Scripture and the rites of the Church.

The third section applies this to the liturgy. The "Divine Institution of sacred Rites" has depicted the immaterial hierarchies "in material figures and bodily compositions," because the mind cannot rise to them "without using the material guidance suitable to itself." Visible beauty is a reflection of invisible comeliness; the sweet odours of incense are "emblems of the spiritual distribution"; the lights of the sanctuary are "a likeness of the gift of the immaterial enlightenment"; the ranks of the clergy stand for the harmonious order of heaven; and the reception of the Eucharist stands for "the partaking of Jesus" (*CH* 1.3). The Church's hierarchy is constituted "as fellow-ministers" with the heavenly one, and Scripture describes the angels "under sensible likeness" in order to "lead us through the sensible to the intelligible, and from inspired symbols to the simple sublimities of the Heavenly Hierarchies."

[13]The English of the *Celestial Hierarchy* is John Parker's, *The Works of Dionysius the Areopagite*, Part II (London and Oxford: James Parker and Co., 1899), cited by his section numbers, with the columns of Migne, *Patrologia Graeca* 3.

The chapter thus sets the method of the whole work. Angelology is received from revelation; it is received through images fitted to human nature; and its end is not information about higher creatures but our own union with God, in company with them. Aquinas takes from this chapter the reason why the human hierarchy differs from the angelic: men receive divine things "under sensible signs," as Dionysius says (*ST* I q. 108 a. 1 co.), and it is through the angels' ministry that revelation reaches men clothed in the likenesses of sensible things (*ST* I q. 111 a. 1 co.).

6.2 That Divine and Heavenly things are appropriately revealed, even through dissimilar symbols.

Locus: *CH* 2; PG 3, col. 136D

Reception in Aquinas: Not cited by chapter in *ST* I qq. 50–64 or *ST* I qq. 106–114.

Before speaking of the orders, Dionysius defends the images through which Scripture speaks of them. He does not want the reader to think, "like the vulgar," that the heavenly minds are "many-footed and many-faced creatures," or oxen, lions, and eagles, or that there are "wheels of fire above the heaven, or material thrones upon which the Godhead may recline" (*CH* 2.1). Scripture "artlessly makes use of poetic representations" out of regard for our mode of understanding. There is also a second reason: it is "most agreeable to the revealing Oracles to conceal, through mystical and sacred enigmas," and to keep holy truth "inaccessible to the multitude," for "it is not every one that is holy" (*CH* 2.2).

The heart of the chapter is the distinction of two ways of revelation. "The method of Divine revelation is twofold; one, indeed, as is natural, proceeding through likenesses that are similar, and of a sacred character, but the other, through dissimilar forms, fashioning them into entire unlikeness and incongruity" (*CH* 2.3). Scripture calls God Word, Mind, Essence, Light, and Life; these are more reverent names, yet they "fall short of the supremely Divine similitude," for God is above every essence and life. At other times Scripture praises him as invisible, infinite, and incomprehensible, signifying "not what it is, but what it is not." From this follows a principle of the whole Dionysian theology: "If, then, the negations respecting things Divine are true, but the affirmations are inharmonious, the revelation as regards things invisible, through dissimilar representations, is more appropriate to the hiddenness of things unutterable."

Unlike images are therefore a safeguard. A beautiful image might lead us to think that the angels are no more than "men with the appearance of light" in shining garments; an incongruous image refuses to let the mind rest in it and goads it upward (*CH* 2.3). Nor is any image worthless, since nothing is "altogether deprived of participation in the beautiful," and "all things are very beautiful." Hence even passions may be predicated of the angels when rightly purified. What is called appetite in beasts signifies in the angels "their manly style, and their determined persistence"; what is called lust signifies "a Divine love of the immaterial, above expression and thought"; incontinence signifies a love for divine beauty "which nothing can repulse" (*CH* 2.4).

The same law holds of God himself. Scripture names him Sun of Righteousness and Morning Star, but also fire, water, ointment, and corner-stone, and even Lion, Panther, Leopard, and Bear, and at last a worm (*CH* 2.5; Ps 21[22]:7). These dissimilar descriptions keep divine things from the profane and keep the devout from resting "in the types as though they were true." The chapter ends by asking Timothy to guard what he receives, for it is not lawful "to cast to swine" the intelligible pearls.

The chapter has no single article of the *Summa* as its heir, but its doctrine is everywhere assumed in the treatise on the angels: the bodily images of Scripture are to be taken as signs of spiritual powers, and no image is to be taken as the angel's nature. The same principle appears where Aquinas explains the members of assumed bodies as signifying the powers of the angels, as "Dionysius teaches" (*ST* I q. 51 a. 3 ad 2; compare *CH* 15).

6.3 What is Hierarchy? and what the use of Hierarchy?

Locus: *CH* 3; PG 3, col. 164D

Reception in Aquinas: *ST* I q. 108 a. 1 obj. 2 and co.; *ST* I q. 108 a. 2 obj. 1; *ST* I q. 108 a. 4 obj. 1

The word *hierarchia*, "sacred rule" or "sacred principle," appears first in these writings, and this chapter gives its classic definition: "Hierarchy is, in my judgment, a sacred order and science and operation, assimilated, as far as attainable, to the likeness of God, and conducted to the illuminations granted to it from God, according to capacity, with a view to the Divine imitation" (*CH* 3.1). Three terms carry the definition: order (*taxis*), science (*episteme*), and

operation (*energeia*). A hierarchy is not only a ranking; it is an ordered body that knows and acts, and it exists to receive divine light and to become like God. God himself, "as simple, as good, as source of initiation," is "altogether free from any dissimilarity" and gives his light to each according to fitness.

The second section states the purpose: "The purpose, then, of Hierarchy is the assimilation and union, as far as attainable, with God, having Him Leader of all religious science and operation" (*CH* 3.2). Its members become "Divine images, mirrors most luminous and without flaw," receiving the primal light and "spreading this radiance ungrudgingly to those after it." The highest dignity of each member is "in becoming a fellow-worker with God" (1 Cor 3:9). The whole economy is summed up in a triple law: "it is an Hierarchical regulation that some are purified and that others purify; that some are enlightened and others enlighten; that some are perfected and others perfect" (*CH* 3.2). The three acts, purification, illumination, and perfection (*katharsis*, *photismos*, *teleiosis*), recur throughout the corpus. God is their source, "cleansing, illuminating, and perfecting," and is himself "above purification, above light, preeminently perfect."

The third section explains each act from both sides. Those who are purified must be freed "from all dissimilar confusion"; those who are illuminated must be filled with divine light and led to contemplation; those who are initiated must receive "that perfecting science of the sacred things contemplated." Correspondingly those who purify give from their own purity; those who illuminate, "as being more luminous intelligences," overflow toward those who are worthy; those who perfect instruct in the science of holy things. Each rank is thus led "to the Divine co-operation, by performing, through grace and God-given power," what is in God naturally and supernaturally (*CH* 3.3).

This chapter is the source of the concept that organizes *ST* I qq. 106–108. Aquinas cites its definition in the objections and answers of q. 108 a. 1, and he uses the triple law to deny that there is a hierarchy among the divine Persons: "for as Dionysius says (Coel. Hier. iii): 'The hierarchical order is so directed that some be cleansed, enlightened, and perfected; and that others cleanse, enlighten, and perfect,' " which far be it from us to say of the Persons (*ST* I q. 108 a. 1 co.). The phrase "approaches a resemblance to God, as far as may be" serves in the objection that the hierarchies belong to grace and not to nature (*ST* I q. 108 a. 4 obj. 1).

6.4 What is meant by the appellation "Angels?"

Locus: *CH* 4; PG 3, col. 177C

Reception in Aquinas: *ST* I q. 57 a. 1 co.; *ST* I q. 57 a. 5 obj. 3; *ST* I q. 106 a. 3 s.c.; *ST* I q. 111 a. 1 s.c.; *ST* I q. 113 a. 2 obj. 2

Dionysius first places the angels within creation. It was "through goodness that the superessential Godhead, having fixed all the essences of things being, brought them into being" (*CH* 4.1). All things participate in God's providence: lifeless things by their being, living things by his life-giving power, rational and intellectual things by his wisdom. The angels participate more than all others. By moulding themselves "to the Divine imitation," they "naturally have more ungrudging communications with It," receiving "the primal illuminations without earthly stain," and "having their whole life intellectual" (*CH* 4.2).

From this comes the name. They are "pre-eminently worthy of the appellation Angelic, on the ground that the supremely Divine illumination comes to them at first hand, and, through them, there pass to us manifestations above us" (*CH* 4.2). The name *angelos*, "messenger," belongs to them because they make known what they receive. Scripture bears witness: the Law was given "through the ministration of Angels" (Gal 3:19; Acts 7:53), and angels led the fathers before and after the Law, turning them from error and revealing sacred ordinances, visions, and prophecies.

The third section meets an objection. If some holy men received divine manifestations directly, how can the angels be mediators? Dionysius answers that "no one hath seen, nor ever shall see" the hidden being of God as it is in itself (John 1:18); theophanies were visions fitted to those who saw them, and "our illustrious fathers were initiated into these Divine visions, through the mediation of the Heavenly Powers." Even the Law, described as coming from God, came "through Angels, as though the Divine regulation were laying down this rule, that, through the first, the second are brought to the Divine Being" (*CH* 4.3). This is the Dionysian law of mediation, and it holds within each hierarchy as well: "there are first, and middle, and last ranks and powers, and ... the more divine are instructors and conductors of the less."

The fourth section applies the law to the mystery of the Incarnation. The angels "first were initiated in the Divine mystery of the love of Jesus towards man," and through them the knowledge passed to us. Gabriel instructed Zachary and revealed to Mary "how, in her, should be born the supremely Divine mystery of the unutterable God-formation";

an angel instructed Joseph; another brought the good news to the shepherds, and "a multitude of the Heavenly Host" sang the doxology (*CH* 4.4; Luke 1–2; Matt 1:20). Even Jesus, "the superessential Cause of the super-heavenly Beings," when he came among us did not overstep the order proper to man but received the Father's dispositions through angels, and was himself called "Angel of Great Counsel" (Isa 9:6, Septuagint), since what he heard from the Father he announced to us.

Aquinas uses the chapter for the angels' nearness to God, from which he argues that material things pre-exist in them "more simply and less materially" (*ST* I q. 57 a. 1 co.), and for the principle that "inferior things are led to God by the superior" (*ST* I q. 106 a. 3 s.c.). The revelation of divine things to men "through the ministry of the angels" is the *sed contra* of the question whether angels enlighten men (*ST* I q. 111 a. 1 s.c.).

6.5 For what reason all the Heavenly Beings are called, in common, Angels.

Locus: *CH* 5; PG 3, col. 196B

Reception in Aquinas: *ST* I q. 108 a. 5 ad 1; *ST* I q. 113 a. 3 s.c.

The short fifth chapter, undivided in Parker, asks why "Angel" names both all the heavenly beings together and, in precise speech, only the last order. Scripture calls them all angels; but "when they come to a more accurate description of the supermundane orders, they name exclusively, 'angelic rank,' that which completes the full tale of the Divine and Heavenly Hosts," and ranges above it the Archangels, Principalities, Powers, Virtues, and the orders higher still (*CH* 5).

The answer rests on a rule that runs through the whole treatise: "the superior ranks possess the illuminations and powers of their subordinates, but the lowest have not the same powers as those who are above them" (*CH* 5). The higher orders can therefore be called angels, since they too "make known the supremely Divine illumination." But the lowest order cannot be called Principalities, Thrones, or Seraphim, for "it does not possess the highest powers." The name of the lowest order is common because the lowest property is common; the names of the higher orders are proper because their excellences are not shared downward. Dionysius adds a second possible answer, that all the angelic names are common as regards the communication of all the heavenly powers toward the divine likeness, and he then turns to examine "the saintly characteristics set forth respecting each celestial Order in the Oracles."

The rule of this chapter is one of the steadiest principles of Thomist angelology. It explains why the orders are distinct and yet continuous: each higher order includes what the lower has, and adds something. Aquinas repeats it in answering why the lowest order bears the common name. "The lowest order of angels possess no excellence above the common manifestation; and therefore it is denominated from manifestation only; and thus the common name remains as it were proper to the lowest order, as Dionysius says (Coel. Hier. v)" (*ST* I q. 108 a. 5 ad 1). He states the same rule in general form in answering the question of the Thrones: "the excellence of the inferior is contained in the superior, but not conversely" (*ST* I q. 108 a. 5 ad 6).

The chapter also grounds the teaching on guardian angels. Since the angels properly so called are the order nearest to men, Aquinas can hold on Dionysius's authority that men are guarded by angels "who belong to the lowest order" (*ST* I q. 113 a. 3 s.c., citing *CH* 5 and 9; see §17.5). The name "angel," which in Scripture covers Gabriel and Michael, the Seraph of Isaias's vision, and the choirs before the throne, thus keeps a double sense. It is the common name of all who carry God's light, and the proper name of those who carry it last and nearest to us.

6.6 Which is the first Order of the Heavenly Beings? which the middle? and which the last?

Locus: *CH* 6; PG 3, col. 200C

Reception in Aquinas: *ST* I q. 56 a. 1 obj. 1; *ST* I q. 63 a. 7 obj. 1; *ST* I q. 108 a. 1 s.c.; *ST* I q. 108 a. 2 co.; *ST* I q. 108 a. 3 co.

The sixth chapter, one paragraph in Parker and two sections in Migne, gives the division of the nine orders into three triads. It opens with a confession of the limits of our knowledge. How many the orders are, and how they are ranked, "the deifying Author of their consecration alone distinctly knows"; the angels themselves know "their own proper powers and illuminations"; and we know only "so far as the Godhead has revealed to us, through them" (*CH* 6). Dionysius therefore promises to "utter nothing as from ourselves," but to set forth what the prophets have seen.

Then comes the fundamental sentence: "The Word of God has designated the whole Heavenly Beings as nine, by appellations, which shew their functions. These our Divine Initiator divides into three threefold Orders" (*CH* 6). The number nine is gathered from the names Scripture gives, and the triple division is the received interpretation of those names.

The first triad is always around God and "united closely and immediately, to Him, before all the rest." It comprises "the most Holy Thrones, and the many-eyed and many-winged hosts, named in the Hebrew tongue Cherubim and Seraphim," established "immediately around God, with a nearness superior to all." This triad is "one, and of equal rank, and really first Hierarchy, than which there is not another more Godlike or immediately nearer to the earliest illuminations of the Godhead." The second is "composed of the Authorities, and Lordships, and Powers," that is, the Powers, Dominations, and Virtues of the Latin names; the third, "as respects the lowest of the Heavenly Hierarchies," is "the Order of the Angels and Archangels and Principalities" (*CH* 6). In this chapter the names are listed from below within each triad; the proper sequence from the highest is fixed in chapters 7–9.

The chapter sets the architecture of the whole angelic order. Each triad is a hierarchy; each hierarchy contains three orders; and each order, as chapter 10 will add, has its own first, middle, and last. The scheme expresses the law of chapter 4 that the divine light passes from first to second to last, and it gives Scripture's scattered names their place in that one procession.

Aquinas takes the chapter as the *sed contra* for the plurality of hierarchies: "Dionysius (Coel. Hier. vi) distinguishes three hierarchies of angels" (*ST* I q. 108 a. 1 s.c.); and "in every hierarchy Dionysius places three orders (Coel. Hier. vi)" (*ST* I q. 108 a. 2 co.). From its opening confession he draws the principle that "our knowledge of the angels is imperfect, as Dionysius says (Coel. Hier. vi)," so that we distinguish their offices only in a general way (*ST* I q. 108 a. 3 co.). The same words, that the angels know their own powers, are turned by an objector into the claim that they do not know their own powers, which Aquinas answers (*ST* I q. 56 a. 1 obj. 1; on the ordering of the triads, §15.1).

6.7 Concerning the Seraphim and Cherubim and Thrones, and concerning their first Hierarchy.

Locus: *CH* 7; PG 3, col. 205B

Reception in Aquinas: *ST* I q. 57 a. 5 s.c.; *ST* I q. 106 a. 1 co.; *ST* I q. 107 a. 2 s.c.; *ST* I q. 108 a. 5 co., ad 5–6; *ST* I q. 108 a. 6 s.c., co.; *ST* I q. 112 a. 4 co.

Every name of the heavenly minds, Dionysius affirms, "denotes the Godlike characteristic of each"; and "those who know Hebrew affirm, that the holy designation of the Seraphim denotes either that they are kindling or burning; and that of Cherubim, a fulness of knowledge or stream of wisdom" (*CH* 7.1). The first triad is ministered "by the most exalted Beings," established immediately around God, to whom the first divine manifestations pass "as being nearest."

The three names are then opened one by one. The name Seraphim teaches "their ever moving around things Divine, and constancy, and warmth, and keenness," their power to kindle the lower orders "to the same heat," to purify "through fire and burnt-offering," and a light that "destroys and dispels every kind of obscure darkness." The name Cherubim denotes "their knowledge and their vision of God, and their readiness to receive the highest gift of light," and their "ungrudging communication to those next to them, by the stream of the given wisdom." The name Thrones denotes "their manifest exaltation above every grovelling inferiority," their "invariable and firmly-fixed settlement around the veritable Highest," and "their bearing God" (*CH* 7.1).

The second section describes the hierarchy of the triad. Its members are pure, not as cleansed from stains, but as "far exalted above every stain of remissness"; they are "never liable to fall, and always unmoved." They are contemplative, not through sensible symbols, but "filled with all kinds of immaterial knowledge of higher light," and "deemed worthy of the Communion with Jesus" in first participation of his illuminations. They are perfected, not by analytic science, but by "a first and pre-eminent deification." They receive all this "not through other holy Beings, but being ministered from the very Godhead" (*CH* 7.2).

The third section shows from Scripture that even the highest learn. Some angels are taught by higher ones that the one "raised to Heaven as Man, is Lord of the Heavenly Powers and King of Glory" (Ps 23[24]:10); others question Jesus himself, "Wherefore are Thy garments red?" (Isa 63:2), and he teaches them immediately. Dionysius marvels that they first raise the question "among themselves," not anticipating the illumination. For the first triad, "the reception of the supremely Divine Science is, both purification, and enlightenment, and perfecting" (*CH* 7.3). The fourth section describes the triad as the rank that "dances round His eternal knowledge in the most exalted ever-moving

stability," and recalls its hymns: "Blessed is the glory of the Lord from His place" (Ezek 3:12) and "Holy, Holy, Holy, Lord of Sabaoth, the whole earth is full of His glory" (Isa 6:3), treated at length in the lost "Treatise concerning the Divine Hymns" (*CH* 7.4).

No chapter is cited more often in the *Summa*. Aquinas takes from it the rule that "the proper name of each order expresses its property" (*ST* I q. 108 a. 5 co.), the exposition of Seraphim from the properties of fire and of Cherubim as "fulness of knowledge" (ad 5), and of Thrones by their relation to material seats (ad 6). Its sequence, Seraphim, Cherubim, Thrones, is the *sed contra* of q. 108 a. 6. The questioning angels of Isaias and the Psalm ground the teaching that angels learn the mysteries of grace (*ST* I q. 57 a. 5 s.c.) and that the lower speak to the higher (*ST* I q. 107 a. 2 s.c.).

6.8 Concerning Lordships and Powers and Authorities, and concerning their middle Hierarchy.

Locus: *CH* 8; PG 3, col. 237B

Reception in Aquinas: *ST* I q. 106 a. 1 s.c.; *ST* I q. 108 a. 5 ad 1–3; *ST* I q. 112 a. 4 obj. 1, s.c.

The middle triad comprises the Dominations, Virtues, and Powers, Parker's "Lordships," "Powers," and "Authorities." Dionysius approaches them "with supermundane eyes," calling their visions "truly terrible," and repeats that "each appellation of the Beings above us manifests their God-imitating characteristics of the Divine Likeness" (*CH* 8.1).

The Dominations (*kyriotetes*) are named for "a certain unslavish elevation, free from all grovelling subserviency," superior to every kind of servility, "ever aspiring to the true Lordship, and source of Lordship," and moulding themselves and those after them to its lordly bearing. The Virtues (*dynameis*) are named for "a certain courageous and unflinching virility" in all their godlike energies, not weak for the reception of any illumination, "unflinchingly looking to the superessential and powerful-making power," and passing on power to those next in degree. The Powers (*exousiai*), "of the same rank as the Divine Lordships and Powers," are named for "the beautiful and unconfused good order, with regard to the Divine receptions," an authority "not using the authoritative powers imperiously for base purposes," but leading those after it "benignly" (*CH* 8.1). The middle triad is purified, illuminated, and perfected "by the Divine illuminations vouchsafed to it at second hand, through the first Hierarchical Order."

The second section explains why mediated light is dimmer. "The fulness of Divine things manifested directly to ourselves is more perfecting than the Divine contemplations imparted through others"; hence the first minds are called "perfecting, and illuminating, and purifying Powers of the subordinate." This is "divinely fixed absolutely by the Divine source of order that, through the first, the second partake of the supremely Divine illuminations" (*CH* 8.2). Scripture shows it in many places. In Zacharias one angel, near God, learns the comforting words and a lower angel comes to meet him to receive them (Zech 1–2). In Ezechiel the man clothed in linen, "bound about the loins with a sapphire," receives the judgment on Jerusalem first and the angels with the battle-axes are instructed from him (Ezek 9). The Cherub casts fire into the hands of him who wears the sacred vestment (Ezek 10:7), and a voice commands Gabriel, "Make this man understand the vision" (Dan 8:16). By imitating this order "the discipline of our Hierarchy will have the Angelic comeliness, as it were, in reflection."

Aquinas uses the chapter both for the doctrine of illumination and for the names. "The angels of the second hierarchy are cleansed, enlightened and perfected by the angels of the first hierarchy" is the *sed contra* of the question whether one angel enlightens another (*ST* I q. 106 a. 1 s.c.). The name "virtues" signifies "a certain virile and immovable strength"; "Domination" means "a certain liberty, free from servile condition and common subjection"; and "Power" signifies a kind of ordination (*ST* I q. 108 a. 5 ad 1–3). Because the Dominations are "above all subjection," Aquinas holds with Dionysius that they are not sent to outward ministry (*ST* I q. 112 a. 4 s.c.).

6.9 Concerning the Principalities, Archangels, and Angels, and concerning their last Hierarchy.

Locus: *CH* 9; PG 3, col. 257B

Reception in Aquinas: *ST* I q. 108 a. 5 ad 3–4; *ST* I q. 108 a. 6 obj. 4; *ST* I q. 113 a. 3 s.c.

The last triad "completes the Angelic Hierarchies" and is divided "into the Godlike Principalities, Archangels, and Angels" (*CH* 9.1). The name of the Principalities (*archai*) manifests "their princely and leading function, after the Divine example," their being "wholly turned to the super-princely Prince, and leading others in princely fashion."

The Archangels hold the middle place. Since "there is not a Hierarchy which does not possess first and middle and last powers, the holy order of Archangels occupies the middle position," sharing with the Principalities their turning in princely fashion toward God, and with the Angels their office of messengers, "receiving hierarchically the Divine illuminations from the first powers, and announcing the same to the Angels" (*CH* 9.2). The Angels complete the whole series; they are "more properly named Angels by us than those of higher degree, because their Hierarchy is occupied with the more manifest, and is more particularly concerned with the things of the world." The first triad directs the second hiddenly; the second leads the third "more clearly indeed than the first Hierarchy, but more hiddenly than the Order after it"; and the third "presides, through each other, over the Hierarchies amongst men."

Here the treatise gives its teaching on the angels of the nations. Scripture "has assigned our Hierarchy to Angels, by naming Michael as Ruler of the Jewish people, and others over other nations. For the Most High established borders of nations according to number of Angels of God" (*CH* 9.2; Dan 10:13, 21; Deut 32:8, Septuagint). If only the Hebrews were led to the true God, the blame lies not with the guiding angels but with the nations, which "by their own declension, fell away" through self-conceit and irrational veneration (*CH* 9.3). The divine ray is always one and overflowing; the inaptitude of those who receive it makes their share small or great. Melchizedek, a hierarch "most dear to God" outside Israel, shows that the true God had worshippers among the nations.

The fourth section adds the angels who presided over Egypt and Babylon, through whom visions were given to Pharaoh and Nebuchadnezzar, with Joseph and Daniel appointed to interpret them. "For there is one Prince and Providence over all." We must never think "that the Godhead is leader of Jews by lot," while angels or other gods rule the nations independently. The providence of the Most High assigned all mankind "savingly, to the directing conduct of their own Angels"; Israel, almost alone, turned to the true Lord and "became Lord's portion" (Deut 32:9), and Michael "became leader of the (Jewish) people" (*CH* 9.4).

Aquinas takes from this chapter that the name Principalities signifies "one who leads in a sacred order," and that the Archangels stand "between the 'Principalities' and the 'Angels,' " being "princes as regards the 'Angels,' and angels as regards the Principalities" (*ST* I q. 108 a. 5 ad 3–4). The same place in the scale is set against Gregory's order in *ST* I q. 108 a. 6 obj. 4. The doctrine of guardians from the lowest order is argued from this chapter with chapter 5 (*ST* I q. 113 a. 3 s.c.).

6.10 A Repetition and Summary of the Angelic discipline.

Locus: *CH* 10; PG 3, col. 272D

Reception in Aquinas: *ST* I q. 50 a. 4 s.c.; *ST* I q. 108 a. 3 ad 1; *ST* I q. 113 a. 2 obj. 3; *ST* I q. 113 a. 3 ad 1

The tenth chapter gathers the preceding teaching into a single law. The first order, "ministered by the perfecting illumination through its immediate elevation to it," is purified, illuminated, and perfected "by a gift of light from the Godhead, more hidden and more manifest"; more hidden because more intelligible, simple, and unifying, more manifest because it is "a first gift and a first manifestation" (*CH* 10.1). From the first order the second is led, from the second the third, and from the third "our Hierarchy," to "the super-original Origin and End of all good order, according to the self-same law of well-ordered regularity, in Divine harmony and proportion."

The second section states the principle of interpretation: "all Angels are interpreters of those above them, the most reverend, indeed, of God, Who moves them, and the rest, in due degree, of those who have been moved by God" (*CH* 10.2). Every hierarchy is distributed "into first, and middle, and last Powers," and each division within it is ordered by the same harmony. Dionysius finds this even within the highest order: "the theologians say that the most Divine Seraphim cry one to another" (Isa 6:3), "indicating distinctly, as I think by this, that the first impart

their knowledge of divine things to the second." The *Sanctus* of Isaias's vision is not only praise; it is also the first instruction in heaven.

The third section extends the law to every rational mind. "Each heavenly and human mind has within itself its own special first, and middle, and last ranks, and powers," according to which it participates "in the most spotless purification, the most copious light, the pre-eminent perfection." The chapter ends: "there is nothing that is self-perfect, or absolutely without need of perfecting, except the really Self-perfect and preeminently Perfect" (*CH* 10.3). The hierarchical order is therefore not only above us but also within us, since the soul's own powers are ordered to receive the divine light by degrees.

The summary shows how tightly the Dionysian vision is woven. The nine orders, the three triads, and the three acts of purification, illumination, and perfection are one pattern repeated at every scale: between the triads, among the orders of a triad, among the members of an order, and within each mind. God alone stands outside the pattern as its source, and every creature within it is at once receiver and, according to its rank, giver.

Aquinas uses the chapter above all for the gradation within a single order. "Dionysius says (Coel. Hier. x) that in one and the same order of angels there are those who are first, middle, and last" (*ST* I q. 108 a. 3 ad 1). The same text, cited as *Hier. Ang.* x, is the *sed contra* for the thesis that angels of one order differ in species (*ST* I q. 50 a. 4 s.c.; see §8.1), and it returns in the question of guardians, where Aquinas holds that "in each order there are first, middle, and last" and that the greater angels probably guard those chosen by God for greater glory (*ST* I q. 113 a. 3 ad 1).

6.11 For what reason all the Heavenly Beings, in common, are called Heavenly Powers.

Locus: *CH* 11; PG 3, col. 284B

Reception in Aquinas: *ST* I q. 54 a. 3 s.c.

Chapter 5 asked why all the heavenly beings are called angels; chapter 11 asks the parallel question why they are all called "Heavenly Powers" (*ouraniai dynameis*), since the order of Virtues, Parker's "Powers," is not the last. "For it is not possible to say, as we may of the Angels, that the Order of the holy Powers is last of all" (*CH* 11.1). The answer again uses the rule of inclusion: "The Orders of the superior Beings share in the saintly illumination of the last; but the last in no wise of the first; and on this account all the Divine Minds are called Heavenly Powers, but never Seraphim and Thrones and Lordships." The orders below them, the Virtues, Powers, Principalities, Archangels, and Angels, "are often in common called by us, in conjunction with the other holy Beings, Heavenly Powers."

The second section gives a deeper reason and guards against confusion. The common name does not mix the properties of the orders. "Inasmuch as all the Divine Minds, by the supermundane description given of them, are distributed into three,—into essence, and power, and energy," whenever we speak of them all or some of them as heavenly beings or heavenly powers, we name them in a general way "from their essence or power severally" (*CH* 11.2). Every angel has a being, a power, and an operation (*ousia*, *dynamis*, *energeia*); to call all angels "powers" is to name them from the second of these. What is proper to the higher orders must not be applied to the lower "so as to overthrow the unconfused order of the Angelic ranks," for "the superior Orders possess abundantly the sacred characteristics of the inferior, but the lowest do not possess the superior completeness of the more reverend."

The triad of essence, power, and operation passes from this chapter into the metaphysics of the angel. It supplies the *sed contra* of the article asking whether the angel's power of intelligence is its essence: "Dionysius says (Coel. Hier. xi) that 'the angels are divided into substance, power, and operation.' Therefore substance, power, and operation, are all distinct in them" (*ST* I q. 54 a. 3 s.c.). Aquinas concludes that "neither in an angel nor in any creature, is the power or operative faculty the same as its essence" (*ST* I q. 54 a. 3 co.; see §10.1). A passing remark in Dionysius on a question of names thus becomes, in the *Summa*, a principle of the real distinction between the angel's substance and its faculties.

The chapter also explains the language of Scripture and liturgy. The Psalms bid "all ye his hosts" and "powers" bless the Lord, and the Preface joins the Church's praise to that of the heavenly powers. The common name does not deny the order of the choirs; it names what all of them share. Each angel, from the Seraph to the guardian, is a power of God in the sense that it has from God a strength proportioned to its being and directed to its work.

6.12 Why the Hierarchs amongst men are called Angels.

Locus: *CH* 12; PG 3, col. 292C

Reception in Aquinas: *ST* I q. 55 a. 3 s.c.; *ST* I q. 106 a. 4 obj. 1

The prophet Malachi calls the priest "the angel of the Lord of hosts" (Mal 2:7), and the Apocalypse addresses letters to the angels of the seven churches (Apoc 2–3). Dionysius asks how this can be, since the lowest orders lack the completeness of the higher: "for what reason is our Hierarch named by the Oracles, 'Angel of the Sovereign Lord?' " (*CH* 12.1).

The answer refines the rule of inclusion. The last "lack the complete and pre-eminent Power of the more reverend Divisions; for they participate in the partial and analogous, according to the one harmonious and binding fellowship of all things" (*CH* 12.2). The Cherubim participate in higher wisdom and knowledge; the orders beneath them participate in wisdom and knowledge too, "but nevertheless partially, as compared with them, and in a lower degree." Participation in wisdom is common "to all the minds which bear the image of God"; what is not common is the degree of nearness. "As the first possess abundantly the saintly characteristics of the inferior, so the last possess those of the superior, not indeed in the same degree, but subordinately." So the bishop is rightly called angel, "since he participates, according to his own capacity, in the messenger characteristic of the Angels, and elevates himself, as far as attainable to men, to the likeness of their revealing office."

The third section goes further. Scripture "calls gods, both the Heavenly Beings above us, and the most beloved of God, and holy men amongst us" (Ps 81[82]:6; John 10:34), although the divine hiddenness is established above all and no creature can properly be said to be like it, "except those intellectual and rational Beings who are entirely and wholly turned to Its Oneness as far as possible" and are "deemed worthy of the same divine name" (*CH* 12.3). The name of a higher order may be given to a lower one by participation; so also the name of God may be given to creatures who imitate him.

The chapter joins the two hierarchies of the Dionysian corpus. The bishop who purifies, illuminates, and perfects through the sacraments does in the Church what the angels do in heaven, and for that reason receives their name. The bond between them is not a metaphor but a real participation in one office of making God known.

Aquinas cites the chapter for its teaching on the gradation of angelic knowledge rather than for the title of bishops. "Dionysius says (Coel. Hier. xii) that the higher angels have a more universal knowledge than the lower" (*ST* I q. 55 a. 3 s.c.), which grounds the article on the universality of the species by which angels understand (see §10.2). An objector uses the same text to argue that a higher angel does not enlighten a lower concerning all it knows (*ST* I q. 106 a. 4 obj. 1). Aquinas's own doctrine that a perfection is had by property, by excess, or by participation, set out in *ST* I q. 108 a. 5 co., gives the terms in which the Dionysian "partial and analogous" sharing is received.

6.13 For what reason the Prophet Isaias is said to have been purified by the Seraphim.

Locus: *CH* 13; PG 3, col. 300B

Reception in Aquinas: *ST* I q. 112 a. 2 s.c., co., ad 2; *ST* I q. 113 a. 2 obj. 2

Isaias says that "one of the seraphims flew to me, and in his hand was a live coal" (Isa 6:6). The difficulty is plain: if the higher orders are not sent, why is the prophet cleansed not by one of the lower angels but by one "enrolled amongst the most reverend Beings" (*CH* 13.1)? Dionysius offers two answers and leaves the reader to weigh them.

The first answer is that the angel sent was one of the angels "placed over us as a sacred Minister of the Prophet's cleansing," called by the name of the Seraphim "on the ground that the removal of the faults spoken of ... was through fire" (*CH* 13.2). The name follows the office: a lower angel who purifies with fire may be called a Seraph.

The second answer, received from "another man" whose defence was "by no means foolish," is that the angel who formed the vision "referred his own cleansing function to God, and after God, to the first working Hierarchy" (*CH* 13.3). Divine power reaches all things, yet is given first to the highest beings and through them to the lower. Two comparisons illustrate the law. The sun's ray passes easily through the most transparent matter and grows dim in denser matter; the heat of fire passes chiefly to things receptive of it and through them to things less easily heated. So there is for all who are illuminated one source of light, God, "by nature, and really, and properly"; but "by ordinance, and for Divine imitation, the relatively superior" is source for each after it. Hence the lower angels refer every holy energy "to God indeed as Cause, but to the first Godlike Minds, as first agents and teachers of things Divine."

The fourth section reads the vision itself. Through an angel set over us the prophet was raised to see the highest beings "seated ... under God, and with God, and around God," and God enthroned above them all. From the six wings, the feet, the faces, and the ceaseless motion he learned the Seraphim's power of penetration and their reverence; he was taught the mysteries of the hymn of praise; and he learned that purification, like every divine operation, passes to all "through the first Beings." Therefore the angel "attributes his own purifying science and power to God, indeed, as Cause, but to the Seraphim as first-operating Hierarch," just as a bishop is said to purify when he purifies through his priests (*CH* 13.4). Dionysius ends by asking Timothy to judge between the answers, or to find a truer one.

Gregory the Great knew this chapter and cited Dionysius for the rule that the higher choirs do not leave the inner presence of God (Gregory, *Hom. in Ev.* 34.12). Aquinas adopts it through Gregory: "with Dionysius (Coel. Hier. xiii) we must say, without any distinction, that the superior angels are never sent to the external ministry," and he gives both of Dionysius's answers to Isaias: the angel sent "was one of the inferior order; but was called a 'Seraph,' that is, 'kindling' in an equivocal sense"; or the superior angels communicate their proper gifts through the ministry of the inferior, so that a Seraph purifies the prophet's lips "not as if he did so immediately, but because an inferior angel did so by his power" (*ST* I q. 112 a. 2 co., ad 2; see §16.4).

6.14 What the traditional number of the Angels signifies.

Locus: *CH* 14; PG 3, col. 321A

Reception in Aquinas: *ST* I q. 50 a. 3 co.; *ST* I q. 112 a. 4 ad 2

The shortest chapter treats the number of the angels. "The tradition of the Oracles concerning the Angels affirms that they are thousand thousands, and myriad myriads" (Dan 7:10; Apoc 5:11), "accumulating and multiplying, to themselves, the supreme limits of our numbers, and, through these, shewing clearly, that the ranks of the Heavenly Beings cannot be numbered by us" (*CH* 14). The figures of Scripture are not a census. They take the highest numbers known to us and multiply them by themselves, to say that the number of the angels exceeds every count we can make.

Dionysius gives the reason: "many are the blessed hosts of the supermundane minds, surpassing the weak and contracted measurement of our material number." They are known precisely only "by their own supermundane and heavenly intelligence and science alone," which is given them "by the supremely Divine and Omniscient Framer of Wisdom," the cause and bond and term "of all created things together" (*CH* 14). The number of the angels is not unknown to God, who made them and holds them in being; and it is known to the angels themselves by the knowledge God gives them. It is unknown to us because our numbering is material.

The chapter supports a firm tradition of the Church. Daniel sees "thousands of thousands" ministering and "ten thousand times a hundred thousand" standing before the Ancient of Days (Dan 7:10), and the Lord speaks of "more than twelve legions of angels" at his command (Matt 26:53). The Fathers read these as signs of an immense multitude, and the nine orders are therefore nine orders of countless spirits, not nine spirits.

Aquinas makes the chapter the conclusion of his argument on the multitude of the angels. Since the perfection of the universe is chiefly intended by God, the more perfect things are, the more they are created in excess; the angels, being immaterial, exceed all material multitude. "This is what Dionysius says (Coel. Hier. xiv): 'There are many blessed armies of the heavenly intelligences, surpassing the weak and limited reckoning of our material numbers' " (*ST* I q. 50 a. 3 co.; see §8.1). Corderius's note in Migne on this chapter points to the same article. In the question of the angels' missions Aquinas returns to it: Dionysius "declares that the multitude of angels surpasses all the multitude of material things," and reads the thousands and ten thousands of Daniel so that those who assist outnumber those who minister, "because whatever is better is more intended and more multiplied by God" (*ST* I q. 112 a. 4 ad 2; see §16.4). The multitude of angels is thus common teaching, grounded in Scripture and received in the Church from Dionysius through the schools.

6.15 What are the morphic likenesses of the Angelic Powers? what the fiery? what the anthromorphic? . . .

Locus: *CH* 15; PG 3, col. 325D

Reception in Aquinas: *ST* I q. 51 a. 3 ad 2; *ST* I q. 106 a. 1 co.; *ST* I q. 106 a. 4 s.c.; *ST* I q. 107 a. 5 obj. 3

The last and longest chapter returns to the images with which the treatise began, now reading them one by one. Its title lists them: fire, the human form, eyes, nostrils, ears, mouths, hands, heart, feet, wings, garments, girdles, rods, spears, winds, clouds, brass, stones, lion, ox, eagle, horses, rivers, chariots, wheels, and "the so-called joy of the Angels." The first section sets a key: the same ranks are shown "sometimes ruling, and, at other times, as being ruled," since each order is ruled by those above and rules those below, and all participate "in the providential faculty to provide for those below them" (*CH* 15.1).

Fire comes first because Scripture prefers it: wheels of fire, living creatures of fire, rivers of flame, fiery thrones, and the Seraphim whose name means burning. "The similitude of fire denotes the likeness of the Heavenly Minds to God in the highest degree" (*CH* 15.2). Sensible fire is in everything and unmingled with anything, luminous yet hidden, "ever moving, self-moving, moving other things," present to all invisibly and undiminished in giving itself; it is therefore apt to signify the divine energy and the angels who imitate it.

The human form signifies the intellectual faculty, the power of looking upward, and the ruling of creatures "by their superior power of mind" (*CH* 15.3). Each member is then read: sight as "the most transparent elevation towards the Divine lights," hearing as the reception of divine inspiration, touch as discrimination, the eyelids as guarding "the conceptions which see God," the hands as "the power of making, and operating, and accomplishing," the heart as "a symbol of the Godlike life," and the feet under the wings as "the moving and quickness" of their progress to divine things. Of the teeth Dionysius writes that "each intellectual Being divides and multiplies, by a provident faculty, the unified conception given to it by the more Divine for the proportionate elevation of the inferior."

Garments and instruments follow (*CH* 15.4–5): shining raiment signifies the divine likeness after the image of fire; the priestly robe, their leading to mystical visions; girdles, the guarding of their powers; rods, "the kingly and directing faculty"; spears and axes, the discerning of unlike things; measuring instruments, their building and guiding care. They are called winds for their swift action and clouds because they are "filled super-mundanely with the hidden Light" (15.6). Brass, electrum, and coloured stones signify brilliance and fire (15.7); the lion signifies the leading and indomitable, the ox the strong and mature, the eagle the kingly and soaring gaze toward the divine sun, and horses obedience (15.7–8). The rivers of fire are divine streams, the chariots the communion of equals, and the winged wheels their straight advance; the name given to the wheels, "Gel, Gel," "shews, according to the Hebrew tongue, revolutions and revelations" (Ezek 10:13; *CH* 15.9). The angels' joy is no passion but a "Godlike and ungrudging rejoicing" over those who turn to God (Luke 15:10). What cannot be explained, the treatise concludes, "we have honoured by silence."

Aquinas takes from the chapter his principle of the communication of knowledge downward: "Every intellectual substance with provident power divides and multiplies the uniform knowledge bestowed on it" (*ST* I q. 106 a. 1 co.; compare a. 4 s.c.). The bodily members of assumed bodies signify angelic powers, "as Dionysius teaches" (*ST* I q. 51 a. 3 ad 2; see §9.1).

7 The Fathers after Dionysius

From Gregory the Great to the Carolingian schools the Latin Church received its teaching on the angels chiefly from one pope. Gregory preached the nine orders to the people of Rome, named the office proper to each, explained why Michael, Gabriel, and Raphael bear the names they bear, and set the fall of the first angel and the confirmation of the rest at the centre of his long exposition of Job. Isidore of Seville gathered Gregory's teaching and Augustine's into the definitions and sentences that the Latin schools copied for centuries; the Venerable Bede carried both into his commentaries on Luke and the Apocalypse and into the history of the English Church, where angels meet the dying and carry the souls of the just; and Rabanus Maurus handed Isidore's chapter and Gregory's homily together to the schools of the Carolingian age. From these witnesses the West learned that "angel" is the name of an office and not of a nature, that the heavenly city is built of angels and men, that the elect are gathered into the choirs according to the likeness of their lives, that some spirits stand before God while others are sent, that the prince of the fallen was the first of the works of God and fell by pride, and that the angels who stood were made firm by his fall.

Aquinas draws on them in his questions on the bodies of angels, their knowledge, their fall, their speech, their orders, their government of the world, their missions, and their guardianship (for the Greek line after Dionysius, with John Damascene, see §21).

7.1 Gregory the Great

Gregory, a monk before he was bishop of Rome and a preacher while he governed the Roman Church, left three works in which the angels stand at the centre. The forty *Homilies on the Gospels*, preached to the Roman people in the basilicas of the city, include the sermon on the lost sheep and the lost drachma in which he laid out the nine orders of angels, their names, and their ministries. The thirty-five books of the *Morals on Job*, addressed to Leander, bishop of Seville, expound the angels who stand before God and are sent, the prince of the nations, the number of the heavenly host, and the pride and ruin of Behemoth and Leviathan, whom Gregory reads as the first of the angels. The fourth book of the *Dialogues* gathers the testimonies of his own Roman world to the life of the soul after death, and there the angels come to the dying and receive the souls of the just.[14] Aquinas cites Gregory more often than any Latin Father but Augustine in his questions on the angels, and his account of the orders (*ST* I q. 108 aa. 5–6) is a comparison of Gregory and Dionysius.

7.1.1 The lost sheep and the ten drachmas

Gregory preached the thirty-fourth homily in the basilica of Saints John and Paul on the third Sunday after Pentecost, on the parables of the lost sheep and the lost drachma (Luke 15:1–10). He reads the shepherd as the Creator of both natures: *Quia enim centenarius perfectus est numerus, ipse centum oves habuit cum angelorum substantiam et hominum creavit.* A hundred is the perfect number, and the Lord had a hundred sheep when he created the substance of angels and of men. One sheep perished when man, by sinning, left the pastures of life; the ninety-nine left in the desert are *illos summos angelorum choros*, the highest choirs of the angels, left in heaven. Heaven is called a desert because it was deserted: man abandoned it when he sinned. The number of the rational creature made to see God was lessened when man perished, *et ut perfecta summa ovium integraretur in coelo, homo perditus quaerebatur in terra*—and that the perfect sum of the sheep might be made whole in heaven, lost man was sought on earth (*Hom. in Ev.* 34.3). The shepherd lays the sheep on his shoulders because in taking human nature he bore our sins, and he goes home because, man being restored, he returned to the heavenly kingdom. There he finds his friends and neighbours, the choirs of angels: friends, *quia voluntatem ejus continue in sua stabilitate custodiunt*, because they keep his will continually in their steadfastness; neighbours, *quia claritate visionis illius sua assiduitate perfruuntur*, because they enjoy the brightness of his vision without ceasing. He does not say *Congratulamini inventae ovi*, rejoice with the sheep that is found, but *Mihi*, with me, *quia videlicet ejus gaudium est vita nostra*: our life is his joy, and when we are brought back to heaven we fill up the solemnity of his gladness (34.3).

The joy "before the angels of God upon one sinner doing penance" (Luke 15:10) is the joy of the captain who loves the soldier who fled and returned to press the enemy hard more than the one who never turned his back and never did a brave deed (34.4); yet the just who weep over sins of thought as others weep over sins of deed give heaven a joy that no penance of sinners surpasses (34.5).

The woman who lost one of her ten drachmas is the Wisdom of God. The drachma bears an image, and man, made to the image of God, lost it when he withdrew by sin from the likeness of his Maker. The woman lights a lamp because the Wisdom of God appeared in humanity: the lamp is light in an earthen vessel, the Godhead in the flesh. When she has found the drachma she calls her friends and neighbours, *illae potestates coelestes … quae tanto supernae sapientiae juxta sunt, quanto ei per gratiam continuae visionis appropinquant*—the heavenly powers, near to the Wisdom above in the measure that they approach it by the grace of continual vision. And the ten drachmas declare the number of the rational creation:

> *Angelorum quippe et hominum naturam ad cognoscendum se Dominus condidit, quam dum consistere ad aeternitatem voluit, eam procul dubio ad suam similitudinem creavit. Decem vero drachmas habuit*

[14] The Latin of the *Homilies on the Gospels* follows the text transcribed on Latin Wikisource, checked against H. Hurter's edition (Innsbruck, 1892), cited by homily and section. The *Morals* are quoted in the Oxford translation of the Library of the Fathers (1844–1850), cited by book, chapter, and section, or by book and section (§) where the translation marks no chapter. The *Dialogues* are quoted in the English of 1608 as re-edited by E. G. Gardner (London, 1911), whose chapter numbers are used.

mulier, quia novem sunt ordines angelorum. Sed ut compleretur electorum numerus, homo decimus est creatus, qui a conditore suo nec post culpam periit. (*Hom. in Ev.* 34.6)

The Lord made the nature of angels and of men to know him, and since he willed it to endure for eternity he created it to his likeness. The woman had ten drachmas because there are nine orders of angels, and man was created the tenth so that the number of the elect might be complete; nor did man perish to his Creator even after his fault, for eternal Wisdom, shining with miracles in the flesh, restored him by the light of the lamp.

7.1.2 The nine orders gathered from Scripture

Gregory then shows from Scripture that the orders are nine:

> *Novem vero angelorum ordines diximus, quia videlicet esse, testante sacro eloquio, scimus angelos, archangelos, virtutes, potestates, principatus, dominationes, thronos, cherubim, atque seraphim.* (*Hom. in Ev.* 34.7)

We have said there are nine orders because, on the witness of Holy Writ, we know that there are angels, archangels, virtues, powers, principalities, dominations, thrones, cherubim, and seraphim. Angels and archangels appear on almost every page of Scripture, cherubim and seraphim in the prophets; Paul names four orders to the Ephesians, "above all principality and power and virtue and dominion" (Eph 1:21), and to the Colossians adds the thrones, "whether thrones, or dominations, or principalities, or powers" (Col 1:16). Five orders named by the Apostle and four by the rest of Scripture make nine: *procul dubio novem esse angelorum ordines inveniuntur* (34.7).

The prophet confirms the number in his lament over the first angel. To him it is said, "Thou wast the seal of resemblance, full of wisdom, and perfect in beauty" (Ezek 28:12), and Gregory weighs the phrase:

> *Ubi notandum quod non ad similitudinem Dei factus, sed signaculum similitudinis dicitur, ut quo in eo subtilior est natura, eo in illo imago Dei similius insinuetur expressa.* (*Hom. in Ev.* 34.7)

He is not said to be made to the likeness of God, but to be the seal of the likeness, so that the subtler his nature, the more closely the image of God is shown impressed upon him. The prophet adds at once, "every precious stone was thy covering: the sardius, the topaz, and the jasper, the chrysolite, and the onyx, and the beryl, the sapphire, and the carbuncle, and the emerald" (Ezek 28:13). *Ecce novem dixit nomina lapidum, quia profecto novem sunt ordines angelorum.* He named nine stones because there are nine orders of angels; and the first angel was adorned and covered with them, *quia dum cunctis agminibus angelorum praelatus est, ex eorum comparatione clarior fuit*, because, being set over all the hosts of angels, he was the brighter by comparison with them (34.7). Aquinas makes this sentence the authority of his *sed contra* when he asks whether the highest angel who sinned was the highest of all, and he judges Gregory's answer "the more probable view" against Damascene's opinion that the chief of the fallen was set over the earthly order (*ST* I q. 63 a. 7; §13.1).

Gregory's list ascends: angels, archangels, virtues, powers, principalities, dominations, thrones, cherubim, seraphim. Dionysius, whom Gregory knew and names in the same homily, sets the virtues between the dominations and the powers, and the principalities between the powers and the archangels. Aquinas determines that the two orderings agree "as regards all except the 'Principalities' and 'Virtues,' " that each "may claim authority from the words of the Apostle"—Dionysius from Ephesians, which ranks the virtues between the powers and the dominations, Gregory from Colossians, which sets the principalities between the dominations and the powers—and that "little or no difference exists in reality" between them, since Gregory's virtues, who work miracles, answer to the Dionysian principalities, and the Dionysian virtues, who give strength to the lower spirits, to Gregory's principalities (*ST* I q. 108 a. 6 and ad 4; §15.1; Appendix B).

7.1.3 The name of an office

Having counted the choirs, Gregory turns to their ministries:

Graeca etenim lingua angeli nuntii, archangeli vero summi nuntii, vocantur. Sciendum quoque quod angelorum vocabulum, nomen est officii, non naturae. Nam sancti illi coelestis patriae spiritus semper quidem sunt spiritus, sed semper vocari angeli nequaquam possunt, quia tunc solum sunt angeli, cum per eos aliqua nuntiantur. (*Hom. in Ev.* 34.8)

The holy spirits of the heavenly country are always spirits, but they are angels, messengers, only when something is announced through them; so the Psalmist says, "Who makest thy angels spirits" (Ps 103[104]:4), that is, those whom he always has as spirits he makes angels when he wills. Those who announce the least things are angels, those who announce the highest are archangels, and so the archangel Gabriel was sent to the Virgin Mary (Luke 1:26): *Ad hoc quippe ministerium summum angelum venire dignum fuerat, qui summum omnium nuntiabat*—it was fitting that the highest angel should come to this ministry, since he announced the highest of all things (34.8). The Catechism teaches the same distinction in Augustine's words: "angel" is the name of their office, "spirit" the name of their nature (CCC 329).

The same rule governs the proper names. The angels do not receive names in the holy city as though their persons could not be known there without them, for that city is made perfect by full knowledge from the vision of almighty God; *sed cum ad nos aliquid ministraturi veniunt, apud nos etiam nomina a ministeriis trahunt*—but when they come to us to minister, they draw their names among us from their ministries (34.8).

Michael namque, quis ut Deus; Gabriel autem, fortitudo Dei; Raphael vero dicitur medicina Dei. (*Hom. in Ev.* 34.9)

Whenever a work of wonderful power is done, Michael, Who is like God, is said to be sent, so that the deed and the name together teach that no one can do what God can do. The ancient enemy who said, "I will ascend into heaven, ... I will be like the most High" (Isa 14:13–14), will at the end of the world fight with the archangel, as John saw: "Michael and his angels fought with the dragon" (Apoc 12:7).

ut qui se ad Dei similitudinem superbus extulerat, per Michaelem peremptus discat, quia ad Dei similitudinem per superbiam nullus exsurgat. (*Hom. in Ev.* 34.9)

He who proudly raised himself to the likeness of God will learn, slain by Michael, that no one rises to God's likeness by pride. Gabriel, the strength of God, is sent to Mary because *illum quippe nuntiare veniebat, qui ad debellandas aereas potestates humilis apparere dignatus est*: he came to announce him who deigned to appear humble in order to overthrow the powers of the air, "the Lord mighty in battle" and "the Lord of hosts" (Ps 23[24]:8, 10). Raphael, the medicine of God, touched the eyes of Tobias and wiped away the darkness of his blindness (Tob 11; 34.9). The Congregation for Divine Worship, in its *Directory on Popular Piety and the Liturgy* (2001), discourages assigning names to the holy angels other than these three, which Holy Scripture gives (no. 217; §23).

Gregory then runs through the names of the other orders, each taken from its office (34.10). The *virtues* are those spirits *per quos signa et miracula frequentius fiunt*, through whom signs and miracles are most often done. The *powers* have received this more mightily than the rest of their order, *ut eorum ditioni virtutes adversae subjectae sint, quorum potestate refrenantur, ne corda hominum tantum tentare praevaleant quantum volunt*: the adverse powers are subject to their rule and are curbed by their power, lest they tempt the hearts of men as much as they wish. The *principalities* preside over the good spirits themselves and, disposing what is to be done, lead the others in fulfilling the divine ministries. The *dominations* surpass the principalities and powers by a lofty difference, and Gregory distinguishes the two words with care: *Nam principari est inter reliquos priorem existere, dominari vero est etiam subjectos quosque possidere*—to preside is to be first among the rest, to dominate is to possess those who are subject. The *thrones* are the hosts over whom almighty God always presides to execute judgment; since "throne" in Latin is *sedes*, seat, *throni Dei dicti sunt hi qui tanta divinitatis gratia replentur, ut in eis Dominus sedeat, et per eos sua judicia decernat*: those are called God's thrones who are filled with such grace of the Godhead that the Lord sits in them and decrees his judgments through them, as the Psalmist says, "thou hast sat on the throne, who judgest justice" (Ps 9:5). *Cherubim* means fullness of knowledge, and those loftier hosts are so called because they are filled with a knowledge the more perfect the nearer they contemplate the brightness of God. *Seraphim* means burning or kindling:

Quae, quia ita Deo conjuncta sunt ut inter haec et Deum nulli alii spiritus intersint, tanto magis ardent, quanto hunc vicinius vident. Quorum profecto flamma amor est, quia quo subtilius claritatem divinitatis ejus aspiciunt, eo validius in ejus amore flammescunt. (*Hom. in Ev.* 34.10)

They are so joined to God that no other spirits stand between him and them, and they burn the more, the more nearly they see him. Their flame is love: the more keenly they gaze on the brightness of his Godhead, the more strongly they blaze in his love.

Aquinas receives these definitions as the complement of the Dionysian ones. Dionysius explains the names "accordingly as they befit the spiritual perfections they signify," while Gregory "seems to regard more the exterior ministrations" (*ST* I q. 108 a. 5); Aquinas takes from Gregory the distinction between presiding and dominating (ad 3), the powers who restrain the hostile spirits (*ST* I q. 109 a. 4, *sed contra*), and the virtues through whom miracles are done (*ST* I q. 110 a. 4 obj. 1), and he assigns the guardianship of each man to the lowest order "whose place it is, according to Gregory, to announce the 'lesser things' " (*ST* I q. 113 a. 3; §17.5).

7.1.4 The elect in the choirs of the angels

The homily turns from the choirs to the hearers. *Sed quid prodest nos de angelicis spiritibus ista perstringere, si non studeamus haec etiam ad nostros profectus congrua consideratione derivare?*—what does it profit us to touch on these things about the angelic spirits unless we take care to draw them, by fitting reflection, to our own advance? The heavenly city is made of angels and men, and Gregory holds that as many of the human race ascend to it as elect angels remained there, reading Moses' song in the older Latin form, *Statuit terminos gentium secundum numerum angelorum Dei*, he set the bounds of the nations according to the number of the angels of God (Deut 32:8), where the Douay, with the Vulgate, reads "according to the number of the children of Israel." Those who return to the heavenly country must therefore imitate something of the hosts to which they return:

> *Distincte namque conversationes hominum singulorum agminum ordinibus congruunt, et in eorum sortem per conversationis similitudinem deputantur.* (*Hom. in Ev.* 34.11)

The different ways of life of men correspond to the orders of the several hosts, and men are assigned to their lot by the likeness of their lives. Gregory walks up the ladder of the choirs. Those who grasp little but faithfully announce that little to their brethren run into the number of the angels; those who grasp and announce the highest heavenly secrets, into the archangels; those who work signs, into the virtues; those who drive evil spirits from the possessed by prayer, into the powers; those who surpass the merits of the elect and rule their brethren, into the principalities; those who so master every vice that by the right of purity they are called gods among men, as Moses was appointed "the god of Pharao" (Exod 7:1), into the dominations; those who examine themselves with watchful care and so receive the gift to judge others, into the thrones, for the Lord presides in them as on his seat; those full of the love of God and neighbour, into the cherubim, for cherubim is the fullness of knowledge, and love "is the fulfilling of the law" (Rom 13:10). And at the summit:

> *Et sunt nonnulli qui, supernae contemplationis facibus accensi, in solo conditoris sui desiderio anhelant, nihil jam in hoc mundo cupiunt, solo aeternitatis amore pascuntur, terrena quaeque abjiciunt, cuncta temporalia mente transcendunt, amant et ardent, atque in ipso suo ardore requiescunt, amando ardent, loquendo et alios accendunt, et quos verbo tangunt, ardere protinus in Dei amore faciunt.* (*Hom. in Ev.* 34.11)

Kindled by the torches of heavenly contemplation, they pant for their Maker alone, are fed by the love of eternity, love and burn and rest in their burning, and kindle others by their words. What shall I call them but seraphim, *quorum cor in igne conversum lucet et urit*, whose heart, turned to fire, gives light and burns (34.11)?

Gregory presses the lesson on his hearers. Let each look within and see whether he finds among these hosts the lot of his calling. *Vae autem animae quae in se de his bonis quae enumeravimus minime aliquid recognoscit*: woe to the soul that recognizes in itself nothing of these gifts, and a worse woe if it knows itself deprived of them and does not grieve. But whoever finds lesser gifts in himself must not envy greater gifts in others, *quia et supernae illae distinctiones beatorum spirituum ita sunt conditae, ut aliae aliis sint praelatae*, because those heavenly distinctions of the blessed spirits were so created that some are set above others (34.12). Aquinas determines the same assumption of men into the choirs through grace: men cannot pass into the angelic grade of nature, but "by the gift of grace men can merit glory in such a degree as to be equal to the angels, in each of the angelic grades" (*ST* I q. 108 a. 8).

7.1.5 Those who stand and those who are sent

Gregory now cites Dionysius by name:

> *Fertur vero Dionysius Areopagita, antiquus videlicet et venerabilis Pater, dicere quod ex minoribus angelorum agminibus foras ad explendum ministerium vel visibiliter vel invisibiliter mittuntur . . . Nam superiora illa agmina ab intimis nunquam recedunt, quoniam ea quae praeeminent usum exterioris ministerii nequaquam habent.* (*Hom. in Ev.* 34.12)

The lesser hosts are sent out, visibly or invisibly, to fulfil a ministry; the higher never withdraw from the inmost presence. Isaias seems to say the contrary: "one of the seraphims flew to me, and in his hand was a live coal, which he had taken with the tongs off the altar. And he touched my mouth" (Isa 6:6–7). Gregory answers that the spirits who are sent take the name of those whose office they bear: the angel who carries a coal from the altar to burn away the sins of speech is called a seraph because seraph means burning. Daniel's vision supports the rule, "thousands of thousands ministered to him, and ten thousand times a hundred thousand stood before him" (Dan 7:10):

> *Aliud namque est ministrare, aliud assistere, quia hi administrant Deo, qui et ad nos nuntiando exeunt; assistunt vero qui sic contemplatione intima perfruuntur, ut ad explenda foras opera minime mittantur.* (*Hom. in Ev.* 34.12)

To minister is one thing, to stand by is another: those minister to God who also go out to us bearing messages; those stand by who so enjoy inward contemplation that they are not sent out to fulfil outward works.

Whether the cherubim and seraphim do by themselves what Scripture attributes to them, or whether it is done by subject hosts who take the names of the greater because they come from them, Gregory will not affirm, since open testimonies do not prove it. *Hoc tamen certissime scimus, quia ad explendum de supernis ministerium alii spiritus alios mittunt*: this we know most certainly, that some spirits send others to fulfil a ministry from on high, as Zacharias testifies, "the angel that spoke in me went forth, and another angel went out to meet him. And he said to him: Run, speak to this young man" (Zach 2:3–4). When an angel says to an angel, *Curre et loquere*, one plainly sends another: *Minora vero sunt quae mittuntur, majora quae mittunt*—the lesser are sent, the greater send (34.13). And those who are sent never leave the presence they came from:

> *Et mittuntur igitur, et assistunt, quia etsi circumscriptus est angelicus spiritus, summus tamen spiritus ipse, qui Deus est, circumscriptus non est. Angeli itaque et missi, et ante ipsum sunt, quia quolibet missi veniant, intra ipsum currunt.* (*Hom. in Ev.* 34.13)

They are sent and they stand by, because though the angelic spirit is bounded, the supreme Spirit, who is God, is not bounded. So the angels are both sent and before him, for wherever they are sent they run within him.

The names of the orders are proper and common at once. The thrones are God's seat, and yet the Psalmist says, "Thou that sittest upon the cherubims" (Ps 79[80]:2), because the cherubim are joined to the thrones in the ranks and the Lord is said to sit on them by the nearness of the neighbouring host. *Sic quippe in illa summa civitate specialia quaedam singulorum sunt, ut tamen sint communia omnium*: in that highest city some gifts belong in a special way to each, and yet are common to all, and what one has in part another order possesses wholly. The seraphim are named for burning, *et tamen amore conditoris simul omnes ardent*, and yet all burn together with the love of their Maker; the cherubim for fullness of knowledge, *et tamen quis ibi aliquid nesciat ubi ipsum omnes simul fontem scientiae Deum vident?*—and yet who is ignorant of anything there, where all together see God, the fountain of knowledge? Each order is called by the proper name of the gift it has received more fully; and even the gifts that some have and others cannot have, as the dominations and principalities are named, *cuncta ibi singulorum sunt, quia per charitatem spiritus ab alio in aliis habentur*: there all things belong to each, because through charity what one spirit has is had in the others (34.14). Aquinas gives the same rule when he explains the names of the orders: "in the angelic orders all spiritual perfections are common to all the angels," and each order is named from the perfection that belongs to it as its property (*ST* I q. 108 a. 5). Then the preacher breaks off: *Suspiremus ergo ad eos de quibus loquimur, sed redeamus ad nos. Meminisse etenim debemus quia caro sumus*—let us sigh for those of whom we speak, but return to ourselves, for we must remember that we are flesh (34.15).

Aquinas receives the Dionysian rule of missions through this part of the homily. His *sed contra* on whether all the angels are sent is "Gregory says (Hom. xxxiv in Evang.), quoting the statement of Dionysius (Coel. Hier. xiii), that

'the higher ranks fulfil no exterior service' " (*ST* I q. 112 a. 2); his first objection to the next article is Gregory's "the angels are sent, and assist" (a. 3 obj. 1); and he reconciles the two sayings by determining that all the angels see the divine essence and in that sense all assist, while only the highest behold the secrets of the divine mysteries in the divine essence itself and in that respect alone are said to assist (a. 3). The rule that the greater send the lesser answers to Aquinas's principle that "inferior things are administered by the superior" (*ST* I q. 112 a. 2; *ST* I q. 106 a. 3; §14; §16.4).

7.1.6 The angels in the mysteries of Christ

At the Christmas Mass in the basilica of Saint Mary, Gregory asks why an angel appeared to the watching shepherds and the brightness of God shone round about them: *nisi quod illi prae caeteris videre sublimia merentur, qui fidelibus gregibus praeesse sollicite sciunt*—because those above all others merit to see heavenly things who know how to watch with care over faithful flocks (*Hom. in Ev.* 8.1). The angels' song declares a peace made between heaven and earth:

> *Prius quippe quam Redemptor noster nasceretur per carnem, discordiam cum angelis habuimus, a quorum claritate atque munditia per primae culpae meritum, per quotidiana delicta longe distabamus. Quia enim peccando extranei eramus a Deo, extraneos nos a suo consortio deputabant angeli cives Dei. Sed quia nos cognovimus Regem nostrum, recognoverunt nos angeli cives suos.* (*Hom. in Ev.* 8.2)

Before the Redeemer's birth we were at discord with the angels, far from their brightness by the first fault and by daily sins, and they counted us strangers; since we have acknowledged our King, they acknowledge us as fellow citizens. Because the King of heaven took the earth of our flesh, the angelic height no longer despises our weakness; *et quos prius infirmos abjectosque despexerant, jam socios venerantur*—those whom they once looked down upon as weak and abject they now honour as companions. Gregory finds the sign of this in Scripture. Lot and Josue adored angels and were not forbidden (Gen 19:1; Jos 5:15), but when John in the Apocalypse would adore an angel, the angel restrained him: "See thou do it not. For I am thy fellow servant, and of thy brethren" (Apoc 22:9). Why do angels receive adoration in silence before the Redeemer's coming and refuse it afterwards,

> *nisi quod naturam nostram, quam prius despexerant, postquam hanc super se assumptam conspiciunt, substratam sibi videre pertimescunt?* (*Hom. in Ev.* 8.2)

except that, seeing our nature taken up above themselves, they fear to see it laid beneath them, and do not disdain man as companion when they adore the God-man above them? Therefore, Gregory concludes, let no uncleanness defile us, who in God's eternal foreknowledge are citizens of God and equal to his angels: *Vindicemus moribus dignitatem nostram*—let us uphold our dignity by our conduct (8.2). The English Catholic Bible carries the same reading into its note on the angel's refusal in Apoc 19:10, where "St. Gregory (Hom. 8, in Evang.)" is said to hold that the angel refused "in consideration of the dignity to which our human nature had been raised, by the incarnation of the Son of God" (Douay–Rheims, Challoner's note on Apoc 19:10).

On the Epiphany Gregory asks why an angel announced the birth to the shepherds while a star led the Magi: *Quia videlicet Judaeis, tanquam ratione utentibus, rationale animal, id est angelus, praedicare debuit*—to the Jews, who used reason, a rational creature, an angel, had to preach, while the Gentiles, who knew not how to use reason, were led to the Lord by signs (*Hom. in Ev.* 10.1). Aquinas meets the phrase "rational animal" as an objection for bodies natural to the angels and answers that "Gregory calls the angel a rational animal metaphorically, on account of the likeness to the rational nature" (*ST* I q. 51 a. 1 ad 2; §9.1).

On the Ascension Gregory places man in the scale of creation: stones exist but do not live, trees live but do not feel, beasts live and feel but do not discern, *Angeli etenim sunt, vivunt, sentiunt, et discernunt*—angels exist, live, perceive, and discern—and man has something of every creature, *esse cum lapidibus, vivere cum arboribus, sentire cum animalibus, intelligere cum angelis*: being with stones, life with trees, sense with animals, understanding with angels (*Hom. in Ev.* 29.2). Aquinas makes the last words the *sed contra* of his article on whether the angels have only intellectual knowledge (*ST* I q. 54 a. 5). At the Ascension the angels themselves keep the feast:

> *Quid est ergo quod nato Domino, non in albis vestibus, ascendente autem Domino, in albis vestibus angeli apparent, nisi quod tunc magna solemnitas angelis facta est, cum coelum Deus homo penetravit?* (*Hom. in Ev.* 29.9)

Why do the angels appear in white garments at the Ascension and not at the Nativity, but that a great feast was made for the angels when God, made man, entered heaven? At the Nativity the Godhead was seen humbled, at the Ascension the manhood was exalted, and white garments befit exaltation.

7.1.7 The *Morals*: the angels who stand and are sent

The second book of the *Morals* opens on the scene in heaven: "Now on a certain day, when the sons of God came to stand before the Lord, Satan also was present among them" (Job 1:6). The sons of God are the elect angels, and Gregory asks how they can come to stand before God when they "ever behold and ever stand nigh," and yet are "ministering spirits, sent forth" (Heb 1:14). The answer lies in the subtlety of the angelic nature:

> For they never so go forth apart from the vision of God, as to be deprived of the joys of interior contemplation; for if when they went forth they lost the vision of the Creator, they could neither have raised up the fallen, nor announced the truth to those in ignorance; and that fount of light, which by departing they were themselves deprived of, they could in no wise proffer to the blind. (*Moralia* II.3.3)

The spirits of angels "are indeed bounded by space," yet they contemplate the very source of knowledge: "For of those things which are capable of being known, what is there that they know not, who know Him, to Whom all things are known?" Their knowledge is vast beside ours and little beside God's, as "their very spirits in comparison indeed with our bodies are spirits, but being compared with the Supreme and Incomprehensible Spirit, they are Body." They are sent because they are bounded, and never depart because they abide in contemplation: "Thus they at the same time always behold the Father's face, and yet come to us; because they both go forth to us in a spiritual presence, and yet keep themselves there, whence they had gone out, by virtue of interior contemplation" (II.3.3). Aquinas quotes Gregory's teaching here in determining that all the angels, even those who minister, assist before God in the vision of his essence (*ST* I q. 112 a. 3).

Satan was present among them because, though he lost his blessed estate, "he did not part with a nature like to theirs, and though his deserts sink him, he is lifted up by the properties of his subtle nature" (II.4.4). He came before the Lord, but Scripture does not say that he saw the Lord: "For he came to be seen, and not to see. He was in the Lord's sight, but the Lord was not in his sight; as when a blind man stands in the sun, he is himself bathed indeed in the rays of light, yet he sees nothing of the light, by which he is brightened" (II.4.5). Aquinas answers with this passage the objection that Satan assisted before God: he "is not described as having assisted, but as present among the assistants" (*ST* I q. 112 a. 3 ad 3). The exposition goes on to the ways in which God speaks to the angels and the angels to God, which Aquinas receives in his question on the speech of the angels (§14.2).

Gregory finds the whole universe ordered by the governance of higher over lower: "man is over the beasts, the Angels over man, and the Archangels are set over the Angels," as Daniel's prince of Persia and Zacharias's two angels show: "For in the actual ministration of the holy spirits, if the superior Powers did not direct the inferior, one Angel would never have learnt from the lips of another what he should say to a man." The Creator holds all things by himself alone, yet "for the purpose of constituting the defined order characterizing a universe of beauty, He rules one part by the governance of another," and the angelic spirits are rightly called kings and counsellors, for "they 'consult' for the spiritual commonwealth, while they unite us to the kingdom as fellow-heirs with themselves" (*Moralia* IV.29.55).

On the angels of the nations Gregory asks how God "maketh peace in his high places" (Job 25:2) when the angel says to Daniel, "the prince of the kingdom of the Persians resisted me one and twenty days: and behold Michael, one of the chief princes, came to help me" (Dan 10:13). There are "fixed charges of the Angels set to superintend the regulating of the several particular nations," and the spirits are said to come against one another when the deeds of the peoples under them are set against one another: the prince of Persia withstands because the captive people still has something the dominion of the Persians must purge, and Michael helps because the prophet's prayers claim its release:

> For the lofty Spirits that are princes to those nations never fight in behalf of those that act unjustly, but justly judge and try their deeds. And when either the guilt or guiltlessness of each separate nation is brought into the debate of the Court Above, the ruling Spirit of that nation is said to have won in the conflict or not to have won; the one identical victory of all of whom, however, is the Supreme Will of their Maker above them, which Will whilst they ever have before their eyes, what they have not the power they have not the mind to obtain. (*Moralia* XVII.12.17)

Aquinas follows Gregory here: "according to Gregory (Moral. xvii), the prince of the kingdom of Persia was a good angel appointed to the guardianship of that kingdom," and the angels' resistance is their consulting of the divine wisdom on the contrary merits of the peoples (*ST* I q. 113 a. 8; §17).

To the next question of Baldad, "Is there any numbering of his soldiers?" (Job 25:3), Gregory answers that the number of the spirits above is beyond the reckoning of human reason, "infinite and definite," numbered by God and numberless to man. He repeats the distinction of Daniel: "those Powers stand before Him without a doubt, which never go forth for the communicating things to men. But those 'minister to' Him, who come for discharging the offices of bearers of tidings; yet these same beings also, by the act of contemplation, are not withdrawn from the interior world," and those who minister are more than those who stand (XVII.13.18). Aquinas uses both halves, the definition of those who assist and the greater number of those who minister (*ST* I q. 112 a. 3, *sed contra*; a. 4 obj. 2 and ad 2). The angels are rightly called God's soldiers, "because we are not unaware that those war against the powers of the air, which same conflicts however they carry on not by labour but by authority," and to this host, which sang at the Lord's birth (Luke 2:13), the number of the elect of men is joined (XVII.13.19).

The morning stars who praised God at the founding of the earth (Job 38:7) are the angels: "because the nature of rational spirits is believed to have been created first in time, the Angels are, not improperly, called 'morning stars.' " They praise "together" with men because they adapt the words of their exultation to our redemption, and "they rejoice that their own number is filled up" when they see us admitted; and they are morning stars also because, sent to exhort men, "while they announce the coming morn, they drive away from the hearts of men the darkness of the present life" (*Moralia* XXVIII.14.34). Aquinas records two opinions of the Fathers on whether the angels were created before the corporeal world and holds the more probable to be that they were created together with it (*ST* I q. 61 a. 3; §12.1).

7.1.8 The *Morals*: the first of the ways of God

The angelic nature, Gregory teaches, is in itself changeable, and its steadfastness is the work of love. On Eliphaz's saying, "they that serve him are not steadfast, and in his angels he found wickedness" (Job 4:18), he writes:

> For if the essence of the Angels had been strange to the motion of change, being created well by its Maker, it would never have fallen in the case of reprobate spirits from the tower of its blessed estate. But Almighty God in a marvellous manner framed the nature of the highest spiritual existences good, yet at the same time capable of change; that both they, that refused to remain, might meet with ruin, and they, that continued in their own state of creation, might henceforth be stablished therein more worthily in proportion as it was owing to their own choice, and become so much the more meritorious in God's sight, as they had staid the motion of their mutability by the stablishing of the will. (*Moralia* V.38.68)

The angelic nature has overcome its mutability "in that it is bound by the chains of love to Him, Who is ever the Same" (V.38.68). Isidore takes this sentence into his own chapter on the angels, and Aquinas's questions on the grace and merit of the angels and on their confirmation answer the same question in the schools' terms (§12.2).

Why was fallen man restored and the fallen angel not? God "had made two creations to contemplate Himself, viz. the Angelic and the human, but pride smote both." Man bore the clothing and the infirmity of the flesh; the angel is spirit alone, and "it was also meet that the apostate Angel should be driven down to a farther depth," since he fell from his steadfastness bearing no weakness of the flesh. And there is a second reason: "the Angel fell by his own wickedness, but the wickedness of another brought man down" (*Moralia* IV.3.8). Therefore, Gregory adds, the Redeemer took not the nature of angels but the seed of Abraham (Heb 2:16), that he "might at once let go the lost angel, by not taking his nature, and restore man, by taking his nature in Himself" (IV.7.12). Aquinas meets the second reason as an objection to the obstinacy of the demons and answers that man's sinning at another's suggestion "is not the whole cause of man's sin being pardonable" (*ST* I q. 64 a. 2 obj. 4 and ad 4; §13.2).

The greatest angelological passage of the *Morals* comes in the exposition of Behemoth. God says of him, "He is the beginning of the ways of God" (Job 40:14[19]), and Gregory reads it of the first angel:

> For what do we understand by the 'ways' of God, but His doings? ... And Behemoth is said to be the chief of the ways of God, because doubtless when He was performing all the work of creation, He created him first, whom He made more eminent than the other Angels. (*Moralia* XXXII.23.47)

Ezechiel saw the same eminence in the tree of the paradise of God, whom "the cedars ... were not higher" (Ezek 31:8–9): the cedars, firs, and planes are "those bands of heavenly virtues of lofty height, planted in the verdure of eternal joy," which though created lofty were neither preferred nor equalled to him, and he was beautiful with thick branches because "a comeliness, as great as the subject multitude of Angels which adorned him, rendered him the more beautiful." "And therefore, when sinning, he was condemned without pardon, because he had been created great beyond comparison" (XXXII.23.47). He is the seal of likeness, as in the homily, for "from the seal of a ring such a likeness is impressed in image, as exists in essence in the seal itself," and the nine stones of his covering are again the nine orders:

> He mentioned nine kinds of stones, doubtless because there are nine orders of angels. For when in the very words of Scripture, Angels, Archangels, Thrones, Dominations, Virtues, Princedoms, Powers, Cherubim, and Seraphim, are plainly spoken of and mentioned, it is shewn how great are the distinctions of the citizens of heaven. (*Moralia* XXXII.23.48)

The order of this enumeration differs from the ascending list of the homily; Isidore will copy it. Gregory then finds charity in the goldsmith's work of Ezek 28:13, "gold the work of thy beauty: and thy pipes were prepared in the day that thou wast created." Precious stones are pierced so that gold poured into the holes may bind them into one ornament; "The holes of this stone were prepared then in the day of its creation, because, namely, he was created capable of love." Had he let himself be penetrated by "the gold of charity," he would still be "a stone firmly fixed in the ornament of a king"; "he therefore fell, because, even though perforated with the hand of the artificer, he scorned to be bound with the bands of love." The other stones, pierced like him, "were bound together by charity mutually penetrating them, and obtained, on his fall, this, as a gift, that they should now be never loosened by falling from the ornament of the King." He is called a cherub, "outspread and covering" (Ezek 28:14), because "Cherub is interpreted, 'Plenitude of knowledge,' and he is therefore called a Cherub, because he is not doubted to have surpassed all in his knowledge," and he walked amid the stones of fire because "he dwelt amid the hearts of Angels, which were kindled with the fire of love" (XXXII.23.48). Aquinas answers the objection from Ezechiel's "cherub" with the same etymologies: the first angel who sinned "is called, not a Seraph, but a Cherub," because knowledge "is compatible with mortal sin" but the heat of charity is not (*ST* I q. 63 a. 7 ad 1).

"Let man then consider what he deserves for his pride on earth, if even an Angel, placed above other Angels, is cast down in heaven" (XXXII.23.49). Yet the verse adds, "who made him, he will apply his sword": the sword of Behemoth is "his malice in doing hurt," bent back by him "by Whom he was created naturally good," so that he who could not touch the swine without leave (Matt 8:31) cannot of his own accord injure men made after the likeness of God (XXXII.24.50).

The last books of the *Morals* turn to Leviathan, whom Gregory also reads of the apostate angel. "When he shall raise him up, the angels shall fear, and being affrighted shall purify themselves" (Job 41:16[17]): Gregory hears in it the confirmation of the good angels at the fall of the proud one.

> Nor do we give up the sense of its true meaning, if we believe that when this Leviathan was falling from the height of blessedness, the Elect Angels also were greatly terrified at his fall, in order that, as the fall of pride was casting him out from their number, their very fear might give them strength to stand more firmly. (*Moralia* XXXIV.7.12)

They were purified because, when he went forth with his reprobate hosts, the elect alone remained. God "converted the lapse of those who fell to the benefit of those who remain; and the fault of the proud is punished, by the same means by which the increased merits of the humble Angels were discovered and confirmed. For on the fall of these, it was granted as a special gift to those that they should never in any wise fall" (XXXIV.7.13). The fallen one "has lost the happiness of eternal felicity, yet he has not lost the greatness of his nature," by which he still surpasses all human things, though he is beneath holy men by the baseness of his deserts (XXXIV.20.39). Leviathan "was made to fear no one" (Job 41:24[25]), and Gregory lays bare the root of his sin:

> He was indeed so made by nature, as to be bound to feel a chaste fear for his Creator; that is to say, with a subdued and fearless fear, not with the fear which love casts out, but with the fear which remains for ever and ever, that is, which love begets. ... But this Leviathan, beholding the height of His loftiness, aimed at the privilege of the fatal liberty of ruling over others, and being subject to no one, saying, I will ascend above the height of the clouds, and I will be like the Most High. ... For having left that

> First Cause, to Whom he was bound to adhere, he aimed at being, in a sense, his own first cause. (*Moralia* XXXIV.21.40)

"For him, whom a slavery akin to freedom exalted, a slavish freedom cast down" (XXXIV.21.40). And the last word of the Lord's speech, "he is king over all the children of pride" (Job 41:25[26]), names the root of all the rest: "This Leviathan, in order to fall in all the points mentioned above, smote himself with pride alone. ... For it is written, Pride is the beginning of all sin. For by this he himself fell, by this he overthrew men who followed him. He assaulted the health of our immortality with the same weapon as he destroyed the life of his own blessedness" (XXXIV.23.47; Ecclus 10:15). Aquinas determines with the same tradition that the first sin of the angel was pride and that the devil desired to be as God (*ST* I q. 63 aa. 2–3), and his account of the confirmation of the good angels and the obstinacy of the fallen stands in §13. The English Catholic Bible, at the lament over the king of Tyre, notes that what is said there "is commonly understood of Lucifer, the king over all the children of pride" (Douay–Rheims, Challoner's note on Ezek 28:12).

7.1.9 The *Dialogues*: the angels at the passing of souls

The fourth book of the *Dialogues* opens with Adam, who in paradise "by purity of heart and heavenly vision, was present with the quires of the blessed Angels," and lost that light by his fall; his children hear of the heavenly country inhabited by the angels and, being carnal, doubt it, like a child born in prison who doubts his mother's tales of the sun, "for he were a very foolish child, that thought his mother lied, when she spake of light in other places, because himself, where he was, beheld nothing else but the darkness of the prison" (*Dial.* IV.1). "Almighty God created three kinds of spirits having life": the angels without bodies, the souls of men with bodies that do not die with them, and the souls of beasts that die with their bodies (IV.3). God, who is invisible, is served by invisible creatures, "his holy Angels, and the souls of just men"; and as the soul moves the body, so "nothing can be disposed of in this visible world, but by another creature which is invisible" (IV.5). Aquinas makes this sentence, with Augustine's, the *sed contra* of his article on whether the corporeal creature is governed by the angels (*ST* I q. 110 a. 1, citing it as *Dial.* iv, 6; §16).

Gregory then relates what many whose eyes of soul were purified "by sincere faith and plentiful prayer" have seen at the departure of souls (IV.7). At the death of God's servants, he teaches, "heavenly musick is heard, to the end that whiles they give willing ear to that melody, the soul may have no leisure to feel, when it departeth from the body": the paralytic Servulus, singing hymns with the strangers he lodged, cried out, "Do ye not hear the great and wonderful musick which is in heaven?" and died listening, and a fragrance filled the place until his burial (IV.14). Round the bed of the paralysed nun Romula there came a light from heaven that filled the cell, the sound "as it were of many that came in," and on the fourth night "two quires singing before the door without," and "whiles these heavenly funerals were in celebrating before the cell door, that holy soul departed this life, and was carried in that manner up into heaven" (IV.15). At the death of the abbot Stephen of Rieti, "some of them beheld Angels coming in, but yet were not able to tell it unto others then present," and a great fear fell upon all, "by which they perceived of what power he was, that received his soul going out of this world" (IV.19).

Gregory relates visions of the judgment of souls in which the angels defend and the demons accuse. The monk Peter, who died and returned to life, was being carried to be thrown into the fire of hell when "suddenly an Angel in a beautiful attire appeared, who would not suffer him to be cast into those torments," and sent him back with the charge, "Go thy way back again, and hereafter carefully look unto thyself, how thou leadest thy life" (IV.36). A soldier who lay as dead in the pestilence saw a certain Stephen slip on a bridge over a black and stinking river, and he "was of certain terrible men, that rose out of the river, drawn by the legs downward: and by certain other white and beautiful persons, he was by the arms pulled upward"; Gregory reads it that the sins of the flesh drew him down and his almsgiving drew him up, and which prevailed is known to the Judge alone (IV.36).

The fallen angels suffer the fire though they have no bodies, and Gregory argues from them to the souls of the damned before the resurrection: "If, then, the devil and his angels, though without bodies, shall be tormented with corporal fire, what marvel is it that the souls after their departure, and before they be united again to their bodies, may in like manner suffer corporal torments?" (IV.29; Matt 25:41; §13.2). And the book closes with the angels at the altar:

> for what right believing Christian can doubt, that in the very hour of the sacrifice, at the words of the Priest, the heavens be opened, and the quires of Angels are present in that mystery of Jesus Christ; that

> high things are accompanied with low, and earthly joined to heavenly, and that one thing is made of visible and invisible? (*Dial.* IV.58)

The Church's liturgy joins with the angels to adore the thrice-holy God and prays in its funeral rite that the angels lead the departed into paradise (CCC 335; §22).

7.2 Isidore of Seville

Isidore, younger brother of the Leander to whom Gregory addressed the *Morals*, succeeded him as bishop of Seville. He treats the angels in two works that the Latin schools used as handbooks: the seventh book of the *Etymologies*, on God, the angels, and the saints, and the first book of the *Sentences*, cited in the Middle Ages as *De summo bono*, under which title Aquinas quotes it. His chapters are made largely from Gregory's homily and *Morals*, with Augustine behind them, set out as definitions and short sentences. Bede in his last days was translating "some selections from the books of Bishop Isidore" for his pupils, "saying, 'I would not have my boys read a lie, nor labour herein without profit after my death' " (Cuthbert, *Letter on the Death of Bede*, in Bede, *Ecclesiastical History*, ed. Sellar).

7.2.1 The *Etymologies*: the names of the angels

The chapter *De angelis* begins with the word itself:

> *Angeli Graece vocantur, Hebraice malachoth, Latine vero nuntii interpretantur, ab eo quod Domini voluntatem populis nuntiant. Angelorum autem vocabulum officii nomen est, non naturae. Semper enim spiritus sunt, sed cum mittuntur, vocantur angeli.* (*Etym.* VII.5.1–2)

The name *angeli* is Greek; in Hebrew they are *malachoth*, and in Latin *nuntii*, messengers, because they announce the Lord's will to the peoples; and the word is the name of an office, not of a nature, for they are always spirits, but are called angels when they are sent. Painters give them wings by an artist's licence, to signify their swift passage through all things, as Scripture says of God, "Who walkest upon the wings of the winds" (Ps 103[104]:3; VII.5.3). Then comes the count: *Novem autem esse ordines angelorum sacrae Scripturae testantur, id est angeli, archangeli, throni, dominationes, virtutes, principatus, potestates, cherubim et seraphim* (VII.5.4)—the list, in the same sequence, of the *Morals* on Behemoth (XXXII.23.48).

The exposition of the names then follows the homily. The archangels are the chief messengers, and Isidore adds a Greek etymology of his own: *Archangeli dicti eo quod primatum teneant inter angelos; ARCHOS enim Graece, Latine princeps interpretatur. Sunt enim duces et principes, sub quorum ordine unicuique angelorum officia deputata sunt*—they are called archangels because they hold the first place among the angels; they are leaders and princes, under whose order the offices are allotted to each angel (VII.5.6). Zacharias's two angels prove that archangels preside over angels, and Isidore gives Gregory's reasoning from the *Morals* almost word for word: *Si enim in ipsis officiis angelorum nequaquam potestates superiores inferiores disponerent, nullo modo hoc, quod homini diceret angelus, ab angelo cognovisset*—if the higher powers did not order the lower in the very offices of the angels, an angel would never have learned from an angel what he was to say to a man (VII.5.7–8; cf. *Moralia* IV.29.55).

Certain archangels are called by proper names so that the names may show what they can do in their work (VII.5.9). Gabriel, the strength of God, is sent where divine power or strength is shown, and so he came to Mary *eo tempore, quo erat Dominus nasciturus et triumphaturus de mundo*, at the time when the Lord was to be born and to triumph over the world, to announce him *qui ad debellandas aerias potestates humilis venire dignatus est* (VII.5.10–11). Michael, *Qui sicut Deus*, Who is as God, is sent when a work of wonderful power is done, *Et ex ipso opere nomen est eius, quia nemo valet facere quod facere potest Deus*—his name comes from the work itself, because no one can do what God can do (VII.5.12). Raphael, healing or medicine of God, is sent wherever a work of healing is needed, and so he restored Tobias's sight (VII.5.13–14). Isidore adds a fourth, Uriel, fire of God, after the fire in the bush (VII.5.15); the Church's discipline discourages names other than Gabriel, Raphael, and Michael, whose names Holy Scripture contains (*Directory on Popular Piety* 217).

The offices of the higher orders follow Gregory's sequence and definitions, from the virtues who work signs to the seraphim who burn *quia inter eos et Deum nulli angeli consistunt*, because no angels stand between them and God; Isidore sets Daniel's distinction of those who minister and those who stand by under the principalities, and identifies

the cherubim with the two figures of metal over the propitiatory of the ark, made *propter significandam angelorum praesentiam, in quorum medio ostenditur Deus*, to signify the presence of the angels in whose midst God is shown; and the names are proper and common at once, as Gregory taught (VII.5.16–27).

Isidore then adds three sentences of his own gathering. The offices of the angels were merited at the beginning: *Vnicuique enim, sicut praedictum est, propria officia sunt iniuncta, quae promeruisse eos in mundi constat exordio*—to each, as was said, its proper offices were assigned, which they are known to have merited at the world's beginning (VII.5.28). The angels preside over places and men, as Daniel's prince of Persia shows, *Vnde apparet nullum esse locum cui angeli non praesint. Praesunt enim et auspiciis operum omnium*—there is no place over which angels do not preside, and they preside over the beginnings of every work (VII.5.28–29). And the whole distinction of the orders is that of the angels who stood:

> *Nimirum ostendentis quod post ruinam angelorum malorum hi, qui permanserunt, firmitatem aeternae perseverantiae consecuti sunt, nullo iam lapsu aversi, nulla superbia cadentes, sed firmiter in Dei amore et contemplatione manentes, nihil aliud dulce habent nisi eum a quo creati sunt.* (*Etym.* VII.5.31)

After the apostate angels fell, those who remained were made firm in the perseverance of eternal blessedness, and so Scripture, after the creation of heaven, says, *Fiat firmamentum, et vocatum est firmamentum caelum* (Gen 1:6, 8): it shows that after the ruin of the evil angels those who remained obtained the firmness of eternal perseverance, turned away now by no lapse, falling by no pride, but abiding firmly in the love and contemplation of God, and finding nothing sweet but him by whom they were made (VII.5.30–31). The chapter closes with Isaias's two seraphim read as the two Testaments, whose threefold "Holy" *Trinitatis in una divinitate demonstrat mysterium*, shows the mystery of the Trinity in one Godhead (VII.5.32–33).

7.2.2 The *Sentences*: the nature, fall, and ministry of the angels

The tenth chapter of the first book of the *Sentences* gathers the teaching into twenty-nine short sentences, drawn chiefly from Gregory's homily and *Morals*.[15] It opens with the name of office (I.10.1) and at once states the ground of the angels' steadfastness: their nature is changeable, *sed facit eos incorruptos charitas sempiterna*—but eternal charity makes them incorruptible. *Gratia dicimus, non natura esse incommutabiles angelos. Nam si natura incommutabiles essent, diabolus non utique cecidisset*: we say the angels are unchangeable by grace, not by nature, for if they were unchangeable by nature the devil would not have fallen. The contemplation of the Creator supports their changeable nature, and the apostate angel lost it *dum fortitudinem suam, non a Deo sed a se voluit custodiri*, when he willed that his strength be kept not by God but by himself (I.10.2; cf. *Moralia* V.38.68).

Isidore places the angels first among creatures. *Ante omnem creaturam angeli facti sunt, dum dictum est Fiat lux*: the angels were made before every creature, when it was said *Fiat lux* (Gen 1:3); they are called light by participating in the eternal light, and wisdom by cleaving to the unbegotten Wisdom (I.10.3). They were created before the whole creation of the world, and the devil before all the angels, as it is written, "He is the beginning of the ways of God"; he was created first *ordinis praelatione, non temporis quantitate*, by pre-eminence of rank, not by length of time (I.10.4). Aquinas, recording both opinions of the Fathers, holds the more probable to be that the angels were created together with the corporeal world (*ST* I q. 61 a. 3). The devil's primacy was the source of the confidence by which he fell beyond repair; he was the seal of the likeness of God; as soon as he was made he broke out into pride and, made in the truth, did not stand in it (I.10.5–7; John 8:44). Man and the devil fell by one lapse of pride, but man returns by penance, while the apostate angels have no pardon because no infirmity of the flesh weighed them down when they sinned (I.10.8–11).

The good angels, after the fall of the apostates, were made firm in eternal blessedness (I.10.12), and *Bonorum angelorum numerus, qui post ruinam angelorum malorum est diminutus, ex numero electorum hominum supplebitur, qui numerus soli Deo est cognitus*—the number of the good angels, lessened by the ruin of the evil, will be filled up from the number of elect men, a number known to God alone (I.10.13). Among the angels there is a difference of powers:

> *Inter angelos distantia potestatum est, et pro graduum dignitate ministeria eisdem sunt distributa; aliique aliis praeferuntur, tam culmine potestatis quam scientia virtutis; subministrant igitur alii aliorum praeceptis, atque obediunt jussis.* (*Sent.* I.10.14)

[15] The *Sentences* are cited from Arevalo's text in Migne, PL 83, 553–560, by chapter and sentence.

There is among the angels a distance of powers, and ministries are distributed to them according to the dignity of their grades; some are set above others both in height of power and in knowledge of virtue; some therefore serve under the commands of others and obey their orders, as in Zacharias an angel sends an angel and tells him what to announce. The nine orders follow in the list of the *Etymologies*, with Ezechiel's nine stones, which the apostate angel wore before his fall as an ornament fixed on his garment, and by comparison with which, seeing himself brighter than all, he swelled at once and lifted his heart to pride (I.10.15). *Angeli semper in Deo gaudent, non in se*: the angels always rejoice in God, not in themselves, and the devil is evil because he sought not the things of God but his own (I.10.16).

On the knowledge of spirits Isidore writes that the angels know all things in the Word of God before they come to pass, and know by God's revelation what for men is still to come; and of the fallen: *Praevaricatores angeli, etiam sanctitate amissa, non tamen amiserunt vivacem creaturae angelicae sensum. Triplici enim modo praescientiae acumine vigent, id est, subtilitate naturae, experientia temporum, revelatione superiorum potestatum*—the fallen angels, though they lost their holiness, did not lose the keen sense of the angelic creature; they are strong in the edge of foreknowledge in three ways, by subtlety of nature, by experience of times, and by revelation from higher powers (I.10.17). Aquinas twice meets the "experience" of this sentence as an objection and answers that experience "is affirmed of angels and demons simply by way of similitude, forasmuch as they know sensible things which are present, yet without any discursion" (*ST* I q. 58 a. 3 obj. 3 and ad 3; *ST* I q. 54 a. 5 obj. 2; §10).

The ministries follow. Whenever God is angry with the world and strikes it with any scourge, the apostate angels are sent to the ministry of vengeance, yet restrained by divine power so that they do not harm as much as they desire; the good angels are deputed to the ministry of human salvation, to administer the cares of the world and rule all things at God's command, as the Apostle says, "Are they not all ministering spirits?" (I.10.18; Heb 1:14). *Angeli corpora in quibus hominibus apparent, de superno aere sumunt*: the bodies in which the angels appear to men they take from the upper air, putting on a solid form from the heavenly element so that they may be shown more plainly to human eyes (I.10.19), the teaching Aquinas gives when he says that "the angels assume bodies of air, condensing it by the Divine power" (*ST* I q. 51 a. 2 ad 3; §9). *Singulae gentes praepositos angelos habere creduntur*: each nation is believed to have angels set over it, as the angel's words to Daniel about the prince of Persia and Michael show (I.10.20); and all men are shown to have angels, by the Lord's word, "their angels in heaven always see the face of my Father," and by the apostles' answer to Rhode, "It is his angel" (I.10.21; Matt 18:10; Acts 12:15).

How can the angels always see the Father's face, and yet desire to look upon him (1 Pet 1:12)? Isidore answers that they both see and desire to see, possess and long to possess; if they desired without fulfilment, their desire would be a penal necessity, and if they were sated, satiety would bring weariness; therefore *desiderant sine labore, et satiantur sine fastidio*—they desire without toil and are filled without weariness (I.10.22–24). Wherever Scripture puts "angel" for God, it is the Son who is understood, by reason of the dispensation of the Incarnation (I.10.25). And the chapter ends with Gregory's Christmas homily: *Ante dominicae incarnationis adventum discordia inter angelos et homines fuit. Veniens autem Christus pacem in se, et angelis, et hominibus fecit*—before the coming of the Lord's Incarnation there was discord between angels and men, but Christ in his coming made peace in himself for angels and for men (I.10.26). The sign of that discord is that in the Old Testament men greeted angels and were not greeted in return, while in the New the angel not only receives John with reverence but forbids him to adore (I.10.27–28); now man is received by God and reverently greeted by the angel, as Gabriel greeted Mary and as the angel told John, "I am thy fellow servant" (I.10.29; Apoc 22:9).

7.3 The Venerable Bede

Bede, monk of Wearmouth and Jarrow, finished the *Ecclesiastical History of the English People* in 731 and died on the eve of the Ascension in 735. In his commentaries he hands on Gregory's teaching in Gregory's own words, and in his *History* he records the visions in which the English Church saw the angels meet the dying, carry the souls of the saints, and contend with the demons for the souls of sinners. He owed the faith of his people, as he tells it, to Gregory's love for the English, and he tells the tradition of its beginning. Gregory saw fair-haired boys for sale in the market at Rome and was told they were Angles: " 'Right,' said he, 'for they have an angelic face, and it is meet that such should be co-heirs with the Angels in heaven' " (*Hist. eccl.* II.1). Bede relates it as "the story of the blessed Gregory, handed down to us by the tradition of our ancestors."

7.3.1 The commentaries: Gabriel and the heavenly host

On the Annunciation Bede's commentary on Luke reproduces the homily on the drachma: *Idcirco angeli privatis nominibus censentur, ut signetur per vocabula etiam in operatione quid valeant*, the angels bear proper names so that their names may show what they can do in their work; they do not receive names in the holy city, but draw them from their ministries when they come to us; and Gabriel, the strength of God, is sent to Mary *qui ad debellandas aereas potestates humilis apparere dignatus est* (*In Luc.* I, on Luke 1:26; PL 92, 315–316; cf. *Hom. in Ev.* 34.8–9). His homily for the feast of the Annunciation sets the angel over against the serpent:

> *Aptum profecto humanae restaurationis principium, ut angelus a Deo mitteretur ad virginem partu consecrandam divino, quia prima perditionis humanae fuit causa, cum serpens a diabolo mittebatur ad mulierem spiritu superbiae decipiendam . . . Illa a diabolo seducta per serpentem, viro gustum necis obtulit; haec a Deo edocta per angelum, mundo auctorem salutis edidit.* (*Hom.* I.1; PL 94, 9)

As the serpent was sent by the devil to deceive a woman by the spirit of pride, so the angel was sent by God to the Virgin; the one woman, seduced through the serpent, offered her husband the taste of death, the other, taught through the angel, brought forth the Author of salvation. Bede notes that angels who appear to men are rarely named, and that when they are, the name shows what they come to minister; Gabriel is the strength of God and rightly shines with that name, *quia nascituro in carne Deo testimonium perhibet*, because he bears witness to God about to be born in the flesh. And Mary *jure angelico aspectu simul et affatu meruit perfrui, quae angelicam studebat vitam imitari*—rightly merited to enjoy both the sight and the speech of an angel, since she strove to imitate the angelic life (PL 94, 9–10).

On the multitude of the heavenly army at Bethlehem (Luke 2:13) Bede joins the homily, the *Morals*, and the Christmas sermon into one exposition:

> *Et bene chorus adveniens angelorum militiae coelestis vocabulum accepit, qui et duci illo potenti in praelio, qui ad debellandas aereas potestates apparuit, humiliter obsecundat, et ipse potestates easdem contrarias, ne mortales tantum tentare valeant quantum volunt, fortiter armis coelestibus proturbat.* (*In Luc.* I, on Luke 2:13–14; PL 92, 333)

The choir is rightly called an army, for it serves the Captain mighty in battle and itself drives back the hostile powers with heavenly arms, lest they tempt mortals as much as they will. As a good emperor fortifies every place against the enemy's coming, *ita et Deus, quoniam immundi spiritus ad pacis eversionem ubique versantur, ad tutelam nostram constituit exercitus angelorum, quorum praesentia et daemonum confringatur audacia, et nobis pacis gratia ministretur*: so God, since unclean spirits roam everywhere to overthrow peace, has set armies of angels to guard us, by whose presence the boldness of the demons is broken and the grace of peace is ministered to us. The angels glorify God incarnate for our redemption *quia dum nos conspiciunt recipi, suum gaudent numerum repleri*, because when they see us received they rejoice that their number is filled up, and they wish peace to men *quia quos infirmos prius abjectosque despexerant, nascente in carne Domino jam socios venerantur*—because those they once looked down upon as weak and abject they now, the Lord being born in the flesh, honour as companions (PL 92, 333; cf. *Hom. in Ev.* 8.2 and *Moralia* XXVIII.14.34).

7.3.2 The *Explanation of the Apocalypse*: Michael and the Church

In his commentary on the Apocalypse Bede expounds the war in heaven (Apoc 12:7):

> The heaven signifies the Church, in which he says that Michael, with his angels, fights against the devil, for that, according to the will of God, he contends for the Church in her sojourning, by praying and ministering help; of whom Daniel also said, that he would come to the aid of the Church in the last and most grievous affliction; from which they suppose that Antichrist is to be slain by him. And they are said to be his angels in the same way that our angels also are. (*Expl. Apoc.* II, on 12:7)

Daniel's word is that Michael "shall rise up, the great prince, who standeth for the children of thy people" (Dan 12:1), and the angels are called Michael's as ours are called ours, the angels of those whose citizens they are (Matt 18:10).

The angels of Satan are not only those like him in nature and will, "but men who are entangled in their snares are also to be understood." When the loud voice says "the accuser of our brethren is cast forth" (Apoc 12:10), "The angels express joy at the salvation of their brethren, that is, of those who will become citizens, but who now are strangers"; and the call to rejoice, "O heavens, and you that dwell therein" (Apoc 12:12), is addressed to angels and holy men together, "since both men are joined with angels, and angels minister to man's nature in Christ" (*Expl. Apoc.* II, on 12:10–12).

Bede keeps Gregory's reading of the angel who refused John's adoration: "After that the Lord Jesus Christ raised the person of man, which He assumed, above the heavens, the angel feared to be worshipped by man, namely, as worshipping the God-man above himself. Yet we read of this having been done before the Incarnation of the Lord by men, and not in any wise forbidden by the angels" (*Expl. Apoc.* III, on 19:10; cf. *Hom. in Ev.* 8.2). Aquinas cites Bede elsewhere in the treatise on the angels, for the saying that "the devil does not send wicked thoughts, but kindles them" (*ST* I q. 111 a. 2 obj. 2).

7.3.3 The *Ecclesiastical History*: the angels and the dying

The *History* relates the angels' ministry at the death of the saints of the English Church. When the virgin Earcongota died in the Frankish monastery of Brige, the brethren in the other houses "declared they had then plainly heard choirs of singing angels, and, as it were, the sound of a multitude entering the monastery," and saw "a great light coming down from heaven, which bore that holy soul, set loose from the bonds of the flesh, to the eternal joys of the celestial country" (*Hist. eccl.* III.8). The monk Owini, working outside while Bishop Chad prayed alone in his retired dwelling near the church, heard "a sweet sound of singing and rejoicing descend from heaven to earth," enter the oratory, and after half an hour return to heaven. Chad summoned the brethren, announced his death, and to Owini alone explained the song:

> "If you heard the singing, and know of the coming of the heavenly company, I command you, in the Name of the Lord, that you tell it not to any before my death. But in truth they were angelic spirits, who came to call me to my heavenly reward, which I have always loved and longed after, and they promised that they would return seven days hence, and take me away with them." (*Hist. eccl.* IV.3)

On the seventh day, having received the Body and Blood of the Lord, he departed, "led, as may justly be believed, by the attendant angels," and Egbert in Ireland spoke of one who saw "the soul of his brother Cedd, with a company of angels, descending from heaven, who, having taken Ceadda's soul along with them, returned again to the heavenly kingdom" (IV.3). When the abbess Hild died at Whitby, the nun Begu at Hackness, thirteen miles away, heard the bell that called the sisters to prayer at a death, saw the roof open and a light pour down, and saw "the soul of the aforesaid handmaid of God in that same light, being carried to heaven attended and guided by angels"; another nun at Whitby itself "saw her soul ascend to heaven in the company of angels" (IV.23).

The visions of the next world show the angels as guides and defenders. The Irish monk Fursey, in a trance, "was accounted worthy to behold the sight of the choirs of angels, and to hear their glad songs of praise," among them the refrain "The saints shall go from strength to strength"; taken up again three days later, he saw "fierce conflicts of evil spirits, who by frequent accusations wickedly endeavoured to obstruct his journey to heaven; but the angels protected him, and all their endeavours were in vain." His three angel guides showed him four fires that would consume the world, of falsehood, covetousness, discord, and ruthlessness. When the fire drew near and he feared, the angel answered, "That which you did not kindle will not burn you"; one angel divided the flames while the other two defended him on either side; and when the demons accused him over the garment he had taken from a dying sinner, "the angel withstood him, saying, 'He did not receive them through avarice, but in order to save his soul' " (*Hist. eccl.* III.19). A Northumbrian householder, Drythelm, who died and rose again, was led through the places of the dead by a guide who "had a countenance full of light, and shining raiment." Left alone at the mouth of the pit, beset by dark spirits with fiery tongs, he saw "the brightness of a star shining amidst the darkness," and at the approach of his guide "all those evil spirits, that sought to carry me away with their tongs, dispersed and fled." The guide showed him the valley of purgation, where souls who repented only at death are tried until the judgment, of whom "many are succoured before the day of judgement, by the prayers of the living and their alms and fasting, and more especially by the celebration of Masses" (V.12).

A Mercian story sets the angels and the demons as witnesses at the judgment. A king's thegn who put off confession saw two fair youths bring a very small and beautiful book of his good deeds, and then an army of evil spirits bring a

book "terrible to behold, of a monstrous size" with all his sins; the youths in white said to the demons, "take him and lead him away," and he died in despair. Bede draws the lesson: "our deeds and thoughts are not scattered to the winds, but are all kept to be examined by the Supreme Judge, and will in the end be shown us either by friendly angels or by the enemy" (V.13).

The archangel Michael himself appears in the *History*. When Bishop Wilfrid lay as though dead at Meaux on his way home from Rome, he woke and told the priest Acca: "There stood by me a certain one, glorious in white raiment, and he told me that he was Michael, the Archangel, and said, 'I am sent to call you back from death: for the Lord has granted you life, through the prayers and tears of your disciples and brethren, and the intercession of His Blessed Mother Mary, of perpetual virginity' " (V.19). The archangel who, in Gregory's homily, is sent whenever a work of wonderful power is done, is sent here at the prayer of the Church and the intercession of the Mother of God.

7.4 Rabanus Maurus and the Carolingian Schools

Rabanus Maurus, abbot of Fulda and archbishop of Mainz, gave the Carolingian schools an encyclopedia in twenty-two books, *De universo*, and its chapter *De angelis* shows how the Latin teaching had settled. Rabanus copies Isidore's chapter from the *Etymologies* in order, from the Hebrew *malachoth* to the Trinity in the seraphim's cry, and then, where Isidore ends, he goes on with the words of Gregory's homily: *Sed quid prodest nos de angelicis spiritibus ista perstringere, si non studeamus haec etiam ad nostros profectus congrua consideratione derivare?* The encyclopedia gives the whole ladder of the homily, the heavenly city built of angels and men and the elect assigned to the choirs according to their lives, from those who announce little things piously to their brethren up to those whose hearts, turned to fire, give light and burn, with Gregory's warning that he who finds lesser gifts in himself must not envy greater gifts in others (cf. *Hom. in Ev.* 34.11–12). It closes with the senses in which Scripture uses the word "angel": Christ, the messenger of the Father's will and the "angel of the testament" (Mal 3:1); John the Baptist, "my angel" sent before the Lord's face; the holy preachers, as Gregory read Leviathan's verse, "the angels shall fear"; and even the devil and the unclean spirits (Gal 1:8; 1 Cor 6:3), *Quod nomen non per naturam, sed per officium ministrationis sortiti sunt*—a name they received not by nature but by the office of ministry (*De universo* I.5; PL 111, 27–32). In the same century the *Celestial Hierarchy* itself reached the Latin West, first in the version made for Hilduin of Saint-Denis after the writings came to Louis the Pious in 827, and then in the translation that John Scotus Eriugena made about 858 at the instance of Charles the Bald, through which the medieval schools read Dionysius (§6). The schools thus received the Dionysian order beside Gregory's, and Aquinas's comparison of the two is the fruit of that double inheritance (§15.1).

7.5 The Latin Fathers after Dionysius and Their Reception

The teaching of Gregory, Isidore, Bede, and Rabanus, with the place where Aquinas or the Church receives it, the visions and narratives of the passing of souls being graded Pious tradition:

Witness	Locus	Teaching	Received at
Gregory	*Hom. in Ev.* 34.3, 6	The hundred sheep and ten drachmas are angels and men; man was made the tenth so that the number of the elect be complete	*ST* I q. 108 a. 8
Gregory	*Hom. in Ev.* 34.7	Nine orders are gathered from Scripture (Eph 1:21; Col 1:16; the prophets); the nine stones of Ezek 28:13 are the nine orders	*ST* I q. 108 a. 6; Appendix B
Gregory	*Hom. in Ev.* 34.7; *Moralia* XXXII.23.47–48	The first angel was the seal of likeness, set over all the hosts and brighter than all; created first, he fell without pardon	*ST* I q. 63 a. 7 s.c. and ad 1

Witness	Locus	Teaching	Received at
Gregory	*Hom. in Ev.* 34.8	"Angel" is the name of an office, not of a nature; angels announce lesser things, archangels the highest	CCC 329; *ST* I q. 108 a. 5; *ST* I q. 113 a. 3
Gregory	*Hom. in Ev.* 34.8–9	Proper names are taken from ministries: Michael, Gabriel, Raphael	*Directory on Popular Piety* 217
Gregory	*Hom. in Ev.* 34.10	The office of each order: virtues work miracles, powers curb the demons, principalities preside, dominations possess, thrones judge, cherubim know, seraphim burn	*ST* I q. 108 aa. 5–6; *ST* I q. 109 a. 4 s.c.; *ST* I q. 110 a. 4 obj. 1
Gregory	*Hom. in Ev.* 34.11–12	The elect are assigned to the choirs by the likeness of their lives	*ST* I q. 108 a. 8
Gregory	*Hom. in Ev.* 34.12–13	With Dionysius, the higher hosts are not sent; to minister and to stand by differ; the greater send the lesser; the sent run within God	*ST* I q. 112 aa. 2–3; *ST* I q. 106 a. 3
Gregory	*Hom. in Ev.* 34.14	Each order's gift is proper and common; through charity all things belong to each	*ST* I q. 108 a. 5
Gregory	*Hom. in Ev.* 8.2	Through the Incarnation the angels acknowledge men as fellow citizens and refuse their adoration	Challoner's note on Apoc 19:10; CCC 333
Gregory	*Hom. in Ev.* 10.1; 29.2	The angel is a rational creature; man understands with the angels	*ST* I q. 51 a. 1 ad 2; *ST* I q. 54 a. 5 s.c.
Gregory	*Moralia* II.3.3; II.4.4–5	The sent angels never leave the vision of God; Satan came among them to be seen, not to see	*ST* I q. 112 a. 3 co. and ad 3
Gregory	*Moralia* IV.29.55	Man is over the beasts, angels over man, archangels over angels; one part of the universe is ruled by another	*ST* I q. 110 a. 1; *ST* I q. 112 a. 2; *ST* I q. 106 a. 3
Gregory	*Moralia* XVII.12.17	Angels preside over nations and judge their merits; the prince of Persia is a good angel	*ST* I q. 113 a. 8
Gregory	*Moralia* XVII.13.18–19	The host is numberless to man; those who minister outnumber those who stand; the angels war on the demons by authority	*ST* I q. 112 a. 3 s.c.; a. 4 ad 2; *ST* I q. 50 a. 3
Gregory	*Moralia* XXVIII.14.34	The angels, created first, are the morning stars; they rejoice that their number is filled up by men	*ST* I q. 61 a. 3 (creation with the corporeal world held more probable)
Gregory	*Moralia* V.38.68	The angelic nature is changeable and made firm by the bond of love	*ST* I q. 62 a. 8
Gregory	*Moralia* IV.3.8	The angel fell by his own wickedness, man by another's; the angel had no infirmity of flesh	*ST* I q. 64 a. 2 obj. 4 and ad 4

Witness	Locus	Teaching	Received at
Gregory	*Moralia* XXXIV.7.12–13	The elect angels were terrified at the fall of the proud and confirmed never to fall	*ST* I q. 62 a. 8
Gregory	*Moralia* XXXIV.21.40; 23.47	The devil refused chaste fear, sought to be his own first cause, and fell by pride, the root of sin	*ST* I q. 63 aa. 2–3; Challoner's note on Ezek 28:12
Gregory	*Dial.* IV.5	Nothing is disposed in the visible world but by the invisible creature	*ST* I q. 110 a. 1 s.c.
Gregory	*Dial.* IV.14–15, 19, 36	Angels and heavenly choirs attend the passing of the just; angels and demons contend for souls (Pious tradition)	CCC 335
Gregory	*Dial.* IV.29	The devil and his angels, without bodies, are tormented by corporal fire	*ST* I q. 64 a. 4 ad 3
Gregory	*Dial.* IV.58	The choirs of angels are present at the Sacrifice	CCC 335
Isidore	*Etym.* VII.5.1–4, 16–27	The name of office; nine orders; Gregory's definitions of each	*ST* I q. 108 a. 5
Isidore	*Etym.* VII.5.9–15	Proper names from ministries; Uriel added	*Directory on Popular Piety* 217
Isidore	*Etym.* VII.5.28–31	Angels preside over every place; those who stood were made firm after the fall	*ST* I q. 110 a. 1; *ST* I q. 62 a. 8
Isidore	*Sent.* I.10.2–4	Unchangeable by grace, not nature; created before all, the devil first in rank	*ST* I q. 62 a. 8; *ST* I q. 61 a. 3 (creation with the corporeal world held more probable)
Isidore	*Sent.* I.10.13–14	The lessened number filled up from elect men; grades of power and ministry	*ST* I q. 108 a. 8; *ST* I q. 106 a. 3
Isidore	*Sent.* I.10.17	The fallen know by subtlety of nature, experience of times, and revelation	*ST* I q. 58 a. 3 obj. 3 and ad 3; *ST* I q. 54 a. 5 obj. 2
Isidore	*Sent.* I.10.19–21	Angels take bodies of air; nations and all men have angels	*ST* I q. 51 a. 2 ad 3; *ST* I q. 113 aa. 2, 4
Bede	*In Luc.* I (PL 92, 315–316, 333)	Gregory's names of office; the heavenly army guards men and breaks the demons' boldness	*ST* I q. 109 a. 4; *ST* I q. 113 a. 1
Bede	*Hom.* I.1 (PL 94, 9–10)	The angel sent to the Virgin answers the serpent sent to Eve	CCC 332
Bede	*Expl. Apoc.* II, on 12:7–12	Michael fights for the pilgrim Church by prayer and help; angels rejoice at men's salvation	CCC 335
Bede	*Hist. eccl.* III.8, 19; IV.3, 23; V.12–13, 19	Angels carry the souls of saints, defend souls from the demons, and bear witness at judgment (Pious tradition)	CCC 336
Rabanus	*De universo* I.5	Isidore's chapter joined to Gregory's ladder of the elect; "angel" a name of office in all its scriptural senses	—

7.6 Anselm of Canterbury

Anselm, monk and abbot of Bec and then archbishop of Canterbury (d. 1109), whom the Church honours as a Doctor, gives the schools their first whole treatise on the fall of the angels. *De casu diaboli* is a dialogue between a master and his disciple, and it begins from a single question of the Apostle: "what hast thou that thou hast not received?" (1 Cor 4:7). Is it said to angels as well as to men? The master answers that no creature has anything of itself, and that from the supreme Good there comes nothing but good and being (c. 1). Then the disciple presses the hardest form of the difficulty. The angel who stood in the truth persevered because he had perseverance, had it because he received it, and received it because God gave it; therefore, it seems, the angel who did not stand did not persevere because God did not give. Every writer the disciple has read or heard settles the question by that rule, and he has never seen it answered (c. 2). The whole dialogue is Anselm's answer.[16]

What the angel received. The master first breaks the rule. When a man holds out a gift and another takes it, the giving causes the taking; when he holds it out and it is not taken, the refusal is not caused by his not giving, but his not giving follows from the refusal (c. 3). The devil received from God the will and the power to receive perseverance and to keep the will he had; *sponte dimisit voluntatem quam habebat*, the disciple is told, and he did not receive the keeping of it because he let it go (c. 3). The master then shows how one lets go of a thing one holds. A man who holds a coin and would rather have bread does not give up the coin because he has ceased to want it; he ceases to want to keep it because he wants something else that he cannot have without giving it up. So the devil did not desert justice because he first ceased to will it; he ceased to will it because he willed another thing, and in willing that thing he let justice go (cc. 3–4). The master closes the first argument with the sentence that answers the disciple's rule:

> *Quamvis igitur bonus angelus ideo accepit perseverantiam, quia Deus dedit, non ideo tamen malus non accepit, quia Deus non dedit: sed Deus ideo non dedit, quia ille non accepit; et ideo non accepit, quia accipere noluit.* (c. 4; PL 158:333)

Though the good angel received perseverance because God gave it, the evil angel did not fail to receive it because God did not give it; God did not give because he did not receive, and he did not receive because he would not.

Justice and advantage. Every rational will, Anselm teaches, can will only two things: justice, *iustitia*, and advantage, *commodum*, of which happiness is made (c. 4). To show why God gave the angel both wills, the master builds an angel in thought, part by part (cc. 12–14). Suppose the angel made ready to will but not yet willing: he cannot move himself to his first will, since whatever moves itself to will must already will to move itself (c. 12). Give him only the will for happiness: he can will nothing else, and he wills happiness as high as he can conceive it, even to be like God; yet his will is neither just nor unjust, because he wills by necessity, and if nothing higher were open to him he would will the pleasures of the beasts and be no more to blame (c. 13). Give him only the will for what is right: the same follows, for a rectitude he cannot help is not justice (c. 14). God therefore gave both together, so that the angel should will to be happy and should will it justly,

> *quatenus addita justitia sic temperet voluntatem beatitudinis, et resecet voluntatis excessum, et excedendi non amputet potestatem.* (c. 14; PL 158:346)

Justice is added in order that it may temper the will for happiness: that it may cut back the will's excess and yet not cut off the power to exceed. Because he wills to be happy, the angel can go beyond the measure; because he wills justly, he does not will to. The same chapter draws the end in view: the angel who does not will what he ought not, though he could, deserves never to be able to will it, and the angel who deserts justice by an immoderate will deserves to lack every good (c. 14). Justice, the disciple then agrees, is *aliquid*, a real thing, and a very good one; injustice is nothing but the absence of the justice that ought to be there, as the want of a beard is no fault in a boy and a disfigurement in a man (cc. 15–16). The will that has deserted justice keeps the debt of it, and the debt is the trace of a nobility received: to have owed and still owe justice shows the dignity of the nature; not to have it convicts the person (c. 16).

[16] *De casu diaboli* is cited from Migne's reprint (PL 158), by chapter.

The sin. What, then, did the devil will? He could not sin by willing justice, and whatever he already had he was bound to will. He therefore sinned by willing an advantage he did not yet have:

> *Peccavit ergo volendo aliquod commodum, quod nec habebat, nec tunc velle debuit, quod tamen ad augmentum beatitudinis esse illi poterat.* (c. 4; PL 158:333)

He sinned by willing some advantage which he did not have and ought not then to have willed, though it could have been an increase of his happiness. The good he reached for was a real good; the sin was the disorder of reaching for it against the will of God and before God willed to give it, as Eve willed to be like the gods before God willed it (c. 4). In that act the devil willed to be like God inordinately:

> *Etiamsi noluit omnino par esse Deo, sed aliquid minus Deo, contra voluntatem Dei, hoc ipso voluit inordinate similis esse Deo, quia propria voluntate, quae nulli subdita fuit, voluit aliquid. Solius enim Dei esse debet, sic voluntate propria velle aliquid, ut superiorem non sequatur voluntatem.* (c. 4; PL 158:333)

Even if he did not will to be altogether equal to God, but something less than God against God's will, by that very act he willed inordinately to be like God, because he willed something by his own will, subject to none; for to will by one's own will so as to follow no higher will belongs to God alone. Anselm draws the last consequence at once: in presuming to have a will of his own the devil made himself equal to God, and in willing what God did not will him to will he made himself greater, *quoniam voluntatem suam supra voluntatem Dei posuit*: he set his own will above the will of God (c. 4). What the advantage was, Anselm does not name: *Quid illud fuerit non video*, the master says; it is enough to know that it was something to which the angels could grow, which they did not receive when they were made, so that they might advance to it by merit (c. 6). Aquinas reads the chapter as teaching that the devil "sought that to which he would have come had he stood fast," and finds his own account of the devil's likeness to God in agreement with it (*ST* I q. 63 a. 3; see §13.1).

The confirmation of the good and the fall of the evil. Before the fall the good angels could sin as the others did; had they been unable, they would have kept justice by necessity, would have merited nothing, and could not rightly be called just (c. 5). The two companies divided in one choice. Those who willed the justice they had, rather than the "more" they lacked, lost, as far as their will went, the good they gave up for justice's sake, and received it from justice as a reward:

> *Quapropter adeo sunt provecti, ut sint adepti quidquid potuerunt velle; nec jam videant quid plus velle possint: et propter hoc peccare nequeunt.* (c. 6; PL 158:334)

They have been so advanced that they have attained whatever they could will, and see nothing more that they could will; and for this reason they cannot sin. Those who preferred the "more" that God did not yet will to give them lost it and lost the good they held, *ut adhaerentes justitiae nullum velle bonum possint, quo non gaudeant; et deserentes illam, nullum velle queant, quo non careant*: those who cleave to justice can will no good they do not rejoice in, and those who deserted it can will none they do not lack (c. 6). Anselm sets the two final states against each other as punishment and reward:

> *Palam igitur est quia sicut illi non posse recuperare, quod deseruit, est poena peccati, ita huic non posse deserere quod tenuit, est praemium justitiae.* (c. 24; PL 158:357)

As the one's inability to recover what he deserted is the penalty of sin, so the other's inability to desert what he held is the reward of justice. The good angel's knowledge that sin is punished, which he now has from the example of the fallen, is not the cause of his steadfastness: had neither sinned, God would have given both the same knowledge in another way, as the reward of perseverance; he taught it by the devil's fall only because his greater power brings good out of evil, so that no disorder remains in the kingdom of his wisdom (c. 25).

The fallen angel cannot return. Asked whether the deserter can come back to the will for justice by himself, the disciple answers: *Sed modo multo minus: tunc enim conditione naturae non poterat habere; nunc vero merito quoque culpae non debet habere* (c. 17; PL 158:349). Now much less; before, by the condition of his nature, he could not have it of himself; now, by the desert of his fault, he ought not to have it. And the gratitude owed to God is the same on

both sides, since both received from him to have justice, to be able to keep it, and to be able to desert it; the last was given so that they might in some way give justice to themselves by not taking it away. *Semper igitur debet Deo gratias agere malus angelus pro beatitudine quam sibi abstulit; sicut bonus pro ea quam sibi ipse dedit* (c. 18; PL 158:350): the evil angel owes God thanks for the happiness he took from himself as much as the good angel for the happiness he gave himself. God makes the evil angel unjust only by not restoring the justice he could restore (c. 18).

Neither knew what would follow. The angel who fell could not foreknow his fall. Had he foreseen it and willed it, he had already fallen; had he foreseen it and not willed it, he would have been miserable in proportion to his justice, which is unfitting before any sin (c. 21). He knew that he ought not to will what he willed and that he would deserve punishment if he did, but he did not know that the punishment would follow. Anselm adds a consideration that looks forward to *Cur Deus homo*: the angel could not easily have believed that God would damn a creature made in such goodness, since no example of avenging justice had yet been seen, and he knew the number of those made to enjoy God to be fixed with such wisdom that it had nothing superfluous and would be imperfect if diminished (c. 23). The good angel did not know it either; had he known it, he would have had two reasons for not sinning, the love of justice, honourable and sufficient, and the fear of punishment, neither honourable nor needed, and his perseverance shines the more because love of justice alone was its reason (c. 24).

The will as its own cause. The dialogue ends by asking why the angel willed what he ought not. The will to do so, as a power and as an act, was something, and so was good and from God, who permitted it; the evil in it was the injustice, which is nothing and is the sinner's own (cc. 19–20, 28). Beyond that there is no cause to find:

> *Nonnisi quia voluit. Nam haec voluntas nullam aliam habuit causam, qua impelleretur aliquatenus, aut attraheretur; sed ipsa sibi efficiens causa fuit, si dici potest, et effectus.* (c. 27; PL 158:360)

Only because he willed. This will had no other cause by which it was driven or drawn; it was, if it can be so said, its own efficient cause and its own effect. The Fourth Lateran Council confesses the same in the Church's words: *Diabolus enim et alii daemones a Deo quidem natura creati sunt boni, sed ipsi per se facti sunt mali* (DS 800).

The places of the fallen (*Cur Deus homo* I.16–18). In the first book of *Cur Deus homo* Boso asks Anselm for the reason of something "a part of our belief": that God meant to make up the number of the fallen angels from human nature. Anselm answers:

> There is no question that intelligent nature, which finds its happiness, both now and forever, in the contemplation of God, was foreseen by him in a certain reasonable and complete number, so that there would be an unfitness in its being either less or greater. (I.16)

Either the fallen angels were made within that number, or they fell of necessity because they were outside it, which is absurd; the number must therefore be restored, and it can be restored only from men (I.16). Other angels cannot be substituted, for they "ought to be such as the former angels would have been, had they never sinned": they would have persevered without seeing the punishment of sin, which no angel created after the fall could do. "For it must not for a moment be supposed that good angels are upheld by the fall of evil angels, but by their own virtue" (I.17). Anselm then argues at length that the elect will be more than the fallen angels, so that no saint need rejoice at another's ruin as the condition of his own glory, and that man was made for his own sake and not only as a replacement: "even had no angel fallen, men would yet have had their place in the celestial kingdom" (I.18). Reading Moses' canticle in both its translations, "according to the number of the children of Israel" and "according to the number of the angels of God" (Deut 32:8), he concludes "that as many men will be taken as there were angels who remained steadfast" (I.18). He offers the whole as his opinion, to be received with "no further certainty than as my opinion for the present, until God makes some clearer revelation to me" (I.18).[17] Aquinas holds, with the text Hugh of Saint Victor also cites, that more angels stood than fell (*ST* I q. 63 a. 9), and that men are taken up into the angelic orders by grace (*ST* I q. 108 a. 8).

[17]The English of *Cur Deus homo* is Sidney Norton Deane's (Chicago, 1903).

7.7 Bernard of Clairvaux

Bernard, abbot of Clairvaux (d. 1153), the Mellifluous Doctor, speaks of the angels as a monk speaks of the company he expects to keep. He treats them in four places: in the fifth book of *De consideratione*, written for his former monk Pope Eugenius III, where the angels are the first object of the ascent above the Pope's cares; in his Lenten sermons on the ninetieth psalm, *Qui habitat*, where the eleventh and twelfth expound "He hath given his angels charge over thee" (Ps 90[91]:11); in his two sermons for the feast of Saint Michael; and throughout the sermons on the Song of Songs.[18]

Faith, understanding, and opinion. Before turning to the angels Bernard distinguishes three ways of knowing invisible things: "Faith is, by the exercise of the will, a sure foretaste of truth not yet manifested. Understanding is the sure and clear knowledge of some invisible thing. Opinion is the holding something provisionally true which you do not know to be false" (*De consid.* V.3.6). He then directs consideration to "our mother, Jerusalem above" and sorts what is known of her citizens by these three ways:

> And first let us remember that the citizens of that country are spirits, mighty, glorious, blessed, separate personalities, of graduated rank, from the beginning standing in their own order, perfect of their kind, having ethereal bodies, endowed with immortality, passionless; not so created, but so made—that is, through grace, not by nature; beings of pure mind, benignant affections, religious and devout; of unblemished morality; inseparably one in heart and mind, blessed with unbroken peace, God's building, dedicated to the divine praises and service. All this we ascertain by reading, and hold by faith. (V.4.7)

Of their bodies, "some authorities hesitate to say not only whence they are derived, but whether in any real sense they exist at all," and Bernard is content to leave the matter among opinions. That the angels have understanding is neither of faith nor of opinion, but a conclusion of the understanding itself, "for if they had not understanding, they could not be partakers of the Divine nature" (V.4.7). Their names are known to us by hearing, and by the names "the duties, merits, ranks, orders, of these blessed ones ... in one way or another may be conjectured and distinguished" (V.4.7). Bernard's angelology declares each thing at the degree at which it is known: the angels' nature and blessedness by faith, their intelligence by reason, the offices signified by their names by a reverent conjecture.

The nine names (V.4.8). The conjecture follows at once, each clause opening with *Putemus*, "let us suppose." Bernard goes up the nine names in Gregory's sequence. The Angels are those "who are believed to have been given as guardians of individual men," of whom the Saviour said, "Their angels do always behold the face of your Father"; the Archangels, over them, are sent only "for particular and very weighty reasons," as "the great Archangel Gabriel was, as we read, sent to Mary, and for the greatest of all reasons." The Virtues are those through whom signs appear in the elements for the warning of men, and Bernard finds them in the Gospel, where after "there shall be signs in the sun, and the moon, and the stars" comes "for the Virtues of the heavens shall be moved"; the Powers restrain the power of darkness and the malignant spirits of the air; the Principalities establish, rule, and change all sovereignty on earth; the Dominions tower above the rest, and to them the lower orders render account "as it were to their masters" (V.4.8; Luke 21:25–26). Of the Thrones he writes: *Putemus Thronos alto etiam ab his evolasse recessu, qui ex eo quod sedent, Throni dicuntur; et ex eo sedent, quod sedit in eis Deus* (V.4.8; PL 182:792): let us suppose that the Thrones have flown to a height far withdrawn even from these, that they are called Thrones because they sit, and that they sit because God is seated in them. Their sitting is "the deepest tranquillity, the utmost calmness and serenity, the peace which passes all understanding." The Cherubim drink at the fount of wisdom, "the mouth of the Most High," and pour its streams upon the city; the Seraphim, set on fire by the divine fire, kindle all things, "so that the citizens may be each a burning and a shining lamp, burning with charity, shining with knowledge" (V.4.8; for the same offices in the *Summa*'s sequence, see §15.1).

The orders as mirrors of God (V.4.9–10). Bernard does not stay with the orders. "How good it is, Eugenius, for us to be here! But how much better will it be if we ever altogether follow on whither we have in part gone before!" (V.4.9). The soul that gathered all its affections would travel round "the abodes of light" and see the heart of God revealed there (V.4.9). Then each order becomes a window on its Maker. In the Seraphim is seen how

[18]The English of *De consideratione* is George Lewis's (Oxford, 1908); of the sermons for the seasons, that of a priest of Mount Melleray (Dublin, 1921–1925), and of the sermons on the Song, Samuel J. Eales's (London, 1896); the Latin is from Migne (PL 182–183).

he loves who has no cause to love; in the Cherubim that the Lord is a God of knowledge; in the Thrones the Judge who will not deceive and cannot be deceived; and so down the scale: "In the Principalities we may perceive the fount of all things; as a door turns on its hinge, so the universe depends on the King Himself. In the Powers we may see how powerfully the First Cause protects those over whom He rules, keeping off and driving back the hostile powers" (V.4.10). The last are nearest to us:

> Lastly, as we contemplate the Angels and Archangels, we may see, and marvel, how true it is in our experience that 'He careth for us'; He who never ceases to delight us with the visits of such glorious beings, to instruct us with their revelations, admonish us through their suggestions, solace us by their zealous attention. (V.4.10)

The angel with the soul, God in the soul (V.5.11–12). All the gifts of the orders come from "one and the self-same Spirit dividing to them severally as He willed": the Seraphim burn, but with the fire of God; the Cherubim shine, but by participation in the truth (V.5.11). *Adsunt Angeli et Archangeli: sed ille germanior nobis, qui non modo adest, sed inest* (V.5.11; PL 182:795): Angels and Archangels are present with us, but he is closer kin to us who is not only present but within. Eugenius may object that an angel can also be within, since Zacharias heard "the angel that spoke in me" (Zach 1:14). Bernard grants it and draws the line:

> *Inest Angelus suggerens bona, non ingerens: inest hortans ad bonum, non bonum creans. . . . Angelus ergo cum anima, Deus in anima. Ille ut contubernalis animae inest, Deus ut vita.* (V.5.12; PL 182:795)

The angel is within as one who suggests good things, not as one who puts them in; as one who urges to the good, not as one who creates it. "The Angel, therefore, is with the soul, God is in the soul. The Angel is in the soul as a comrade, God as life" (V.5.12, Lewis). God loves like Charity, knows like Truth, judges like Equity, rules like Majesty, guards like Safety, works like Virtue, reveals like Light; "All these things the Angels also do, and so do we, but in a far inferior way, not, of course, by our native goodness, but by the goodness whereof we partake" (V.5.12). Aquinas determines the same boundary: an angel can persuade the will by presenting a good to the intellect, but God alone moves it from within (*ST* I q. 106 a. 2; *ST* I q. 111 a. 2).

How each order loves (*In Cant.* 19). Expounding "therefore young maidens have loved thee" (Cant 1:2[3]), Bernard asks why each of the heavenly orders loves the Lord Jesus, and finds the answer in what each contemplates. The Angels rejoice to execute the judgments of God; the Archangels are admitted more nearly into the counsels of the eternal Wisdom; the Virtues search out "the secret and permanent causes of miracles"; the Powers magnify "the Almighty power of our Crucified Lord"; the Principalities see that he is "the Firstbegotten of all Creation, and the Principle of existence to the whole universe"; the Dominations trace the dominion of Christ that no resistance can check (19.2–3). Upon the Thrones God is seated, and from them, "as from a solemn auditorium," he teaches knowledge to angels and to men (19.4). The Cherubim drink from the Fountain himself, the Lord Jesus, and the Seraphim are so drawn into God, who is Love, that they seem one spirit with him, "just as the fire which enkindles air, and impresses upon it heat and colour like its own, so that it is manifestly not merely ignited, but itself become fire" (19.5). Then Bernard gathers the whole choir into one sentence:

> God is, then, loved by the Angels because of the supreme righteousness of His judgments; by the Archangels because of the supreme wisdom of His purposes; by the Virtues on account of the most blessed showing forth of miracles and wonders by which He deigns to draw the unbelieving to faith; but by the Powers on account of that power, equally just and prevailing, by which He is wont to defeat the cruelty of the wicked, and to defend the good against them; by the Principalities on account of that eternal and primordial power which bestows the principle of existence, and existence itself, upon every creature . . . and, lastly, by the Séraphin, inasmuch as He is Himself Love, that He hateth nothing that He has made, and wills that all men should come to the knowledge of the Truth and be saved. (19.6)

"All these spirits, then, love God according to the degree of knowledge they have of Him" (19.7). The sermon keeps Gregory's sequence of the orders, as *De consideratione* does.

The angels and bodies (*In Cant.* 5). The fifth sermon distinguishes four orders of spirits, the beast's, man's, the angel's, and God's, and asks what need each has of a body. The heavenly spirits need bodies not for themselves but for their ministry: "how can they without bodies fulfil their ministry, especially towards those who are living in bodies?" They were seen by the patriarchs, entered their tents, ate with them, and washed their feet (5.2). For their own knowledge they need none, since the heavenly spirit reaches the highest things "by its native force and the kinship of its nature to them" and reads without contradiction in the Book of Life (5.4). Whether their bodies are natural to them, or are taken and laid aside for their visible appearances, Bernard declines to determine, since "the Fathers appear to have held diverse opinions" (5.7). One thing he teaches without reserve: "no created spirit can by itself reach unto our minds ... This prerogative is reserved for the supreme Spirit" (5.8). Aquinas cites a sentence of the sixth sermon for the opinion that angels have bodies naturally united to them and reads it of assumed bodies (*ST* I q. 51 a. 1 obj. 1 and ad 1); the *Summa* determines that the angels are incorporeal and assume bodies for their ministry (*ST* I q. 51 aa. 1–2; see §9.1).

The angels at the Office and the one Bride (*In Cant.* 7, 27). The friends of the Bridegroom through whom the Bride asks for his kiss are the holy angels, "who are present with human beings who pray, and offer to God their prayers and vows," as Raphael told Tobias that he had offered his prayer to the Lord (*In Cant.* 7.4; Tob 12:12). They associate themselves with those who sing psalms, as the psalm says, "I will sing praise to thee in the sight of the angels" (Ps 137[138]:1). Bernard rebukes the monks who sleep at the night Office: they do not honour the citizens of heaven, who are touched by their vigilance "and delight to assist at your solemn services" (7.4). In the twenty-seventh sermon the whole heavenly company is the Bride's pattern. God "has created some Angels, others Archangels, but others Virtues, Dominations, Principalities, Powers, Thrones; others, again, Chérubin, and others Séraphin. These are the stars with which His heaven is studded"; and they are so benign that "some of them do not think it burdensome to remain among us, to be actively employed in watching over us and doing us good" (27.5). The Church and the angels are one Bride:

> But just as He desired out of diverse flocks of sheep to make one, so that there should be one Fold, and one Shepherd (John x. 16); so, having from the beginning of the world one Bride, with whom He was closely united—I mean the multitude of the angels—it pleased Him to call together a Church out of men also, and with this to unite that which is from heaven, so that there shall be one Bridegroom and one Bride. (27.6)

The ways of the angels (*In Ps. Qui habitat* 11). Commenting "to keep thee in all thy ways," Bernard examines four ways: of men, of the demons, of the holy angels, and of the Lord. The ways of the demons are presumption and obstinacy. Lucifer began with presumption, "I will exalt my throne above the stars of God ... I will be like the Most High" (Isa 14:13–14), and "Presumption has made each of them 'a spirit that goeth,' and obstinacy 'a spirit that returneth no more' " (11.4). The ways of the holy angels are those the Only-Begotten revealed when he said that the disciples would see the angels ascending and descending upon the Son of man (John 1:51):

> Therefore the ways of the angels are ascents and descents. They ascend for their own sakes; they descend or rather condescend to us and for us. For these blessed spirits mount up to God in blissful contemplation, and out of compassion for us they come down to our lowliness to keep us in all our ways. They ascend to rejoice in God's presence; they descend to execute His will, "for He hath given His angels charge over thee." Nevertheless, not even when they descend to us are they deprived of the vision of glory, because they "always see the Face of the Father." (11.6)

Aquinas gives the reason in the terms of the schools: the angels order their outward actions by intellect alone, and their ministry does not impede their contemplation (*ST* I q. 112 a. 1 ad 3).

Reverence, devotion, confidence (*In Ps. Qui habitat* 12). The twelfth sermon is Bernard's great teaching on the guardian angels. The devil himself, by quoting this psalm against the Lord in the desert, gave the Church the occasion to sing it through Lent (12.3). God has sent his Son, given his Spirit, promised the vision of his face, "And lest there should be any one at all in the kingdom of heaven unoccupied in the care of us, Thou hast appointed the blessed angels 'to minister for us,' Thou hast charged them with our keeping, and ordered them to act as our guides" (12.3). Who gave the charge? The Divine Majesty. To whom? "to those sublime and blissful spirits,

who dwell so near Himself … and are truly the 'domestics of God.' " Concerning whom? "Lord, 'what is man that Thou art mindful of him?' " (12.4). Then comes the heart of the sermon:[19]

> *Quantam tibi debet hoc verbum inferre reverentiam, afferre devotionem, conferre fiduciam! reverentiam pro praesentia, devotionem pro benevolentia, fiduciam pro custodia. Caute ambula, ut videlicet cui adsunt angeli, sicut eis mandatum est, in omnibus viis tuis. In quovis diversorio, in quovis angulo, angelo tuo reverentiam habe. Tunc audeas illo praesente, quod vidente me non auderes?* (12.6; PL 183:233)

How much reverence this word should bring you, how much devotion, how much confidence: reverence for their presence, devotion for their goodwill, confidence for their guardianship. Walk warily, as one with whom the angels are present in all his ways, as they have been commanded. In whatever lodging, in whatever corner, have reverence for your angel. Would you dare in his presence what you would not dare with me watching? The Mount Melleray translator renders it: "In every place, whether public or private, show respect for thy angel. Surely thou wouldst not dare to do in his presence what thou wouldst fear to do in mine" (12.6). If one doubts a presence he cannot see, faith, which the Apostle calls "the evidence (*argumentum*) of things that appear not," proves it: "The angels are present, therefore, and they are present to thee: not only are they with thee, but they are with thee to defend thee" (12.6; Heb 11:1).

Honour goes first to God, who gave the charge; yet "we must also show ourselves grateful to these celestial spirits, who obey the divine injunction with so much charity, and assist us in our so great necessity. … Let us give them love for love" (12.7). Bernard explains the Apostle's "to God alone be honour and glory" by the sun, whose light does not extinguish the stars but covers them: the honour of God prevails in all honour given to others, so that he "is honoured in all others," and "let us in Him love His angels, and love them tenderly, since we are destined as 'joint-heirs' with them to share in their glory" (12.7). Why fear under such guardians? *Fideles sunt, prudentes sunt, potentes sunt: quid trepidamus?* (12.8; PL 183:234): they are faithful, prudent, and mighty; why do we tremble? The "hands" in which they bear us up (Ps 90[91]:12) are spiritual helps; Bernard names two: the thought of the brevity of tribulation and the thought of the eternity of the reward, printed on the heart, "since it is certain that evil suggestions come from the bad angels" (12.10). The sermon ends with a counsel: *Habetote familiares angelos, fratres mei, frequentate eos sedula cogitatione et devota oratione, qui semper vobis adsunt ad custodiam et consolationem* (12.10; PL 183:235): make the angels your familiar friends, my brothers; visit them often by attentive thought and devout prayer, for they are always with you to guard and console. The next sermon adds that the same holy angels "will bear us up in their hands when life's journey is ended," as Lazarus "was carried by angels into Abraham's bosom" (13.1; Luke 16:22). Aquinas takes the same verse of the psalm for the *sed contra* of the question on guardianship (*ST* I q. 113 a. 1; §17).

Why the angels love us (*In festo S. Michaelis* 1–2). On Michaelmas Bernard confesses that he cannot speak of the angels' glory, and speaks instead of their kindness, since "these exalted creatures show themselves not less amiable by their condescension than they are admirable by their state" (1.1). They are ministering spirits (Heb 1:14), and no angel disdains ministry, since the King of angels came "not to be ministered unto but to minister" (Matt 20:28). Christ's ministry surpasses theirs: "The angels minister indeed, yet not of their own. They offer to the Lord for us, not their own, but our good works, and bring us back in return His graces"; hence the angel of the Apocalypse offers the prayers of the saints only after "there was given to him much incense" (1.2; Apoc 8:3). Christ offered himself, and ministers his own flesh to us "even to this day" (1.3). The angels love us "because we have been loved so much by Christ": "We, O happy spirits, we are the poor little dogs of that mighty Lord Whom you love with such ardent affection" (1.3). Bernard gives three further reasons for their care, and names them in one Latin sentence:

> *Hic est, dilectissimi, funiculus triplex, quo de excelso caelorum habitaculo ad consolandos, ad visitandos, ad adjuvandos nos attrahitur supereminens charitas angelorum, propter Deum, propter nos, propter se ipsos.* (1.4; PL 183:449)

This is the threefold cord by which the surpassing charity of the angels is drawn down from its high dwelling to console, visit, and help us: for God's sake, for ours, and for their own. For God's sake, because they imitate his mercy; for ours, because they pity in us a likeness to themselves, since human souls, capable of reason and of beatitude, are akin to them; for their own, because they long to see the ruined walls of their city rebuilt from the living stones

[19]The Mount Melleray translator notes (1921) that these paragraphs are read in the Roman and Cistercian breviaries as the lessons of the second nocturn of the feast of 2 October; on the feast see §22.

of men (1.4). What pleases them most in us is unity and peace, "the angels of peace" finding in concord "a new Jerusalem on earth," and what drives them away is discord (1.5–6). The second sermon applies the Gospel of the feast, the Lord's warning against scandalising the little ones whose angels see the Father's face (Matt 18:6–10): in one who does not love his brother the angels find none of the three reasons for loving him (2.2).

7.8 Hugh of Saint Victor

Hugh, canon of the abbey of Saint-Victor at Paris (d. 1141), wrote in *De sacramentis christianae fidei* the first great ordered account of the whole faith in the schools, and the fifth part of its first book is a treatise on the angels: *De creatione angelorum et natura, et confirmatione et lapsu* (PL 176:245–264). Its thirty-four short chapters set the agenda that the Lombard took over, often word for word, and through him the schools. Hugh also commented on the *Celestial Hierarchy* in the Latin of John Scotus (PL 175:923–1154).

When and how they were made (I.5.1–7). Hugh proposes to ask when the angels were created, what they were made, what they became when divided by aversion and conversion, and how they were disposed when judged by damnation and glorification; then their number, orders, excellence, gifts, offices, and God's government of them (I.5.1). Scripture says both that wisdom was created first of all (Eccli 1:4) and that "In the beginning God created heaven, and earth" (Gen 1:1). Hugh reconciles them: the rational creature was made first not in time but *causa solum et respectu et dignitate*, in cause, relation, and dignity, since the bodily creation is ordered to it as it is ordered to God, and it alone was made to God's likeness (I.5.3). In time the spiritual and the corporeal creatures began together, *simul in tempore uno et in principio temporis* (I.5.4), as "He that liveth for ever created all things together" (Eccli 18:1). Some reckon ages in which the angels served God before the world; Hugh prefers the other view *salva reverentia secretorum in quibus nihil temere asserendum putamus* (I.5.4; PL 176:249): saving the reverence due to hidden things, in which nothing is to be asserted rashly. The angelic nature was formed and unformed at once: formed by wisdom in the habit of its nature, unformed in the form it was yet to receive *per amorem et conversionem ad creatorem suum* (I.5.5), through love and conversion to its Creator. It was not made from a pre-existing matter, but as spirits *personaliter distincta et expressa*, personally distinct and expressed, with innate reason and free choice, able without violence to turn either way, *in altero adjuti sine coactione, in altero derelicti sine oppressione* (I.5.7; PL 176:250): helped without compulsion to the one, left without oppression to the other.

Four properties and their degrees (I.5.8–14). Hugh gives the angels four properties in their first condition: *substantiam simplicem et immaterialem; secundum, discretionem personalem; et tertium formam sapientiae et intelligentiae rationalem; quartum vero sive ad bonum sive ad malum liberam inclinandae voluntatis et electionis propriae potestatem* (I.5.8; PL 176:250): a simple and immaterial substance, personal distinctness, the rational form of wisdom and intelligence, and the free power of inclining the will and its own choice to good or evil. In these they differed by degree, as bodies differ in purity, from the first moment of their making: those created more subtle in nature and keener in wisdom were set higher in dignity, *ita tamen ut ii qui excellentiores constituti sunt sine superbia praelati essent, et qui inferiores positi sunt, sine miseria subjecti* (I.5.10; PL 176:251): so that the higher were set over others without pride and the lower placed beneath them without misery. Their power was threefold, over themselves, over one another, and over what was placed beneath them: *Prima potestas virtutis erat, secunda dominationis, tertia administrationis* (I.5.13), of strength, of dominion, of administration. Their knowledge was threefold too: they knew what they had been made, by whom, and with whom, so that they understood what to seek and what to refuse, their beginning and end, and what they owed each other (I.5.14). Before these distinctions Hugh confesses the limits of the inquirer: *Nos vero caligante intelligentia timide incedimus ad illa, et palpamus sensu cognitionis infirmo quae virtute non comprehendimus* (I.5.12; PL 176:251): we approach these things fearfully, with clouded understanding, and feel with a weak sense of knowledge what we cannot grasp by power.

Perfect in the first degree; not foreknowing (I.5.15–22). Were the angels made perfect? Hugh distinguishes three perfections: of the nature made, of the nature glorified, and of the uncreated nature. The angels were made perfect in the first, to come to the second under the third; had they begun in the second, there would have been no room left for them to grow or to fail (I.5.16–17). They did not foreknow their future: *Propterea monstratum est eis quid faciendum esset non quid esset futurum* (I.5.18; PL 176:253): they were shown what they were to do, not what was to come, so that they might choose freely, directed by reason and not driven by any necessity of foresight.

All were made good, since the Creator cannot be the author of evil; good, just, and blessed with the goodness nature had received at its beginning, not with any they had made or merited (I.5.19).

Conversion and aversion (I.5.23–26). The angels, one in their created goodness, began to be divided: some rose above what they had been made and became good by justice, others fell below it and became evil by fault. Both movements were of the will, and the will of liberty (I.5.23). Hugh states the part of grace in each with exactness:

> *Qui autem ad bonum convertebantur voluntarie movebantur gratia cooperante sine coactione. Qui autem a bono avertebantur sponte praecipitabantur gratia deserente sine oppressione.* (I.5.24; PL 176:257)

Those who turned to the good were moved willingly, grace working with them without compulsion; those who turned from the good fell headlong of their own accord, grace leaving them without oppression. Those who fell were not left by grace first and then fell; they were left in the very act of turning away, as the others were taken up in the very act of turning (I.5.24). The evil lay neither in the will, nor in its motion, nor in the thing it moved toward, all of which were from God, but in moving beyond the measure given, *extra mensuram* (I.5.26). Of the wicked will God is the orderer and not the maker: *Malarum enim voluntatum ordinator est Deus, non Creator* (I.5.27; PL 176:258). He restrains the evil angels in four ways: by the limit of the power given them by nature, by a sudden and hidden act of his power that makes a thing impossible to them, by the obstacle of other powers set against them, and by the inward judgment by which he bends even wills that resist him to fulfil his will (I.5.28; §18).

Nine orders and the tenth (I.5.30–33). On the orders Hugh writes:

> *De ordinibus angelorum hoc auctoritas promulgavit, novem in principio conditos a Deo ordines angelorum, id est angelos, archangelos, principatus, potestates, virtutes, dominationes, thronos, cherubim, et seraphim, ut addito homine denarius consummaretur perfectionis caelestis.* (I.5.30; PL 176:260)

Authority has declared that nine orders of angels were founded by God in the beginning, the Angels, Archangels, Principalities, Powers, Virtues, Dominations, Thrones, Cherubim, and Seraphim, so that with man added the tenfold number of heavenly perfection might be completed. Hugh's list runs upward in the Dionysian order. Man was not made only because the angels fell, as some think; but because man, created afterwards, is led to the place from which they fell, the society diminished by their fall is repaired by him. Tradition holds that some fell from every order, since the Apostle names "principalities and powers" of darkness (Eph 6:12); *Nusquam tamen in Scriptura nequam spiritus seraphim appellatos invenio* (I.5.30; PL 176:261): yet nowhere in Scripture does Hugh find evil spirits called Seraphim, since whatever other gifts they keep in their malice, they could not keep charity. On the number of the fallen there is no certain authority, *Omnino tamen probabile videtur plures remansisse quam cecidisse* (I.5.31): it seems altogether probable that more remained than fell, as Eliseus said, "there are more with us than with them" (4 Kgs 6:16), which is the *sed contra* of Aquinas's article (*ST* I q. 63 a. 9). The names of the orders *non propter se sed propter nos data sunt* (I.5.32; PL 176:261): were given not for their sake but for ours, since those known to themselves by contemplation become known to us by their names. Each order is named from the gift it holds most excellently, though in the heavenly country all have all, not equally: the Seraphim, who excel all in love and in knowledge, are named from the greater gift, charity, and leave the other names to the orders after them (I.5.32). Whether all are sent, Hugh reports three opinions: that some go out and others always stand within (Dan 7:10); that all are sent, some by office and some by occasion, taking the name of their ministry for the time; and that the three highest orders always stand before God, the three lowest are sent, and the three middle pass the divine command from the higher to the lower, so that all are rightly called angels, messengers (I.5.33). Aquinas determines the question in *ST* I q. 112 aa. 2–4.

Love goes in where knowledge stays outside (*In Hier. cael.* VI). Expounding the Seraphim of the seventh chapter of the *Celestial Hierarchy*, whose name, Dionysius says, teaches their "warmth, and keenness" (*CH* 7.1), Hugh writes one of the most quoted sentences of the Victorine school. Love is sharp because it cannot rest outside the beloved, but must go through everything until it comes to him, and into him:

> *Si tamen hoc intelligi potest, quoniam dilectio supereminet scientiae, et major est intelligentia. Plus enim diligitur, quam intelligitur, et intrat dilectio, et appropinquat, ubi scientia foris est.* (*In Hier. cael.* VI; PL 175:1038)

If indeed it can be understood, for love surpasses knowledge and is greater than understanding. More is loved than is understood, and love goes in and draws near where knowledge stands outside. Aquinas gives the reason in his reply on the Seraphim and Cherubim: to love the higher things, and God above all, is better than to know them (*ST* I q. 108 a. 6 ad 3; on *CH* 7, §6.7).

7.9 Honorius Augustodunensis

Honorius, the monk and teacher called Augustodunensis (fl. early twelfth century), wrote in the *Elucidarium* a short catechism in questions and answers between a disciple and his master. Its first book gives the angels a sequence of plain answers (PL 172:1113–1116). God, *ut praepotens rex*, as a mighty king, first built himself a palace, the kingdom of heaven, and predestined to it a number of chosen knights: *quem nec liceret excedi, et quem necesse esset compleri* (I.6), a number that might not be exceeded and had to be filled. He set the number at ten, *novem quidem ordinibus angelorum, et decimo hominum*: nine orders of angels and a tenth of men. Why nine? *Propter Trinitatem, in novenario enim numero ternarius tertio fit repetitus*: for the Trinity, since in nine the three is thrice repeated. Why one of men? For the unity, so that the Unity in Trinity might be praised by angels and men, the spiritual creature and the corporeal (I.6). The angels were made when it was said, *Fiat lux* (Gen 1:3); their nature is *spiritualis ignis*, spiritual fire, as it is written, *Qui facit angelos suos flammam ignis* (I.6; Heb 1:7). They have no need of names: *Tanta scientia est in angelis, ut non indigeant nominibus* (I.6), such is their knowledge; the names Michael, Gabriel, and Raphael are rather surnames given by men from what they do.

The first angel, seeing himself surpass all the orders in glory, willed to be equal to God and to rule the others as a tyrant; he was cast from the palace into prison, and the brightest became the darkest (I.7). Honorius teaches that he fell at once: *Non plenam horam in veritate stetit, quia mox ut creatus est cecidit*, he did not stand a full hour in the truth, for he fell as soon as he was created; and he stayed no longer *ne aliquid de interna dulcedine gustaret, qui tam mature sibi tantam majestatem usurparet*, lest he who so early usurped so great a majesty should taste anything of the inward sweetness (I.7; PL 172:1114). The fallen could not return, since as they fell with none urging them they would have had to rise with none helping them; and Christ did not redeem them, because the angels were not born from one angel as men are from one man, and one redeemed angel would have left the rest outside, while an angel, being immortal, could not die for satisfaction (I.8). Other angels could not be created to replace them, for a replacement would have had to be such as the fallen would have been had they stood without seeing any punishment (I.8), the argument of Anselm's *Cur Deus homo* I.17. The good were confirmed at once:

> *Post lapsum illorum mox ita confirmati sunt, ut nunquam cadere nec peccare possint. — D. Quid est, non possint? — M. Nunquam velint.* (I.10; PL 172:1115)

After the others fell they were at once so confirmed that they can never fall or sin. — What does "cannot" mean? — That they will never will to. Their confirmation came not from the others' fall but from their own merit: *Cum enim viderent illos malum superbiendo eligere, indignati sunt, et summo bono fortiter inhaeserunt*, when they saw the others choose evil in their pride, they were indignant and clung strongly to the highest Good (I.10; PL 172:1116). Their form is in a manner God's: *Ut enim imago cerae imprimitur signaculo, sic expressa est in eis Dei similitudo*, as an image is pressed into wax by a seal, so the likeness of God is pressed into them, in that they are light, incorporeal, and adorned with every beauty; and *Nihil est in rerum natura quod eos lateat, cum in Deo omnia conspiciant*: nothing in nature is hidden from them, since they see all things in God (I.10). Man was made tenth, *ut compleretur electorum numerus* (I.11), so that the number of the elect might be filled. The demons know much from their angelic nature but not the future, nor thoughts, except as God reveals them, and they can do evil *non tamen quantum volunt, sed quantum a bonis angelis permittuntur* (I.9; PL 172:1115): not as much as they will, but as much as the good angels permit.

The second book gives the guardian angels a chapter:

> *D. Habent homines custodes angelos? — M. Unicuique genti, unicuique civitati praesunt Angeli, qui jura, leges, mores juste dispensant et ordinant. Unaquaeque etiam anima, dum in corpus mittitur, angelo committitur, qui eam semper ad bonum incitet, et omnia opera ejus Deo et angelis in caelis referat.* (II.28; PL 172:1154)

Angels preside over every nation and every city, justly dispensing and ordering their laws and customs; and every soul, when it is sent into the body, is entrusted to an angel, who always urges it to good and reports all its works to God

and the angels in heaven. God and the angels, who see all things in God, need no report; the angel's reporting is his rejoicing at our progress, as there is joy before the angels over one sinner who repents (Luke 15:10), and his grief is his indignation at our sins. The angels come to help when there is need, and most of all when they are invited by prayer, for they pass from heaven to earth in a moment, and wherever they are sent they always see the face of the Father. They appear in human form, in a body taken from the air, visible rather than palpable, and seen only by those to whom they will to show themselves (II.28). On the guardians in the treatise see §17; on assumed bodies, §9.1.

7.10 Hildegard of Bingen

Hildegard, abbess of Rupertsberg near Bingen (d. 1179), whom Benedict XVI proclaimed a Doctor of the Church in 2012, received the visions of the *Scivias* and wrote them down with their interpretation, each vision told and then explained by the heavenly voice. The sixth vision of the first book is the vision of the choirs of angels (PL 197:437–441).

The vision. The vision opens:

> *Deinde vidi in altitudine caelestium secretorum duas acies supernorum spirituum multa claritate fulgentes, et qui in prima acie erant velut pennas in pectoribus suis habebant et facies ut facies hominum prae se ferebant, in quibus et vultus hominum quasi in pura aqua apparebant.* (*Scivias* I.6; PL 197:437)

Then I saw, in the height of the heavenly secrets, two ranks of spirits shining with great brightness; those in the first rank had, as it were, wings on their breasts and faces like the faces of men, in which the faces of men appeared as in clear water. In the second rank the image of the Son of man shone in the faces as in a mirror. These two ranks were ringed, like a crown, by five more: the first of the five shone from the shoulders down; the second was too bright to look upon; the third was like white marble, with heads like men's, burning torches above them, and an iron cloud about them from the shoulders down; the fourth had human faces and feet, helmets, and tunics of marble; and the fifth showed no human form at all, *velut aurora rubebant*, glowing red like the dawn. Around these five, two further ranks stood like a crown: the first full of eyes and wings, a mirror in every eye and a human face in every mirror, their wings raised to the height above; the second burning like fire, *plurimasque pennas habentes in quibus quasi in speculo omnes ordines ecclesiasticae institutionis insignitos demonstrabant* (PL 197:437): with many wings, in which, as in a mirror, they showed all the orders of the Church's institution marked out. And all the ranks resounded with every kind of music the wonders that God works in blessed souls, and glorified God magnificently (PL 197:437).

The interpretation. The voice explains that God made some creatures to cleave to earthly things and others to dwell in the heavenly, and disposed the blessed spirits both for the salvation of men and for the honour of his name: some to help men in their needs, others to make known to men the judgments of his secrets (PL 197:437). The two inner ranks are the Angels and the Archangels, and they signify that body and soul must serve God. The Angels' wings are the desires of their deep understanding, *non quod pennas ut aves habeant, sed quod voluntatem Dei in desideriis suis velociter perficiant, velut homo in cogitationibus suis celeriter volat* (PL 197:438): not that they have wings like birds, but that they swiftly accomplish God's will in their desires, as a man flies swiftly in his thoughts; and the human faces in them show that they watch God's will among men and show him men's deeds. The Archangels bear the image of the Son of man because they *incarnatum Verbum Dei purissime magnificant, quia ipsi, arcana Dei cognoscentes, mysteria incarnationis Filii Dei signis suis frequenter praeinsinuabant* (PL 197:438): most purely magnify the incarnate Word of God, since, knowing the hidden things of God, they often foretold the mysteries of the Son's Incarnation by their signs. The five ranks that encircle them are the five senses of man, cleansed by the five wounds of the Son. The first of the five are the Virtues, who rise into the hearts of believers and build in them a high tower of charity; the second, too bright to look upon, are the Powers, for no mortal weakness can grasp the serenity of God's power; the third, like marble with torches overhead, are the Principalities, who show that princes of men must put on the firm strength of justice and look to Christ their head; the fourth, helmed, are the Dominations, who show that the Lord of all raised the reason of man from the dust when he sent his Son; the fifth, red like the dawn, are the Thrones, who show that the Godhead bowed down to humanity when the Only Begotten took flesh without stain in the dawn, that is, in the blessed Virgin (PL 197:438–440). The two outer ranks are the Cherubim and the Seraphim. The Cherubim, full of eyes, *scientiam Dei significantes* (PL 197:440), signify the knowledge of God, in which they see the mysteries of the heavenly secrets and foresee those who lift their desires to God as on wings. The Seraphim burn with the love of God and have the greatest desire to see him; in their wings they show the

Church's orders, secular and spiritual, because the secrets of God appear wonderfully in them, and all who seek the life above with a pure heart are to love God ardently and so come to the joys of those they imitate (PL 197:440). The music of the choirs is the joy of the blessed spirits in the wonders God works in his saints, as the Psalmist says, "The voice of rejoicing and of salvation is in the tabernacles of the just" (Ps 117[118]:15; PL 197:441).

Hildegard's vision orders the choirs from within outward, the Angels and Archangels, then the Virtues, Powers, Principalities, Dominations, and Thrones, then the Cherubim and the Seraphim. It is Gregory's sequence of the orders. Its teaching is that of the Fathers, the angels as ministers of salvation, the names as offices, the Seraphim as love and the Cherubim as knowledge, given in images, and each order is read as a lesson for the Church on earth.

7.11 Peter Lombard

Peter Lombard, master in the schools of Paris and bishop of Paris (d. 1160), gathered the Church's teaching into the four books of the *Sentences*, which became the textbook every master of theology lectured on; Bonaventure, Albert, and Aquinas wrote their commentaries on it. The Fourth Lateran Council confessed that God *simul ab initio temporis utramque de nihilo condidit creaturam, spiritualem et corporalem, angelicam videlicet et mundanam* (DS 800), and in its next chapter professed the faith in the Trinity *cum Petro Lombardo* (DS 804). The Master's treatise on the angels fills the second book from the second distinction to the eleventh, and its order of questions is largely Hugh's, often in Hugh's words.[20]

When, where, and what they were made (dd. 2–4). The rational creature is angelic and human, the first wholly spiritual, the second partly spiritual and partly corporeal, and the treatise begins with the angels so that reason may pass from the Creator to the worthier creature (d. 1 c. 6). The first questions are Hugh's: when, where, and what the angels were made; what they became by aversion and conversion; and their excellence, orders, gifts, offices, and names (d. 2). On the time, the Master holds *quod simul creata est spiritualis creatura, id est angelica, et corporalis* (d. 2 c. 1), that the spiritual creature, that is, the angelic, and the corporeal were created together, and he sets aside the opinion of the ages before the world with Hugh's words: *salva tamen reverentia secretorum, in quibus nihil temere asserendum est* (d. 2 c. 3). The angels were made in the empyrean heaven, which was filled with angels as soon as it was made; Lucifer's "I will ascend into heaven" means to the height of God (d. 2 cc. 4, 6; Isa 14:13). They were made with four attributes: *essentia simplex, id est indivisibilis et immaterialis; et discretio personalis; et per rationem naturaliter insitam, intelligentia, memoria et voluntas sive dilectio; liberum quoque arbitrium* (d. 3 c. 1): a simple, indivisible, and immaterial essence; personal distinctness; understanding, memory, and will or love by the reason implanted in them by nature; and free choice. They differed from the beginning in subtlety of essence, perspicacity of wisdom, and readiness of choice, and those who excelled by nature received greater gifts of grace (d. 3 c. 2), the text Aquinas quotes for the *sed contra* of *ST* I q. 62 a. 6. Against those who held that the fallen were created evil, the Master concludes: *Ex praedictis igitur liquet, Angelos omnes bonos esse creatos, et post creationem quosdam cecidisse a bono quod habuissent, si perstitissent* (d. 3 c. 4): all the angels were created good, and after their creation some fell from the good they would have had if they had persevered. Between creation and fall *fuit ibi aliqua morula, licet brevissima*, there was some interval, however brief (d. 3 c. 4). They were neither blessed nor miserable at their creation. Whether those who stood foreknew their beatitude and so were in a manner blessed in hope, or were uncertain of it like the rest, he answers: *Mihi autem quod posterius dictum est probabilius videtur* (d. 4): to me the latter seems more probable. They were perfect in the first of Hugh's three perfections, not yet in the second (d. 4).

Conversion and aversion; the fall (dd. 5–6). In words he takes from the Victorine *Summa sententiarum*, the Master describes the division:

> *Converti ad Deum fuit ei caritate adhaerere; averti, odio habere vel invidere: invidiae namque mater est superbia, qua voluerunt se parificare Deo. In conversis quasi in speculo relucere coepit Dei sapientia, qua illuminati sunt; aversi vero excaecati sunt.* (d. 5 c. 1)

To turn to God was to cleave to him in charity; to turn away was to hate or envy him, and the mother of envy is pride, by which they willed to make themselves equal to God. In those who turned, the wisdom of God began to shine as in a mirror, and they were enlightened; those who turned away were blinded. Those who stood were given cooperating

[20]The Latin of the *Sentences* is that of the Quaracchi edition (1916).

grace to love God perfectly; the fallen were not given it, and the fault was theirs, since they could have stood until it was given (d. 5 cc. 3–5). Whether the good merited their beatitude by the grace given them in confirmation, or received it as a reward that their later service merits, the Master records both and chooses the second: *Et hoc magis mihi placere fateor* (d. 5 c. 6). Some fell from the greater orders and some from the lesser, and among them was one *omnibus aliis cadentibus excellentior, nec inter stantes aliquis eo fuit dignior* (d. 6 c. 1): more excellent than all who fell, and none who stood was worthier. He is Job's "beginning of the ways of God" (Job 40:14) and Ezechiel's "seal of resemblance" covered with every precious stone (Ezek 28:12–13), and he willed to be like the Most High *non per imitationem, sed per aequalitatem potentiae* (d. 6 c. 1), not by imitation but by equality of power. The fallen were cast into this dark air as into a prison until the judgment; some go down daily into hell with the souls they torment; they rule over one another as the good do, some over a province, some over a man, some over a vice (d. 6 cc. 2–5).

Confirmation, knowledge, and power (dd. 7–8). The good cannot sin and the wicked cannot will well, and yet both have free choice, the good far freer than before (d. 7 cc. 1–3); the Master receives Isidore's sentence, *Angeli mutabiles natura, immutabiles sunt gratia* (d. 7 c. 4): the angels are changeable by nature and unchangeable by grace. The demons keep a keen sense, knowing by subtlety of nature, long experience, and the revelation of higher spirits (d. 7 c. 5); they are not creators, nor are the good angels, though both can apply the hidden seeds of things as God permits (d. 7 cc. 6–9). On the angels' bodies the Master sets out the opinion that they have airy bodies and the opinion in which, he reports, many catholic writers agree, that they are incorporeal and assume bodies for their ministry. Of Augustine, who asks how the angels appeared to the Fathers and leaves it open, he writes: *Attende, lector, quia quaestionem propositam non solvit, sed indiscussam relinquit* (d. 8 c. 3): mark, reader, that he does not solve the question but leaves it undiscussed; and the Master holds fast only that God never appeared to mortals in the form of his essence (d. 8 c. 3). The demons do not enter the substance of the soul, which God alone can fill, but work upon it (d. 8 c. 4, with Gennadius and Bede).

The orders (d. 9). The ninth distinction gives the schools their definition of an order and their account of the names. The Master lists the orders as Hugh does, *Angelos, Archangelos, Principatus, Potestates, Virtutes, Dominationes, Thronos, Cherubim, Seraphim*, and then arranges them in three triads, which he ascribes to Dionysius: *superiores: Seraphim, Cherubim, Throni; medii: Dominationes, Principatus, Potestates; inferiores: Virtutes, Archangeli, Angeli* (d. 9 c. 1). The triads set the Principalities among the middle orders and the Virtues among the lowest, which is Gregory's placing; the *Celestial Hierarchy* sets the Principalities in the lowest triad (*CH* 9.1) and the Virtues, Parker's "Powers," in the middle (*CH* 8.1). An order is defined as *multitudo caelestium spirituum, qui inter se in aliquo munere gratiae similantur, sicut et in naturalium datorum participatione conveniunt* (d. 9 c. 2): a multitude of heavenly spirits who are alike in some gift of grace, as they agree also in sharing natural gifts. Aquinas takes this definition for the *sed contra* of *ST* I q. 108 a. 4. The names are expounded in Gregory's words and descend in Gregory's sequence, from the Seraphim, *qui prae aliis ardent caritate*, who burn with charity beyond the others, to the Angels, *qui minora*, who announce the lesser things (d. 9 c. 2). With Hugh the Master teaches that *Haec nomina illis non propter se, sed propter nos data sunt* (d. 9 c. 3), and that each order is named from the gift it holds most excellently, though all hold all; charity is a greater gift than knowledge, and so the highest order is named from charity. The orders were not yet distinguished before the fall, since the gifts in which they agree had not yet been given; Scripture says that some fell from every order because some of the fallen would have been in every order had they stood (d. 9 c. 4). Within an order not all are equal (d. 9 c. 5). The "tenth order" made up from men does not mean a tenth order of men, for Gregory teaches that men are taken into the orders of the angels, some into the higher and some into the lower, *sed homines pro qualitate meritorum statuendos in ordinibus Angelorum* (d. 9 c. 6): men are to be placed in the orders of the angels according to the quality of their merits. Men are admitted to beatitude according to the number not of those who fell but of those who stood, as Gregory reads Deut 32:8 (d. 9 c. 7). Aquinas determines the same by grace (*ST* I q. 108 a. 8).

Missions and guardians (dd. 10–11). Whether all the heavenly spirits are sent, the Master reports the opinions Hugh gave, and records that Michael, Gabriel, and Raphael are held by some to be of the highest order, and that the names are either proper to single spirits or given to whichever is sent for such a work (d. 10 cc. 1–2). The eleventh distinction teaches the guardian angels:

> *Illud quoque sciendum est, quod Angeli boni deputati sunt ad custodiam hominum, ita ut quisque electorum habeat Angelum, ad sui profectum atque custodiam specialiter delegatum.* (d. 11 c. 1)

The good angels are appointed to guard men, so that each of the elect has an angel specially delegated for his progress and keeping. The Master cites Jerome on Matthew 18:10, *Magna dignitas animarum est, ut unaquaeque habeat ab ortu nativitatis in sui custodiam delegatum Angelum*: great is the dignity of souls, that each has from its birth an angel delegated to guard it; and Gregory, that each man has a good angel for his keeping and an evil angel for his testing (d. 11 c. 1). Aquinas takes Jerome's sentence for the *sed contra* of *ST* I q. 113 a. 2. Whether the angels grow in knowledge and beatitude until the judgment, the Master records that Jerome and Augustine seem to disagree on the angels' knowledge of the mystery hidden from the ages (Eph 3:9–10), reconciles them with Haymo, and concludes: *Constat itaque, omnes Angelos in cognitione divinorum mysteriorum secundum processum temporis profecisse* (d. 11 c. 2): all the angels have advanced with time in the knowledge of the divine mysteries. Aquinas cites the distinction for the higher angels' long knowledge of the Incarnation (*ST* I q. 106 a. 4 obj. 2).

7.12 Bonaventure's *Breviloquium*

Bonaventure, minister general of the Friars Minor and cardinal (d. 1274), the Seraphic Doctor, summarised the faith in the *Breviloquium*, and its second part gives the angels three chapters: their production, the apostasy of the demons, and the confirmation of the good (II.6–8; on the angels' matter and species, §20).[21]

The production of the angels (II.6). From the first moment the angels have four attributes, which he takes from Hugh and the Master: *simplicitas essentiae, personalis discretio, propter rationem insitam memoria, intelligentia et voluntas, et libertas arbitrii ad eligenda bona et respuenda mala* (II.6.2): simplicity of essence, personal distinctness, memory, understanding, and will by the reason implanted in them, and freedom of choice to choose good and refuse evil. Four others accompany them: *virtuositas in operando, officiositas in ministrando, perspicacitas in cognoscendo et immutabilitas post electionem sive in bono, sive in malo* (II.6.2): power in acting, readiness in ministering, clearness in knowing, and unchangeableness after their choice, whether in good or in evil. The reason is the first Principle's own nature: having made all things from nothing, it had to make not only what is near nothing, the bodily creature, but also what is near itself, the intellectual substance, which is most like God in simplicity and personal distinctness, bears the image of the Trinity in memory, understanding, and will, and is free, so that it might come by merit to glory (II.6.3).

The apostasy of the demons (II.7). God made the angels good, set between the highest Good and the changeable good of creatures: turning to what is above, they would rise to grace and glory; turning to what is below, they would fall into the evil of fault and punishment. Then: *Primus inter Angelos lucifer, praesumens de privato bono, privatam appetiit excellentiam, volens aliis superferri; et ideo cecidit cum ceteris consentientibus sibi* (II.7.1): the first among the angels, Lucifer, presuming on his private good, sought a private excellence, wishing to be raised above the others, and so fell with the rest who consented to him. Bonaventure traces the fall to two acts: *praesumendo constituit se sibi principium, in se ipso gloriando; et ambiendo constituit se sibi summum bonum, in se ipso quiescendo* (II.7.3): by presumption he made himself his own principle, glorying in himself; by ambition he made himself his own highest good, resting in himself. Since he was neither, he had to fall by his disordered climb. Because the angels are unchangeable after their choice, he was at once obstinate; and each of his four gifts was turned: his will to hatred and envy of man, his clearness of reason to deceptions, his readiness to minister to temptations, and his power, diminished and restrained, to the working of wonders on bodies, so that he seeks to be worshipped as God (II.7.4).

The confirmation of the good (II.8). As those who turned away were at once hardened, those who turned to God were at once confirmed by grace and glory, perfectly enlightened, strengthened, and ordered, and this in a threefold hierarchy:

> *Ad supremam autem spectant Throni, Cherubim et Seraphim; ad mediam Dominationes, Virtutes et Potestates; ad infimam Principatus, Archangeli, Angeli.* (II.8.1)

To the highest hierarchy belong the Thrones, Cherubim, and Seraphim; to the middle the Dominations, Virtues, and Powers; to the lowest the Principalities, Archangels, and Angels. This is Dionysius's placing. Many of them are sent

[21] The Latin is that of the Quaracchi edition (1911).

in ministry and deputed to guard men, whom they cleanse, enlighten, and perfect. Their contemplation is never disordered by their ministry: since they see God face to face, *quocumque mittantur, intra Deum currunt* (II.8.2): wherever they are sent, they run within God, as Gregory said before him. Bonaventure then derives the nine orders from the four gifts made perfect in glory. Clearness of contemplation looks to the divine majesty to be revered, to the truth to be understood, to the goodness to be desired: hence the Thrones, the Cherubim, the Seraphim. Perfect power is imperative, executive, and expeditive: hence the Dominations, the Virtues, and the Powers, whose office is to drive back the contrary powers. Perfect ministry is to rule, to reveal, and to raise up: hence the Principalities, the Archangels, and the Angels, *quia custodiunt, ne stantes cadant, et cadentes adiuvant, ut resurgant* (II.8.3): because they guard those who stand lest they fall, and help those who fall to rise again. Every order takes its name from the gift it has received most excellently (II.8.3), which is Gregory's rule; Aquinas explains the names from the property of each order (*ST* I q. 108 a. 5; §15.1).

7.13 The Medieval Doctors and Their Reception

The teaching of the doctors of the eleventh to thirteenth centuries, with the place where Aquinas or the Church receives it:

Witness	Locus	Teaching	Received at
Anselm	*De casu diaboli* 3–4	The devil did not receive perseverance because he would not; God did not give because he did not receive	*ST* I q. 62 a. 2; *ST* I q. 63 a. 1
Anselm	*De casu diaboli* 4, 6	The devil sinned by willing an advantage he did not have, against God's will, by a will subject to none; so he willed to be like God inordinately	*ST* I q. 63 a. 3 (Anselm named); *ST* I q. 63 a. 1
Anselm	*De casu diaboli* 12–14	God gave the will for happiness and the will for justice together, so that justice might temper happiness without removing the power to exceed	*ST* I q. 59 a. 3; *ST* I q. 60 a. 5
Anselm	*De casu diaboli* 6, 17, 24	The good cannot desert what they held, as reward; the fallen cannot recover what they deserted, as penalty	*ST* I q. 62 a. 8; *ST* I q. 64 a. 2
Anselm	*De casu diaboli* 27	The evil will had no cause but itself	Lateran IV (DS 800); *ST* I q. 63 a. 1
Anselm	*Cur Deus homo* I.16–18	The fallen are replaced from men; more men will be saved than angels fell; man was made for his own sake	*ST* I q. 63 a. 9; *ST* I q. 108 a. 8
Bernard	*De consid.* V.4.7–8	The angels' existence and blessedness are of faith, their intelligence of reason, the offices of their names of reverent conjecture; the nine offices in Gregory's order	*ST* I q. 108 aa. 5–6
Bernard	*De consid.* V.5.12	The angel suggests good and does not create it; God alone is in the soul as its life	*ST* I q. 106 a. 2; *ST* I q. 111 a. 2
Bernard	*In Cant.* 5; 19	The angels need bodies only for ministry; each order loves God for what it contemplates	*ST* I q. 51 aa. 1–2; *ST* I q. 108 a. 5

Witness	Locus	Teaching	Received at
Bernard	*In Ps. Qui habitat* 11–12	The angels ascend in contemplation and descend in compassion without losing the vision; reverence, devotion, and confidence toward the guardian angel	*ST* I q. 112 a. 1 ad 3; *ST* I q. 113 a. 1 (s.c. Ps 90[91]:11)
Bernard	*In festo S. Michaelis* 1	The angels love us for God's sake, for ours, and for their own, to rebuild their city	*ST* I q. 108 a. 8
Hugh	*De sacr.* I.5.4–8	The angels were created together with corporeal matter, simple, distinct, wise, and free	*ST* I q. 61 a. 3; Lateran IV (DS 800)
Hugh	*De sacr.* I.5.24, 28	Grace cooperates with those who turn and leaves those who turn away; God restrains the demons in four ways	*ST* I q. 62 a. 2; *ST* I q. 109 a. 4; *ST* I q. 114 a. 1
Hugh	*De sacr.* I.5.30–33	Nine orders and man the tenth; more stood than fell; the names are given for our sake; three opinions on missions	*ST* I q. 63 a. 9; *ST* I q. 108 a. 5; *ST* I q. 112 a. 2
Hugh	*In Hier. cael.* VI	Love goes in where knowledge stays outside	*ST* I q. 108 a. 6 ad 3
Honorius	*Elucidarium* I.6–10	A fixed number of the elect, nine orders and man the tenth; the first angel fell at once; the good were confirmed by their own merit	*ST* I q. 63 a. 6; *ST* I q. 62 a. 8; *ST* I q. 109 a. 4
Honorius	*Elucidarium* II.28	Angels preside over nations and cities; each soul is entrusted to an angel; they appear in bodies of air	*ST* I q. 113 aa. 1–2; *ST* I q. 51 a. 2
Hildegard	*Scivias* I.6	The nine choirs in Gregory's sequence, each a lesson for the Church; they praise God for his works in the saints	*ST* I q. 108 a. 6
Lombard	*Sent.* II dd. 2–5	Created together with the world, good, with four attributes; the stable were confirmed by cooperating grace	*ST* I q. 61 a. 3; *ST* I q. 62 aa. 3, 6 (s.c. d. 3)
Lombard	*Sent.* II d. 9	Definition of an order; names from the more excellent gift; men placed in the orders by merit	*ST* I q. 108 a. 4 (s.c.); *ST* I q. 108 a. 8
Lombard	*Sent.* II d. 11	Each of the elect has a guardian angel from birth; the angels advance in knowledge of the mysteries	*ST* I q. 113 a. 2 (s.c. Jerome); *ST* I q. 106 a. 4 obj. 2
Bonaventure	*Brev.* II.6–7	Four attributes and four companions; Lucifer's presumption and ambition	*ST* I q. 63 aa. 2–3
Bonaventure	*Brev.* II.8	The Dionysian triads; the orders derived from the four gifts; wherever sent, they run within God	*ST* I q. 108 a. 6; *ST* I q. 112 a. 1 ad 3

8 The Angelic Substance

After treating the distinction of creatures in general, Aquinas turns to the distinction of corporeal and spiritual creature (*de distinctione corporalis et spiritualis creaturae*) and takes first the purely spiritual creature, which in Sacred Scripture is named angel (*de creatura pure spirituali, quae in Scriptura sacra Angelus nominatur*), then the purely corporeal creature, and then man, composed of both (*ST* I q. 50 pr.). The angels themselves are considered under four heads: what pertains to their substance, to their intellect, to their will, and to their creation (*primo de his quae pertinent ad eorum substantiam; secundo ... ad eorum intellectum; tertio ... ad eorum voluntatem; quarto ... ad eorum creationem*). The substance is taken first absolutely (*absolute*, q. 50) and then in comparison with corporeal things (*per comparationem ad corporalia*): bodies, place, and local motion (qq. 51–53, §9). Intellect follows in qq. 54–58 (§10), will and love in qq. 59–60 (§11), and the angels' coming-to-be in qq. 61–64, which the prologue of q. 61 divides into their production in natural being, their perfection in grace and glory, and the evil of some (§§12, 13). The angels' part in the divine government (qq. 106–114) belongs to a later treatise of the *Prima pars*.

Every later question rests on q. 50. The angel is a created intellect without a body and without matter, a form subsisting in its own act of being and yet not identical with that being; from this follow the vast number of the angels, the distinction of each from each by species, and their natural incorruptibility.

8.1 The Substance of the Angels (*ST* I q. 50)

The five articles ask whether there is any creature wholly spiritual and incorporeal; whether such a creature is composed of matter and form; how many angels there are; how they differ from one another; and whether they are incorruptible (*ST* I q. 50 pr.).

Wholly incorporeal creatures (a. 1). The *sed contra* is Ps 103[104]:4, "Who makest thy angels spirits" (Douay). Aquinas argues from the end of creation. God intends in creatures their good, which lies in likeness to himself, and the likeness of an effect is perfect when it imitates the cause in that by which the cause acts; God acts by intellect and will, so "the perfection of the universe requires that there should be intellectual creatures." But "intelligence cannot be the action of a body, nor of any corporeal faculty; for every body is limited to 'here' and 'now' " (*omne corpus determinatur ad hic et nunc*). The universe is therefore incomplete without an incorporeal creature. The contrary error came from not distinguishing sense from intellect: the ancients admitted only what imagination grasps, and "thence came the error of the Sadducees, who said there was no spirit" (Acts 23:8). The first objection quotes Damascene that the angel is corporeal and material compared with God. Damascene writes: "For all that is compared with God Who alone is incomparable, we find to be dense and material. For in reality only the Deity is immaterial and incorporeal" (*De fide orthodoxa* II.3). Aquinas answers that the angels stand between God and bodies, and "the medium compared to one extreme appears to be the other extreme," as tepid seems cold beside heat (ad 1). Damascene's "ever mobile" (*semper mobilis*) refers to the unceasing act of intellect and will (ad 2). Ambrose's principle that every creature is bounded answers itself: "To be circumscribed by local limits belongs to bodies only; whereas to be circumscribed by essential limits belongs to all creatures, both corporeal and spiritual" (ad 3). Ambrose's own sentence argues the same distinction in the service of the Spirit's divinity: "every creature is confined within certain limits of its own nature," and invisible operations that "cannot be circumscribed by place and bounds, yet are closed in by the property of their own substance" (*De Spiritu Sancto* I.7.81).

No matter in the angels (a. 2). The *sed contra* is Dionysius, *Divine Names* 4, that the first creatures are understood to be immaterial as they are incorporeal; in Parker's rendering the intelligible essences "are conceived of as incorporeal and immaterial" (*DN* 4.1). Aquinas names the adversary: Avicebron, in the *Fons vitae*, held one universal matter of spiritual and corporeal things, because he assumed that whatever the intellect distinguishes is really distinct. Aquinas answers in two steps. First, "one glance is enough to show that there cannot be one matter of spiritual and of corporeal things": a single matter could receive the two forms only in different parts, and matter has parts only under quantity, so spiritual matter would be quantified. Second, no intellectual substance has any matter at all, because operation follows the mode of substance, and "to understand is an altogether immaterial operation," as its object shows: forms are intelligible in so far as they are abstracted from matter. Avicebron's root mistake is answered by the principle that "the intellect does not apprehend things according to their mode, but according to its own mode" (*intellectus non apprehendit res secundum modum rerum, sed secundum modum suum*). The replies carry

the metaphysics of the whole treatise. In immaterial things genus and difference are taken from one and the same reality under two conceptions (ad 1); the intellect receives forms as forms, not as matter receives them (ad 2). Above all: "Although there is no composition of matter and form in an angel, yet there is act and potentiality" (ad 3). The angel is a *forma subsistens* related to its own *esse* as potency to act, so that it is composed, in Boethius's terms, of *quod est* and *esse*: "For 'what is,' is the form itself subsisting; and the existence itself is whereby the substance is; as the running is whereby the runner runs." In God alone *esse* and *quod est* are the same; "hence God alone is pure act." The angelic form is finite in being and "infinite" only in not being received into matter; hence the *Liber de causis*: "intelligence is finite from above" and "infinite from below" (ad 4).

Bonaventure determines the question the other way. The angel is mutable, passible, individuated and limited, and essentially composite in its own nature; therefore *non video causam nec rationem, quomodo defendi potest, quin substantia Angeli sit composita ex diversis naturis*, and *illa positio videtur verior esse, scilicet quod in Angelo sit compositio ex materia et forma* (*In II Sent.* d. 3 p. 1 a. 1 q. 1). A creature, he replies, is not pure act and so must have possibility; being mutable, it must have a foundation; being limited and in a genus, it must have composition. The authorities who deny matter to spirits speak of matter *appropriate*, as the principle of undergoing change (ad 1, ad 3). Aquinas concedes the name in the wide sense and refuses it as improper: if every potency is called matter and every act form, there is matter and form in spiritual substance, *sed tamen hoc non est proprie dictum secundum communem usum nominum* (*De spiritualibus creaturis* a. 1). Both masters hold that the angel is composed of potency and act. They divide over whether that potency is matter, and the dispute runs on in the schools (§20.1).

The multitude of the angels (a. 3). Dan 7:10 is the *sed contra*: "thousands of thousands ministered to him, and ten thousand times a hundred thousand stood before him" (Douay). Aquinas sets aside Plato, who counted the separate substances by the species of sensible things; Aristotle, who counted them by the first motions of the heavens; and "Rabbi Moses" (Maimonides), who kept Aristotle's number for the immaterial substances and read Scripture's other angels as prophets or natural powers. Against the last he replies that "it is, however, quite foreign to the custom of the Scriptures for the powers of irrational things to be designated as angels." His determination is that "the angels, even inasmuch as they are immaterial substances, exist in exceeding great number, far beyond all material multitude." He cites *CH* 14, which in Parker's translation reads: "many are the blessed hosts of the supermundane minds, surpassing the weak and contracted measurement of our material number." The reason is again the perfection of the universe: the more perfect things are, the more abundantly God creates them. In bodies that abundance shows as magnitude, the heavens dwarfing the sphere of generation; in incorporeal things it shows as multitude. The replies secure the kind of number meant. Angelic number is not discrete quantity but the transcendental multitude that follows distinction of forms (ad 1). The nature nearest to God has least multitude in its composition, not in its subjects (ad 2). The separate substances do not exist for the sake of the heavens, so Aristotle's count is only probable (ad 3). Their multiplication follows "the divine wisdom devising the various orders of immaterial substances" (ad 4).

Each angel a species (a. 4). The *sed contra* draws on the Dionysian hierarchy. Within one species there is no "first" and "second," yet even within one order there are first, middle, and last angels. Dionysius has "every Hierarchy distributed into first, and middle, and last Powers" (*CH* 10.2). Aquinas records three opinions: that all spiritual substances, souls included, are of one species; that all angels are of one species, though souls are not; and that the angels of one hierarchy or one order are of one species. He rejects all three. Things one in species and many in number agree in form and differ by matter; since the angels have no matter, "it is impossible for two angels to be of one species," just as a separated whiteness or humanity could only be one. Even if they had matter, it would be distinguished by diversity of potencies rather than by quantity, and that would make them differ in genus. The replies explain the ranking this produces: "all the angels differ in species according to the diverse degrees of intellectual nature," as fire differs from air, by forms of different grade, not by intensity of one form (ad 1–2). "The good of the species preponderates over the good of the individual," so multiplying species is the better way to multiply angels (ad 3). The agent intends specific rather than numerical multitude (ad 4). Damascene leaves the question to God: "Whether they are equals in essence or differ from one another we know not. God, their Creator, Who knoweth all things, alone knoweth" (*De fide orthodoxa* II.3). The dissent of the Franciscan school is recorded early. A late thirteenth-century index of places where Bonaventure and Thomas disagree on the second book of the *Sentences*, printed by the Quaracchi editors, lists *Utrum omnes Angeli differant specie* with *Thomas, quod sic; Bonaventura, quod non omnes* (Bonaventure, *Opera omnia* II, Quaracchi 1885, preface, index no. 11).

Incorruptible by nature (a. 5). The *sed contra* is again *DN* 4. In Parker's version the intelligible essences "have their life, continuous and undiminished, purified from all corruption and death and matter, and generation" (*DN* 4.1). Aquinas's reason: nothing corrupts except by the separation of form from matter, and to be belongs to a form by itself, as roundness belongs to a circle. A composite ceases to be when its form leaves its matter, but "if the form subsists in its own being, as happens in the angels ... it cannot lose its being." Therefore "the angel's immateriality is the cause why it is incorruptible by its own nature" (*ipsa igitur immaterialitas Angeli est ratio quare Angelus est incorruptibilis secundum suam naturam*). Intellectual operation gives the sign of it, since its object is above time. The first objection is Damascene's own sentence: "It is immortal, not by nature but by grace" (*De fide orthodoxa* II.3). Aquinas reads it of "perfect immortality, which includes complete immutability," which the angels have only by grace, as q. 62 will show (ad 1; §12.2). The third objection cites Gregory, who writes: "For all things were made out of nothing, and their being would again go on into nothing, except the Author of all things held it by the hand of governance" (*Moralia* XVI.37.45). Aquinas grants the dependence and denies that it is corruptibility: a necessary being may have a cause of its necessity, and Gregory's text shows only "that the nature of the angels is dependent upon God as its cause." A thing is corruptible when it has within it a principle of corruption, a contrariety, or "at least the potentiality of matter" (ad 3). Plato's gods of the *Timaeus*, dissoluble by nature and preserved by the maker's will, are the heavenly bodies (ad 2).

Summa: *ST* I q. 50 aa. 1–5; parallels *Summa contra gentiles* II.46, 49–55; *De spiritualibus creaturis* aa. 1, 8; *De ente et essentia* c. 4; *De substantiis separatis* cc. 5–8.
Grade: Defined: God created from nothing at the beginning of time a spiritual creature distinct from the corporeal, the angelic (Lateran IV, *Firmiter*, DS 800: *utramque de nihilo condidit creaturam, spiritualem et corporalem, angelicam videlicet et mundanam*; Vatican I, *Dei Filius* ch. 1). Church teaching: the angels are spiritual, non-corporeal beings, whose existence is "a truth of faith" (CCC 328), "personal and immortal creatures" (CCC 330) (aa. 1, 5). Common teaching: the angels exist in a number beyond reckoning (a. 3; Dan 7:10; *CH* 14). Thomist position: no matter in the angels, only the composition of *esse* and *quod est* (a. 2); each angel its own species (a. 4); incorruptibility belongs to the angelic nature as such (a. 5).
Authorities: Ps 103[104]:4, Ps 148:2, 5, Dan 7:10, Acts 23:8; Dionysius, *DN* 4.1 (*sed contra* of aa. 2 and 5, obj. 4 of a. 3), *CH* 10.2 and 14; Damascene, *De fide orthodoxa* II.3 (objections of aa. 1 and 5); Ambrose, *De Spiritu Sancto* I.7.81; Gregory, *Moralia* XVI.37.45; Boethius, *De Trinitate* (obj. 2 of a. 2); *Liber de causis*; Aristotle; Maimonides and Plato as reported by Aquinas; Lateran IV (DS 800); Vatican I, *Dei Filius*; CCC 328–330.
Contrary opinion: Avicebron, *Fons vitae*, one universal matter of spiritual and corporeal things (a. 2; *De sub. sep.* cc. 5–8); Bonaventure, *In II Sent.* d. 3 p. 1 a. 1 q. 1, matter taken broadly in the angel (a. 2); the three unnamed opinions on angels sharing a species, and the Franciscan dissent noted in the thirteenth-century index (a. 4); Damascene, uncertain whether angels differ in essence (a. 4), and immortal "not by nature but by grace" (a. 5); Aristotle and Maimonides on the number of separate substances (a. 3).

9 Bodies, Place, and Motion

Having treated the angelic substance in itself, Aquinas considers it in comparison with corporeal things in three questions: the angels compared with bodies, with corporeal places, and with local motion (*primo, de comparatione Angelorum ad corpora; secundo, de comparatione Angelorum ad loca corporalia; tertio, de comparatione Angelorum ad motum localem*; *ST* I q. 51 pr.). The three questions apply one principle drawn from q. 50 (§8.1). A pure intellect has no dimensive quantity, so everything bodily it has or does comes from its power acting on a body, not from any body belonging to its nature. On that principle Aquinas explains how Scripture's angels can be seen, eat, walk, stand in a place, and travel, while the angel remains a spirit.

9.1 The Angels in Comparison with Bodies (*ST* I q. 51)

The question has three articles: whether the angels have bodies naturally united to them, whether they assume bodies, and whether they exercise functions of life in the bodies they assume (*ST* I q. 51 pr.).

No body by nature (a. 1). The *sed contra* is Dionysius, *Divine Names* 4, that "the angels are understood to be incorporeal." Aquinas reasons that what belongs to a nature only accidentally is not found in every instance

of it. Since understanding is not the act of a body, having a body is not of the nature of intellectual substance as such. It belongs to the human soul because the soul is imperfect, "not having the fulness of knowledge in its own nature, but acquiring it from sensible things through the bodily senses." And "whenever we find something imperfect in any genus we must presuppose something perfect in that genus"; therefore "some are quite separated from bodies, and these we call angels" (*aliquae sunt a corporibus separatae. Et has dicimus Angelos*). The objections gather four authorities. Origen's own sentence, in Rufinus's Latin as the *Ante-Nicene Fathers* translate it, is that "it is an attribute of the divine nature alone—i.e., of the Father, Son, and Holy Spirit—to exist without any material substance, and without partaking in any degree of a bodily adjunct" (*De principiis* I.6.4). Aquinas judges that Origen followed the philosophers who admitted no incorporeal substance except as united to a body, "being deceived here as he was also in many other points" (ad 1). Bernard's saying that every created spirit needs a body is taken of a bodily instrument assumed for a purpose. Augustine's "animals of the atmosphere" (*De Genesi ad litteram* III, as the *Summa* cites it) reports the Platonists' opinion without asserting it (ad 1). Augustine elsewhere leaves that opinion undecided: "I dare not determine whether there be some spirits embodied in an aerial substance" (*De civitate Dei* XV.23). Gregory's "rational animal" (*Hom. in Ev.* 10.1) is a metaphor (ad 2). To give life to a body formally belongs to a substance that is only part of a nature, so "an intellectual substance which is not united to a body is more perfect than one which is united to a body" (ad 3).

Assumed bodies (a. 2). The *sed contra* is Augustine, *De civitate Dei* XVI, that angels appeared to Abraham in assumed bodies (*in assumptis corporibus*). Augustine's chapter opens: "God appeared again to Abraham at the oak of Mamre in three men, who it is not to be doubted were angels" (*De civ. Dei* XVI.29). He also affirms that "angels have appeared to men in such bodies as could not only be seen, but also touched" (XV.23). Aquinas rejects the opinion that every angelic apparition in Scripture happened "in prophetic vision—that is, according to imagination." What is seen in imaginary vision is in the beholder alone, whereas Scripture presents angels "seen commonly by all": by Abraham "and by his whole family, by Lot, and by the citizens of Sodom," and by all who were with Tobias. Such sight is bodily vision, which only a body can terminate; the angels are not bodies and have none by nature; "it follows that they sometimes assume bodies." The replies define the *corpus assumptum.* Angels need it "not for themselves, but on our account; that by conversing familiarly with men they may give evidence of that intellectual companionship which men expect to have with them in the life to come" (*intelligibilem societatem*). The apparitions of the Old Law were also "a figurative indication that the Word of God would take a human body" (ad 1). The body is united to the angel "not as its form, nor merely as its mover, but as its mover represented by the assumed movable body." As Scripture sets forth intelligible things under sensible likenesses, so "sensible bodies are so fashioned by angels as fittingly to represent the intelligible properties of an angel" (ad 2). The matter is air, condensed "by the Divine power in so far as is needful for forming the assumed body" (ad 3).

No functions of life in assumed bodies (a. 3). The objections are drawn from Scripture's own scenes. Abraham "walked with them, bringing them on the way" (Gen 18:16). Raphael told Tobias, "I have often walked through all the ways thereof" (Tob 5:8). The angels spoke, and at Mamre "they had eaten" (Gen 18:9). The *sed contra* answers from a. 2: bodies assumed by angels do not live. Aquinas determines that vital acts share something with non-vital ones, as speech is a sound and walking a motion. Angels can perform in assumed bodies what is common to both, "but not as to that which is special to living subjects," because "that which has the faculty has the action" (*cuius est potentia, eius est actio*). The replies apply this to each scene. There is no pretence, any more than when Scripture figures spiritual things by bodily ones. The bodies are assumed "that the spiritual properties and works of the angels may be manifested by the properties of man and of his works" (ad 1). The angel perceives nothing through the organs; the organs signify its powers, "just as by the eye the power of the angel's knowledge is pointed out ... as Dionysius teaches" (ad 2). Dionysius writes of the angelic figures that "the powers of vision denote the most transparent elevation towards the Divine lights" (*CH* 15.3). The angel is moved only accidentally with the body it moves (ad 3), and speaks only by "a semblance of speech," forming sounds in the air (ad 4). Eating is "not a true eating, but figurative of spiritual eating," because the food was not converted into the assumed body. Raphael says so: "I seemed indeed to eat and to drink with you but I use an invisible meat and drink, which cannot be seen by men" (Tob 12:19, Douay). Abraham served the guests as men and worshipped God in them (ad 5). Augustine says the same: Abraham's household "could not doubt that God was in them as He was wont to be in the prophets" (*De civ. Dei* XVI.29). On Gen 6:4 Aquinas follows Augustine, who identifies the "sons of God, who are also called angels of God" with "the sons of Seth" and the daughters of men with "the daughters of Cain" (*De civ. Dei* XV.23). He adds that if any are begotten through demons, it is neither from a demon's seed nor from its assumed body, "so that the person born is not the child of a demon, but of a man" (ad 6).

Summa: *ST* I q. 51 aa. 1–3.
Grade: Church teaching: the angels are "purely spiritual creatures" (CCC 330), and so have no body by nature (a. 1). Common teaching: angels have appeared in bodies seen and touched by many, not only in imaginary vision (a. 2; Gen 18–19; Tob 5, 12; Augustine, *De civ. Dei* XV.23, XVI.29), and they did not truly eat (a. 3 ad 5; Tob 12:19). Thomist position: the assumed body is of condensed air, united to the angel as a represented mover, and performs no vital act (a. 2 ad 2–3; a. 3).
Authorities: Dionysius, *DN* 4 (*sed contra* of a. 1) and *CH* 15.3 (a. 3 ad 2); Augustine, *De civ. Dei* XV.23 and XVI.29 (*sed contra* of a. 2; a. 3 ad 5–6), *De Gen. ad litt.* III and *De Trin.* (as the *Summa* cites them); Origen, *De principiis* I.6.4; Bernard, *In Cant.* serm. 6 and Gregory, *Hom. in Ev.* 10.1; Gen 6:4, 18, 19; Tob 5:7–8, 12:19; Luke 24; 1 Kgs [1 Sam] 2:6; CCC 330.
Contrary opinion: Origen: incorporeity belongs to the Trinity alone (a. 1); the Platonist opinion of aerial animals, reported by Augustine (a. 1 ad 1); those who held that all angelic apparitions were imaginary visions (a. 2); the reading of Gen 6:4 as angels' unions with women, which Augustine rejects (a. 3 ad 6).

9.2 The Place of the Angels (*ST* I q. 52)

Three articles ask whether an angel is in a place, whether it can be in several places at once, and whether several angels can be in the same place (*ST* I q. 52 pr.).

In place by power (a. 1). The objections deny that an angel is in place at all, citing Boethius and Aristotle that only bodies are. The *sed contra* is liturgical: the collect of Compline, "Let Thy holy angels who dwell herein, keep us in peace" (*Angeli tui sancti, habitantes in ea, nos in pace custodiant*). Aquinas determines that "it is befitting an angel to be in a place; yet an angel and a body are said to be in a place in quite a different sense." A body is in place by contact of dimensive quantity; the angel has none, "for theirs is a virtual one" (*sed est in eis quantitas virtualis*). "Consequently an angel is said to be in a corporeal place by application of the angelic power in any manner whatever to any place" (*per applicationem virtutis angelicae ad aliquem locum qualitercumque*). The angel is therefore neither commensurate with its place nor contained by it. It contains its place, "for the soul is in the body as containing it, not as contained by it." The *locus* of an angel is whatever body its power touches, and the objections, which suppose place in the bodily sense, fall away.

Not in several places at once (a. 2). Damascene gives the *sed contra*: "They are circumscribed: for when they are in the Heaven they are not on the earth: and when they are sent by God down to the earth they do not remain in the Heaven." He adds that, wherever they are assigned, "there they are present after the manner of a mind and energise, and cannot be present and energise in various places at the same time" (*De fide orthodoxa* II.3). Aquinas gives the reason. God's power is infinite and touches all things, but "since the angel's power is finite, it does not extend to all things, but to one determined thing." Since the angel is in place by applying that power, it is "not everywhere, nor in several places, but in only one place." This one place need not be a point, as some thought who could not get beyond imagination, since the angel is "beyond the genus of quantity and situation." Its place may be great or small "according as to his own free-will he applies his power to a great or to a small body." Aquinas then fixes the three modes of presence: a body is in place *circumscriptive*, because it is measured by the place; the angel *definitive*, "because he is in a place in such a manner that he is not in another"; God neither, "because He is everywhere." The objections from the soul whole in every part of the body (Augustine, *De Trinitate* VI) and from the angel's several effects at Sodom (Gen 19:25) are answered together: "the entire subject to which the angelic power is immediately applied, is reputed as one place, even though it be continuous." Augustine himself says of the soul that "in each body, it is both whole in the whole, and whole in each several part of it" (*De Trin.* VI.6.8).

Not two angels in one place (a. 3). The *sed contra* runs by analogy: there are not two souls in one body. Aquinas's reason is causal rather than spatial. Angels do not fill a place, so crowding is not the bar (ad 1). The bar is that "it is impossible for two complete causes to be the causes immediately of one and the same thing" (*impossibile est quod duae causae completae sint immediatae unius et eiusdem rei*). Several men rowing a boat are no exception, because none of them is a perfect mover and together they act as one. Since the angel is in a place by its power touching that place immediately "by way of a perfect container," there can be but one angel in one place. A demon

and a soul in the same body are no counter-instance, since they are not related to it by the same causality: the soul is its form and the demon is not (ad 3).

> **Summa:** *ST* I q. 52 aa. 1–3.
> **Grade:** Common teaching: an angel is in place not by dimension but by operation, and not in several places at once (aa. 1–2; Damascene, *De fide orth.* II.3). Thomist position: presence by *applicatio virtutis* and *quantitas virtualis*, in the threefold scheme *circumscriptive*, *definitive*, and everywhere (aa. 1–2); two angels cannot be in one place, since two complete causes cannot be immediate to one and the same thing (a. 3).
> **Authorities:** Collect of Compline (*sed contra* of a. 1, as cited); Damascene, *De fide orth.* II.3 (*sed contra* and obj. 3 of a. 2); Augustine, *De Trin.* VI.6.8; Boethius, *De hebdomadibus*, and Aristotle, *Physics* IV (objections of a. 1); Gen 19:25.
> **Contrary opinion:** Those who, imagining the angel's indivisibility as a point's, confined it to a point-place (a. 2); the objectors who argue from the soul's presence in every part of the body (aa. 2–3).

9.3 The Local Motion of the Angels (*ST* I q. 53)

Three articles ask whether an angel can be moved locally, whether in passing from place to place it passes through the intervening space, and whether its movement is in time or in an instant (*utrum motus Angeli sit in tempore vel in instanti*; *ST* I q. 53 pr.).

Local motion (a. 1). Aristotle's proof that nothing without parts is moved is the first objection. The *sed contra* argues from the Creed: a beatified soul is moved as a beatified angel is, and "it is an article of faith that Christ's soul descended into Hell." Lateran IV confesses that Christ *descendit ad infernos … sed descendit in anima* (DS 801). Aquinas determines that local motion, like being in place, belongs to body and angel equivocally. Because the angel is in place "only by virtual contact," its movement "is nothing else than the various contacts of various places successively, and not at once." The movement can be continuous, when the angel quits a divisible place part by part. It can also be non-continuous (*motus non continuus*), when the angel "can all at once quit the whole place, and in the same instant apply himself to the whole of another place." Aristotle's demonstration concerns what is indivisible in quantity and movement that is continuous, and so does not bind the angel (ad 1). Movement "by application of energy is the act of one in act," not of an imperfect thing (ad 2). Nor do the blessed angels move from any need of their own: "because of our need, the angel is moved locally," according to Heb 1:14, "Are they not all ministering spirits, sent to minister for them who shall receive the inheritance of salvation?" (ad 3; Douay).

Through the middle or not (a. 2). The *sed contra* argues that whatever is changed was first being moved, and so was in the middle. Aquinas distinguishes the two kinds of angelic motion. If the motion is continuous, the angel must pass through the middle, since in continuous motion the order of first and last follows the order of magnitude. If it is not continuous, the angel can pass "from one extreme to another without going through the middle." Between any two places lie infinitely many intermediate places, and only continuous motion traverses such an infinity; a non-continuous motion would have to number them actually, which is impossible, so it does not pass through them all. This suits the angel and not a body, because the angel's substance "is not subject to place as contained thereby, but is above it as containing it: hence it is under his control to apply himself to a place just as he wills, either through or without the intervening place." The second objection compares the soul, which can think of France and then of Syria without thinking of Italy. Aquinas replies that the comparison fails, because in local motion the angel's essence is applied to the places, whereas the things thought of are in the soul (ad 2).

In time, not in an instant (a. 3). Some held that the angel's motion is instantaneous: during the whole preceding time it is in the term "wherefrom," and in the last instant (*instans*) it is in the term "whereto," as with illumination or the generation of fire. Aquinas answers that to rest is to be in the same disposition in every "now" (*nunc*) of a time, so a thing cannot rest in one term throughout a time and be in the other at its last instant. Instantaneous changes of that kind are always the terms of some continuous movement, as illumination ends the local movement of the luminous body. The angel's movement is the term of no other movement, so "some 'now' must be assigned in which he was last in the preceding place." Where many "nows" succeed one another there is time, "since time is nothing else than the reckoning of before and after in movement." Hence "the movement of an angel is in

time," continuous time if the movement is continuous and non-continuous time if it is not. Nor is it the time of the heavens that measures all corporeal things, "because the angel's movement does not depend upon the movement of the heavens." The replies add two points. First, "the swiftness of the angel's movement is not measured by the quantity of his power, but according to the determination of his will" (*secundum determinationem suae voluntatis*; ad 1). Second, in non-continuous time "an angel can be in one place in one instant, and in another place in the next instant, without any time intervening" (ad 3). Illumination is an alteration terminating a movement, not a local movement, and so is no model for the angel (ad 2).

Summa: *ST* I q. 53 aa. 1–3.
Grade: Defined: Christ descended to the dead in his soul (Lateran IV, DS 801), the premise of the *sed contra* of a. 1. Common teaching: the angels move from place to place in their ministry to men (a. 1 ad 3; Heb 1:14). Thomist position: angelic motion is a succession of virtual contacts, continuous or non-continuous at the angel's will, able to omit the intervening space (aa. 1–2); it is in time, continuous or discrete, not in an instant nor in the time of the heavens (a. 3).
Authorities: Heb 1:14; the article of Christ's descent (DS 801); Aristotle, *Physics* III–VI (objections and replies throughout).
Contrary opinion: Those who held the angel's motion instantaneous, on the model of illumination and the generation of fire (a. 3); the Aristotelian objection that nothing indivisible can be moved (a. 1). Scotus on the ground of the angel's presence in place: §20.3.

10 Intellect and Knowledge

Having treated what belongs to the angel's substance, Aquinas turns to the angels' knowledge, *procedendum est ad cognitionem ipsius*, and divides the treatise fourfold: what belongs to the power of knowledge (*virtus cognoscitiva*), what belongs to the medium of knowing (*medium cognoscendi*), the things known, and the mode of their knowledge (*de modo cognitionis ipsorum*) (*ST* I q. 54 pr.). The order is deliberate. Because the angel is a subsisting form with no matter (§8.1), its understanding cannot be an act of a bodily organ, cannot begin from sense, and cannot be parcelled into the faculties of the human soul; the five questions that follow work out what such a knowledge is, first in its power (q. 54), then in the *species intelligibiles* that inform it (q. 55), then in its objects, immaterial (q. 56) and material, future, hidden, and gracious (q. 57), and finally in the manner of its act, which the tradition, after Augustine, names morning and evening knowledge (q. 58). The Catechism states the ground of the whole tract in one sentence: "As purely spiritual creatures angels have intelligence and will: they are personal and immortal creatures" (CCC 330).

10.1 The Angelic Power of Knowledge (*ST* I q. 54)

The five articles ask whether the angel's act of understanding is his substance; whether his being is his understanding; whether his substance is his power of intelligence; whether there is in him an active and a passive intellect; and whether he has any power of knowledge besides the intellect (*ST* I q. 54 pr.).

Understanding is not the angel's substance (a. 1). Aquinas determines that "it is impossible for the action of an angel, or of any creature, to be its own substance" (*impossibile est quod actio Angeli, vel cuiuscumque alterius creaturae, sit eius substantia*). The governing reason is the metaphysics of act and potency established in q. 50: an action is the actuality of a power as existence is the actuality of an essence, and nothing with an admixture of potentiality can be its own actuality; God alone is pure act, so that in God alone are substance, existence, and action the same. A second argument shows what the contrary would cost: a subsisting act of understanding could be but one, so that an angel identical with his own understanding would be identical with God and with every other angel, and there could be no degrees of more and less perfect understanding. The replies free the authorities. When the active intellect of the soul is said to be its own action, "such predication is not essential, but concomitant," because its nature stands in act (ad 1). When Aristotle calls the intellect's act life, and when Augustine joins memory, understanding, and will as "one essence, one life," the name of life is transferred to the essence, as a race stands to running, not identified with it (ad 2; Aquinas cites *De Trinitate* X). An immanent action is not a real medium between agent and object but follows upon their union (ad 3).

In the angel, to understand is not to exist (a. 2). The *sed contra* is Dionysius, who speaks of the divine minds as moved: "the divine minds are said to be moved circularly indeed, by being united to the illuminations of the Beautiful and Good, without beginning and without end" (*DN* 4.8); but to exist is not movement. Aquinas distinguishes the twofold class of action, transient and immanent. Immanent actions such as understanding and willing bear, of themselves, upon all things, because the true and the good are convertible with being; but "the being of every creature is restricted to one in genus and species; God's being alone is simply infinite." Hence "the Divine nature alone is its own act of understanding and its own act of will." The angelic essence is the principle of the angel's entire existence, but of his understanding only as included under the universal object of truth (ad 2).

The power of intelligence is not the angel's essence (a. 3). The *sed contra* is Dionysius, *CH* 11, where Aquinas reads that the angels "are divided into substance, power, and operation" (*dividuntur in substantiam, virtutem et operationem*); Parker's rendering has the Divine Minds "distributed into three,—into essence, and power, and energy" (*CH* 11.2). The reason is universal: since every power is ordained to its act, diversity of acts means diversity of powers; in every creature the essence differs from existence as potency from act; and since in the angel to understand is not to exist (a. 2), "the angel's essence is not his power of intelligence: nor is the essence of any creature its power of operation." Dionysius's habit of calling the angels "intellects" and "minds" is explained, not corrected: an angel is so called "because all his knowledge is intellectual," whereas the soul's knowledge is partly sensitive (ad 1). A created simple form, not being its own existence, can be the subject of the accidents that follow its species (ad 2). Damascene's definition stands with the determination: "An angel, then, is an intelligent essence, in perpetual motion, with free-will, incorporeal, ministering to God" (*De fide orthodoxa* II.3) — essence one thing, its perpetual intellectual motion another.

No active and passive intellect in the angels (a. 4). The two intellects are postulated in us for two reasons: we understand some things only potentially, which requires a passive intellect, and the natures we understand exist outside the soul only potentially intelligible, which requires an active intellect to render them actual. "Each of these necessities is absent from the angels." What they naturally apprehend they apprehend without potency, and their objects, being first and principally immaterial things, are actually intelligible; therefore "there cannot be an active and a passive intellect in them, except equivocally." The objection from angelic illumination is answered precisely: the active intellect in us enlightens not another intellect but potentially intelligible things, by abstraction; one angel's enlightening another (§14) is no more that than is the angels' potency to supernatural revelation the passive intellect (ad 2). Damascene supplies the received picture Aquinas is refining: the angels "are secondary intelligent lights derived from that first light which is without beginning, for they have the power of illumination" (*De fide orthodoxa* II.3).

No knowledge in the angels but intellectual (a. 5). The *sed contra* is Gregory: "man senses in common with the brutes, and understands with the angels." The homily itself argues that man has something in common with every creature: *commune esse cum lapidibus, vivere cum arboribus, sentire cum animalibus, intelligere cum angelis* — being with stones, life with the trees, sensation with the animals, understanding with the angels (Gregory, *Hom. in Ev.* 29.2; the same sentence says of the angels themselves that they *sunt, vivunt, sentiunt et discernunt*, are, live, sense, and discern). Aquinas's determination: some powers of the soul operate through corporeal organs, as sight through the eye; others, intellect and will, through none. "Now the angels have no bodies naturally joined to them" (§9); hence "of the soul's powers only intellect and will can belong to them" (*de viribus animae non possunt eis competere nisi intellectus et voluntas*). The order of the universe itself is served when the highest intellectual creature is entirely intelligent. The contrary authorities are read two ways: either as following the opinion that angels and demons have bodies naturally united, which Augustine entertains without asserting, or as similitudes — "sentence" and "sensing" the truth, the "experience" of singulars known without sense, memory as Augustine places it in the mind. Dionysius's "perverted phantasy" in the demons (*DN* 4) is such a similitude: Parker renders the place, "what is evil in demons? An irrational anger—a senseless desire—a headlong fancy" (*DN* 4.23); the demons' deception is a false practical estimate of the true good, not the work of an imagination they do not have.

Summa: *ST* I q. 54 aa. 1–5; parallels *Summa contra gentiles* II.96–97; *De veritate* q. 8.
Grade: Church teaching: the angels are purely spiritual creatures having intelligence and will, personal and immortal (CCC 330). Thomist position: in the angel, substance, power, and act of understanding are really distinct (aa. 1–3); there is no agent and possible intellect in them (a. 4); their only cognitive power is the intellect (a. 5).
Authorities: Dionysius, *DN* 4.8 (*sed contra* of a. 2), *CH* 11.2 (*sed contra* of a. 3), *DN* 4.23 (obj. 3 of a. 5); Gregory, *Hom. in Ev.* 29.2 (*sed contra* of a. 5); Damascene, *De fide orthodoxa* II.3; Augustine, *De civitate Dei* VIII and XXI and *De Trinitate* X as cited by Aquinas (aa. 1, 5); Boethius and Aristotle as reported by Aquinas; CCC 330.
Contrary opinion: Averroes and the ancients who made the active intellect its own action (obj. 1 of a. 1); the opinion, used but not asserted by Augustine, that angels and demons have bodies naturally united to them (a. 5).

10.2 The Medium of Angelic Knowledge (*ST* I q. 55)

Three articles: whether the angels know all things by their substance or by species; if by species, whether by connatural species or by species drawn from things; and whether the higher angels know by more universal species than the lower (*ST* I q. 55 pr.).

Not all things by their substance (a. 1). The *sed contra* is Dionysius, that the angels "are enlightened by the forms of things" (*DN* 4). The medium by which an intellect understands is its form, and a faculty is perfected by its form only if all the faculty extends to is contained under that form. The angelic intellect extends to universal being; but the angel's essence "is an essence restricted to a genus and species," comprising all things only under a common formality. "Therefore God alone knows all things by His essence. But an angel cannot know all things by his essence; and his intellect must be perfected by some species in order to know things." Dionysius's own sentence, that the angels know things "according to the proper nature of a mind," names the knowing power, not the medium, which is always a likeness of the thing known (ad 1). The Aristotelian identity of intellect and thing understood in what is without matter means that the intellect in act is its object in act, the species standing as its form (ad 2). When Dionysius says God "enfolds the whole in the whole" — Parker's text has the Cause "which has embraced the whole in one" (*DN* 4.7) — the angelic essence holds lower things in a higher and higher things in a participative mode, but only God's essence holds all things perfectly and according to their own formality (ad 3).

Species connatural, not drawn from things (a. 2). The *sed contra* is Dionysius, that the angels "do not gather their Divine knowledge from things divisible or sensible"; in Parker's English the angelic minds collect their divine knowledge "not in portions, or from portions, or sensible perceptions, or detailed reasonings" (*DN* 7.2). Aquinas's reason mounts by the ladder of perfection: as the highest bodies have their potentiality fully perfected by their form while lower bodies receive now one form, now another, so the higher intellectual substances have their power of understanding "naturally complete by intelligible species" — *species intelligibiles connaturales*, connatural to them — while human souls are completed successively by species drawn from things. The determination: "The species whereby the angels understand are not drawn from things, but are connatural to them" (*species per quas Angeli intelligunt, non sunt a rebus acceptae, sed eis connaturales*). The same follows from their mode of existence: souls, as forms of bodies, fittingly seek their intelligible perfection from bodies; the angels "are utterly free from bodies, and subsist immaterially and in their own intelligible nature," and receive the species of things "through an intelligible outpouring" from God together with their intellectual nature (*per intelligibilem effluxum, quo a Deo species rerum cognitarum acceperunt*). Augustine himself states the order of creation this implies: *caetera vero quae infra sunt ita creantur, ut prius fiant in cognitione rationalis creaturae, ac deinde in genere suo* — the things below the angels are so created that they exist first in the knowledge of the rational creature and then in their own kind (*De Genesi ad litteram* II.8.16). The likenesses in the angelic mind are not images caused by creatures but come "from God, Who is the cause of creatures, and in Whom the likenesses of creatures first exist"; so Augustine again: *ratio qua creatura conditur, prior est in Verbo Dei quam ipsa creatura quae conditur: sic et eiusdem rationis cognitio prius fit in creatura intellectuali* (*De Genesi ad litteram* II.8.17) (ad 1). The angel could not abstract species from material things even if he would, having no imagination; and he would not, having no need (ad 2). His knowledge is indifferent to near and distant; he is moved locally not to acquire knowledge but to operate (ad 3).

The higher angels know by fewer and more universal species (a. 3). The *sed contra* joins Dionysius and the *Liber de causis*: the higher angels have a more universal knowledge and more universal forms. Parker's *CH* 12.2 gives the substance: the Cherubim participate in higher wisdom and knowledge, while "the Divisions of the Beings beneath them, participate, they also, in wisdom and knowledge, but nevertheless partially … in a lower degree." The governing reason is nearness to God. In God the whole plenitude of knowledge is contained in one thing, the Divine essence; created intellects possess that plenitude "in a lower manner, and less simply," so that a lower intellect needs many forms where a higher needs few. "Thus the higher the angel is, by so much the fewer species will he be able to apprehend the whole mass of intelligible objects." Even among men "there are others of stronger intellect, who can grasp many things from few." The replies secure the account against misunderstanding: universality here is not abstracted from particulars but pre-exists them, causally in the Word, by nature in the angelic mind (ad 1); to know by a universal *medium* is more perfect, not less, for the intellect that knows each thing through one universal medium surpasses one that cannot (ad 2); and an eminent species can be the proper type of many, as the Divine essence is the proper type of each thing (ad 3). *De veritate* q. 8 a. 10 argues the same from the principle that a higher power works through fewer principles that reach further.

> **Summa:** *ST* I q. 55 aa. 1–3; parallels *De veritate* q. 8 aa. 8–10; *Summa contra gentiles* II.96, 98, 101.
> **Grade:** Thomist position: the angels know by connatural, infused *species intelligibiles*, not by their essence alone (a. 1) nor by species drawn from things (a. 2); the higher angels know through fewer and more universal species (a. 3).
> **Authorities:** Dionysius, *DN* 4 (*sed contra* and obj. 3 of a. 1), *DN* 7 (obj. 1 and ad 1 of a. 1; *sed contra* of a. 2), *CH* 12 (*sed contra* of a. 3); *Liber de causis* (a. 3); Augustine, *De Genesi ad litteram* II.8.16–17 (a. 2).
> **Contrary opinion:** Bonaventure agrees that the angels know all things by innate species, yet holds that the angel could receive new species were God to create a new nature, and that singulars are known by composing innate species while the angel directs its gaze upon the thing (*In II Sent.* d. 3 p. 2 a. 2 q. 1); Aquinas's account excludes both composition and reception (aa. 2–3; *ST* I q. 58 a. 4).

10.3 The Angel's Knowledge of Immaterial Things (*ST* I q. 56)

Three articles: whether an angel knows himself; whether one angel knows another; whether the angel knows God by his own natural principles (*ST* I q. 56 pr.).

The angel knows himself (a. 1). The *sed contra* is Augustine, that "the angel knew himself when he was established, that is, enlightened by truth"; of the light first created he writes, *in ipsa sua conformatione cognovit, hoc est illustratione veritatis* — in its very conformation it knew itself, that is, in the illumination of the truth (*De Genesi ad litteram* II.8.16). The determination follows from the metaphysics of immanent action: for such action the object must be united to the agent as its form, and a subsisting intelligible form needs no reception to be actually intelligible. "And since an angel is immaterial, he is a subsisting form; and, consequently, he is actually intelligible. Hence it follows that he understands himself by his form, which is his substance" (*per suam formam, quae est sua substantia, seipsum intelligat*). The first reply carries a textual notice: where the old Latin translation of Dionysius read that the angels "do not know their own powers," the amended translation reads that they "knew their own powers"; Parker's English follows the corrected text, "they know their own proper powers and illuminations" (*CH* 6.1). Even the older letter could stand, as meaning that the angels do not comprehend the order of the Divine Wisdom from which their power proceeds (ad 1). Singularity is no bar: we fail to know corporeal singulars because of matter, not because of particularity (ad 2); and the intellect is moved by its object only so far as it is in potency, which does not touch the angel's knowledge of himself (ad 3).

One angel knows another (a. 2). The *sed contra* is the *Liber de causis*: "every intelligence knows the things which are not corrupted." The determination is Augustinian in frame. What pre-existed eternally in the Word came forth in two ways: into the angelic mind, and to subsist in its own nature. God impressed on every angelic mind the forms of all He produced, corporeal and spiritual — in each angel the form of his own species "according to both its natural and its intelligible condition," so that he subsists in his species and knows himself by it, and the forms of all other natures according to their intelligible condition alone. One angel therefore knows another by that angel's species existing in his intellect, which differs from the angel himself "not according to material and immaterial nature, but according to natural and intentional existence" (*esse intentionale*), as the color on the wall has natural existence

and in the medium only intentional (ad 3). The angelic natures, differing only in degrees of intellectual perfection, do not bar one another from knowledge (ad 1); likeness without causality suffices (ad 2). And the universe's proportion answers the cleverest objection: had God resolved to create more angels, He would have impressed more species, "as a builder who, if he had intended to build a larger house, would have made larger foundations" (ad 4).

The angel knows God by natural principles, but as in a mirror (a. 3). The *sed contra* argues from the lesser to the greater: men know God by natural principles (Rom 1:19), and "the angels are mightier in knowledge than men." A thing is known in three ways: by the presence of its own essence in the knower, as God knows Himself and as the blessed see God; by the presence of the thing's likeness in the knowing power; and by a likeness reflected in something else, as a man is seen in a mirror. The angel's natural knowledge of God stands midway. "Since God's image is impressed on the very nature of the angel in his essence, the angel knows God in as much as he is the image of God. Yet he does not behold God's essence; because no created likeness is sufficient to represent the Divine essence." His knowledge "approaches rather to the specular kind; because the angelic nature is itself a kind of mirror representing the Divine image" (*ipsa natura angelica est quoddam speculum divinam similitudinem repraesentans*). The objections are Dionysius's own superlatives: God is "altogether incomprehensible to all, and of It, there is neither perception nor imagination, nor surmise, nor name, nor expression, nor contact, nor science" (*DN* 1.2) — which Aquinas reads of the knowledge of comprehension, excluded for every created intellect (ad 1). Paul's "through a glass in a dark manner" (1 Cor 13:12) divides vision in the Word from vision in creatures; the angel's natural knowledge is likened to the specular, though it is not gathered from sensible things (ad 3). Damascene says the same in the mode of the Greek tradition: "They behold God according to their capacity, and this is their food" (*De fide orthodoxa* II.3).

> **Summa:** *ST* I q. 56 aa. 1–3; parallels *De veritate* q. 8 aa. 1–7; *Summa contra gentiles* II.98.
> **Grade:** Common teaching: the angel knows himself and the other angels (aa. 1–2). Church teaching: no created intellect comprehends God or sees his essence by nature (a. 3; *ST* I q. 12). Thomist position: the angel's natural knowledge of God is specular, the angelic nature being a mirror of the divine image (a. 3).
> **Authorities:** Augustine, *De Genesi ad litteram* II.8.16 (*sed contra* of a. 1); Dionysius, *CH* 6.1 (obj. 1 of a. 1), *DN* 1.2 (obj. 1 of a. 3), *DN* 7 (a. 3); *Liber de causis* (*sed contra* of a. 2, obj. 2); Rom 1:19–20, 1 Cor 13:12; Damascene, *De fide orthodoxa* II.3.
> **Contrary opinion:** The old Latin version of *CH* 6, "they do not know their own powers," corrected in the newer translation (a. 1 ad 1).

10.4 The Angel's Knowledge of Material Things (*ST* I q. 57)

Five articles: whether the angels know the natures of material things; whether they know singulars; whether they know the future; whether they know the thoughts of hearts; whether they know all mysteries of grace (*ST* I q. 57 pr.).

The angels know material things (a. 1). The established order of things is that the higher contain, eminently and more simply, what the lower contain deficiently and in manifold manner. In God all things pre-exist supersubstantially; "among other creatures the angels are nearest to God," and Dionysius testifies that the holy orders "share in the supremely Divine participation, in a higher degree" than what merely exists or lives (*CH* 4.2). "Consequently, all material things pre-exist in the angels more simply and less materially even than in themselves, yet in a more manifold manner and less perfectly than in God." Since whatever is in a subject is there after the subject's manner, and the angels are intellectual by nature, they know material things forasmuch as these are in them by intelligible species. The replies cut away the contrary picture of knowledge: the thing understood perfects the knower precisely by its species (ad 1); the intellect alone apprehends the essences of things, the *quod quid est*, about which it does not err (ad 2); and no abstraction is required, because the angel does not draw his knowledge from material things but has it by connatural species actually intelligible (ad 3; q. 55 a. 2).

The angels know singulars (a. 2). The *sed contra* is the guardianship: "No one can guard what he does not know," and the angels guard individual men — "For he hath given his angels charge over thee; to keep thee in all thy ways" (Ps 90[91]:11, Douay). Aquinas first names the positions he rejects. To deny the angels all knowledge of singulars "derogates from the Catholic faith, which asserts that these lower things are administered by angels" (Heb 1:14), and against the word of Ecclesiastes, "say not before the angel: There is no providence" (Eccles 5:5, Douay); it

is also against the philosophers, who made the separate substances movers of the spheres. Nor does it suffice to know singulars in their universal causes — the opinion *De veritate* q. 8 a. 11 assigns to Avicenna — as the astronomer foretells an eclipse: such knowledge does not reach the singular as it exists here and now, and "administration, providence and movement are of singulars, as they are here and now existing." The determination: as man by diverse powers knows universals and singulars, so the angel knows both by his one intellective power; for "the higher a thing is, so much the more is its power united and far-reaching," as the common sense in man knows all that the five outer senses know. Hence "it is unreasonable to say that a man knows by any one of his powers something which an angel by his one faculty of knowledge, namely, the intellect, does not know" — Aristotle "pronounces it ridiculous to say that a discord, which is known to us, should be unknown to God." The manner: God is cause of the entire substance of things, matter and form, and His knowledge is their cause; the angelic species, "the manifold representations of that one simple essence," are images of things not only in their universal natures but in their individuating principles (ad 2).

The angels do not know the future in itself (a. 3). The *sed contra* is Isaias: "Shew the things that are to come hereafter, and we shall know that ye are gods" (Isa 41:23, Douay); to know future events is the exclusive sign of the Divinity. The future is known in two ways. In its causes: what proceeds necessarily from its causes is known with certainty, as that the sun will rise tomorrow; what follows for the most part is known conjecturally, as the physician foresees the course of a disease — and the angels know the future in this way by so much the more as they grasp the causes of things more universally and perfectly; chance events are quite unknown. In themselves (*futura in seipsis*): "To know the future in this way belongs to God alone ... for God sees all things in His eternity, which, being simple, is present to all time, and embraces all time" — *solius Dei est futura cognoscere.* "But the mind of an angel, and every created intellect, fall far short of God's eternity." Hence the Lord's word stands without exception: "But of that day and hour no one knoweth: no, not the angels of heaven, but the Father alone" (Matt 24:36, Douay). The replies discipline the imagination of an angelic eternity: though the angelic intellect is above the time that measures corporeal motion, there is succession in its concepts, for as Augustine says, God "moves the spiritual creature according to time" — in his own words, *per tempus movet conditum spiritum ipse nec per tempus nec per locum motus conditor Spiritus* (*De Genesi ad litteram* VIII.20.39) (ad 2). Innate species are indifferent to present, past, and future, but future things have not yet the nature that would liken them to the species (ad 3); distance in place belongs to what already exists (ad 4). *De malo* q. 16 a. 7 carries the same division for the demons' foreknowledge, with the same Isaian seal.

The angels do not know the thoughts of hearts (a. 4). The *sed contra* is Jeremias: "The heart is perverse above all things, and unsearchable, who can know it? I am the Lord who search the heart, and prove the reins" (Jer 17:9–10, Douay); to read the secrets of hearts is proper to God. A secret thought may be known in two ways. In its effects, it can be known even by man, and the more subtly as the effect is more hidden — by outward act, by change of countenance, by the pulse. Augustine judges that the demons at times learn men's dispositions, not only spoken aloud but conceived in thought, when certain signs are expressed from the soul in the body: *non solum voce prolatas, verum etiam cogitatione conceptas, cum signa quaedam ex animo exprimuntur in corpore, tota facilitate perdiscunt* (*De divinatione daemonum* 5.9); Aquinas adds from the *Retractationes* (II.30, quoted in *De malo* q. 16 a. 8) that Augustine leaves in doubt whether this is by bodily signs perceptible to them and hidden from us, or by some other spiritual power. But as they are in the mind, thoughts and the affections of the will God alone can know: *solus Deus cogitationes cordium et affectiones voluntatum cognoscere potest.* The reason reaches the heart of the creature's order: the rational creature is subject to God alone, and He alone can work within it; "all that is in the will, and all things that depend only on the will, are known to God alone," and it depends entirely on the will that a man actually consider what he knows — "For what man knoweth the things of a man, but the spirit of a man that is in him?" (1 Cor 2:11, Douay). The replies qualify the glory to come. In the resurrection the body's grossness will no longer hide the soul, and the brightness of the glorified body will show forth the soul's grace and glory; Gregory, expounding Job 28:17, says of that society that "when the countenance of each one is marked his conscience is penetrated along with it," each distinguishable to another "as now he cannot be distinguishable to himself" (*Moralia* XVIII, §78, on Job 28:17); yet the will's closure of its secrets remains even there and even among the angels, for "in the resurrection they shall neither marry nor be married, but shall be as the angels of God in heaven" (Matt 22:30, Douay) without therefore reading one another's wills (ad 1). One angel sees another's intelligible species, but not how far the other actually uses them (ad 2); and what passes in the sense appetite as it follows bodily impressions the angels can know, but not as it is moved by the will (ad 3). Damascene's picture of angelic converse respects the same bound: "they

have no need of tongue or hearing, but without uttering words they communicate to each other their own thoughts and counsels" (*De fide orthodoxa* II.3) — they communicate; they do not read.

The angels know the mysteries of grace only by revelation (a. 5). The *sed contra* is Dionysius, that Scripture describes certain heavenly essences "as questioning Jesus, and learning from Him the knowledge of His Divine work for us" (*CH* 7); Parker's text reads, "others, as questioning Jesus Himself, as desiring to be instructed in the science of His Divine work on our behalf, and Jesus Himself teaching them immediately," with Isa 63:1, "I, that speak justice" (cf. Douay). The determination distinguishes the angel's twofold knowledge. By natural knowledge — through his essence and through innate species — the angels cannot know the mysteries of grace, *mysteria gratiae*, "for these mysteries depend upon the pure will of God," and the argument of 1 Cor 2:11 covers God's will as much as man's: "the things also that are of God, no man knoweth, but the Spirit of God." "There is another knowledge of the angels, which renders them happy" (*alia Angelorum cognitio, quae eos beatos facit*), the vision of the Word and of things in the Word; by it they know mysteries of grace, "but not all mysteries: nor do they all know them equally; but just as God wills them to learn by revelation," the higher beholding the Divine wisdom more clearly and enlightening the lower. "Some of these mysteries they knew from the very beginning of their creation; others they are taught afterwards, as befits their ministrations." So the mystery of the Incarnation in general was revealed to all from the commencement of their beatitude, since all their ministry is ordered to it (Heb 1:14), while its particular conditions even the higher angels learned afterwards (ad 1). Augustine had already taught the pattern from Eph 3:10, *sic ergo fuit hoc absconditum a saeculis in Deo, ut tamen innotesceret Principibus et Potestatibus in coelestibus per Ecclesiam multiformis sapientia Dei* — the mystery hidden from ages in God, yet so as to be made known to the Principalities and Powers in heavenly places through the Church (*De Genesi ad litteram* V.19.38); the "great mystery of godliness" "appeared unto angels" (1 Tim 3:16, Douay), and the angels desire to look upon the things now declared in the Gospel (1 Pet 1:12). The blessed angels behold the Divine wisdom without comprehending it (ad 2); and what the prophets knew by revelation the angels knew more excellently, the later prophets more than the earlier (ad 3; Ps 118[119]:100; Aquinas cites Gregory, *Hom. xvi in Ezech.*, that "the knowledge of Divine things increased as time went on").

> **Summa:** *ST* I q. 57 aa. 1–5; parallels *De veritate* q. 8 aa. 11–13; *De malo* q. 16 aa. 7–8; *Summa contra gentiles* II.99–100.
> **Grade:** Common teaching: the angels know material natures (a. 1); they know singulars, as their ministry presupposes (a. 2; Heb 1:14; Ps 90[91]:11); they know the future in its causes but not in itself (a. 3; Isa 41:23; Matt 24:36); they do not know the thoughts of hearts (a. 4; Jer 17:9–10; 1 Cor 2:11); they know the mysteries of grace only by revelation (a. 5).
> **Authorities:** Ps 90[91]:11 (*sed contra* of a. 2), Heb 1:14, Eccles 5:5, Isa 41:23 (*sed contra* of a. 3), Matt 24:36, Jer 17:9–10 (*sed contra* of a. 4), 1 Cor 2:10–11, Matt 22:30, Isa 63:1, 1 Tim 3:16, Eph 3:10, 1 Pet 1:12, Amos 3:7, Ps 118[119]:100; Dionysius, *DN* 1 (a. 1), *CH* 4.2 (a. 1; obj. 3 of a. 5), *CH* 7.3 (*sed contra* of a. 5); Augustine, *De divinatione daemonum* 5.9 and *Retractationes* II.30 as quoted in *De malo* q. 16 a. 8 (a. 4), *De Genesi ad litteram* VIII.20.39 (ad 2 of a. 3) and V.19.38 (obj. 1 of a. 5); Gregory, *Moralia* XVIII, §78 (obj. 1 of a. 4); Damascene, *De fide orthodoxa* II.3.
> **Contrary opinion:** The unnamed deniers of angelic knowledge of singulars, and Avicenna's reduction of that knowledge to universal causes (*De veritate* q. 8 a. 11 names him), both rejected (a. 2).

10.5 The Mode of Angelic Knowledge (*ST* I q. 58)

Seven articles: whether the angel's intellect is sometimes in potentiality and sometimes in act; whether he can understand many things at once; whether his knowledge is discursive; whether he understands by composing and dividing; whether there can be falsehood in his intellect; whether there is morning and evening knowledge in him; and whether his morning and evening knowledge are one or diverse (*ST* I q. 58 pr.).

Potentiality and act in the angelic intellect (a. 1). The *sed contra* is Augustine: from their creation the angels enjoy the eternity of the Word in holy and devout contemplation — in his words, *ex quo creati sunt, ipsa Verbi aeternitate sancta et pia contemplatione perfruuntur* (*De Genesi ad litteram* II.8.17). The intellect is in potentiality in two ways: before it has the habit of knowledge, and when it has the habit but is not actually considering. In the first way the angel's intellect is never in potentiality for what his natural knowledge extends to: as the heavenly bodies have no potentiality to existence not fully actuated, so "the heavenly intellects, the angels, have no intelligible

potentiality which is not fully completed by connatural intelligible species"; yet for things divinely revealed they may be in potentiality, as even the heavenly bodies are at times in potentiality to the sun's light. In the second way his intellect can be in potentiality for what he knows naturally, since he is not always actually considering all of it; but for the Word and what he beholds in the Word, never, "because he is always actually beholding the Word," and beatitude consists in act, not in habit. The angels' desire to look into the mysteries (1 Pet 1:12) argues no defect, but a delight that excludes weariness and awaits fresh revelations (ad 2). *Contra Gentiles* II.97 states the same perfection more absolutely, the separate substance's intellect being above time: *intellectus substantiae separatae est semper intelligens actu.*

Many things at once (a. 2). The *sed contra* is Augustine, that "the spiritual faculty of the angelic mind comprehends most easily at the same time all things that it wills"; his words are, *secundum potentiam spiritalem mentis angelicae, cuncta quae voluerit simul notitia facillima comprehendente* (*De Genesi ad litteram* IV.32). The determination turns on the unity of the object: as unity of term makes unity of movement, unity of object makes unity of operation. Distinct things, as distinct, cannot be understood at once; but in so far as they are comprised under one intelligible species they are one intelligible object, as the parts of a continuous whole are grasped together, or subject and predicate in one proposition. Hence by the knowledge they have of things through the Word, the angels know all things at once under one species, the Divine essence — as in heaven, Augustine says, "our thoughts will no longer revolve by passing and repassing from one thing to another, but we shall see all our knowledge at once, and at one glance" (*De Trinitate* XV.16.26); by innate species they know at once all that falls under one species, not what falls under diverse species.

No discursion (a. 3). The *sed contra* is Dionysius, that the angels "do not acquire Divine knowledge from separate discourses, nor are they led to something particular from something common"; Parker's text has them collecting their divine knowledge "not in portions, or from portions, or sensible perceptions, or detailed reasonings, or arguing from something common," but contemplating "intuitively, immaterially and uniformly" (*DN* 7.2). The determination perfects the running analogy of the treatise: as the heavenly bodies have their last perfection at once from their nature, while earthly bodies reach theirs by change, so "the lower, namely, the human, intellects obtain their perfection in the knowledge of truth by a kind of movement and discursive intellectual operation," advancing from one thing known to another; but of the angels, "in the truths which they know naturally, they at once behold all things whatsoever that can be known in them." Hence the two names of the two intellectual natures: the angels "are called 'intellectual beings,' " because what is grasped instantly is said to be understood, and *intellectus* is the habit of first principles; human souls, which acquire truth by discursion, are called "rational," *rationales*, "and this comes of the feebleness of their intellectual light." The replies keep the words exact: to know one thing *in* another, as an object is seen in a mirror, is one motion, not discursion, and so the angels know creatures in the Word (ad 1); they know syllogisms, and see effects in causes and causes in effects, without acquiring unknown truth by syllogizing (ad 2); the "experience" Isidore ascribes to demons, as the objection cites him (*De summo bono* I.10), is said by similitude, since they know present sensible things "without any discursion withal" (ad 3).

No composing and dividing (a. 4). The *sed contra* is Dionysius, that "the intellectual power of the angel shines forth with the clear simplicity of divine concepts" — Parker: "they have their intellectual power and energy re-splendent with the unmixed and undefiled purity" (*DN* 7.2). The same weakness of intellectual light that makes our knowledge discursive makes it compositive: had the intellect, in apprehending the quiddity of a subject, at once seen all that can be attributed to it or removed from it, it would never compose and divide (*componere et dividere*), but only understand what a thing is. "In apprehending a nature, he by one simple perception grasps all that we can learn by composing and dividing" (ad 1) — *intelligendo quod quid est.* Yet the angel understands our composition and division, as he apprehends our syllogisms: "he understands simply, such things as are composite, things movable immovably, and material things immaterially"; and when angels speak to men in affirmative and negative propositions, that shows they know composition and division, not that they know *by* composing and dividing (ad 3). Dionysius gives the icon of this intellect when he praises the angel as "a mirror untarnished—most transparent—without flaw—pure—without spot" (*DN* 4.22); the *Summa* had already spoken the same way of the angelic nature as "a kind of mirror" (*quoddam speculum*) representing the Divine image (q. 56 a. 3).

No falsehood in the angelic intellect (a. 5). The *sed contra* joins Aristotle, that "the intelligence is always true," with Augustine, that nothing can be understood except as it is — the *Eighty-Three Questions* read, *non*

ergo potest quidquam intellegi nisi ut est (q. 32). The determination follows from a. 4: the intellect is always true about what a thing is, as sense about its proper object; deception creeps in only *per accidens*, when a quiddity is reached through composition, as when one definition is taken for another or its parts do not hang together. Since the angel does not compose and divide, "no falsehood, error, or deception can exist of itself in the mind of any angel" — *intellectus eius quod quid est semper est verus, nisi per accidens.* What looks like the contrary among the demons has another root. "Owing to their upright will, from their knowing the nature of every creature, the good angels form no judgments as to the nature of the qualities therein, save under the Divine ordinance." But since "the minds of demons are utterly perverted from the Divine wisdom," they judge some things absolutely by their natural conditions; never deceived about natural properties, they can be misled about supernatural ones — "on seeing a dead man, they may suppose that he will not rise again, or, on beholding Christ, they may judge Him not to be God." Their nescience, which Dionysius allows the heavenly orders to confess — "all the heavenly Orders are not the same, in all the sacred sciences of the God-contemplating visions" (*EH* 6) — concerns what is knowable only supernaturally, not their natural knowledge.

Morning and evening knowledge (a. 6). The *sed contra* is Augustine, who "divides the knowledge of the angels into morning and evening knowledge" (*De Genesi ad litteram* IV; *De civitate Dei* XI.7). The expression is Augustine's own device: the six days of creation are not ordinary days measured by the sun, made only on the fourth day, but one day — the day of angelic knowledge directed to the six classes of things. As morning is the day's beginning and evening its close, "their knowledge of the primordial being of things is called morning knowledge" (*cognitio matutina*), knowledge of things as they exist in the Word; "their knowledge of the very being of the thing created, as it stands in its own nature, is termed evening knowledge" (*cognitio vespertina*), because the being of things flows from the Word as from a primordial principle and is terminated in the being they have in themselves. Augustine's own sentence fixes the axis: *multum quippe interest inter cognitionem rei cuiusque in Verbo Dei, et cognitionem eius in natura eius; ut illud merito ad diem pertineat, hoc ad vesperam* — it makes a great difference whether a thing is known in the Word of God or in its own nature, the former rightly belonging to the day, the latter to the evening (*De Genesi ad litteram* IV.23.40; the *City of God* puts it so: "the knowledge of the creature is, in comparison of the knowledge of the Creator, but a twilight; and so it dawns and breaks into morning when the creature is drawn to the praise and love of the Creator," XI.7). The replies answer the anxieties the figure raises. Evening is not the darkness of error but the end of a day's work; or, as Augustine allows, one light may be darkness beside a greater — the faithful are light beside the wicked (Eph 5:8), yet night beside the life of glory (2 Pet 1:19) (ad 1). After evening comes no night, because the good angels, knowing the creature, "do not adhere to it, for that would be to turn to darkness and to night; but they refer this back to the praise of God," *post vesperam non ponitur nox, sed mane* — and Augustine's own words: *non remanet angelica scientia in eo quod creatum est, quin hoc continuo referat ad eius laudem atque caritatem* (*De Genesi ad litteram* IV.24.41); noonday, if one will, is their knowledge of God Himself (ad 2; *De civitate Dei* XI.29 assigns the angels "a noonday knowledge" in God, "a twilight knowledge" in themselves). And the third existence of things, in the angelic mind, counts as evening knowledge, since the angels themselves are creatures (ad 3).

Whether morning and evening knowledge are one (a. 7). The *sed contra* is Augustine: "There is a vast difference between knowing anything as it is in the Word of God, and as it is in its own nature" (*De Genesi ad litteram* IV). The determination first purges a misunderstanding: evening knowledge is not drawn *from* the nature of things — the angels do not draw knowledge from things at all (q. 55 a. 2) — but is knowledge of the being things have in their own nature. And that being the angels know through a twofold medium: by innate species, and by the forms of things existing in the Word, for in beholding the Word they see not only the being things have in the Word but the being things have in themselves, as God by contemplating Himself sees the being of things. Hence the division: if evening knowledge means knowing the things' own being *in beholding the Word*, morning and evening knowledge "are essentially one and the same, and only differ as to the things known"; if it means knowing it *through innate ideas*, they differ — "thus Augustine seems to understand it when he assigns one as inferior to the other." The replies dissolve the remaining obstacles: Gen 1:5, "there was evening and morning one day," takes the day by the unity of the thing known, which can still be apprehended by diverse ways of knowing (ad 1); one faculty can have two operations at once when one is referred to the other, as the will wills end and means together, and the angels' evening knowledge is referred to their morning knowledge, the angels always beholding the Father's face (Matt 18:10) (ad 2); and the perfect's coming does not void this imperfection, for to know a thing in itself is not opposed to knowing it in its cause, as one conclusion may be reached by a demonstrative and by a probable medium (ad 3). Augustine had already refused to put asunder what the angelic mind holds together: *simul hoc totum possint, simul hoc totum*

faciant . . . simul ergo habent et diem, et vesperam, et mane — they can do all this at once, and they do; at once they have day, and evening, and morning (*De Genesi ad litteram* IV.29.46). *De veritate* q. 8 a. 17 adds a precision the *Summa* leaves implicit: morning and evening, strictly taken, belong to the day, that is, to the knowledge of grace in the blessed angels; the demons' natural knowledge, referred to no praise, is neither.

> **Summa:** *ST* I q. 58 aa. 1–7; parallels *De veritate* q. 8 aa. 14–17; *Summa contra gentiles* II.97, 101.
> **Grade:** Common teaching, after Augustine: the angels' knowledge is morning knowledge of things in the Word and evening knowledge of things in their own nature (aa. 6–7; *De Genesi ad litteram* IV; *De civitate Dei* XI.7, 29). Thomist position: the angelic intellect is in potentiality only as not always considering what it knows (a. 1); it understands many things at once under one species (a. 2); it knows without discursion (a. 3), without composing and dividing (a. 4), and without the possibility of falsehood of itself (a. 5).
> **Authorities:** Augustine, *De Genesi ad litteram* II.8.17 (*sed contra* of a. 1), IV.32 (a. 2), IV.23–24 (aa. 6–7), IV.29.46 (a. 7), *De Trinitate* XV.16.26 (a. 2), *De civitate Dei* XI.7 and XI.29 (a. 6), *De diversis quaestionibus octoginta tribus* q. 32 (*sed contra* of a. 5); Dionysius, *DN* 7.2 (*sed contra* of aa. 3 and 4), *DN* 4.8 (obj. 1 of a. 1) and 4.22 (a. 4), *DN* 4 (objs. 1 and 3 of a. 5), *EH* 6 (obj. 2 of a. 5); 1 Pet 1:12, Gen 1:5, Matt 18:10, Eph 5:8, 2 Pet 1:19, 1 Cor 13:10; Aristotle and Isidore as cited by Aquinas.
> **Contrary opinion:** Isidore's "experience" in demons, received only as a similitude (a. 3); the demons' accidental error about supernatural matters (a. 5); *De veritate* q. 8 a. 17 restricts morning and evening knowledge, strictly taken, to the blessed (a. 7).

11 Will and Love

From the angelic intellect Aquinas passes to the things that pertain to the will of the angels (*de his quae pertinent ad voluntatem Angelorum*), considering first the will itself (q. 59) and then its movement, which is love or dilection (*de motu eius, qui est amor sive dilectio*), for every act of the appetitive power is derived from love or dilection (*nam omnis actus appetitivae virtutis ex amore seu dilectione derivatur*) (*ST* I q. 59 pr.; *ST* I q. 60 pr.). The two questions carry forward the results of the treatise on knowledge (§10): because the angel knows the universal aspect of goodness by intellect, it loves; because its knowing is not discursive, its choosing is not deliberative. The Church teaches that the angels, as purely spiritual creatures, "have intelligence and will: they are personal and immortal creatures" (CCC 330).

11.1 The Will of the Angels (*ST* I q. 59)

The four articles ask whether there is will in the angels, whether the will is their nature or their intellect, whether there is free choice in them, and whether they have an irascible and a concupiscible appetite (*ST* I q. 59 pr.).

Will in the angels (a. 1). Aquinas cites Augustine (*De Trinitate* X.11–12) for the *sed contra*: the image of the Trinity is found in the mind according to memory, understanding, and will, and that image is in the angelic mind as well as the human. The corpus argues from the grades of inclination. Every nature is inclined to good, but in different ways: things without knowledge have *appetitus naturalis*; sense has *appetitus sensitivus*, which reaches only particular goods; the intellect, which apprehends goodness itself, "inclined towards good in general. Such inclination is termed 'will.' " "Accordingly, since the angels by their intellect know the universal aspect of goodness, it is manifest that there is a will in them." The first objection had argued that the will is "in the reason," and the angels are above reason. Aquinas answers that reason and intellect differ only in manner of knowing: reason reaches the universal by discourse, intellect "by simple intuition" (*simplici intuitu*); the object proposed to the appetite is the same, so "in the angels, who are purely intellectual, there is no appetite higher than the will" (ad 1). Nor is will excluded because the angels are perfect and unmoved: appetite is named from seeking what is not yet had, but it reaches also to the good possessed (ad 2); and to will is a "movement" only in the sense in which the act of a perfect thing is so called (ad 3).

Will distinct from nature and intellect (a. 2). "In the angels the will is a special faculty or power, which is neither their nature nor their intellect." The essence of a thing is contained wholly within it, so what reaches beyond it to an extrinsic good must be something superadded; only in God, in whom universal being and universal

good are contained, are intellect and will identical with essence — in no creature. Intellect and will differ by the direction of their respective acts: knowledge is by the presence of the known within the knower, while "the will goes out to what is beyond it, according as by a kind of inclination it tends, in a manner, to what is outside it." The *sed contra* is simpler still: the angelic will regards good things only, the intellect regards good and evil alike, "for they know both." The replies rest the distinction on the formal objects: the true and the good are convertible in reality, but their diversity of aspect "suffices for the difference of intellect from will" (ad 2).

Free choice in the angels (a. 3). The *sed contra* argues a fortiori from human dignity: free choice is part of man's dignity, and the angels' dignity surpasses man's. The corpus defines the matter. Some things act without judgment, as the arrow toward the target; irrational animals act by a judgment "not a free one, but implanted by nature"; "only an agent endowed with an intellect can act with a judgment which is free," because it apprehends the common aspect of goodness. "Consequently, wherever there is intellect, there is free-will" (*ubicumque est intellectus, est liberum arbitrium*); therefore there is *liberum arbitrium* in the angels, "in a higher degree of perfection than in man." Damascene had taught the same in the East: the angel's nature is "rational, and intelligent, and endowed with free-will, changeable in will," and precisely because created it is "changeable, having power either to abide or progress in goodness, or to turn towards evil" (*De fide orthodoxa* II.3). The first objection presses Aristotle's account of choice as desire following counsel, and counsel as inquiry — of which the undiscursive angel is incapable. Aquinas answers that this describes human choice: "there is choice in the angels, yet not with the inquisitive deliberation of counsel, but by the sudden acceptance of truth" (*per subitam acceptionem veritatis*) (ad 1). The intellect's determination to natural truths is no imperfection, so neither is the will's determination toward what is above the angel (ad 2); and free choice exists "in a nobler manner" in the higher angels, though liberty as the removal of compulsion admits no degrees (ad 3).

No irascible or concupiscible appetite in the angels (a. 4). The first objection is Dionysius, who says of the demons that there is in them "unreasonable fury and wild concupiscence"; in Parker's translation of the passage, "what is evil in demons? An irrational anger—a senseless desire—a headlong fancy" (*DN* 4.23). The *sed contra* is Aristotle: the irascible and concupiscible belong to the sensitive part, which does not exist in angels. Aquinas determines that "the intellective appetite is not divided into irascible and concupiscible; only the sensitive appetite is so divided." Powers are distinguished by the formal aspect of their objects, and the will's object is good under the common aspect of goodness, which is not split into the arduous and the delectable; hence the angelic appetite "remains undivided; and it is called the will" (*remanet indivisus; et vocatur voluntas*). Fury and concupiscence are said of the demons "metaphorically ... on account of the resemblance in the effect" (ad 1). Love and joy, as passions, belong to the concupiscible; but as simple acts of the will they belong to the intellective part, "in this sense to love is to wish well to anyone" (*amare est velle bonum alicui*) — and none of these is said of the angels by way of passion, as Aquinas notes, citing Augustine (*De civitate Dei* IX) (ad 2). Charity and hope are in the will itself, not in a sensory appetite; temperance and fortitude are said of the angels only according as their will is conformed and firm in the divine will (ad 3).

Summa: *ST* I q. 59 aa. 1–4; parallels *Summa contra gentiles* II.47–48.
Grade: Church teaching: the angels have intelligence and will and are personal, immortal creatures (CCC 330). Common teaching: they have free choice (a. 3; Damascene, *De fide orthodoxa* II.3). Thomist position: the will is a power distinct from nature and intellect (a. 2); angelic choice is without deliberative inquiry (a. 3); the intellective appetite is undivided (a. 4).
Authorities: Augustine, *De Trinitate* X.11–12 (*sed contra* of a. 1) and *De civitate Dei* IX (a. 4 ad 2); Dionysius, *DN* 4.23 (obj. 1 of a. 4); Aristotle, *De anima* III and *Nicomachean Ethics* III; Damascene, *De fide orthodoxa* II.3; CCC 330.
Contrary opinion: The Dionysian attribution of fury and concupiscence to the demons (*DN* 4.23), taken by Aquinas metaphorically (a. 4 obj. 1, ad 1); the rationalist placement of the will "in the reason" above which the angels would stand (a. 1 obj. 1), answered by the unity of the appetite's object in reason and intellect.

11.2 The Love or Dilection of the Angels (*ST* I q. 60)

Love is the first movement of the will and the root of every other; the question asks whether there is natural love in the angels, and love of choice, and how each bears on self, on the other angels, and on God (*ST* I q. 60 pr.).

Natural love (a. 1). The *sed contra* rests on Augustine (*De Trinitate* X.1–2): nothing is loved unless first known, and the angels have natural knowledge, therefore natural love. The corpus argues from the structure of nature itself. "It is common to every nature to have some inclination; and this is its natural appetite or love." What belongs to nature as prior is preserved in what follows, and nature is prior to intellect; so in the intellectual nature there is a natural inclination "coming from the will," *dilectio naturalis* seated in the angelic will itself. The objection from Dionysius (*DN* 4), that natural love is contradistinguished from intellectual love, is answered: intellectual love is divided only against the merely natural love of things without sense or intellect (ad 1) — Dionysius's own gradation runs from "the intellectual and rational," who aspire "through knowledge," down to things bereft of perception and things that merely are (*DN* 4.4). Natural love does not make the angel passive, since the Author of nature implanted the inclination and the angel still acts by free will (ad 2); and natural love is always right, for "natural love is nothing else than the inclination implanted in nature by its Author" (*amor naturalis nihil aliud sit quam inclinatio naturae indita ab auctore naturae*) — though its rectitude is other than the rectitude of charity, and is perfected by it (ad 3).

Elective love (a. 2). The *sed contra* is drawn from merit: we neither merit nor demerit by purely natural acts, yet by their love the angels merit or demerit (*naturalibus neque meremur neque demeremur*). "There exists in the angels a natural love, and a love of choice" (*dilectio electiva*), and the natural love is the principle of the elective, as nature is principle to what follows it. The analogy is exact: as the intellect knows principles naturally and concludes from them, so the will tends naturally to the last end — "every man naturally wills happiness" — and chooses the means for the end's sake. The angel's intellect, being perfect, has no discursive knowledge; but its will has both loves, because it is no imperfection to seek one thing naturally as end and another by choice as ordained to that end. Aquinas closes by deferring all that is above nature — "nature is not the sufficient principle thereof" — to the treatment of grace and glory (a. 2; §12.2). The first objection, again from *DN* 4, had set rational love against intellectual: not every elective love follows discursive reasoning, but only human choice (ad 1).

Love of self (a. 3). The *sed contra* is Aristotle: "Love for others comes of love for oneself" (*Nic. Eth.* IX.8). Good is found both in subsisting things and in accidents, so a thing is loved in two ways: as a subsisting good, to which we wish well — the love called "friendship" (*amor amicitiae*) — and as a good to be had, the love called "concupiscence" (*amor concupiscentiae*). Everything naturally seeks its own good and perfection, and this is to love self; hence "angel and man naturally love self," and each also loves self with the love of choice, "in so far as from choice he wishes for something which will benefit himself." The two loves do not divide the object but the aspect (ad 1). Against Dionysius's description of love as "a uniting and a binding power" — in Parker's rendering, love is "of a power unifying, and binding together, and mingling pre-eminently in the Beautiful and Good" (*DN* 4.12) — Aquinas answers that "to be one is better than to be united," so there is more oneness in the love directed to self; Dionysius used those terms "to show the derivation of love from self to things outside self" (ad 2). Love is a movement that abides within the lover and can be reflected back upon him, as knowledge is reflected upon the knower (ad 3).

Love of the other angels (a. 4). The *sed contra* is Sir 13:19: "Every beast loveth its like" (Douay). The corpus builds on natural unity. "What is one with a thing, is that thing itself": what is one with a thing by natural union it loves with natural love, as a man loves his kinsman; what is one with it in species it loves "in so far as it loves its own species." "So then, it must be said that one angel loves another with natural affection, in so far as he is one with him in nature." The "as himself" marks likeness, not equality: on the side of the knower, an angel knows himself by his essence and another not so, and loves himself by his own will, not by the other's will (ad 1); and since natural love rests on natural unity, the angel loves more what is numerically one with himself, yet "it is natural for him to have a like love for another as for himself, in this respect, that as he loves self in wishing well to self, so he loves another in wishing well to him" (ad 2). Even the fallen angels keep this natural love: it cannot be stripped from them "without their still retaining a natural affection towards the good angels, in so far as they share the same nature with them. But they hate them, in so far as they are unlike them according to righteousness and unrighteousness" (ad 3).

Love of God above self (a. 5). Aquinas first reports a contrary opinion: some held that the angel loves God more than self only in certain respects — seeking the divine good for himself, and wishing that God be God — "but absolutely speaking, out of the natural love he loves himself more than he does God." The falsity of this appears from the natural order: everything that naturally belongs to another "is principally, and more strongly inclined to that other to which it belongs, than towards itself," as the hand exposes itself for the whole body without deliberation; and reason copies nature, for the virtuous citizen faces death for the commonwealth. "Consequently, since God is the

universal good, and under this good both man and angel and all creatures are comprised, because every creature in regard to its entire being naturally belongs to God, it follows that from natural love angel and man alike love God before themselves and with a greater love" (*naturali dilectione etiam Angelus et homo plus et principalius diligat Deum quam seipsum*). Otherwise natural love would be perverse, and "would not be perfected but destroyed by charity." The replies refine the principle: where one thing is the whole cause of another's existence and goodness, that one is naturally loved more than self (ad 1); God is loved for his own sake, though the capacity to love him comes of depending on him (ad 2). God as the universal good "is loved by everything with natural love"; "so far as He is the good which of its very nature beatifies all with supernatural beatitude, He is loved with the love of charity" (ad 4). And because the divine essence and the universal good are one, whoever sees that essence cannot but love him; those who do not see it know him by particular effects sometimes contrary to their will, and so are said to hate him (ad 5). Augustine's account of the two cities is read through this lens: the angels who stood "steadfastly continued in that which was the common good of all, namely, in God Himself," while the others, "enamored rather of their own power, as if they could be their own good, lapsed to this private good of their own" (*De civitate Dei* XII.1).

> **Summa:** *ST* I q. 60 aa. 1–5.
> **Grade:** Common teaching: the angels love God above self with natural love (a. 5) and merit or demerit by a love of choice (a. 2); natural love is of itself upright (a. 1); each angel loves himself and his like (aa. 3–4).
> **Authorities:** Sir 13:19 (*sed contra* of a. 4); Augustine, *De Trinitate* X.1–2 (*sed contra* of a. 1) and *De civitate Dei* XII.1, 9 and XIV (objections of a. 5); Dionysius, *DN* 4.4, 4.12 (objections of aa. 1–3); Aristotle, *Nic. Eth.* IX.8 (*sed contra* of a. 3).
> **Contrary opinion:** The unnamed opinion (*quidam*) that the angel loves God more than himself only *secundum quid*, and himself more absolutely, which Aquinas rejects as making natural love perverse (a. 5); Dionysius's "uniting and binding" account of love pressed against self-love (a. 3 obj. 2).

12 Creation, Grace, and Glory

Having treated the angels' nature, knowledge, and will, Aquinas turns to their creation, or their origin taken universally (*de eorum creatione, sive universaliter de eorum exordio*). The inquiry is threefold: how the angels were produced in natural being (q. 61), how they were perfected in grace and glory (q. 62), and how some of them became evil (qq. 63–64, §13) (*ST* I q. 61 pr.). The Catechism gathers the first two moments into the Church's confession: the angels "were created through and for" Christ (Col 1:16), and they "have been present since creation and throughout the history of salvation" (CCC 331–332).

12.1 The Production of the Angels in the Order of Natural Being (*ST* I q. 61)

The four articles ask whether the angel has a cause of his being, whether he was produced from eternity, whether he was created before the corporeal world, and whether the angels were created in the empyrean heaven (*ST* I q. 61 pr.).

Created by God (a. 1). The first objection observes that Genesis never mentions the angels; the *sed contra* answers with Ps 148:2 and 5: "Praise ye him, all his angels, praise ye him, all his hosts … For he spoke, and they were made" (Douay). "It must be affirmed that angels and everything existing, except God, were made by God": God alone is his own being; everything else has being by participation, and "whatever exists by participation is caused by what exists essentially" (*omnia vero alia sunt entia per participationem*). Augustine had already answered the silence of Genesis: the angels "are that light which was called 'Day,'" for "if we are justified in understanding in this light the creation of the angels, then certainly they were created partakers of the eternal light which is the unchangeable Wisdom of God" — in his Latin, *ut ea luce inluminati, qua creati, fierent lux et uocarentur dies* (*De civitate Dei* XI.9). Moses, Aquinas adds, was "addressing an uncultured people, as yet incapable of understanding an incorporeal nature," and to name spirits above all bodies would have been an occasion of idolatry (ad 1). The Church defines the substance of the article. Lateran IV confesses that God by his almighty power, at the beginning of time, created at once from nothing both creatures, spiritual and corporeal, the angelic and the earthly: *simul ab initio temporis utramque de nihilo condidit creaturam, spiritualem et corporalem, angelicam videlicet et mundanam* (*Firmiter*, DS 800); and Vatican I, *Dei Filius* ch. 1, repeats the same words of the angels' creation *de nihilo*.

Not from eternity (a. 2). The *sed contra* is Prov 8:22 in the person of begotten Wisdom, who was possessed "before He made anything from the beginning." "God alone, Father, Son and Holy Ghost, is from eternity. Catholic Faith holds this without doubt; and everything to the contrary must be rejected as heretical." To be created *ex nihilo* is to be made "after" not being: *idest postquam nihil fuerat*. The replies guard the angel's lofty duration without yielding the point. The divine will, not a necessity of the divine being, produced creatures "such as He willed, and when He willed" (ad 1). The angel is above the time that measures the heavens, but not above the succession of his own being after non-being; Aquinas cites Augustine (*De Genesi ad litteram* VIII.20–21) that "God moves the spiritual creature according to time" (ad 2). The capacity for truth that makes the angelic nature incorruptible was bestowed when God willed, not possessed from eternity (ad 3). The angel's own measure of duration, the *aevum*, is treated in the commentary on the *Sentences* as a participated eternity between time and God's (*In II Sent.* d. 2 q. 1 a. 1).

Created with the corporeal world, not before it (a. 3). The objections carry the Greek line. Jerome, commenting on Titus 1:2, asks — in Aquinas's citation — "Six thousand years of our time have not yet elapsed; yet how shall we measure the time, how shall we count the ages, in which the Angels, Thrones, Dominations, and the other orders served God?" Jerome's own text runs: *in quibus angeli, throni, dominationes, caeteraeque virtutes servierint Deo, et absque temporum vicibus atque mensuris, Deo jubente, substiterint* (*In ep. ad Titum* 1:2, PL 26). Damascene reports the same opinion: "Some, indeed, like Gregory the Theologian, say that these were before the creation of other things," and for himself, "it was fitting that the mental essence should be the first created, and then that which can be perceived, and finally man" (*De fide orthodoxa* II.3). Gregory's own oration says: "He first conceived the Heavenly and Angelic Powers. And this conception was a work fulfilled by His Word, and perfected by His Spirit"; then, "when His first creation was in good order, He conceives a second world, material and visible" (*Oration* 38.9–10). Aquinas answers: "There is a twofold opinion on this point to be found in the writings of the Fathers. The more probable one holds that the angels were created at the same time as corporeal creatures." The angels "are part of the universe: they do not constitute a universe of themselves"; "no part is perfect if separate from the whole"; and it is improbable that God, whose works are perfect (Deut 32:4), created the angelic creature apart, before the rest. Yet "the contrary is not to be deemed erroneous; especially on account of the opinion of Gregory Nazianzen, 'whose authority in Christian doctrine is of such weight that no one has ever raised objection to his teaching, as is also the case with the doctrine of Athanasius,' as Jerome says." Jerome, he notes, spoke "according to the teaching of the Greek Fathers; all of whom hold the creation of the angels to have taken place previously to that of the corporeal world" (ad 1). On the alternative reading, "In the beginning" of Gen 1:1 means "in the Son" or "in the beginning of time," not "before which there was nothing" simply. The same openness marks the parallel treatments. In the *Sentences* commentary Aquinas reports that the simultaneity *communiter tenetur* and is the more probable, both from God's omnipotence and *ad excludendum errorem, ne viderentur Angeli corporalium creatores esse*; *tamen alteri sententiae praejudicandum non est, ut in littera dicitur: quia non est demonstratum, nec fide expressum* (*In II Sent.* d. 2 q. 1 a. 3). In *De potentia* the prior-creation opinion, *cum fuerit magnorum doctorum, scilicet Basilii, Gregorii Nazianzeni, et quorumdam aliorum, non est tamquam erronea reprobanda*, though Augustine's, which is now commonly held, *rationabilior invenitur*: *Angeli simul cum creatura corporali sunt conditi; tamen sine alterius opinionis praeiudicio* (*De potentia* q. 3 a. 18). Lateran IV's *simul ab initio temporis* (*Firmiter*, DS 800) professes the production of both creatures at time's beginning, and Aquinas, writing after the council, still holds the Greek opinion not erroneous; the schools after him dispute what the *simul* decides (§20.4).

In the empyrean heaven (a. 4). The *sed contra* is Strabus on Gen 1:1: "By heaven he does not mean the visible firmament, but the empyrean, that is, the fiery or intellectual firmament, which is not so styled from its heat, but from its splendor; and which was filled with angels directly it was made." Since corporeal and spiritual creatures constitute one universe, and spiritual creatures were created "to bear some relationship to the corporeal creature, and to rule over every corporeal creature," it was fitting "for the angels to be created in the highest corporeal place, as presiding over all corporeal nature; whether it be styled the empyrean heaven (*caelum empyreum*), or whatever else it be called"; and Aquinas cites Isidore, who calls the highest heaven "the heaven of the angels" on Deut 10:14. Their creation in a place implies no dependence on a body, for existence or for making — "God could have created them before all corporeal creation, as many holy Doctors hold" — but shows their order to corporeal nature, "and that they are by their power in touch with bodies" (ad 1). Augustine, whom the second objection cites (*De Genesi ad litteram* III.10) as placing the angels' creation in the upper atmosphere, perhaps means the highest heaven by that name, or speaks only of the angels that sinned (ad 2). The "heaven" of Isa 14:13, into which the sinning angel boasted to ascend, is no corporeal heaven but "the heaven of the Blessed Trinity" (ad 3).

Summa: *ST* I q. 61 aa. 1–4; parallels *In II Sent.* d. 2 q. 1 a. 3, d. 2 q. 2; *De potentia* q. 3 aa. 17–18.
Grade: Defined: the angels were created by God from nothing at the beginning of time (Lateran IV, *Firmiter*, DS 800: *simul ab initio temporis utramque de nihilo condidit creaturam, spiritualem et corporalem, angelicam videlicet et mundanam*; Vatican I, *Dei Filius* ch. 1); the angelic creature had a beginning and is not eternal (a. 2, the contrary "must be rejected as heretical"). Church teaching: the angels were created through and for Christ and have been present since creation (CCC 331–332). Common teaching of the Latin Doctors: the angels were created together with the corporeal world, which Aquinas holds more probable and commonly held (a. 3; *In II Sent.* d. 2 q. 1 a. 3; *De potentia* q. 3 a. 18); many Greek Fathers held them made before it, an opinion Aquinas judges not erroneous. Common teaching of the Latin Doctors: the angels were created in the empyrean or highest heaven, as befits their presidency over corporeal nature (a. 4; Strabus; Isidore).
Authorities: Ps 148:2, 5 (*sed contra* of a. 1); Prov 8:22 (*sed contra* of a. 2); Gen 1:1 and Deut 32:4 (a. 3); Isa 14:13 and Deut 10:14 (a. 4); Augustine, *De civitate Dei* XI.9 (a. 1 ad 1), *De Genesi ad litteram* VIII.20–21 and III.10 (aa. 2, 4); Jerome, *In ep. ad Titum* 1:2 (a. 3 obj. 1; PL 26); Damascene, *De fide orthodoxa* II.3 (a. 3 obj. 1); Gregory Nazianzen, *Oration* 38.9–10; Strabus, *Glossa* on Gen 1:1, and Isidore on Deut 10:14 (*sed contra* and corpus of a. 4); Lateran IV, *Firmiter* (DS 800); Vatican I, *Dei Filius* ch. 1; CCC 331–332.
Contrary opinion: The Greek Doctors — Gregory Nazianzen (*Or.* 38.9–10), Damascene (*De fide orth.* II.3), and Jerome reporting the Greeks — place the angels' creation before the corporeal world (a. 3); Augustine places it "in the upper atmosphere" as the second objection reads him (a. 4 obj. 2).

12.2 The Perfection of the Angels in the Order of Grace and of Glory (*ST* I q. 62)

Nine articles: whether the angels were created in beatitude; whether they needed grace to turn to God; whether they were created in grace; whether they merited beatitude; whether they obtained it immediately after one meritorious act; whether grace and glory were given according to the degree of their natural gifts; whether natural knowledge and love remain in the blessed; whether a beatified angel can sin; and whether the blessed angels advance in beatitude (*ST* I q. 62 pr.).

Not created in beatitude (a. 1). "To be established or confirmed in good is of the nature of beatitude. But the angels were not confirmed in good as soon as they were created; the fall of some of them shows this" (*sed contra*). Beatitude names the ultimate perfection of an intellectual nature, and that perfection is twofold: one the angel can reach by his natural power, "in a measure called beatitude or happiness"; above it stands the beatitude by which "we shall see God as He is," which "is beyond the nature of every created intellect" (*beatitudo supernaturalis*). "As regards this first beatitude, which the angel could procure by his natural power, he was created already blessed," since he receives his natural perfection without discourse; "but the angels did not have from the beginning of their creation that ultimate beatitude which is beyond the power of nature; because such beatitude is no part of their nature, but its end." The first objection's text from *De ecclesiasticis dogmatibus* speaks of that natural perfection in the state of innocence (ad 1); and Augustine's "morning knowledge" — the angel's knowledge of things in the Word — was present from creation only in its natural mode; the knowledge of glory came "when the angels became blessed by turning to the good" (ad 3, citing *De Genesi ad litteram* IV.34, V.5).

The need of grace to turn to God (a. 2). The *sed contra* is Rom 6:23: "The grace of God is life everlasting." The will's natural inclination reaches only what accords with its nature; toward what is above nature it cannot be inclined "unless helped by some other supernatural principle." Since to see God in his essence, "wherein the ultimate beatitude of the rational creature consists, is beyond the nature of every created intellect, ... no rational creature can have the movement of the will directed towards such beatitude, except it be moved thereto by a supernatural agent. This is what we call the help of grace" (*auxilium gratiae*). The angel's natural love of God, treated above (a. 2 ad 1; §11.2), has God as "the author of his natural being" for its object, not God as beatifying by the vision of his essence. For man the conversion is difficult both as supernatural and as hindered by flesh and sin; for the angel, "only because it is supernatural" (ad 2). There is no infinite regress: conversion by perfect love requires consummate grace (*gratia consummata*), meritorious conversion requires habitual grace, and the conversion that prepares for grace requires only God's operation drawing the soul — "Convert us, O Lord, to Thee, and we shall be converted" (Lam 5:21, ad 3).

Created in grace (a. 3). The *sed contra* is Augustine's question and answer: "who made this will, which already they had, but He who created them with a good will, or with that chaste love by which they cleaved to Him, in one and the same act creating their nature, and endowing it with grace?" (*De civitate Dei* XII.9) — *simul eis et condens naturam et largiens gratiam.* "Although there are conflicting opinions on this point, some holding that the angels were created only in a natural state, while others maintain that they were created in grace; yet it seems more probable, and more in keeping with the sayings of holy men, that they were created in sanctifying grace" (*in gratia gratum faciente*). The argument is by Augustine's seedlike forms: as the *rationes seminales* of all natural effects were implanted in the first creation, so grace, which bears to beatitude the relation of seed to effect — "grace is called the 'seed' of God" (1 John 3:9) — was given with the angelic nature from the beginning. The Master's school stood otherwise. The Lombard teaches that the angels at creation were good and innocent but could not advance to the merit of life unless grace were superadded, which was added to some in their confirmation (*non poterant proficere ad meritum vitae, nisi gratia superadderetur, quae addita est quibusdam in confirmatione*; *Sent.* II d. 3 c. 4); that the fallen lacked a grace not withdrawn after being given but never applied to turn them (*non ita quod prius dedita subtraheretur, sed quia nunquam est apposita ut converterentur*; *Sent.* II d. 5 c. 1); and that *data est ergo Angelis qui perstiterunt, cooperans gratia, per quam conversi sunt* (*Sent.* II d. 5 c. 4). Aquinas's own *Sentences* commentary records the natural-state opinion as the more common (*haec opinio est communior*; *In II Sent.* d. 4 q. 1 a. 3); in the *Summa* he judges creation in grace the more probable and the more consonant with the saints. Grace, the replies add, does not force the intellectual nature it inclines: "he who has grace can fail to make use of it, and can sin" (ad 2); and grace, as principle of right operation rather than end, was fittingly given at once with nature (ad 3).

Beatitude merited (a. 4). The *sed contra* is Apoc 21:17, where the heavenly Jerusalem has "the measure of a man, which is of an angel": as man reaches beatitude by merit, so does the angel. "Perfect beatitude is natural only to God, because existence and beatitude are one and the same thing in Him. Beatitude, however, is not of the nature of the creature, but is its end." Every operation that attains an end beyond the agent's power is not productive but deserving — *meritoria* — and since ultimate beatitude exceeds both angelic and human nature, "it remains, then, that both man and angel merited their beatitude." The alternatives collapse: beatitude without grace and merit would contradict the very notion of an end and reward; meriting within beatitude contradicts the notion of *meritum*, for what is at its term is not moved toward it; and one and the same act cannot be informed by imperfect grace, the principle of meriting, and by perfect grace, the principle of enjoying. "Consequently it is better to say that the angel had grace ere he was admitted to beatitude, and that by such grace he merited beatitude." The angel's difficulty lay not in contrary inclinations but in the work's exceeding his natural capacity (ad 1); and he merited "by the movement of charity, which comes of grace," not by the natural movement toward God (ad 2).

Beatitude after one meritorious act (a. 5). Man's soul and the angel are alike ordained to beatitude, and the separated soul with merit enters beatitude at once unless something obstructs; the angel, who had merit in his first act of charity and no obstacle, "passed at once into beatitude by only one meritorious act" (*sed contra*). "The angel was beatified instantly after the first act of charity, whereby he merited beatitude," for "grace perfects nature according to the manner of the nature" (*gratia perficit naturam secundum modum naturae*), and it belongs to the angelic nature to possess its perfection not by stages but at once. Even in man every act informed by charity merits beatitude; much more did the angel's one act suffice. A longer way was assigned to man, who was not intended to reach his perfection at once (ad 1). The angel is above corporeal time, so his "instants" are counted by the succession of his acts: one instant for the meritorious act, another for the beatific fruition, since imperfect and consummate grace cannot inform one act together (ad 2).

Grace and glory according to natural degree (a. 6). The *sed contra* is the Master of the *Sentences*: "those angels who were created with more subtle natures and of keener intelligence in wisdom, were likewise endowed with greater gifts of grace" (Peter Lombard, *Sent.* II d. 3 c. 2). "It is reasonable to suppose that gifts of graces and perfection of beatitude were bestowed on the angels according to the degree of their natural gifts," for two reasons. On God's part, the grades of nature were made for the grades of grace and glory, as the builder who chisels some stones more finely sets them apart for the more honored place. On the angel's part, nothing in him thwarts or retards the intellectual movement, as the sensitive appetite does in man; "when there is nothing to retard or thwart it, nature is moved with its whole energy," so the higher natures "were turned to God more mightily and efficaciously." God's will, which is the sole source of grace, is also the source of nature and of its degrees (ad 1); and the argument does not transfer to men, who differ only numerically and whose intellectual movement a lower appetite can impede (ad 3).

Natural knowledge and love remain (a. 7). The *sed contra*: "So long as a nature endures, its operation remains. But beatitude does not destroy nature, since it is its perfection." The principles of operations stand to one another as the operations themselves; nature is to beatitude as first to second, "but the first must ever be preserved in the second. Consequently nature must be preserved in beatitude: and in like manner the act of nature must be preserved in the act of beatitude" (*semper autem oportet salvari primum in secundo*). The perfection removes the opposed privation, not the underlying imperfection of nature: the angel can know God by his essence — the knowledge of glory — and at the same time know God by his own essence, which belongs to his natural knowledge, as one may know the same thing through a probable and through a demonstrative medium (ad 1). The gifts of glory presuppose the natural gifts, since no beatitude is self-subsisting save the uncreated (ad 2); and two acts of one faculty can stand together when one is ordained to the other, as natural knowledge and love are ordained to the knowledge and love of glory (ad 3).

The blessed cannot sin (a. 8). Aquinas cites Augustine (*De Genesi ad litteram* XI): "there is in the holy angels that nature which cannot sin" (*sed contra*). "The beatified angels cannot sin," because their beatitude consists in seeing God through his essence, and God's essence is the very essence of goodness; the angel beholding God is therefore disposed to him as any will is disposed to the common aspect of good — it cannot will or act except aiming at good — "therefore the beatified angel can neither will nor act, except as aiming towards God," and so cannot sin. Created good, considered in itself, can fail; but its perfect union with the uncreated good in beatitude renders it unable to sin (ad 1). The will is referred to opposites in what lies beneath it, not in what it naturally tends to; toward God, whom the blessed see to be the very nature of goodness, there is no alternative aim (ad 2). Free choice stands to the means as the intellect to conclusions: liberty is perfected by ranging among the means within the order of the end, and to choose by turning from that order — which is sin — is a defect of liberty, not its exercise. "Hence there is greater liberty of will in the angels, who cannot sin, than there is in ourselves, who can sin" (ad 3).

No advance in beatitude (a. 9). Merit and progress belong to the state of the way; the angels are not *viatores* but *comprehensores* (*sed contra*). Every movement is directed by the mover's intention to one determinate end, and infinite progress is repugnant to an end. The rational creature is led by God to the vision of the supreme Essence, not to the supreme mode of vision, which is comprehension and belongs to God alone; between finite efficacy and the infinite object the degrees of vision are without number, and each creature is brought by predestination to its determinate degree. "Consequently, when that degree is once secured, it cannot pass to a higher degree." Perfect charity does not merit but enjoys the reward, as the act of an acquired habit no longer produces the habit (ad 1). The angels' ministries profit them not as merits toward an end but as parts of their beatitude: "to pour out acquired perfection upon others is of the nature of what is perfect, considered as perfect" (ad 2). Their joy can still grow at the salvation of those saved by their ministry — "There is joy before the angels of God upon one sinner doing penance" (Luke 15:10) — but this belongs to the accidental reward, which can increase until judgment day. Some writers say the blessed can merit in that respect; Aquinas judges "it is better to say that the Blessed can in no wise merit without being at the same time a wayfarer and a comprehensor; like Christ, Who alone was such" (ad 3).

Summa: *ST* I q. 62 aa. 1–9; parallels *In II Sent.* d. 4 q. 1 aa. 1–3.
Grade: Common teaching: the angels needed grace to turn to God as the object of beatitude (a. 2); they merited their beatitude (a. 4; Apoc 21:17) and obtained it upon their first act of charity (a. 5); natural knowledge and love remain in the blessed (a. 7); the confirmed angels can neither sin (a. 8) nor advance in essential beatitude (a. 9); grace and glory were given according to the degrees of nature (a. 6, with the Lombard, *Sent.* II d. 3 c. 2). Disputed: whether the angels were created in sanctifying grace. Aquinas: more probable, and consonant with Augustine (a. 3; *De civitate Dei* XII.9). The Lombard (*Sent.* II dd. 3, 5) and the more common opinion of the older schools (*In II Sent.* d. 4 q. 1 a. 3): grace superadded after creation. Disputed: whether the blessed merit an increase of accidental reward; Aquinas denies it (a. 9 ad 3).
Authorities: Augustine, *De civitate Dei* XII.9 (*sed contra* of a. 3), *De Genesi ad litteram* IV.34, V.5 (a. 1 obj. 3) and XI (*sed contra* of a. 8); *De ecclesiasticis dogmatibus* (a. 1 obj. 1); Peter Lombard, *Sent.* II d. 3 cc. 2, 4 and d. 5 cc. 1, 4; Rom 6:23 (*sed contra* of a. 2); 1 John 3:9 (a. 3); Apoc 21:17 (*sed contra* of a. 4); 1 Cor 13:10 (a. 7 obj. 1); Luke 15:10 (a. 9 ad 3); Lam 5:21 (a. 2 ad 3).
Contrary opinion: Peter Lombard, *Sent.* II d. 3 c. 4 and d. 5 cc. 1, 4: the angels created without grace, cooperating grace given afterward to those who stood (a. 3); the "more common" school opinion to the same effect recorded in *In II Sent.* d. 4 q. 1 a. 3; the writers who let the blessed merit their accidental reward (a. 9 ad 3).

13 The Fall and the Punishment of the Demons

The angels were created good, and in grace as Aquinas holds, and by one meritorious act the greater part of them reached the vision of God (§12.2). Some did not. Aquinas considers how the angels became evil (*quomodo Angeli facti sunt mali*) in two questions: first as to the evil of fault (*malum culpae*, q. 63), then as to the evil of punishment (*malum poenae*, q. 64) (*ST* I q. 63 pr.). The Church's confession stands behind both. Lateran IV teaches that *Diabolus enim et alii daemones a Deo quidem natura creati sunt boni, sed ipsi per se facti sunt mali. Homo vero diaboli suggestione peccavit* (*Firmiter*, DS 800), and that the reprobate will receive *cum diabolo poenam perpetuam* (DS 801). The Catechism takes up the same words and adds the consequence: the fall "consists in the free choice of these created spirits, who radically and irrevocably rejected God and his reign" (CCC 391–392).

Scripture gives the fall as event and as figure. "In his angels he found wickedness" (Job 4:18); the devil "stood not in the truth" (John 8:44) and "sinneth from the beginning" (1 John 3:8); "God spared not the angels that sinned, but delivered them, drawn down by infernal ropes to the lower hell, unto torments, to be reserved unto judgment" (2 Pet 2:4; Jude 6); the dragon's tail "drew the third part of the stars of heaven" (Apoc 12:4), and "his angels were thrown down with him" (Apoc 12:9); "I saw Satan like lightning falling from heaven" (Luke 10:18). The Fathers and Aquinas read the oracles against the king of Babylon (Isa 14:12–15) and the prince of Tyre (Ezek 28:12–17) as spoken to the devil under those persons, and the Vulgate Job 40–41, where Behemoth is "the beginning of the ways of God" (40:14) and Leviathan "king over all the children of pride" (41:25), as spoken of him in figure (Douay throughout). The schools after Aquinas dispute the object and the moment of the first sin (§20.6; Appendix L). What the demons do to men, and how they tempt, belongs to q. 114 (§18).

13.1 The Evil of the Angels with Regard to Fault (*ST* I q. 63)

Nine articles: whether evil of fault can be in the angels; what kinds of sin; what the angel desired in sinning; whether some demons are naturally evil; whether the devil was evil in the first instant of his creation; whether there was an interval between creation and fall; whether the highest of those who fell was the highest of all; whether his sin caused the sin of the others; and whether as many fell as stood (*ST* I q. 63 pr.).

The angel could sin (a. 1). The *sed contra* is Job 4:18. "An angel or any other rational creature considered in his own nature, can sin; and to whatever creature it belongs not to sin, such creature has it as a gift of grace, and not from the condition of nature." Sin is a departure from the rectitude an act ought to have, and only an act whose rule is the agent's own power cannot depart from it: were the craftsman's hand itself the rule of the carving, he could not carve crookedly. Only the divine will is its own rule; every created will is right only as it is regulated by the divine will, as "the soldier's will, according to the will of his commanding officer." The fourth reply fixes how a pure spirit could sin at all. He could not choose what is evil in itself, for that presupposes error in the particular, which comes of passion or habit, and the angel had neither. He could choose what is good in itself "but not according to proper measure or rule," as a man who prays without heeding the order the Church has set; such a sin "does not presuppose ignorance, but merely absence of consideration of the things which ought to be considered." So "the angel sinned, by seeking his own good, from his own free-will, insubordinately to the rule of the Divine will" (ad 4). The natural love of God as author of nature remains; what could be turned away was the infused love by which the angel turned to God as the object of supernatural beatitude (ad 3).

Pride and envy only (a. 2). The *sed contra* is Augustine: the devil "is not a fornicator nor a drunkard, nor anything of the like sort; yet he is proud and envious" (*De civitate Dei* XIV.3); in Augustine's own chapter the devil, having no flesh, "is exceedingly proud and envious," and on account of it "is reserved in chains of darkness to everlasting punishment." As to guilt, all sins are in the demons, since they lead men into all sins; as to affection, only sins that can belong to a spiritual nature. In spiritual goods there can be no sin in being drawn to them except by not keeping the rule of the superior, *et hoc est peccatum superbiae, non subdi superiori in eo quo debet.* "Consequently the first sin of the angel can be none other than pride." Envy follows, for to desire a singular excellence is to resist whatever would make it cease to be singular; "after the sin of pride, there followed the evil of envy in the sinning angel, whereby he grieved over man's good, and also over the Divine excellence." Envy here is taken *non ... pro passione, sed pro voluntate renitente bono alterius*, for the will resisting another's good (ad 2). The demons delight in the sins of the flesh not as disposed to them but "wholly through envy," as these hinder man's good (ad 1). Augustine

had put the order in the same terms: *invidia sequitur superbiam, non praecedit* (*De Genesi ad litteram* XI.14.18), and Scripture joins the two: "pride is the beginning of all sin" (Ecclus 10:15), and "by the envy of the devil, death came into the world" (Wis 2:24).

To be as God (a. 3). The *sed contra* is Isa 14:13–14, "I will ascend into heaven ... I will be like the most High." "Without doubt the angel sinned by seeking to be as God." Not by equality (*per aequiparantiam*): he knew by natural knowledge that this was impossible, no passion or habit could lead him to choose the impossible, and a creature cannot desire a higher grade of nature without desiring its own destruction, "just as an ass does not desire to be a horse." He desired it by likeness (*per similitudinem*), and not the likeness proper to every creature, which is sinless if sought in due order "that he may obtain it of God." He desired a likeness proper to God alone: "by desiring, as his last end of beatitude, something which he could attain by the virtue of his own nature, turning his appetite away from supernatural beatitude, which is attained by God's grace. Or, if he desired as his last end that likeness of God which is bestowed by grace, he sought to have it by the power of his own nature" (*per virtutem suae naturae*). The two readings "in a manner coincide," since on either he sought to have final beatitude of his own power, "whereas this is proper to God alone." Aquinas finds the same in Anselm, whom he gives as saying that the devil *appetiit illud ad quod pervenisset si stetisset* (*De casu diaboli* 4), and adds a consequence: since what is of itself causes what is of another, "he sought to have dominion over others." Gregory names him *ille antiquus hostis, qui Deo esse per superbiam similis concupivit*, the ancient enemy who by pride desired to be like God (*Hom. in Ev.* 34.9); the Catechism hears the same rebellion in "You will be like God" (CCC 392; Gen 3:5).

Not evil by nature (a. 4). The *sed contra* is Dionysius: *Daemones non sunt natura mali* (*De divinis nominibus* 4). Everything that exists tends naturally to some good, since it comes from a good principle. A nature inclined to a particular good may tend accidentally to an evil joined with that good, as fire consumes; but an intellectual nature is inclined to good in general, to which no evil is joined, "hence, since the demons are intellectual substances, they can in no wise have a natural inclination towards any evil whatsoever." Porphyry held the demons naturally deceitful because he made them animals with a sensitive nature, and Augustine rebuked him (ad 1); the slyness of the fox and the fierceness of the dog are no evil in them, as Dionysius observes (ad 3). The Church has taught the article against the Manichees and Priscillianists: the First Council of Braga anathematizes whoever says *diabolum non fuisse prius (bonum) angelum a Deo factum, nec Dei opificium fuisse naturam eius*, but that he arose from chaos and darkness and is himself *principium atque substantiam mali* (can. 7, DS 457), and Lateran IV confesses the demons *natura creati ... boni* (DS 800). Damascene had said the same in the East: the devil "was not made wicked in nature but was good," and "of his free choice was changed" (*De fide orthodoxa* II.4).

Not evil in the first instant (a. 5). The *sed contra* is Gen 1:31, "God saw all the things that he had made, and they were very good." Some held the devil wicked from the first instant, not by nature but by his own will refusing righteousness as soon as he was made; Augustine grants that such a view is not Manichaean (*De civitate Dei* XI.13). But Isa 14:12, "O Lucifer, who didst rise in the morning," and Ezek 28:13, "Thou wast in the pleasures of the paradise of God," stand against it, and so *a magistris haec opinio tanquam erronea rationabiliter reprobata est.* Others said the angel could have sinned in the first instant but did not; the argument some brought against them, that two successive changes cannot terminate in one instant, fails for instantaneous changes, since the air is lit by the moon in the same instant the moon is lit by the sun. Aquinas's own reason is from the cause: an operation that begins with a thing's existence comes from the agent that gave it its nature, as a leg defective from birth "begins at once to limp"; but God "cannot be the cause of sin." "He was a murderer from the beginning" (John 8:44) means, with Augustine, "from the beginning of sin" (ad 1; *De civitate Dei* XI.15). All the angels, created in grace, merited in the first instant; "some of them at once placed an impediment to their beatitude, thereby destroying their preceding merit" (ad 4). *De malo* q. 16 a. 4 reaches the same conclusion by another way, noted below.

The fall immediately after the first instant (a. 6). The *sed contra* is John 8:44 with Augustine: "he was in the truth, but did not remain in it." There is a twofold opinion, but *probabilior, et sanctorum dictis magis consona est, quod statim post primum instans suae creationis Diabolus peccaverit.* This follows if the angel elicited an act of free will in the first instant and was created in grace (§12.2): having merited by one act, he would have been beatified at once after that instant, had he not sinned. "If, however, it be contended that the angel was not created in grace, or that he could not elicit an act of free-will in the first instant, then there is nothing to prevent some interval being interposed between his creation and fall." The "walking" of Ezek 28:15 figures the instantaneous movement of free will

(ad 1). Man had a delay before his sin; the angel's free will is inflexible after choice, so that had he not sinned at once he would have been confirmed in good (ad 3). Angelic time is the succession of the angels' acts. In the first instant each knew himself by evening knowledge, and this act was good in all; in the second, some turned to the Word in morning knowledge, while others, absorbed in themselves, "became night, 'swelling up with pride' " (*facti sunt nox, per superbiam intumescentes*), as Aquinas cites Augustine (ad 4; on evening and morning knowledge, §10.5).

The highest who sinned was probably the highest of all (a. 7). The *sed contra* is Gregory: the first angel, "set over all the hosts of angels, surpassed them in brightness, and was by comparison the most illustrious among them" (*dum cunctis agminibus angelorum praelatus est, ex eorum comparatione clarior fuit*, *Hom. in Ev.* 34.7). Two things weigh on the question, proneness to sin and the motive of sinning. By proneness the higher angels were less likely to fall, and Damascene accordingly holds that the chief of the fallen was set over the earthly order (*De fide orth.* II.4); nor is this opinion "to be rejected as contrary to faith," since God governs bodies through the angels. By motive the higher were more exposed, for pride's motive is excellence. Since the angels' sin came not of any proneness but "of free choice alone," the argument from motive weighs more, *et hoc videtur probabilius*; "yet this must not be prejudicial to the other view." Ezechiel calls him "a cherub" (Ezek 28:14) and not a seraph, because Cherubim is named from fullness of knowledge, which is compatible with mortal sin, and Seraphim from the heat of charity, which is not (ad 1). Gregory reads Job 40:14 the same way: God "created him first, whom He made more eminent than the other Angels," and "when sinning, he was condemned without pardon, because he had been created great beyond comparison" (*Moralia* XXXII.23.47).

The first sinner drew the others (a. 8). The *sed contra* is Apoc 12:4. *Peccatum primi Angeli fuit aliis causa peccandi, non quidem cogens, sed quadam quasi exhortatione inducens.* The sign is that all the demons are subject to him: "Depart from me, you cursed, into everlasting fire, which was prepared for the devil and his angels" (Matt 25:41), for divine justice subjects whoever consents to another's suggestion to him in punishment: "by whom a man is overcome, of the same also he is the slave" (2 Pet 2:19). Exhortation and consent need no time among angels, so all could sin in one instant and one sin still be the cause of the rest (ad 1). The proud would rather serve a superior, but chose to serve one of their own nature so as to reach beatitude by natural powers (ad 2). The highest, moved with his whole greater energy, "became the greater in malice" (ad 3). Damascene gives the same picture: "an innumerable host of angels subject to him were torn away and followed him" (*De fide orth.* II.4).

More stood than fell (a. 9). The *sed contra* is 4 Kgs 6:16, "there are more with us than with them," expounded of the good angels and the wicked spirits. *Plures Angeli permanserunt quam peccaverunt*, since sin is against natural inclination, and what is against nature happens in the fewer cases. Among men evil is in the many because sense goods are known to most and the good of reason to few; the angels have only an intellectual nature (ad 1). The third of the stars (Apoc 12:4) is thus the figure of a minority. If the chief devil was of the lowest order, only some of that order fell; if of the highest, "it is probable that some fell of every order," as men are taken into every order to repair the ruin. Scripture never gives the demons the names Seraphim and Thrones, which are drawn from charity and God's indwelling, but does give them Cherubim, Powers, and Principalities (ad 3; on the orders, Appendix A). Augustine holds the ruin to be filled from men, and confesses: "We do not know the number either of the saints or of the devils" (*Enchiridion* 29).

The Parallel in *De malo* q. 16

The sixteenth question of *De malo*, on the demons, is the disputed form of the same matter and extends it to the demons' bodies, knowledge, and power over bodies and minds. Its first five articles run with qq. 63–64 of the *Summa*; the rest answer to the treatise's earlier questions and to q. 114.

De malo	Question	Relation to the *Summa*
q. 16 a. 1	Bodies naturally united	Agrees with q. 51 a. 1; the point *non multum refert ad fidei Christianae doctrinam*
a. 2	Evil by nature or will	Agrees with q. 63 a. 4
a. 3	Sin as desire of equality	Agrees with q. 63 a. 3; sin in the supernatural order
a. 4	First instant	Same conclusion as q. 63 a. 5; different reason
a. 5	Free will after the fall	Agrees with q. 64 a. 2; *vis primae electionis*
a. 6	Deception and false opinion	Refines q. 64 a. 1
aa. 7–8	Futures; thoughts of hearts	Agrees with q. 57 aa. 3–4
aa. 9–12	Bodies, motion, sense, intellect	Answers to qq. 110–111, 114

Three articles differ in emphasis or argument. On the sin itself (a. 3), the demon willed final beatitude *per virtutem suae naturae; non tamen sine Deo in naturam operante, sed sine Deo gratiam conferente*: the sin lies not in a natural good but in refusing to have the supernatural end as gift. On the first instant (a. 4), the disputation names the opinion of *quidam moderni* and records that it *reprobata fuit ab omnibus magistris tunc Parisiis legentibus*; but it sets aside the argument from the nature as God created it, since the malice of fault is founded in a good nature as in its subject (*malitia culpae non repugnat bonitati naturae, sed in ea fundatur sicut in subiecto*), and argues instead from the order of the angel's acts. In the first instant the angel turns to natural knowledge of himself, in which he cannot sin; only afterward to what is above nature, or away from it; so that *in primo instanti suae creationis non fuit neque beatus per conversionem perfectam in Deum, neque peccator per aversionem ab ipso.* On obstinacy (a. 5), the *De malo* joins to the intrinsic immobility of the angelic will the extrinsic end of the angel's state of pilgrimage, and concludes that the demons sin in all they choose, *quia in omni eorum electione permanet vis primae electionis ipsorum.* The disputation's argument on the first instant returns in the schools after Aquinas (§20.6).

Summa: *ST* I q. 63 aa. 1–9; parallels *In II Sent.* dd. 5–6; *De malo* q. 16 aa. 2–4.
Grade: Defined: the devil and the other demons were created good in nature by God and became evil of themselves (Lateran IV, *Firmiter*, DS 800); the devil was first a good angel made by God and is no principle or substance of evil (Braga I, can. 7, DS 457) (aa. 4–5). Church teaching: the fall was a free, radical, and irrevocable rejection of God, reflected in "You will be like God" (CCC 391–392, 414). Common teaching: the angel could sin by nature and is impeccable only by grace (a. 1); the first sin was pride, and envy its consequence (a. 2); the angel sought to be as God by likeness, not by equality (a. 3); the chief of the fallen induced the rest and rules them (a. 8); more angels stood than fell (a. 9). Thomist position, as the more probable: the object of the pride was beatitude by the angel's own power (a. 3); the fall came immediately after the first instant (a. 6); the first sinner was the highest of all the angels (a. 7). Disputed in the schools: the object and the moment of the first sin (§20.6; Appendix L).
Authorities: Job 4:18 (*sed contra* of a. 1); Isa 14:12–14 and Ezek 28:13–15 (aa. 3, 5, 6); Gen 1:31 (a. 5); John 8:44 (aa. 5–6); Apoc 12:4 (aa. 8–9); Matt 25:41 and 2 Pet 2:19 (a. 8); 4 Kgs 6:16 (a. 9), all Douay. Augustine, *De civitate Dei* XI.13, XI.15, XIV.3, and *Enchiridion* 28–29; *De Genesi ad litteram* XI.14.18 and XI.23.30 (*superbia tumidus*); *De Gen. ad litt.* IV.24 (a. 6 ad 4) and *Quaest. Vet. et Novi Test.* 113 (a. 3). Anselm, *De casu diaboli* 4 (a. 3). Gregory, *Hom. in Ev.* 34.7, 34.9, and *Moralia* XXXII.23.47. Damascene, *De fide orth.* II.4. Dionysius, *De div. nom.* 4 (a. 4). Lateran IV (DS 800); Braga I (DS 457); CCC 391–392, 414.
Contrary opinion: The opinion that the devil was evil by his own will from the first instant, which Augustine does not count Manichaean and the Paris masters reproved (a. 5; *De malo* q. 16 a. 4). Damascene's view that the chief of the fallen presided over the earthly order and that the fallen were of the lower grade (a. 7), which Aquinas declines to call contrary to faith. The opinion that the angels were created without grace, on which an interval between creation and fall is possible (a. 6; §20.5).

13.2 The Punishment of the Demons (*ST* I q. 64)

Four articles: whether the demons' intellect is darkened by privation of the knowledge of all truth; whether their will is obstinate in evil; whether there is sorrow in them; and whether this atmosphere is their place of punishment (*ST* I q. 64 pr.).

Knowledge darkened, nature untouched (a. 1). The *sed contra* is Dionysius: the gifts given to the demons *nequaquam mutata esse dicimus, sed sunt integra et splendidissima* (*De div. nom.* 4); in Parker's English they "exist, and are complete, and all luminous, although the demons themselves do not see, through having blunted their powers of seeing good" (*DN* 4.23). Knowledge of truth is natural or of grace, and that of grace is either speculative, the revelation of divine secrets, or affective, *affectiva, producens amorem Dei*, producing love for God and belonging to the gift of wisdom. The first "was neither taken away nor lessened," because nothing can be withdrawn from a simple nature "as a man is punished by being deprived of a hand or a foot." The second is lessened, for only so much is revealed to them as is needed, by angels or "through some temporal workings of Divine power," as Aquinas cites Augustine (*De civitate Dei* IX.21). "But of the third knowledge, as likewise of charity, they are utterly deprived." Their knowledge of creatures, not referred to God, is not evening but night: *non dicitur vespertina, sed nocturna* (ad 3). They knew the mystery of the Incarnation less fully; "for had they fully and certainly known that He was the Son of God and the effect of His passion, they would never have procured the crucifixion of the Lord of glory" (ad 4). *De malo* q. 16 a. 6 adds a precision: no false opinion can be in them about what falls under their natural knowledge, but there can be about what exceeds it.

The will obstinate in evil (a. 2). The *sed contra* is Ps 73[74]:23, "the pride of them that hate thee ascendeth continually," understood of the demons. Aquinas reports Origen's opinion that every created will but Christ's soul can be inclined to good and to evil (*Peri Archon* I.6). That view takes from angels and saints the stability of beatitude, and contradicts Scripture's "everlasting punishment" and "life everlasting" (Matt 25:46); *unde haec positio est tanquam erronea reputanda; et tenendum est firmiter, secundum fidem Catholicam, quod et voluntas bonorum Angelorum confirmata est in bono, et voluntas Daemonum obstinata est in malo.* The cause is not the gravity of the sin but "the condition of their nature or state," for, as Aquinas cites Damascene, "death is to men, what the fall is to the angels." Damascene's own sentence runs: "what in the case of man is death is a fall in the case of angels. For after the fall there is no possibility of repentance for them, just as after death there is for men no repentance" (*De fide orth.* II.4). The appetite follows the apprehension. Man reasons from one thing to another and holds his objects movably; the angel *apprehendit immobiliter per intellectum*, as we hold first principles, and his will *adhaeret fixe et immobiliter.* Hence the angel's free will *est flexibile ad utrumque oppositum ante electionem, sed non post.* God's mercy frees the penitent, but those "not capable of repenting, cling immovably to sin" (ad 2). The first sin remains as desire, though not as the belief that its end can be had (ad 3). When a demon confesses Christ or believes and trembles, he does good but not well, "compelled by the evidence of things" (ad 5; Mark 1:24; Jas 2:19). Gregory: "the heart of the ancient enemy will be hardened as a stone, because it will never be softened by any penitence of conversion" (*Moralia* XXXIV.6.11). The Church has condemned the contrary. The anathematisms against Origen published in the synod of Constantinople of 543 strike whoever holds that Christ will be crucified *pro daemonibus, sicuti et pro hominibus* (can. 7, DS 409), or that the punishment of the demons is temporary and will end, *sive restitutionem et redintegrationem esse (fore) daemonum aut impiorum hominum* (can. 9, DS 411). The Catechism speaks from Damascene: "It is the irrevocable character of their choice, and not a defect in the infinite divine mercy, that makes the angels' sin unforgivable" (CCC 393).

Sorrow in the demons (a. 3). The *sed contra* is Apoc 18:7, "as much as she hath glorified herself ... so much torment and sorrow give ye to her": much more is the devil punished with sorrow, "because he especially glorified himself." Fear, sorrow, and joy as passions belong to the sensitive appetite and cannot be in the demons; as simple acts of the will they can. Sorrow so taken "is nothing else than the resistance of the will to what is, or to what is not" (*renisus voluntatis*), and the demons would have many things not be which are, and others be which are not, wishing out of envy the damnation of the saved; they are deprived of the happiness they desire naturally, and their wicked will is curbed in many ways. They can rejoice in one thing and grieve in another (ad 1), and "the devils also believe and tremble" (ad 2; Jas 2:19). They are sorry for the punishment, which witnesses to the goodness of nature, but not for the sin, which would witness to a good will; "since the demon has a perverse and obstinate will, he is not sorry for the evil of sin" (ad 3).

Hell and the dark air (a. 4). The *sed contra* is Augustine: "the darksome atmosphere is as a prison to the demons until the judgment day" (*ista caliginosa tenere permissa sunt, qui eis pro suo genere quidam quasi carcer est, usque ad tempus iudicii*, *De Genesi ad litteram* III.10.15). The angels stand by nature between God and men, and providence procures the good of the lower through the higher: directly, through the good angels, and indirectly, as one who is assailed is exercised by the struggle, which fittingly is done through the wicked spirits, "lest they should cease to be of service in the natural order." So *Daemonibus duplex locus poenalis debetur*: hell, by reason of their

fault, and *caliginosus aer*, by reason of the exercise of men. This lasts as long as the work of salvation, until the judgment; "some of them are even now in hell, to torment those whom they have led astray"; after the judgment all the wicked, men and angels, will be in hell. A place punishes a spirit by grieving the will, not by changing the nature (ad 1). While in the air they are not bound in the fire, but their punishment is not less, "because they know that such confinement is their due," and a gloss on James 3:6 says "they carry fire of hell with them wherever they go" (ad 3). When they "besought him that he would not command them to go into the abyss" (Luke 8:31), they asked not to be shut out from the place where they could harm men (ad 3; Mark 5:10). Scripture names both places: "the lower hell" (2 Pet 2:4) and "the spirits of wickedness in the high places" (Eph 6:12). Augustine, leaving other questions of the fall open, holds this without doubt: *peccatores angelos minime dubitemus detrusos tamquam in carcerem caliginis huius aeriae circa terras, secundum apostolicam fidem, in iudicio puniendos servari*, the sinning angels thrust into the prison of this dark air about the earth and kept for punishment at the judgment (*De Gen. ad litt.* XI.26.33). The demons' present liberty to tempt is treated with q. 114 (§18); the Catechism states its limit: "The power of Satan is, nonetheless, not infinite. He is only a creature" (CCC 395).

Summa: *ST* I q. 64 aa. 1–4; parallels *In II Sent.* dd. 6–7; *De malo* q. 16 aa. 1, 5–6.
Grade: Defined: the reprobate will suffer perpetual punishment with the devil (Lateran IV, DS 801); the anathematisms against Origen had already struck the demons' restoration (Constantinople 543, can. 9, DS 411) and a future crucifixion of Christ for them (can. 7, DS 409). Church teaching: the angels' choice is irrevocable and their sin unforgivable, not by defect of mercy (CCC 393, 414); Satan's power is a creature's and not infinite (CCC 395). Common teaching: the will of the demons is obstinate in evil, which Aquinas holds as of Catholic faith (a. 2); their natural gifts remain entire, their graced speculative knowledge is lessened, and their affective knowledge and charity are lost (a. 1); sorrow is in them as an act of will (a. 3); the dark air is a second place of their punishment until the judgment (a. 4, with Augustine, *De Gen. ad litt.* III.10.15, XI.26.33). Thomist position: obstinacy is caused by the immobility of the angelic apprehension and will, as death fixes man's (a. 2, with Damascene, *De fide orth.* II.4).
Authorities: Ps 73[74]:23 and Matt 25:46 (a. 2); Apoc 18:7, Jas 2:19, Job 41:24 (a. 3); Luke 8:31, Mark 5:10, 2 Pet 2:4, Eph 6:12 (a. 4), all Douay. Dionysius, *De div. nom.* 4.23 (*sed contra* of a. 1). Augustine, *De Gen. ad litt.* III.10.15 (*sed contra* of a. 4) and XI.26.33; *De civitate Dei* IX.21, XIX.13, and *De Gen. contra Manich.* II.17 (aa. 1, 3). Damascene, *De fide orth.* II.4 (a. 2). Gregory, *Moralia* XXXIV.6.11. Origen, *De principiis* I.6 (a. 2); gloss on James 3:6 (a. 4 ad 3). Lateran IV (DS 801); anathematisms against Origen (DS 409, 411); CCC 393–395, 414.
Contrary opinion: Origen's opinion that every created will save Christ's soul remains flexible to good and evil, and that the devil's orders may be converted, which Origen himself leaves to the reader (*De princ.* I.6.3) and Aquinas judges erroneous (a. 2). The opinion that the pain of sense of demons and souls is postponed until the judgment day, which Aquinas calls erroneous as to souls; as to demons, "it is better to say that the same judgment is passed upon wicked souls and wicked angels" (a. 4 ad 3).

14 Illumination and Speech

God governs the world through the angels, and he first governs the angels through one another. Having shown that God moves every creature and works in every agent (*ST* I qq. 103–105), Aquinas turns to the way "one creature moves another" (*quomodo una creatura moveat aliam*) and divides the consideration threefold: how the angels move, *qui sunt creaturae pure spirituales*; how bodies move; and how men move, who are composed of both natures. Under the angels he asks first how angel acts on angel, then on the corporeal creature (q. 110), then on men (q. 111); and under angel acting on angel he treats their enlightenment, their speech, and their ordering to one another, good and bad alike (*de illuminatione, et locutione Angelorum, et ordinatione eorum ad invicem, tam bonorum, quam malorum*) (*ST* I q. 106 pr.). Illumination and speech (qq. 106–107) belong here; the ordering of the good and the bad angels (qq. 108–109) follows in §15; the government of bodies and of men follows in §16.

The governing principle is Aquinas's own answer to the question whether God governs all things immediately. In the design of government he does; in its execution "He governs some things by means of others." For "it is a greater perfection for a thing to be good in itself and also the cause of goodness in others, than only to be good in itself. Therefore God so governs things that He makes some of them to be causes of others in government; as a master, who not only imparts knowledge to his pupils, but gives also the faculty of teaching others" (*ST* I q. 103 a. 6). The *sed contra* of that article is Augustine's picture of the whole creation ruled in order: "the sinful and unfaithful spirit is

ruled by the good and just spirit of life; and this spirit by God Himself" (as quoted in *ST* I q. 103 a. 6 s.c.; Augustine, *De Trinitate* III.4.9). Dionysius calls the highest dignity of any member of a hierarchy the dignity "of becoming a fellow-worker with God" (*CH* 3.2), and Aquinas, in the disputed questions on truth, makes that sentence the root of angelic illumination. From the divine goodness it proceeds that God shares his perfection with creatures in proportion to them, not only so that they are good and perfect in themselves, but so that they bestow perfection on others, *Deo quodammodo cooperando. Et hic est nobilissimus modus divinae imitationis*: this is the noblest way of imitating God, and from it proceeds the order among the angels by which some enlighten others (*De veritate* q. 9 a. 2). The *Divine Names* gives the same doctrine its most luminous form. The intelligible essences "are illuminated as to the reasons of things, in a manner peculiar to themselves; and they again convey to their kindred spirits things appropriate to them"; from the Good come to them "the powers elevating the inferior to the superior, the providences of the more exalted for those below them," so "that angels are, as it were, heralds of the Divine silence, and project, as it were, luminous lights revealing Him Who is in secret" (*DN* 4.1–2).

Scripture shows the angels speaking to one another and sending one another. Zacharias hears the angel of the Lord intercede, "O Lord of hosts, how long wilt thou not have mercy on Jerusalem," and the Lord answer "the angel, that spoke in me, good words, comfortable words" (Zach 1:12–13); then "the angel that spoke in me went forth, and another angel went out to meet him. And he said to him: Run, speak to this young man" (Zach 2:3–4 [2:7–8]). The Seraphim "cried one to another" (Isa 6:3). Gregory the Great draws the law from Zacharias: *Hoc tamen certissime scimus, quia ad explendum de supernis ministerium alii spiritus alios mittunt* — this we know most certainly, that to fulfil a ministry from on high some spirits send others; *Dum enim angelus ad angelum dicit: Curre et loquere, dubium non est, quia alius alium mittit. Minora vero sunt quae mittuntur, majora quae mittunt* — the lesser are sent, the greater send (Gregory, *Hom. in Ev.* 34.13). Isidore reads the same verse to the same effect: were it not that the higher powers dispose the lower in the very offices of the angels, the angel would never have learned from an angel what he was to say to a man (*nullo modo hoc, quod homini diceret angelus, ab angelo cognovisset*; Isidore, *Etymologiae* VII.5.8).

14.1 How One Angel Moves Another (*ST* I q. 106)

The four articles ask whether one angel moves the intellect of another by enlightening it; whether one moves the will of another; whether a lower angel can enlighten a higher; and whether the higher enlightens the lower concerning all that he knows (*ST* I q. 106 pr.).

One angel enlightens another (a. 1). The *sed contra* is Dionysius: "the angels of the second hierarchy are cleansed, enlightened and perfected by the angels of the first hierarchy" (*Angeli secundae hierarchiae purgantur et illuminantur et perficiuntur per Angelos primae hierarchiae*; *CH* 8). In Parker's rendering the middle order "is purified and illuminated and perfected in the manner described, by the Divine illuminations vouchsafed to it at second hand, through the first Hierarchical Order" (*CH* 8.1). Aquinas begins from the nature of light. "Intellectual light is nothing else than a manifestation of truth, according to Ephesians 5:13: 'All that is made manifest is light.' Hence to enlighten means nothing else but to communicate to others the manifestation of the known truth," as the Apostle received the grace "to enlighten all men, that they may see what is the dispensation of the mystery which hath been hidden from eternity in God" (Eph 3:9). Dionysius says that "the subordinate Orders of the Heavenly Beings are taught by the superior, in due order, the deifying sciences" (*CH* 7.3).

Since two things concur in understanding, the intellectual power and the likeness of the thing understood, one angel can make truth known to another in both. First, "by strengthening his intellectual power": as the less hot grows hotter in the presence of the hotter, "so the intellectual power of an inferior angel is strengthened by the superior angel turning to him: since in spiritual things, for one thing to turn to another, corresponds to neighborhood in corporeal things" (*Hoc enim facit in spiritualibus ordo conversionis, quod facit in corporalibus ordo localis propinquitatis*). Secondly, on the side of the likeness understood. "The superior angel receives the knowledge of truth by a kind of universal conception, to receive which the inferior angel's intellect is not sufficiently powerful," since it is natural to the lower to receive truth more particularly. The higher therefore "distinguishes, in a way, the truth which he conceives universally, so that it can be grasped by the inferior angel," as teachers among us divide into many points what they grasp in the whole, *providentes capacitati aliorum* (*ST* I q. 106 a. 1 co.). Dionysius says it in his exposition of the teeth under which Scripture pictures the angels: "The teeth denote the dividing of the nourishing perfection given to us; for each intellectual Being divides and multiplies, by a provident faculty, the unified conception given to it by the more Divine for the proportionate elevation of the inferior" (*CH* 15.3).

The replies protect the immediacy of the vision of God. The prophet's "They shall teach no more every man his neighbour ... for all shall know me" (Jer 31:34) holds of the divine essence, which all the blessed angels see immediately; "in this respect one does not teach another." But of the types of the divine works (*rationes divinorum operum*), which are known in God as in their cause, "each one knows the more types, the more perfectly he sees God," and concerning these the higher enlightens the lower (ad 1; *DN* 4.1). An angel does not give another the light of nature, grace, or glory, all of which come from God, but strengthens his natural light and manifests to him the truth "concerning the state of nature, of grace, and of glory" (ad 2). Augustine taught that the rational mind is formed by God alone: man is made to the image *ut nulla natura interposita formetur*, so that no nature intervenes in his forming, and the spirit made to the image *haeret enim veritati nulla interposita creatura*, cleaves to the truth with no creature between (*De diversis quaestionibus LXXXIII* q. 51.2, 4). Aquinas keeps the teaching whole. The mind is formed immediately by God, both as an image from its exemplar and as a subject by its ultimate completing form, "for the created mind is always considered to be unformed, except it adhere to the first truth; while the other kinds of enlightenment that proceed from man or angel, are, as it were, dispositions to this ultimate form" (ad 3).

The disputed questions on truth set the same doctrine in the analogy of bodily light, which serves sight in two ways: it makes the potentially visible actually visible, and it strengthens the eye. Intellectual light may therefore be called either the vigour of the intellect itself or that by which something is made known, and one mind enlightens another by handing it a medium of knowing by which it is strengthened to see what it could not see before. Among men this happens by speech, as the master enlightens the disciple, or by sensible signs, as the priest, according to Dionysius, enlightens the people by ministering and showing them the sacraments, *quae sunt manuductiones in divina intelligibilia*, guidings by the hand into divine and intelligible things. The angels come to divine things by neither way: *Nihil ergo est aliud Angelum ab Angelo illuminari, quam confortari intellectum inferioris Angeli per aliquid inspectum in superiori, ad aliqua cognoscenda* — for an angel to be enlightened by an angel is nothing else than for the intellect of the lower to be strengthened, by something beheld in the higher, to know certain things. As in bodies the higher stand to the lower as act to potency, *ita et superiores spiritus sunt quasi actus respectu inferiorum*, and every potency is strengthened by its conjunction with its act; the lower angels are strengthened by their continuity with the higher, *quae quidem continuatio est per intuitum intellectus*, a continuity made by the gaze of the intellect (*De veritate* q. 9 a. 1). The commentary on the *Sentences* gives the reason the angels can advance at all: in the vision of God's essence his effects are not all known of necessity unless his whole power is comprehended, and *quanto aliquis intellectus limpidius eam videt, tanto plura in ea cognoscere potest*; the higher therefore see more effects in the divine essence, *et de illis superiores inferiores illuminare et instruere possunt* (*In II Sent.* d. 11 q. 2 a. 2).

No angel changes the will of another (a. 2). The *sed contra* is an argument from justification: "To him it belongs to change the will, to whom it belongs to bestow righteousness: for righteousness is the rightness of the will. But God alone bestows righteousness." The will is moved in two ways, on the side of its object and on the side of the power. On the side of the object, the good moves it as the desirable moves desire, and so does anyone who shows that something is good. Other goods incline the will somewhat, "yet nothing sufficiently moves the will save the universal good, and that is God. And this good He alone shows, that it may be seen by the blessed," as he answered Moses, who asked "Shew me thy glory": "I will shew thee all good" (Exod 33:18–19). An angel therefore moves the will neither as its sufficient object nor as the one who shows it; "but he inclines the will as something lovable, and as manifesting some created good ordered to God's goodness. And thus he can incline the will to the love of the creature or of God, by way of persuasion" (*per modum suadentis*). On the side of the power the will can be moved by God alone, for willing is an inclination of the willer to the thing willed, and "He alone can change this inclination, Who bestowed on the creature the power to will," since "He alone is the author of the intellectual nature" (*ST* I q. 106 a. 2 co.).

The replies fix the sense of the Dionysian triad. Cleansing, enlightening, and perfecting are to be understood "according to the mode of enlightenment": God, who enlightens by changing intellect and will, cleanses both from their defects and perfects both unto their end; but an angel's enlightenment concerns the intellect, so that he cleanses "from the defect of nescience" and perfects the intellect unto its end, which is known truth (*perfectio autem est consummatio in finem intellectus, qui est veritas cognita*). Aquinas cites the *Ecclesiastical Hierarchy*: "in the heavenly hierarchy the chastening of the inferior essence is an enlightening of things unknown, that leads them to more perfect knowledge" (*EH* 6, as quoted); and he gives an image from bodily sight, "cleansed by the removal of darkness; enlightened by the diffusion of light; and perfected by being brought to the perception of the colored object" (ad 1). The Seraphim "kindle" others, then, by persuasion to the love of God (ad 2), and Aristotle's higher appetite moving the lower speaks of the sensitive appetite, which belongs to the same soul and acts through an organ (ad 3). The commentary on the *Sentences* states the point about the Seraphim sharply: they are not called kindling "as if they poured in the habit of

charity, but because they enlighten concerning the things that pertain to the love of charity" (*sed quia illuminant de his quae ad amorem caritatis pertinent*; *In II Sent.* d. 9 q. 1 a. 4 ad 5).

Dionysius himself had joined the three acts to knowledge: "the reception of the supremely Divine Science is, both purification, and enlightenment, and perfecting,—purifying, as it were, from ignorance, by the knowledge of the more perfect revelations imparted to it according to fitness, and enlightening by the self-same Divine knowledge ... and perfecting further, by the self-same Light, through the abiding science of the mysteries made clearly manifest" (*CH* 7.3). Aquinas unfolds the sentence by the two terms of every change. In receiving knowledge the starting point may be an error contrary to the knowledge, or contrary dispositions, such as impurity of soul or immoderate occupation with sensible things, or only the absence of the knowledge, *sicut cum in cognitione de die in diem proficimus*; *et sic tantummodo est accipere terminum a quo in Angelis.* The goal is twofold: that by which the intellect is perfected to know, whether form, light, or other medium, and the knowledge itself. Purgation is the removal of nescience, illumination the first goal, perfection the last; illumination and perfection differ *sicut formatio visus per speciem visibilis, et cognitio ipsius visibilis*, as the forming of sight by the species of the visible differs from the knowing of the visible itself. The ecclesiastical orders show the same steps in their proper matter: the deacons had charge of the catechumens and the possessed, in whom there were dispositions contrary to illumination; the priests communicate and show the sacraments; the bishops opened to the people the spiritual things veiled in the signification of the sacraments (*De veritate* q. 9 a. 3). Dionysius sums up the three ranks in the same words: "the Rank of the Hierarchs is consecrating and perfecting, that of the Priests, illuminating and conducting to the light; and that of the Leitourgoi purifying and discriminating" (*EH* 5.7).

The lower never enlightens the higher (a. 3). The *sed contra* is Dionysius's "Divine unalterable law, that inferior things are led to God by the superior" (*hanc legem esse divinitatis immobiliter firmatam, ut inferiora reducantur in Deum per superiora*; *CH* 4; *EH* 5). In Parker's text the Word of God teaches "that it came to us through Angels, as though the Divine regulation were laying down this rule, that, through the first, the second are brought to the Divine Being. For not only with regard to the superior and inferior minds, but even for those of the same rank, this Law has been established by the superessential supreme ordinance, that, within each Hierarchy, there are first, and middle, and last ranks and powers, and that the more divine are instructors and conductors of the less" (*CH* 4.3). Aquinas determines: "The inferior angels never enlighten the superior, but are always enlightened by them." Order stands under order as cause under cause, and it is fitting that something be done outside the order of a lower cause for the sake of ordering it to a higher, "as in human affairs the command of the president is passed over from obedience to the prince." God works miracles outside the order of corporeal nature so that men may be ordered to knowledge of him. "But the passing over of the order that belongs to spiritual substances in no way belongs to the ordering of men to God; since the angelic operations are not made known to us; as are the operations of sensible bodies." The order of spiritual substances is therefore never passed over by God, "so that the inferiors are always moved by the superior, and not conversely" (*ST* I q. 106 a. 3 co.).

The first objection draws on the Church: the ecclesiastical hierarchy represents the heavenly, and the heavenly Jerusalem is "our mother" (Gal 4:26); yet in the Church the higher are taught by the lower, for "you may all prophesy, one by one, that all may learn and all may be exhorted" (1 Cor 14:31). Aquinas answers that the ecclesiastical hierarchy imitates the heavenly "in some degree," not perfectly (*aliqualiter, sed non perfecte consequitur eius similitudinem*). In the heavenly hierarchy "the perfection of the order is in proportion to its nearness to God," and those nearer to God are higher in grade and clearer in knowledge; in the Church those who are nearer to God in holiness are sometimes in the lowest grade and not eminent in learning, and some excel in one science and fail in another (ad 1). The will of an angel turns freely to enlighten another, "but the angel's will is ever regulated by the Divine law which made the order in the angels" (ad 3).

Aquinas records in the disputed questions that the doctors had divided on this point. Some held the order so firmly established that nothing ever happens outside it; others held it established so as to be kept for the most part, yet sometimes passed over for necessary causes, as the course of nature is changed in miracles. He judges the first opinion more reasonable for three reasons: it belongs to the dignity of the higher angels that the lower be enlightened through them; *quanto aliqua sunt Deo, qui est summe immobilis, propinquiora, tanto debent esse magis immobilia*, so that the lower bodies sometimes fail of their course while the heavenly bodies keep theirs; and nothing in the state of nature is changed by divine power except for something better, belonging to grace or glory, whereas *statu gloriae, in quo ordines Angelorum distinguuntur, nullus est altior status* (*De veritate* q. 9 a. 2).

The higher enlightens the lower in all that he knows (a. 4). The *sed contra* gathers two authorities. The first Aquinas gives under Gregory's name: "In that heavenly country, though there are some excellent gifts, yet nothing is held individually." The sentence is the Master's, who writes *In illa enim caelesti patria, ubi plenitudo boni est, licet quaedam data sint excellenter, nihil tamen possidetur singulariter: omnia enim in omnibus sunt, non quidem aequaliter, quia alii aliis sublimius possident, quae tamen omnes habent* (Peter Lombard, *Sent.* II d. 9 c. 3). Its source is Gregory's homily on the ten drachmas: *Sic quippe in illa summa civitate specialia quaedam singulorum sunt, ut tamen sint communia omnium: et quod in se ex parte quisque habet, hoc in alio ordine totum possidet* — in that highest city certain things belong specially to each, yet so as to be common to all; and what each has in part in himself, he possesses whole in another order. Even what some have in a way that others cannot, such as the names of Dominations and Principalities, *cuncta ibi singulorum sunt: quia per caritatem Spiritus ab alio in aliis habentur* — all things there belong to each, because through the charity of the Spirit what one has is had by the others in him (Gregory, *Hom. in Ev.* 34.14). The second authority is Dionysius, "Each heavenly essence communicates to the inferior the gift derived from the superior" (*CH* 15).

Aquinas answers from the nature of the good. "Every creature participates in the Divine goodness, so as to diffuse the good it possesses to others; for it is of the nature of good to communicate itself to others" (*nam de ratione boni est quod se aliis communicet*). The more an agent shares in the divine goodness, the more it strives to pass its perfections to others; so Peter admonishes those who share it by grace, "As every man hath received grace, ministering the same one to another: as good stewards of the manifold grace of God" (1 Pet 4:10). "Much more therefore do the holy angels, who enjoy the plenitude of participation of the Divine goodness, impart the same to those below them." Yet what is given is not received as excellently below as above, "and therefore the superior ever remain in a higher order, and have a more perfect knowledge; as the master understands the same thing better than the pupil who learns from him" (*ST* I q. 106 a. 4 co.). The higher's knowledge is called more universal by reason of its more eminent mode (ad 1).

The second objection turns on the mystery of the Incarnation. The Master holds that the higher angels knew it from the ages and the lower only when it was accomplished, and Dionysius expounds the question of Psalm 23[24], in which some angels ask as if not knowing, "Who is this King of Glory?" and others answer as knowing, "the Lord of hosts, he is the King of Glory" (Ps 23[24]:10). In Parker's text the theologians show "some of them as being religiously instructed, by those of a higher rank, that He, Who was raised to Heaven as Man, is Lord of the Heavenly Powers and King of Glory; and others, as questioning Jesus Himself," and Dionysius marvels that even the first "do not ask directly, 'Wherefore are Thy garments red?' but they first raise the question among themselves, shewing that they desire to learn" (*CH* 7.3; Isa 63:1–2). The Master sets the doctors side by side. Jerome, on the Apostle's words that the manifold wisdom of God is made known "to the principalities and powers in heavenly places through the church" (Eph 3:10), held that the angelic dignities did not purely understand the mystery until the Passion was complete and the preaching of the Apostles spread; Augustine held that it was not hidden from them, *Illis ergo a saeculis innotuit supra memoratum mysterium.* Peter Lombard notes the tension, *Attende, lector, quia videntur dissentire in hac sententia illustres doctores*, and, following Haymo, resolves it: the angels of greater dignity, *per quorum ministerium illa nuntiata sunt*, knew it in part from the ages as familiars and messengers, the lesser not until it was fulfilled and preached through the Church, *et tunc ab omnibus Angelis perfecte fuerunt cognita* (*Sent.* II d. 11 c. 2). Aquinas reads the Master gently: the lower angels were not wholly ignorant of the mystery, "but that they did not know it as fully as the superior angels; and that they progressed in the knowledge of it afterwards when the Mystery was accomplished" (ad 2). His commentary on the same distinction draws the finer line. The substance of the mystery, the Incarnation and the Passion, all knew from the beginning; its conditions and circumstances, *quod sub tali praeside, vel tali hora*, they did not, as the prophet announced the substance of the deed and the evangelist recounts the manner of its fulfilment. By illumination the angels receive nothing from men; but future contingents they know as they are fulfilled, and so certain things about the mystery which they did not know they came to know *quando explebantur praedicantibus apostolis ... non tamen ab apostolis edocti*, when they were fulfilled as the Apostles preached, though not taught by the Apostles (*In II Sent.* d. 11 q. 2 a. 4). "On whom the angels desire to look," says Peter of the things now preached (1 Pet 1:12). The angels' knowledge of the mysteries of grace is treated at §10.4.

The third objection fears that illumination would end once the lower knew all the higher know. Aquinas answers with the history of the world: "Till the Judgment Day some new things are always being revealed by God to the highest angels, concerning the course of the world, and especially the salvation of the elect. Hence there is always something for the superior angels to make known to the inferior" (ad 3). "There shall be joy before the angels of God upon one sinner doing penance" (Luke 15:10).

Summa: *ST* I q. 106 aa. 1–4; parallels *De veritate* q. 9 aa. 1–3; *In II Sent.* d. 9 q. 1 aa. 1–2, d. 11 q. 2 aa. 2, 4; *Summa contra gentiles* III.79–80; *ST* I q. 103 a. 6.
Grade: Common teaching that the higher angels enlighten the lower and send them to their ministries (a. 1; Dionysius, *CH* 4.3, 7.3, 8.1; Gregory, *Hom. in Ev.* 34.13; Isidore, *Etym.* VII.5.8; Zach 2:3–4 [2:7–8]). Thomist position on the mode, by strengthening the lower intellect and by dividing the higher's universal conception (a. 1; *De ver.* q. 9 a. 1). Common teaching that God alone moves the will from within and that an angel moves it only by persuasion (a. 2); Thomist position that cleansing, enlightening, and perfecting among the angels all belong to the reception of knowledge (a. 2 ad 1; *De ver.* q. 9 a. 3). Thomist position that the order of illumination is never passed over (a. 3; the contrary opinion is recorded in *De ver.* q. 9 a. 2). Common teaching that the goods of heaven are held in common through charity, the higher possessing them more excellently (a. 4; Gregory, *Hom. in Ev.* 34.14; Lombard, *Sent.* II d. 9 c. 3). Disputed among the Fathers how far the angels knew the mystery of the Incarnation before its fulfilment (Jerome and Augustine, as the Master reports them), with Aquinas's distinction of substance and circumstances (a. 4 ad 2; *In II Sent.* d. 11 q. 2 a. 4).
Authorities: Dionysius, *CH* 8 (*sed contra* of a. 1), *CH* 7 (a. 1 co., a. 4 obj. 2), *CH* 15 (a. 1 co., *sed contra* of a. 4), *CH* 4 and *EH* 5 (*sed contra* of a. 3), *CH* 12 (a. 4 obj. 1), *EH* 6 (a. 2 ad 1), *DN* 4 (a. 1 ad 1); Augustine, *De div. qq. LXXXIII* q. 51 (a. 1 obj. 3); Gregory, *Hom. in Ev.* 34.13–14; Peter Lombard, *Sent.* II d. 9 c. 3 and d. 11 c. 2 (*sed contra* and obj. 2 of a. 4); Isidore, *Etym.* VII.5.8; Eph 5:13, Eph 3:8–10, Jer 31:34, Exod 33:18–19, Gal 4:26, 1 Cor 14:31, 1 Pet 4:10, 1 Pet 1:12, Ps 23[24]:8–10, Isa 63:1–2, Luke 15:10; Aristotle, *De anima* III (a. 2 obj. 3, cited by Aquinas).
Contrary opinion: The opinion, recorded and judged less reasonable in *De ver.* q. 9 a. 2, that the order of illumination is kept for the most part but sometimes passed over, as the course of nature is in miracles (a. 3); Jerome, as reported by Peter Lombard, that the angels did not understand the mystery of the Incarnation until the Passion and the preaching of the Apostles (a. 4 obj. 2).

14.2 The Speech of the Angels (*ST* I q. 107)

The five articles ask whether one angel speaks to another; whether the lower speaks to the higher; whether an angel speaks to God; whether local distance has any effect on angelic speech; and whether all the angels know what one says to another (*ST* I q. 107 pr.). The Apostle names "the tongues of men and of angels" (1 Cor 13:1), and Gregory gives the rule for understanding them. The Lord who is "the supreme and unbounded Spirit" and Satan, "who is invested with no fleshly nature," do not draw breath into the lungs and give it back through the throat in articulate voice; "but when the Incomprehensible Nature speaks to an invisible nature, it behoves that our imagination rising above the properties of our corporeal speech should be lifted to the sublime and unknown methods of interior speech" (Gregory, *Moralia* II.7.8). Aquinas opens the question with the same words: *dignum est ut mens nostra, qualitatem corporeae locutionis excedens, ad sublimes atque incognitos modos locutionis intimae suspendatur* (*ST* I q. 107 a. 1 co.). And Gregory adds at once that such speech "is by no means characterized by one and the same form. For it is after one method that God speaks to the Angels, and after another that the Angels speak to God; in one manner that God speaks to the souls of Saints, in another that the souls of Saints speak to God; in one way God speaks to the devil, in another the devil speaks to God" (*Moralia* II.7.8). Aquinas's five articles are a disciplined unfolding of the first two of these modes and of the speech of angel with angel.

One angel speaks to another (a. 1). The *sed contra* is the Apostle, "If I speak with the tongues of men and of angels" (1 Cor 13:1). The account rests on the will's command over the intellect. An intelligible object is present to the intellect in three ways: habitually, "or in the memory, as Augustine says"; as actually considered or conceived; and as related to something else. It passes from the first state to the second by the command of the will, "and hence in the definition of habit these words occur, 'which anyone uses when he wills.' " It passes from the second to the third likewise by the will, "for by the will the concept of the mind is ordered to something else, as, for instance, either to the performing of an action, or to being made known to another." When the mind turns to consider what it holds in habit, one speaks to oneself, "for the concept of the mind is called 'the interior word.' " And when the concept of an angelic mind is ordered by the angel's own will to be made known to another, it becomes known to the other; "and in this way one angel speaks to another; for to speak to another only means to make known the mental concept to another" (*Nihil est enim aliud loqui ad alterum, quam conceptum mentis alteri manifestare*) (*ST* I q. 107 a. 1 co.).

The first objection is Gregory's own: in the resurrection the body will not hide one mind from another, much less is one angel's mind hidden from another. Gregory's page is a vision of the city of glass. Job's "The gold and the glass

cannot equal it" is read of "that heavenly Country, that society of blessed citizens, whose hearts mutually one with another at once shine with brightness, and are transparent by pureness," the city John saw "of pure gold like unto clear glass" (Apoc 21:18). "For there the mind of every person no bodily frame of limbs will hide from the eyes of his fellow, but the interior will be given to view" (*Moralia* XVIII, §§77–78). Aquinas answers that our concept is shut in by a twofold obstacle. The first is the will, which can keep the concept within or direct it outward, and in this respect "God alone can see the mind of another, according to 1 Corinthians 2:11: 'What man knoweth the things of a man, but the spirit of a man that is in him?' " The second is the body, so that even when the will directs the concept outward some sensible sign must be used. Gregory again supplies the image: "we, that we may express outwardly the things which we are inwardly sensible of, deliver these through the organ of the throat, by the sounds of the voice, since to the eyes of others we stand as it were behind the partition of the body, within the secret dwelling place of the mind; but when we desire to make ourselves manifest, we go forth as though through the door of the tongue, that we may shew what kind of persons we are within" (*Moralia* II.7.8). "But an angel is under no such obstacle," and *quam cito vult manifestare suum conceptum, statim alius cognoscit* (ad 1). The glass of the heavenly city, then, is the removal of the second obstacle, not the first: the will's own gate remains, and the angels open it to one another.

Exterior speech by voice is necessary to us because of the body, and does not befit an angel; his speech is interior, "and this includes not only the interior speech by mental concept, but also its being ordered to another's knowledge by the will. So the tongue of an angel is called metaphorically the angel's power, whereby he manifests his mental concept" (ad 2). There is no need to arouse the attention of the good angels, "inasmuch as they always see each other in the Word"; but since by nature the angels could speak to one another, "and even now the bad angels speak to each other," Aquinas adds that as sense is aroused by a sensible sign, so the mind of an angel can be aroused to attention "by some intelligible power" (ad 3).

The disputed questions give the same account through the three states of a natural form: imperfect, as in forms still coming to be; perfect in itself; and perfect so as to communicate its perfection to another, *aliquid enim est in se lucidum, quod alia illuminare non potest.* The intelligible form is in the intellect as in habit, as in act for the one who thinks, and as ordered to another, and the will makes each transition; *Et quando sic est, tunc alius Angelus eius cognitionem percipit; et secundum hoc dicitur alteri Angelo loqui.* Such speech is required because an angel does not know the secrets of another's heart directly (§10.4); and so it would be with us, *si intellectus noster posset ferri in intelligibilia immediate* (*De veritate* q. 9 a. 4). The commentary on the *Sentences* had described the matter otherwise. There the concept ordered to another is called the word of the heart, and speech is its coordination with something the other angel can naturally see in the speaker, which becomes a sign expressive of the interior concept: *et talis expressio vocatur locutio, non quidem vocalis, sed intellectualibus signis expressa; et virtus exprimendi dicitur lingua eorum* (*In II Sent.* d. 11 q. 2 a. 3). The *Summa* and the disputed questions need no intermediate sign; the will's ordering of the concept suffices.

The lower speaks to the higher (a. 2). The *sed contra* is again Dionysius's exposition of the Psalm, in which the lower angels asked the higher, "Who is this King of Glory?" (*CH* 7.3). The article distinguishes speech from illumination. "Every angelic enlightening is an angelic speech; but on the other hand, not every speech is an enlightening." What the mind conceives can be referred to two principles: to God, the first truth, and to the will of the one who understands. "Because truth is the light of the intellect, and God Himself is the rule of all truth," the manifestation of what depends on the first truth is both speech and enlightenment, as when one man says to another, "Heaven was created by God." The manifestation of what depends on the will is speech only, as when one says, "I wish to learn this; I wish to do this or that." The reason is that "the created will is not a light, nor a rule of truth; but participates of light. Hence to communicate what comes from the created will is not, as such, an enlightening. For to know what you may will, or what you may understand does not belong to the perfection of my intellect; but only to know the truth in reality." Higher and lower are said by relation to God; but "as regards the will as the principle, he who wills is first and supreme"; and so in this second kind of speech the higher speak to the lower and the lower to the higher (*ST* I q. 107 a. 2 co.). Every speech of God to the angels, however, is an enlightening, "because since the will of God is the rule of truth, it belongs to the perfection and enlightenment of the created mind to know even what God wills" (ad 3).

Gregory's description of that divine speech is among the loveliest pages of the *Moralia.* "For because no corporeal obstacle is in the way of a spiritual being, God speaks to the holy Angels in the very act of His revealing to their hearts His inscrutable secrets, that whatsoever they ought to do they may read it in the simple contemplation of truth, and that the very delights of contemplation should be like a kind of vocal precepts, for that is as it were spoken to them as hearers which is inspired into them as beholders" (*Moralia* II.7.9). When God said "Come, let us go down, and there confound their language," he spoke to those close about him: "never to depart from Him in heart, is as it

were to be always coming to Him by a kind of steady motion ... The Angels ascend in that they behold their Creator; the Angels descend in that by a strict examination they put down that which exalts itself in unlawful measure" (ibid.).

The disputed questions give the distinction its sharpest form. A mind fails to know something either because the thing is absent, as the deeds of past times or distant places, or because the mind is not strong enough to reach what it already holds, as all conclusions are held in first principles. *Locutio igitur proprie est qua aliquis ducitur in cognitionem ignoti, per hoc quod fit sibi praesens quod alias erat ei absens*; illumination is the strengthening of the intellect to know beyond what it knew. There can be speech without illumination, as when histories are recited to me; but illumination always has speech joined to it, since the higher angel, whose knowledge is by more universal forms, must conceive in himself what he would teach in a mode the lower can grasp, and manifest that concept to him. Hence *illa locutione quae illuminationi adiungitur, superiores solum inferioribus, loquuntur; sed secundum aliam locutionem indifferenter loquuntur et superiores inferioribus, et e converso* (*De veritate* q. 9 a. 5).

An angel speaks to God (a. 3). The *sed contra* is the intercession of Zacharias's vision: "The angel of the Lord answered, and said: O Lord of hosts, how long wilt thou not have mercy on Jerusalem" (Zach 1:12). One thing is ordered to another in two ways. It may be ordered in order to give something, as agent to patient and teacher to learner, and in this way an angel never speaks to God, "either of what concerns the truth, or of whatever depends on the created will; because God is the principle and source of all truth and of all will." Or it may be ordered in order to receive, as the passive to the agent and the disciple to the master, "and in this way an angel speaks to God, either by consulting the Divine will of what ought to be done, or by admiring the Divine excellence which he can never comprehend"; "thus Gregory says (Moral. ii) that 'the angels speak to God, when by contemplating what is above themselves they rise to emotions of admiration' " (*ST* I q. 107 a. 3 co.). Speech is not always ordered to making something known to another; sometimes it is ordered to having something made known to the speaker, "as when the disciples ask instruction from the master" (ad 1). "The angels are ever speaking to God in the sense of praising and admiring Him and His works; but they speak to Him by consulting Him about what ought to be done whenever they have to perform any new work, concerning which they desire enlightenment" (ad 2).

Gregory's text is a meditation on the heavenly liturgy. "It is after another manner that the Angels speak to God, as in the Revelation of John also they say, Worthy is the Lamb that was slain to receive power, and riches, and wisdom; for the voice of the Angels in the praises of God is the very admiration itself of inward contemplation. To be struck dumb at the marvels of Divine goodness is to utter a voice, for the emotion of the heart excited with a feeling of awe is a mighty utterance of voice to the ears of a Spirit that is not circumscribed. This voice unfolds itself as it were in distinct words, while it moulds itself in the innumerable modes of admiration. God then speaks to the Angels when His inner will is revealed to them as the object of their perception; but the Angels speak to the Lord when by means of this, which they contemplate above themselves, they rise to emotions of admiration" (*Moralia* II.7.10; Apoc 5:12). The same speech, turned toward what is to be done, is consultation. When the angel of Daniel says that "the prince of the kingdom of the Persians resisted me one and twenty days" (Dan 10:13), Aquinas follows Gregory in holding both to be good angels: the depth of God's judgments exceeds the angels, the merits of the nations they have in charge are contrary, and each refers the merits of his own to the divine knowledge, awaiting the sentence. The contrary relation is called a combat, *et eorum concordia est in divinae illuminationis perceptione, per quam de divina voluntate instruuntur: hoc enim omnes concorditer volunt quod percipiunt Deum velle* (*In II Sent.* d. 11 q. 2 a. 5; the angels of the nations are treated at §17.5). "Power and terror are with him, who maketh peace in his high places" (Job 25:2).

Local distance does not affect angelic speech (a. 4). The *sed contra* is the rich man in hell, who spoke to Abraham across the great gulf (Luke 16:24); much less can distance hinder one angel's speech to another. "The angelic speech consists in an intellectual operation," and the intellectual operation of an angel abstracts from "here and now," as even ours does, except accidentally by reason of phantasms, "which do not exist at all in an angel." In what is wholly abstracted from place and time, neither difference of time nor distance of place has any effect (*ST* I q. 107 a. 4 co.). The first objection quotes Damascene, "An angel works where he is." Damascene's chapter on place says that the angel, "although not contained in place with figured form as is body, yet is spoken of as being in place because he has a mental presence and energises in accordance with his nature, and is not elsewhere but has his mental limitations there where he energises" (*De fide orthodoxa* I.13). Aquinas grants that speech, being interior, is in the angel who speaks and so where he is; but "as local distance does not prevent one angel seeing another, so neither does it prevent an angel perceiving what is ordered to him on the part of another; and this is to perceive his speech" (ad 1). In the disputed questions he restricts Damascene's axiom to the operation by which an angel acts on a body, which alone is *situalis* (*De veritate* q. 9 a. 6 ad 2; on angelic place, §9.2).

The second objection is the Seraphim who "cried one to another" (Isa 6:3). The cry, Aquinas answers, "is not a bodily voice raised by reason of the local distance; but is taken to signify the magnitude of what is said, or the intensity of the affection, according to what Gregory says (Moral. ii): 'The less one desires, the less one cries out' " (ad 2). Gregory's sentence stands in his exposition of the souls under the altar who "cried with a loud voice" (Apoc 6:10): "For their great cry is their great longing; for every one cries the less, the less he desires; and he utters the louder voice in the ears of an uncircumscribed Spirit in proportion as he more entirely pours himself out in desire of Him, and so the words of souls are their very desires" (*Moralia* II.7.11). Dionysius reads the same cry of the Seraphim as the law of illumination within one order: "the theologians say that the most Divine Seraphim cry one to another, indicating distinctly, as I think by this, that the first impart their knowledge of divine things to the second" (*CH* 10.2). Isidore finds in the thrice-repeated "Holy" the mystery of the Trinity: *Quod clamat ter Sanctus alter ad alterum, Trinitatis in una divinitate demonstrat mysterium* (*Etym.* VII.5.33).

One angel may speak to another alone (a. 5). The *sed contra* is from our own experience: "One man can speak to another alone; much more can this be the case among the angels." Since the concept of one angel is perceived by another because its possessor orders it by his will to the other, and a thing can be ordered to one and not to another, "the concept of one (angel) may be known by one and not by another"; and so one angel can perceive the speech of another while others do not, "not through the obstacle of local distance, but on account of the will so ordering" (*ST* I q. 107 a. 5 co.). The third objection returns to Dionysius's law that each heavenly being communicates to the others what it learns (*CH* 15). Aquinas answers with the two principles of a. 2. "Enlightenment is of those truths that emanate from the first rule of truth, which is the principle common to all the angels; and in that way all enlightenments are common to all. But speech may be of something ordered to the principle of the created will, which is proper to each angel; and in this way it is not necessary that these speeches should be common to all" (ad 3). The disputed questions add that if an angel by his own will becomes actual in some species in order to one angel only, his speech is perceived by that one alone; *si vero in ordine ad plures, percipietur a pluribus* (*De veritate* q. 9 a. 7). The communion of the angels in truth is complete; the secrecy of the created will is respected; and the one Will before whom every heart is open is God's.

Summa: *ST* I q. 107 aa. 1–5; parallels *De veritate* q. 9 aa. 4–7; *In II Sent.* d. 11 q. 2 aa. 3, 5.
Grade: Common teaching that the angels speak to one another and to God (aa. 1, 3; 1 Cor 13:1; Zach 1:12; Isa 6:3; Apoc 5:11–12; Gregory, *Moralia* II.7.8–10). Thomist position on the account of angelic speech as the ordering of the mental concept to another by the will, without intermediate sign (a. 1; *De ver.* q. 9 a. 4; the commentary on the *Sentences* places the speech in intellectual signs), on the distinction of speech from illumination by the two principles of truth and will (aa. 2, 5), on the indifference of angelic speech to local distance (a. 4), and on the freedom of the speaker to be heard by one alone (a. 5). Common teaching, with Gregory, that the angels' speech to God is praise and admiration and consultation about what is to be done (a. 3).
Authorities: 1 Cor 13:1 (*sed contra* of a. 1); Dionysius, *CH* 7 (*sed contra* of a. 2), *CH* 15 (a. 5 obj. 3), and *CH* 10.2; Zach 1:12 (*sed contra* of a. 3); Luke 16:24 (*sed contra* of a. 4); Isa 6:3 (a. 4 obj. 2); Gregory, *Moralia* II.7.8–11 (a. 1 co. and ad 1, a. 2 obj. 3, a. 3 co., a. 4 ad 2) and XVIII, §§77–78 (a. 1 obj. 1); Damascene, *De fide orthodoxa* I.13 (a. 4 obj. 1); Augustine, *De Trinitate* XIV (a. 1 co., cited by Aquinas); 1 Cor 2:11 (a. 1 ad 1); Apoc 21:18; Dan 10:13; Isidore, *Etym.* VII.5.33.
Contrary opinion: The gloss on 1 Cor 13:1 that the speeches of the angels are the illuminations by which the higher enlighten the lower, so that the lower do not speak to the higher (a. 2 obj. 1); Damascene's axiom that an angel works where he is, taken to limit speech by distance (a. 4 obj. 1, restricted by Aquinas to action on bodies).

15 Hierarchies and Orders

Because the higher angels enlighten the lower and never the reverse (§14.1), the angels form an ordered multitude, and Aquinas turns next to their ordering by hierarchies and orders (*de ordinatione Angelorum secundum hierarchias et ordines*), first of the good (q. 108) and then of the bad (q. 109) (*ST* I q. 108 pr.). The word *hierarchia* is the Areopagite's, and Aquinas explains it from the Greek: *hierarchia dicitur quasi sacer principatus a hieron, quod est sacrum, et archon, quod est princeps* (*In II Sent.* d. 9 q. 1 a. 1). Dionysius defines it as "a sacred order and science and operation, assimilated, as far as attainable, to the likeness of God, and conducted to the illuminations granted to it from God, according to capacity, with a view to the Divine imitation" (*CH* 3.1); and Aquinas reads its terms

as the parts of every sacred rule, whose end is likeness to God: order expresses the grade of power, science directs, action leads to the end, and the likeness of God is the end intended (*In II Sent.* d. 9 q. 1 a. 1).

The Church learned the nine names from Scripture and the three triads from Dionysius (§6; the nine orders one by one are set out in Appendix A). Gregory the Great preached them to the people of Rome, gathering the nine from the Prophets and from Paul (*Hom. in Ev.* 34.7), and gave each its ministry; Isidore handed Gregory's account on (*Etymologiae* VII.5); the Master of the *Sentences* fixed the doctrine for the schools (*Sent.* II d. 9). Aquinas gives the reasons of the whole. The tradition carries at the same time a holy reserve about what is hidden. Augustine, asked what the differences of rank may be among the thrones, dominions, principalities, and powers of the Apostle, answered: "let those who are able answer these questions, if they can also prove their answers to be true; but as for me, I confess my ignorance" (*Enchiridion* 58). Dionysius opens his account of the orders by confessing that how many and of what sort they are "the deifying Author of their consecration alone distinctly knows," and that we know them only "so far as the Godhead has revealed to us, through them" (*CH* 6). Aquinas makes that confession the principle of a. 3 below: "our knowledge of the angels is imperfect." Bernard, contemplating the same names, speaks throughout in the mood of reverent conjecture: "Let us suppose . . . " (*De consideratione* V.4.8).

15.1 The Angelic Degrees of Hierarchies and Orders (*ST* I q. 108)

The eight articles ask whether all the angels belong to one hierarchy; whether in one hierarchy there is only one order; whether in one order there are many angels; whether the distinction of hierarchies and orders is from nature; what are the names and properties of each order; how the orders compare with one another; whether the orders will outlast the Day of Judgment; and whether men are taken up into the angelic orders (*ST* I q. 108 pr.).

Three angelic hierarchies (a. 1). The *sed contra* is that "Dionysius (Coel. Hier. vi) distinguishes three hierarchies of angels." Aquinas defines the thing before he divides it. "Hierarchy means a 'sacred' principality," and principality includes two things, "the prince himself and the multitude ordered under the prince." On the side of the prince there is but one hierarchy, "because there is one God, the Prince not only of all the angels but also of men and all creatures," and so one hierarchy of all rational creatures able to share in holy things, as Augustine teaches that there are "two cities, that is, two societies, one of the good angels and men, the other of the wicked" (*ST* I q. 108 a. 1 co.). Augustine's own words are that it is "not incongruous and unsuitable to speak of a society composed of angels and men together; so that there are not four cities or societies,—two, namely, of angels, and as many of men,—but rather two in all, one composed of the good, the other of the wicked, angels or men indifferently" (*De civitate Dei* XII.1).

On the side of the multitude, a principality is one in so far as its members can be governed in one and the same way; "thus, under one king there are different cities, which are governed by different laws and administrators." Men and angels receive the divine enlightenments in different ways, "for the angels receive them in their intelligible purity, whereas men receive them under sensible signs, as Dionysius says (Coel. Hier. i)." Dionysius's sentence is that "it is not possible that the supremely Divine Ray should otherwise illuminate us, except so far as it is enveloped, for the purpose of instruction, in variegated sacred veils" (*CH* 1.2). There must therefore be a human hierarchy distinct from the angelic, and in the same manner three angelic hierarchies are distinguished. The higher angels have a more universal knowledge (§10.2), and the types of things about which the angels are enlightened can be considered in three ways: "first as preceding from God as the first universal principle, which mode of knowledge belongs to the first hierarchy, connected immediately with God, and, 'as it were, placed in the vestibule of God,' as Dionysius says"; secondly, "forasmuch as these types depend on the universal created causes which in some way are already multiplied," which belongs to the second; thirdly, "forasmuch as these types are applied to particular things as depending on their causes," which belongs to the lowest (*ST* I q. 108 a. 1 co.). Dionysius's image is of the first beings "marshalled, as it were, in Its very vestibule" (*CH* 7.2).

The commentary on the *Sentences* gives the same division an image from a royal court. Of the ministers of one king, some work about the king's person, *quasi cubicularii et consiliarii et assessores*, and these are like the first hierarchy; some have offices for the government of the realm in common, not assigned to this or that province, *ut domini regalis curiae, et principes militiae, et judices curiae*, and these are like the second; some are set over the government of a part of the realm, *ut praepositi et balivi, et hujusmodi officiales minores*, and these are like the third (*In II Sent.* d. 9 q. 1 a. 3). The three hierarchies, three orders in each, reflect the Trinity. The Master had written that there are three threes *ut Trinitatis similitudo in eis insinuetur impressa* (Peter Lombard, *Sent.* II d. 9 c. 1), and Aquinas repeats it:

ut sic in omnibus Trinitatis similitudo reluceat, secundum principium, medium et finem (*In II Sent.* d. 9 q. 1 a. 3 ad 3).

From the definition follows a correction: "those err and speak against the opinion of Dionysius who place a hierarchy in the Divine Persons, and call it the 'supercelestial' hierarchy." Among the Persons there is a natural order, but no hierarchical order, for as Dionysius says, "The hierarchical order is so directed that some be cleansed, enlightened, and perfected; and that others cleanse, enlighten, and perfect"; "which far be it from us to apply to the Divine Persons" (*ST* I q. 108 a. 1 co.; *CH* 3.2). As regards the knowledge of God himself, "Whom all see in one way—that is, in His essence—there is no hierarchical distinction among the angels" (ad 2). And all men are one hierarchy because "all men are of one species, and have one connatural mode of understanding; which is not the case in the angels" (ad 3; §8.1).

Three orders in each hierarchy (a. 2). The *sed contra* is the Apostle, who says that God set the Man Christ "above all principality and power and virtue and dominion" (Eph 1:21), "which are the various orders of the angels, and some of them belong to one hierarchy." A multitude "would not be ordered, but confused, if there were not in it different orders. So the nature of a hierarchy requires diversity of orders." The diversity arises from diversity of offices and actions, as in a city there is one order of judges, another of soldiers, another of those who work the fields. Yet all may be reduced to three, "when we consider that every multitude has a beginning, a middle, and an end"; so in every city some are highest, as the nobles (*optimates*), some lowest, as the common people (*vilis populus*), and some between, *populus honorabilis*; "and so in every hierarchy Dionysius places three orders" (*ST* I q. 108 a. 2 co.).

The objections sharpen the doctrine of the angelic commonwealth. The Master had said that in heaven "nothing is possessed individually," so that all spiritual gifts would be common and there would be no grades. Aquinas answers: "All things are possessed in common by the angelic society, some things, however, being held more excellently by some than by others. Each gift is more perfectly possessed by the one who can communicate it, than by the one who cannot communicate it; as the hot thing which can communicate heat is more perfect that [*sic*] what is unable to give heat. And the more perfectly anyone can communicate a gift, the higher grade he occupies, as he is in the more perfect grade of mastership who can teach a higher science" (ad 2). Grade among the angels is measured by the power to give. And the orders are not distinguished, as the orders of the Church are, by cleansing, enlightening, and perfecting, for "the inferior angel is superior to the highest man of our hierarchy, according to the words, 'He that is the lesser in the kingdom of heaven, is greater than he'—namely, John the Baptist" (Matt 11:11); "hence the lesser angel of the heavenly hierarchy can not only cleanse, but also enlighten and perfect, and in a higher way than can the orders of our hierarchy" (ad 3).

Many angels in one order (a. 3). The *sed contra* is the vision of Isaias: "The Seraphim cried to one another" (Isa 6:3); there are therefore many angels in the one order of the Seraphim. "Whoever knows anything perfectly, is able to distinguish its acts, powers, and nature, down to the minutest details, whereas he who knows a thing in an imperfect manner can only distinguish it in a general way," as one who knows nature imperfectly places the heavenly bodies in one order, inanimate bodies in another, plants and animals in others. "Now our knowledge of the angels is imperfect, as Dionysius says (Coel. Hier. vi). Hence we can only distinguish the angelic offices and orders in a general way, so as to place many angels in one order. But if we knew the offices and distinctions of the angels perfectly, we should know perfectly that each angel has his own office and his own order among things, and much more so than any star, though this be hidden from us" (*ST* I q. 108 a. 3 co.). Since each angel is his own species (*ST* I q. 50 a. 4; §8.1), the angels of one order are equal only "in a common similitude," not absolutely; "hence Dionysius says (Coel. Hier. x) that in one and the same order of angels there are those who are first, middle, and last" (ad 1). His text reads: "we observe every Hierarchy distributed into first, and middle, and last Powers" (*CH* 10.2). Two angels at the border of two orders are nearer in nature than either is to the far members of its own order, "but less akin in their fitness for similar offices," as two neighbouring points on the border of white and black are nearer in place and farther in quality (ad 3).

The commentary on the *Sentences* draws from the same principle a conclusion about beauty. Since no two angels share a species and species in the angels differ by more and less of act, *non est accipere duos Angelos aequales in tota caelesti hierarchia*; and its *sed contra* adds, *in Angelis est summa pulchritudo post Deum. Sed in diversorum graduum consonantia ordinata consistit ratio pulchritudinis* (*In II Sent.* d. 9 q. 1 a. 5). The Master had answered the same question with an image from the ranks of the saints: there is one order of Apostles and another of Martyrs, *et tamen in Apostolis alii sunt aliis digniores, similiter et in Martyribus alii aliis sunt superiores; ita et in ordinibus Angelorum*

recte creditur esse (*Sent.* II d. 9 c. 5). How many angels stand in each order, Aquinas adds, *ignotus est nobis* (*In II Sent.* d. 9 q. 1 a. 3).

The distinction of the orders is from grace, disposed by nature (a. 4). The *sed contra* is the Master's definition of an order: "an angelic order is a multitude of heavenly spirits, who are likened to each other by some gift of grace, just as they agree also in the participation of natural gifts." The Master's text reads: *Ordo Angelorum dicitur multitudo caelestium spirituum, qui inter se in aliquo munere gratiae similantur, sicut et in naturalium datorum participatione conveniunt* (*Sent.* II d. 9 c. 2). Aquinas determines by the end. "The order of government, which is the order of a multitude under authority, is derived from its end." The end of the angels may be taken according to the faculty of their nature, to know and love God by natural knowledge and love, and in relation to this end "the orders of the angels are distinguished by natural gifts." Or it may be taken above their nature, "in the vision of the Divine Essence, and in the unchangeable fruition of His goodness; to which end they can reach only by grace; and hence as regards this end, the orders in the angels are adequately distinguished by the gifts of grace, but dispositively by natural gifts" (*completive quidem secundum dona gratuita, dispositive autem secundum dona naturalia*), because to the angels grace was given according to the capacity of their nature (*ST* I q. 62 a. 6; §12.2). "Hence among men the orders are distinguished according to the gratuitous gifts only, and not according to natural gifts" (*ST* I q. 108 a. 4 co.).

The commentary on the *Sentences* names the two principles: *donum gratiae est perfectivum naturae; et ideo distinctio ordinum est per diversum donum gratuitum sicut per principium formale, et per diversum donum naturale sicut per principium quasi materiale et dispositivum*; and so the orders were in a manner distinct from the beginning of creation, *non tamen secundum ultimum complementum* (*In II Sent.* d. 9 q. 1 a. 7). The Master had put the question whether the orders were distinct from the first moment. Some of every order fell, which seems to show that the orders were there from the beginning; yet the fallen never burned with charity nor were God's seat, and so were never Seraphim or Thrones. He answers that before the fall of some the orders were not yet such, since the gifts in which their members agree had not been given; but the angels were created in grades, *superiores, qui natura magis subtiles et sapientia amplius perspicaces; inferiores, qui natura minus subtiles et intelligentia minus perspicaces*, and these invisible differences only he can weigh who has ordered all things in number, measure, and weight: *Has autem invisibiles differentias invisibilium solus ille ponderare potest qui omnia in numero et mensura et pondere disposuit* (*Sent.* II d. 9 c. 4; Wis 11:21). Aquinas, who judges it more probable that all the angels were created in grace (*ST* I q. 62 a. 3; §12.2), can say that the orders were in a manner there from the beginning; the Master, who holds grace added afterward to those who stood, says that the orders came with the gifts.

The names of the orders (a. 5). The *sed contra* is "the authority of Holy Scripture wherein they are so named": Seraphim in Isaias 6:2, Cherubim in Ezechiel, Thrones in Colossians 1:16, Dominations, Virtues, Powers, and Principalities in Ephesians 1:21, Archangels in the Epistle of Jude ("Michael the archangel, disputing with the devil," Jude 9), and Angels in many places. Aquinas takes from Dionysius the rule that "the proper name of each order expresses its property" and gives the logic of such naming. Something is found in another by way of property when it is adequate to its nature, by way of excess when it is possessed eminently, and by way of participation when it is possessed partially, "thus holy men are called gods by participation." A thing is named properly from what is adequate to it, as man is properly "a 'rational substance,' but not an 'intellectual substance,' which latter is the proper name of an angel; because simple intelligence belongs to an angel as a property, and to man by participation." So among the angels "all spiritual perfections are common to all the angels, and ... they are all more excellently in the superior than in the inferior"; and since among these perfections there are grades, "the superior perfection belongs to the superior order as its property, whereas it belongs to the inferior by participation; and conversely the inferior perfection belongs to the inferior order as its property, and to the superior by way of excess; and thus the superior order is denominated from the superior perfection" (*ST* I q. 108 a. 5 co.).

Two masters expound the names. "Dionysius (Coel. Hier. vii) explains the names of the orders accordingly as they befit the spiritual perfections they signify. Gregory, on the other hand, in expounding these names ... seems to regard more the exterior ministrations; for he says that 'angels are so called as announcing the least things; and the archangels in the greatest; by the virtues miracles are wrought; by the powers hostile powers are repulsed; and the principalities preside over the good spirits themselves' " (*ST* I q. 108 a. 5 co.). Gregory begins his exposition with the principle that has become a commonplace of the Latin tradition, *angelorum vocabulum nomen est officii, non naturae* (*Hom. in Ev.* 34.8; §7.1; Isidore repeats it, *Etym.* VII.5.2). Aquinas reconciles the two masters on this very word. As naming the condition of a nature that manifests what is above it, "angel" is a name of nature, and the lowest order

keeps it because it manifests all the higher orders to us; *Sed si nuntiare sumatur secundum exterius ministerium quod exercent, sic Angelus est nomen officii, non naturae, ut dicit Gregorius* (*In II Sent.* d. 9 q. 1 a. 4 ad 2).

The replies then take the names one by one, and each reply teaches something about the structure of the whole. The common name "angel" remains proper to the lowest order, "as Dionysius says (Coel. Hier. v)," or because they "announce things to us immediately"; and "virtue" is common to all as the medium between essence and operation, but proper to one order as "a certain excellence of strength," which Dionysius calls "a certain virile and immovable strength" (ad 1). Parker's Dionysius has the theologians, when they describe the orders more accurately, "name exclusively, 'angelic rank,' that which completes the full tale of the Divine and Heavenly Hosts" (*CH* 5), and speak of all the divine minds as "distributed into three,—into essence, and power, and energy" (*CH* 11.2). Dominion belongs to God "in a special manner, by way of excess: but the Divine word gives the more illustrious heavenly princes the name of Lord by participation, through whom the inferior angels receive the Divine gifts" (ad 2, citing *DN* 12). Domination, Power, and Principality belong to government in different ways: the lord only prescribes; power signifies ordination, "He that resisteth the power, resisteth the ordination of God" (Rom 13:2); to preside is "to be first among others," as "Princes went before joined with singers" (Ps 67[68]:26) (ad 3). Gregory's sentence is *Nam principari est inter reliquos priorem existere: dominari vero est etiam subjectos quosque possidere* (*Hom. in Ev.* 34.10). The Archangels stand between the Principalities and the Angels, and "a medium compared to one extreme seems like the other," as tepid seems cold beside hot and hot beside cold; so they are called "angel princes" (ad 4). The Seraphim are named not from charity alone but "from the excess of charity, expressed by the word ardor or fire," and in fire Aquinas finds the upward and continuous movement by which they are borne unswervingly to God, the penetrating heat by which they rouse those below them "to a like fervor, and cleansing them wholly by their heat," and the brightness by which "these angels have in themselves an inextinguishable light, and ... also perfectly enlighten others"; the Cherubim are named from "a certain excess of knowledge," which Dionysius unfolds in four things, the perfect vision of God, the full reception of the divine light, the contemplation in God of the beauty of the divine order, and the copious outpouring of this knowledge on others (ad 5). The Thrones excel the lower orders "as having an immediate knowledge of the types of the Divine works"; they are like material seats in four ways: raised above the earth, made firm ("for the angels themselves are made firm by God"), receiving God and in a certain way bearing him to the lower creatures, and open on one side, "thus are the angels promptly open to receive God and to serve Him" (ad 6). For each of these names Dionysius's own exposition stands in §§6.7–6.9.

Bernard of Clairvaux gives the names their most beautiful contemplative reading, in Gregory's order, and turns each name toward God (*De consideratione* V.4.8–10; expounded at §7.7). His Dominions tower above the rest, so that to them, "as it were to their masters, the Principalities account for their commands, the Powers for their defences, the Virtues for their operations, the Archangels for their revelations, the Angels for their care and foresight" (V.4.8); and he closes the contemplation with the law of participation that Aquinas states in the language of the schools: "The Seraphim burn, but with the fire of God, or rather with fire for God. Their chief characteristic is their love, but they love not as much, nor in the same way, as God. The Cherubim shine, and excel in knowledge, but by participation in the truth ... Angels and Archangels are with us, but He is more our own who is not only with us but in us" (V.5.11).

The ordering of the orders (a. 6). The *sed contra* is the Dionysian sequence: in the highest hierarchy the Seraphim first, the Cherubim in the middle, the Thrones last; in the middle hierarchy the Dominations first, the Virtues in the middle, the Powers last; in the lowest the Principalities first, then the Archangels, and last the Angels (*ST* I q. 108 a. 6 s.c.; *CH* 7–9). Aquinas states the difference at once. "The grades of the angelic orders are assigned by Gregory ... and Dionysius ..., who agree as regards all except the 'Principalities' and 'Virtues.'" Dionysius places the Virtues beneath the Dominations and above the Powers, and the Principalities beneath the Powers and above the Archangels; Gregory places the Principalities between the Dominations and the Powers, and the Virtues between the Powers and the Archangels. "Each of these placings may claim authority from the words of the Apostle." To the Ephesians Paul numbers the middle orders ascending, "above all principality and power and virtue and dominion" (Eph 1:21), placing the Virtues between Powers and Dominations, as Dionysius does; to the Colossians he numbers them descending, "whether thrones, or dominations, or principalities, or powers" (Col 1:16), placing the Principalities between Dominations and Powers, as Gregory does (*ST* I q. 108 a. 6 co.; the two sequences are set out in Appendix B).

Aquinas examines Dionysius's arrangement first. The first hierarchy contemplates the ideas of things in God himself, the second in the universal causes, the third in their application to particular effects. "And because God is the end not only of the angelic ministrations, but also of the whole creation, it belongs to the first hierarchy to consider the end; to the middle one belongs the universal disposition of what is to be done; and to the last belongs the application of this disposition to the effect, which is the carrying out of the work." Dionysius therefore places in the first hierarchy

the orders named from their relation to God, in the middle those whose names denote "a certain kind of common government or disposition," and in the last those whose names denote "the execution of the work." Within the first, as God is the end of creatures "as the leader is the end of an army," Aquinas finds the likeness of a court: "there are some who enjoy the dignity of being able with familiarity to approach the king or leader; others in addition are privileged to know his secrets; and others above these ever abide with him, in a close union." So the Thrones receive God familiarly in themselves, knowing immediately the types of things in him, which belongs to the whole first hierarchy; "the 'Cherubim' know the Divine secrets supereminently; and the 'Seraphim' excel in what is the supreme excellence of all, in being united to God Himself." In government the Dominations appoint what is to be done, the Virtues give the power of carrying it out, and the Powers order how what has been commanded can be carried out by others. In execution, which consists in announcing divine things, there are leaders, "as in singing, the precentors; and in war, generals and officers," who are the Principalities; those who simply execute, the Angels; and between them the Archangels (*ST* I q. 108 a. 6 co.).

The arrangement is "quite a reasonable one," for "the highest in an inferior order always has affinity to the lowest in the higher order; as the lowest animals are near to the plants." Here Aquinas lifts the eye to the highest order of all. "Now the first order is that of the Divine Persons, which terminates in the Holy Ghost, Who is Love proceeding, with Whom the highest order of the first hierarchy has affinity, denominated as it is from the fire of love." The Thrones, lowest of the first hierarchy, are akin to the Dominations, being so called, according to Gregory, "because through them God accomplishes His judgments," and enlightened so as to enlighten the second hierarchy immediately; and the Powers are akin to the Principalities, who preside "over the government of peoples and kingdoms," the first and principal of the divine ministrations, "for the good of a nation is more divine than the good of one man"; "and hence it is written, 'The prince of the kingdom of the Persians resisted me' (Daniel 10:13)" (*ST* I q. 108 a. 6 co.).

Gregory's arrangement is "also reasonable." Since the Dominations appoint the divine ministrations, the orders under them are arranged according to the things in which those ministrations are exercised, and Aquinas takes the order of those things from Augustine. Augustine's text reads: "as the more gross and inferior bodies are governed in due order by the more subtle and powerful ones, so all bodies are governed by the living spirit; and the living spirit devoid of reason, by the reasonable living spirit; and the reasonable living spirit that makes default and sins, by the living and reasonable spirit that is pious and just; and that by God Himself" (*De Trinitate* III.4.9). So after the Dominations come the Principalities, "who rule even over good spirits; then the 'Powers,' who coerce the evil spirits; even as evil-doers are coerced by earthly powers" (Rom 13:3–4); then the Virtues, "which have power over corporeal nature in the working of miracles"; and then the Archangels and Angels, "who announce to men either great things above reason, or small things within the purview of reason" (*ST* I q. 108 a. 6 co.). Gregory's own homily defines the Principalities as those *qui ipsis quoque bonis angelorum spiritibus praesunt, qui subjectis aliis dum quaeque sunt agenda disponunt, eis ad explenda divina ministeria principantur*, and the Powers as those to whose authority the adverse powers are subject, *quorum potestate refrenantur, ne corda hominum tantum tentare praevaleant, quantum volunt* (*Hom. in Ev.* 34.10).

The replies settle the ranking of knowledge and love. The orders named from presiding are not the highest, because "the angel's subjection to God is greater than their presiding over inferior things; and the latter is derived from the former" (ad 1). The nearness to God signified by the Thrones belongs to the Cherubim and Seraphim more excellently (ad 2). And though knowledge seems to come before love, the Seraphim stand above the Cherubim: "knowledge takes place accordingly as the thing known is in the knower; but love as the lover is united to the object loved. Now higher things are in a nobler way in themselves than in lower things; whereas lower things are in higher things in a nobler way than they are in themselves. Therefore to know lower things is better than to love them; and to love the higher things, God above all, is better than to know them" (ad 3; on the angels' love, §11). Of the two arrangements Aquinas concludes: "A careful comparison will show that little or no difference exists in reality between the dispositions of the orders according to Dionysius and Gregory." Gregory's Principalities, presiding over good spirits, answer to Dionysius's Virtues, which give efficacy to the lower spirits; and Gregory's Virtues, working miracles, answer to Dionysius's Principalities, "for to work miracles holds the first place in the Divine ministrations; since thereby the way is prepared for the announcements of the 'Archangels' and the 'Angels' " (ad 4).

The *Summa contra gentiles* gives the fullest form of the same architecture. The highest intellects receive the reason of the order of providence in the last end, which is the divine goodness, and these are the Seraphim, *quasi ardentes vel incendentes, quia per incendium designari solet intensio amoris vel desiderii, quae sunt de fine*; the second know it in the divine form itself, the Cherubim, *quod interpretatur scientiae plenitudo: scientia enim per formam scibilis perficitur*; the third consider the disposition of the divine judgments in itself, the Thrones, *nam per thronum potestas iudiciaria designatur*, as it is written, "thou hast sat on the throne, who judgest justice" (Ps 9:5) (*SCG* III.80). The middle hierarchy knows the order of providence in universal causes: the Dominations distribute it to many

executors, *dominorum enim est praecipere quid alii exequantur*; the Virtues multiply it into various effects, and to them belong the motion of the heavens and the working of miracles, *nam ista sunt sublimissima in divinis ministeriis*; the Powers keep the established order unconfused by restraining what could disturb it. The lowest are set over human affairs: the Principalities over the common good of cities and nations, so that *dispositio regnorum, et mutatio dominationis a gente in gentem, ad ministerium huius ordinis pertinere oportet*; the Archangels over a human good that belongs to one yet serves many, *sicut ea quae sunt fidei, et cultus divinus*, as Gabriel announced to the Virgin the Incarnation of the Word, *ab omnibus credendam*; the Angels over the good of each single man, whence they are called the guardians of men, "For he hath given his angels charge over thee" (Ps 90[91]:11). To those who look carefully, Gregory's arrangement differs little (*sed, diligenter inspicientibus, utraque ordinatio in modico differt*), and both have the authority of the Apostle. And the chapter closes with the law that binds the whole: *Est autem in omnibus ordinatis virtutibus hoc commune, quod in vi superioris virtutis omnes inferiores agunt. Unde id quod diximus ad Seraphim ordinem pertinere, omnes inferiores ex virtute ipsius exequuntur* (*SCG* III.80). What the Seraphim are, every lower order carries out in the power of the Seraphim.

The commentary on the *Sentences* had judged more sharply between the two masters: *ordinatio Dionysii est rationabilior*, since Dionysius distinguishes the second hierarchy from the third as universal from particular, unlimited from limited; *Gregorius autem non multum intendit ordinare, sed numerare*, though his order too can be taken from the exterior acts and from conformity to our hierarchy, in which those who have prelacy stand above private persons (*In II Sent.* d. 9 q. 1 a. 3 ad 7). The same article reasons the orders of each hierarchy differently from the *Summa*. The first hierarchy is numbered by three acts of the soul's fruition of God: to hold, which perfects memory, and so the Thrones, in whom God sits and rests; to see, which perfects intellect, and so the Cherubim; to love, which perfects will, and so the Seraphim, first because *amor facit interiora amati penetrari*. The second is numbered by the order of peace in a commonwealth: a sentence determining what is due to each, which belongs to the Powers; efficacy, so that nothing determined is impossible to execute, which belongs to the Virtues, as secular laws must be armed to have coercive force; and rightness under one who directs, which belongs to the Dominations, *sicut architector in mechanicis*. The third is numbered by limited power: over a province, the Principalities, as the prince of the Persians; over one man, the Angels, *quorum est etiam singulos custodire*; over a good of many fulfilled through one person, the Archangels, *sicut Gabriel qui nuntiavit nativitatem Christi, et Joannis Baptistae* (*In II Sent.* d. 9 q. 1 a. 3).

The Latin tradition before Aquinas had carried the two arrangements side by side. The Master names Dionysius as the author of the three triads and then lists them in the order Gregory preached: *superiores: Seraphim, Cherubim, Throni; medii: Dominationes, Principatus, Potestates; inferiores: Virtutes, Archangeli, Angeli* (*Sent.* II d. 9 c. 1). Bernard, in the passage above, ascends through Gregory's sequence. Isidore sets the Dominations above both Virtues and Principalities, *qui etiam Virtutibus et Principatibus praeeminent* (*Etym.* VII.5.20). Both orderings thus passed into the tradition side by side; Aquinas judged that their difference touches the arrangement of the names more than the reality of the offices.

The orders remain after the Judgment (a. 7). The *sed contra* is the song of Deborah, "the stars, remaining in their order and courses" (Judg 5:20), "which is applied to the angels." Two things are considered in the angelic orders, "the distinction of grades, and the execution of their offices." The distinction of grades follows nature and grace, and both remain, "for these differences of natures cannot be taken from them unless they themselves be corrupted"; "the difference of glory will also ever remain in them according to the difference of preceding merit." The execution of the offices "will to a certain degree remain after the Day of Judgment, and to a certain degree will cease. It will cease accordingly as their offices are directed towards leading others to their end; but it will remain, accordingly as it agrees with the attainment of the end. Thus also the various ranks of soldiers have different duties to perform in battle and in triumph" (*ST* I q. 108 a. 7 co.). When the Apostle says that Christ will "have brought to nought all principality and power and virtue" when he delivers the kingdom to the Father (1 Cor 15:24), he speaks of their office of leading others to the end, "because when the end is attained, it is no longer necessary to tend towards the end" (ad 1).

The second reply is a small treatise on the dependence of knowledge. In us, the knowledge of a conclusion depends on the middle terms not only in its first acquisition "but also as regards the keeping of the knowledge acquired," for whoever forgets one of the middle terms may keep opinion or belief about the conclusion, but not science. "So, since the inferior angels know the types of the Divine works by the light of the superior angels, their knowledge depends on the light of the superior angels not only as regards the acquisition of knowledge, but also as regards the preserving of the knowledge possessed"; and so after the Judgment, though they will not progress in the knowledge of some things, "still this will not prevent their being enlightened by the superior angels" (ad 2). Those already saved "will be enlightened through the angelic ministry" (ad 3). The commentary on the *Sentences* states the same distinction: the

essentials of hierarchy remain for ever, *quia unus alium illuminabit, purgabit, et perficiet*; the prelacy of the orders by which men are led back to God through them will cease, *cessante statu viatorum* (*In II Sent.* d. 11 q. 2 a. 6).

Men are taken up into the angelic orders (a. 8). The *sed contra* is the Lord's word of the saints, "they . . . shall be as the angels of God in heaven" (Matt 22:30). Considered only by grade of nature, "men can in no way be assumed into the angelic orders; for the natural distinction will always remain." Some, considering this, denied that men could ever be made equal to the angels; "but this is erroneous, contradicting as it does the promise of Christ saying that the children of the resurrection will be equal to the angels in heaven (Luke 20:36)." In Douay's words the children of the resurrection "are equal to the angels and are the children of God." "For whatever belongs to nature is the material part of an order; whilst that which perfects is from grace which depends on the liberality of God, and not on the order of nature. Therefore by the gift of grace men can merit glory in such a degree as to be equal to the angels, in each of the angelic grades; and this implies that men are taken up into the orders of the angels." Others say that not all the saved are taken up into the orders, "but only virgins or the perfect; and that the other will constitute their own order, as it were, corresponding to the whole society of the angels"; this is against Augustine, who teaches "that 'there will not be two societies of men and angels, but only one; because the beatitude of all is to cleave to God alone' " (*ST* I q. 108 a. 8 co.). Augustine's page reads: "those who have this good in common, have, both with Him to whom they draw near, and with one another, a holy fellowship, and form one city of God—His living sacrifice, and His living temple," of which a part "is hereafter to be united to the immortal angels, and which at present is being gathered from among mortal men" (*De civitate Dei* XII.9).

The replies mark the limits. Grace is given to the angels in proportion to their nature, but not so to men; "so, as the inferior angels cannot be transferred to the natural grade of the superior, neither can they be transferred to the superior grade of grace; whereas men can ascend to the grade of grace, but not of nature" (ad 1). The angels, by the order of nature, stand between us and God, and by common law administer human affairs and all bodies; holy men after this life remain of our nature, and by common law "do not administer human affairs, 'nor do they interfere in the things of the living,' as Augustine says"; yet "by a certain special dispensation it is sometimes granted to some of the saints to exercise these offices; by working miracles, by coercing the demons, or by doing something of that kind" (ad 2). Augustine had concluded from the miracles at the shrines of the martyrs that "it must needs be by a Divine power that the Martyrs are interested in affairs of the living, from the very fact that for the departed to be by their proper nature interested in affairs of the living is impossible" (*De cura pro mortuis gerenda* 16.19). Finally, it is not erroneous to say that wicked men are transferred to the penalty of the demons; the error is that "the demons are nothing but souls of the dead; and it is this that Chrysostom rejects" (ad 3). Chrysostom, preaching on the demoniacs among the tombs, says that the demons "would fain suggest to the multitude a pernicious opinion, as though the souls of the dead become demons, which God forbid we should ever admit into our conception" (*Hom. in Matt.* 28.3).

Gregory's homily on the ten drachmas is the great patristic text of this article. The woman had ten drachmas because there are nine orders of angels, and man was created the tenth, *ut compleretur electorum numerus* (*Hom. in Ev.* 34.6); and since the heavenly city is made of angels and men, men are assigned to the several choirs by the likeness of their lives, *in eorum sortem per conversationis similitudinem deputantur*, from those who faithfully announce little things to their brethren, who run into the number of the Angels, to those who burn with contemplation and kindle others, whose heart, *in igne conversum*, gives light and burns as the Seraphim's (34.11–12; the whole ladder is expounded at §7.1).

The Master receives Gregory's teaching and rejects the reading by which the lost drachma would make a tenth order: *non esse de hominibus formandum decimum ordinem, tanquam novem sint Angelorum et decimus hominum, sed homines pro qualitate meritorum statuendos in ordinibus Angelorum*; the tenth order is said *compleri ex hominibus* in the sense that what fell among the angels is restored from men (*Sent.* II d. 9 c. 6). Aquinas's commentary on the passage sets out three positions. The Greek commentator Eustratius held that no soul can hope to reach the operation of the separate intellects, so that the glorified would form a tenth order beneath the nine; *Sed haec positio est contraria dictis sanctorum, et videtur sapere haeresim, cum etiam beata virgo super choros Angelorum exaltata sit*, unless it be taken of what man can reach by his natural powers. A second position assigns virgins, or the perfect, to the angelic orders and the rest to a tenth; but many who were not virgins, *ut Petrus et Magdalena*, surpass many virgins, and since from men and angels there is to be one Church and one hierarchy, the number of orders, three by three as a trace of the uncreated Trinity, will not be increased by men. *Unde tertia positio plus mihi placet, quae etiam dictis sanctorum magis consonat, scilicet quod omnes electi assumantur ad ordines Angelorum, quidam ad superiores, quidam ad inferiores, quidam ad medios pro diversitate suorum meritorum; sed beata virgo Maria super omnes* (*In II Sent.* d. 9 q. 1 a. 8). Man's merit can raise him so high, the commentary adds, because it is in a way more efficacious than the angel's: for its difficulty, for the continual increase of grace in a longer way of pilgrimage,

and because our merits draw their efficacy from the merit of Christ, *nusquam enim Angelos apprehendit, sed semen Abrahae* (ad 2; Heb 2:16). The Old Law's hierarchy was the way into the Church's and was taken up into it; so ours is the way into the heavenly, *unde in patria non erit alia hierarchia hominum et Angelorum, sed una et eadem et homines in ordines Angelorum distribuentur* (ad 4). On the Blessed Virgin above the choirs, see §19.

On the number of men to be taken up the Doctors hold two positions. Gregory teaches that as many men will ascend as there remained elect angels: *ad quam tantum credimus humanum genus ascendere, quantos illic contigit electos angelos remansisse* (*Hom. in Ev.* 34.11), and the Master adopts it, *Non enim iuxta numerum eorum qui ceciderunt, sed eorum qui permanserunt, homines ad beatitudinem admittuntur* (*Sent.* II d. 9 c. 7). Others hold that men replace the number of the fallen, and the Master reads Augustine that way. Augustine teaches that the restored part of mankind "should fill up the gap which the rebellion and fall of the devils had left in the company of the angels," so that the city of God "shall not be spoiled of any of the number of her citizens, shall perhaps reign over even a more abundant population"; "We do not know the number either of the saints or of the devils" (*Enchiridion* 29). Aquinas refers the number to God, as Augustine does: whether as many men are taken up as fell, or as stood, or both, or more, or fewer, *ille scit cui soli cognitus est numerus electorum, in superna felicitate locandus* (*In II Sent.* d. 9 q. 1 a. 8).

Summa: *ST* I q. 108 aa. 1–8; parallels *In II Sent.* d. 9 q. 1 aa. 1–8, d. 11 q. 2 a. 6; *Summa contra gentiles* III.80.
Grade: Common teaching that the angels are nine orders in three hierarchies (aa. 1–2; the names from Scripture, Isa 6:2, Ezek 10, Col 1:16, Eph 1:21, Jude 9; the triads from Dionysius, *CH* 6; Gregory, *Hom. in Ev.* 34.7; Peter Lombard, *Sent.* II d. 9 c. 1). Thomist position on the ground of the three hierarchies in three grades of universal knowledge (a. 1) and on the reduction of each hierarchy to beginning, middle, and end (a. 2). Common teaching that there are many angels in each order, with first, middle, and last (a. 3; *CH* 10.2); Thomist position that, known perfectly, each angel has his own order (a. 3; *ST* I q. 50 a. 4). Thomist position that the orders are distinguished completively by grace and dispositively by nature (a. 4); the Master teaches that the orders came with the gifts given to those who stood (*Sent.* II d. 9 c. 4). Common teaching that the names signify properties of the orders (a. 5; Dionysius, *CH* 7–9; Gregory, *Hom. in Ev.* 34.8–10). Disputed: the ordering of the middle orders, Dionysius placing the Virtues fifth and the Principalities seventh, Gregory the Principalities fifth and the Virtues seventh (a. 6), with Aquinas's judgment that they differ little in reality (a. 6 ad 4; *SCG* III.80) and his earlier preference for Dionysius (*In II Sent.* d. 9 q. 1 a. 3 ad 7). Common teaching that the orders remain for ever in glory (a. 7); Thomist position on the offices that cease and remain. Scripture teaches that the children of the resurrection are equal to the angels (Luke 20:36). Common teaching that the elect are taken up into the angelic orders according to their merits, not into a tenth order (a. 8; Gregory, *Hom. in Ev.* 34.11; Lombard, *Sent.* II d. 9 c. 6; *In II Sent.* d. 9 q. 1 a. 8), and that the Blessed Virgin is exalted above all the choirs (*In II Sent.* d. 9 q. 1 a. 8). Disputed whether the elect of men equal the number of angels who stood or of those who fell (Gregory and the Master; Augustine, *Enchiridion* 29, as the Master reads him); the number is known to God alone.
Authorities: Dionysius, *CH* 6 (*sed contra* of a. 1; a. 3 co.), *CH* 7 (a. 1 co., a. 5 co., ad 5–6, *sed contra* of a. 6), *CH* 1 and 3 (a. 1 co.), *CH* 8 and 9 (a. 5 ad 1, ad 3–4), *CH* 10 (a. 3 ad 1), *CH* 5 (a. 5 ad 1); *EH* 5 (a. 2 obj. 3) and *DN* 12 (a. 5 ad 2), cited by Aquinas; Augustine, *De civitate Dei* XII.1 and XII.9 (a. 1 co., a. 4 obj. 2, a. 8 co.), *De Trinitate* III.4.9 (a. 6 co.), *De cura pro mortuis gerenda* 16.19 (a. 8 ad 2), *Enchiridion* 29 and 58; Gregory, *Hom. in Ev.* 34.6–12 (a. 5 co., ad 3–4; a. 6 co., obj. 4); Peter Lombard, *Sent.* II d. 9 cc. 1–7 (*sed contra* of a. 4; a. 2 obj. 2); Chrysostom, *Hom. in Matt.* 28.3 (a. 8 obj. 3); Isidore, *Etym.* VII.5; Bernard, *De consideratione* V.4–5; Eph 1:20–21, Col 1:16, Isa 6:2–3, Jude 9, Matt 11:11, Judg 5:20, 1 Cor 15:24, Heb 1:14, Matt 22:30, Luke 20:36, Rom 13:2–4, Ps 67[68]:26, Dan 10:13, Ps 9:5, Ps 90[91]:11, Wis 11:21; Aristotle, *Metaph.* XII and *Ethics* I (cited by Aquinas).
Contrary opinion: Those who place a "supercelestial" hierarchy in the divine Persons (a. 1); the objection that the orders are by grace only (a. 4 obj. 1–3); Gregory's placing of the Principalities and Virtues, received by the Master under Dionysius's name (a. 6; *Sent.* II d. 9 c. 1); those who denied that men can be made equal to the angels, Eustratius's tenth order beneath the nine, and the assignment of virgins or the perfect alone to the angelic orders (a. 8; *In II Sent.* d. 9 q. 1 a. 8); those who took the demons for souls of the dead (a. 8 ad 3; Chrysostom).

15.2 The Ordering of the Bad Angels (*ST* I q. 109)

The four articles ask whether there are orders among the demons; whether there is precedence among them; whether one enlightens another; and whether they are subject to the precedence of the good angels (*ST* I q. 109 pr.). Scripture speaks of the fallen as an army with a head: "Michael and his angels fought with the dragon, and the dragon fought, and his angels" (Apoc 12:7); the everlasting fire "was prepared for the devil and his angels" (Matt 25:41); the Pharisees

name "Beelzebub the prince of the devils," and the Lord answers with the image of a kingdom, "how then shall his kingdom stand?" (Matt 12:24–26).

There are orders among the demons (a. 1). The *sed contra* is the Apostle: "our wrestling is not against flesh and blood; but against principalities and powers, against the rulers of the world of this darkness" (Eph 6:12). Order among the angels is considered according to the grade of nature and according to the grade of grace, and grace has two states, imperfect, the state of merit, and perfect, the state of glory. "If therefore we consider the angelic orders in the light of the perfection of glory, then the demons are not in the angelic orders, and never were. But if we consider them in relation to imperfect grace, in that view the demons were at the time in the orders of angels, but fell away from them," since all the angels were created in grace (*ST* I q. 62 a. 3). "But if we consider them in the light of nature, in that view they are still in those orders; because they have not lost their natural gifts; as Dionysius says (Div. Nom. iv)" (*ST* I q. 109 a. 1 co.). The *Divine Names* says it in a sentence of great dignity: "the whole good which was given to them was not changed, but themselves fell from the whole good given. And the angelic gifts which were given to them, we by no means affirm that they were changed, but they exist, and are complete, and all luminous, although the demons themselves do not see, through having blunted their powers of seeing good" (*DN* 4.23).

The replies preserve the goodness of the created order even in the fallen. Aquinas cites Augustine that order belongs to the good as do mode and species; but "good can exist without evil; whereas evil cannot exist without good ... so there is order in the demons, as possessing a good nature" (ad 1). Their ordering is not a holy principality on their side, "because they abuse their nature for evil"; but on the side of God who orders them "it is sacred; for He uses the demons for Himself" (ad 2). The fallen are never called Seraphim, Thrones, or Dominations, for "the name 'Seraphim' is given from the ardor of charity; and the name 'Thrones' from the Divine indwelling; and the name 'Dominations' imports a certain liberty; all of which are opposed to sin" (ad 3).

The third objection records that "the demons fell from every one of the angelic orders; as is commonly supposed" (*ut communiter dicitur*). The Master teaches it: *De ordine namque superiori Lucifer ille fuit, quo nullus dignior conditus est. Apostolus etiam principatus et potestates tenebrarum nominat, ostendens de ordinibus illis cecidisse* (*Sent.* II d. 9 c. 4). Gregory reads the nine precious stones that covered the prince of Tyre (Ezek 28:13) as the nine orders, which the first angel wore as the vesture of his adornment and outshone; the holes pierced in the stones to be bound with gold are the capacity for love, which in him pride left unfilled, while the others, bound together by charity, received on his fall the gift never to be loosened from the ornament of the King (*Moralia* XXXII.23.48; §7.1). Aquinas's commentary records that Augustine left undetermined whether the first sinner was the highest of all, *eo quod de his quae pertinent ad Angelos, pauca voluit asserendo tradere*, but that Gregory determines expressly that he was higher than all, *cui consentit communis sententia* (*In II Sent.* d. 6 q. 1 a. 1). The first sin and the rank of the first sinner are treated at §13.1.

There is precedence among the demons (a. 2). The *sed contra* is the gloss on 1 Cor 15:24: "While the world lasts, angels will preside over angels, men over men, and demons over demons." "Since action follows the nature of a thing, where natures are subordinate, actions also must be subordinate to each other," as the movements of lower bodies are subject to those of the heavenly. The demons are by natural order subject to one another; "and hence their actions are subject to the action of those above them, and this is what we mean by precedence ... So the very natural disposition of the demons requires that there should be authority among them. This agrees too with Divine wisdom, which leaves nothing inordinate, which 'reacheth from end to end mightily, and ordereth all things sweetly' (Wisdom 8:1)" (*ST* I q. 109 a. 2 co.).

The objections are drawn from the nature of evil, and the replies expose it. Their authority "is not founded on their justice, but on the justice of God ordering all things" (ad 1). "Among the proud there are always contentions" (Prov 13:10), yet the demons obey one another, for their concord "does not arise from mutual friendships, but from their common wickedness whereby they hate men, and fight against God's justice. For it belongs to wicked men to be joined to and subject to those whom they see to be stronger, in order to carry out their own wickedness" (ad 2). And rule among them is no reward: "That the inferior are subject to the superior, is not for the benefit of the superior, but rather to their detriment; because since to do evil belongs in a pre-eminent degree to unhappiness, it follows that to preside in evil is to be more unhappy" (ad 3).

The commentary on the *Sentences* gives three grounds for the order among the demons, their nature, the divine wisdom, and their own wickedness: from nature some were higher than others, and sin does not take nature away; the power of the demons to exercise men and to punish the damned is from God, *et ideo ordinata per gradus praelationis*

debet esse; and because they are enemies of mankind, *amicos autem esse eos qui unius inimici sunt, consequitur*, they are confederated to attack in concord and order. Its *sed contra* is the scales of Leviathan, of which it is written that "One is joined to another, and not so much as any air can come between them: They stick one to another and they hold one another fast, and shall not be separated" (Job 41:7–8 [41:8–9]). The replies add that the demons have no benevolence toward one another, only concord for a deed; that some form of right can remain in acts of injustice, *sicut patet in latronibus, qui alios injuste spoliantes, inter se aliquam formam justitiae habent, dum sibi invicem fidem servant*; and that the higher in office bear the heavier torment, as it is written, "the mighty shall be mightily tormented" (Wis 6:7) (*In II Sent.* d. 6 q. 1 a. 4). Gregory names the head of this kingdom from the last verse of the Lord's speech to Job, "He is a king over all the children of pride" (Job 41:25 [41:26]): Leviathan "smote himself with pride alone," and by pride overthrew the men who followed him (*Moralia* XXXIV.23.47).

There is no enlightenment among the demons (a. 3). The *sed contra* is Ecclesiasticus: "What can be made clean by the unclean?" (Ecclus 34:4); enlightenment goes with cleansing and perfecting, and cleansing does not befit the demons. "Enlightenment properly speaking is the manifestation of the truth in reference to God, Who enlightens every intellect"; another manifestation of truth is speech. "Now the demon's perversity does not lead one to order another to God, but rather to lead away from the Divine order; and so one demon does not enlighten another; but one can make known his mental concept to another by way of speech" (*ST* I q. 109 a. 3 co.; on speech, §14.2). The greater natural light of the higher demons gives no ground of enlightenment, since in natural knowledge no manifestation is needed among angels or demons: "they know from the first all that belongs to their natural knowledge" (ad 2; §10.2).

The good angels rule the bad (a. 4). The *sed contra* gathers Augustine, that "the treacherous and sinful spirit of life is ruled by the rational, pious, and just spirit of life," and Gregory, that "the Powers are the angels to whose charge are subjected the hostile powers" (*ST* I q. 109 a. 4 s.c.; Augustine, *De Trinitate* III.4.9; Gregory, *Hom. in Ev.* 34.10). "The whole order of precedence is first and originally in God; and it is shared by creatures accordingly as they are the nearer to God." The greatest perfection, which brings a creature nearest to God, belongs to those who enjoy God, as the holy angels do, "of which perfection the demons are deprived; and therefore the good angels have precedence over the bad, and these are ruled by them" (*ST* I q. 109 a. 4 co.).

The replies describe the government of the fallen with judicial exactness. "Many things concerning Divine mysteries are made known by the holy angels to the bad angels, whenever the Divine justice requires the demons to do anything for the punishment of the evil; or for the trial of the good; as in human affairs the judge's assessors make known his sentence to the executioners." On the side of the holy angels such a revelation is an enlightenment, since they direct it to God; on the side of the demons it is not, "for these do not direct it to God; but to the fulfilment of their own wickedness" (ad 1). "The holy angels are the ministers of the Divine wisdom. Hence as the Divine wisdom permits some evil to be done by bad angels or men, for the sake of the good that follows; so also the good angels do not entirely restrain the bad from inflicting harm" (ad 2). And an angel lower in nature presides over demons higher in nature, "because the power of Divine justice to which the good angels cleave, is stronger than the natural power of the angels," as among men "the spiritual man judgeth all things" (1 Cor 2:15) (ad 3). Bernard gives the same office its pastoral face: "Let us suppose that the Powers are their superiors, and that by their vigour the power of darkness is checked, and the malignant spirits of this lower air are restrained, that they may not do harm to their full intent: that they may not be able to show their malignity, except for beneficial ends" (*De consideratione* V.4.8). "And that great dragon was cast out, that old serpent, who is called the devil and Satan ... and his angels were thrown down with him" (Apoc 12:9). The assaults of the demons and the defence of men are treated at §18.

Summa: *ST* I q. 109 aa. 1–4; parallels *In II Sent.* d. 6 q. 1 aa. 1, 4.
Grade: Scripture teaches that the fallen angels have a head and form a kingdom (Matt 12:26; Matt 25:41; Apoc 12:7–9; Eph 6:12). Common teaching that there is order and precedence among the demons, founded on their unlost natural gifts and on the divine justice (aa. 1–2; *DN* 4.23; the gloss on 1 Cor 15:24), and that the good angels rule the bad (a. 4; Augustine, *De Trin.* III.4.9; Gregory, *Hom. in Ev.* 34.10). Common teaching that some fell from every order and that the first sinner was the highest of all (a. 1 obj. 3; Gregory, *Moralia* XXXII.23.47–48; Lombard, *Sent.* II d. 9 c. 4; *In II Sent.* d. 6 q. 1 a. 1, recording Augustine's reserve). Thomist position that the demons remain in the orders by nature but never were in them by glory (a. 1), that their ordering is sacred on God's side only (a. 1 ad 2), and that among them there is speech but no enlightenment (a. 3).

Authorities: Eph 6:12 (*sed contra* of a. 1); the gloss on 1 Cor 15:24 (*sed contra* of a. 2); Ecclus 34:4 (*sed contra* of a. 3); Augustine, *De Trinitate* III.4.9, and Gregory, *Hom. in Ev.* 34.10 (*sed contra* of a. 4); Dionysius, *DN* 4.23 (a. 1 co.); Augustine, *De natura boni* (a. 1 obj. 1, cited by Aquinas); Gregory, *Moralia* XXXII.23.47–48 and XXXIV.23.47; Peter Lombard, *Sent.* II d. 9 c. 4; Bernard, *De consideratione* V.4.8; Prov 13:10, Wis 8:1, 1 Cor 2:15, Job 41:7–8 [41:8–9], 41:25 [41:26], Wis 6:7, Ezek 28:13, Matt 12:24–26, Matt 25:41, Apoc 12:7–9; Aristotle, *Ethics* III and X (a. 4 ad 3, cited by Aquinas).
Contrary opinion: The objections that order belongs to the good alone and that there can be no hierarchy where there is no holiness (a. 1 obj. 1–2); that there is no precedence without concord and justice (a. 2 obj. 1–3); that the higher demons, having natural light in abundance, enlighten the lower (a. 3 obj. 1–2); that negligence would be charged to good angels presiding over the bad (a. 4 obj. 2). Augustine, as Aquinas reports him, leaves undetermined whether the first sinner was the highest of all (*In II Sent.* d. 6 q. 1 a. 1).

16 The Angels in the Government of the World

God governs all things, and he governs them in a manner worthy of his goodness. Aquinas lays down the principle in the treatise on the divine government. The plan of government (*ratio gubernationis*), which is providence itself, God holds immediately, down to the least particular; its execution (*executio*) he carries out in part through other things, because it is a greater perfection for a thing to be good in itself and also a cause of goodness in others. So God governs *ut quasdam aliarum in gubernando causas instituat, sicut si aliquis magister discipulos suos non solum scientes faceret, sed etiam aliorum doctores*: as a master who makes his pupils not only learned but teachers of others (*ST* I q. 103 a. 6). The angels stand first among these secondary governors. Having shown how one angel acts on another by illumination, speech, and hierarchy (qq. 106–109; §§14, 15), Aquinas asks how the angels move bodies and how they move men (*ST* I q. 106 pr.). Question 110 treats *de praesidentia Angelorum super creaturam corporalem*, the presidency of the angels over the corporeal creature; q. 111 their action on man by their natural power; q. 112 their mission; q. 113 their guardianship (*ST* I q. 111 pr.; §17). The assault of the demons, the same natural powers turned to harm by a perverse will, closes the treatise in q. 114 (§18).

Scripture shows the angels at this work from end to end. They are "mighty in strength, and execute his word, hearkening to the voice of his orders," the "ministers of his that do his will" (Ps 102[103]:20–21). The Apocalypse sees "four angels standing on the four corners of the earth, holding the four winds of the earth" (Apoc 7:1), "the angel of the waters" (Apoc 16:5), and an angel "who had power over fire" (Apoc 14:18). At the pond called Probatica "an angel of the Lord descended at certain times into the pond and the water was moved" (John 5:2–4). The Law was received "by the disposition of angels" (Acts 7:53), "ordained by angels in the hand of a mediator" (Gal 3:19), and the Apostle gathers the whole office into one question: "Are they not all ministering spirits, sent to minister for them who shall receive the inheritance of salvation?" (Heb 1:14; Douay throughout). The Fathers read these texts as a doctrine of providence. The visible world is ordered through the invisible; the angels serve that order as intelligent ministers; and nothing in it escapes the will of God, who commands the good angels and permits, restrains, and uses the wicked.

16.1 Augustine: The Corporeal Creation Ruled through the Spiritual

The third book of Augustine's *De Trinitate* is the patristic source of the whole question, and Aquinas draws the *sed contra* of three articles of q. 110 from it. Augustine asks whether, in the appearances of God to the fathers before the Incarnation, a creature was formed for the purpose, or whether "angels, who already existed, were so sent as to speak in the person of God" (*De Trin.* III.1.4). To answer he sets out how God governs bodies at all.

The will of God and the order of causes. The principle stands at the head: "the power of the will of God reaches through the spiritual creature even to visible and sensible effects of the corporeal creature" (III.1.6). Augustine makes it plain with a wise man whose rational soul consults the unchangeable truth and, at its bidding, wears out his body in some work of mercy and falls ill. One physician blames dryness, another moisture; both "pronounce concerning proximate causes only, that is, corporeal ones." Behind the illness lies the toil the soul undertook, and behind the toil the command of wisdom, "so nothing else but the will of God would be found most truly to be the first cause of that illness" (III.3.8). What holds of one wise man would hold of a city ruled by the wise. Because it does not yet hold on earth, Augustine raises the mind to the heavenly country. There the will of God, "who maketh

His angels spirits, and His ministers a flaming fire," presides "among spirits which are joined in perfect peace and friendship, and combined in one will by a kind of spiritual fire of charity," and "thence diffuses itself through all things by certain most perfectly ordered movements of the creature; first spiritual, then corporeal" (III.4.9). The sentence Aquinas compresses into the *sed contra* of *ST* I q. 110 a. 1 follows (it is given in full at §5.10.7): as the grosser bodies are governed by the subtler, all bodies are governed by the spirit of life, and nothing is done visibly or sensibly except by command or permission from the interior palace of the supreme Governor. The Latin ladder runs *ita omnia corpora per spiritum vitae, et spiritus vitae irrationalis per spiritum vitae rationalem, et spiritus vitae rationalis desertor atque peccator per spiritum vitae rationalem pium et iustum.* The sinning spirit has its own rung. The demons stand inside the order of government, ruled by the just spirits and through them by God, and from the "interior palace" of the supreme Emperor, *de interiore invisibili atque intellegibili aula summi Imperatoris*, every visible event is either commanded or permitted.

The usual course and the miracle. The same divine power "administers the whole spiritual and corporeal creature" (III.5.11). God draws rain from the sea every year; the rain that answered Elias's prayer after long drought was a miracle. God works ordinarily through thunder; the thunder of Sinai, uttered so that "certain intimations were given by them," was a miracle. God draws the sap through the vine; the water made wine at Cana was a miracle. When such things happen "in a continuous kind of river of ever-flowing succession ... then they are called natural; when, for the admonition of men, they are thrust in by an unusual changeableness, then they are called miracles" (III.6.11). Augustine names the miracle by its rarity and its purpose of admonition. Aquinas will define it more strictly by its cause (*ST* I q. 110 a. 4).

The magicians and the finger of God. Why then can magic arts do the like, as when Pharaoh's wise men made serpents? Augustine turns the question to the gnats, where the same magicians failed and confessed, "This is the finger of God" (Exod 8:19). "And hence it is given us to understand that not even those angels and powers of the air that transgressed, who have been thrust down into that lowest darkness, as into a peculiar prison, from their habitation in that lofty ethereal purity, through whom magic arts have whatever power they have, can do anything except by power given from above" (III.7.12). That power is given for three ends: to deceive the deceitful, as against the Egyptians; to warn the faithful, lest they covet such things; and "for the exercising, proving, and manifesting of the patience of the righteous," as in Job.

The hidden seeds. Here stands the *sed contra* of *ST* I q. 110 a. 2: "Yet it is not on this account to be thought that the matter of visible things is subservient to the bidding of those wicked angels; but rather to that of God" (*Nec ideo putandum est istis transgressoribus angelis ad nutum servire hanc visibilium rerum materiam, sed Deo potius*, III.8.13). The wicked angels through whom the magicians made frogs and serpents did not create them. "But, in truth, some hidden seeds of all things that are born corporeally and visibly, are concealed in the corporeal elements of this world" (*occulta quaedam semina*), and the Creator of these invisible seeds is the Creator of all. As parents are not the creators of men nor farmers of corn, "so it is not right to think not only the bad but even the good angels to be creators, if, through the subtilty of their perception and body, they know the seeds of things which to us are more hidden, and scatter them secretly through fit temperings of the elements, and so furnish opportunities of producing things, and of accelerating their increase." This is the *sed contra* of *ST* I q. 110 a. 3. Augustine closes the paragraph with the law that governs all angelic action on bodies: the good angels do these things only as far as God commands, the evil only as far as he justly permits; the malice of their will is their own, the power they receive rightly (III.8.13; §5.10.7).

Augustine's phrase "perception and body" belongs to his reserve about the angels' bodies, on which he declines to decide whether they assume a garment of the elements or change their own (III.1.5); Aquinas's account of assumed bodies is in q. 51 (§9.1).

To create and to apply. Augustine then draws the distinction on which q. 110 turns. "For it is one thing to make and administer the creature from the innermost and highest turning-point of causation, which He alone does who is God the Creator; but quite another thing to apply some operation from without in proportion to the strength and faculties assigned to each by Him" (III.9.16). All things are already created "in a kind of texture of the elements," and "as mothers are pregnant with young, so the world itself is pregnant with the causes of things that are born." The angels, by the subtlety of their perception and the speed of their motion, apply these causes more quickly than

men can, and the quickness is itself a wonder to us (III.9.17). Their power has a double limit, and Augustine states it in an image:

> For we know that a man can walk, yet that he cannot do so if he is not permitted; but that he cannot fly, even if he be permitted. So those angels, also, are able to do certain things if they are permitted by more powerful angels, according to the supreme commandment of God; but cannot do certain other things, not even if they are permitted by them; because He does not permit from whom they have received such and such a measure of natural powers. (*De Trin.* III.9.18)

Some things the wicked angels could do by nature and cannot because they are not permitted; other things lie beyond their nature altogether. Aquinas takes the double limit into *De potentia*, where he explains that the demons are said to be bound (*ligari*) when they are hindered from what their nature could reach, and loosed when God's judgment permits it (*De pot.* q. 6 a. 5).

The theophanies wrought by angels. Beyond the usual course of nature there are signs "brought within reach of our senses in order to announce something from God" (III.10.19). The deed of an angel and the deed of a man may signify the same thing, and yet "there is a wide difference between the deed of the angel and the deed of the man. The former is both to be wondered at and to be understood, the latter only to be understood." Augustine likens it to "the name of God ... written both in gold and in ink": the gold is more precious, the thing signified one (III.10.20). He confesses the limit of his sight: "how the angels do these things, or rather, how God does these things by His angels, and how far He wills them to be done even by the bad angels, whether by permitting, or commanding, or compelling, from the hidden seat of His own supreme power; this I can neither penetrate by the sight of the eyes, nor make clear by assurance of reason, nor be carried on to comprehend it by reach of intellect" (III.10.21). Aquinas sets these words at the head of his disputed question on the powers of spiritual creatures and proceeds, as Augustine taught, *absque assertione et sententiae melioris praeiudicio* (*De pot.* q. 6 a. 3). What Augustine does affirm he affirms from Scripture: "all those appearances to the fathers ... were wrought through the creature. And if we cannot discern in what manner He wrought them by ministry of angels, yet we say that they were wrought by angels" (III.11.22). The proof is Hebrews, where "the word spoken by angels" (Heb 2:2) is set against the word spoken by the Son; Stephen, who says that there appeared to Moses "an angel in a flame of fire in a bush" and that the voice said, "I am the God of thy fathers" (Acts 7:30–32); the angel who called to Abraham on the mountain and said "for my sake" in the person of God (Gen 22:11–12); and the Law "received ... by the disposition of angels" (Acts 7:53; Gal 3:19). Why then is it written "The Lord said to Moses"? "Because, when the crier proclaims the words of the judge, it is not usually written in the record, so and so the crier said, but so and so the judge" (III.11.23). The book ends on its conclusion: the words and bodily appearances given to the fathers before the Incarnation, "when God was said to appear, were wrought by angels" (III.11.27).

Contemplating and commanding at once. In the *De Genesi ad litteram* Augustine states the same order as the angels' own share in providence: all bodily nature, all irrational life, and every weak or depraved will is subject to the exalted angels who enjoy God, and they are moved in time by his command without falling back from contemplation, *sed simul et illum sine loco ac tempore contemplantur, et eius in inferioribus iussa perficiunt* (*De Gen. ad litt.* VIII.24.45). In the *Eighty-Three Questions* he gives the rule Aquinas quotes for the holy doctors, that every visible thing in this world has an angelic power set over it (*De div. qq. 83* q. 79.1; both texts at §5.10.7).

16.2 How Angels Act on Bodies (*ST* I q. 110)

Four articles: whether the corporeal creature is governed by the angels; whether corporeal matter obeys the mere will of the angels; whether the angels by their own power can immediately move bodies locally; and whether the good or bad angels can work miracles (*ST* I q. 110 pr.).

The corporeal creature is governed by the angels (a. 1). The *sed contra* joins two Latin Doctors. Augustine says "that 'all bodies are ruled by the rational spirit of life' " (*De Trin.* III.4, as Aquinas compresses Augustine's ladder of causes), and Gregory "that 'in this visible world nothing takes place without the agency of the invisible creature' " (*Dial.* IV). Aquinas argues from a law common to human and natural affairs: "every particular

power is governed and ruled by the universal power; as, for example, the bailiff's power is governed by the power of the king." The superior angels, who have more universal knowledge, rule the inferior. The power of any body is more particular than that of any spirit, "for every corporeal form is a form individualized by matter, and determined to the 'here and now'; whereas immaterial forms are absolute and intelligible." Therefore "as the inferior angels who have the less universal forms, are ruled by the superior; so are all corporeal things ruled by the angels. This is not only laid down by the holy doctors, but also by all philosophers who admit the existence of incorporeal substances." A body has determinate actions but exercises them only when moved, "because it belongs to a body not to act unless moved" (ad 1). Aristotle gave the separate substances the heavenly motions alone, since he saw nothing in the lower world beyond what the heavens suffice to cause; but "because we assert that many things are done in the inferior bodies besides the natural corporeal actions," Aquinas concludes "that the angels possess an immediate presidency not only over the heavenly bodies, but also over the inferior bodies" (ad 2). The third reply sets the philosophers side by side. Plato set immaterial substances as the types of sensible things, each immediately over its own; Aristotle gave them only the universal agents, the heavens; Avicenna took a middle way, with one "active intelligence" over all lower bodies. "The holy doctors held with the Platonists that different spiritual substances were placed over corporeal things": Augustine in the *Eighty-Three Questions*, Damascene on the devil as one of the powers "who presided over the terrestrial order," and Origen on Balaam's ass (Num 22:23), that the world needs angels "who preside over beasts, and over the birth of animals, and trees, and plants" (*Hom. in Num.* 14, as Aquinas cites it). The reason is not that one angel is fitted by nature to animals and another to plants, "because each angel, even the least, has a higher and more universal power than any kind of corporeal things: the reason is to be sought in the order of Divine wisdom, Who places different rulers over different things." These charges do not multiply the orders beyond nine, for orders are distinguished by general offices; as the angels set over the demons belong to the Powers, "so to the order of the 'virtues' do those angels seem to belong who preside over purely corporeal creatures; for by their ministration miracles are sometimes performed" (ad 3).

Gregory's sentence belongs to his proof in the *Dialogues* that the soul lives on after death. The body moves only while the soul is in it; the eye sees only by the invisible soul; the builder's machines lift timber and stone only because an invisible life moves the visible body. "By which we may easily gather, that nothing can be disposed of in this visible world, but by another creature which is invisible: for as almighty God either by inspiration, or by replenishing those creatures which have reason, doth both quicken and move those things which be invisible, so, in like manner, those things which be invisible do give motion and sense to carnal bodies which are visible" (*Dial.* IV.5).[22] Damascene teaches the same presidency from the East. The angels "are the guardians of the divisions of the earth: they are set over nations and regions, allotted to them by their Creator: they govern all our affairs and bring us succour," and the reason is "because they are set over us by the divine will and command and are ever in the vicinity of God" (*De fide orth.* II.3). The chief of the fallen, before his fall, was the one "set over the earthly realm, and into whose hands God committed the guardianship of the earth" (II.4).

The *Summa contra gentiles* gives the article its fullest reasons. Because providence descends from the highest to the lowest in proportion, and the intellectual creatures are highest, *exigit igitur divinae providentiae ratio ut ceterae creaturae per creaturas rationales regantur* (*SCG* III.78 n. 1). The intellectual creature shares both parts of providence, the ordering that belongs to knowledge and the execution that belongs to operative power, where other creatures share only execution (n. 2); it alone knows the reasons of the order and acts of itself by free will (nn. 5–6). The same chapter series assigns the offices of the orders in the government of the world, and there the Virtues move the heavens and carry out *divinorum operum quae praeter naturae ordinem fiunt*, since Gregory says *virtutes dicuntur illi spiritus per quos signa frequentius fiunt* (*SCG* III.80 n. 11; Gregory, *Hom. in Ev.* 34.10).

Matter does not obey the mere will of an angel (a. 2). The *sed contra* is Augustine's sentence from *De Trinitate* III.8.13: "It is not to be thought, that this visible matter obeys these rebel angels; for it obeys God alone." The adversaries are the Platonists, who made material forms participations of immaterial ones, and Avicenna, who held that all forms in matter proceed from the concept of an intelligence while bodies only dispose matter. Aquinas answers from Aristotle: what is made, properly speaking, is the composite, for the form is "not as that which is, but as that by which something is." Every agent makes its like, so what makes natural things either is itself composite, "as when fire begets fire," or has the whole composite within its power, which belongs to God alone. Hence *omnis informatio materiae vel est a Deo immediate, vel ab aliquo agente corporali; non autem immediate ab Angelo*: every informing of matter is immediately from God or from some corporeal agent, and never immediately from an angel. Our soul changes its own body by a concept because it is that body's form, and the angel has no such union with

[22] Gregory, *Dialogues* IV, English of 1608 as edited by E. G. Gardner (1911), where the passage stands in chapter 5; Aquinas cites it as *Dial.* IV.6.

natural bodies (ad 1). The superior power does what the inferior does "in a more excellent way," by moving the corporeal agents themselves (ad 2). A natural effect may follow from angelic power that no bodily agent could produce alone, yet matter does not thereby obey an angel's will, "as neither does matter obey the mere will of a cook, when by regulating the fire according to the prescription of his art he produces a dish that the fire could not have produced by itself" (ad 3).

The article is Augustine's doctrine of the seeds and Damascene's rule together. "Those who say that the angels are creators of any kind of essence whatever are the mouth of their father, the devil. For since they are created things they are not creators" (*De fide orth.* II.3). *De potentia* names the same adversary and adds that the faith agrees with Aristotle here, *unde Augustinus dicit, quod Angelis non servit ad nutum materia corporalis* (*De pot.* q. 6 a. 3); *De malo* concludes that spiritual substances *propria virtute non possunt formaliter transmutare inferiora corpora, nisi adhibendo aliqua corporalia activa proportionata effectibus quos intendunt; sicut homo potest calefacere per ignem* (*De malo* q. 16 a. 9).

Bodies obey the angels in local motion (a. 3). The *sed contra* is again Augustine: the angels "use corporeal seed to produce certain effects" (*De Trin.* III.8–9), which they cannot do without local motion. Aquinas argues from Dionysius: "Divine wisdom has joined the ends of the first to the principles of the second" (*DN* 7). In Parker's version the divine wisdom is "ever uniting the ends of the former to the beginnings of those that follow, and beautifying the one symphony and harmony of the whole" (*DN* 7.3). The lower nature touches the higher at its summit. Corporeal nature lies below spiritual, and the most perfect of bodily movements is local motion, because "what is moved locally is not as such in potentiality to anything intrinsic, but only to something extrinsic—that is, to place." Therefore bodies have a natural aptitude to be moved immediately by spirits as to place, as the soul moves its body "first and chiefly by a local motion." Local motions need not follow from a body's form, as the ebb and flow of the sea follows the moon (ad 1). By local motion, the first of motions, the angels cause the others, "employing corporeal agents to produce these effects, as a workman employs fire to soften iron" (ad 2). The soul's motive power is confined to its own body; "an angel's power is not limited to any body; hence it can move locally bodies not joined to it" (ad 3). *De malo* adds a second reason: local motion is the least change a body can undergo, touching only its place, and the weakest effects can come immediately from the most remote agent (*De malo* q. 16 a. 10). *De potentia* calls the resulting works a kind of art. The angels move by their command bodies in which there is a natural active power, the *naturae semina* of Augustine, *et sic operatio eorum non erit per modum miraculi, sed per modum artis*; and their art surpasses man's because they know the powers of bodies better and apply them faster (*De pot.* q. 6 a. 3).

God alone works miracles (a. 4). The *sed contra* is Ps 135[136]:4, of God: "Who alone doth great wonders." The first objection is Gregory's sentence on the Virtues, "by whom signs and miracles are usually done" (*Hom. in Ev.* 34.10). Aquinas defines: "A miracle properly so called is when something is done outside the order of nature," but not outside the order of some particular nature, "for otherwise anyone would perform a miracle by throwing a stone upwards." A miracle is what is done *praeter ordinem totius naturae creatae*, outside the order of the whole created nature. "But God alone can do this, because, whatever an angel or any other creature does by its own power, is according to the order of created nature; and thus it is not a miracle. Hence God alone can work miracles." The angels are said to work miracles in two ways: "either because God works miracles at their request, in the same way as holy men are said to work miracles; or because they exercise a kind of ministry in the miracles which take place; as in collecting the dust in the general resurrection" (ad 1). What a creature does by a power unknown to us is a miracle "as regards ourselves," and in this sense magicians work wonders through the demons (ad 2). Aquinas uses Augustine's three-fold distinction from the *Eighty-Three Questions*: "magicians work miracles by private contracts; good Christians by public justice, bad Christians by the signs of public justice." Every power of a creature is like a private person in a city, while "the Divine justice is in the whole universe as the public law is in the city" (ad 2). Augustine's sentence reads *magi per privatos contractus, boni christiani per publicam iustitiam, mali christiani per signa publicae iustitiae*, and he adds that the powers dare not despise the signs of the Emperor: *contremiscunt enim haec, ubicumque illa conspexerint* (*De div. qq. 83* q. 79.4). The angels can act outside some particular order of bodily nature, but never outside the whole created order (ad 4). By this definition Augustine's broader name, the miracle as a work thrust in by an unusual change "for the admonition of men" (*De Trin.* III.6.11), is kept for what is wonderful to us, and the strict name is reserved to God.

The parallels press the article further. *Contra gentiles* answers Avicenna, who held that matter obeys the mere apprehension of separate substances, and concludes *relinquitur quod substantiae spirituales creatae non faciant miracula propria virtute*; yet *nihil prohibet huiusmodi substantias, inquantum agunt in virtute divina, miracula facere*,

which is why Gregory assigns one order specially to miracles (*SCG* III.103 nn. 6–7). *De potentia* names three ways in which the angels share in miracles: by prayer, as men do; by disposing matter with their natural power, as in gathering the dust of the dead; and by cooperating as instruments of the divine command, as a grace given for the moment (*De pot.* q. 6 a. 4).

Summa: *ST* I q. 110 aa. 1–4; parallels *Summa contra gentiles* III.78, 80, 103; *De potentia* q. 6 aa. 3–5; *De malo* q. 16 aa. 9–10.
Grade: Church teaching that the devil creates nothing and does not produce thunder, lightning, storms, or droughts by his own authority (Braga I, can. 8, DS 458), and that Satan's power is a creature's (CCC 395). Common teaching that God governs the corporeal creation through the angels, the wicked included under his command or permission (a. 1; Augustine, *De Trin.* III.4.9; Gregory, *Dial.* IV; Damascene, *De fide orth.* II.3; Ps 102[103]:20–21), and that angels are not creators and matter does not serve their bare will (a. 2; Augustine, *De Trin.* III.8.13; Damascene II.3). Thomist position that every informing of matter is immediately from God or from a corporeal agent (a. 2), that bodies obey the angels immediately in local motion and in other changes through it (a. 3), and that the Virtues preside over purely corporeal things (a. 1 ad 3). Common teaching that miracles in the proper sense are God's alone and that angels share in them by prayer and ministry (a. 4; Ps 135[136]:4).
Authorities: Augustine, *De Trin.* III.4.9, III.8.13, III.9.16–18 (*sed contra* of aa. 1–3), *De div. qq. 83* q. 79 (a. 1 ad 3; a. 4 obj. 2, ad 2), *De Gen. ad litt.* VIII.24.45; Gregory, *Dial.* IV (*sed contra* of a. 1) and *Hom. in Ev.* 34.10 (a. 4 obj. 1); Damascene, *De fide orth.* II.3–4 (a. 1 ad 3); Origen, *Hom. in Num.* 14 (a. 1 ad 3), cited by Aquinas; sentences cited under Augustine's name in a. 4 obj. 2–3, which the 1920 English edition assigns to the pseudo-Augustinian *Liber XXI sententiarum*; Dionysius, *DN* 7.3 (a. 3); Aristotle, *Metaph.* VII, *Phys.* VIII; Plato and Avicenna as reported; Ps 135[136]:4, Num 22:23, Exod 7–8; Braga I (DS 458); CCC 395.
Contrary opinion: Plato, who set immaterial forms immediately over each kind of body, and Avicenna, for whom the forms of matter flow from the active intelligence and matter obeys the apprehension of separate substances (aa. 1–2; *SCG* III.103). Aristotle, who gave the separate substances no immediate rule over lower bodies (a. 1 ad 2), and Alexander, who referred to the heavenly bodies every effect ascribed to angels and demons (*De pot.* q. 6 a. 3). Augustine names miracles by their rarity and purpose of admonition (*De Trin.* III.6.11), where Aquinas defines them by their exceeding the whole created order (a. 4).

16.3 The Action of the Angels on Man (*ST* I q. 111)

Four articles, on what an angel can do to a man by his natural power: whether he can enlighten the human intellect; whether he can change the will; whether he can change the imagination; and whether he can change the senses (*ST* I q. 111 pr.). The answers descend through the powers of the soul, and the good and the wicked angel are treated together as to natural power. The difference lies in the use: the good angel serves God's enlightening of man, the wicked angel turns the same powers against it (§18.2).

The angels enlighten man (a. 1). The *sed contra* is Dionysius, who proves "that the revelation of Divine things reaches men through the ministry of the angels" (*CH* 4). The fourth chapter explains why the name angel belongs pre-eminently to the heavenly beings: "the supremely Divine illumination comes to them at first hand, and, through them, there pass to us manifestations above us. Thus, then, the Law, as the Word of God affirms, was given to us through the ministration of Angels; and Angels led our illustrious fathers before the Law, and after the Law, to the Divine Being" (*CH* 4.2). The fathers "were initiated into these Divine visions, through the mediation of the Heavenly Powers" (4.3), and even the mystery of Christ's love for man passed first to the angels and through them to us: Gabriel to Zachary and to Mary, another angel to Joseph, another to the shepherds (4.4). In the *Divine Names* the angels are "as it were, heralds of the Divine silence," who "project, as it were, luminous lights revealing Him Who is in secret," and the souls of men are able "to be conducted by them as good guides to the good Origin of all good things" (*DN* 4.2).

Aquinas argues from the order of providence: "as the inferior angels are enlightened by the superior, so men, who are inferior to the angels, are enlightened by them." Illumination has two parts, as Aquinas showed of the angels themselves (*ST* I q. 106 a. 1; §14.1): the inferior intellect is strengthened by the superior, and the intelligible species in the superior are proposed to the inferior so that it can grasp them. A superior angel divides his universal concept for the lower angel. Man cannot grasp the intelligible truth unveiled, since he understands by turning to phantasms, "so the angels propose the intelligible truth to men under the similitudes of sensible things," according to Dionysius:

"It is impossible for the divine ray to shine on us, otherwise than shrouded by the variety of the sacred veils" (*CH* 1). Parker's version reads: "it is not possible that the supremely Divine Ray should otherwise illuminate us, except so far as it is enveloped, for the purpose of instruction, in variegated sacred veils" (*CH* 1.2). "On the other hand, the human intellect as the inferior, is strengthened by the action of the angelic intellect" (*fortificatur per actionem intellectus angelici*).

The replies place the angels inside the act of faith without making them its author. Faith has two parts. The inclination of the intellect to assent at the will's command is from God alone, since "the intellect assents to the truth of faith, not as convinced by the reason, but as commanded by the will; hence Augustine says, 'No one believes except willingly.' " But what is to be believed must be proposed, "which is accomplished by man, according to Romans 10:17, 'Faith cometh by hearing'; principally, however, by the angels, by whom Divine things are revealed to men. Hence the angels have some part in the enlightenment of faith," and not only in what is to be believed "but also as regards what is to be done" (ad 1). Natural reason, which is immediately from God, can be strengthened by an angel, "so that he may obtain from creatures a more perfect knowledge of God" (ad 2). A man knows that he understands, but "not everyone who is enlightened by an angel, knows that he is enlightened by him" (ad 3). *De malo* states the difference between the good angel and the wicked here. As to the light, the angelic light can strengthen the human, *quod Angelus bonus intendit, non autem Angelus malus. Unde hoc modo Angeli boni movent animam ad intelligendum, non autem Daemones* (*De malo* q. 16 a. 12). As to the species, both can arrange the images of the imagination, the good for man's good, the demons for his harm, either to lead him into pride or to entangle him in doubts he cannot resolve (ibid.).

The will is changed by God alone (a. 2). The *sed contra* is Prov 21:1: "the heart of the king is in the hand of the Lord: whithersoever he will, he shall turn it." The will can be changed from within, and so only by God, "because He gives the power of such an inclination to the intellectual nature." It can be moved from without by the good apprehended, and so "God alone can move the will efficaciously; but an angel and man move the will by way of persuasion" (*per modum suadentis*). In man there is a third way, through the passions of the sensitive appetite, and here "the angels, as being able to rouse these passions, can move the will, not however by necessity, for the will ever remains free to consent to, or to resist, the passion." The angels "burn away vices" by persuasion, as God's ministers (ad 1). The second objection set Bede, who says the devil "does not send wicked thoughts, but kindles them," against Damascene, who says the evils are "contrived by the demons and put into men" (*De fide orth.* II.4, as Aquinas renders it). Aquinas reconciles them: "The demon cannot put thoughts in our minds by causing them from within, since the act of the cogitative faculty is subject to the will; nevertheless the devil is called the kindler of thoughts, inasmuch as he incites to thought, by the desire of the things thought of, by way of persuasion, or by rousing the passions. Damascene calls this kindling 'a putting in' because such a work is accomplished within. But good thoughts are attributed to a higher principle, namely, God, though they may be procured by the ministry of the angels" (ad 2). The imagination can be changed by an angel, but the will can follow reason against the passions (ad 3).

The Fathers had taught the article before it was posed. Origen holds that thoughts "sometimes proceed from ourselves, and sometimes are originated by the opposing powers; not seldom also are they suggested by God, or by the holy angels," and he adds the limit: "We are not, however, to imagine that any other result follows from what is suggested to our heart, whether good or bad, save a (mental) commotion only, and an incitement instigating us either to good or evil" (*De princ.* III.2.4). Damascene says of the demons: "while the liberty to attack man has been granted to them, they have not the strength to over-master any one: for we have it in our power to receive or not to receive the attack" (*De fide orth.* II.4). Abbot Serenus in Cassian teaches that the enemy opposes our progress "in such a way that we can think of them as only inciting to evil things and not forcing" (*Conl.* VII.8), and that spirit cannot be implanted in spirit so as to hold it, "for this is the true prerogative of Deity alone" (VII.10). *De malo* draws the consequence for knowledge: the act of the will is known to God and to the one who wills, and to no other (*De malo* q. 16 a. 8; §10.4).

The imagination (a. 3). The *sed contra* is the angel who appeared to Joseph "in his sleep" (Matt 1:20; 2:13). "Both a good and a bad angel by their own natural power can move the human imagination." Bodies obey the angels in local motion (*ST* I q. 110 a. 3), and imaginative apparitions are sometimes caused "by the local movement of animal spirits and humors," as Aristotle explains dreams, the impressions of past sensation moving the sensitive principle in sleep. What happens by a natural disturbance of the humors, and by a man's voluntary imagining, can be done by the power of an angel, "sometimes with alienation from the bodily senses, sometimes without such alienation." The angel does not impress a form never received from sense, "for he cannot make a man born blind imagine color" (ad 2). Augustine speaks of spirit mingling with spirit (*De Gen. ad litt.* XII, as Aquinas cites it); the commingling "is

not a mingling of essences, but by reason of an effect which he produces in the imagination … so that he shows man what he [the angel] knows, but not in the way he knows" (ad 3). When a good angel causes an imaginative vision he sometimes enlightens the intellect as well, and then there is no deception; when images only appear, any deception comes from the defect of the one who sees, "thus neither was Christ a cause of deception when He spoke many things to the people in parables, which He did not explain to them" (ad 4). *De malo* gives the same account at length and rejects the alternatives Augustine had weighed: the soul does not see the essence of a spirit or the species in it, and an angel cannot infuse new forms into sense or imagination, so the change must come from the local movement of what already exists in the body (*De malo* q. 16 a. 11).

The senses (a. 4). The *sed contra* is the blindness with which the angels struck the men of Sodom, "so that they could not find the door" (Gen 19:11), and the Syrians whom Eliseus led blinded into Samaria (4 Kgs 6:18). The senses are changed from without by a sensible object and from within by the disturbance of spirits and humors, "as for example, a sick man's tongue, charged with choleric humor, tastes everything as bitter." An angel can work both: he "can offer the senses a sensible object from without, formed by nature or by the angel himself, as when he assumes a body" (§9.1), and he can move spirits and humors within. The interior principle of sensation remains the soul's own, but it can be moved from without (ad 1). By the same movement of spirits an angel can affect the nutritive and appetitive powers and any power using a bodily organ (ad 2). "An angel can do nothing outside the entire order of creatures; but he can outside some particular order of nature," and so "in some special way an angel can work a change in the senses outside the common mode of nature" (ad 3).

> **Summa:** *ST* I q. 111 aa. 1–4; parallels *De malo* q. 16 aa. 8, 11–12; *SCG* III.81.
> **Grade:** Common teaching that the angels enlighten men by proposing divine truth and strengthening the mind, and that revelation, the Law included, came through their ministry (a. 1; Acts 7:53; Gal 3:19; Dionysius, *CH* 4.2–4). Common teaching that no angel or demon can move the will from within or compel it, God alone moving it efficaciously; angels persuade and can rouse passions, and the will remains free to consent or resist (a. 2; Prov 21:1; Origen, *De princ.* III.2.4; Damascene, *De fide orth.* II.4; Cassian, *Conl.* VII.8, 10). Common teaching that good and wicked angels can act on imagination and senses (aa. 3–4; Matt 1:20; Gen 19:11; 4 Kgs 6:18). Thomist position on the manner: species proposed under sensible likenesses, and imagination and sense moved through the local motion of spirits and humors, never by an infused form (aa. 1, 3–4; *De malo* q. 16 a. 11).
> **Authorities:** Dionysius, *CH* 4 (*sed contra* of a. 1) and *CH* 1.2 (a. 1); *EH* on baptism as illumination (a. 1 obj. 1) and *DN* 4.1–2; Augustine on belief and the will (a. 1 ad 1), *De Gen. ad litt.* XII.12 (a. 3 obj. 3), cited by Aquinas; Bede on Matt 15 (a. 2 obj. 2), cited by Aquinas; Damascene, *De fide orth.* II.4; Origen, *De princ.* III.2.4, and Cassian, *Conl.* VII.8–10; Aristotle, *De somno*; the gloss on Heb 1:7 and Rom 1:19; Prov 21:1, Rom 10:17, Eph 2:8, Matt 1:20, 2:13, Gen 19:11, 4 Kgs 6:18.
> **Contrary opinion:** Damascene's sentence that the demons put evils into men, read by Aquinas as a kindling from within the soul's powers and not a causing of thought from within the mind (a. 2 ad 2). Augustine's three possibilities for imaginative visions (*De Gen. ad litt.* XII), of which *De malo* q. 16 a. 11 admits only the movement of what pre-exists in the body.

16.4 The Mission of the Angels (*ST* I q. 112)

Four articles: whether any angels are sent on works of ministry; whether all are sent; whether those who are sent also assist; and from which orders they are sent (*ST* I q. 112 pr.). The question gathers the Dionysian law that the highest are not sent, Gregory's distinction of the assisting and the ministering angels from Dan 7:10, and the reconciliation of both with the Gospel's word that the angels of the little ones "always see the face of my Father" (Matt 18:10).

The angels are sent in ministry (a. 1). The *sed contra* is Exod 23:20: "Behold I will send my angel, who shall go before thee." Aquinas takes the notion of mission from the treatise on the Trinity: "he is said to be sent who in any way proceeds from another so as to begin to be where he was not, or to be in another way, where he already was." The Son and the Spirit are sent as proceeding by origin and beginning to be in a new way, by grace or by the nature assumed, where they were already by the presence of Godhead. God is everywhere as universal agent; an angel's power, as a particular agent, "reaches to one thing in such a way as not to reach another; and so he is 'here' in such a manner as not to be 'there.' " When an angel is to work on some body, he applies his power to it anew and so begins to be there, and all this at God's command. The action "proceeds from God as from its first principle, at

Whose nod and by Whose authority the angels work; and is reduced to God as to its last end. Now this is what is meant by a minister: for a minister is an intelligent instrument" (*minister est sicut instrumentum intelligens*). "Hence angels' actions are called 'ministries'; and for this reason they are said to be sent in ministry." Damascene describes the same circumscription: "They are circumscribed: for when they are in the Heaven they are not on the earth: and when they are sent by God down to the earth they do not remain in the Heaven," and "their nature is endowed with such celerity that wherever the Divine glance bids them there they are straightway found" (*De fide orth.* II.3).

The replies meet four difficulties. An intellectual act that dwells in the intellect, as contemplation, occupies no place, but an act commanded by intellect may have a place (ad 1). The empyrean heaven befits the angels' dignity by congruity; an angel absent from it loses nothing, "as neither does a king lessen his dignity when not actually sitting on his regal throne" (ad 2). Outward occupation dims our contemplation because we act through the senses; "an angel, on the contrary, regulates his exterior actions by intellectual operation alone. Hence it follows that his external occupations in no respect impede his contemplation; because given two actions, one of which is the rule and the reason of the other, one does not hinder but helps the other," as Gregory says, "the angels do not go abroad in such a manner as to lose the delights of inward contemplation" (ad 3). The angels minister chiefly to God and only secondarily to us, "not because we are superior to them, absolutely speaking, but because, since every man or angel by cleaving to God is made one spirit with God, he is thereby superior to every creature" (ad 4; Phil 2:3).

Gregory's sentence stands in the *Moralia* on "the sons of God" who "came to stand before the Lord" (Job 1:6). He asks from where the angels can come, when they "always see the face of my Father" (Matt 18:10) and "stood before him" (Dan 7:10), and yet Paul calls them "ministering spirits, sent to minister" (Heb 1:14). His answer lies in the subtlety of the angelic nature: they never go forth so far from the vision of God as to lose the joys of interior contemplation, and "therefore they are both sent from Him, and stand by Him too, since both in that they are circumscribed, they go forth, and in this, that they are also entirely present, they never go away" (*Moralia* II.3.3). The homily says it in the form Aquinas quotes: the angels are sent and assist, *quia quolibet missi veniant, intra ipsum currunt*, wherever they are sent they run within God (*Hom. in Ev.* 34.13; both texts are expounded at §7.1). Augustine had said the same of the angels who contemplate God without place and time and at once carry out his commands below (*De Gen. ad litt.* VIII.24.45).

The higher angels are not sent to outward ministry (a. 2). The *sed contra* is Gregory "quoting the statement of Dionysius" that "the higher ranks fulfil no exterior service" (*superiora agmina usum exterioris ministerii nequaquam habent*). Gregory calls Dionysius *antiquus videlicet et venerabilis Pater* and reports his teaching that the lesser hosts are sent out, visibly or invisibly, for man's comfort, as angels or archangels, while the higher never withdraw from the inmost presence (*Hom. in Ev.* 34.12; §7.1).

Aquinas first grants that the order of providence, in which the lower are administered through the higher, is sometimes set aside in bodily things for a higher order: the man born blind was enlightened and Lazarus raised immediately by God, and God can reveal to men without angels and to higher angels without lower. "From this standpoint some have said that according to the general law the superior angels are not sent, but only the inferior; yet that sometimes, by Divine dispensation, the superior angels also are sent." Aquinas rejects the exception. The angelic order follows the gifts of grace, and "the order of grace has no order above itself for the sake of which it should be passed over; as the order of nature is passed over for the sake of grace." Nature is passed over in miracles to confirm faith, but passing over the angelic order would confirm nothing, "since this could not be perceived by us." And nothing in the divine ministries exceeds the lower orders: "those who announce the highest things are called archangels," and so "the archangel Gabriel was sent to the Virgin Mary," which "was the greatest of all the Divine ministries." Gregory had said so in the homily: it was fitting that the highest angel come to this ministry, since he announced the highest thing of all (*Hom. in Ev.* 34.8). "Thus with Dionysius (Coel. Hier. xiii) we must say, without any distinction, that the superior angels are never sent to the external ministry."

The replies take up Scripture's apparent exceptions. Hebrews calls all the angels ministering spirits. As the divine Persons have a visible and an invisible mission, so there is an external mission regarding bodies, "and on such a mission not all the angels are sent," and an interior mission regarding some intellectual effect, as when one angel enlightens another, "and in this way all the angels are sent"; or the Apostle may mean only the angels through whom the Law was given (ad 1). Isaias's seraph is the chief difficulty (ad 2). "One of the seraphims flew to me, and in his hand was a live coal ... And he touched my mouth, and said: Behold this hath touched thy lips, and thy iniquities shall be taken away" (Isa 6:6–7). Dionysius gives two answers in the thirteenth chapter of the *Celestial Hierarchy* (§6.13), and Aquinas takes both. First, "the angel who was sent to purify the prophet's lips was one of the inferior order; but was called a 'Seraph,' that is, 'kindling' in an equivocal sense, because he came to 'kindle' the lips of the

prophet." In Parker's rendering, some say that "some one of the Angels, placed over us as a sacred Minister of the Prophet's cleansing," bears the name of the Seraphim "on the ground that the removal of the faults spoken of, and the restoration of him who was cleansed for the Divine mission, was through fire" (*CH* 13.2). Gregory gives the same rule: *ii spiritus qui mittuntur eorum vocabulum percipiunt quorum officium gerunt*, and the angel who brings the coal *seraphim vocatur, quod incendium dicitur* (*Hom. in Ev.* 34.12). Second, "the superior angels communicate their own proper gifts whereby they are denominated, through the ministry of the inferior angels," as "the Pope is said to absolve a man when he gives absolution by means of someone else." This is the answer Dionysius received from "another man" whose defence was "by no means foolish": the angel "referred his own cleansing function to God, and after God, to the first working Hierarchy" (*CH* 13.3), and so "attributes his own purifying science and power to God, indeed, as Cause, but to the Seraphim as first-operating Hierarch" (13.4). Dionysius's own comparison is the bishop who purifies through his priests. The divine Persons are sent only in an equivocal sense, not in ministry (ad 3). Among unequal angels there is a scale of ministries, so that the higher among the sent are sent to the higher ministries and the lower to the lower (ad 4).

Scripture and the Fathers show the lower angels sending one another. "And behold the angel that spoke in me went forth, and another angel went out to meet him. And he said to him: Run, speak to this young man" (Zach 2:3–4). Gregory concludes from it that the lesser are sent and the greater send (*Hom. in Ev.* 34.13; §14), and Dionysius reads the same vision of one of the first angels instructing an angel of lower rank (*CH* 8.2).

The sent also assist, in one sense (a. 3). The *sed contra* is Gregory on Job 25:3, "Is there any numbering of his soldiers?": "Those powers assist, who do not go forth as messengers to men" (*Moralia* XVII). Gregory reads the verse with Dan 7:10: the number of the citizens above is infinite and definite, numbered to God and numberless to man; "those Powers stand before Him without a doubt, which never go forth for the communicating things to men," while those who minister come as bearers of tidings, "yet these same beings also, by the act of contemplation, are not withdrawn from the interior world" (*Moralia* XVII.13.18). The homily makes the same distinction of ministering and assisting (*Hom. in Ev.* 34.12; §7.1).

Aquinas explains the two words "after the likeness of those who attend upon a king; some of whom ever wait upon him, and hear his commands immediately; while others there are to whom the royal commands are conveyed by those who are in attendance—for instance, those who are placed at the head of the administration of various cities; these are said to administer, not to assist." "All the angels gaze upon the Divine Essence immediately," and in that respect all, even those who minister, assist, as Gregory says that those sent on the external ministry of our salvation "can always assist and see the face of the Father" (*Mor.* II). "Yet not all the angels can perceive the secrets of the Divine mysteries in the clearness itself of the Divine Essence; but only the superior angels who announce them to the inferior," and in that respect only the first hierarchy is said to assist, "whose special prerogative it is to be enlightened immediately by God." The first two objections, from Gregory's "the angels are sent, and assist" and from Raphael, "one of the seven, who stand before the Lord" (Tob 12:15), speak of the first mode of assisting. Satan in Job was not among the assistants but present among them (Job 1:6); "as Gregory says (Moral. ii), 'though he has lost beatitude, still he has retained a nature like to the angels' " (ad 3). Gregory adds the image that answers how Satan could stand before God without seeing him: he came to be seen and not to see, as a blind man standing in the sun is bathed in its light and sees nothing of it (*Moralia* II.4.5). All the assistants see some things immediately in God's glory, the higher more than the lower, "as also among those who assist the king, one knows more of the king's secrets than another" (ad 4).

Which orders are sent (a. 4). The article asks whether all the angels of the second hierarchy are sent. The *sed contra* is Dionysius: "the 'Dominations are above all subjection.' But to be sent implies subjection." Parker renders the eighth chapter: the name of the Lordships "denotes a certain unslavish elevation, free from all grovelling subserviency ... superior to every kind of cringing slavery, indomitable to every subserviency" (*CH* 8.1). Aquinas argues from the names, since "the angelic properties are manifested by their names" (*CH* 7). To be sent to outward ministry is to act by divine command on some bodily creature, the execution of a divine ministry. "But the name 'dominations' does not signify any such administration, but only disposition and command in administering. On the other hand, the names of the inferior orders imply administration, for the 'Angels' and 'Archangels' are so called from 'announcing'; the 'Virtues' and 'Powers' are so called in respect of some act; and it is right that the 'Prince,' according to what Gregory says (Hom. xxxiv in Evang.), 'be first among the workers.' Hence it belongs to these five orders to be sent to external ministry; not to the four superior orders." The Dominations are counted among the ministering angels as the architect is among the builders, "disposing and commanding what is to be done by others" (ad 1).

The second reply records a real difference between Gregory and Dionysius over Dan 7:10. Gregory reads "thousands of thousands ministered to him" partitively, thousands out of thousands, an indefinite number signifying excess, and "ten thousand times a hundred thousand stood before him" as a finite number; so the ministers are more than the assistants. This "rests on the opinion of the Platonists, who said that the nearer things are to the one first principle, the smaller they are in number," and it "is verified as regards the number of orders, as six administer and three assist." Dionysius holds instead that the multitude of angels surpasses all material multitude, "because whatever is better is more intended and more multiplied by God. Hence, as the assistants are superior to the ministers there will be more assistants than ministers," and the verse is read by multiplication, a thousand times a thousand, "ten thousand times a hundred thousand" being far more. The figure does not give the number of the angels but signifies that it "exceeds all material multitude" by multiplying the greatest numbers, "as Dionysius remarks in the same passage" (ad 2; *CH* 14). Gregory's own words are that "they are more in number that 'minister' than those that preeminently 'stand before Him' " (*Moralia* XVII.13.18), and Dionysius says that the hosts of the supermundane minds are "surpassing the weak and contracted measurement of our material number" (*CH* 14).

The offices by which the orders serve the government of the world, as the *Contra gentiles* assigns them, stand beside the answer of q. 112 a. 4 on their outward mission. On the two orderings of the orders see Appendix A and §15.1.

Order	**Office in the government of the world (*SCG* III.80)**	**Outward mission (*ST* I q. 112 a. 4)**
Seraphim	See the reason of providence in the last end, the divine goodness, whence their name of burning (n. 5)	Not sent
Cherubim	See it in the divine form, the fullness of knowledge (n. 6)	Not sent
Thrones	Consider the disposition of the divine judgments in itself (n. 7)	Not sent
Dominations	Command what others execute, *dominorum enim est praecipere* (n. 10)	Not sent; they dispose and command
Virtues	Move the heavens and carry out works beyond the order of nature (n. 11)	Sent
Powers	Guard the order of providence against what would disturb it (n. 12)	Sent
Principalities	Rule the common good of nations and kingdoms (n. 14; Dan 10)	Sent
Archangels	Announce what all must believe, as Gabriel the Incarnation (n. 15)	Sent
Angels	Serve the good of each person; hence the guardians of men (n. 16; Ps 90[91]:11)	Sent

Summa: *ST* I q. 112 aa. 1–4; parallels *SCG* III.79–80.
Grade: Common teaching, from Scripture, that angels are sent by God to minister to men (a. 1; Exod 23:20; Heb 1:14; Luke 1:26), and that those sent never lose the vision and contemplation of God (a. 1 ad 3, a. 3; Matt 18:10; Gregory, *Moralia* II.3.3, *Hom. in Ev.* 34.13; Augustine, *De Gen. ad litt.* VIII.24.45). Thomist position, with Dionysius and Gregory, that the superior angels are never sent to outward ministry and that the lower bear the names of the higher whose gifts they carry (a. 2; *CH* 13; *Hom. in Ev.* 34.12), and that the four highest orders are not sent while the five lower are (a. 4). Common teaching, from Dan 7:10 as Gregory reads it, that some angels assist and others minister; Thomist position that all assist by the vision of God and the first hierarchy alone by immediate illumination in the divine mysteries (a. 3). Disputed between Gregory and Dionysius whether the ministering or the assisting angels are the more numerous (a. 4 ad 2).
Authorities: Exod 23:20 (*sed contra* of a. 1); Gregory, *Hom. in Ev.* 34.8, 34.12–13 (*sed contra* of a. 2; aa. 2–4), *Moralia* II.3.3, II.4.4–5 (aa. 1, 3) and XVII.13.18–19 (*sed contra* of a. 3; a. 4 obj. 2, ad 2); Dionysius, *CH* 13.1–4 (a. 2), *CH* 8.1–2 (a. 4 obj. 1 and *sed contra*), *CH* 7 (aa. 3–4), *CH* 14 (a. 4 ad 2); Damascene, *De fide orth.* II.3;

Augustine, *De Trin.* IV.20 (a. 1 ad 1), cited by Aquinas, and *De Gen. ad litt.* VIII.24.45; Heb 1:14, Isa 6:6–7, Tob 12:15, Job 1:6, Job 25:3, Dan 7:10, Zach 2:3–4, Luke 1:26, Luke 22:27, Phil 2:3, Ecclus 38:25.
Contrary opinion: Those who held that the superior angels are sometimes sent by divine dispensation (a. 2). Gregory's partitive reading of Dan 7:10, on which the ministers outnumber the assistants, against Dionysius's reading, on which the assistants are the more numerous (a. 4 ad 2). The reading of Heb 1:14 by which all angels without distinction are sent to outward ministry, which Aquinas restricts to interior mission or to the angels of the Law (a. 2 ad 1).

17 The Guardian Angels

God, who governs the whole creation through the ministry of the angels, gives to every man an angel of his own. That angel keeps him from the beginning of his life to its end, turns his mind toward the good, holds back the enemy, carries his prayers to God and joins his own to them, and at the end of the way brings him home. Scripture gives the doctrine two pillars: the psalm, "For he hath given his angels charge over thee; to keep thee in all thy ways" (Ps 90[91]:11), and the word of Christ, "See that you despise not one of these little ones: for I say to you, that their angels in heaven always see the face of my Father who is in heaven" (Matt 18:10). On these the Fathers built the angel of each soul: the angel of righteousness of the *Shepherd*, Origen's angels of the little ones, Basil's tutor and shepherd beside each believer, Jerome's *magna dignitas animarum*, Chrysostom's "This is a truth, that each man has an Angel." Bernard made the doctrine a school of reverence and confidence; the Master of the *Sentences* set it in the schools; Aquinas gave it the eight articles of q. 113, between the mission of the angels (§16.4) and the assaults of the demons (§18.2), where the guardian angel appears as God's providence exercised toward each immortal person. The Church confesses the doctrine in her Catechism, keeps the feast of the Guardian Angels on 2 October, and teaches her children from infancy to pray to their angel.

17.1 The Guardian Angel in Sacred Scripture

The angel of the patriarchs. Abraham sends his servant to find a wife for Isaac with the assurance that God "will send his angel before thee" (Gen 24:7), and the servant repeats it: "The Lord ... will send his angel with thee, and will direct thy way" (Gen 24:40). Jacob, blessing the sons of Joseph at the end of his life, joins the God who fed him to the angel who kept him: "God that feedeth me from my youth until this day: The angel that delivereth me from all evils, bless these boys" (Gen 48:15–16). Chrysostom reads the verse as the proof that "even from the beginning, every one of those that were approved had his Angel" (*Hom. in Col.* 3).

The angel of the Exodus. God promises Israel in the desert a guide and a guard: "Behold I will send my angel, who shall go before thee, and keep thee in thy journey, and bring thee into the place that I have prepared. Take notice of him, and hear his voice, and do not think him one to be contemned: for he will not forgive when thou hast sinned, and my name is in him" (Exod 23:20–21). After the golden calf the promise is renewed, "my angel shall go before thee" (Exod 32:34), and Moses begs for more: "If thou thyself dost not go before, bring us not out of this place" (Exod 33:15), a request Origen and Hilary read as the prayer of one who seeks the Lord's own keeping beyond an angel's (*Comm. in Matt.* XIII.26; *Tract. in Ps.* 124.6). Exod 23:20 is the *sed contra* for the mission of the angels (*ST* I q. 112 a. 1).

The Psalms. "The angel of the Lord shall encamp round about them that fear him: and shall deliver them" (Ps 33[34]:8). Psalm 90 promises the man who dwells in the aid of the Most High a shield against "the terror of the night" and "the noonday devil" (vv. 5–6), and gives the reason: "For he hath given his angels charge over thee; to keep thee in all thy ways. In their hands they shall bear thee up: lest thou dash thy foot against a stone. Thou shalt walk upon the asp and the basilisk: and thou shalt trample under foot the lion and the dragon" (vv. 11–13). The first verse is the *sed contra* of Aquinas's first article (*ST* I q. 113 a. 1); another psalm, that God himself "shall neither slumber nor sleep, that keepeth Israel" (Ps 120[121]:4), supplies the article's second objection.

Tobias. The Book of Tobias shows the guardian's office at length. The young Tobias, sent on a long road, finds "a beautiful young man, standing girded, and as it were ready to walk," "not knowing that he was an angel of God" (Tob 5:5–6), and his father comforts the weeping mother: "I believe that the good angel of God doth accompany him, and doth order all things well that are done about him" (Tob 5:27). Raphael delivers the boy from the fish (Tob 6:2–4), binds the demon that had slain Sara's husbands (Tob 8:3), and brings him home; then he reveals the hidden side of his care: "When thou didst pray with tears, and didst bury the dead ... I offered thy prayer to the Lord," and "when I was with you, I was there by the will of God" (Tob 12:12, 18). John Paul II reads the book as *così significativa circa l'affidamento agli angeli dei piccoli figli di Dio, sempre bisognosi di custodia, di cura e di protezione*: so significant for the entrusting to the angels of God's little children, always in need of keeping, care, and protection (general audience, 6 August 1986, n. 8). Judith returns from the camp of Holofernes confessing the same keeping: "his angel hath been my keeper both going hence, and abiding there, and returning from thence hither" (Jdt 13:20).

Daniel. The tenth chapter of Daniel shows the angels over nations. The angel sent to Daniel says, "from the first day that thou didst set thy heart to understand ... thy words have been heard: and I am come for thy words. But the prince of the kingdom of the Persians resisted me one and twenty days: and behold Michael, one of the chief princes, came to help me" (Dan 10:12–13), and "none is my helper in all these things, but Michael your prince" (10:21). Michael is "the great prince, who standeth for the children of thy people" (Dan 12:1). The Septuagint of the Song of Moses, which Basil, Hilary, and Jerome read, says that the Most High set the bounds of the nations according to the number of the angels of God (Deut 32:8); the Vulgate has "the children of Israel." The chapter is the *sed contra* of Aquinas's eighth article (*ST* I q. 113 a. 8).

The Gospels and Acts. At the pinnacle of the Temple the devil quotes the psalm of the guardians to Christ (Matt 4:6); when the tempter departs, "angels came and ministered to him" (4:11), and in the agony "there appeared to him an angel from heaven, strengthening him" (Luke 22:43). Christ's saying on the little ones (Matt 18:10) is the foundation of the whole doctrine: the little ones have "their angels," and those angels at the same time "always see the face" of the Father. There is "joy before the angels of God upon one sinner doing penance" (Luke 15:10), and the beggar Lazarus "was carried by the angels into Abraham's bosom" (Luke 16:22). When an angel has led Peter out of Herod's prison (Acts 12:7–11), the disciples in the house of Mary hear his voice at the gate and say, "It is his angel" (12:15); on the ship to Rome Paul speaks of "an angel of God, whose I am and whom I serve" (Acts 27:23). The Epistle to the Hebrews states the general law: "Are they not all ministering spirits, sent to minister for them who shall receive the inheritance of salvation?" (Heb 1:14).

17.2 The Fathers and the Angel of Each Soul

The Fathers read these texts together and drew from them the angel of each soul. Each Father's fuller teaching on the angels is expounded in its own place (§§4, 5, 7). Together they teach that an angel is given to each soul, speaks within it through its thoughts, prays with it and for it, keeps it on the road, and brings it to the judgment.

17.2.1 The Shepherd, Clement, and Origen

The *Shepherd* of Hermas gives the Church her earliest teaching that an angel attends each man and is known by the thoughts he raises: "There are two angels with a man—one of righteousness, and the other of iniquity," and the rule for the second is, "Now that you know his works, depart from him" (*Mand.* VI.2; §4). The good angel speaks within; the man discerns and consents. Cassian carries the two angels to the monks, and the Master of the *Sentences* to the schools (§17.3). Clement of Alexandria sets the angel of the individual within the angels of the nations: "For regiments of angels are distributed over the nations and cities. And, perchance, some are assigned to individuals" (*Strom.* VI.17).

Origen's commentary on Matt 18:10, expounded with his other teaching in §4, likens the guardians to the nursing-fathers and tutors of the imperfect, whom the perfect outgrow to be "governed by the Lord Himself" (*Comm. in Matt.* XIII.26), and raises the question whether the angels take up their charge "from what time 'by the laver of regeneration' ... or, whether from birth" (XIII.27), which Aquinas decides with Jerome (a. 5). The homilies on Numbers carry the guardianship to the harvest and the judgment. The Lord's field is the world, *ager autem non terrae solum, sed corda intelliguntur humana, quem agrum angeli Dei susceperint excolendum*: not the earth only but

human hearts, a field the angels of God have taken in hand to till. They keep as their own fruit those still under tutors, and offer the hearts brought to perfection as first-fruits to the great High Priest, as Cornelius was offered by his angel (*Hom. in Num.* XI.3; Acts 10:4). At the end they come with their harvest: *Igitur unusquisque angelorum in consummatione saeculi aderit in iudicio, perducens secum eos, quibus praefuit, quos adiuvit, quos instruxit, pro quibus semper vidit faciem patris, qui est in coelis.* Each angel will stand at the judgment at the end of the age, bringing those over whom he presided, whom he helped and taught, for whom he always saw the Father's face. *Et puto etiam ibi inquisitionem futuram, utrum culturae hominum angelus defuerit, an culturae angelicae nequaquam digne segnitia humana responderit*: there will be an inquiry whether the angel failed in tilling men or human sloth answered unworthily to the angel's tilling (XI.4). Aquinas meets the sentence in the Gloss on Numbers and answers it in his article on the angels' grief (a. 7 obj. 4). The *De principiis* proposes, among readings of the unfaithful stewards who "are to be divided" (Matt 24:51), that since "each believer, although the humblest in the Church, is said to be attended by an angel," the angel is withdrawn at the end from the one who "has not faithfully observed the admonitions of the angel allotted it by God" (II.10.7). Origen's pupil Gregory the Wonderworker gave thanks for "that holy angel of God who fed me from my youth," who carried him past Berytus, where he meant to study the laws, and brought him to Origen (*Pan. Or.* 4–5).

17.2.2 Basil, Gregory of Nyssa, and Chrysostom

Basil gives the sentence the Catechism makes its own. The angels are one in nature and differ in office: some preside over nations, some accompany each of the faithful, and the angel of a nation has the greater dignity; and *to de syneinai hekastō tōn pistōn angelon, hoion paidagōgon tina kai nomea tēn zōēn dieuthynonta, oudeis anterei*, that an angel is with each of the faithful, as a kind of tutor and shepherd directing his life, no one will gainsay who remembers the Lord's word on the little ones (*Adversus Eunomium* III.1; PG 29, 656B–657A). The *paidagōgos* leads a child to school; the *nomeus* herds the flock. The Catechism renders the sentence, "Beside each believer stands an angel as protector and shepherd leading him to life" (CCC 336). In the homily on Psalm 33 Basil warns that the guardian can be driven off: *panti pepisteukoti eis ton Kyrion angelos paredreuei, ean mēpote auton hēmeis ek tōn ponērōn ergōn apodiōxōmen*, an angel sits beside everyone who has believed in the Lord, unless we drive him away by evil works, as smoke drives off bees; the one angel is likened to a whole camp because he walls us round on every side, and so "a thousand shall fall at thy side" (*Hom. in Ps.* 33.5; Ps 90[91]:7, 11). Basil's teaching is set out at length in §4.13; Aquinas's sixth article answers the question his image raises.

Gregory of Nyssa hands on the guardian as a teaching trustworthy from the tradition of the fathers, *ek patrikēs paradoseōs*: God set beside each life an angel as an ally and the corrupter set a demon against it, and man gives the victory by his choice. The ally was given at our first birth and shows himself when we set out for the higher life, for the angel is in a manner a brother, *adelphos*, to the rational and intellectual part of the soul (*De vita Moysis* II; PG 44, 337–340; expounded at §4.15).

Chrysostom, whose teaching is set out in §4.17, states the doctrine on Acts 12:15 without qualification: "This is a truth, that each man has an Angel" (*Hom. in Act.* 26). On Matt 18:10 he draws the conclusion "that the saints have angels, or even all men," and adds that the Lord speaks "of angels that are greater than others" (*Hom. in Matt.* 59.4), the first objection of Aquinas's third article. On Colossians he gives the guardian a place in the order of reconciliation: the angels, once according to the number of the nations, are now according to the number of the believers, and so "let us be sober, as though we were in the presence of tutors" (*Hom. in Col.* 3).

17.2.3 The Latin Fathers

Hilary teaches that our weakness needed the angels' guard: *neque enim infirmitas nostra nisi datis ad custodiam angelis tot tantisque spiritalium caelestium nequitiis obsisteret*, our weakness could not have withstood so many spiritual wickednesses unless angels had been given for its keeping (*Tract. in Ps.* 134.17); yet with Moses he prefers the Lord's keeping, *bonum quidem praesidium angeli, sed melius domini* (124.6; §5.4). Ambrose draws a duty of prayer: "The angels must be entreated for us, who have been to us as guards" (*De viduis* 9.55; §5.5). Jerome gives the schools their authority: *Magna dignitas animarum, ut unaquaeque habeat ab ortu nativitatis in custodiam sui angelum delegatum* (*In Matth.* III, on 18:10; PL 26). Great is the dignity of souls, that each should have from the beginning of its birth an angel delegated to its keeping. The sentence is the *sed contra* of three of Aquinas's articles (aa. 2, 4, 5; §5.6). Abbot Serenus in Cassian gathers the Scripture of the guardian into one chapter: "Holy Scripture

bears witness that two angels, a good and a bad one, cling to each one of us," citing Matt 18:10, Ps 33[34]:8, Acts 12:15, and "the book of the Shepherd" (*Conl.* VIII.17; §5.7).

Gregory the Great gives the lowest order its office, *Hi autem qui minima nuntiant, angeli . . . vocantur*, those who announce the least things are called angels; the Powers restrain the hostile spirits *ne corda hominum tantum tentare praevaleant quantum volunt*, lest they tempt the hearts of men as much as they would (*Hom. in Ev.* 34.8, 10). His *Moralia* supplies the angels of the nations and the reading of Daniel's prince of Persia that Aquinas follows (XVII.12.17; §7.1), and states the rule of every trial God permits: "the dispensation of God both while guarding, forsakes his elect servant, and while forsaking, guards him" (*Moralia* III, §6, on Job 2:6). Isidore handed on both teachings, that each nation has its presiding angels and that all men have angels, by Matt 18:10 and Acts 12:15 (*Sent.* I.10.20–21; §7.2).

17.3 Bernard and the Masters of the Twelfth Century

Bernard on the psalm *Qui habitat.* Because the verses of Psalm 90 were in the mouths of the faithful above all in Lent, Bernard preached seventeen Lenten sermons on it to his monks at Clairvaux. The eleventh and twelfth, on "he hath given his angels charge over thee," are the Church's classic meditation on the guardian angel.[23] The eleventh begins from the precision of the verse: *Nam neque angelis mandavit ut in omnibus viis custodiant nos, sed in omnibus viis nostris*; he has not charged his angels to guard us in all ways, but in all our ways (*In Ps. Qui habitat* 11.2). The ways of men are need and desire, the ways of the demons presumption and obstinacy; the ways of the holy angels are those the Only-begotten showed when he said that the angels would ascend and descend upon the Son of man (John 1:51): *ascendunt per contemplationem Dei, descendunt per compassionem tui*, they ascend by contemplation of God and descend by compassion for you, and in descending lose nothing of the vision of glory (11.6; the passage is given in English at §7.7). Ascending they seek the truth; *Cum vero descendunt, faciunt nobiscum misericordiam, ut custodiant nos in omnibus viis nostris*, descending they do mercy with us, to keep us in all our ways (11.10). The angel's compassion is his condescension in mercy, joined to the unbroken vision of the Father's face; Gregory had given the same doctrine of the angels who are sent and yet assist (§16.4).

The twelfth sermon turns from the angels' ways to the man they keep. God has sent his Son and his Spirit and promised his face, and lest anything in heaven be idle in our regard, *beatos illos spiritus propter nos mittis in ministerium, custodiae nostrae deputas, nostros jubes fieri paedagogos*: you send those blessed spirits to minister for us, depute them to our guard, bid them become our tutors; *illos utique spiritus tam felices, et tuos ad nos, et nostros ad te angelos facis*, you make those happy spirits your angels to us and our angels to you (12.3); *Mira dignatio, et vere magna dilectio charitatis!* (12.4). Then he draws the practical conclusion, the word that should bring reverence for the angels' presence, devotion for their goodwill, confidence for their guardianship, and reverence for one's angel in every lodging and every corner (12.6; the Latin is given at §7.7). Faith proves what the eye does not see: *Adsunt igitur, et adsunt tibi, non modo tecum, sed etiam pro te. Adsunt ut protegant, adsunt ut prosint* (12.6); they are present, present to you, not only with you but for you, present to protect and to profit you. The honour belongs to God, who gave the command, yet gratitude is owed to those who obey it: *Simus ergo devoti, simus grati tantis custodibus: redamemus eos, honoremus eos quantum possumus, quantum debemus* (12.7). They are our future co-heirs, *interim vero actores et tutores a Patre positos, et praepositos nobis*, meanwhile stewards and tutors set over us by the Father (Gal 4:1–2). They are faithful, prudent, and mighty; therefore *tantum sequamur eos, adhaereamus eis*, let us only follow them and cleave to them (12.8). They *deducent parvulum, qua potest parvulus ambulare*, leading the little one where a little one can walk (12.8). When temptation presses, *invoca custodem tuum, ductorem tuum*; call on your guardian and your guide. He does not sleep, *etsi ad tempus quandoque dissimulet* (12.9), though at times he seems to look away, lest you fall more dangerously by not knowing whose hands held you. The sermon ends with the counsel to make the angels one's familiars and to visit them often by earnest thought and devout prayer (12.10). The thirteenth sermon reads "in their hands they shall bear thee up" of the end of the road: the angels keep us in our ways, and when the way, which is life, is finished, they take us up in their hands, as they carried Lazarus (13.1; Luke 16:22).

In *On Consideration* Bernard supposes that "they are called Angels who are believed to have been given as guardians of individual men" (*De consideratione* V.4.8), a sentence Aquinas makes a *sed contra* for the guardianship of the lowest order (*In II Sent.* d. 11 q. 1 a. 2 s.c. 2). The saints who took up Bernard's devotion are treated in §24.

Honorius and the *Elucidarium.* The dialogue of master and disciple that Suárez still cites as Anselm's, and that Migne prints among the works of Honorius Augustodunensis, has a chapter *De angelis custodibus.* The disciple

[23] Bernard's Latin follows Migne, PL 183, cols. 225–237.

asks whether men have guardian angels, and the master answers that angels preside over every nation and city, and that every soul, *dum in corpus mittitur*, is committed to an angel who always spurs it to the good (*Elucidarium* II.28; PL 172, 1154–1155; the chapter is given at §7.9). Asked whether the angels are always on earth with those they guard, the master answers, *Cum opus fuerit, in auxilium veniunt, maxime cum precibus fuerint invitati*, they come to help when there is need, above all when invited by prayers; they need no time to come, and *gloria intima non fraudantur, quia semper vident faciem Patris, quocunque mittantur*, they lose nothing of their inner glory, for wherever they are sent they always see the Father's face (II.28). The next chapter adds that a demon overcome in combat by a just man *mox ab angelo custode ejus in abyssum retruditur*, is thrust at once into the abyss by the just man's guardian angel (II.29).

The Master of the *Sentences*. Peter Lombard gives the doctrine its place in the schools in the eleventh distinction of his second book, under the title *Quod singulae animae habeant Angelum bonum ad custodiam, malum ad exercitium*: that each soul has a good angel for its guard and an evil one for its exercise, and teaches that each of the elect has an angel specially delegated for his progress and guard (the text is given at §7.11). He quotes Jerome, cites Gregory for the good angel and the bad, and names the angels of Tobias and of Peter (*Sent.* II d. 11 c. 1). Reckoning the elect equal in number to the good angels and all men more numerous, he answers that one angel is deputed to many, at the same time or in succession: *Nec est mirandum unum Angelum pluribus hominibus ad custodiam deputari, cum uni homini plurium custodia deputetur* (*ibid.*); it is no wonder that one angel should guard many men, when one man is given the care of many. Aquinas's commentary on this distinction, written more than a decade before the *Prima pars*, is the first form of q. 113, and his *Summa* answers the Master on the number (a. 2). On the evil angel *ad exercitium* the commentary adds that the fight is just, for a free will cannot be compelled to sin: *debilis est hostis qui non potest vincere nisi volentem; et super hoc homini adest praesidium Angeli, et auxilium divinum, si suscipere velit* (*In II Sent.* d. 11 q. 1, expositio textus); he is a weak enemy who can conquer only the willing, and besides, man has the protection of his angel and the help of God, if he will accept it.

17.4 The Church's Confession and Prayer

The Catechism of the Catholic Church, after the angels' part in the life of Christ and of the Church and the Church's invocation of them in the Roman Canon and the funeral rite, teaches: "From infancy to death human life is surrounded by their watchful care and intercession. 'Beside each believer stands an angel as protector and shepherd leading him to life.' Already here on earth the Christian life shares by faith in the blessed company of angels and men united in God" (CCC 336, citing Matt 18:10 and Basil, *Adv. Eun.* III.1).

John Paul II drew the doctrine from Heb 1:14, Ps 90[91]:11–12, Matt 18:10, and the angels' care for the apostles in Acts, and concluded: *Perciò la Chiesa confessa la sua fede negli angeli custodi, venerandoli nella liturgia con una festa apposita, e raccomandando il ricorso alla loro protezione con una preghiera frequente, come nell'invocazione dell'"Angelo di Dio"* (general audience, 6 August 1986, n. 7). Therefore the Church confesses her faith in the guardian angels, venerating them in the liturgy with a feast of their own and recommending recourse to their protection by frequent prayer, as in the *Angele Dei*, a prayer that, he adds, seems to treasure Basil's words.

The *Directory on Popular Piety and the Liturgy* (Congregation for Divine Worship, 2001) lists the days on which the Church keeps the angels, "29 September (feast of the Archangels Michael, Gabriel and Raphael), 2 October (the Guardian Angels)" (n. 215), and describes the devotion that flows from the doctrine as "a certain form of the Christian life" marked by gratitude to God for these spirits placed at man's service, by devotion from "living constantly in the presence of the Holy Angels of God," and by "serenity and confidence in facing difficult situations"; among the prayers to the guardian angels "the *Angele Dei* is especially popular, and is often recited by families at morning and evening prayers" (n. 216), and it names Basil and Bernard as the devotion's masters. The Directory guards the devotion against reading the events of life so "as to ascribe all setbacks to the Devil and all success to the Guardian Angels," and discourages assigning names to the angels except Gabriel, Raphael, and Michael (n. 217). The feast of 2 October and its history in the Roman calendars are treated in §22; the *Angele Dei*, its text, and the regulation of devotion to the angels in §23.

17.5 The Guarding of the Good Angels (*ST* I q. 113)

After the angels' action on bodies and on men and their mission, Aquinas turns to *custodia bonorum Angelorum*, the guardianship of the good angels, and then to the assault of the bad (q. 114). The eight articles ask whether men are guarded by angels; whether each man has his own angel; whether guardianship belongs only to the lowest order; whether every man has an angel guardian; when the guardianship begins; whether the angel always guards his charge; whether he grieves at the loss of the one guarded; and whether there is strife among the angels by reason of their guardianship (*ST* I q. 113 pr.). The commentary on the *Sentences* had asked five questions on the same distinction of the Lombard and a sixth, on the fight among the angels, in the next question (*In II Sent.* d. 11 q. 1 aa. 1–5; q. 2 a. 5); the *Summa* adds the guardian of each man, and separates the beginning of the guardianship from the question of who receives it.

Men are guarded by angels (a. 1). The objections argue that a guardian is given to those who cannot guard themselves, as children and the sick, whereas man guards himself by free will and knows by natural law; that a strong guard makes a weak one superfluous, and "He shall neither slumber nor sleep, that keepeth Israel" (Ps 120[121]:4); and that so many perish daily whom the angels could help by appearing or by miracles that, if men were in their keeping, the angels would be negligent. The *sed contra* is the psalm: "He hath given His angels charge over thee, to keep thee in all thy ways" (Ps 90[91]:11). Aquinas answers from the order of providence: "in all things the movable and variable are moved and regulated by the immovable and invariable," bodies by spiritual substances, the lower bodies by the higher, and our own conclusions by principles we hold unchangeably. "It is moreover manifest that as regards things to be done human knowledge and affection can vary and fail from good in many ways; and so it was necessary that angels should be deputed for the guardianship of men, in order to regulate them and move them to good" (*per quos regularentur et moverentur ad bonum*). Free will avoids evil "to a certain degree, but not in any sufficient degree," for the affections are weak toward the good through the passions, and natural knowledge of the law fails in its application to particular deeds: "The thoughts of mortal men are fearful, and our counsels uncertain" (ad 1; Wis 9:14). God guards man in two ways. He inclines the affection to the good immediately, "by infusing into him grace and virtues"; he guides reason in finding the ways to the good "as his universal instructor, Whose precepts reach man by the medium of the angels" (ad 2; §16.3). Men perish by their own malice, not by the angels' negligence; they depart from the good angels' prompting, which is given invisibly "when they enlighten man that he may do what is right," as they depart from the natural instinct of the good, and the angels' visible appearances come "from a special grace of God," like miracles (ad 3).

The *Sentences* commentary adds the reasons of fittingness. God is the first and principal guardian, and he executes his providence through the angels not from any insufficiency but *propter ordinem suae sapientiae*, for the order of his wisdom: it befits the angels *ut scilicet eis haec dignitas non negetur, quod sint duces hominum reductionis in Deum*, that this dignity be not denied them, to be the leaders of men's return to God; and it befits men, who in the state of imperfection are like children and so receive guardians *tamquam pueris* (*In II Sent.* d. 11 q. 1 a. 1 ad 1; 1 Cor 13:10–11). God alone gives grace and glory, as the artist gives the knife its form; the angels prepare men for grace by illuminations, as fire and hammer dispose the iron (ad 2). They carry our prayers to God not to teach him but to pray for us, as the priest offers the people's prayer (ad 3). They do not compel virtue, *quia sic periret libertas arbitrii et ratio meriti*, for freedom and merit would perish (ad 5), and they seldom appear, because a vision above nature overwhelms the mind into assent and takes from man the good of his own inquiry; ordinarily they instruct us in our own mode, *illustrando phantasmata, et confortando lumen intellectus nostri, et excitando ad aliquid rectius considerandum*, enlightening the images of the imagination, strengthening the light of our understanding, and stirring us to consider something more rightly (ad 6). The *De veritate* argues from the guardianship that the angels know singulars, *singulares hominum actus, et alia huiusmodi quae spectant ad officium custodiae*, the singular acts of men and whatever belongs to the office of guardianship (*De ver.* q. 8 a. 11; *ST* I q. 57 a. 2, §10.4). Suárez gathers the offices of the guardian from Scripture and the Fathers: to turn aside dangers of body and soul, to stir the soul to good and warn it of evil, to restrain the demons, to present our prayers to God, to pray for his ward, and when providence requires, to correct and chastise him medicinally (*De angelis* VI.19.1–7).

Each man has his own angel (a. 2). The objections argue that one man can guard many and an angel is stronger than a man; that since the angels are unequal there is only one angel with none between him and men, who alone can guard men immediately, for Dionysius says the lower are brought to God through the higher; and that the greater angels have greater offices, whereas men are equal by nature. The *sed contra* is Jerome: "Great is the dignity of souls, for each one to have an angel deputed to guard it from its birth." Aquinas determines, *singulis hominibus*

singuli Angeli ad custodiam deputantur: "Each man has an angel guardian appointed to him." The reason lies in the object of providence. Men are incorruptible not only in their species but in the proper form of each, the rational soul, "which cannot be said of other incorruptible things." Providence is chiefly concerned with what abides for ever, and orders what passes to what abides; so providence stands toward each man as it stands toward each genus or species of corruptible things. Gregory assigns the orders to different genera of things, the Powers to restrain the demons, the Virtues to work miracles in bodies, and it is probable that different angels of the same order preside over different species; "Hence it is also reasonable to suppose that different angels are appointed to the guardianship of different men." The first reply distinguishes two guardianships. A man may be guarded as an individual, and then "to one man one guardian is due; and sometimes several are appointed to guard one"; or as part of a community, and then one man may guard many in what concerns their external works, by which others are edified or scandalized. But the angels guard men "also as regards invisible and occult things, concerning the salvation of each one in his own regard" (*quantum ad invisibilia et occulta, quae pertinent ad singulorum salutem secundum seipsos*); hence each has his own (ad 1). The chain of illumination does not forbid it: an angel may enlighten a man immediately and yet have angels beneath him whom he enlightens (ad 2; §14.1). And though men are equal in nature, providence orders some to greater things and some to lesser, "With much knowledge the Lord hath divided them, and diversified their ways" (ad 3; Ecclus 33:11–12); it is a greater office to guard one man than another.

The Lombard had allowed one angel to guard many men at once; the first reply meets his argument from the good that one man does for many. Suárez, for whom the guardianship of wayfaring men is *de fide certum* and the angel of each man a Catholic assertion received by the whole Church (*De angelis* VI.17.6, 8), judges more likely the opinion *unum Angelum nunquam custodire simul, nisi unum hominem*, that an angel never guards more than one man at a time, since an angel cannot be in two places at once to help two men far apart and the greater number shows more of God's liberality; that one angel guards many men in succession he thinks probable (VI.17.10–11). Having his own guardian does not leave a man to one angel alone: many angels led Lot out of Sodom, Michael came to help Gabriel, and, in the words of Origen that Suárez quotes against Calvin, *Nunquam solus est justus ... sed exercitus ei virtutum praesto est*, the just man is never alone, but an army of powers stands by him (VI.17.9).

The guarding of single men belongs to the lowest order (a. 3). The first objection is Chrysostom's: the angels of Matt 18:10 are "not of any angels but of the highest." The second argues from Heb 1:14 that the mission of the angels is ordered to the guarding of men, and five orders are sent (*ST* I q. 112 a. 4); the third, that guarding men requires above all restraining the demons and working miracles, which Gregory gives to the Powers and the Virtues. The *sed contra*: the psalm attributes the guarding of men to "angels," who are the lowest order "according to Dionysius" (*CH* 5 and 9; §6.9). Aquinas answers with the distinction of a. 2. Particular guardianship, by which one angel keeps one man, "belongs to the lowest order of the angels, whose place it is, according to Gregory, to announce the 'lesser things'; for it seems to be the least of the angelic offices to procure what concerns the salvation of only one man." Universal guardianship is multiplied according to the orders, "For the more universal an agent is, the higher it is": the guardianship of the human race belongs to the Principalities "or perhaps to the 'Archangels,' whom we call the angel princes. Hence, Michael, whom we call an archangel, is also styled 'one of the princes' (Daniel 10:13)." The Virtues guard all corporeal creatures, the Powers guard over the demons, and the Principalities over the good spirits, "according to Gregory's opinion." Chrysostom "can be taken to mean the highest in the lowest order of angels; for, as Dionysius says ... in each order there are first, middle, and last. It is, however, probable that the greater angels are deputed to keep those chosen by God for the higher degree of glory" (*Est autem probabile quod maiores Angeli deputentur ad custodiam eorum qui sunt ad maiorem gradum gloriae a Deo electi*; ad 1; *CH* 10.2). Not all who are sent guard single men; some orders have a universal guardianship (ad 2). The lower angels exercise the offices of the higher by sharing their gifts, "and they are executors of the superiors' power; and in this way all the angels of the lowest order can coerce the demons, and work miracles" (ad 3).

The *Contra gentiles* gives the three lowest orders their objects in human things. The Principalities have the common good of a city or nation, so that *dispositio regnorum, et mutatio dominationis a gente in gentem, ad ministerium huius ordinis pertinere oportet*; the Archangels a good that belongs to one and profits many, as the things of faith and divine worship, which Gabriel announced to the Virgin; and the Angels the good that belongs to each singly: *Et huiusmodi ad ordinem pertinent Angelorum, de quibus Gregorius dicit quod infima nuntiant: unde et hominum custodes esse dicuntur* (*SCG* III.80). Dionysius himself had said that the order of Principalities, Archangels, and Angels "presides, through each other, over the Hierarchies amongst men," and that "the Word of God has assigned our Hierarchy to Angels, by naming Michael as Ruler of the Jewish people, and others over other nations" (*CH* 9.2). The *Sentences* commentary calls the procuring of what concerns determinate persons *ultimum et minimum in actibus Angelorum*, the last and least of the angels' acts (*In II Sent.* d. 11 q. 1 a. 2). Suárez repeats that the guardians are

not from the four highest orders, and that particular guardianship is committed to the lowest (*De angelis* VI.18.3, 6), as Basil had ranked the angel of a nation above the angel of one man (*Adv. Eun.* III.1).

Every man has a guardian while he is a wayfarer (a. 4). The objections exclude Christ, made "in the likeness of men" (Phil 2:7) yet greater than the angels; Adam in innocence; and the foreknown to damnation, the infidels, and the Antichrist (2 Thess 2:9). The *sed contra* is Jerome again, that "each soul has an angel appointed to guard it." Aquinas answers with the image that gives the doctrine its shape: "Man while in this state of life, is, as it were, on a road by which he should journey towards heaven. On this road man is threatened by many dangers both from within and from without" (Ps 141[142]:4). "And therefore as guardians are appointed for men who have to pass by an unsafe road, so an angel guardian is assigned to each man as long as he is a wayfarer" (*quandiu viator est*). At the end of the road the guardianship ends: "he no longer has a guardian angel; but in the kingdom he will have an angel to reign with him, in hell a demon to punish him" (*sed habebit in regno Angelum conregnantem, in Inferno Daemonem punientem*).

The replies take the three exceptions in turn. Christ as man "was guided immediately by the Word of God," and in his soul was a comprehensor, so that "it was right that He should have not a guardian angel as superior to Him, but a ministering angel as inferior to Him," as when "angels came and ministered to Him" (ad 1; Matt 4:11). The *Sentences* commentary answers here the Dionysian text that Christ "readily subjected Himself to the dispositions of the Father and God, through Angels" (*CH* 4.4): he was subject to them indirectly, since the angels instructed Joseph and his mother about the child (*In II Sent.* d. 11 q. 1 a. 3 ad 6; Matt 2). Suárez adds that the Blessed Virgin had a guardian angel, citing Bernard, while Christ had not a guardian but many ministers (*De angelis* VI.17.21). Adam in innocence suffered no danger from within, where all was ordered, but danger threatened "from without on account of the snares of the demons; as was proved by the event. For this reason he needed a guardian angel" (ad 2). The foreknown, the infidels, and even the Antichrist are not deprived of the inner help of natural reason, "so neither are they deprived of that exterior help granted by God to the whole human race—namely the guardianship of the angels." If it does not bring them to merit eternal life, it protects them "from certain evils which would hurt both themselves and others. For even the demons are held off by the good angels, lest they hurt as much as they would. In like manner Antichrist will not do as much harm as he would wish" (ad 3). The earlier commentary gives the reason in a phrase: the Antichrist will have a guardian *quia lex communis propter unum mutari non debet*, because the common law is not to be changed for one man, and his punishment will appear the more just because the gifts provided for all human nature were not taken from him (*In II Sent.* d. 11 q. 1 a. 3 ad 5).

Against those who restricted the guardians to the predestined or the just, Suárez determines, *non solum justos, sed etiam peccatores, neque solos fideles, sed etiam infideles, neque solos baptizatos, sed etiam non baptizatos, habere Angelos custodes*, not only the just but sinners, not only the faithful but unbelievers, not only the baptized but the unbaptized have guardian angels. *Haec est communis sententia theologorum et Patrum*; Basil, Hilary, and Chrysostom, who speak of believers, add no exclusive word (*De angelis* VI.17.12–14). The guardian's proper office ends with death, *quia omnia pericula cessant, et spes profectus in morte finitur*, since every danger ceases and the hope of progress ends; yet toward just souls an office of charity remains. The guardians lead the pure to heaven, and lead those who need purgation to the place of purgatory, where they visit and console them, as the angels carried Lazarus; Suárez calls it the common sense of the Church, *valde credibile, et rationi consentaneum* (VI.19.9; Luke 16:22).

The guardian is given from birth (a. 5). The objections argue that men begin to receive the inheritance of salvation (Heb 1:14) at baptism; that the newborn cannot be instructed; and that the child in the womb has a rational soul and yet receives no sacrament. The *sed contra* is Jerome: "each soul has an angel appointed to guard it from its birth." Aquinas begins from Origen: "as Origen observes (Tract. v, super Matt.) there are two opinions on this matter. For some have held that the angel guardian is appointed at the time of baptism, others, that he is appointed at the time of birth. The latter opinion Jerome approves ... and with reason." The reason is the distinction of gifts. "Those benefits which are conferred by God on man as a Christian, begin with his baptism; such as receiving the Eucharist, and the like. But those which are conferred by God on man as a rational being, are bestowed on him at his birth, for then it is that he receives that nature. Among the latter benefits we must count the guardianship of angels." The ministry of the angels is efficacious to salvation for the heirs of salvation, but it is not withdrawn from others, and it is efficacious for them too, "inasmuch as they ward off many evils" (ad 1). Instruction is the last and principal effect of the guardianship, but it has others that suit childhood, "to ward off the demons, and to prevent both bodily and spiritual harm" (ad 2). Of the child in the womb Aquinas says that it is not yet wholly separate from the mother but "by reason of a certain intimate tie, is still part of her: just as the fruit while hanging on the

tree is part of the tree. And therefore it can be said with some degree of probability, that the angel who guards the mother guards the child while in the womb"; at birth, when it is separate, its own guardian is appointed (ad 3).

The commentary on the *Sentences* had placed the beginning earlier. There the guardianship is owed to all men *ab infusione animae rationalis per quam ad finem salutis ordinantur ... usque ad mortem*, from the infusion of the rational soul by which they are ordered to the end of salvation, until death (*In II Sent.* d. 11 q. 1 a. 3). Children in the womb receive no sacraments because they are not subject to the acts of ministers, but they are subject to the works of God and of the angels, *et ideo eis ab infusione animae rationalis, custos Angelus assignatur*, and so a guardian angel is assigned to them from the infusion of the rational soul, who holds back the demon's power and the many hindrances by which the child's constitution might be made more prone to sin or its life extinguished (ad 3). Honorius had said the same, that each soul is committed to an angel *dum in corpus mittitur*. Suárez sets the two readings of Jerome's *nativitas* side by side: birth from the womb, as Aquinas in the *Summa*, or the birth in the womb, conception, as the *Elucidarium*, Aquinas in the *Sentences*, Bonaventure, and Gabriel Biel. He argues for the second: from that moment man is a wayfarer and a distinct person in the order of salvation, capable of original sin and, as John the Baptist shows, of grace; and the mother, disobeying her own angel, might attempt something harmful to the child that the child's own guardian could prevent. *Denique haec providentia liberalior est, ideoque huic parti libentius adhaereo*: finally, this providence is the more liberal, and so I adhere the more willingly to this side (*De angelis* VI.17.18). The gift belonged to men under the law of nature and of Moses as under the law of grace, for Jacob and David confess their angels, and the child Christ set among the disciples did not yet belong to the law of grace (VI.17.19). The patristic question of birth or baptism and its reception are set out in §20.7.

The guardian never wholly forsakes his charge (a. 6). The objections bring the angels' words over Babylon, "let us forsake her" (Jer 51:9), and the hedge taken from the vineyard, which the Gloss reads of "the guardianship of the angels" (Isa 5:5); God himself forsakes man (Ps 21[22]:2), and the angel the more; and Damascene says that "when the angels are here with us, they are not in heaven," but sometimes they are in heaven (*De fide orth.* II.3). The *sed contra* argues from the enemy: "The demons are ever assailing us, according to 1 Peter 5:8: 'Your adversary the devil, as a roaring lion, goeth about, seeking whom he may devour.' Much more therefore do the good angels ever guard us." Aquinas answers that the guardianship is "an effect of Divine providence in regard to man," and nothing is entirely withdrawn from providence, since whatever shares in being is subject to it. God is said to forsake a man only in permitting him to suffer some defect of punishment or of fault. "In like manner it must be said that the angel guardian never forsakes a man entirely, but sometimes he leaves him in some particular, for instance by not preventing him from being subject to some trouble, or even from falling into sin, according to the ordering of Divine judgments" (*Angelus custos nunquam totaliter dimittit hominem, sed ad aliquid interdum eum dimittit*). So Babylon and the house of Israel are said to be forsaken by their angels, who did not keep them from tribulation. The angel may leave a man as to place, but not as to the effect of his guarding, "for even when he is in heaven he knows what is happening to man; nor does he need time for his local motion, for he can be with man in an instant" (ad 3).

The earlier commentary adds three touches. The cry over Babylon may be understood as *vox Angelorum discedentium ab homine peccatore in hora mortis; quia tunc primo desperatur de ejus salute*, the voice of the angels departing from the sinner at the hour of death, when his salvation is first despaired of (*In II Sent.* d. 11 q. 1 a. 4 ad 1). A strong impression remains in the one who receives it after the agent has gone, as in violent motion, *ut patet quando aliquis semel devote orat, ad plures dies remanet inde devotior*, as when a man prays once devoutly and remains the more devout for many days; so the angel, though not always present, can always guard (ad 5). No one on the way is so obstinate that he cannot be converted, and so the angel never gives him up (ad 6). Basil's image of the smoke and the bees, and the Fathers who say that sinners drive their angels off, Suárez explains of the actual exercise of the guardianship, which the angels at times remit because of the sinner's incapacity or indisposition, not of the care itself (*De angelis* VI.17.15–16). He notes that the promise of Exodus, "he will not forgive when thou hast sinned" (Exod 23:21), speaks of leaving sin unpunished, not of deserting the sinner (VI.17.15). So Bernard's guardian neither slumbers nor sleeps, though at times he seems to look away (*In Ps. Qui habitat* 12.9), and Gregory's rule for Job holds of him: while guarding he forsakes, and while forsaking he guards (*Moralia* III, §6).

The angels do not grieve for the ills of those they guard (a. 7). The objections: "The angels of peace shall weep bitterly" (Isa 33:7); the loss of his charge is against the guardian's will; the angels who rejoice over the penitent (Luke 15:7) should grieve over the fallen; and on the first-fruits of Num 18:12 "the gloss of Origen says: 'The angels are brought to judgment as to whether men have fallen through their negligence or through their own fault,' " and it is reasonable to grieve for the ills that bring one to judgment. Origen's own sentence asks whether the

angel failed in his tilling or human sloth answered unworthily to it (*Hom. in Num.* XI.4; §17.2). The *sed contra* is the city of God: "Death shall be no more, nor mourning, nor crying, nor sorrow" (Apoc 21:4); the angels are perfectly happy, and "where there is grief and sorrow, there is not perfect happiness." Aquinas determines, *Angeli non dolent neque de peccatis, neque de poenis hominum.* Sorrow is only of what is contrary to the will, as Augustine defines it; in the *City of God* the pain of the soul called sadness is "a shrinking from those things which have happened to us in spite of ourselves" (*De civ. Dei* XIV.15; cf. XIV.6). But nothing happens in the world against the will of the angels and the blessed, "because their will cleaves entirely to the ordering of Divine justice; while nothing happens in the world save what is effected or permitted by Divine justice." Aristotle's sailor who throws his cargo into the sea does not will it absolutely and universally, but wills it in the danger to his life; so "universally and absolutely speaking the angels do not will sin and the pains inflicted on its account: but they do will the fulfilment of the ordering of Divine justice in this matter." Isaias's "angels of peace" are literally the messengers of Ezechias who wept at the words of Rabsaces (Isa 37:2), allegorically the apostles and preachers who weep for men's sins; applied to the blessed angels the words are metaphorical and signify "that universally speaking the angels will the salvation of mankind: for in this sense we attribute passions to God and the angels" (ad 1). In repentance and in sin alike "there is one reason for the angel's joy, namely the fulfilment of the ordering of the Divine Providence" (ad 3). And "the angels are brought into judgment for the sins of men, not as guilty, but as witnesses to convict man of weakness" (ad 4).

The *Sentences* commentary refines the answer. The angels do not grieve, but it is not for want of charity: *compati non potest qui passibilis non est; et ideo ex impassibilitate Angelorum hoc accidit quod condolere non possunt, non ex caritatis defectu*, one who cannot suffer cannot suffer with another (*In II Sent.* d. 11 q. 1 a. 5 ad 2). Their joy is not lessened by a man's loss, for the number of the elect cannot be lessened, *Vel potest dici, quod ipsi semper gaudent de suis bonis operibus quae custodiendo egerunt, licet ille qui custoditus est non salvetur*, or because they always rejoice in the good works they did in guarding, even if the one they guarded is not saved (ad 3). They will his salvation with the antecedent will, as God does, and with the consequent will his condemnation if he merits it (ad 4). Bernard's angels who descend *per compassionem tui* (*In Ps. Qui habitat* 11.6) show the same thing from the side of love: their compassion is the mercy of their descent, and in descending they lose nothing of the vision of glory. Suárez reads the Fathers who speak of angels grieving, Chrysostom and Andrew of Caesarea among them, as the Scriptures ascribe affections to God (*De angelis* VI.19.12).

Strife among the angels (a. 8). The objections: God "maketh peace in his high places" (Job 25:2); perfect charity excludes strife; and a good angel would favour injustice. The *sed contra* is Gabriel's word to Daniel: "The prince of the kingdom of the Persians resisted me one and twenty days," and "this prince of the Persians was the angel deputed to the guardianship of the kingdom of the Persians. Therefore one good angel resists the others; and thus there is strife among them" (Dan 10:13). Aquinas sets two readings side by side. Jerome, as Aquinas reports him, takes the prince for "the angel who opposed the setting free of the people of Israel," a resistance that "may have been caused by some prince of the demons having led the Jewish captives in Persia into sin"; "But according to Gregory (Moral. xvii), the prince of the kingdom of Persia was a good angel appointed to the guardianship of that kingdom." The divine judgments on kingdoms and men are carried out by the angels; where contrary merits meet, the angels cannot know what the divine wisdom has ordained "unless God reveal it to them: and so they need to consult Divine wisdom thereupon." "Wherefore forasmuch as they consult the Divine will concerning various contrary and opposing merits, they are said to resist one another: not that their wills are in opposition, since they are all of one mind as to the fulfilment of the Divine decree; but that the things about which they seek knowledge are in opposition." The objections are answered by this.

Jerome at his own place reads the prince as *angelus cui Persis credita est*, the angel to whom Persia was entrusted, who resisted *faciens pro credita sibi provincia*, acting for the province entrusted to him (*In Dan.*, on 10:13; PL 25; §5.6). In Gregory's exposition the angels over the captives in Persia and over those left in Judaea bring the claims of the peoples before "the Court Above," and "the one identical victory of all of whom, however, is the Supreme Will of their Maker above them" (*Moralia* XVII.12.17; §7.1). The *Sentences* commentary had weighed the two readings more sharply. There Jerome is reported as holding the prince of Persia an evil angel set over the Persians, *sicut enim unicuique homini datur ad exercitium unus bonus et alter malus Angelus; ita singulis gentibus duo spiritus praeponuntur, unus bonus, et alter malus*: as each man has a good angel and an evil one for his exercise, so two spirits are set over each nation, one good and one evil. Aquinas objects that an evil angel could not have withstood a good one so many days unless he had a just cause, and a just cause would be better served by a good angel. *Et ideo dicendum est cum Gregorio, quod uterque bonus Angelus fuit: quod etiam magis litterae consonat*: therefore we must say with Gregory that both were good angels, which agrees better with the letter too, since it names in one series the prince of the Persians and Michael the prince of the Jews. He adds a reason of his own to the merits in conflict:

Daniel's prayer deserved the people's release, *sed peccata populi, et etiam utilitas quam Judaei faciebant in regno Persarum, dum per eos Dei notitia diffundebatur, erant in contrarium*; but the sins of the people, and also the good the Jews were doing in the Persian kingdom by spreading the knowledge of God, weighed on the other side. The concord of the angels lies in their receiving the divine illumination, since all will what they perceive God to will; and difference of opinion, as Aristotle says, does not destroy friendship, but only difference of will (*In II Sent.* d. 11 q. 2 a. 5 and ad 1). Serenus in Cassian holds that "this prince of the kingdom of the Persians was a hostile power, which favoured the nation of the Persians an enemy of God's people" (*Conl.* VIII.13; §5.7). That the nations have their angels the Fathers teach with one voice; for Damascene the angels "are the guardians of the divisions of the earth: they are set over nations and regions, allotted to them by their Creator: they govern all our affairs and bring us succour" (*De fide orth.* II.3), and for Dionysius they lead their nations to the one Head of all (*CH* 9.4; §6.9).

Summa: *ST* I q. 113 aa. 1–8; parallels *In II Sent.* d. 11 q. 1 aa. 1–5 and q. 2 a. 5; *SCG* III.80; *De veritate* q. 8 a. 11.
Grade: Church teaching: human life from infancy to death is surrounded by the angels' watchful care and intercession, and beside each believer stands an angel as protector and shepherd (CCC 336; Ps 90[91]:11; Matt 18:10; Heb 1:14) (aa. 1–2); the Church venerates the guardian angels with a feast and commends prayer to them (John Paul II, 6 August 1986; *Directory* 215–216). Common teaching: every man, believer or not, has his own guardian for the whole of his wayfaring (a. 4; Jerome; Chrysostom; Suárez, *De angelis* VI.17.14); the guardian is given from the beginning of life, not from baptism (a. 5; Jerome); he never wholly forsakes his charge in this life (a. 6); the guarding of single men belongs to the lowest order and that of peoples to the Principalities or Archangels (a. 3; Dionysius, *CH* 9; Gregory, *Hom. in Ev.* 34); the blessed angels suffer no sorrow at men's sins or pains (a. 7; Apoc 21:4); angels preside over nations (a. 8; Deut 32:8 LXX; Dan 10). Thomist position: the greater angels probably guard those chosen for greater glory (a. 3 ad 1); Christ had ministering angels and no guardian (a. 4 ad 1); the "resistance" of Dan 10:13 is the consulting of the divine will on contrary merits (a. 8). Disputed: whether the guardian is given at birth, the mother's angel guarding the child in the womb (a. 5 ad 3), or at the infusion of the soul (*In II Sent.* d. 11 q. 1 a. 3 ad 3; Honorius; Suárez VI.17.18); in the patristic tradition, at birth or at baptism (Origen, *Comm. in Matt.* XIII.27); whether the prince of Persia was a good angel (Gregory; Aquinas) or an evil or hostile one (Jerome as reported in *In II Sent.* d. 11 q. 2 a. 5; Cassian). Pious tradition: the guardians lead just souls to heaven, or to purgatory where they console them (Suárez VI.19.9; Luke 16:22).
Authorities: *Sed contra*: Ps 90[91]:11 (aa. 1, 3), Jerome, *In Matth.* III on 18:10 (aa. 2, 4, 5), 1 Pet 5:8 (a. 6), Apoc 21:4 (a. 7), Dan 10:13 (a. 8). In the articles: Chrysostom, *Hom. in Matt.* 59.4; Dionysius, *CH* 4, 5, 9, 10; Gregory, *Hom. in Ev.* 34, *Moralia* XVII.12.17; Origen on Matthew and the Gloss from *Hom. in Num.* XI.4; Damascene, *De fide orth.* II.3; Augustine, *De civ. Dei* XIV.15; Aristotle, *Eth.* III.1. Witnesses beyond the articles: Hermas, *Mand.* VI.2; Clement, *Strom.* VI.17; Origen, *Comm. in Matt.* XIII.26–28, *Hom. in Num.* XI.3–4, *De princ.* II.10.7; Basil, *Adv. Eun.* III.1, *Hom. in Ps.* 33.5; Gregory of Nyssa, *De vita Moysis* II; Chrysostom, *Hom. in Act.* 26, *Hom. in Col.* 3; Hilary, *Tract. in Ps.* 124.6, 134.17; Ambrose, *De viduis* 9.55; Cassian, *Conl.* VIII.13, 17; Isidore, *Sent.* I.10.20–21; Bernard, *In Ps. Qui habitat* 11–13; Honorius, *Elucidarium* II.28–29; Peter Lombard, *Sent.* II d. 11 c. 1; Suárez, *De angelis* VI.17–19; CCC 336; John Paul II, 6 August 1986; *Directory on Popular Piety* 215–217.
Contrary opinion: Assignment of the guardian at baptism (a. 5 obj. 1); Origen's second exposition, that until regeneration men are under the angels of Satan and no holy angel attends them (*Comm. in Matt.* XIII.28); Chrysostom's reading of Matt 18:10 of greater angels (a. 3 obj. 1, answered in ad 1); the Lombard's one angel for many men at once (*Sent.* II d. 11 c. 1), answered in a. 2; restrictions of the guardians to the predestined, to the just, or to believers, rejected by Suárez (VI.17.12–14) and by a. 4 ad 3; the *Sentences* commentary's guardian from the infusion of the soul, against a. 5 ad 3; Jerome's evil or Cassian's hostile prince of Persia, against Gregory (a. 8); Calvin, as Suárez reports him, doubting a proper angel for each man (VI.17.8–9).

17.6 The Guardian Angel in the Witnesses

From the psalm to the Catechism the witnesses agree on the angel of each soul; they divide on the moment of its gift, on the rank of the angel who guards, and on the prince of Persia.

Witness	Locus	Teaching on the guardian angel	Grade
Scripture	Ps 90[91]:11–12; Matt 18:10; Tob 5–12; Heb 1:14	God gives his angels charge to keep man in all his ways; the little ones have angels who see the Father's face	Church teaching (CCC 336)
Scripture	Deut 32:8 (LXX); Dan 10:13, 20–21; 12:1	Angels preside over nations; Michael over Israel	Common teaching
Hermas	*Mand.* VI.2	Two angels are with each man, known by the thoughts they raise	Common teaching
Origen	*Comm. in Matt.* XIII.26–28	The little ones have angels as nurses and tutors; from birth or from regeneration	Disputed (the moment)
Origen	*Hom. in Num.* XI.3–4	The angels till human hearts and bring their charges to the judgment	Common teaching (a. 7 ad 4)
Basil	*Adv. Eun.* III.1	Beside each believer an angel as tutor and shepherd; the angel of a nation is greater	Church teaching (CCC 336)
Basil	*Hom. in Ps.* 33.5	Sin drives the guardian off as smoke drives bees; one angel is a whole camp	Common teaching
Gregory of Nyssa	*De vita Moysis* II	After the fall an angel was set beside each life as ally, a demon opposite; the angel is brother to the mind	Common teaching
Chrysostom	*Hom. in Matt.* 59.4; *Act.* 26; *Col.* 3	Each man has an angel; now the angels are by believers; the angels of Matt 18:10 are greater	Common teaching
Hilary	*Tract. in Ps.* 124.6; 134.17	Angels given to guard a weak nature; the Lord's guard is better	Common teaching
Ambrose	*De viduis* 9.55	The angels given as guards are to be entreated for us	Church teaching (CCC 335)
Jerome	*In Matth.* III (18:10)	Each soul has an angel from its birth	Common teaching (aa. 2, 4–5 s.c.)
Cassian	*Conl.* VIII.17	A good and a bad angel cling to each man	Common teaching
Gregory the Great	*Hom. in Ev.* 34.8, 10; *Mor.* XVII.12.17	Angels announce the least things; the princes of nations judge their merits	Common teaching
Honorius	*Elucidarium* II.28–29	Each soul is committed to an angel when sent into the body; the angels come when invoked	Disputed (the moment); Common teaching
Peter Lombard	*Sent.* II d. 11 c. 1	Each has a good angel for guard, an evil for exercise; one angel may guard many	Common teaching; answered in a. 2
Bernard	*In Ps. Qui habitat* 11–13	Reverence for the angel's presence, devotion for his goodwill, confidence in his guard	Common teaching; Church teaching (*Directory* 216)
Aquinas	*ST* I q. 113	Guardianship executes providence toward each immortal person, from birth, never wholly withdrawn	Common teaching; Thomist position

Witness	Locus	Teaching on the guardian angel	Grade
Aquinas	*In II Sent.* d. 11 q. 1 a. 3	The guardian is given at the infusion of the rational soul	Disputed
Suárez	*De angelis* VI.17–19	Guardianship certain of faith; from conception; guardians lead just souls to heaven or purgatory	Common teaching; Pious tradition
Catechism; John Paul II; *Directory*	CCC 336; audience of 6 Aug. 1986; nn. 215–217	Human life is surrounded by the angels' care; the Church keeps their feast and prays the *Angele Dei*	Church teaching

18 The Assaults of the Demons

The demons fell by their own will and are fixed in it (§13). Their natural gifts remain entire, and until the judgment the dark air is given them as a place of punishment ordered to the exercise of men (*ST* I q. 64 aa. 1, 4; §13.2). What they do with that liberty is the matter of the last question of the treatise, *de impugnatione Daemonum*, the assault of the demons (*ST* I q. 114 pr.). The good angels minister to man's salvation; the wicked, with the same natural powers over imagination, sense, and bodies (qq. 110–111; §16), labour for his ruin; and God, who commands the one and permits the other, orders both to the glory of the elect.

Scripture teaches the warfare plainly. "For our wrestling is not against flesh and blood; but against principalities and powers, against the rulers of the world of this darkness, against the spirits of wickedness in the high places" (Eph 6:12). "Your adversary the devil, as a roaring lion, goeth about seeking whom he may devour. Whom resist ye, strong in faith" (1 Pet 5:8–9). In Job the adversary asks leave and receives it within a limit: "all that he hath is in thy hand: only put not forth thy hand upon his person" (Job 1:12); "he is in thy hand, but yet save his life" (Job 2:6). He tempts the Lord in the desert and departs from him "for a time" (Luke 4:13). He desires to sift Simon "as wheat," and the Lord answers, "But I have prayed for thee, that thy faith fail not" (Luke 22:31–32). He "transformeth himself into an angel of light" (2 Cor 11:14), yet "God is faithful, who will not suffer you to be tempted above that which you are able" (1 Cor 10:13), and "for this purpose the Son of God appeared, that he might destroy the works of the devil" (1 John 3:8), "despoiling the principalities and powers" and "triumphing over them in himself" (Col 2:15; Douay throughout).

The Church confesses the same power and the same limit. The Council of Trent, in the first canon on original sin, anathematizes whoever denies that Adam by his transgression incurred death and with death *captivitatem sub eius potestate, 'qui mortis' deinde 'habuit imperium'* (Hebr 2, 14)*, hoc est diaboli*, captivity under the power of him who had the empire of death, the devil (DS 1511); the decree on justification recalls that fallen men were *sub potestate diaboli ac mortis* (DS 1521). The Catechism teaches that "the power of Satan is, nonetheless, not infinite. He is only a creature, powerful from the fact that he is pure spirit, but still a creature," and that his action, though it may cause grave injuries, "is permitted by divine providence which with strength and gentleness guides human and cosmic history" (CCC 395). In the last petition of the Lord's Prayer "evil is not an abstraction, but refers to a person, Satan, the Evil One, the angel who opposes God" (CCC 2851). Paul VI, in the audience of 15 November 1972 (§2), called the devil the tempter *per eccellenza* who knows how to steal into us *per via dei sensi, della fantasia, della concupiscenza*, by way of the senses, the imagination, and concupiscence, and he gave the Christian's defence in one line: *La grazia è la difesa decisiva*, grace is the decisive defence. The rites and discipline by which the Church casts out demons are treated in the study *Catholic Exorcism: History, Discipline, and Pastoral Practice* in this collection.

18.1 The Fathers on the Warfare with the Demons

The Fathers wrote on the demons as pastors and as men of prayer who had met them. Their teaching converges on three truths that the *Summa* will order: the demons tempt with a real and malicious power; they can force no one; and their power is given, measured, and turned to good by God.

Origen: the opposing powers and the freedom of the will. The third book of *De principiis* gathers Scripture on the opposing powers who contend with the human race, from the serpent in Eden to Judas, into whom "Satan entered": "By all this, therefore, holy Scripture teaches us that there are certain invisible enemies that fight against us, and against whom it commands us to arm ourselves" (*De princ.* III.2.1). Origen then corrects the simple who think that without the devil no one would sin, since the natural appetites give only the seeds of sins, which the hostile power seizes when they are indulged beyond measure (III.2.1–2; the passage is expounded at §4); Aquinas takes this argument into *ST* I q. 114 a. 3. Providence measures the contest, each being tempted in proportion to his power of resistance (III.2.3), and Origen adds a precise distinction: "it is not the same thing to possess the power of conquering and to be victorious," for the power given may be used "either in a diligent manner, and then we prove victorious, or in a slothful manner, and then we are defeated" (ibid.). No saint could sustain the whole assault of these powers at once "unless indeed the might of Him alone were to work in him, who said, 'Be of good cheer, I have overcome the world' " (III.2.5). Losses and calumnies are aimed beyond themselves, that "we should be driven either to excess of anger or sorrow, or to the last pitch of despair," or to complain against God; and so "every believer ought to say, 'Thou couldst have no power at all against Me, except it were given thee from above' " (III.2.6). All such events are "brought about, not indeed by God, and yet not without Him" (III.2.7).

Athanasius: the discourse of Antony. The *Life of Antony* sets at its centre the discourse in which the father of monks taught his disciples about the demons (*Vita Antonii* 16–43; expounded at §4.11). The demons were made good and fell from the heavenly wisdom, and out of envy they labour to keep Christians from the place whence they fell (22); since the Lord visited earth their powers are weakened, so that their tumults and changing shapes are the display of actors frightening children (28); they could not enter even the swine without leave (29), they fear the fasting, prayer, humility, and above all the piety toward Christ of the ascetics (30), and they vanish at the sign of the Cross and the name of Christ (35, 41). The lesson is confidence: "while the Lord is with us, our foes can do us no hurt. For when they come they approach us in a form corresponding to the state in which they discover us, and adapt their delusions to the condition of mind in which they find us" (42).

Chrysostom: the devil has no tyranny. Chrysostom preached three homilies against those who said that demons govern human affairs, and on the power of man to resist the devil. Had God entrusted the world to them, they would have confounded everything, as the swine of Gerasa show; the devil overcomes by no force or tyranny; he is left in the world to crown the diligent; and his very name, the slanderer, names his choice and not his nature (*De diabolo tentatore* I.6; II.1–2; expounded at §4.17). Paul himself used him "as an executioner," handing over the fornicator "for the destruction of the flesh," with the limit God set in Job (II.4). Chrysostom warns against the excuse the devil loves: "For he wishes extremely to attribute the cause of our sins to himself, in order that we being nourished by these hopes, and entering on all kinds of evil, may increase the chastening in our own case, and may meet with no pardon from having transferred the cause to him. Just as Eve met with none" (II.5). "The Devil is wicked; I grant this indeed, but he is wicked for himself not towards us if we are wary" (III.1). God has left him in the world "in order that he might render thee the stronger, in order that he may make the athlete more illustrious," since he "not only does no harm to the wary and the heedful, but even profits them, not owing to his own purpose (for that is wicked), but owing to their courage who have used that wickedness aright" (III.2).

Cassian: Abbot Serenus on the spirits of wickedness. The seventh and eighth *Conferences* give the desert's teaching through Abbot Serenus (expounded at §5.7). The enemies incite and do not force, so that no one is deceived by the devil "but one who has chosen to yield to him the consent of his own will" (*Conl.* VII.8); no spirit can be implanted in another so as to hold it, for that is the prerogative of God alone (VII.10). The demons learn our thoughts only from outward signs, as thieves scatter sand in a dark house and listen for the ring of hidden metal (VII.15–16); certain spirits brood over each sin (VII.17), and Christ, "the merciful judge of our contest, and president of the games," equalizes the strength of the combatants (VII.20). If they cannot enter the swine without leave, still less can they enter men made in the image of God (VII.22); and they find no entrance into mind or body "unless they have first deprived it of all holy thoughts, and made it empty and free from spiritual meditation" (VIII.19).

Augustine: power given from above. Augustine teaches the limit of the demons' power in the *City of God*: "it is to be most firmly believed that Almighty God can do whatever He pleases, whether in punishing or favoring, and that the demons can accomplish nothing by their natural power (for their created being is itself angelic, although made malign by their own fault), except what He may permit, whose judgments are often hidden, but never

unrighteous." When they seem to transform things, the demons "do not create real substances, but only change the appearance of things created by the true God so as to make them seem to be what they are not," and "I cannot therefore believe that even the body, much less the mind, can really be changed into bestial forms and lineaments by any reason, art, or power of the demons" (*De civ. Dei* XVIII.18). Yet not all their works are appearances. When fire fell on Job's flocks and the whirlwind struck his house, "these were not deceitful appearances, and yet they were the works of Satan to whom God had given this power" (XX.19).

In *De divinatione daemonum* Augustine explains the demons' foreknowledge from the keen sense, speed, and long experience of their aerial nature, and he later judged too confident his claim that they learn thoughts from bodily signs (*De div. daem.* 3.7–6.10; *Retract.* II.30; expounded at §5.10.7). Often they announce what they themselves are about to do, for *accipiunt enim saepe potestatem et morbos immittere, et ipsum aerem vitiando morbidum reddere; et perversis atque amatoribus terrenorum commodorum malefacta suadere* (5.9); in their other predictions *daemones plerumque et falluntur et fallunt*, deceived when a command from above overturns their plans, and deceiving from envy, *qua hominum errore laetantur* (6.10). The whole doctrine rests for Augustine on the will of the one who gives the power: *Non ergo eius voluntas cuius malitiae potestas in bonos datur, sed eius voluntas a quo haec potestas datur debet nobis esse carissima.* Not the will of the one whose malice receives power over the good, but the will of the one who gives the power, must be dearest to us (*De div. qq. 83* q. 79.5).

Gregory: the evil will and the just power. Gregory reads the first chapters of Job as the charter of the demons' power. When Satan desires to tempt the holy man, he asks the Lord to put forth His hand, "for the devil knows well that he is unable to do any thing of himself" (*Moralia* II.10.16). Then comes the sentence the tradition would repeat:

> But we must know that the will of Satan is always evil, but his power is never unjust, for his will he derives from himself, but his power he derives from God. For what he himself unrighteously desires to do, God does not allow to be done except with justice. (*Moralia* II.10.17)

The evil spirit that troubled Saul is called both "the Lord's spirit" and "an evil spirit," the Lord's "by the concession of just power," evil by the desire of an unjust will, "so that he is not to be dreaded, who has no power but by permission" (II.10.17). In the Lord's words to Satan Gregory marks "the dispensations of heavenly pity, how He lets go our enemy, and keeps him in; how He looses, and yet bridles him. He allows him some things for temptation, but withholds him from others" (II.11.19). Satan is said to go forth from the presence of the Lord, who is everywhere, because "being freed from above from the pressure of an inward withholding, he went to the execution of his desire" (II.12.21), and he chose his hour with care, for "the adversary does not only cast about what to do, but also when to do it" (II.13.22). In the homily on the angels Gregory assigns the restraint to an order of the holy angels. The Powers are those *ut eorum ditioni virtutes adversae subjectae sint, quorum potestate refrenantur, ne corda hominum tantum tentare praevaleant quantum volunt*: the adverse powers are subject to them and are bridled by them, lest they prevail to tempt men's hearts as much as they wish (*Hom. in Ev.* 34.10).

18.2 The Assaults of the Demons (*ST* I q. 114)

Five articles: whether men are assailed by the demons; whether to tempt is proper to the devil; whether all the sins of men are due to the assaults or temptations of the demons; whether they can work real miracles to lead men astray; and whether demons overcome by men are hindered from further assaults (*ST* I q. 114 pr.).

Men are assailed by the demons (a. 1). The *sed contra* is Eph 6:12. Aquinas distinguishes "the assault itself, and the ordering thereof. The assault itself is due to the malice of the demons, who through envy endeavor to hinder man's progress; and through pride usurp a semblance of Divine power, by deputing certain ministers to assail man, as the angels of God in their various offices minister to man's salvation. But the ordering of the assault is from God, Who knows how to make orderly use of evil by ordering it to good" (*ordo impugnationis ipsius est a Deo, qui ordinate novit malis uti, ad bona ea ordinando*). Of the good angels, "both their guardianship and the ordering thereof are to be referred to God as their first author." The first objection argues that God sends angels to guard man and would not send demons to destroy him. Aquinas answers with two modes of assault. In instigating to sin the demons "are not sent by God to assail us, but are sometimes permitted to do so according to God's just judgments." Sometimes their assault is a punishment, and then they are sent, "as the lying spirit was sent to punish

Achab" (3 Kgs 22:21–22), yet "they punish from hatred or envy; whereas they are sent by God on account of His justice" (ad 1). Gregory's sentence on the evil will and the just power is the same doctrine (*Moralia* II.10.17). The second objection calls the fight unequal, the weak and ignorant against the strong and astute. "In order that the conditions of the fight be not unequal, there is as regards man the promised recompense, to be gained principally through the grace of God, secondarily through the guardianship of the angels. Wherefore (2 Kings 6:16), Eliseus said to his servant: 'Fear not, for there are more with us than with them' " (ad 2; 4 Kgs 6:16–17, where the servant's eyes are opened on a mountain "full of horses, and chariots of fire"). The flesh and the world would suffice to exercise human weakness, "but it does not suffice for the demon's malice, which makes use of both," and "by the Divine ordinance this tends to the glory of the elect" (ad 3).

To tempt is the devil's office (a. 2). The *sed contra* is 1 Thess 3:5, "lest perhaps he that tempteth should have tempted you," with the gloss, "that is, the devil, whose office it is to tempt." "To tempt is, properly speaking, to make trial of something," and "the immediate end of every tempter is knowledge." The knowledge may serve a further end, good, as when one tests a man to promote him, or bad, as when one tests him "with the purpose of deceiving or ruining him." Man tempts God sinfully when, as if uncertain, he presumes to make trial of God's power; he tempts men sometimes to help and sometimes to harm. "The devil, however, always tempts in order to hurt by urging man into sin. In this sense it is said to be his proper office to tempt," and a man who tempts thus "does this as minister of the devil." God tempts "that He may know, in the same sense as that is said to know which makes others to know": "the Lord your God trieth you, that it may appear whether you love him" (Deut 13:3). The flesh and the world tempt "as the instruments or matter of temptations," which the devil also uses. The demons know what happens outwardly among men, "but the inward disposition of man God alone knows, Who is the 'weigher of spirits' " (Prov 16:2); so "the devil tempts, in order to explore this inward disposition of man, so that he may tempt him to that vice to which he is most prone" (ad 2). This is Cassian's image of the thief scattering sand to hear where the treasure rings (*Conl.* VII.16), and Antony's warning that the demons "adapt their delusions to the condition of mind in which they find us" (*Vita Antonii* 42). Though a demon cannot change the will, "he can change the inferior powers of man, in a certain degree: by which powers, though the will cannot be forced, it can nevertheless be inclined" (ad 3; *ST* I q. 111 aa. 2–4).

Not all sins are from the devil's temptation (a. 3). The objections gather strong authorities. Dionysius says "that 'the multitude of demons is the cause of all evils, both to themselves and to others' "; in Parker's version the question is how the demons, "having fallen away from the angelic identity, as regards the desire of the Good, have become cause of all evils both to themselves and to all the others who are said to be corrupted" (*DN* 4.18). Damascene says "that 'all malice and all uncleanness have been devised by the devil' "; in the English of his translator, "all wickedness, then, and all impure passions are the work of their mind" (*De fide orth.* II.4). The *sed contra* is the *De ecclesiasticis dogmatibus*: "Not all our evil thoughts are stirred up by the devil, but sometimes they arise from the movement of our free-will." Aquinas distinguishes direct and indirect cause. Indirectly, as one who dries the wood causes it to burn, "the devil is the cause of all our sins; because he it was who instigated the first man to sin, from whose sin there resulted a proneness to sin in the whole human race," and so the words of Damascene and Dionysius are to be taken. Directly he is not: "all sins are not committed at the devil's instigation, but some are due to the free-will and the corruption of the flesh. For, as Origen says (Peri Archon iii), even if there were no devil, men would have the desire for food and love and such like pleasures; with regard to which many disorders may arise unless those desires are curbed by reason, especially if we presuppose the corruption of our natures. Now it is in the power of the free-will to curb this appetite and keep it in order." The sins that are due to the devil men commit "through being deceived by the same blandishments as were our first parents," as Isidore says. Whoever sins without the devil's instigation still becomes his child "in so far as he imitates him who was the first to sin" (ad 2; John 8:44). The comparison with the good angels fails: "Man can of his own accord fall into sin: but he cannot advance in merit without the Divine assistance, which is borne to man by the ministry of the angels. For this reason the angels take part in all our good works: whereas all our sins are not due to the demons' instigation. Nevertheless there is no kind of sin which is not sometimes due to the demons' suggestion" (ad 3).

The article gathers the Fathers' teaching: Origen against those who think no one would sin without the devil (*De princ.* III.2.1–2), Chrysostom against those who would shift the cause of their sins to him (*De diabolo tentatore* II.5), and Chrysostom's reading of Eve, who yielded "to her own desire" more than to the serpent's craft (III.4). Paul VI taught the same in 1972 with a reference to the *Summa*: *Non è detto che ogni peccato sia direttamente dovuto ad azione diabolica*; but whoever does not keep watch over himself with a certain moral rigour exposes himself to the *mysterium iniquitatis* (audience of 15 November 1972).

The demons' wonders are not true miracles (a. 4). The *sed contra* is Augustine: "Often by means of the magic art miracles are wrought like those which are wrought by the servants of God." In the strict sense "the demons cannot work miracles, nor can any creature, but God alone: since in the strict sense a miracle is something done outside the order of the entire created nature, under which order every power of a creature is contained" (*ST* I q. 110 a. 4). In a wide sense a miracle is "whatever exceeds the human power and experience," and so "demons can work miracles, that is, things which rouse man's astonishment." "Although these works of demons which appear marvelous to us are not real miracles, they are sometimes nevertheless something real. Thus the magicians of Pharaoh by the demons' power produced real serpents and frogs" (Exod 7:11–12; 8:7), and the fire and wind that destroyed Job's household "were the work of Satan, not phantoms," as Augustine says (*De civ. Dei* XX.19). The works of Antichrist, whose coming is "according to the working of Satan, in all power and signs and lying wonders" (2 Thess 2:9), are called lying, as Augustine explains, either because he will deceive men's senses by phantoms, "or because, if he work real prodigies, they will lead those into falsehood who believe in him" (ad 1). Augustine leaves the reason of the name to the time itself: "Why they are called signs and lying wonders, we shall then be more likely to know when the time itself arrives" (XX.19).

The second reply sets the limit. Matter does not obey the demons at will, but they "can employ certain seeds that exist in the elements of the world," as Augustine teaches (*De Trin.* III.8–9), and so whatever natural powers can produce, the demons can produce "by the employment of these seeds; such as the transformation of certain things into serpents or frogs, which can be produced by putrefaction. On the contrary, those transformations which cannot be produced by the power of nature, cannot in reality be effected by the operation of the demons; for instance, that the human body be changed into the body of a beast, or that the body of a dead man return to life." What seems such is "a mere semblance of reality," worked from within on imagination and sense (*ST* I q. 111 aa. 3–4) or from without, as a demon "can from the air form a body of any form and shape, and assume it," and clothe any body in another's appearance; this is Augustine's sentence on the phantasm presented to other men's senses (*De civ. Dei* XVIII.18). The third objection says that if demons can work true wonders, miracles cannot confirm the faith. Aquinas answers with Augustine: "When magicians do what holy men do, they do it for a different end and by a different right. The former do it for their own glory; the latter, for the glory of God: the former, by certain private compacts; the latter by the evident assistance and command of God, to Whom every creature is subject" (ad 3; *De div. qq. 83* q. 79.4, where the Latin runs *et diverso fine et diverso iure fiunt*). *De potentia* gives the deeper reason why God grants the demons no power beyond their nature: a miracle is a divine testimony to God's power and truth, and *si Daemonibus ... aliqua potestas daretur faciendi miracula, Deus falsitatis eorum testis existeret; quod divinam bonitatem non decet* (*De pot.* q. 6 a. 5). What the demons do is done *per modum artis*, by natural powers applied, never by way of miracle (ibid.).

A demon overcome does not return at once (a. 5). The *sed contra* is Matt 4:11: "Then the devil left him," Christ who had overcome him. Aquinas records two opinions: that a demon once overcome can tempt no man again, and that he can tempt others but not the same man. The second "seems more probable as long as we understand it to be so for a certain definite time: wherefore (Luke 4:13) it is written: 'All temptation being ended, the devil departed from Him for a time.'" There are two reasons. One is God's clemency, for, as Aquinas cites Chrysostom on Matthew, "the devil does not tempt man for just as long as he likes, but for as long as God allows; for although He allows him to tempt for a short time, He orders him off on account of our weakness." The other is the devil's cunning, as Ambrose says on Luke: "The devil is afraid of persisting, because he shrinks from frequent defeat." That he sometimes returns is plain from the Gospel: "I will return into my house from whence I came out" (Matt 12:44). The objections are easily solved. Christ overcame the tempter in the desert, and the devil afterwards assailed him again through those who sought his death, which Luke's "for a time" allows; and God's mercy in holding back the conquered enemy is no incitement to sharper attack, since the enemy is restrained, not rewarded. The Fathers give the same picture from their own side. Antony teaches that "if thus they are worsted they make an onslaught in another manner" (*Vita Antonii* 23), and Serenus that "when one has been vanquished and retreated, he must make way for another spirit to attack it still more vehemently" (*Conl.* VII.19). Gregory saw the same rhythm in Job: God did not loose the enemy on everything at once, but "that from one conflict first the enemy might return to the Lord defeated, and that then he might grant him another encounter to be again worsted" (*Moralia* II.11.19).

Summa: *ST* I q. 114 aa. 1–5; parallels *De malo* q. 16 aa. 8, 10–12; *De potentia* q. 6 aa. 5, 10.
Grade: Defined that by Adam's sin man incurred captivity under the power of the devil, who had the empire of death (Trent, Sess. V can. 1, DS 1511; cf. DS 1521). Church teaching that Satan's power is a creature's, not infinite, and permitted by providence (CCC 395), that the last petition of the Lord's Prayer asks deliverance from him (CCC 2850–2854), and that not every sin is directly due to diabolical action (Paul VI, 15 November 1972; a. 3). Common teaching that the demons assail men from envy and pride under God's ordering, permitted in tempting and sometimes sent to punish (a. 1; Eph 6:12; 3 Kgs 22:22; Gregory, *Moralia* II.10.17), that to tempt to sin is the devil's proper office (a. 2; 1 Thess 3:5), that the devil is the indirect cause of all sins through the first sin but not the direct cause of all (a. 3; Origen, *De princ.* III.2.1–2), and that the demons work wonders, sometimes real, but no miracle in the proper sense (a. 4; Augustine, *De Trin.* III.8.13, *De civ. Dei* XVIII.18, XX.19). Thomist position, as the more probable of two recorded opinions, that a demon overcome is kept from assailing the same man for a time (a. 5).
Authorities: Eph 6:12 (*sed contra* of a. 1); 1 Thess 3:5 with the gloss (a. 2); the *De ecclesiasticis dogmatibus* (a. 3), Augustine's *Eighty-Three Questions* (a. 4), and Matt 4:11 (a. 5), the *sed contra* authorities; 3 Kgs 22:21–22, 4 Kgs 6:16, Gen 22:1, Deut 13:3, Prov 16:2, John 8:44, 2 Thess 2:9, Mark 16:20, Luke 4:13, Matt 12:44 (Douay). Dionysius, *DN* 4.18; Damascene, *De fide orth.* II.4; Origen, *De princ.* III.2; Augustine, *De civ. Dei* XVIII.18 and XX.19, *De Trin.* III.8–9, *De div. qq. 83* q. 79; Isidore, *Sent.* II, Ambrose on Luke 4:13, and the Chrysostom on Matthew (the *Opus imperfectum*, as the 1920 English edition notes), cited by Aquinas. Added witnesses: Athanasius, *Vita Antonii* 21–43; Chrysostom, *De diabolo tentatore* I–III; Cassian, *Conl.* VII.8–22, VIII.12–19; Augustine, *De div. daem.* 3.7–6.10, *Retract.* II.30; Gregory, *Moralia* II.10–13, *Hom. in Ev.* 34.10. Trent (DS 1511, 1521); CCC 395, 2850–2854; Paul VI, audience of 15 November 1972.
Contrary opinion: "The more simple among the believers" in Origen, who ascribe every sin to the opposing powers (*De princ.* III.2.1), and those in Chrysostom who say that demons govern human affairs (*De diab. tent.* I.6). On the demon overcome (a. 5): the opinion that he can tempt no man again, and the unqualified opinion that he can never tempt the same man again. Augustine's early sentence that the demons learn thoughts from bodily signs, which he later judged too confident (*Retract.* II.30).

18.3 "Deliver Us from Evil"

The Lord's Prayer ends in the petition that answers the whole question: "And lead us not into temptation. But deliver us from evil" (Matt 6:13). The Catechism reads the two petitions together. The first "implores the Spirit of discernment and strength" in the battle "between flesh and spirit" (CCC 2846); the second asks deliverance from Satan, "the one who 'throws himself across' God's plan and his work of salvation accomplished in Christ" (CCC 2851). The victory is already won: "Victory over the 'prince of this world' was won once for all at the Hour when Jesus freely gave himself up to death to give us his life" (CCC 2853). The Catechism gives Ambrose's assurance to the newly baptized: "One who entrusts himself to God does not dread the devil. 'If God is for us, who is against us?' " (CCC 2852, citing Ambrose, *De sacramentis* 5.4.30). And when the Church asks to be delivered from the Evil One, she prays "to be freed from all evils, present, past, and future, of which he is the author or instigator" (CCC 2854; on the demons' powers and their limits, Appendix K).

19 Christ, Mary, and the Angels

The angels belong to Christ. They were made through him and for him; they adore him when the Father brings the First-begotten into the world; they announce his conception, sing at his birth, serve him in the desert, strengthen him in his agony, keep his tomb, escort his Ascension, and will come with him when he returns to judge. The Apostle names their orders in order to set the Son above them: "in him were all things created in heaven and on earth, visible and invisible, whether thrones, or dominations, or principalities, or powers. All things were created by him and in him" (Col 1:16). The Catechism gathers the whole into one sentence, "Christ is the centre of the angelic world," and gives the reason: the angels are his because they were created through and for him, and still more because he has made them messengers of his saving plan (CCC 331). The Mother of this Lord, saluted by an angel and served by angels, is exalted above them all; and the men whom Christ redeems are taken up into their company. The Fathers pass through each of these mysteries with the angels at their side, and Aquinas gives three of them their own

articles: Christ's headship over the angels (*ST* III q. 8 a. 4), his judicial power over them (*ST* III q. 59 a. 6), and the Annunciation (*ST* III q. 30).

19.1 Christ, Head of the Angels

The witness of the Apostle. Twice the Apostle sets Christ over the orders by name. To the Colossians he says that Christ is he "who is the head of all principality and power" (Col 2:10). To the Ephesians he describes the power the Father "wrought in Christ, raising him up from the dead and setting him on his right hand in the heavenly places. Above all principality and power and virtue and dominion and every name that is named, not only in this world, but also in that which is to come. And he hath subjected all things under his feet and hath made him head over all the church" (Eph 1:20–22). Peter says the same of the ascended Christ: "being gone into heaven, the angels and powers and virtues being made subject to him" (1 Pet 3:22). The Father's design is "to re-establish all things in Christ, that are in heaven and on earth, in him" (Eph 1:10), and the name of Jesus is the name at which "every knee should bow, of those that are in heaven, on earth, and under the earth" (Phil 2:10).

The Epistle to the Hebrews opens its doctrine of the Son with a comparison to the angels. Christ is "made so much better than the angels as he hath inherited a more excellent name than they"; to none of them did the Father say, "Thou art my Son"; and "when he bringeth in the first begotten into the world, he saith: And let all the angels of God adore him" (Heb 1:4–6; Ps 96[97]:7). The angels are made "spirits" and "a flame of fire," and they are "all ministering spirits, sent to minister for them who shall receive the inheritance of salvation" (Heb 1:7, 14; Ps 103[104]:4). The second chapter gives the other side of the mystery. Jesus "was made a little lower than the angels, for the suffering of death, crowned with glory and honour," and "nowhere doth he take hold of the angels: but of the seed of Abraham he taketh hold" (Heb 2:9, 16). "God hath not subjected unto angels the world to come" (2:5). The Son is above the angels by nature and by inheritance, beneath them for a time in the flesh he assumed for death, and set over them in that same flesh, crowned after the Passion.

The Fathers on the Head above the orders. Irenaeus reads the headship as the completion of the Word's work of summing up. The Word made man took up man into himself, "thus summing up all things in Himself: so that as in super-celestial, spiritual, and invisible things, the Word of God is supreme, so also in things visible and corporeal He might possess the supremacy, and, taking to Himself the pre-eminence, as well as constituting Himself Head of the Church, He might draw all things to Himself at the proper time" (*Adv. haer.* III.16.6). The Word was already supreme over the invisible creation; the Incarnation extends the same primacy through the visible creation and gathers both under one Head.

Chrysostom is the preacher of this exaltation. On the command that the angels adore the First-begotten, he observes that Paul speaks "concerning that which is according to the flesh": the Father, "just as any one introducing another into a house straightway commands those having the care thereof to do him reverence," says "in regard to the Flesh, 'And let all the Angels of God worship Him' " (*Hom. in Heb.* 3.1). On Heb 2:16 he reads the verb "taketh hold" as the figure of a pursuer overtaking one who flees: human nature was running from God, and he ran after it and caught it. Then he cries out that it is "a great and a wonderful thing, and full of amazement that our flesh should sit on high, and be adored by Angels and Archangels, by the Cherubim and the Seraphim" (*Hom. in Heb.* 5.1; §4.17). On Ephesians he dwells on the Apostle's "far above." "He does not simply say, 'above,' but, 'far above;' for God is above those powers which are above. And thither then hath He raised Him, Him that is one of us, brought Him from the lowest point to the supremest sovereignty, to that beyond which there is no other honor" (*Hom. in Eph.* 3). The exaltation of the Head is a charge laid on the members: "Yet Angels reverence that Head, and Archangels, and all those powers above. And shall we, which are His body, be awed neither on the one account nor the other?" (*ibid.*). The body whose Head the angels reverence cannot be handed over to the insults of the devils.

The angels in the mystical body (*ST* III q. 8 a. 4). In the Tertia Pars Aquinas treats the grace of Christ as Head of the Church, and asks whether Christ, as man, is also the Head of the angels. Three objections stand against it. Head and members must be of one nature, and Christ as man shares his nature with men alone, for "nowhere doth He take hold of the angels" (Heb 2:16). Christ is Head of the Church, and the Church is the congregation of the faithful; but the angels have no faith, for they walk "by sight" and not "by faith" (2 Cor 5:6–7). And Augustine says that as the Word quickens souls, the Word made flesh quickens bodies, which the angels lack.

The *sed contra* is the Apostle's "head of all Principality and Power" (Col 2:10), "and the same reason holds good with the other orders of angels."

Aquinas answers from the nature of a body. Where there is one body there is one head, and "a multitude ordained to one end, with distinct acts and duties, may be metaphorically called one body. But it is manifest that both men and angels are ordained to one end, which is the glory of the Divine fruition. Hence the mystical body of the Church consists not only of men but of angels" (*corpus Ecclesiae mysticum non solum consistit ex hominibus, sed etiam ex Angelis*). "Now of all this multitude Christ is the Head, since He is nearer God, and shares His gifts more fully, not only than man, but even than angels; and of His influence not only men but even angels partake." The proof is Eph 1:20–22, and the sign is the Gospel's "angels came and ministered to Him" (Matt 4:11). The replies carry the doctrine further. Christ's influence reaches men chiefly in their souls, "wherein men agree with angels in generic nature, though not in specific nature" (ad 1). "The Church, on earth, is the congregation of the faithful; but, in heaven, it is the congregation of comprehensors. Now Christ was not merely a wayfarer, but a comprehensor. And therefore He is the Head not merely of the faithful, but of comprehensors" (ad 2). And the humanity of Christ, by virtue of the Godhead to which it is joined, "can cause something not only in the spirits of men, but also in the spirits of angels, on account of its most close conjunction with God, i.e. by personal union" (ad 3). The Church of which Christ is Head is one city of men and angels, and his grace flows into both.

The Judge of angels (*ST* III q. 59 a. 6). The last article of the treatise on the mysteries of Christ asks whether his judicial power extends to the angels. The objections: the angels were judged once for all at the beginning, when some fell and the rest were confirmed; the angels will come to judge with Christ, "when the Son of Man shall come in His majesty, and all the angels with Him" (Matt 25:31), and one cannot be both judge and judged; and to judge the angels would be to judge all creatures, which belongs to God's providence. The *sed contra* is Paul's question, "Know you not that we shall judge angels?" (1 Cor 6:3); "the saints judge only by Christ's authority," and much more, then, does Christ judge them.

Aquinas determines that "the angels are subjects of Christ's judiciary power, not only with regard to His Divine Nature, as He is the Word of God, but also with regard to His human nature," and gives three reasons. The first is the closeness of the assumed nature to God: Christ's soul "is more filled with the truth of the Word of God than any angel: for which reason He also enlightens the angels, as Dionysius says (Coel. Hier. vii), and so He has power to judge them." The second is the merit of the Passion: "by the lowliness of His Passion, human nature in Christ merited to be exalted above the angels," so that every knee bows at the name of Jesus (Phil 2:10), and "in token whereof it is said in the Apocalypse (7:11) that 'all the angels stood round about the throne.' " The third is what the angels do for men, of whom Christ is Head in a special way: they are "ministering spirits" sent for the heirs of salvation (Heb 1:14). The angels are subject to his judgment in three respects: in the dispensing of what is done through them, which the Man Christ also dispenses, to whom angels ministered and from whom the demons begged to be sent into the swine; in their accidental rewards, such as "the joy which they have at the salvation of men, according to Luke 15:10," and in the accidental punishments of the demons, as when the demon cried, "What have we to do with thee, Jesus of Nazareth? art Thou come to destroy us?" (Mark 1:24); and in the essential reward of beatitude and the essential punishment of damnation, which "was done by Christ from the beginning of the world, inasmuch as He is the Word of God." The replies answer the objections in turn. The judgment at the beginning concerned the essential reward (ad 1). The angels judge as spiritual creatures, yet, as Augustine says, "Although the spiritual man judgeth all things, still he is judged by Truth Itself" (ad 2; *De vera rel.* 31). And since the lower things are ruled by God through the higher, "it must be said that all things are ruled by Christ's soul, which is above every creature" (ad 3); for this reason "God hath not subjected unto angels the world to come" (Heb 2:5).

The angels and the mystery of the Incarnation. The Apostle says that the great mystery of godliness "appeared unto angels" (1 Tim 3:16), that the manifold wisdom of God is "made known to the principalities and powers in heavenly places through the church" (Eph 3:10), and Peter calls the Gospel a thing "on whom the angels desire to look" (1 Pet 1:12). Aquinas explains how the angels know it (*ST* I q. 57 a. 5). By their natural knowledge they cannot know the mysteries of grace, since these "depend upon the pure will of God." In the vision of the Word they know them, "but not all mysteries: nor do they all know them equally," and "the higher angels beholding the Divine wisdom more clearly, learn more and deeper mysteries in the vision of God, which mysteries they communicate to the lower angels by enlightening them. Some of these mysteries they knew from the very beginning of their creation; others they are taught afterwards, as befits their ministrations." The Incarnation in general was revealed to all of them from the beginning of their beatitude, "a kind of general principle to which all their duties are ordered" (ad 1);

its special conditions even the highest learned later. The *sed contra* is Dionysius's reading of Isaias 63, where the heavenly essences ask, "Who is this that cometh from Edom?" and are taught by Jesus himself. Dionysius marvels that "even the first of the Beings in Heaven, and so far above all, should reverently strive after the supremely Divine illuminations": they ask one another first, and then Jesus teaches them "immediately, and shewing to them, at first hand, His beneficent work out of love to man" (*CH* 7.3; see §6.7). The fallen angels knew far less. The demons "much less fully understood the mystery of the Incarnation, when Christ was in the world," for, as Augustine says, "It was not manifested to them as it was to the holy angels ... but it was made known by some temporal effects, so as to strike terror into them"; had they known, "they would never have procured the crucifixion of the Lord of glory" (*ST* I q. 64 a. 1 ad 4; 1 Cor 2:8; *De civ. Dei* IX.21).

Gregory Nazianzen joins the angels' knowledge to their joy. The Good Shepherd lit the lamp of his flesh, swept the house, and found the lost coin, "And He calls together His Angel friends on the finding of the coin, and makes them sharers in His joy, whom He had made to share also the secret of the Incarnation" (*Or.* 38.14). The friends who knew the secret rejoice when the coin is found.

The Catechism carries the same teaching through the whole economy: "From the Incarnation to the Ascension, the life of the Word incarnate is surrounded by the adoration and service of angels" (CCC 333).

> **Summa:** *ST* III q. 8 a. 4; *ST* III q. 59 a. 6; with *ST* I q. 57 a. 5 and *ST* I q. 64 a. 1 ad 4.
> **Grade:** Church teaching that Christ is the centre of the angelic world, that the angels were created through and for him, and that they serve his saving plan (CCC 331–333; Col 1:16; Heb 1:14). Common teaching that Christ, also in his human nature, is set above every order of angels (Eph 1:20–22; 1 Pet 3:22; Irenaeus, Chrysostom). Thomist position that the angels belong to the mystical body of which Christ is Head, that the grace of his humanity reaches their spirits by the personal union, and that his judicial power extends to them by reason of his human nature (III q. 8 a. 4; q. 59 a. 6). Thomist position that the angels knew the Incarnation in general from the beginning of their beatitude and learn its particulars by revelation (I q. 57 a. 5 ad 1).
> **Authorities:** Col 2:10 (s.c. of III q. 8 a. 4); 1 Cor 6:3 (s.c. of III q. 59 a. 6); Eph 1:20–22; Heb 1:4–14, 2:5–16; Phil 2:10; Apoc 7:11; Matt 4:11; Dionysius, *CH* 7.3 (Parker); Augustine, *De vera rel.* 31 and *De civ. Dei* IX.21, as cited by Aquinas; Irenaeus, *Adv. haer.* III.16.6; Chrysostom, *Hom. in Heb.* 3.1, 5.1, *Hom. in Eph.* 3; Gregory Nazianzen, *Or.* 38.14; CCC 331–333.

19.2 The Annunciation (*ST* III q. 30)

The Gospel names the messenger before it names the Virgin: "the angel Gabriel was sent from God into a city of Galilee, called Nazareth, To a virgin espoused to a man whose name was Joseph, of the house of David: and the virgin's name was Mary. And the angel being come in, said unto her: Hail, full of grace, the Lord is with thee: blessed art thou among women" (Luke 1:26–28). The same Gabriel had stood at the altar of incense six months before and said to Zachary, "I am Gabriel, who stand before God and am sent to speak to thee and to bring thee these good tidings" (1:19). To Mary he announces the Son of the Most High, answers her question with the overshadowing of the Holy Ghost, gives her the sign of Elizabeth, and receives her answer: "Behold the handmaid of the Lord: be it done to me according to thy word. And the angel departed from her" (1:38).

Dionysius reads the Annunciation as the law of the hierarchies at work in the Incarnation itself: "Angels first were initiated in the Divine mystery of the love of Jesus towards man, then, through them, the gift of its knowledge passed to us. Thus, for example, the most divine Gabriel instructed Zachariah ... and he revealed to Mary, how, in her, should be born the supremely Divine mystery of the unutterable God-formation" (*CH* 4.4; see §6.4). Aquinas gives the mystery a question of four articles.

Why it was announced (a. 1). The objections hold the announcement needless: the virginal conception was foretold by a prophecy of predestination, which is fulfilled without our consent; the Virgin already believed in the Incarnation; and those who conceive Christ spiritually receive no such message. The *sed contra* is the angel's "Behold, thou shalt conceive in thy womb" (Luke 1:31). Aquinas gives four reasons. The first is order: Mary should be instructed in mind before she conceived in the flesh, for, as Augustine says, "Mary is more blessed in receiving the faith of Christ, than in conceiving the flesh of Christ." The second is witness: instructed by God, she became a more certain witness of the mystery. The third is the free gift of obedience, "which she proved herself right ready to do, saying: 'Behold the handmaid of the Lord.' " The fourth is the marriage of God with mankind: "there is a

certain spiritual wedlock between the Son of God and human nature. Wherefore in the Annunciation the Virgin's consent was besought in lieu of that of the entire human nature" (*loco totius humanae naturae*). The prophecy of predestination "is fulfilled without the causality of our will; not without its consent" (ad 1); the Virgin believed, but "being humble, she did not think such high things of herself" (ad 2).

Leo the Great sees the same care of God for the Virgin's mind: "lest in ignorance of the heavenly counsel she should tremble at so strange a result, she learns from converse with the angel that what is to be wrought in her is of the Holy Ghost" (*Serm.* 21.1). Bernard, in the homilies *Super Missus est* that he wrote in praise of the Virgin Mother, turns the angel's waiting into the waiting of the world:

> The angel awaits your reply, for it is time that he should return to God, Who sent him. We, too, are waiting, O Lady, for a word of mercy—we, who are groaning under the sentence of condemnation. See, the price of our salvation is offered to you; if you consent, we shall at once be delivered. ... Answer, then, quickly to the angel—yes, through the angel give your consent to your God. Answer the word, receive the Word. Utter yours, conceive the Divine. (*Super Missus est* hom. 4; tr. 1909, pp. 68–69)

Adam, Abraham, and David, Bernard says, entreat her; "the entire human race" lies at her feet in expectation. The angel stands between God and the Virgin as the messenger who carries the question and will carry the answer: "through the angel give your consent to your God."

Why by an angel (a. 2). The objections: revelations to the highest angels come from God immediately, and the Mother of God is above the angels; divine things are taught to a woman by her husband; the highest angels did not fully know the mystery, for they ask, "Who is this that cometh from Edom?"; and the greatest message should have come from the highest order, whereas Gabriel is an archangel. The *sed contra* is Luke 1:26. Aquinas gives three reasons of fittingness. First, "that in this also might be maintained the order established by God, by which Divine things are brought to men by means of the angels," and he quotes the Dionysian text just given. Second, it befitted the restoration of mankind, and he quotes Bede's homily for the Annunciation: the ruin began when the devil sent the serpent to the woman, and the restoration begins when God sends an angel to the Virgin; Eve, deceived through a serpent, offered her husband the taste of death, and Mary, taught through an angel, brought forth the author of salvation (Bede, *Hom.* I.1; PL 94; §7.3). Third, it befitted her virginity, "because virginity is ever akin to the angelic nature. Surely to live in the flesh and not according to the flesh is not an earthly but a heavenly life," words Aquinas takes from a sermon on the Assumption that circulated under Jerome's name. Bede says the same in his own homily: she who strove to imitate the angelic life deserved to enjoy both the sight and the speech of an angel (*Hom.* I.1).

The replies treat the Virgin's rank. "The Mother of God was above the angels as regards the dignity to which she was chosen by God. But as regards the present state of life, she was beneath the angels" (ad 1; *superior erat Angelis quantum ad dignitatem ... quantum ad statum praesentis vitae, inferior erat Angelis*). Christ himself, by his passible life, "was made a little lower than the angels"; but he was wayfarer and comprehensor at once and needed no angel's instruction, whereas his Mother "was not yet in the state of comprehension." It was fitting that she learn the mystery from an angel and not from a man, since she stood outside the common rule of women (ad 2), and before Joseph, who learned it after she had conceived. The angels knew the mystery, and their question from Edom is the desire to learn its details, which no created intellect comprehends (ad 3).

On Gabriel's rank the doctors differ. "Some say that Gabriel was of the highest order," because Gregory writes that it was right for one of the highest angels to come, since his message was the most sublime; Aquinas holds that he was an archangel, *de ordine Archangelorum*, as the Church names him, and that "it is therefore sufficiently credible that he was the highest of the archangels"; his name, as Gregory says, means "Power of God," and fittingly, for "the Lord of hosts and mighty in battle was coming to overcome the powers of the air" (ad 4). Bernard reads the same name another way. "I do not think that this was one of the lower angels who for one cause or another are often sent to earth; and I gather it from his name, which is interpreted 'Strength of God'; because, also, he was not sent as is usual from a superior spirit, but from God Himself" (*Super Missus est* hom. 1). "Among the blessed spirits themselves Gabriel alone was excepted, for he alone was found worthy of his name and embassy." Bernard adds a pious conjecture of his own: the angel who strengthened Joseph, "a humble and timorous man," was very likely the same archangel (*ibid.*; Matt 1:20).

Why in bodily vision (a. 3). The objections prefer an intellectual vision, as more excellent, or an imaginary one, as Joseph's was in sleep, and fear the troubling of the Virgin's mind. The *sed contra* is a sermon Aquinas reads

as Augustine's, in which the Virgin says, "To me came the archangel Gabriel with glowing countenance, gleaming robe, and wondrous step." Aquinas determines that the angel appeared to her in a bodily vision, for three reasons. The first concerns what was announced: "the angel came to announce Incarnation of the invisible God. Wherefore it was becoming that, in order to make this known, an invisible creature should assume a form in which to appear visibly: forasmuch as all the apparitions of the Old Testament are ordered to that apparition in which the Son of God appeared in the flesh." The second concerns her dignity, since she was to receive the Son of God "not only in her mind, but in her bodily womb," and so her bodily senses too were to be "refreshed by the angelic vision" (*visione angelica refovendi*). The third is certainty, for which Aquinas cites Chrysostom. Chrysostom's own question, on Joseph's dream, is why the angel did not come "openly, as to the shepherds, and to Zacharias, and to the Virgin": Joseph "was exceedingly full of faith, and needed not this vision. Whereas the Virgin, as having declared to her very exceeding good tidings, greater than to Zacharias, and this before the event, needed also a marvellous vision" (*Hom. in Matt.* 4.10). The replies add that the Virgin had intellectual illumination together with the bodily vision, though as a wayfarer she could not see the angel in his essence (ad 1), and that the disturbance of a creature raised above itself does it no harm; the angel at once says "Fear not" (ad 3). Aquinas records another view as well: that the Virgin, accustomed to angelic visions, was troubled not at seeing the angel but "at his saying" (ad 3; Luke 1:29).

Ambrose, whom the reply cites, draws from the scene a school of virginal modesty: *Trepidare virginum est, et ad omnes viri ingressus pavere, omnes viri affatus vereri* (*In Luc.* II.8)—it belongs to virgins to tremble, to fear at every man's coming in, to be wary of every man's address. He pictures the place: *Sola in penetralibus, quam nemo virorum videret, solus angelus reperiret: sola sine comite, sola sine teste; ne quo degeneri depravaretur affatu, ab angelo salutatur*—alone in her inner room, where no man might see her and only an angel could find her, without companion and without witness, she is greeted by an angel, so that no unworthy address might touch her. *Disce, virgo, verborum vitare lasciviam: Maria etiam salutationem angeli verebatur*: learn, virgin, to shun wanton words; Mary was wary even of an angel's greeting. Bernard enters the same room and finds it closed:

> Closed, therefore, at that hour was the dwelling of that most prudent Virgin, but to men, not to angels. For the angels are wont to be near those who pray; they delight in beholding them raise their pure hands to heaven; and with glad service they present to God the sacrifices of devotion which they offer in the odour of sweetness. How pleasing to the Most High were the prayers of Mary is well shown by the reverence with which the angel saluted her. (*Super Missus est* hom. 3; tr. 1909, p. 49)

Bernard adds that no bolt could hold out "the subtlety of his nature," and that God, "swifter than the angel," was already with the Virgin when his messenger arrived: "He Who had sent the angel was already found by him with the Virgin."

The order of the message (a. 4). The objections find the order unfitting: the angel praised her before announcing the Child, and gave Elizabeth's conception, a lesser wonder, as proof of a greater. The *sed contra* is "Those that are of God, are well ordered" (Rom 13:1). The angel had a threefold purpose: to draw her attention "by a new and unwonted salutation," in which "Full of grace" asserts her worthiness, "The Lord is with thee" announces the conception, and "Blessed art thou among women" foretells her honour; to instruct her in the mystery by foretelling the conception and birth, declaring the Child's dignity, and making known the mode, "The Holy Ghost shall come upon thee"; and to lead her mind to consent by the example of Elizabeth and the argument from God's omnipotence. "To a humble mind nothing is more astonishing than to hear its own excellence" (ad 1). On whether Mary doubted, the Fathers seem to differ. Ambrose says explicitly that she did not: "She does not doubt fulfilment when she asks how it shall be done"; a text Aquinas reads as Augustine's says that the angel declared the possibility "to Mary, in doubt about the conception"; Aquinas reconciles them by calling it a doubt "of wonder rather than of unbelief" (ad 2). Ambrose, in his own exposition, grounds the angelic embassy in the greatness of the mandate: *Tanti namque mandati mysterium non hominis fuit, sed angeli ore promendum* (*In Luc.* II.15)—the mystery of so great a charge was to be spoken not by a man's mouth but by an angel's; and the angel announced an old and barren woman's conception to the Virgin *ut possibile Deo omne quod ei placuerit, assereret* (II.19), to show that all that pleases God is possible to him.

The Annunciation in the Church's praise. The Byzantine Church lets the archangel himself wonder. Her office for the feast sings that Gabriel "was sent from heaven to announce the glad tidings of conception unto a Virgin; and when he was come to Nazareth, he mused within himself, being astonished at the marvel: O, how can he who on high is beyond comprehension be born of a Virgin! … He upon whom the Six-winged and the Many-eyed are

unable to gaze deigneth, by his word alone, to become incarnate of her" (Hapgood, *Service Book*, 1906, p. 201). The troparion of the day joins the faithful to the angel's greeting: "Gabriel announceth the glad tidings of grace. Wherefore let us also cry aloud with him unto the Birth-giver of God: Hail, thou that art full of grace, the Lord is with thee!" (p. 202). The Latin Church repeats the angel's message morning, noon, and night in the Angelus, whose versicle begins "The Angel of the Lord declared unto Mary," and whose collect asks "that as we have known the Incarnation of Christ Thy Son by the message of an Angel, so, by His Passion and Cross, we may be brought to the glory of His resurrection" (*Manual of Prayers*, Baltimore, 1889, pp. 55–56). The Second Vatican Council names the scene in its chapter on the Mother of God: the Virgin of Nazareth *ab Angelo nuntiante, Dei mandato, ut "gratia plena" salutatur* (*Lumen gentium* 56), greeted by the announcing angel, at God's command, as full of grace.

Summa: *ST* III q. 30 aa. 1–4.
Grade: Scripture teaches that the angel Gabriel was sent from God to the Virgin, announced the conception of the Son of God by the Holy Ghost, and received her consent (Luke 1:26–38). Church teaching that the Virgin was greeted by the angel at God's command and freely consented (*Lumen gentium* 56). Common teaching that the Annunciation was fittingly made by an angel, according to the order by which divine things come to men through the angels, and fittingly to a virgin (a. 2; Dionysius, *CH* 4.4; Bede). Thomist position on the four reasons for the announcement, the bodily vision, and the order of the message (aa. 1, 3, 4). Disputed: Gabriel's rank (a. 2 ad 4). Pious tradition: Bernard's identification of the angel of Joseph's dream with Gabriel.
Authorities: Luke 1:31 (s.c. a. 1); Luke 1:26 (s.c. a. 2); a sermon read as Augustine's (s.c. a. 3); Rom 13:1 (s.c. a. 4); Dionysius, *CH* 4.4; Augustine, *De sancta virg.* 3, as cited; Bede, *Hom.* I.1 (PL 94); Chrysostom, *Hom. in Matt.* 4.10; Ambrose, *In Luc.* II.8, 15, 19; Gregory, *Hom. in Ev.* 34, as cited; Leo, *Serm.* 21.1; Bernard, *Super Missus est* homm. 1, 3, 4; Byzantine office of the Annunciation (Hapgood 1906); the Angelus.
Contrary opinion: On Gabriel's order: "some" place him in the highest order, from Gregory's phrase (a. 2 ad 4), and Bernard holds that he was sent from God himself and not through a superior spirit; Aquinas, the highest of the archangels. On the Virgin's question: Ambrose, no doubt; the text read as Augustine's, a doubt; Aquinas, a doubt of wonder (a. 4 ad 2). On her trouble: "others" say she was troubled at the words and not the sight (a. 3 ad 3).

19.3 The Nativity, the Desert, and the Agony

The heavenly army at Bethlehem. "And behold an angel of the Lord stood by them and the brightness of God shone round about them: and they feared with a great fear. And the angel said to them: Fear not; for, behold, I bring you good tidings of great joy that shall be to all the people: For, this day is born to you a Saviour, who is Christ the Lord, in the city of David. ... And suddenly there was with the angel a multitude of the heavenly army, praising God and saying: Glory to God in the highest: and on earth peace to men of good will" (Luke 2:9–14). The Catechism says that their song "has not ceased resounding in the Church's praise" (CCC 333).

Leo the Great preached on this night year after year, and he reads the angels' joy as the measure of ours:

> Therefore the exulting angel's song when the Lord was born is this, "Glory to God in the Highest," and their message, "peace on earth to men of good will." For they see that the heavenly Jerusalem is being built up out of all the nations of the world: and over that indescribable work of the Divine love how ought the humbleness of men to rejoice, when the joy of the lofty angels is so great? (*Serm.* 21.2)

The angels rejoice because they see their own city being built out of the nations. In another Christmas sermon Leo says that "Today the shepherds learnt from angels' voices that the Saviour was born in the substance of our flesh and soul," so that "we too may say with the army of the heavenly host: 'Glory in the highest to God, and on earth peace to men of good will' " (*Serm.* 26.1), and he names peace as the gift "which at the Lord's nativity was first proclaimed by the angel-choir" (26.3).

Gregory Nazianzen ends his oration on the Theophany by calling his people into the choir, "With Shepherds glorify Him; with Angels join in chorus," for the heavenly hosts keep the feast with men "because they love men, and they love God" (*Or.* 38.17; §4.14): the feast is one feast of heaven and earth. Earlier in the same oration Gregory calls the Christ-child by Isaias's title in the Greek Bible, "The Angel of the Great Counsel of the Father" (*Or.* 38.2; Isa 9:6, where the Septuagint reads "the Messenger of great counsel," tr. Brenton): he who is the Lord of the angels comes as the messenger of the Father's counsel.

Ambrose counts the embassies of that season as the care of God establishing faith: *angelus Mariam, angelus Ioseph, angelus pastores edocet. Non satis est semel missum; duobus enim vel tribus testibus stat omne verbum* (*In Luc.* II.51)—an angel teaches Mary, an angel Joseph, an angel the shepherds; one sending was not enough, for every word stands on two or three witnesses. The heavenly host is rightly called an army, *qui ducem militiae sequebantur* (II.52), for they were following the captain of their host. And the shepherds themselves are a figure of the Church's guardians: *non solum episcopos ad tuendum gregem Dominus ordinavit, sed etiam angelos destinavit* (II.50)—the Lord has appointed not only bishops to guard the flock but angels as well. *Vides pastores angelo credidisse* (II.53): the shepherds believed an angel, and Ambrose bids his hearers believe the Father, the Son, the Holy Spirit, the angels, the prophets, and the apostles.

The angel who appeared to Joseph "in his sleep" (Matt 1:20) warned him again to fly into Egypt and called him back (Matt 2:13, 19). Chrysostom explains the difference of the visions: the shepherds and the Virgin saw the angel openly, while Joseph, "exceedingly full of faith," needed no more than a dream (*Hom. in Matt.* 4.10). The Catechism sums up these embassies of the Infancy: the angels "protect Jesus in his infancy, serve him in the desert, strengthen him in his agony in the garden" (CCC 333).

Ministers in the desert. "Then the devil left him; and behold angels came and ministered to him" (Matt 4:11); Mark adds that "he was with beasts: and the angels ministered to him" (Mark 1:13). Chrysostom asks why they came only at the end:

> For when the assault was going on, He suffered them not to appear, that He might not thereby drive away the prey; but after He had convicted him in all points, and caused him to take to flight, then they appear: that thou also mayest learn, that after thy victories which are copied from His, angels will receive thee also, applauding thee, and waiting as guards on thee in all things. (*Hom. in Matt.* 13.5)

The angels who came to Christ after the victory are the angels who will receive the Christian after his, as they carried Lazarus. Ambrose sees the two natures in Mark's two clauses: *Tuum est quod bestias patitur, suum quod ab angelis praedicatur* (*In Luc.* II.52)—that he endures the beasts is yours, that he is proclaimed by angels is his own. For Aquinas the same verse is a sign of the headship (*ST* III q. 8 a. 4) and of the dispensing that belongs to the Man Christ (*ST* III q. 59 a. 6). Gregory Nazianzen puts it among the feasts of Christ's life: "you shall see Him tempted and conquering and served by Angels" (*Or.* 38.16).

The angel of the agony. "And there appeared to him an angel from heaven, strengthening him. And being in an agony, he prayed the longer" (Luke 22:43). At his arrest Christ tells Peter that he could ask his Father, "and he will give me presently more than twelve legions of angels" (Matt 26:53). Hilary of Poitiers treats the angel of the agony in his work on the Trinity. He reports that "in many manuscripts, both Latin and Greek, nothing is said of the angel's coming or the Bloody Sweat," and leaves the question of the text in suspense; but he forbids the heretics to find in the verse a proof of weakness:

> Let them remember the Creator of the angels needs not the support of His creatures. Moreover His comforting must be explained in the same way as His sorrow. He was sorrowful for us, that is, on our account; He must also have been comforted for us, that is, on our account. If He sorrowed concerning us, He was comforted concerning us. (*De Trin.* X.41)

Hilary reads the angel as sent "to watch over the Apostles," so that the Lord, comforted concerning them, could say, "Sleep on now, and take your rest" (X.40). Chrysostom gives the verse the opposite weight: the sweat like drops of blood and the strengthening angel were "a thousand sure signs of fear, lest any one should affirm the words to be feigned" (*Hom. in Matt.* 83.1). Hilary guards the Godhead, Chrysostom the reality of the manhood; both read the angel as serving the salvation of the disciples and of the Church. Ambrose, at the arrest, sets the legions aside before the Lord's word: *Quo mihi legiones angelorum, quo coelestis exercitus? Vox Domini sola plus terret* (*In Luc.* X.65)—what need of legions of angels or a heavenly army? The Lord's voice alone struck greater fear, when those who came to seize him fell to the ground (John 18:6).

19.4 The Resurrection, the Ascension, and the Coming in Glory

The witnesses of the tomb. "For an angel of the Lord descended from heaven and coming rolled back the stone and sat upon it. And his countenance was as lightning and his raiment as snow. . . . And the angel answering, said to the women: Fear not you: for I know that you seek Jesus who was crucified. He is not here. For he is risen, as he said" (Matt 28:2–6). Luke has two men "in shining apparel" who ask, "Why seek you the living with the dead?" (Luke 24:4–5), and John has Magdalen see "two angels in white, sitting, one at the head, and one at the feet, where the body of Jesus had been laid" (John 20:12). Cyril of Jerusalem numbers the angels among the witnesses of the Resurrection: "Angels of God who were present testified of the Resurrection of the Only-begotten," and the women "beheld the mighty earthquake, and the radiance of the Angel who stood by" (*Cat.* 14.22). Ambrose finds in the differing numbers of the Gospels a sign of the angels' service: *Diversitas autem visionum, frequentiam famulantium significat angelorum* (*In Luc.* X.181)—the diversity of the visions signifies the frequency of the angels who serve, as the Lord promised that the disciples would see "the angels of God ascending and descending upon the Son of man" (John 1:51). Gregory Nazianzen bids his hearers go to the tomb with the women: "Be first to see the stone taken away, and perhaps you will see the Angels and Jesus Himself" (*Or.* 45.24).

The escort of the Ascension. "And while they were beholding him going up to heaven, behold two men stood by them in white garments. Who also said: Ye men of Galilee, why stand you looking up to heaven? This Jesus who is taken up from you into heaven, shall so come as you have seen him going into heaven" (Acts 1:10–11). Leo draws from the two angels the whole service of the angels to the Incarnate Word, from the announcing of his conception to the foretelling of his coming to judge, "that we might understand what great powers will come with Him as Judge, when such great ones ministered to Him even in being judged" (*Serm.* 74.4); in the Ascension the nature of mankind passed above the angels' ranks and the archangels' heights (*Serm.* 73.4; §5.8). The feast commemorates the day "on which the Nature of our humility in Christ was raised above all the host of heaven, over all the ranks of angels, beyond the height of all powers, to sit with God the Father" (*Serm.* 74.1).

The Fathers read the entrance psalm, "Lift up your gates, O ye princes, and be ye lifted up, O eternal gates: and the King of Glory shall enter in. Who is this King of Glory?" (Ps 23[24]:7–8), as the dialogue of the angels at the Ascension. Cyril reminds his candidates "that the divine powers also said to one another, Lift up your gates, ye Princes" (*Cat.* 14.24). Gregory Nazianzen makes his hearers part of the escort:

> And if He ascend up into Heaven, ascend with Him. Be one of those angels who escort Him, or one of those who receive Him. Bid the gates be lifted up, or be made higher, that they may receive Him, exalted after His Passion. Answer to those who are in doubt because He bears up with Him His body and the tokens of His Passion, which He had not when He came down, and who therefore inquire, "Who is this King of Glory?" that it is the Lord strong and mighty. (*Or.* 45.25)

Gregory joins the psalm to the question of Isaias's drama, "Who is this that cometh from Edom and from the things of earth? Or How are the garments red of Him that is without blood or body, as of one that treads in the full wine-press?" and answers with "the beauty of the array of the Body that suffered, adorned by the Passion, and made splendid by the Godhead" (*ibid.*; Isa 63:1–2). The angels who asked at the gates are the angels whom Dionysius shows asking Jesus the same question, and whom Jesus teaches (*CH* 7.3). The doubt of the gatekeepers is wonder at the wounds.

The angels of the Judgment. "And when the Son of man shall come in his majesty, and all the angels with him, then shall he sit upon the seat of his majesty" (Matt 25:31). "He shall send his angels with a trumpet and a great voice: and they shall gather together his elect from the four winds" (Matt 24:31); "The Son of man shall send his angels, and they shall gather out of his kingdom all scandals, and them that work iniquity" (Matt 13:41); "the Lord himself shall come down from heaven with commandment and with the voice of an archangel and with the trumpet of God" (1 Thess 4:15[16]). Cyril sets the two comings side by side: "In His first coming, He endured the Cross, despising shame; in His second, He comes attended by a host of Angels, receiving glory," so that "when with Angels we meet our Master, we may worship Him and say, Blessed is He that cometh in the Name of the Lord" (*Cat.* 15.1). He describes the Judge "escorted by tens of thousands of Angels" (15.10), the sign of the Cross going before, the enemies of Christ unable to flee because "the Angel hosts shall encompass them," and the elect gathered by the angels: "That King, so great and glorious, attended by the Angel-guards, the partner of the Father's throne, will not

despise His own servants" (15.22). The Archangel will "make proclamation and say to all, Arise to meet the Lord" (15.21). Aquinas, answering the objection that the angels who come to judge cannot be judged, keeps both truths: the angels judge as spiritual creatures, and are judged by Christ, who is the Truth (*ST* III q. 59 a. 6 ad 2).

19.5 Mary, Queen of Angels

Above the choirs. The angel who saluted the Virgin was greeting his Queen. Damascene says it in a sentence: "Beautiful is the angel's salutation to her who is greater than an angel" (*Hom. in Dorm.* I). Bernard, in his first homily on the Annunciation, reasons from her Son to her rank:

> Do you not judge, and rightly, that she who has the God-man for her Son is exalted in greatness above all the choirs of angels? Did not Mary confidently call the God and Lord of Angels her Son, saying: "Son, why hast thou done so to us?" Which of the angels would have presumed thus to speak? It is sufficient for them and something great, that while by nature they are spirits by grace they are made and called angels. ... In confidently calling God her Son, Mary acknowledges herself mother of that Majesty Whom those angels serve with reverential awe. (*Super Missus est* hom. 1; tr. 1909, p. 30)

"God to Whom the angels are subject. God, Whom the powers and principalities obey, was subject to Mary" (p. 31; Luke 2:51). In his second homily Bernard calls her the one "foreknown by the Most High, prepared for Himself, guarded by angels, pointed out by the Patriarchs, promised by the Prophets." Aquinas states the same exaltation with its limit: she was above the angels "as regards the dignity to which she was chosen by God," and beneath them in the state of this life, since she was not yet a comprehensor (*ST* III q. 30 a. 2 ad 1).

The Church teaches this exaltation in her acts. Pius IX's bull *Ineffabilis Deus*, as Pius XII quotes it, says that God endowed her with heavenly gifts *longe ante omnes angelicos spiritus cunctosque Sanctos*—far beyond all the angelic spirits and all the saints—and calls her Queen of heaven and earth, *super omnes Angelorum choros Sanctorumque Caelitum ordines exaltata*, exalted above all the choirs of angels and the orders of the saints (*Ad caeli Reginam* 41–42). The Second Vatican Council says that Mary, *per gratiam Dei post Filium prae omnibus angelis et hominibus exaltata*, exalted by the grace of God after her Son above all angels and men, is rightly honoured with a special cult (*Lumen gentium* 66), and bids the faithful pray to her, *nunc quoque in coelo super omnes Beatos et Angelos exaltata*, now exalted in heaven above all the blessed and the angels (69). Pius XII's encyclical on her queenship, *Ad caeli Reginam* (11 October 1954), opens with the Assumption, by which she reigns in soul and body *inter Angelorum Sanctorumque Caelitum choros* with her only-begotten Son (3), and closes with the Roman Breviary's words for the Assumption, that she is *exaltata super choros angelorum ad caelestia regna*, exalted above the choirs of angels to the heavenly kingdom (46). By the same letter Pius XII instituted the feast of Mary's Queenship for 31 May (47).

Queen of Angels in the Church's prayer. The title stands in the Litany of Loreto after the Help of Christians and before the Queen of Patriarchs: *Regina Angelorum*, "Queen of Angels, pray for us" (*Manual of Prayers*, 1889, p. 67). Pius XII names the Litany among the witnesses that daily invite the Christian people to call upon Mary as Queen (*Ad caeli Reginam* 31). Among the Marian antiphons that the Latin Church sings (*Ad caeli Reginam* 30), the *Ave Regina caelorum* greets her by the same title: *Ave, Regina caelorum! Ave, domina angelorum!* The Baltimore *Manual* appoints it from the Purification to Maundy Thursday and renders it, "Hail! O Queen of Heav'n enthron'd! Hail! by angels mistress own'd!" (p. 77). The Missal of 1962 opens the Mass of the Queen, on 31 May, with the Introit *Gaudeamus omnes in Domino, diem festum celebrantes sub honore beatae Mariae Virginis Reginae: de cuius solemnitate gaudent Angeli, et collaudant Filium Dei*: let us all rejoice in the Lord, keeping the feast in honour of the Blessed Virgin Mary, Queen, at whose solemnity the angels rejoice and praise together the Son of God (*Missale Romanum*, 1962, 31 May, n. 2681).

The Byzantine Church sings the same truth at Vespers and at the dismissal of the Divine Liturgy in her hymn to the Mother of God: "More honourable than the Cherubim, and beyond compare more glorious than the Seraphim, thou who without defilement barest God the Word, true Birth-giver of God, we magnify thee" (Hapgood, *Service Book*, pp. 14, 126). The two highest orders of Dionysius's first hierarchy are named in order to set her above them. Damascene turns the same comparison into images drawn from the Old Testament: "Thou art the royal throne which angels surround, seeing upon it their very King and Lord"; and she is Jacob's ladder, on which angels descended to the Word made flesh, "ministering to Him as their God and Lord, and men, adopting the life of angels, are carried up to heaven" (*Hom. in Dorm.* I; Gen 28:12).

The angels at her Assumption. Pius XII defined, on 1 November 1950, that the Immaculate Mother of God, *expleto terrestris vitae cursu, fuisse corpore et anima ad caelestem gloriam assumptam*—having completed the course of her earthly life, was assumed body and soul into heavenly glory (*Munificentissimus Deus*). Among the reasons the theologians gave, he records her "exalted holiness, entirely surpassing the sanctity of all men and of the angels," and he quotes Albert the Great's conclusion that "the most blessed Mother of God has been assumed above the choirs of angels" (*super choros Angelorum est assumpta*). The Fathers and the liturgy fill in the angels' part. Damascene sets them about her death and her passage:

> Angels with archangels bear thee up. Impure spirits trembled at thy departure. The air raises a hymn of praise at thy passage, and the atmosphere is purified. Heaven receives thy soul with joy. The heavenly powers greet thee with sacred canticles and with joyous praise ... (*Hom. in Dorm.* I; tr. Allies, 1898)

In his second homily all nine orders keep the feast: "Angels and Archangels are in jubilation, Powers exult, Principalities and Dominations, Virtues and Thrones are in gladness: Cherubim and Seraphim magnify God. Not the least of their praise is it to refer praise to the Mother of glory" (*Hom. in Dorm.* II). He hears "the swelling hymns of angels who precede, accompany, and follow her," some forming "the guard of honour to that undefiled and immaculate ... soul on its way to heaven until the queen reaches the divine throne," others surrounding the body and proclaiming the Mother of God "in angelic harmony" (*ibid.*).

Theodore the Studite, in his encomium on the Dormition, describes the Lord's coming for his Mother *meta doxēs ischyos autou kai pasēs stratias ouranou*, with the glory of his might and all the army of heaven, and the mingled liturgy of the two worlds: *kai aoratōs men eleitourgoun hoi asōmatoi, sōmatikōs de hoi apostoloi* (*Or.* 5.5; PG 99, 728)—the bodiless ministered invisibly, the apostles in the body; *symmigēs ēn, adelphoi, hē panēgyris kai ho thiasos ouranios te kai epigeios*, mingled, brethren, was the festival and the company, heavenly and earthly. He names them all, Angels, Archangels, Dominions, Thrones, Principalities, Authorities, Powers, the Cherubic and Seraphic orders, with apostles, martyrs, and the just, some running before and some coming to meet her, some leading and some following, all crying with one voice in gladness. The Byzantine office for the feast gives the angels their words at the gates:

> The heavenly powers most high also, when they were come with their Master, were seized with dread as they escorted the all-pure body which had received God; with stately mien, also, they went before, and invisibly cried aloud unto the Powers most high: Lo, the Queen over all, and the Maiden of God cometh. Be ye lifted up, O gates ... (Hapgood, *Service Book*, p. 264)

Its refrain sings, "When the all-holy Angels beheld thine Assumption they marvelled how a Virgin should ascend from earth into heaven" (p. 266). The Roman Missal sings the same joy in the Alleluia of the feast: *Assumpta est Maria in caelum: gaudet exercitus Angelorum* (*Missale Romanum*, 1962, 15 August, n. 3382)—Mary is taken up into heaven; the army of the angels rejoices. The psalm of the gates that the Fathers sang of Christ's Ascension is sung again of his Mother's.

19.6 The Redeemed among the Angelic Ranks

Equal to the angels. The Lord promised that the children of the resurrection "are equal to the angels and are the children of God" (Luke 20:36) and "shall be as the angels of God in heaven" (Matt 22:30). Aquinas asks whether men are taken up into the angelic orders and answers with the distinction that governs his whole account of the orders: "Considered only as regards the grade of nature, men can in no way be assumed into the angelic orders; for the natural distinction will always remain"; but "by the gift of grace men can merit glory in such a degree as to be equal to the angels, in each of the angelic grades; and this implies that men are taken up into the orders of the angels" (*ST* I q. 108 a. 8; see §15.1). He rejects the opinion that only virgins or the perfect are assumed, since Augustine teaches that "there will not be two societies of men and angels, but only one; because the beatitude of all is to cleave to God alone" (*ibid.*; *De civ. Dei* XII.9). Augustine himself teaches that the restored part of mankind "should fill up the gap which the rebellion and fall of the devils had left in the company of the angels" (*Enchir.* 29), and that "the holy angels, taught by God ... know how great a number of the human race are to supplement their ranks" (62; see §5.10).

Gregory's tenth coin. Gregory the Great gives the doctrine its images in his homily on the lost sheep and the lost coin (§7.1). The hundred sheep are the whole rational creation, angels and men; the ninety-nine left in the desert are the highest choirs of angels, and the lost sheep was sought on earth *ut perfecta summa ovium integraretur in coelo*, so that the perfect sum might be made whole in heaven (*Hom. in Ev.* 34.3). The woman's ten coins say the same in another figure: nine orders of angels, and man created the tenth to complete the number of the elect (34.6). Cyril of Jerusalem uses the parable in the same sense at the Judgment: however great the multitude of mankind, "it is little, for the Angels are many more. They are the ninety and nine sheep, but mankind is the single one" (*Cat.* 15.24).

Gregory then turns the orders into a mirror of Christian lives: as many men will ascend *quantos illic contigit electos angelos remansisse*, and they are assigned to the orders *per conversationis similitudinem*, by likeness of life, from the faithful announcers of little things among the Angels to those who burn with contemplation among the Seraphim, and he bids his hearers search themselves for their lot (34.11–12). Aquinas uses this homily for the meaning of the names of the orders (*ST* I q. 108 a. 5) and sets its order of the orders beside Dionysius's (a. 6); its teaching on the lot of men among the orders is the teaching of a. 8.

A new angel. Gregory Nazianzen calls man, set between the visible and the invisible creation, "a new Angel, a mingled worshipper, fully initiated into the visible creation, but only partially into the intellectual" (*Or.* 38.11). Chrysostom promises the conqueror of temptation that the angels who came to Christ in the desert "will receive thee also, applauding thee" (*Hom. in Matt.* 13.5). Damascene draws from the Incarnation a boldness of his own. "God did not unite Himself to the angelic nature, but to the human. He did not become an angel," and our nature, "In itself ... far removed from the angels, on account of death and the heaviness of the body," has "through God's goodness and its union with Him ... become higher than the angels. For angels stand by that nature with fear and trembling, as, in the person of Christ, it sits upon a throne of glory" (*De imag.* III; tr. Allies, 1898). He finds the ground of this in the Eucharist, by which men partake of the Body united to the Godhead: "How are we not greater than the angels, if through fidelity to the commandments we keep this perfect union?" The Greek line after him carries the comparison further, and Palamas, weighing man's image against the angels', finds it more fully in man (see §21.6).

Already in their company. The Church does not wait for the resurrection to join the angels. "You are come to mount Sion and to the city of the living God, the heavenly Jerusalem, and to the company of many thousands of angels" (Heb 12:22). The Roman Mass ends each preface by singing *cum Angelis et Archangelis, cum Thronis et Dominationibus, cumque omni militia caelestis exercitus*, with the angels and archangels, with the thrones and dominations, and with the whole army of the heavenly host (*Missale Romanum*, 1962, Preface of Easter), and the Canon asks that the offering be carried *per manus sancti Angeli tui in sublime altare tuum*, by the hands of thy holy angel to thine altar on high. The Byzantine priest prays at the Little Entrance to the Lord "who hast appointed in heaven ranks and hosts of Angels and Archangels for the ministry of thy glory: Cause that with our entrance may enter also the holy Angels with us serving thee, and with us glorifying thy goodness" (Hapgood, *Service Book*, p. 83). The company that the redeemed will complete is already present at their altars (see §21).

20 Disputed Questions after Aquinas

On seven questions of the treatise the Catholic schools teach differently, all within the faith and from the same Scripture and Fathers. Bonaventure's commentary on the *Sentences*, written in the years just before the *Prima pars*, was read continuously beside the *Summa*; the condemnation of two hundred nineteen articles by Stephen Tempier, bishop of Paris, on 7 March 1277 (the roll itself bears the year 1276, by the Parisian reckoning that began the year at Easter) fell three years after Aquinas's death across several of his characteristic positions; Scotus's *Ordinatio* rebuilt the doctrine of the angels on another metaphysics; and the commentators of the sixteenth century, Cajetan on the *Summa* and Suárez in his treatise *De angelis*, carried the argument forward with full knowledge of both sides.

Aquinas teaches that the angels are altogether immaterial; Bonaventure and the Franciscan school, that they are composed of a spiritual matter taken broadly. Aquinas teaches that each angel is its own species; Bonaventure, that all the angels are of one species as all men are; and Scotus, that many angels in one species are simply possible. Aquinas and Cajetan ground the angel's presence in place in the application of his power; Scotus grounds it in his substance, prior to any operation. Aquinas holds the angels created together with the visible world as the more probable opinion, and the Greek Fathers' priority of the angelic world not erroneous; Suárez reads the *simul* of Lateran IV as simultaneity and holds the contrary now rash. Aquinas holds the angels created in sanctifying grace;

the Lombard and Bonaventure, that grace was added after creation. On the devil's first sin Aquinas places its object in beatitude sought by natural power, Bonaventure in presumption, ambition, and envy, Scotus in an inordinate love of self, and Suárez in the desire of the hypostatic union (Appendix L). On the guardians, Origen weighs assignment at birth and at baptism, and Jerome, with Aquinas after him, teaches birth. Two of these questions, the multiplication of angels within a species and the angel's presence in place, meet the roll of 1277 directly (§§20.2, 20.3).

20.1 Spiritual Matter in the Angels (*ST* I q. 50 a. 2)

Aquinas determines that the angels have no matter at all. The operation follows the substance, understanding is "an altogether immaterial operation," and so "it must be that every intellectual substance is altogether immaterial" (*ST* I q. 50 a. 2). The composition the angel does have, of essence and act of being, is not the composition of matter and form; the target of the article is Avicebron's *Fount of Life*, which had taught one universal matter for spiritual and corporeal things alike (§8.1).

Bonaventure receives the same authorities and determines the question the other way. The angel's essence is not simple by the privation of all composition: it is mutable, and so needs a foundation of possibility; limited and set in a genus, and so composite in its essence; and so *illa positio videtur verior esse, scilicet quod in Angelo sit compositio ex materia et forma* (*In II Sent.* d. 3 p. 1 a. 1 q. 1). The conclusion is stated with the distinction that governs it: *Si materia large sumitur extendendo nomen ad omne potentiale constitutivum, ipsa substantia Angeli composita est ex materia et forma* — if matter is taken broadly, as the name for every constitutive potency, the angelic substance is composed of matter and form. The authorities who deny matter to spirits, Boethius among them, speak of matter *appropriate*, in the strict sense of the principle that undergoes change (ad 1, ad 3).

The two masters are closer than the conclusion suggests and further than the shared vocabulary suggests. Both hold that the angel is composed of potency and act. Aquinas concedes the Franciscan name in the wide sense and refuses it as improper: if every potency is called matter and every act form, there is matter and form in spiritual substance, *sed tamen hoc non est proprie dictum secundum communem usum nominum* (*De spiritualibus creaturis* a. 1). What divides them is whether the potency in a spiritual creature is matter, with the name and the doctrine of individuation that the name carries. Bonaventure's spiritual matter grounds the numerical multiplication of angels within a species; Aquinas, having refused matter, must and does refuse the multiplication (§20.2).

> **Summa:** *ST* I q. 50 a. 2.
> **Grade:** Defined: the angelic creature is spiritual and created from nothing (Lateran IV, DS 800). Disputed: whether the potency in spiritual substance is properly called matter. Thomist position: the angel is altogether immaterial (a. 2). Bonaventure and the Franciscan school: a spiritual matter in the broad sense (*In II Sent.* d. 3 p. 1 a. 1 q. 1). Both: the angel is composed of potency and act.
> **Authorities:** Avicebron, *Fons vitae* (the position examined in a. 2); Aristotle, *Physics* I (a. 2); Boethius, *De Trinitate*, as Bonaventure reads him, *In II Sent.* d. 3 p. 1 a. 1 q. 1; Aquinas, *De spiritualibus creaturis* a. 1.
> **Contrary opinion:** Avicebron's universal hylomorphism, rejected by Aquinas; the Franciscan school's spiritual matter, refused by Aquinas as improper speech (*De spir. creat.* a. 1).

20.2 Whether Many Angels Share One Species (*ST* I q. 50 a. 4)

Aquinas recites three opinions before his own: that all spiritual substances, souls included, are of one species; that all the angels are of one species, but not souls; that all the angels of one hierarchy, or of one order, are of one species. His determination follows from the preceding article with the force of an identity: things that agree in species and differ in number agree in form and are distinguished materially, and so, the angels having no matter, "it is impossible for two angels to be of one species" (a. 4). Even given matter, he adds, their diversity of powers would make not merely another species but another genus.

Bonaventure treats the same question twice. At *In II Sent.* d. 3 p. 1 a. 2 q. 1 (Quaracchi II, 102–104) he sets out two positions. The first, *tot species, quot individua*, has some probability in bodies but in spirits is *praesumtio*: Scripture shows many angels ordered to the same office and the same operation, and no such diversity is made known by Scripture, the saints, or the angels' functions. The second he calls *positio sobria et catholica*: *In Angelis, vel in aliquibus vel in omnibus, est discretio solummodo quoad personalitatem, non quoad speciem.* At d. 9 q. 1 he commits himself: *videtur magis theologica et probabilis positio, nisi occurrat manifesta auctoritas in contrarium, quod omnes*

Angeli sint eiusdem speciei, sicut et omnes homines — all the angels are of one species, as all men are, with degrees, offices, and dignities within the species, natural and gratuitous, as among men.

Scotus states the conclusion against Aquinas without qualification: *Tenenda est ergo conclusio simpliciter opposita, quod scilicet simpliciter possibile est plures Angelos esse in eadem specie* (*Ord.* II d. 3 q. 7). Every quiddity, as quiddity, is communicable to many: not repugnant to it from perfection, since the divine essence is communicated to three; not from imperfection, since generable and corruptible things share one; and only the infinite is incommunicable in numerical identity. Every created quiddity can be conceived under the character of a universal without contradiction, which it could not be if it were of itself *haec*. And God could annihilate this angel and produce the same species again in another individual, as those who hold the opposite view must grant in the resurrection of the same man. The contrary determination rests, in his reading, on taking matter as the sole principle of numerical distinction.

Between Aquinas and Scotus fell the decree of 1277. Three of its articles bear on this question: art. 81, *Quod, quia intelligentie non habent materiam, Deus non posset facere plures ejusdem speciei*; art. 96, *Quod Deus non potest multiplicare individua sub una specie sine materia*; and art. 191, *Quod forme non recipiunt divisionem, nisi per materiam. — Error, nisi intelligatur de formis eductis de potentia materie* (*Chartularium Universitatis Parisiensis* I, no. 473). The roll condemns propositions without naming their authors. Denifle's apparatus to the document records that these articles *tangere videntur*, seem to touch, Saint Thomas's teaching on the principle of individuation; that John of Naples, writing in the early fourteenth century, reports a current belief that arts. 79, 81, 124, 129, 156, 173, 187, 212, 218, and 219 condemned Thomas's positions, and argues that none of them derogates from his doctrine; and that, certainly, *in condemnatione an. 1277 Parisiis non aperte agitur de S. Thoma* — the condemnation does not openly concern Thomas. Durandus had already joined the articles to this doctrine, recording of the opinion that God cannot make several angels of one species, *Illa opinio condemnata est Parisius pluribus vicibus, et de eius condemnatione sunt tres articuli* — namely 81, 96, and 191 (Durandus, *In II Sent.* d. 3 q. 3, as quoted in the Quaracchi scholion to this question, II, 104). Cajetan, commenting on a. 4, observes that the third of the opinions Aquinas recites is the one Scotus follows, and presses a doubt against the proof: the premise that things differing numerically differ "materially" is either false or proves nothing, since two souls differ materially without differing in matter. He does not press the doubt to the conclusion, and the article's determination stands in his commentary with the doubt beside it.

> **Summa:** *ST* I q. 50 a. 4.
> **Grade:** Disputed: whether several angels can be of one species. Thomist position: each angel exhausts its species (a. 4). Bonaventure: personal distinction only, in some or in all (*In II Sent.* d. 3 p. 1 a. 2 q. 1), and all the angels of one species as all men are (d. 9 q. 1). Scotus: many angels in one species is simply possible (*Ord.* II d. 3 q. 7). Paris 1277 (arts. 81, 96, 191) condemns the proposition that immateriality prevents God from multiplying individuals in one species.
> **Authorities:** Dan 7:10 and the angels' common offices (Bonaventure, d. 3 p. 1 a. 2 q. 1, pp. 102–103); Aristotle, *Metaph.* VII (the opening argument at *Ord.* II d. 3 q. 7); *Chartularium Univ. Paris.* I, no. 473, arts. 81, 96, 191; Durandus, *In II Sent.* d. 3 q. 3 (in the Quaracchi scholion, II, 104); Cajetan on *ST* I q. 50 a. 4 (Leonine V).
> **Contrary opinion:** That two angels cannot be of one species (Aquinas, a. 4), which Bonaventure calls presumption and Scotus opposes simpliciter.

20.3 The Angel's Presence in Place (*ST* I q. 52 a. 1)

Aquinas distinguishes the senses. A body is in place by the contact of dimensive quantity; the angel, whose quantity is virtual only, "is said to be in a corporeal place by application of the angelic power in any manner whatever to any place" (*ST* I q. 52 a. 1), and is in place as containing, not as contained. On this follow his positions that an angel is in only one place at once (a. 2) and that two angels are not in the same place (a. 3; §9).

Scotus takes up the question at *Ord.* II d. 2 q. 5 (Vivès XI; Cajetan cites the same question as d. 2 q. 6). The first opinion, identified by his commentator Lychetus as Thomas's at *ST* I q. 52 aa. 1–2, holds that *Angelus praecise est in loco per operationem, et nullo modo per essentiam propriam.* Against it Scotus sets the decree: *istud videtur esse damnatum, sicut quidam articulus damnatus ab Episcopo Parisiensi et excommunicatus*; and against the excuse that a Parisian excommunication binds only its own diocese, *Nec valet dicere, quod excommunicatio non transeat mare, nec dioecesim; si tamen fuit articulus condemnatus sicut haereticus, ubique est condemnatus.* Godfrey of Fontaines's variant (*Quodl.* VIII q. 13), that the angel is in place only by application and not by the presence of himself, is the same opinion under another word: the application is either a first act or a second; not a first; not an immanent

second act, since the angel's understanding and willing abstract from place as his existence does; therefore a transient action, which is what the first opinion said. Scotus's own arguments turn on the consequences: an angel at rest in the empyrean, where he works nothing, would be nowhere; an angel moving a heaven would be in the whole heaven; he would be in place commensurately; a transient operation is not formally in the angel; and Damascene joins the angel's being somewhere and his working there as two, not as one.

The Parisian articles in question are finer than Scotus's use of them. Art. 204 condemns *Quod substantie separate sunt alicubi per operationem* — with the gloss, *Error, si intelligatur, sine operatione substantiam non esse in loco, nec transire de loco ad locum*; art. 218, *Quod intelligentia, vel angelus, vel anima separata nusquam est*; art. 219, *Quod substantie separate nusquam sunt secundum substantiam — Error, si intelligatur ita, quod substantia non sit in loco. Si autem intelligatur, quod substantia sit ratio essendi in loco, verum est.* The glosses condemn the propositions only in the reading that removes the angel's substance from place apart from operation; art. 219 is even true in the reading where substance is not the reason of being in place. John of Naples lists arts. 218 and 219 among the articles believed in his day to strike Thomas, with art. 204 noted beside them as the contrary member.

Cajetan answers for the *Summa* (on *ST* I q. 52 a. 1, Leonine V). The relation of a spiritual substance's presence to place always belongs to an action or a passion, actually or habitually exercised; Scotus's arguments, which he takes as Capreolus had already gathered them, answer easily. That the angel should be nowhere in the empyrean is no absurdity: Aristotle says the blessed beings are not apt to be in place at all (*De caelo* I), and Gregory Nazianzen holds we speak improperly when we say the angels are in place, where we should say they work in place. The gloss of art. 219 turns against the objection itself: even those who posit a substantial presence in place confess that the substance is not the *ratio essendi in loco definitive*. And Aquinas himself, at *Quodl.* I q. 3 a. 1, had already marked the distinction Cajetan presses: if operation means motion, the proposition is false; if it means any union of power with place, it is true.

> **Summa:** *ST* I q. 52 aa. 1–3.
> **Grade:** Disputed: the ground of the angel's definitive presence. Aquinas and Cajetan: application of power, and operation in any sense (a. 1). Scotus: a substantial presence naturally prior to operation (*Ord.* II d. 2 q. 5). Both: the angel is truly and definitively in place, not everywhere (a. 2), and not two in one place (a. 3). Paris 1277 (arts. 204, 218–219, with their glosses) condemns the angel's being nowhere as to substance, in the sense that removes his substance from place apart from operation.
> **Authorities:** Damascene, *De fide orth.* II.3 (a. 1 s.c.); Aristotle, *De caelo* I and *Physics* (Cajetan on a. 1); *Chartularium Univ. Paris.* I, no. 473, arts. 204, 218–219; Aquinas, *Quodl.* I q. 3 a. 1 (cited by Cajetan); John of Naples on the Thomas articles (in Denifle's apparatus).
> **Contrary opinion:** That the angel is in place by operation alone and in no way by his essence (so Scotus reports and rejects the Thomist position); that the angel is nowhere (art. 218) or nowhere as to substance (art. 219), censured in the glossed sense.

20.4 Before the World, or With It (*ST* I q. 61 a. 3)

Aquinas reports a twofold opinion in the Fathers and grades it himself: "the more probable one holds that the angels were created at the same time as corporeal creatures," because the angels are part of the one universe and no part is perfect apart from the whole; "at the same time the contrary is not to be deemed erroneous; especially on account of the opinion of Gregory Nazianzen," whose authority in Christian doctrine Jerome ranks with Athanasius's (a. 3). Jerome, he answers the first objection, speaks with the Greek Fathers, who all hold the angels' creation to have preceded the corporeal world's (ad 1).

The Greek line is as Aquinas describes it. Gregory Nazianzen: "He first conceived the Heavenly and Angelic Powers … Then when His first creation was in good order, He conceives a second world, material and visible" (*Or.* 38.9–10). Basil: "It appears, indeed, that even before this world an order of things existed," a condition "outstripping the limits of time," in which the Creator perfected spiritual light and the intellectual and invisible natures, before adding the sensible world (*Hexaemeron* I.5). Damascene records both opinions — some, with Gregory the Theologian, place the angels before all creation, others after the first heaven; all agree it was before man — and declares, "For myself, I am in harmony with the theologian" (*De fide orth.* II.3).

Lateran IV's *Firmiter* confesses that God *sua omnipotenti virtute simul ab initio temporis utramque de nihilo condidit creaturam, spiritualem et corporalem, angelicam videlicet et mundanam* (DS 800), and Vatican I's *Dei Filius* repeats

the clause word for word, citing *Firmiter* (DS 3002; §2). The later dispute concerns the force of *simul*. Suárez treats it at *De angelis* I.3: the true and common opinion of the theologians, with the Master and Aquinas, is that the angels were not created before the corporeal world but together with it; on the decree he distinguishes. Ferrariensis holds the simultaneity now pertains to the faith as defined; Vázquez holds it not defined, and not even definable, since neither Scripture nor tradition grounds the definition. Suárez reads *simul* as simultaneity of duration — the clause stands against the *deinde* of man's creation that follows it — yet holds that the Council did not define the point *ex instituto*, but spoke incidentally, as it spoke of angelic incorporeity in the same breath; and he notes the weightiest witness to that reading: Aquinas, writing when the Council had already been celebrated and its text received among the Decretals, still held the contrary opinion not erroneous. So, Suárez adds with Bañez, the contrary cannot now be held without rashness.

Summa: *ST* I q. 61 a. 3.
Grade: Defined: God created both the spiritual and the corporeal creature from nothing at the beginning of time (Lateran IV, DS 800; Vatican I, *Dei Filius*, DS 3002). Common teaching of the Latin Doctors: the angels were created together with the corporeal world, more probable for Aquinas (a. 3), the true and common opinion for Suárez; the Greek Fathers' priority is not erroneous (a. 3). Disputed: what the *simul* decides. Ferrariensis: simultaneity defined. Suárez: stated by the Council incidentally, its contrary now rash (*De angelis* I.3 nn. 12–15). Vázquez: not defined.
Authorities: Gregory Nazianzen, *Or.* 38.9–10; Basil, *Hexaemeron* I.5; Damascene, *De fide orth.* II.3; Jerome, *In Ep. ad Tit.* I (a. 3 obj. 1, ad 1); Lateran IV, *Firmiter* (DS 800); Suárez, *De angelis* I.3, with Ferrariensis and Vázquez.
Contrary opinion: The creation of the angels before the corporeal world (the Greek Fathers, held not erroneous at a. 3); the definition of simultaneity by *Firmiter* (Ferrariensis, against Suárez's reading).

20.5 Created in Grace (*ST* I q. 62 a. 3)

The Master of the Sentences had fixed the older frame. The angels were created neither blessed nor wretched (II d. 4 c. 1); *Post creationem namque mox quidam conversi sunt ad Creatorem suum, quidam aversi*, and the converted were turned by an added grace, *gratia apposita*, which those who fell never received: *nunquam est apposita, ut converterentur* (II d. 5 c. 1). On this frame grace follows creation as a second gift.

Bonaventure keeps the frame and marks the question as one of fact, to which only arguments of congruity apply, so that either side can be held probably (*In II Sent.* d. 4 a. 1 q. 2). His own conclusion sides with the Master and the common run of the doctors: *Probabilius videtur, Angelos non habuisse gratiam sanctificantem a primo instanti suae creationis.* The reason that moves him is the angel's unretarded nature: grace in an angel meets no check, so that an angel made gracious would be carried wholly into God and could never have sinned; as guilt fixed the fallen at once, grace would have confirmed them at once.

Aquinas turns the probability the other way: "Although there are conflicting opinions on this point ... it seems more probable, and more in keeping with the sayings of holy men, that they were created in sanctifying grace" (a. 3). The argument is from Augustine's seedlike forms: as the natural effects were implanted in the creature at its first fashioning, so grace, which stands to glory as the seedlike form to the effect, was given the angels from the beginning. His *sed contra* is Augustine's own sentence: God created the good angels "with that chaste love by which they cleaved to Him, in one and the same act creating their nature, and endowing it with grace" (*De civ. Dei* XII.9). To the argument that a gracious angel could not have sinned — the argument the older school had pressed — he answers that every form inclines after the mode of its subject's nature, and an intellectual nature inclines freely: the movement of grace does not impose necessity, and he who has grace can fail to use it (ad 2). The chronology of the fall turns on this question, for if the devil was created in grace and could act in the first instant, he must have sinned at once after it, and if not, an interval may stand between creation and fall (a. 6; §20.6).

Summa: *ST* I q. 62 a. 3.
Grade: Disputed: whether the angels were created in sanctifying grace from the first instant. Aquinas: more probable that they were (a. 3, with Augustine, *De civ. Dei* XII.9). The Lombard and Bonaventure: more probable that grace was added to nature after creation (Lombard, II dd. 4–5; Bonaventure, *In II Sent.* d. 4 a. 1 q. 2).
Authorities: Augustine, *De civ. Dei* XII.9 (a. 3 s.c.) and *De Genesi ad litteram* VIII.3 (a. 3); 1 John 3:9 (a. 3); Lombard, *Sent.* II d. 4 c. 1, d. 5 c. 1; Bonaventure, *In II Sent.* d. 4 a. 1 q. 2.
Contrary opinion: That grace was not given in the first instant of creation (Lombard's frame, common among the doctors before Aquinas); within the same question, that a created grace would have necessitated the angel's standing (answered at a. 3 ad 2).

20.6 The Devil's First Sin (*ST* I q. 63 aa. 2–6)

The faith fixes the frame. Lateran IV confesses that the devil and the other demons were created good by nature and *ipsi per se facti sunt mali* — became evil of themselves (DS 800). Within that frame the schools agree on the sin's name and divide on its object, its formal character, and its moment.

That the first sin was pride is the common inheritance. The Lombard: *Invidiae namque mater est superbia, qua voluerunt se parificare Deo* (*Sent.* II d. 5 c. 1). Augustine: the bad angels "have forsaken Him who supremely is, and have turned to themselves … And this vice, what else is it called than pride? For 'pride is the beginning of sin' " (*De civ. Dei* XII.6). Aquinas gives the position its analysis: a spiritual nature can be affected only by spiritual goods, and the only sin possible there is the refusal of due subjection to a superior, which is pride (a. 2). Its object was not equality with God: the devil knew by natural knowledge that equality was impossible, and no passion or habit clouded the first act so that he should choose the impossible; nor did he will to be subject to no one absolutely, which would be to will his own non-being. He willed likeness: to hold as his last end a beatitude he could reach by the power of his own nature, turning from the supernatural beatitude that is had from God's grace — or, willing the beatitude of grace, to will it from his own power and not from divine assistance (a. 3). This, he notes, agrees with Anselm, that the devil "sought that to which he would have come had he stood fast" (*De casu diaboli* c. 4). The *De malo* states the same object in one clause: *eam consequi voluit per virtutem suae naturae; non tamen sine Deo in naturam operante, sed sine Deo gratiam conferente* (q. 16 a. 3). Anselm's own chapter runs: *Peccavit ergo volendo aliquod commodum, quod nec habebat nec tunc velle debuit*; willing what God willed him not to will, *voluit inordinate similis esse deo*, by a will *nulli subdita* — subject to no one, which befits God alone (c. 4).

Bonaventure's account is the most articulated of the older school: *Primum Angeli peccatum fuit superbia; quod initiatum est in praesumtione, consummatum in ambitione, confirmatum in invidiae et odii aversione* (*In II Sent.* d. 5 a. 1 q. 1). The devil presumed as soon as he beheld his own beauty; presuming, he desired what was wholly above him — to preside over the rest by his own authority, *ita quod nulli subesset; hoc est solius Dei, et hoc est aequiparantiae*; and failing of it, he turned in envy and hatred, in which he was confirmed.

Scotus dissents on the formal character. Equality with God can be willed by a simple and inefficacious volition of complacency, *volitio complacentiae*, which can even have the impossible for its object and suffices for merit and demerit; Aquinas's impossibility argument touches only the efficacious volition that seeks means (*Ord.* II d. 6 q. 1). The first inordinate act itself was an inordinate friendship-love toward himself — every *velle concupiscentiae* presupposes a *velle amicitiae* for the one to whom the good is willed — and the desire of beatitude for himself followed immoderately (q. 2). Therefore *primum peccatum ejus non fuit superbia proprie dicta, sed propter delectationem quam importabat, magis videtur reduci ad luxuriam*, a spiritual luxuria, as one who delights inordinately in a truth of geometry; it can still be called presumption, and so pride in the loose sense, since the appetite for excellence over others follows from it. The Quaracchi editors, glossing Bonaventure's question, mark exactly this divergence as Scotus's.

Suárez carries the question into the Christological object. Whether Lucifer could sin by desiring the hypostatic union for his own nature is affirmed, given the decree of the Incarnation and its revelation; and Suárez holds it *valde probabilis* that this was in fact the sin: *Luciferum de facto peccasse per superbiam, appetendo hypostaticam unionem, et a principio adversarium Christi fuisse* (*De angelis* VII.13 n. 13). God *revelavit a principio Christum, ut caput eorum, ut auctorem gratiae* (VII.30), so that the refusal could be one of faith, love, and adoration; a positive precept laid on the angels is possible and, de facto, very probable (VII.28). The tradition that had the devil fall by envy of the Incarnation is thereby given scholastic form.

The moment of the sin carries its own dispute. That the devil was wicked in the first instant of his creation was held by some, on the ground that he refused righteousness as soon as he was made; Augustine reports the opinion without

asserting it, and absolves it of Manicheism (*De civ. Dei* XI.13). Aquinas records its fate: "this opinion was reasonably rejected by the masters as erroneous," for Isaias has Lucifer rise in the morning and Ezechiel place him in the paradise of God (a. 5; Isa 14:12; Ezek 28:13); the *De malo* adds that the position *reprobata fuit ab omnibus magistris tunc Parisiis legentibus* (q. 16 a. 4). His own reason is drawn from the angel's knowledge: in the first instant the angel turns to the natural knowledge of himself, where sin cannot be; only afterward can he turn toward or away from what is above nature (*De malo* q. 16 a. 4). And so he sinned "at once after the first instant," if he was created in grace and could elicit a free act in it — the two premises of the grace question doing the work (a. 6; §20.5). Augustine's own reading of "the devil sinneth from the beginning" (1 John 3:8) is the mean the masters adopted: not from the beginning of his created existence, but "from the beginning of his sin, when by his pride he had once commenced to sin" (*De civ. Dei* XI.15; Appendix L).

Summa: *ST* I q. 63 aa. 2–6.
Grade: Defined: the demons were created good and became evil of themselves (Lateran IV, DS 800). Common teaching: the first sin was pride in the broad sense (Augustine, *De civ. Dei* XII.6; Lombard, II d. 5 c. 1; Bonaventure; Aquinas). Disputed: its object and formal character—likeness to God in beatitude sought by natural power (Aquinas, a. 3; *De malo* q. 16 a. 3; Anselm, *De casu* c. 4); presumption, ambition, and envy (Bonaventure, *In II Sent.* d. 5 a. 1 q. 1); inordinate self-love reducible to spiritual luxuria rather than pride properly so called (Scotus, *Ord.* II d. 6 q. 2); desire of the hypostatic union (Suárez, *De angelis* VII.13–14, as very probable). Disputed: its moment, the masters having rejected a sin in the first instant (a. 5; *De malo* q. 16 a. 4), with the interval turning on the grace question (a. 6).
Authorities: Isa 14:12; Ezek 28:13 (a. 5); 1 John 3:8 (Augustine, *De civ. Dei* XI.15); Ecclus 10:15 (via *De civ. Dei* XII.6); Lombard, *Sent.* II d. 5; Anselm, *De casu diaboli* c. 4; Dionysius, *DN* 4 (a. 4 s.c.; *De malo* q. 16 a. 4 cites *DN* 7); Damascene, *De fide orth.* II.4 (a. 7).
Contrary opinion: That the devil desired equality with God outright (denied by Aquinas a. 3, affirmed possible as inefficacious complacency by Scotus, II d. 6 q. 1); that he sinned in the first instant of creation (rejected by the masters as erroneous, a. 5).

20.7 Guardians from Birth or from Baptism (*ST* I q. 113 a. 5)

The question is as old as the commentary tradition on Matthew 18:10, "their angels in heaven always see the face of my Father." Origen states it as an open inquiry: at what time do the angels of the little ones assume the guardianship — "from … the laver of regeneration," or "from birth … according to the foreknowledge and predestination of God" (*Comm. in Matt.* XIII.27). For the birth view he strings the texts: "He who separated me from my mother's womb" (Gal 1:15), "From the womb of my mother thou hast been my protector" (Ps 70[71]:6), and the like. A second exposition has Christ consign the believer to a holy angel after regeneration, none attending the unbelieving but the angels of Satan; a third, that the angel assigned at birth might himself change as his charge changes, he offers and expressly leaves to the reader (XIII.28).

Jerome determines it in a sentence that became the school's *sed contra*: *Magna dignitas animarum, ut unaquaeque habeat ab ortu nativitatis in custodiam sui angelum delegatum* — it is the great dignity of souls that each has an angel delegated for its guardianship from the birth (*In Matt.* III, on 18:10). Aquinas recites both opinions from Origen's tract and judges Jerome's the reasonable one. Benefits conferred on man as a Christian, such as the Eucharist, begin with baptism; those conferred on him as a rational being begin at birth, when he receives that nature; and the guardianship of angels is of the latter kind, as the articles on the guardianship have established (a. 5, with aa. 1 and 4). In the womb the child is not yet wholly separate from the mother, and it can be said with some probability that the mother's angel guards it until birth (ad 3). The Catechism keeps the same width: "From infancy to death human life is surrounded by their watchful care and intercession" (CCC 336; §17).

Summa: *ST* I q. 113 a. 5.
Grade: Church teaching: human life from infancy to death is surrounded by the angels' watchful care (CCC 336; Matt 18:10). Disputed in the patristic tradition: assignment of the guardian at birth or at baptism (Origen, *Comm. in Matt.* XIII.27, weighing both). The schools, with Jerome: from birth (a. 5).
Authorities: Matt 18:10; Origen, *Comm. in Matt.* XIII.27–28 (a. 5); Jerome, *In Matt.* III on 18:10 (a. 5 s.c.); Gal 1:15, Ps 70[71]:6 (Origen); Heb 1:14 (a. 5 obj. 1); CCC 336.
Contrary opinion: Assignment at baptism rather than at birth (the first of Origen's two opinions, a. 5 obj. 1); a guardian's presence beginning only after regeneration (Origen's second exposition, XIII.28).

21 The Byzantine Line

The Greek Church after Dionysius received his nine orders as the Church's own speech about heaven and kept the angels at the centre of her theology and her worship. John Damascene gathered the teaching of the Greek Fathers into the chapters on the angels and the demons that the Latin schools would read as the *De fide orthodoxa*; Maximus the Confessor read the Divine Liturgy as the entry of the faithful into the angels' choir; the councils and the monks of the iconoclast age confessed that the angels are rightly painted and honoured; Theodore the Studite preached the angels on their feast; Andrew of Caesarea read their war and their priestly service in the Apocalypse; and Gregory Palamas set man's image and the angels' light side by side. The liturgy of Constantinople, sung in the Byzantine rite to this day, places the angels in the entrances, the hymns, and the anaphora of every Divine Liturgy, and keeps their feast on 8 November and the memory of Michael's miracle at Chonae on 6 September. These witnesses stand beside the Western line as a second voice of the one tradition; they agree with it on the angels' nature, ministry, and fall, and they speak in their own idiom on the time of the angels' creation, the rank of the fallen, the image of God, and the light in which the angels see.

21.1 John Damascene

The *Exposition of the Orthodox Faith* is the third part of Damascene's *Fount of Knowledge*. It is a summary, often in the Fathers' own words, and its chapters on the angels (II.3) and on the devil and demons (II.4) gather what the Greek Fathers taught before him. The Latin West read it in the twelfth-century translation of Burgundio of Pisa, and Aquinas cites it throughout the treatise on the angels.[24]

The definition of the angel. Damascene begins with the Creator. God "brought them out of nothing into being and created them after His own image, an incorporeal race, a sort of spirit or immaterial fire," as David sings, "He maketh His angels spirits, and His ministers a flame of fire" (Ps 103[104]:4); the image of fire describes "their lightness and the ardour, and heat, and keenness and sharpness with which they hunger for God and serve Him, and how they are borne to the regions above and are quite delivered from all material thought" (*De fide orth.* II.3). Then comes the definition:

> An angel, then, is an intelligent essence, in perpetual motion, with free-will, incorporeal, ministering to God, having obtained by grace an immortal nature: and the Creator alone knows the form and limitation of its essence. But all that we can understand is, that it is incorporeal and immaterial. For all that is compared with God Who alone is incomparable, we find to be dense and material. For in reality only the Deity is immaterial and incorporeal. (II.3)

The Greek runs: *Angelos toinyn estin ousia noera, aeikinētos, autexousios, asōmatos, Theō leitourgousa, kata charin en tē physei to athanaton eilēphuia* (PG 94, 865). Each term carries a doctrine. *Ousia noera*, an intellectual essence, places the angel in the order of mind. *Aeikinētos*, ever-moving, names the unceasing act of an intelligence always turned toward God; Aquinas, meeting the word in an objection that would make the angel a body, explains that "an angel is called an ever mobile substance, because he is ever actually intelligent, and not as if he were sometimes actually and sometimes potentially, as we are" (*ST* I q. 50 a. 1 ad 2). *Autexousios*, self-determining, is free will.

[24] English quotations are from the translation of S. D. F. Salmond in the *Nicene and Post-Nicene Fathers*; the Greek is Migne's (PG 94, 865–880).

Asōmatos, bodiless, is said relatively: compared with God the angel is "dense and material," a sentence Aquinas reads as the logic of a mean between extremes, so that angels, compared to God, seem corporeal, "not, however, as if anything corporeal existed in them" (ad 1). *Theō leitourgousa*, ministering to God, gives the angel his office in the definition itself. And the immortality *kata charin*, by grace, places even the angel's endurance under the gift of God: "For all that has had beginning comes also to its natural end. But God alone is eternal." Aquinas answers the objection drawn from this phrase by saying that Damascene "is dealing with perfect immortality, which includes complete immutability," which the angels have from God (*ST* I q. 50 a. 5 ad 1).

Freedom, the absence of repentance, and immortality. "The angel's nature then is rational, and intelligent, and endowed with free-will, changeable in will, or fickle. For all that is created is changeable, and only that which is un-created is unchangeable. Also all that is rational is endowed with free-will" (II.3). Created and free, the angel could "abide or progress in goodness, or ... turn towards evil." But once turned it does not turn back: "It is not susceptible of repentance because it is incorporeal. For it is owing to the weakness of his body that man comes to have repentance." The good angels, "With difficulty ... moved to evil, yet ... not absolutely immoveable," are now "altogether immoveable, not by nature but by grace and by their nearness to the Only Good." The Latin schools teach the same confirmation of the good angels in beatitude (*ST* I q. 62 a. 8; see §12.2).

Lights, place, and rank. The angels "are secondary intelligent lights derived from that first light which is without beginning, for they have the power of illumination; they have no need of tongue or hearing, but without uttering words they communicate to each other their own thoughts and counsels." They were created through the Word and perfected by the Spirit: "Through the Word, therefore, all the angels were created, and through the sanctification by the Holy Spirit were they brought to perfection, sharing each in proportion to his worth and rank in brightness and grace." They are circumscribed, not by walls or bars but by their createdness: "when they are in the Heaven they are not on the earth: and when they are sent by God down to the earth they do not remain in the Heaven." Being minds, "they are in mental places," present and at work "after the manner of a mind" where they are assigned, and they "cannot be present and energise in various places at the same time." Aquinas takes the first of these sentences for the *sed contra* of his article on whether an angel can be in several places at once (*ST* I q. 52 a. 2; see §9.2).

On whether the angels differ in essence Damascene professes ignorance: "Whether they are equals in essence or differ from one another we know not. God, their Creator, Who knoweth all things, alone knoweth. But they differ from each other in brightness and position, whether it is that their position is dependent on their brightness, or their brightness on their position: and they impart brightness to one another, because they excel one another in rank and nature. And clearly the higher share their brightness and knowledge with the lower." Aquinas, following the logic of pure forms, determines that each angel is its own species (*ST* I q. 50 a. 4); the Greek doctor leaves the question to God and states only the difference of light and station and the descent of illumination from higher to lower.

The ministry and the life of the angels. "They are mighty and prompt to fulfil the will of the Deity, and their nature is endowed with such celerity that wherever the Divine glance bids them there they are straightway found. They are the guardians of the divisions of the earth: they are set over nations and regions, allotted to them by their Creator: they govern all our affairs and bring us succour." "They behold God according to their capacity, and this is their food." "They are above us for they are incorporeal, and are free of all bodily passion, yet are not passionless: for the Deity alone is passionless." "They take different forms at the bidding of their Master, God, and thus reveal themselves to men and unveil the divine mysteries to them. They have Heaven for their dwelling-place, and have one duty, to sing God's praise and carry out His divine will." Contemplation, praise, and ministry are one life.

The nine orders. Damascene gives the nine orders on the authority of "that most holy, and sacred, and gifted theologian, Dionysius the Areopagite," who "divides into three groups, each containing three" the nine names of Scripture. The Greek names the first triad *tēn tōn hexapterygōn Seraphim, kai tōn polyommatōn Cheroubim, kai tōn hagiōtatōn Thronōn*, the six-winged Seraphim, the many-eyed Cherubim, and the most holy Thrones, who are ever about God and united to him immediately; the second, *Kyriotētōn, kai Dynameōn, kai Exousiōn*, the Dominations, Virtues, and Powers; and the third, *Archōn, kai Archangelōn, kai Angelōn*, the Principalities, Archangels, and Angels (PG 94, 873–874). The order is Dionysius's own (*CH* 6.2; see §6); the Greek line does not take up Gregory the Great's exchange of the Virtues and Principalities (see §15).

The time of their creation. "Some, indeed, like Gregory the Theologian, say that these were before the creation of other things. He thinks that the angelic and heavenly powers were first and that thought was their function. Others, again, hold that they were created after the first heaven was made. But all are agreed that it was before the foundation of man. For myself, I am in harmony with the theologian. For it was fitting that the mental essence should be the first created, and then that which can be perceived, and finally man himself, in whose being both parts are united." Aquinas knows this to be the common mind of the Greeks. Answering Jerome's word about the ages in which the orders served God before the world, he says: "Jerome is speaking according to the teaching of the Greek Fathers; all of whom hold the creation of the angels to have taken place previously to that of the corporeal world" (*ST* I q. 61 a. 3 ad 1). He judges creation together with the corporeal world "the more probable," because the angels are part of one universe with the bodies, and adds that "the contrary is not to be deemed erroneous; especially on account of the opinion of Gregory Nazianzen" (*ibid.*; see §12.1). Damascene closes the chapter by excluding the angels from creation's cause: "those who say that the angels are creators of any kind of essence whatever are the mouth of their father, the devil. For since they are created things they are not creators."

The devil and the demons (II.4). The fourth chapter opens with the fallen prince:

> He who from among these angelic powers was set over the earthly realm, and into whose hands God committed the guardianship of the earth, was not made wicked in nature but was good, and made for good ends, and received from his Creator no trace whatever of evil in himself. But he did not sustain the brightness and the honour which the Creator had bestowed on him, and of his free choice was changed from what was in harmony to what was at variance with his nature, and became roused against God Who created him, and determined to rise in rebellion against Him: and he was the first to depart from good and become evil. (II.4)

"For evil is nothing else than absence of goodness, just as darkness also is absence of light." With him "an innumerable host of angels subject to him were torn away and followed him and shared in his fall." Their power is bounded: "they have no power or strength against any one except what God in His dispensation hath conceded to them, as for instance, against Job and those swine that are mentioned in the Gospels." They do not know the future, though they guess at it and know the Scriptures; and "while the liberty to attack man has been granted to them, they have not the strength to over-master any one: for we have it in our power to receive or not to receive the attack." The chapter ends with the sentence the Latin schools repeated: "what in the case of man is death is a fall in the case of angels. For after the fall there is no possibility of repentance for them, just as after death there is for men no repentance" (*hoti hoper esti tois anthrōpois ho thanatos, touto tois angelois hē ekptōsis*; PG 94, 877–878).

Aquinas uses this chapter at many points. The saying on death and the fall grounds his account of the obstinacy of the demons (*ST* I q. 64 a. 2; see §13.2). The prince "set over the earthly realm" is his witness that the holy doctors, with the Platonists, placed angelic powers over corporeal things (*ST* I q. 110 a. 1). He cites Damascene for the view that all the demons sinned at one time (*ST* I q. 63 a. 8 obj. 1), and he weighs Damascene's account of the devil's rank against Gregory's. Damascene, he says, holds that "the highest of those who sinned was set over the terrestrial order," so that "they who fell were of the lower grade of angels"; Gregory holds that "he who sinned was the very highest of all." Aquinas judges Gregory's the more probable view, since pride's motive is excellence, "Yet this must not be prejudicial to the other view" (*ST* I q. 63 a. 7; see §13.1). The Greek line keeps Damascene's reading: Andrew of Caesarea, below, says the devil was entrusted first with the rule of the air.

21.2 Maximus the Confessor: The Liturgy as the Angels' Choir

Maximus the Confessor wrote the *Mystagogia* as an explanation of the Church and of her Liturgy, in which Dionysius is his guide. The angels enter it at the hymn that the faithful sing with them.[25]

In the thirteenth chapter Maximus reads the whole sequence of the rite after the Gospel as the Word's leading of the faithful to the Father. Having gathered them by the kiss of peace and the confession of the Creed, the Word, *eita tois angelois enarithmious autous katastēsas dia tou Trisagiou, kai tēn autēn ekeinois epistēmēn tēs hagiastikēs theologias autois charisamenos, tō Theō kai Patri prosagei* (*Myst.* 13; PG 91, 692C–D): then, having numbered them with the angels through the thrice-holy hymn and given them the same knowledge of the hallowing theology as the angels

[25]The Greek is Migne's (PG 91).

have, he brings them to God the Father, adopted in the Spirit through the prayer in which they are made worthy to call God Father. The hymn of the Seraphim (Isa 6:3) is the step by which men are counted among the angels before they are counted among the sons.

The nineteenth chapter asks what the doxology of the thrice-holy signifies:

> *Hē de ginomenē trissē tou hagiasmou tēs theias hymnologias ekboēsis para pantos tou pistou laou, tēn pros tas asōmatous kai noeras dynameis kata to mellon phanēsomenēn henōsin te kai isotimian paradēloi; kath' hēn symphōnōs tais anō dynamesi, dia tautōtēta tēs atreptou peri Theon aeikinēsias, trisin hagiasmois hymnein te kai hagiazein tēn trisypostaton mian theotēta didachthēsetai tōn anthrōpōn hē physis.* (*Myst.* 19; PG 91, 696C)

The threefold cry of sanctification in the divine hymn, raised by the whole faithful people, shows the union and equality of honour with the bodiless and intellectual powers that will be manifested in the age to come; in it human nature, in concord with the powers above, through the sameness of an unchanging ever-moving motion about God, will be taught to hymn and hallow with three sanctifications the one Godhead in three hypostases. The angels' *aeikinēsia*, Damascene's "perpetual motion," is here the destiny of the saints. The Liturgy sings now what the resurrection will make complete.

In the summary of his last chapter Maximus distinguishes what the angelic hymn means for all and what it means for each. In general it signifies the equality and common life of the heavenly and earthly powers in the age to come, when the risen body no longer weighs down the soul; for the believers it means *tēn pros angelous kata tēn pistin theologikēn hamillan*, a theological emulation of the angels according to faith; for those given to ascetic practice, a life that rivals the angels' splendour as far as man may (*Myst.* 24; PG 91, 709–710). The monk's "angelic life" and the layman's "Holy, holy, holy" are one vocation at two degrees.

21.3 The Angels in Image

The iconoclast controversy put a question about the angels to the whole Church: may they be painted, since they are bodiless? Damascene's three apologies against those who attack the holy images answer that they may. "Holy Scripture clothes in figure God and the angels," and Dionysius explains why (*De imag.* I; tr. Allies, 1898). In the third apology he sets out the principle:

> Now if nothing physical or material may be attributed to an angel, a spirit, and a devil, yet they may be depicted and circumscribed after their own nature. Being intellectual beings, they are believed to be present and to energise in places known to us intellectually. They are represented materially as Moses made an image of the cherubim who were looked upon by those worthy of the honour, the material image offering them an immaterial and intellectual sight. Only the divine nature is uncircumscribed and incapable of being represented in form or shape, and incomprehensible. (*De imag.* III)

He repeats the teaching of the *Exposition*: "The angel, and a soul, and a demon, compared to God, who alone is incomparable, are bodies; but compared to material bodies, they are bodiless." God, "not wishing that we should be in ignorance of spirits, clothed them in type and figure." The honour given to the angels is not the worship of God: "Josue saw the image of an angel, not as he is, for an angel is not visible to bodily eyes, and falling down he adored, and so did Daniel. Yet an angel is a creature, and servant, and minister of God, not God. And he worshipped the angel not as God, but as God's ministering spirit" (*ibid.*; Jos 5:15; Dan 8:17).

The Second Council of Nicaea defined the matter in 787. *Sequentesque divinitus inspiratum sanctorum Patrum nostrorum magisterium, et catholicae traditionem Ecclesiae*, following the divinely inspired teaching of the holy Fathers and the tradition of the Catholic Church, it decreed that venerable and holy images be set up in churches, on sacred vessels and vestments, on walls and panels, in houses and by the roads, *tam videlicet imaginem Domini Dei et Salvatoris nostri Jesu Christi, quam intemeratae Dominae nostrae sanctae Dei genitricis, honorabiliumque Angelorum, et omnium Sanctorum* (DS 600): the image of our Lord and God and Saviour Jesus Christ, of our immaculate Lady the holy Mother of God, of the honourable angels, and of all the saints. The council distinguished the honour paid to images, with kisses, incense, and lights, from *veram latriam, quae secundum fidem est quaeque solam divinam naturam decet*, the true worship of adoration that belongs to the divine nature alone, *Imaginis enim honor ad primitivum transit*, for the honour of the image passes to its original (DS 601). The fourth council of Constantinople (870),

which Denzinger numbers the eighth ecumenical council, confirmed the practice in its third canon: *insuper et iconas sanctorum Angelorum depingimus, quemadmodum eos figurat verbis divina Scriptura* (DS 656)—we also paint the icons of the holy angels, as divine Scripture portrays them in words.

21.4 Theodore the Studite: A Sermon for the Synaxis

Among the orations of Theodore the Studite Angelo Mai printed a sermon *Eis tēn synaxin tōn ouraniōn tagmatōn*, for the synaxis of the heavenly orders, under Theodore's name, noting that an altered excerpt of it had been printed among the spurious works of Chrysostom (*Or.* 6, *In sanctos angelos*; PG 99, 729–736). In his encomium on the Dormition Theodore sets the nine orders about the Mother of God (see §19.5); this sermon is given wholly to the angels.

The festival of the two choirs. It opens with trumpets: the trumpets of the spiritual commanders have sounded around us, the graces of the divine ministers have shone about us, the ranks of wakeful hymn-singers have gathered us to hymns, and the immaterial orders have joined the material in one dance. *Ho tōn anō chorostatēs kai tōn katō, en tō autō oikō taxiarchei sēmeron* (*Or.* 6.1; PG 99, 729): the leader of the choir above and below marshals them today in the same house. He is Michael, *pros charitos Theou lamprynomenos, kai brotois theōn ellampsēōn mesitēs genomenos*, radiant with the grace of God and made the mediator of divine illuminations to mortals. The angels are the patrons and intercessors of men, *philanthrōpoi angeloi*, who have received their love of man from the Master who loves mankind; they are *theoi tē theōsei ek Theou, all' ou tē physei legomenoi*, called gods by deification from God and not by nature; and they are *to empsychon kai noeron pyr, hē logikē Theou phlox*, the living and intellectual fire, the rational flame of God (6.1; PG 99, 732; Ps 103[104]:4).

One essence, many offices. The second section gives Theodore's account of the orders: *diaphoros hē stasis, diaphoroi hai prosēgoriai, diaphoroi hai axiai, mia hē ousia, polytropous echousa tas ergasias* (6.2; PG 99, 732)—different stations, different names, different dignities, one essence with manifold works. There are orders that sing, orders that guard the heavens, orders that stand immediately before God; inner and outer orders, the outer called the gates of heaven; higher and lower orders, the lower once crying to the higher, "Lift up your gates, O ye princes" (Ps 23[24]:7); orders that send and orders that are sent, orders that initiate and orders that are initiated. Angels fly through the air and rescue the souls of the saints from the spirits of the air, as Jacob said at his death, "The angel that delivereth me from all evils" (Gen 48:16); angels are entrusted with the administration of the earthly world; an angel is given by God to every God-fearing soul, as the Lord said, "their angels in heaven always see the face of my Father" (Matt 18:10); and one angel is assigned to every faithful nation, for God "set the bounds of the nations according to the number of the angels of God" (Deut 32:8, Septuagint, tr. Brenton). Then comes a litany of their works: through angels the mysteries of God are imparted on earth; through angels waters and springs are guarded and healed; through angels the worthy are delivered from temptations; through angels the relics of the martyrs are kept; through angels the altars of God are guarded and the churches of the faithful protected; through angels petitions and prayers are carried from earth to heaven and divine gifts given to men. *Kai pan mikrou dein epi gēs Theou di' angelōn teleitai mystērion* (6.2; PG 99, 733): almost every mystery of God on earth is accomplished through angels.

The angels of the Old Law. The third section walks through sacred history: the Cherubim set to guard the tree of life; the three angels at Mamre, *ton trisagion tēs Triados mēnyonta thesmon*, disclosing the thrice-holy ordinance of the Trinity; the angel who wrestled with Jacob; the flame of angels in the bush that burned and was not consumed, prefiguring the unconfused union of God with the thorny nature of mortals; the angel who slew the firstborn of Egypt; the angel in the pillar of fire, guiding the people as Christ; the many angels at Sinai with trumpets, fire, and cloud; the angel who announced victory to Josue (6.3; PG 99, 733–736). Theodore preaches the angels as Damascene defines them: one intelligent nature, graded in light, sent in every age for the salvation of men.

21.5 Andrew of Caesarea on the Apocalypse

Andrew of Caesarea wrote a commentary on the Apocalypse in sermons and chapters, printed in Migne's hundred and sixth volume of the Greek Fathers. Two of its chapters give the angels their priestly service and their war.

The angel of the censer. His twenty-first chapter is headed as the opening of the seventh seal, showing the angelic powers bringing to God the prayers of the saints as incense (*In Apoc.* 21; PG 106). The text is Apoc 8:3–4: "another angel came and stood before the altar, having a golden censer: and there was given to him much incense, that he should offer of the prayers of all saints, upon the golden altar which is before the throne of God. And the smoke of the incense of the prayers of the saints ascended up before God from the hand of the angel." Andrew first reminds his reader that the altar and the censer the saints see are shaped for them in matter and colour, but are in themselves invisible and intelligible realities. On such an altar the angel stands and offers the prayers of the saints as incense to God. *Thysiastērion de chrysoun ho Christos estin; en hō pasa leitourgikē kai hagia synestēke dynamis*—the golden altar is Christ, in whom every ministering and holy power stands together, and on whom the sacrifices of the martyrs are offered. The throne before which the altar stands is the order of the highest powers, so named because of the fiery divine love poured into them and their pure wisdom and knowledge, as the names of the powers nearest to God reveal: the Seraphim are the burning, the Cherubim the fullness of knowledge. The angelic offering of prayers is a priestly act done upon Christ the altar.

Michael and the dragon. The thirty-fourth chapter treats the war of the angels and the demons and the fall of Satan (Apoc 12:7–9). Andrew applies the war to two moments: *tē te prōtē tou diabolou ex alazoneias kai phthonou ekptōsei tēs angelikēs taxeōs, tē te dia tou Despotikou staurou kathairesei*, to the devil's first fall from the angelic order through arrogance and envy, and to his overthrow by the Lord's Cross, when "the prince of this world is already judged" (John 16:11) and cast out of his ancient tyranny. The divine angels with their captain, *hama tō archistratēgō Michaēl*, with Michael their commander, not bearing his arrogance, cast him from their company; so Ezechiel says that he was driven by the Cherubim from the midst of the fiery stones, which Andrew takes to be the angelic orders (Ezek 28:16). At Christ's coming the angels who ministered to him after the temptation abhorred the devil again as a disgraced slave. Andrew then records the Fathers' view of the time and manner of the fall: after the making of the sensible world the devil was cast down through pride and envy, having been entrusted first with the rule of the air (Eph 2:2). He adds a sentence of Papias: to some of the angels who were once divine God gave rule over the ordering of the earth and charged them to rule well, and their order came to nothing (*In Apoc.* 34; PG 106). The Greek commentator thus agrees with Damascene that the fallen prince was an angel set over the lower world, and with the whole tradition that pride and envy were his sin.

21.6 Gregory Palamas: Image, Likeness, and Light

Gregory Palamas, archbishop of Thessalonica in the fourteenth century, gathered his teaching into *One Hundred and Fifty Chapters*, natural, theological, moral, and practical. On the angels the chapters turn on two comparisons: the angels and man as images of God, and the angels and man as partakers of the divine light.[26]

Fellow-servants in the image. The intelligible world is not to be worshipped. *Syndoulos oukoun hēmin pasa noera physis, kai kat' eikona tou ktisantos* (*Cap.* 27; PG 150, 1140A): every intellectual nature is our fellow-servant and made after the image of the Creator. The angels are more honourable than we, *hōs sōmatōn ontes ektos, kai tē asōmatō pantapasi kai aktistō physei mallon engizontes*, being outside bodies and nearer to the wholly bodiless and uncreated nature; those who kept their order are our fellow-servants and yet honourable to us and far above us in rank, while those who apostatized fell farthest from God and became *antitheoi*, opponents of God, and destroyers of our race.

Man more in the image. In a series of chapters Palamas finds the image of God more fully in man than in the angels. The rational soul alone has mind, word, and life-giving spirit, and so *monē kai tōn asōmatōn angelōn mallon kat' eikona tou Theou par' autou dedēmiourgētai; kai tout' echei ametapoiēton, kan mē epignō tēn heautēs axian* (*Cap.*

[26]The Greek is Migne's (PG 150).

39; PG 150, 1148B): it alone has been made by God more after his image than even the bodiless angels, and this it keeps unaltered even when it does not know its own dignity. Angel and soul are both bodiless and not in a place, and neither is everywhere; but the soul holds together and gives life to the body with which it was created, present throughout it as containing it, and so bears in this too the image of God (*Cap.* 61). Then:

> *Ou kata touto monon mallon tōn angelōn ho anthrōpos kat' eikona pepoiētai Theou, hoti synektikēn te kai zōopoion echei dynamin en heautō, alla kai kata to archein.* (*Cap.* 62; PG 150, 1165A)

Not in this alone is man made more after the image of God than the angels, that he has in himself a power that holds together and gives life, but also in ruling. The soul has a ruling part and a part that serves, and God, because of what rules in us, gave man lordship over the whole earth. The angels have no body yoked to them to be subjected to the mind; the fallen hold their intellectual will fixed in evil, and the good hold theirs fixed in good, *hēniochou mēdamōs deomenēn*, needing no charioteer. The evil one did not possess earthly dominion but seized it; the good angels were appointed by the Almighty to oversee the things of earth after our fall and because of it; for, as Moses says in his song, God set the bounds of the angels when he divided the nations (Deut 32:8), a division Palamas dates after Cain and Seth. The next chapter adds knowledge: the threefold character of our knowledge shows us more in God's image than the angels, because we alone of creatures have sense joined to intellect and reason, and so have discovered arts, sciences, and every kind of knowledge—to till, to build, to bring forth from what is not, though not from what is not at all, for that belongs to God alone; and God has given to men alone that the invisible word of the mind should be heard in the air, written, and seen through bodies, as a preparation for faith in the coming of the Word through flesh, *hōn ouden oudamōs metestin angelois*, none of which belongs to angels at all (*Cap.* 63; PG 150, 1165C–D).

The good angels more in the likeness. The image is not the likeness. *All' ei kai to kat' eikona mallon hēmeis tōn angelōn echomen kai mechri nyn, pros to kath' homoiōsin einai tou Theou pollō elattoumetha, kai malista nyn, tōn agathōn angelōn* (*Cap.* 64; PG 150, 1168A): even if we have the image more than the angels, even until now, in being after the likeness of God we fall far short of the good angels, and especially now. The perfection of the likeness is accomplished *dia tēs ek Theou theias ellampsēōs*, through the divine illumination from God. The evil angels are deprived of it and are therefore under darkness; the divine minds are filled with it and are therefore called a second light, an outflowing of the first light. From this light the good angels have knowledge even of sensible things, not by any sensing or natural power but by a godlike power from which nothing present, past, or to come can be hidden. The angels have less of the image and more of the likeness; man has more of the image, and must receive the likeness through the same light.

The uncreated light of the angels. Those who partake of this illumination have it in measure, and know beings in proportion to their measure. That the angels partake of it, that it is uncreated, and that it is not the divine essence, Palamas says, all who read the apostles and theologians know; and he calls on Dionysius: *Kyklikōs gar, phēsin, hoi theioi kinoumenoi noes, henountai tais anarchois kai ateleutētois ellampsesi tou kalou kai agathou* (*Cap.* 65; PG 150, 1168C; *DN* 4.8)—moving in a circle, he says, the divine minds are united to the beginningless and endless illuminations of the Beautiful and Good. Palamas draws two conclusions from the phrase. By speaking of illuminations in the plural, Dionysius distinguished them from God's essence, which is one; by calling them beginningless and endless, he showed them to be uncreated. The angels live, in the Greek doctor's teaching, by participation in the uncreated energies of God, which are God himself in his self-giving and not his essence.

The Western counterpart. Aquinas asks the same question of the image and answers it with a distinction: "as in their intellectual nature, the angels are more to the image of God than man is, we must grant that, absolutely speaking, the angels are more to the image of God than man is, but that in some respects man is more like to God" (*ST* I q. 93 a. 3). The respects are those Palamas names: in man "a certain imitation of God" is found, *inquantum scilicet homo est de homine, sicut Deus de Deo; et inquantum anima hominis est tota in toto corpore eius, et iterum tota in qualibet parte ipsius, sicut Deus se habet ad mundum*—inasmuch as man is from man as God is from God, and the soul is whole in the whole body and whole in each part, as God is to the world. The Latin doctor calls the angels more in the image *simpliciter* and man *secundum quid*; the Greek doctor calls man more in the image and the good angels more in the likeness. On the light, the Latin schools teach that the blessed angels see the divine essence itself by the created light of glory that raises their intellect (*ST* I q. 12 a. 5; *ST* I q. 62 a. 1; see §12.2), and Palamas teaches that angels and saints are united to God by the uncreated illumination, which is distinct from the essence.

21.7 The Angels in the Divine Liturgy

The Byzantine Liturgy, in the forms that bear the names of Chrysostom and Basil, is built around the angels' presence.[27]

The entrance and the thrice-holy hymn. At the Little Entrance, when the Gospel book is carried into the sanctuary, the priest prays that "with our entrance may enter also the holy Angels with us serving thee, and with us glorifying thy goodness" (p. 83; see §19.6). The choir then sings the Trisagion, "O Holy God, Holy Mighty, Holy Immortal One, have mercy upon us" (p. 86), while the priest says the prayer of the thrice-holy hymn: "O holy God, who restest in the Saints; who art hymned by the Seraphim with a thrice-holy cry, and glorified by the Cherubim, and adored by every heavenly Power ... accept from the mouths of us sinners, the Thrice-Holy song" (p. 85). The Synaxarion of Constantinople relates how the hymn was received. Under the emperor Theodosius and the patriarch Proclus, when the city prayed outside the walls during the earthquakes, a child was caught up from the midst of the people into the air; brought down again, he cried with a great voice *hoti hoi tōn angelōn choroi aneu tēs prosthēkēs tou "Ho staurōtheis" ton trisagion hymnon anapempousi tō Theō*, that the choirs of angels send up the thrice-holy hymn to God without the addition "who was crucified": *Hagios ho Theos, hagios ischyros, hagios athanatos, eleēson hēmas*; and at those words he gave up his soul to God and the shaking of the earth ceased (*Synaxarium Constantinopolitanum*, 25 September, cols. 79–80). The Church sings the Trisagion as the song she learned from the angels.

The Cherubic Hymn. At the Great Entrance, when the gifts are carried to the altar, the choir sings:

> Let us, the Cherubim mystically representing, and unto the Life-giving Trinity the thrice-holy chant intoning, all cares terrestrial now lay aside. ... That we may raise on high the King of all, like conqueror on shield and spears, by the Angelic Hosts invisibly up-borne. (p. 94)

The people represent the Cherubim; the King whom they receive is borne up invisibly by the angelic hosts, as a victorious emperor was carried on the shields of his soldiers. The priest's prayer during the hymn confesses how great a thing it is to serve at this altar: "For to serve thee is a great and terrible thing even to the Heavenly Powers"; and he addresses Christ as the one "who art borne on the throne of the Cherubim; who art Lord of the Seraphim and King over Israel" (pp. 94–95).

The anaphora. The eucharistic prayer gives thanks for the ministry God accepts from men, "although before thee stand thousands of Archangels and myriads of Angels, with the Cherubim, and Seraphim, six-winged, many-eyed, who soar aloft, borne on their pinions" (p. 101; Dan 7:10). In the anaphora of Basil every order is named: "For Angels and Archangels, Thrones, Dominions, Principalities, Authorities, Powers, and the many-eyed Cherubim do laud thee. Before thee, round about, stand the Seraphim, having each six wings" (p. 102; Isa 6:2). The people sing the Seraphim's hymn, "Holy, holy, holy, Lord of Sabaoth," and the priest continues, "And we also, O Lord who lovest mankind, in company with these blessed Powers do cry aloud and say: Holy art thou, and all-holy thou" (p. 102). Maximus's reading of the rite is the Liturgy's own: the faithful are numbered among the angels by the thrice-holy hymn before they are brought to the Father. The Latin Mass says the same in its prefaces, *cum Angelis et Archangelis, cum Thronis et Dominationibus*, and in the Canon's prayer that an angel carry the offering to the altar on high (see §19.6).

21.8 The Synaxis of the Bodiless Powers and the Miracle at Chonae

The Synaxis of 8 November. The Byzantine calendar keeps on 8 November "The Feast of St. Michael the Archangel, and of the other Bodiless Powers of Heaven" (Hapgood, *Service Book*, p. xiv, where it is dated Nov. 8–21, old and new style). The Synaxarion of Constantinople gives the reason of the name. When the all-good and man-loving God willed to make this world, he first conceived the angelic and heavenly powers, and the conception became work; he set over each order a taxiarch and captain. One of the taxiarchs grew proud, thought himself a god,

[27] English quotations are from Isabel F. Hapgood's *Service Book of the Holy Orthodox-Catholic Apostolic (Greco-Russian) Church* (1906), which follows the Russian use.

fell from his rank, and was cast out of heaven with the order under him. Then Michael, captain of another order, seeing the apostate fallen, gathered the choirs of the angels and, saying *Proschōmen*, let us attend, hymned the God of all, as if to say: let us attend, we who were made creatures and stand before God; what has befallen those who until now were light with us and now have become darkness? *Hē toiautē oun synkrotēsis ōnomasthē synaxis tōn asōmatōn, tout' estin prosochē kai homonoia kai henōsis*: such a gathering was named the synaxis of the bodiless, that is, attention and concord and union (*Synaxarium Constantinopolitanum*, 8 November, cols. 203–204). The feast is the angels' own liturgy of fidelity, kept on the day their unity was sealed by Michael's word. The Synaxarion names several churches of the capital where it was celebrated. Theodore's sermon, above, was preached for it.

The Russian service book appoints for the service of the Bodiless Powers the epistle Heb 2:2–10 and the gospel Luke 10:16–21 (p. xxiv), and it gives among the hymns of the weekdays the hymn of Monday, which the Church dedicates to the angels: "O ye Chieftains of God, servitors of the divine glory, Guides of men and Captains of the Bodiless Powers: Entreat that which is profitable for us, and great mercy; in that ye are the Chieftains of the Bodiless Powers" (p. 61).

The miracle at Chonae. On 6 September the same Synaxarion keeps the feast of the archangel Michael, *anamnēsin poioumenoi tou thaumatos*, making memory of the wonder he worked at Colossae in Phrygia, afterward called Chonae (cols. 19–20). Tradition relates that John the Theologian, preaching at a place near Colossae called Chaeretopa, foretold an appearing of the archangel there and the rising of a healing spring; when it came to pass, many were healed by its water, and the believers built a beautiful church. A certain Archippus served in it for seventy years. Moved by envy, the pagans first tried to turn a river into the holy water, but the river was turned aside; then they dug a great trench, gathered two rivers behind a dam, and loosed them at midnight to sweep away Archippus, the church, and the spring. Archippus prayed with tears to the archangel, and Michael came, appearing as a pillar of fire, bade him not fear, stood on a great rock toward which the waters were rushing, struck and split it with his staff, and commanded the waters of the two rivers *chōneuesthai*, to be funnelled into it. From that wonder the place has been called Chonae. For these reasons, the Synaxarion concludes, the Church of Constantinople gathers at the archangel's shrine at Anaplus to keep his memory. The Western Church keeps the dedication of Michael's church on 29 September, and the Missal of 1962 gives it the first class, praying *Deus, qui, miro ordine, Angelorum ministeria hominumque dispensas*, O God, who dispose in wonderful order the ministries of angels and of men, that those who always minister before God in heaven may protect our life on earth (*Missale Romanum*, 1962, 29 September, n. 3727).

21.9 The Byzantine Witnesses and Their Western Counterparts

Witness	Locus	Teaching	Western counterpart
Damascene	*De fide orth.* II.3 (PG 94, 865)	The angel is an intelligent essence, ever-moving, free, incorporeal, ministering to God, immortal by grace	*ST* I q. 50 a. 1 ad 1–2; a. 5 ad 1
Damascene	II.3	Not susceptible of repentance because incorporeal; the good now immovable by grace	*ST* I q. 62 a. 8; *ST* I q. 64 a. 2
Damascene	II.3	In heaven they are not on earth; present in mental places, not in several at once	*ST* I q. 52 a. 2 (s.c.)
Damascene	II.3	Equality of essence unknown; difference in brightness and position; higher illumine lower	*ST* I q. 50 a. 4 (each angel a species); *ST* I q. 106 a. 1
Damascene	II.3 (PG 94, 873–874)	Nine orders in three triads, after Dionysius	*ST* I q. 108 a. 6 (Dionysius and Gregory compared)
Damascene	II.3	With Gregory the Theologian, angels created before the visible world	*ST* I q. 61 a. 3 (with the corporeal world, the more probable; the contrary not erroneous)
Damascene	II.4 (PG 94, 877–878)	The devil, set over the earth, fell by free choice; the fall is to angels what death is to men	*ST* I q. 63 a. 7; *ST* I q. 64 a. 2; *ST* I q. 110 a. 1

Witness	Locus	Teaching	Western counterpart
Damascene	*De imag.* III	Angels may be depicted and circumscribed after their own nature; they are honoured as God's ministers	Nicaea II (DS 600–601)
Maximus	*Myst.* 13, 19, 24 (PG 91, 692, 696, 709)	The thrice-holy hymn numbers the faithful with the angels and foreshadows equal honour with them	*Missale Romanum*, prefaces (*cum Angelis et Archangelis*); *ST* I q. 108 a. 8
Nicaea II	DS 600–601	Images of the angels are set up and honoured, not with latria	Constantinople IV, can. 3 (DS 656)
Theodore the Studite (as edited by Mai)	*Or.* 6.1–3 (PG 99, 729–736)	Michael leads the choir above and below; one essence, many offices; almost every mystery of God on earth is done through angels	*ST* I q. 110 a. 1; *ST* I q. 113 aa. 1–4
Theodore the Studite	*Or.* 5.5 (PG 99, 728)	All nine orders attend the Dormition	*Missale Romanum*, 15 August (*gaudet exercitus Angelorum*)
Andrew of Caesarea	*In Apoc.* 21 (PG 106)	The angelic powers offer the prayers of the saints on Christ the altar	Roman Canon, *Supplices te rogamus*; *ST* III q. 83 a. 4 ad 9
Andrew of Caesarea	*In Apoc.* 34 (PG 106)	The devil fell through arrogance and envy, having ruled the air; Michael cast him out	*ST* I q. 63 aa. 2, 7
Palamas	*Cap.* 27, 39, 61–63 (PG 150, 1140–1165)	Man more in the image than the angels, as life-giver of a body, ruler, and knower through sense	*ST* I q. 93 a. 3 (angels more in the image absolutely; man in some respects)
Palamas	*Cap.* 64–65 (PG 150, 1168)	The good angels more in the likeness; they partake of the uncreated illumination, distinct from the essence	*ST* I q. 12 a. 5; *ST* I q. 62 a. 1 (the created light by which the intellect sees God's essence)
Divine Liturgy	Hapgood 1906, pp. 83–102	The angels enter with the clergy; the people represent the Cherubim; the anaphora joins the Seraphim's hymn	Roman prefaces and Sanctus (*Missale Romanum*, 1962)
Synaxarion of Constantinople	25 Sept. (cols. 79–80)	The Trisagion learned from the angels' choirs	—
Synaxarion of Constantinople	8 Nov. (cols. 203–204)	The synaxis of the bodiless: Michael's *Proschōmen* after the fall	29 September (*Missale Romanum*, 1962)
Synaxarion of Constantinople	6 Sept. (cols. 19–20)	Michael's miracle at Chonae	29 September

22 The Angels in the Liturgy

The Church prays what she believes about the angels. At every Mass she sings with them, names Michael among those whose prayer she begs, blesses her incense by his intercession, and asks that her sacrifice be borne to the altar on high by the hand of an angel. In the Office she keeps their feasts with the lessons of Gregory, Jerome, Bernard, and Hilary; at night she asks that the holy angels dwell in her houses; at death she sends the soul forth in the name of the angelic orders and hands it to Michael, the standard-bearer who presents souls in the holy light. What Scripture

teaches and the Fathers expound about the angels' praise, their ministry to men, and their office at death, the Roman liturgy turns into prayer (for the Byzantine liturgy, §21; for the feasts' dates and ranks, Appendix H).[28]

22.1 The Mass Sung with the Angels

The hymn of the angels. The first words of the *Gloria* are the angels' own. On the night of the Nativity "suddenly there was with the angel a multitude of the heavenly army, praising God and saying: Glory to God in the highest: and on earth peace to men of good will" (Luke 2:13–14). The Church takes up their song at the altar, *Gloria in excelsis Deo, et in terra pax hominibus bonae voluntatis*, "Glory be to God on high, and on earth, peace to men of good will" (Cummiskey, *Roman Missal* 1861, p. xix), and continues it in her own praise of the Father and of the Lamb. Aquinas reads the hymn as the part of the Mass that "commemorates the heavenly glory, to the possession of which, after this life of misery, we are tending"; it is therefore sung "on festival days, on which the heavenly glory is commemorated, but [is] omitted in those sorrowful offices which commemorate our unhappy state" (*ST* III q. 83 a. 4 co.). The angels' hymn of the Nativity is the Church's hymn of the heavenly homeland.

Michael in the Confiteor. Before she goes up to the altar the Church confesses her sins to God and to the court of heaven, and the first named after the Mother of God is the Archangel:

> *Confiteor Deo omnipotenti, beatae Mariae semper Virgini, beato Michaeli Archangelo . . . Ideo precor beatam Mariam semper Virginem, beatum Michaelem Archangelum . . . orare pro me ad Dominum Deum nostrum.*

"I confess to Almighty God, to blessed Mary, ever a Virgin, to blessed Michael the Archangel, to blessed John Baptist, to the holy Apostles Peter and Paul, to all the saints . . . Therefore I beseech the Blessed Mary, ever a virgin, Blessed Michael the Archangel . . . to pray to the Lord our God for me" (Cummiskey 1861, pp. xvi–xvii). The confession places the sinner before the one who cast down the first rebel and asks the victor over pride to pray for the man who has sinned by pride. Michael stands in the list as the prince of the heavenly host, as the Office calls him, *princeps militiae Angelorum* (*BR*, 29 Sept., fourth responsory).

The incense and the angel of the altar. At a solemn Mass the priest blesses the incense in Michael's name:

> *Per intercessionem beati Michaelis archangeli stantis a dexteris Altaris Incensi, et omnium electorum suorum, incensum istud dignetur Dominus benedicere, et in odorem suavitatis accipere. Per Christum Dominum nostrum. Amen.* (Cummiskey 1861, p. xxiv)

"May the Lord, by the intercession of blessed Michael the archangel, standing at the right hand of the Altar of Incense, and of all his elect, vouchsafe to bless this incense, and receive it as an odour of sweetness" (ibid.). Two scenes of Scripture stand behind the prayer. In the Temple, while Zachary offered incense, "there appeared to him an angel of the Lord, standing on the right side of the altar of incense" (Luke 1:11). In the heavenly liturgy of the Apocalypse "another angel came and stood before the altar, having a golden censer: and there was given to him much incense, that he should offer of the prayers of all saints, upon the golden altar which is before the throne of God. And the smoke of the incense of the prayers of the saints ascended up before God from the hand of the angel" (Apoc 8:3–4). The Church reads her own incense as that prayer and asks the Archangel who stands at the altar to carry it. The same verses furnish the Offertory of the Masses of Saint Michael, Saint Gabriel, and Saint Raphael in the pre-1955 and 1962 Missals, *Stetit Angelus juxta aram templi, habens thuribulum aureum in manu sua* (*MR* 1920, Mame 1922, p. 592), and recur through the Office of the angels as versicle and responsory (*BR*, 29 Sept. and 2 Oct.). The rite of incense teaches in act what Hilary teaches in the lesson of the Guardian Angels: the angels offer to God the prayers of the saved (below, on 2 October).

[28]The Roman books cited are the Missal of the typical edition of 1920 (*MR* 1920), in the Vatican printing and in Mame's Tours printing *iuxta typicam* of 1922, whose pages are given; the Missal of 1962 (*MR* 1962); Cummiskey's Philadelphia lay missal of 1861, which sets the Latin of the Order of Mass beside an English translation; the Roman Breviary printed at Tours in 1898 (*BR*), with the English of John, Marquess of Bute (1908); the *Rituale Romanum* of Ratisbon (1872, *RR*), with the English of the *Manual of Prayers* published by order of the Third Plenary Council of Baltimore (1889); and, for the postconciliar calendar and readings, the Missal of Paul VI (third typical edition, 2002, emended 2008) with the *Ordo lectionum Missae* of 1981.

The Preface and the Sanctus. At the Preface the Church says aloud that she prays with the whole court of heaven. The Common Preface names the orders as it goes:

> *Per quem majestatem tuam laudant angeli, adorant dominationes, tremunt potestates; Coeli coelorumque virtutes, ac beata seraphim, socia exultatione concelebrant. Cum quibus et nostras voces, ut admitti jubeas deprecamur, supplici confessione dicentes:* (Cummiskey 1861, p. xxviii)

"Thro' Christ our Lord: by whom the angels praise thy majesty, the dominations adore it, the powers tremble before it, the heavens, the heavenly virtues, and blessed seraphim, with common jubilee glorify it. Together with whom we beseech thee, that we may be admitted to join our humble voices" (ibid.). The angels praise the Father "through Christ": the Preface puts the whole heavenly worship under the mediation of the Son, which is the doctrine of the Catechism that Christ is the centre of the angelic world (CCC 331; §2). The Preface of the Trinity, said on the Sundays that have no proper Preface, ends *Quam laudant angeli atque archangeli, cherubim quoque ac seraphim: qui non cessant clamare quotidie, una voce dicentes*, "Whom the angels and archangels, the cherubim also and seraphim praise: and cease not daily to cry out with one voice saying" (Cummiskey 1861, pp. xxviii–xxix). The Preface of the Nativity sings *cum angelis et archangelis, cum thronis et dominationibus; cumque omni militia coelestis exercitus*, "with the angels and archangels, with the thrones and dominations; and with all the heavenly host" (ibid., pp. xxix–xxx), and the Preface of Pentecost, *supernae virtutes atque angelicae potestates*, "the heavenly virtues also and all the angelic powers" (ibid., pp. xxxi–xxxii). Between them these Prefaces name the Angels, Archangels, Thrones, Dominations, Virtues, Powers, Cherubim, and Seraphim: the Church's thanksgiving calls the hierarchy of the Fathers to prayer order by order.

Every Preface ends in the Sanctus, the song Isaias heard: "Holy, holy, holy, the Lord God of hosts, all the earth is full of his glory" (Isa 6:3), and John heard again before the throne: "Holy, Holy, Holy, Lord God Almighty, who was and who is and who is to come" (Apoc 4:8). The Church sings *Sanctus, sanctus, sanctus, Dominus Deus Sabaoth. Pleni sunt coeli et terra gloria tua*, "Holy, holy, holy, Lord God of Sabaoth. Heaven and earth are full of thy glory" (Cummiskey 1861, p. xxviii). Cyril of Jerusalem explained this moment of the liturgy to the newly baptized. The bishop, he says, makes mention "of Angels, Archangels, Virtues, Dominions, Principalities, Powers, Thrones; of the Cherubim with many faces," and then:

> We make mention also of the Seraphim, whom Esaias in the Holy Spirit saw standing around the throne of God, and with two of their wings veiling their face, and with twain their feet, while with twain they did fly, crying Holy, Holy, Holy, is the Lord of Sabaoth. For the reason of our reciting this confession of God, delivered down to us from the Seraphim, is this, that so we may be partakers with the hosts of the world above in their Hymn of praise. (Cyril, *Catechetical Lectures* 23 [*Mystagogical* 5].6)

Aquinas gives the same reading in the order of the Mass: after the Preface "the people devoutly praise Christ's Godhead, saying with the angels: 'Holy, Holy, Holy'; and His humanity, saying with the children: 'Blessed is he that cometh' " (*ST* III q. 83 a. 4 co.). The Sanctus is the angels' confession of the Godhead, received from the Seraphim and given back to God by men who are to share the Seraphim's praise. The postconciliar Order of Mass keeps it: in the Directory of 2001 the Congregation for Divine Worship teaches that "in the celebration of the sacred mysteries, the Church associates herself with the angelic hymn and proclaims the thrice holy God (cf. Isaiah 6, 3)" (*Directory on Popular Piety* 215).

The angel of the sacrifice. After the consecration the Roman Canon asks that the offering be carried by an angel to the altar on high:

> *Supplices te rogamus, omnipotens Deus: jube haec perferri per manus sancti Angeli tui in sublime altare tuum, in conspectu divinae majestatis tuae: ut, quotquot, ex hac altaris participatione sacrosanctum Filii tui Corpus, et Sanguinem sumpserimus, omni benedictione caelesti et gratia repleamur.* (*MR* 1920, Canon Missae)

The Latin says "thy holy Angel," in the singular; Cummiskey's English reads "command these things to be carried by the hands of thy holy angels to thy altar on high, in the sight of thy divine Majesty" (Cummiskey 1861, pp. xxxvii–xxxviii). Aquinas meets the objection that the prayer asks a change of place for Christ's body, which neither comes into the sacrament nor leaves it by local motion. The priest does not ask that the sacramental species or Christ's true body be borne up,

> but he offers this prayer for Christ's mystical body, which is signified in this sacrament, that the angel standing by at the Divine mysteries may present to God the prayers of both priest and people, according to Apocalypse 8:4: "And the smoke of the incense of the prayers of the saints ascended up before God, from the hand of the angel." But God's "altar on high" means either the Church triumphant, unto which we pray to be translated, or else God Himself, in Whom we ask to share ... Or else by the angel we are to understand Christ Himself, Who is the "Angel of great counsel" (Isaiah 9:6: Septuagint), Who unites His mystical body with God the Father and the Church triumphant. (*ST* III q. 83 a. 4 ad 9)

Aquinas adds that the Mass takes its name from this sending: *missa*, "because the priest sends [*mittit*] his prayers up to God through the angel, as the people do through the priest" (ibid.). Both readings stand in the *Summa*: an angel assisting at the altar carries the Church's prayer, or the Angel of great counsel carries his own Body into the presence of the Father. The Directory of 2001 cites the Supplices among the prayers of the postconciliar Missal in which the Church invokes the angels' "assistance so that the Eucharistic sacrifice 'may be taken [to your] altar in heaven, in the presence of [...] divine majesty' " (*Directory* 215).

Gregory the Great had taught the same presence of the angels in the hour of sacrifice. In the fourth book of the *Dialogues* he writes:

> ... for what right believing Christian can doubt, that in the very hour of the sacrifice, at the words of the Priest, the heavens be opened, and the quires of Angels are present in that mystery of Jesus Christ; that high things are accompanied with low, and earthly joined to heavenly, and that one thing is made of visible and invisible? (Gregory, *Dialogues* IV.58, English of 1608, ed. Gardner, 1911, p. 256)

The Mass is heaven opened. The angels who surround the throne in the Apocalypse surround the altar at the words of consecration, and the Church, which cannot see them, confesses their presence in her Preface and her Canon.

The Litany of the Saints. When the Church calls on the whole Church triumphant, at the blessing of the font on Holy Saturday and in her rites of supplication, the angels follow the Mother of God: *Sancte Michael, ora. Sancte Gabriel, ora. Sancte Raphael, ora. Omnes sancti Angeli et Archangeli, orate pro nobis. Omnes sancti beatorum Spirituum ordines, orate* (*MR* 1920, Sabbato Sancto, the litany). The three angels whom Scripture names are invoked by name; all the others are invoked by order. The litany keeps the rule by which the Church names the angels (§23; Appendix J).

22.2 The Paschal Vigil and the Office of the Night

The Exsultet. The deacon's praise of the paschal candle opens by summoning the angels. In the pre-1955 Holy Saturday he sings, *Exsultet jam Angelica turba coelorum: exsultent divina mysteria: et pro tanti Regis victoria tuba insonet salutaris* (*MR* 1920, Sabbato Sancto, *Benedictio Cerei*, p. 233), "Let now the heavenly troop of angels rejoice" (Cummiskey, *Roman Missal*, Philadelphia 1843, Holy Saturday). The first to be called to the joy of the resurrection are the angels, who announced the Rising at the tomb and whose voice the Apostle hears at the Lord's return: "the Lord himself shall come down from heaven with commandment and with the voice of an archangel and with the trumpet of God" (1 Thess 4:15). The Exsultet unites heaven, earth, and Mother Church in one proclamation, and heaven's part is sung first.

The angels in the house at night. At the end of every day, in the collect of Compline, the Church asks that the angels keep her houses:

> *Visita, quaesumus Domine, habitationem istam, et omnes insidias inimici ab ea longe repelle: Angeli tui sancti habitent in ea, qui nos in pace custodiant; et benedictio tua sit super nos semper. Per Dominum.* (*BR*, *Pars autumnalis*, Ad Completorium, p. 151)

"Visit, we beseech Thee, O Lord, this habitation, and drive far from it all snares of the enemy: let Thine holy Angels dwell herein, to keep us in peace, and may Thy blessing be always upon us" (Bute, IV, Compline). The prayer sets the two ministries of the angels side by side as the treatise does: the snares of the enemy are driven off and the holy angels dwell with men to guard them (*ST* I qq. 113–114; §§17–18). The Directory reads the prayer in the same way:

the Church "implores God to send his Angels at the end of the day to protect the faithful as they sleep" (*Directory* 215).

"In the sight of the angels." The versicle that closes the hymns of every Office of the angels is the psalmist's, *In conspectu Angelorum psallam tibi Deus meus. Adorabo ad templum sanctum tuum, et confitebor nomini tuo* (*BR*, 29 Sept. and 2 Oct.): "I will sing praise to thee in the sight of the angels" (Ps 137[138]:1). The Directory takes the verse as the rule of all the Church's morning prayer: "The office of lauds is celebrated in their presence (cf. Ps 137, 1)" (*Directory* 215). The Church does not pray alone at any hour; she prays before an audience of angels.

22.3 The Dying and the Dead

The liturgy gives the angels their largest office at death. Scripture shows the pattern once and for all: "the beggar died and was carried by the angels into Abraham's bosom" (Luke 16:22). The Roman rites of the dying, of the Requiem, and of burial pray that the pattern be fulfilled in every Christian death.

The commendation of the soul. When the dying man is in his agony the priest sends him forth in the name of the Trinity and of the whole heavenly court:

> *Proficiscere, anima christiana, de hoc mundo, in nomine Dei Patris omnipotentis, qui te creavit: in nomine Jesu Christi Filii Dei vivi, qui pro te passus est: in nomine Spiritus Sancti, qui in te effusus est: in nomine Angelorum et Archangelorum: in nomine Thronorum et Dominationum: in nomine Principatuum et Potestatum: in nomine Cherubim et Seraphim: in nomine Patriarcharum et Prophetarum ...* (*RR* 1872, *Ordo commendationis animae*, pp. 115–116)

The soul is sent out of the world in the name of the three Persons, and then in the name of the angelic orders, pair by pair, before the patriarchs, apostles, martyrs, and virgins. The next prayer asks that as the soul goes out of the body "the shining company of angels" come to meet it, *splendidus Angelorum coetus occurrat* (ibid., p. 116). The man who dies in the Church dies into the company of the angels.

The Subvenite. As soon as the soul has left the body the Church says the responsory that asks the saints and angels to receive it:

> *Subvenite Sancti Dei, occurrite Angeli Domini, Suscipientes animam ejus, Offerentes eam in conspectu Altissimi. V. Suscipiat te Christus, qui vocavit te, et in sinum Abrahae Angeli deducant te.* (*RR* 1872, pp. 131–132)

"Come to his assistance, ye Saints of God, come forth to meet him, ye Angels of the Lord: Receiving his soul: Offering it in the sight of the Most High. V. May Christ receive thee, who hath called thee, and may the Angels bear thee into Abraham's bosom" (*Manual of Prayers*, 1889, pp. 531–532). The angels do for the Christian what they did for Lazarus; and the verb the Church gives them, *offerentes*, is the verb of sacrifice: they present the soul before God as the angel of the Supplices presents the Church's offering.

Michael the standard-bearer. The Offertory of the Mass for the Dead names the angel who leads the souls:

> *Domine Jesu Christe, Rex gloriae, libera animas omnium fidelium defunctorum de poenis inferni et de profundo lacu: libera eas de ore leonis, ne absorbeat eas tartarus, ne cadant in obscurum: sed signifer sanctus Michael repraesentet eas in lucem sanctam: Quam olim Abrahae promisisti et semini ejus.* (*MR* 1920, *Missae pro defunctis*)

"... and let the standard bearer, St Michael, bring them into the holy light: Which thou promisedst of old to Abraham and his posterity" (Cummiskey 1843, Masses for the Dead). The Office of Michael sings the same ministry. At Lauds the Church gives God's own word to the Archangel, *Archangele Michael, constitui te principem super omnes animas suscipiendas*, "Michael Mine Archangel, I have appointed thee for a prince over the ingathering of souls"; at

Matins she sings *Venit Michael Archangelus cum multitudine Angelorum, cui tradidit Deus animas sanctorum, Ut perducat eas in paradisum exsultationis*, rendered by Bute "Where Angels lead the spirits of the blessed dead the glad procession moves with Michael at his head, to lead them into the garden of Eden"; and in the third nocturn, *Angelus Archangelus Michael, Dei nuntius pro animabus justis*, "he is the messenger whom God sendeth to all the souls of the righteous" (*BR*, 29 Sept., pp. 381–384; Bute, IV, pp. 595–598). The *signifer* of the Requiem is the *salutis signifer* of the Vespers hymn of his feast, who as victor unfurls the cross, *explicat victor crucem* (below, 29 September): the standard he carries before the souls is the cross of Christ.

In paradisum. As the body is carried from the church to the grave the Church sings:

> *In paradisum deducant te Angeli: in tuo adventu suscipiant te Martyres, et perducant te in civitatem sanctam Jerusalem. Chorus Angelorum te suscipiat, et cum Lazaro quondam paupere aeternam habeas requiem.* (*RR* 1872, *Exsequiarum ordo*, p. 141)

"May the Angels lead thee into Paradise; at thy coming may the Martyrs receive thee, and bring thee into the holy City, Jerusalem. May the Choir of Angels receive thee, and with Lazarus, once a beggar, mayest thou have eternal rest" (*Manual of Prayers*, 1889, pp. 583–584). The antiphon ends where the Gospel began, with Lazarus carried by the angels. The Directory sums up these rites: the Church "prays that the celestial spirits come to the assistance of the faithful in their last agony, and in the rite of obsequies, invokes God to send his Angels to accompany the souls of just into paradise" (*Directory* 215). The common teaching that the angels assist the dying and bring the just to judgment and to glory is here the Church's prayer at every Christian death.

22.4 The Feasts of the Angels

The Roman calendar before 1955 keeps five feasts of the angels: the Dedication of Saint Michael on 29 September, his Apparition on 8 May, the Guardian Angels on 2 October, Saint Gabriel on 24 March, and Saint Raphael on 24 October. The 1962 Missal keeps four in the general calendar and prints the Apparition among the Masses for particular places. The postconciliar calendar keeps the Feast of Saints Michael, Gabriel, and Raphael on 29 September and the Memorial of the Guardian Angels on 2 October. Every feast of the angels in the Tridentine Missal opens with the same Introit, from the psalm that bids the angels bless the Lord: *Benedicite Dominum, omnes Angeli ejus: potentes virtute, qui facitis verbum ejus, ad audiendam vocem sermonum ejus*, "Bless the Lord, all ye his angels: you that are mighty in strength, and execute his word, hearkening to the voice of his orders" (Ps 102[103]:20; *MR* 1920, 8 May, 2 Oct., 24 Mar., 24 Oct.). The Church begins each feast by joining the angels in their own work, which is to bless God and to do his word.

22.4.1 The Dedication of Saint Michael (29 September)

The day and its rank. The feast is the oldest of the angels in the Roman books. The Leonine Sacramentary, the oldest of the Roman sacramentaries, keeps on the day before the Kalends of October the *natale basilicae Angeli in Salaria*, the anniversary of the church of the Angel on the Salarian Way, and its Preface gives the reason for such a feast:

> *Vere dignum ... in die festivitatis hodiernae quo in honorem beati archangeli Michaelis sacrata nomini tuo loca Divinis sunt instituta mysteriis: quamvis enim illius sublimis gloriosaeque substantiae sit habitatio semper in caelis tuorum tamen fidelium praesumit affectus pro tuae reverentia potestatis per haec piae devotionis officia quoddam retinere pignus in terris adstantium in conspectu tuo iugiter ministrorum.* (*Sacramentarium Leonianum*, ed. Feltoe, 1896, p. 106)

Though the Archangel's dwelling is always in heaven, the faithful, out of reverence for God's power, hold on earth a pledge of the ministers who stand for ever in God's sight. Another Preface of the same book confesses that the angelic nature, withdrawn from bodily sight, is seen by the gaze of faith: *quae etsi humano generi corporeo conspectu subtrahitur fidei tamen videtur intuitu* (ibid., p. 107). The Gregorian Sacramentary sets the *Dedicatio basilicae sancti Angeli* on the third day before the Kalends, 29 September, with the collect the Tridentine Missal still prays (*Gregorian Sacramentary*, ed. Wilson, 1915, under III Kal. Oct.). The Breviary gives the feast its scope. Relating the dedication

of Saint Michael's church at Rome on the third day before the Kalends of October, the lessons of 8 May add: *quo die etiam omnium Angelorum memoriam Ecclesia celebrat*, "on the which day the Church also holdeth in remembrance All Angels" (*BR*, *Pars verna*, 8 May, lesson vi, p. 572; Bute, II, p. 870). Michaelmas is the feast of all the angels under the name of their prince.

The Breviary of 1898 and Bute's Breviary of 1908 give the day the rank of a double of the second class (*BR*, p. 378; Bute, IV, p. 592); the Missal of the 1920 typical edition gives it the first class, *Duplex I classis* (*MR* 1920, Mame 1922, kalendarium and p. 725), and the 1962 Missal keeps it of the first class (*MR* 1962, p. 670). The postconciliar calendar keeps 29 September as the Feast of Saints Michael, Gabriel, and Raphael, Archangels.

The Mass. The Mass of the day in the pre-1955 and 1962 Missals is the Mass *Benedicite*, which Mame's Missal prints in full on 8 May and appoints again on 29 September, *Missa Benedicite, ut in die 8 Maji . . . praeter ritum*, with the Gradual and Alleluia proper to the autumn feast (*MR* 1920, Mame 1922, pp. 592–593, 725–726). Its collect is the Gregorian collect:

> *Deus, qui miro ordine Angelorum ministeria, hominumque dispensas: concede propitius; ut a quibus tibi ministrantibus in caelo semper assistitur, ab his in terra vita nostra muniatur. Per Dominum.* (*BR*, 29 Sept., p. 384)

"O God, Who hast ordained and constituted the services of angels and men in a wonderful order, mercifully grant that as Thy holy angels alway do Thee service in heaven, so, by Thy appointment, they may succour and defend us on earth" (Bute, IV, pp. 598–599). The prayer holds the whole theology of the angels' ministry in one sentence. There is one order, *miro ordine*, in which God disposes the offices of angels and of men together; the angels who assist before God in heaven are the angels who defend men's lives on earth. Aquinas teaches the same when he sets the angels over the government of bodies and of men and makes the lower creation receive God's providence through the higher (*ST* I qq. 110–113; §§15–16). Isidore distinguishes the angels who minister from the angels who assist by the two verbs of Daniel's vision, "thousands of thousands ministered to him, and ten thousand times a hundred thousand stood before him" (Dan 7:10): *alii sunt qui administrant, alii qui adsistunt* (Isidore, *Etym.* VII.5.19). The collect asks that the spirits who stand before God should also minister to us.

The Lesson is the opening of the Apocalypse, in which "God . . . signified, sending by his angel to his servant John" (Apoc 1:1); the Gradual repeats Psalm 102[103]:20; the Alleluia is the Church's own invocation, *Sancte Michael Archangele, defende nos in praelio: ut non pereamus in tremendo judicio*, "Holy Michael the Archangel, defend us in the battle: that we may not perish in the dreadful judgment" (*MR* 1920, Mame 1922, p. 725; Cummiskey 1843, p. 667). The battle is the last one, the judgment at which the dragon is finally cast out; the same petition opens the prayer to Saint Michael that Leo XIII set after Low Mass (§23). In paschal time a second verse sings the terror of the Archangel's coming, *Concussum est mare et contremuit terra, ubi Archangelus Michael descendit de caelo*, "The sea shook, and the earth trembled, when Michael the Archangel came down from heaven" (*MR* 1920, Mame 1922, p. 592; Cummiskey 1843, p. 667). The Gospel is Matthew 18:1–10, which ends "See that you despise not one of these little ones: for I say to you, that their angels in heaven always see the face of my Father who is in heaven" (Matt 18:10): on the feast of the prince of the angels the Church reads the charter of the guardian angels. The Offertory is *Stetit Angelus* (Apoc 8:3–4); the Communion is the canticle of the Three Children, *Benedicite, omnes Angeli Domini, Dominum: hymnum dicite, et superexaltate eum in saecula* (Dan 3:58).

The Secret and the Postcommunion reach back to the Leonine Sacramentary. The Secret, *Hostias tibi, Domine, laudis offerimus, suppliciter deprecantes: ut easdem, angelico pro nobis interveniente suffragio, et placatus accipias, et ad salutem nostram provenire concedas* (*MR* 1920, Mame 1922, p. 592), already stands in the Leonine Sacramentary for the church on the Salarian Way (Feltoe, p. 106) and in the Gregorian for 29 September (Wilson, p. 106). The Church offers the sacrifice of praise and asks that it be received through the angels' pleading, *angelico pro nobis interveniente suffragio*. The Postcommunion asks that, upheld by Michael's intercession, we may reach with the mind what we have followed with the mouth: *Beati Archangeli tui Michaelis intercessione suffulti: supplices te, Domine, deprecamur; ut, quod ore prosequimur, contingamus et mente* (*MR* 1920, Mame 1922, p. 593). The Leonine form asks that we may reach in mind those whom we follow with honour, *ut quos honore prosequimur contingamus et mente* (Feltoe, p. 108), and the Gregorian keeps that reading (Wilson, p. 106). The Tridentine prayer turns the honour paid to the angels into the Church's praise: what we have sung with the lips we ask to touch with the mind.

The Office. The Office of Michaelmas is the Church's fullest teaching on the angels in her own voice. The Invitatory adores *Regem Archangelorum Dominum*, "The Lord, He is the King of the Archangels" (*BR*, p. 378; Bute, IV, p. 593). The Vespers hymn sings Michael as the standard-bearer of salvation who unfurls the cross:

> *Tibi mille densa millium*
> *Ducum corona militat:*
> *Sed explicat victor crucem*
> *Michael salutis signifer.*
> *Draconis hic dirum caput*
> *In ima pellit tartara,*
> *Ducemque cum rebellibus*
> *Caelesti ab arce fulminat.* (*BR*, 29 Sept., p. 378)

The English that the *Raccolta* prints beside the hymn renders the stanzas: "Thy thousand, thousand hosts are spread, / Embattled o'er the azure sky; / But Michael bears thy standard dread, / And lifts the mighty Cross on high. / He in that Sign the rebel powers / Did with their Dragon Prince expel; / And hurled them from the Heaven's high towers, / Down like a thunderbolt to hell" (*Raccolta*, 1910, n. 289, p. 259). The hymn gives the doctrine of the fall in one image: the victory over the dragon is won under the sign of the cross. The Lauds hymn *Christe, sanctorum decus Angelorum* gives each of the three named archangels his office:

> *Angelus pacis Michael in aedes*
> *Caelitus nostras veniat, serenae*
> *Auctor ut pacis lacrymosa in orcum*
> *Bella releget.*
> *Angelus fortis Gabriel, ut hostes*
> *Pellat antiquos, et amica caelo,*
> *Quae triumphator statuit per orbem,*
> *Templa revisat.*
> *Angelus nostrae medicus salutis,*
> *Adsit e caelo Raphael, ut omnes*
> *Sanet aegrotos, dubiosque vitae*
> *Dirigat actus.* (*BR*, 29 Sept., p. 384)

Copeland's English in Bute's Breviary: "Angel of peace, may Michael to our dwelling / Down from high Heaven in mighty calmness come, / Breathing serenest peace, wild war dispelling / With all her sorrows to the infernal gloom. / Angel of might, may Gabriel swift descending, / Far from our gates our ancient foes repel, / And his own triumphs o'er the world defending, / In temples dear to Heaven return and dwell. / Angel of health, may Raphael lighten o'er us, / To every sick bed speed his healing flight, / In times of doubt direct the way before us, / And through life's mazes guide our steps aright" (Bute, IV, p. 598). The hymn gives Michael peace, Gabriel strength, and Raphael healing; the last two answer to the names as Gregory interprets them in the lesson of the day, "the Strength of God" and "the Medicine-of-God" (Bute, IV, p. 596; Appendix J).

The lessons of the first nocturn are Daniel's two visions of the court of heaven and of Michael, "one of the chief princes" (Dan 7:9–10; 10:4–14; *BR*, pp. 379–380). The second nocturn reads Gregory the Great's thirty-fourth homily on the Gospels, the sermon in which he gathered the nine orders from Scripture. The fourth lesson gives the count:

> *Novem Angelorum ordines dicimus, quia videlicet esse, testante sacro eloquio, scimus: Angelos, Archangelos, Virtutes, Potestates, Principatus, Dominationes, Thronos, Cherubim atque Seraphim.* (*BR*, pp. 380–381; Gregory, *Hom. in Ev.* 34.7)

"We say that there are nine Orders of Angels, for, by the witness of the holy Word, we know that there be Angels, Archangels, Mights, Powers, Principalities, Dominions, Thrones, Cherubim, and Seraphim" (Bute, IV, pp. 594–595). Gregory adds four from Ephesians, a fifth, the Thrones, from Colossians, and Angels, Archangels, Cherubim, and Seraphim from the rest of Scripture, "and we find that the Orders of Angels are beyond all doubt nine" (ibid.). The fifth lesson gives Gregory's teaching on the name: "the word 'Angel' is the designation, not of a nature, but of an office," *Angelorum vocabulum nomen est officii, non naturae*; the holy spirits "are Angels only when they are sent as Messengers," and "they who go on the lesser messages are called Angels: they who go on the greater Archangels. Hence it is that unto the Virgin Mary was sent no common Angel, but the Archangel Gabriel" (Bute, IV, p. 595; *BR*,

p. 381; Gregory, *Hom. in Ev.* 34.8). The sixth lesson interprets the names: whenever a work of wondrous power is to be done Michael is sent, "that by that very thing, and by his name, we may remember that none is able to do as God doeth" (Bute, IV, p. 596; Gregory, *Hom. in Ev.* 34.9). Thus on the feast of the angels the Church reads to her clergy the patristic source of the doctrine of the nine choirs that Aquinas received beside Dionysius (*ST* I q. 108 a. 6; §15; Appendix A).

The third nocturn reads Jerome on Matthew 18. His ninth lesson is the classic patristic sentence on the guardian angels:

> *Magna dignitas animarum, ut unaquaeque habeat ab ortu nativitatis in custodiam sui Angelum delegatum.* (*BR*, 29 Sept., p. 383; Jerome, *In Matth.* III, on 18:10)

"Oh, how great is the dignity of souls, whereof every one hath from its birth an Angel appointed to guard it!" (Bute, IV, p. 597). Jerome finds the same ministry in the angels of the seven churches of the Apocalypse and in the Apostle's word that women veil their heads in church "because of the Angels" (ibid.). Aquinas cites the sentence for the question whether each man has a guardian from his birth (*ST* I q. 113 a. 5; §17).

At Lauds the antiphons pass from the altar of incense to the war in heaven, to Michael's charge over souls, and to the whole hierarchy bidden to praise: *Angeli, Archangeli, Throni et Dominationes, Principatus et Potestates, Virtutes caelorum, laudate Dominum de caelis*, "O ye Angels and Archangels, O ye Thrones and Dominions, O ye Principalities and Powers, O ye mighty Ones of heaven, praise ye the Lord from the heavens!" (*BR*, p. 384; Bute, IV, p. 598). The Office closes at Second Vespers with the antiphon that the faithful also pray in private (§23):

> *Princeps gloriosissime, Michael Archangele, esto memor nostri: hic et ubique semper precare pro nobis Filium Dei, alleluia, alleluia.* (*BR*, p. 385)

"O thou Prince most glorious, Michael the Archangel, remember us—and here, and everywhere, alway entreat for us the countenance of the Son of God" (Bute, IV, p. 600). The Archangel is asked to pray; the one he is asked to pray to is the Son.

The Martyrology read at Prime on the eve gives the reason of the day: "On the morrow is made the worshipful Commemoration of the Blessed Archangel Michael; on the which day was consecrated in his name the church upon Mount Gargano, mean as to building, but filled with power from heaven" (Bute, IV, pp. 591–592; on the shrine and the other sanctuaries, §23).

The postconciliar feast. Since the reform of the calendar the Roman Rite keeps on 29 September the Feast of Saints Michael, Gabriel, and Raphael, Archangels, and gathers into it the separate feasts of Gabriel and Raphael. The *Ordo lectionum Missae* of 1981 appoints for the first reading either Daniel's vision of the Ancient of days, before whom "thousands of thousands ministered" (Dan 7:9–10, 13–14), or the war in heaven in which "Michael and his angels fought with the dragon" (Apoc 12:7–12a); for the psalm, the verse that the Tridentine Office sang as its versicle, "I will sing praise to thee in the sight of the angels" (Ps 137[138]:1–5); for the verse before the Gospel, "Bless the Lord, all ye his hosts" (Ps 102[103]:21); and for the Gospel, the promise to Nathanael, "you shall see the heaven opened and the angels of God ascending and descending upon the Son of man" (John 1:47–51) (*Ordo lectionum Missae* 1981, n. 647). The Gospel sets the whole feast in Christ: the angels go up and come down upon the Son of man, the ladder of Jacob's dream, and their ministry to men is his. The Catechism teaches the same: "Christ is the centre of the angelic world. They are his angels" (CCC 331).

22.4.2 The Apparition of Saint Michael (8 May)

The pre-1955 Missal and Breviary keep on 8 May a second feast of the Archangel, *In Apparitione S. Michaelis Archangeli*, a greater double (*MR* 1920, Vatican printing, kalendarium and proper of 8 May; Bute, II, p. 867). Its Mass is the Mass *Benedicite* with the alleluias of Eastertide (*MR* 1920, Mame 1922, pp. 592–593), and Mame's Missal directs that a votive Mass of Saint Michael take this form in paschal time and the form of 29 September outside it (ibid., p. 593). The 1962 Missal prints the day among the Masses for particular places: *Eodem die 8 maii. In Apparitione S. Michaelis Archangeli. Missa Benedicite, ut in Missali, die 29 septembris* (*MR* 1962, *Missae pro aliquibus locis*, p. [161]). The Office of the day reads in its second nocturn the relation of the Archangel's appearing on Mount Gargano in the pontificate of Gelasius I (§23).

22.4.3 The Holy Guardian Angels (2 October)

The day and its rank. The Guardian Angels were honoured in many churches before the feast was made universal. *The Liturgical Year* of Guéranger's continuators relates that Paul V permitted the feast in 1608 and that Clement X made it of precept on 2 October, the first free day after Michaelmas, in 1670 (*The Liturgical Year*, Time after Pentecost V, English of the Stanbrook Benedictines, October 2). The Breviary of 1898 and the Missal of the 1920 typical edition keep it as a greater double (*BR*, p. 397; *MR* 1920, Mame 1922, kalendarium and p. 726); the 1962 Missal as a feast of the third class (*MR* 1962, p. 672); the postconciliar calendar as a Memorial.

The Mass. The collect states the doctrine of the day:

> *Deus, qui ineffabili providentia sanctos Angelos tuos ad nostram custodiam mittere dignaris: largire supplicibus tuis; et eorum semper protectione defendi, et aeterna societate gaudere. Per Dominum.* (*BR*, 2 Oct., p. 403)

"O God, Who in Thine unspeakable Providence hast been pleased to give Thine holy Angels charge over us, to keep us, mercifully grant unto our prayers, that we be both ever fenced by their wardship here, and everlastingly blessed by their fellowship hereafter" (Bute, IV, p. 619). The prayer names the two gifts of the guardian angel: protection now and companionship for ever. The guardians are sent by an "unspeakable providence," and the men they guard are called to be their fellow citizens.

The Lesson is God's promise in Exodus, "Behold I will send my angel, who shall go before thee, and keep thee in thy journey, and bring thee into the place that I have prepared" (Exod 23:20–23). The Gradual is the psalm the tempter quoted and the Church sings in its true sense: "For he hath given his angels charge over thee; to keep thee in all thy ways. In their hands they shall bear thee up: lest thou dash thy foot against a stone" (Ps 90[91]:11–12). The Gospel is again Matthew 18:1–10, whose last verse gives the feast its Scripture; the Offertory is the psalm of the Introit (Ps 102[103]:20–21); the Communion is the canticle of the Three Children (Dan 3:58; *MR* 1920, Mame 1922, pp. 726–729). The Secret asks *ut, perpetuis eorum praesidiis, a praesentibus periculis liberemur, et ad vitam perveniamus aeternam*, that by their unfailing protection we may be delivered from present dangers and come to eternal life; the Postcommunion, rejoicing in their feast, asks *ut eorum protectione ab hostium jugiter liberemur insidiis, et contra omnia adversa muniamur*, that by their protection we may be delivered from the snares of our enemies and fortified against every adversity (ibid., p. 729).

The Office. The Vespers hymn *Custodes hominum psallimus Angelos* sings the guardians as the companions given to fallen nature against the envy of the fallen angel:

> *Custodes hominum psallimus Angelos,*
> *Naturae fragili quos Pater addidit*
> *Caelestis comites, insidiantibus*
> *Ne succumberet hostibus.* (*BR*, 2 Oct., p. 397)

"Praise we those ministers celestial / Whom the dread Father chose / To be defenders of our nature frail, / Against our scheming foes. / For, since that from his glory in the skies / Th' Apostate Angel fell, / Burning with envy, evermore he tries / To drown our souls in Hell" (Caswall's English, Bute, IV, p. 613). The Lauds hymn asks that the angel chosen to guard us be present, *Tuusque nobis Angelus / Electus ad custodiam, / Hic adsit*; in Caswall's English, "May Thy Guardian Angel nigh / Keep us from all sin this day. / May he crush the deadly wiles / Of the envious Serpent's art," and drive "Plague and famine" far (*BR*, p. 402; Bute, IV, p. 619).

The second nocturn reads Bernard's sermon on the ninetieth psalm. He begins with the verse the Gradual sings and asks four questions of it: "For who hath given charge? And what charge? Unto whom? And over whom?" (Bute, IV, p. 616). The answer is the wonder of the day: "The Highest Majesty, therefore, hath given charge unto Angels, even His Angels. Unto these beings so excellently exalted, so blessed, so near to Himself, even as His own household, unto these hath He given charge over thee. Who art thou?" (ibid.). The fifth lesson draws the conclusion, *Reverentiam pro praesentia, devotionem pro benevolentia, fiduciam pro custodia* (*BR*, 2 Oct., p. 400; §7.7): "What respect, what thankfulness, what trust, ought this word to work in thee! Respect for their presence, thankfulness for their kindness, trust in their safe-keeping. Walk carefully, as one with whom are Angels, as hath been laid in charge upon them, in all thy ways. In every lodging, in every nook, have reverence for thine Angel. Dare not to do in his presence what

thou wouldst not dare to do in mine" (Bute, IV, p. 616). The sixth lesson turns reverence into love and confidence: "Let us also, brethren, dearly love His Angels, as them with whom we are one day to be co-heirs, and who in the meanwhile are leaders and guardians set over us by the Father. With such guardians, whereof shall we be afraid? They that keep us in all our ways, can neither be conquered nor corrupted, far less can they corrupt. They are trusty, they are wary, they are mighty" (Bute, IV, pp. 616–617; *BR*, p. 400).

The third nocturn reads Hilary on Matthew 18. His ninth lesson makes the guardians the bearers of the prayers of the faithful:

> *Pusillorum enim Angeli quotidie Deum vident: quia Filius hominis venit salvare quae perdita sunt. Ergo et Filius hominis salvat, et Deum Angeli vident, et Angeli pusillorum praesunt fidelium orationibus. Praeesse Angelos absoluta auctoritas est. Salvatorum igitur per Christum orationes Angeli quotidie Deo offerunt.* (*BR*, 2 Oct., p. 402)

"From these words we see, first, that the Son of Man saveth; secondly, that the Angels do see God; and thirdly, that the Angels of these little ones have the wardship over the prayers of the faithful. That the Angels have this wardship is taught us absolutely. The Angels therefore do every day offer to God the prayers, which they which are saved, do make to Him in the Name of Christ" (Bute, IV, p. 618). Hilary's lesson is the patristic commentary on the incense of the Offertory and the Supplices of the Canon: the angels offer daily what the Church offers at every Mass.

The postconciliar Memorial. The *Ordo lectionum Missae* keeps the Tridentine readings: Exodus 23:20–23, Psalm 90[91], the verse "Bless the Lord, all ye his hosts" (Ps 102[103]:21), and Matthew 18:1–5, 10 (*Ordo lectionum Missae* 1981, n. 650). The doctrine of the day stands in the Catechism: "Beside each believer stands an angel as protector and shepherd leading him to life" (CCC 336, citing Basil).

22.4.4 Saint Gabriel (24 March)

The Missal of the 1920 typical edition keeps the feast of Saint Gabriel the Archangel on 24 March, the eve of the Annunciation, as a greater double (*MR* 1920, Mame 1922, kalendarium and pp. 552–554); the 1962 Missal as a feast of the third class (*MR* 1962, p. 493); the postconciliar calendar honours Gabriel on 29 September. The collect gives the reason of the day:

> *Deus, qui inter ceteros Angelos, ad annuntiandum incarnationis tuae mysterium, Gabrielem Archangelum elegisti: concede propitius; ut, qui festum ejus celebramus in terris, ipsius patrocinium sentiamus in caelis.* (*MR* 1920, Mame 1922, p. 552)

God chose Gabriel among all the angels to announce the mystery of the Incarnation, and the Church asks that those who keep his feast on earth may know his patronage in heaven. The Lesson is Daniel's second meeting with Gabriel, "flying swiftly" at the time of the evening sacrifice to reveal the weeks "unto Christ, the prince" (Dan 9:21–26); the Gospel is the Annunciation (Luke 1:26–38); in Lent the Tract sings the angel's salutation, *Ave, Maria, gratia plena: Dominus tecum* (Luke 1:28, 42, 31, 35). The Secret asks that the prayer of the blessed Archangel Gabriel make the offering acceptable, *ut, qui a nobis veneratur in terris, sit apud te pro nobis advocatus in caelis*, that he who is venerated by us on earth may be our advocate with God in heaven; the Postcommunion prays *ut, sicut Gabriele nuntiante, incarnationem tuam cognovimus; ita, ipso adjuvante, incarnationis ejusdem beneficia consequamur*, that as by Gabriel's message we have known the Incarnation, so by his help we may obtain its benefits (ibid., pp. 553–554). Gregory's homily, read on 29 September, gives the reason the Archangel of the Annunciation is "the Strength of God": "he came to herald the appearing of Him Who was content to appear lowly that He might fight down the powers of the air" (Bute, IV, p. 596; Gregory, *Hom. in Ev.* 34.9). The feast of Gabriel is the vigil of the mystery he announced.

22.4.5 Saint Raphael (24 October)

The Missal of the 1920 typical edition keeps Saint Raphael the Archangel on 24 October as a greater double (*MR* 1920, Mame 1922, kalendarium and pp. 741–743); Bute's Breviary for England already kept the day with that rank in 1908 (Bute, IV, kalendar and pp. 684–686); the 1962 Missal keeps it of the third class (*MR* 1962, p. 695); the postconciliar calendar honours Raphael on 29 September. The collect asks for the companion God gave Tobias:

Deus, qui beatum Raphaelem Archangelum Tobiae famulo tuo comitem dedisti in via: concede nobis famulis tuis; ut ejusdem semper protegamur custodia, et muniamur auxilio. (*MR* 1920, Mame 1922, p. 741)

God gave the Archangel to his servant Tobias as a companion on the road, and the Church asks that his servants be ever protected by the same guardianship and strengthened by the same help. The Lesson is Raphael's self-revelation to Tobias and his father: "When thou didst pray with tears, and didst bury the dead ... I offered thy prayer to the Lord ... For I am the angel Raphael, one of the seven, who stand before the Lord" (Tob 12:12, 15; the Lesson is 12:7–15). The Gradual sings his victory over the demon, *Angelus Domini Raphael apprehendit et ligavit daemonem*, as Tobias tells it: "Then the angel Raphael took the devil, and bound him in the desert of upper Egypt" (Tob 8:3). The Gospel is the pool of the five porches, where "an angel of the Lord descended at certain times into the pond and the water was moved. And he that went down first into the pond after the motion of the water was made whole" (John 5:1–4): the medicine of God works through the angel of the pool. The Postcommunion asks God to send Raphael to our help, *et, quem tuae majestati semper assistere credimus, tibi nostras exiguas preces benedicendas assignet*, that the angel we believe to stand always before the divine majesty may present our small prayers to God to be blessed (*MR* 1920, Mame 1922, p. 743). The Office of the day in Bute's Breviary reads a sermon under Augustine's name on the book of Tobias, which draws the moral of the story: "Behold, dearly beloved brethren, how great is the merit of almsgiving. Almsgiving hath earned an Angel for a servant" (Bute, IV, p. 686).

22.5 The Faith the Liturgy Prays, by Degree

The liturgy teaches the doctrine of the angels by praying it:

Grade	Proposition	Liturgical witness
Church teaching	The Church joins the angels' worship and venerates the angels	Prefaces and Sanctus (Cummiskey 1861, pp. xxviii–xxxii); *Directory* 215; CCC 335
Church teaching	The Church invokes the angels, Michael, Gabriel, and Raphael by name, and the rest by order	Confiteor; Litany of the Saints (*MR* 1920, Holy Saturday); collects of 29 Sept., 24 Mar., 24 Oct.
Church teaching	God sends angels to guard each of the faithful, from infancy to death	Collect of 2 Oct.; Compline collect; CCC 336
Common teaching	The angels present the prayers and the sacrifice of the Church before God	Supplices (*MR* 1920); incense prayer; Hilary, lesson ix of 2 Oct.; *ST* III q. 83 a. 4 ad 9
Common teaching	Michael defends the Church and receives the souls of the just at death	Alleluia of 29 Sept.; Offertory of the Requiem; Lauds antiphon "Archangele Michael"
Common teaching	The angels assist the dying and lead the just into paradise	*Proficiscere*, *Subvenite*, *In paradisum* (*RR* 1872); *Directory* 215
Common teaching	There are nine orders of angels	Gregory, *Hom. in Ev.* 34.7, lesson iv of 29 Sept.; Prefaces
Pious tradition	The Archangel appeared on Mount Gargano and asked that God be worshipped there	Lessons of 8 May (*BR*); Martyrology of 29 Sept. (§23)

23 Devotion to the Angels and Its Regulation

The faithful carry into their own prayer what the Church prays at the altar. They greet their guardian angel morning and evening, call on Michael against the enemy, count the nine choirs on a chaplet, and go on pilgrimage to the mountains where the Archangel is honoured. The Church has fostered these devotions, enriching them with indulgences, and she has ruled them from the beginning, holding the cult of the angels to what Scripture gives and to the worship of the one God. Her Directory of 2001 states both halves of that practice: the Church, which "constantly experiences their 'mysterious and powerful assistance,' " venerates the angels and "has recourse to their

prompt intercession," and "down through the centuries, the faithful have translated into various devotional exercises the teaching of the faith in relation to the ministry of Angels" (*Directory on Popular Piety* 215–216). The doctrine on which the devotion rests is the Church's, restated in the Directory in the Catechism's words: "the existence of the spiritual, non-corporeal beings that Sacred Scripture usually calls 'angels' is a truth of faith" (*Directory* 213; CCC 328; §2; for the acts and their dates, Appendix G).[29]

23.1 The Prayer to the Guardian Angel

The Church's prayer to the guardian angel is the *Angele Dei*. The *Raccolta* prints it in Latin with a close English version, and adds a rhymed English version:

> *Angele Dei, qui custos es mei, me tibi commissum pietate superna illumina, custodi, rege, et guberna. Amen.*
>
> O Angel of God, whom God hath appointed to be my guardian, enlighten and protect, direct and govern me. Amen.
>
> Angel of God, my guardian dear,
> To whom his love commits me here,
> Ever this day be at my side,
> To light and guard, to rule and guide. Amen.

(*Raccolta*, 1910, n. 296, p. 267.) The *Raccolta* records the indulgences granted to it: a hundred days each time; a plenary indulgence on 2 October, the feast of the Guardian Angels, for those who have said it morning and evening through the year; a plenary indulgence once a month; and a plenary indulgence at the hour of death for those who have said it often. The grants it cites are those of Pius VI (briefs of 2 October 1795 and 11 June 1796) and Pius VII (15 May 1821; ibid., pp. 266–267). The Directory of 2001 calls the *Angele Dei* "especially popular," a prayer "often recited by families at morning and evening prayers, or at the recitation of the Angelus" (*Directory* 216).

The prayer is a compact treatise on the guardian's office. It confesses first that the one who prays has been entrusted to the angel, *tibi commissum*, and that the trust is an act of heavenly love, *pietate superna*: the guardianship comes from the "unspeakable providence" of the collect of 2 October, which sends the holy angels *ad nostram custodiam* (*BR*, 2 Oct.; §22). It then asks four things. *Illumina*: the angel enlightens, for Aquinas teaches that the angels strengthen the human intellect and propose intelligible truth to it "under the similitudes of sensible things" (*ST* I q. 111 a. 1 co.; §16). *Custodi*: the angel guards, for every man from his birth has "an Angel appointed to guard it," as Jerome teaches in the lesson the Church reads on 29 September (*In Matth.* III, on 18:10; *ST* I q. 113 a. 5 s.c.; §17). *Rege* and *guberna*: the angel rules and governs, the verbs of the providential order in which, as Aquinas puts it, "the order of Divine Providence disposes that lower things be subject to the actions of higher" (*ST* I q. 111 a. 1 co.; *ST* I q. 110 a. 1). The rhymed English renders the four verbs "To light and guard, to rule and guide."

Bernard gave the Church the attitude with which the prayer is to be said. The lesson the Roman Breviary reads from his sermon on the ninetieth psalm asks what "this word," *Angelis suis mandavit de te*, ought to work in the Christian: "What respect, what thankfulness, what trust, ought this word to work in thee! Respect for their presence, thankfulness for their kindness, trust in their safe-keeping" (Bute, IV, p. 616; *BR*, 2 Oct., p. 400; §22). The Directory of 2001 draws the same three dispositions from the devotion: "devout gratitude to God for having placed these heavenly spirits of great sanctity and dignity at the service of man"; "an attitude of devotion deriving from the knowledge of living constantly in the presence of the Holy Angels of God"; and "serenity and confidence in facing difficult situations, since the Lord guides and protects the faithful in the way of justice through the ministry of His Holy Angels" (*Directory* 216). The Directory names Basil and Bernard as masters of the devotion. For Basil, in the Directory's rendering, "each and every member of the faithful has a Guardian Angel to protect, guard and guide them through life"; Bernard was "a great master and a notable promoter of devotion to the Guardian Angels" (ibid.). The Catechism gives Basil's sentence in its own English: "Beside each believer stands an angel as protector and shepherd leading him to life" (CCC 336).

[29]The prayers are cited from the *Raccolta*, the Roman collection of indulgenced prayers, in Ambrose St John's English (London: Burns and Oates, 1910), which records each grant with its pontiff and date; from the Vatican *Collectio precum piorumque operum* of 1929, which gives the Latin of the prayers after Low Mass; and from the American *Key of Heaven* (Baltimore: Murphy, 1901), which gives their English.

The *Raccolta* adds a novena to the guardian angel, which "may be made at any time and with any form of prayer sanctioned by competent ecclesiastical authority," with an indulgence of three hundred days each day and a plenary indulgence once during the novena, granted by Pius IX on 26 November 1876 (*Raccolta*, 1910, n. 297, p. 267). The Church does not fix the words; she asks only that they be approved.

23.2 The Prayer to Saint Michael

The prayers after Low Mass. Leo XIII ordered that certain prayers be said after every Low Mass, kneeling, in all the churches of the world. The *Key of Heaven* of 1901 prints them under that heading: three Hail Marys, the *Salve Regina* with its versicle, the prayer "O God, our refuge and our strength," asking the intercession of the Mother of God, Saint Joseph, the Apostles, and all the saints "for the conversion of sinners, and for the freedom and exaltation of Holy Mother the Church," and the prayer to the Archangel (*Key of Heaven*, 1901, pp. 138–141). The Vatican *Collectio* of 1929 gives the Latin under the title *Preces post privatae Missae celebrationem recitandae*:

> *Sancte Michael Archangele, defende nos in praelio, contra nequitias et insidias diaboli esto praesidium: Imperet illi Deus, supplices deprecamur, tuque, Princeps militiae caelestis, Satanam aliosque spiritus malignos, qui ad perditionem animarum pervagantur in mundo, divina virtute in infernum detrude. Amen.* (*Collectio precum*, 1929, n. 331, p. 328)

> Holy Michael, the Archangel, defend us in the battle; be our protection against the wickedness and snares of the devil—Rebuke him, O God, we suppliantly beseech Thee: and do thou, O Prince of the heavenly host, by the divine power drive into hell Satan and the other evil spirits, who wander through the world seeking the ruin of souls. Amen. (*Key of Heaven*, 1901, pp. 140–141)

The *Collectio* records the indulgence of three hundred days and cites the decrees of the Congregation of Rites of 6 January 1884 and 24 November 1915; the *Key of Heaven* states that Leo XIII "grants to all who recite these prayers, as aforesaid, 300 days indulgence" (*Collectio*, p. 328; *Key of Heaven*, p. 141).

Almost every phrase of the prayer is Scripture or the liturgy. *Defende nos in praelio* is the Alleluia of Michaelmas, *Sancte Michael Archangele, defende nos in praelio: ut non pereamus in tremendo judicio* (*MR* 1920, 29 Sept.; §22), which the *Raccolta* also gives as an indulgenced antiphon: "St Michael Archangel, defend us in the day of battle, that we may not be lost in the dreadful judgment" (*Raccolta*, 1910, n. 293, p. 266; Leo XIII, 19 August 1893). The battle is the Apostle's: "Put you on the armour of God, that you may be able to stand against the deceits of the devil. For our wrestling is not against flesh and blood; but against principalities and powers, against the rulers of the world of this darkness, against the spirits of wickedness in the high places" (Eph 6:11–12). *Imperet illi Deus* is the word of Michael himself in the Epistle of Jude, who "disputing with the devil, contended about the body of Moses, he durst not bring against him the judgment of railing speech, but said: The Lord command thee" (Jude 9). The Archangel does not command the devil in his own name; he calls on God's command, and the Church prays as he prayed. *Princeps militiae caelestis* is the title of the Breviary, *princeps militiae Angelorum* (*BR*, 29 Sept., fourth responsory). The spirits "who wander through the world seeking the ruin of souls" are the adversary of whom Peter writes: "your adversary the devil, as a roaring lion, goeth about seeking whom he may devour" (1 Pet 5:8). And the last petition asks the Archangel to do by the power of God, *divina virtute*, what the Apocalypse shows him doing: "that great dragon was cast out, that old serpent, who is called the devil and Satan, who seduceth the whole world. And he was cast unto the earth: and his angels were thrown down with him" (Apoc 12:9).

The theology of the prayer is Gregory's. The name of Michael, *Quis ut Deus*, answers the boast of the enemy who said *similis ero Altissimo* (Isa 14:14), and at the end of the world the old enemy "is shown unto us a-fighting with Michael the Archangel" so that, as Gregory concludes, *qui se ad Dei similitudinem superbus extulerat, per Michaelem peremptus discat, quia ad Dei similitudinem per superbiam nullus exsurgat*: he who proudly raised himself to God's likeness is to learn, slain by Michael, that no one rises to God's likeness by pride (Gregory, *Hom. in Ev.* 34.9; Bute, IV, p. 596). The prayer asks the Archangel to fight now the battle he will finish at the end, and it asks that the power be God's. It does not make the world a contest of equal forces; it asks the prince of the heavenly host to act by the divine power against creatures who are subject to it (*ST* I q. 114; §18; on the limits of the demons' power, Appendix K).

The longer prayer of Leo XIII. The *Raccolta* also prints a longer prayer to Saint Michael, with an indulgence of three hundred days, citing a motu proprio of Leo XIII of 25 September 1888. It begins: "O glorious Archangel St Michael, Prince of the heavenly host, be our defence in the terrible warfare which we carry on against principalities and Powers, against the rulers of this world of darkness, spirits of evil," and ends with versicles and a prayer asking God, by the intercession of the Virgin Mary and of the Archangel, "to help us against Satan and all other unclean spirits, who wander about the world for the injury of the human race and the ruin of souls" (*Raccolta*, 1910, n. 292, pp. 264–265).

The Office prayed at home. Pius VII enriched with an indulgence the private recitation of the Office hymn of Michaelmas, its Magnificat antiphon, and its collect: *Te splendor et virtus Patris*, *Princeps gloriosissime, Michael Archangele, esto memor nostri*, and *Deus, qui miro ordine* (*Raccolta*, 1910, n. 289, pp. 259–260; Pius VII, 6 May 1817). The *Raccolta* prints the antiphon in English, "Most glorious Prince, Michael the Archangel, be mindful of us: pray for us always both here and everywhere to the Son of God," and the collect, "O God, who disposest the services of Angels and men in a wonderful order; mercifully grant that those who ever stand before Thee, ministering to Thee in Heaven, may themselves also protect our life here upon earth" (ibid., p. 260). Private devotion here is the liturgy carried home: the layman prays in his room what the Church sings in choir on the Archangel's feast. The *Raccolta* adds a novena of Saint Michael, in any approved form, granted by Pius IX on 26 November 1876 (n. 290, p. 261).

23.3 The Chaplet of Saint Michael

The *Raccolta* gives the chaplet of Saint Michael under the title "Angelical Crown," with the indulgences granted by Pius IX on 8 August 1851: seven years and seven quarantines; a hundred days daily to anyone who carries the chaplet or kisses the medal of the holy angels attached to it; a plenary indulgence once a month; and plenary indulgences on the feasts of the Apparition of Saint Michael (8 May), his Dedication (29 September), Saint Gabriel ("March 18," as that edition prints the day), Saint Raphael (24 October), and the Guardian Angels (2 October) (*Raccolta*, 1910, n. 291, p. 261). The chaplet opens with the versicle of the Hours, "O God, come to my assistance," and the *Gloria Patri*. It then makes nine salutations, one to each choir, each of one *Pater* and three *Aves*, with a petition "at the intercession of St Michael" and of the choir:

Salutation	Choir	Grace asked (*Raccolta* 1910, pp. 261–263)
First	Seraphim	"to make us worthy to receive into our hearts the fire of his perfect charity"
Second	Cherubim	"grace to abandon the ways of sin, and follow the path of Christian perfection"
Third	Thrones	"to infuse into our hearts a true and earnest spirit of humility"
Fourth	Dominations	"grace to have dominion over our senses, and to correct our depraved passions"
Fifth	Powers	"to keep our souls from the wiles and temptations of the devil"
Sixth	Virtues	"keep us from falling into temptations and deliver us from evil"
Seventh	Principalities	"to fill our souls with the spirit of true and hearty obedience"
Eighth	Archangels	"the gift of perseverance in the faith and in all good works, that we may thereby be enabled to attain unto the glory of Paradise"
Ninth	Angels	"that the Holy Angels may protect us during life, and after death may lead us into the everlasting glory of heaven"

Four *Paters* follow, "the first to St Michael, the second to St Gabriel, the third to St Raphael, the fourth to our Angel Guardian," and the chaplet ends with an antiphon to the Archangel, "Michael, glorious Prince, chief and champion of the heavenly host, guardian of the souls of men, conqueror of the rebel angels, who art set over the palace of God, our worthy captain under Jesus Christ," the versicle "Pray for us, most blessed Michael, Prince of the Church of Jesus Christ," and a collect that asks "that at the hour of our death no one of them may approach to harm us, and that by the same Archangel Michael we may be introduced into the presence of thy high and heavenly Majesty" (*Raccolta*, 1910, p. 263).

The chaplet descends the hierarchy from the Seraphim to the Angels. Its order agrees with Dionysius and Gregory in the first four places and the last two, and differs from both in the middle: it sets the Powers fifth, the Virtues sixth, and the Principalities seventh, where Dionysius has Virtues, Powers, Principalities and Gregory has Principalities, Powers, Virtues (Appendix A; *ST* I q. 108 a. 6). The graces it asks follow the Fathers' account of the choirs. Gregory teaches that the Seraphim are named "burning," *ardentes vel incendentes*, because they burn with an incomparable love, and the first salutation asks the fire of perfect charity. He teaches that the Powers are those to whose rule the adverse powers are subject, *quorum potestate refrenantur, ne corda hominum tantum tentare praevaleant quantum volunt*, restrained so that they cannot tempt the hearts of men as much as they would; the fifth salutation asks the Powers' help against the wiles of the devil. He teaches that the Dominations are named from ruling, and the fourth salutation asks dominion over the senses (Gregory, *Hom. in Ev.* 34.10).

Gregory went further, and the chaplet prays his further teaching. The heavenly city is made of angels and men, and the ways of life of individual men answer to the orders of the hosts, so that men are counted into the lot of an order by likeness of life: *distinctae namque conversationes hominum singulorum agminum ordinibus congruunt, et in eorum sortem per conversationis similitudinem deputantur*. Those who rule their vices and desires are counted among the Dominations; those who cast out evil spirits by the power of prayer, among the Powers; those full of the love of God and neighbour, among the Cherubim, since the name Cherubim means fullness of knowledge and charity is the fullness of the law; and those who burn with desire for their Maker alone, *quorum cor in igne conversum lucet et urit*, among the Seraphim (*Hom. in Ev.* 34.11). The chaplet asks, choir by choir, for the graces by which men come to share the lot of the angels.

23.4 Gabriel and Raphael

The Angelus. The faithful remember Gabriel every day, morning, noon, and evening, at the sound of the bell. The *Angelus* opens with his message:

> *V. Angelus Domini nuntiavit Mariae. R. Et concepit de Spiritu Sancto. Ave Maria.*
>
> V. The angel of the Lord declared unto Mary. R. And she conceived of the Holy Ghost. Ave Maria. (*Raccolta*, 1910, n. 182, p. 151)

Its collect asks *ut qui, angelo nuntiante, Christi Filii tui Incarnationem cognovimus, per Passionem ejus et Crucem ad resurrectionis gloriam perducamur*, "that we, to whom the Incarnation of Christ thy Son was made known by the message of an angel," may be brought by his Passion and Cross to the glory of the resurrection (ibid., p. 152). The *Raccolta* records the indulgences granted to those who say it at the bell, from Benedict XIII's brief of 14 September 1724 to Leo XIII (ibid., p. 151). The devotion is Marian, and it is the angel's: the Church greets the Mother of God three times a day in the words the Archangel brought her, and her collect keeps the phrase of the Mass of Saint Gabriel, *Gabriele nuntiante*, the Incarnation known by the angel's message (*MR* 1920, 24 Mar.; §22). The Directory of 2001 joins the two devotions: the *Angele Dei* "is often recited by families ... at the recitation of the Angelus" (*Directory* 216).

The prayer to Saint Raphael. The *Raccolta* gives a novena to Gabriel or Raphael in any approved form (n. 294, Pius IX, 26 November 1876) and a prayer to Saint Raphael enriched by Leo XIII on 21 June 1890:

> O glorious Archangel, St Raphael, great Prince of the heavenly court, illustrious for thy gifts of wisdom and grace, guide of those who journey by land or sea, consoler of the afflicted, and refuge of sinners; I beg thee to assist me in all my needs and in all the sufferings of this life, as once thou didst help the young Tobias on his travels. And because thou art the medicine of God, I humbly pray thee to heal the many infirmities of my soul, and the ills which afflict my body, if it be for my greater good. I specially ask of thee an angelic purity which may fit me to be the temple of the Holy Spirit. Amen. (*Raccolta*, 1910, n. 295, p. 266)

Every title of the prayer is drawn from the book of Tobias and the Fathers' reading of it. Raphael is the guide of travellers because he went with Tobias on his journey, "a beautiful young man, standing girded, and as it were ready to walk" (Tob 5:5); he is the consoler of the afflicted because "the holy angel of the Lord, Raphael was sent to heal them both, whose prayers at one time were rehearsed in the sight of the Lord" (Tob 3:25), the blind Tobit and the afflicted Sara; he is "the medicine of God" by the interpretation of his name that the Church reads from Gregory on

Michaelmas, *Raphael vero dicitur medicina Dei*, given to him who touched as a physician the eyes of Tobias (*Hom. in Ev.* 34.9; Appendix J). The prayer asks him for health of soul first and of body only "if it be for my greater good," and it ends with purity, as the book ends the danger of Sara's marriage when "the angel Raphael took the devil, and bound him" (Tob 8:3): the angel who bound the demon Asmodeus (Tob 3:8) is asked to keep the body a temple of the Holy Spirit.

23.5 The Sanctuaries of the Archangel

The Directory of 2001 names three "great shrines" in honour of the angels, "Mont-Saint-Michel in Normandy, San Michele della Chiusa in Piemonte and San Michele Gargano in Apulia, each appointed with specific feast days" (*Directory* 216). The Church relates the origins of the Gargano shrine and of Rome's sanctuary of the Archangel in her Office and Martyrology; the medieval *Golden Legend* of Jacobus de Voragine relates both, with the apparition at Mont-Saint-Michel. The Church keeps them as pious tradition.

Monte Gargano. The Breviary reads the story of the mountain in the second nocturn of 8 May. It begins with the principle:

> *Beatum Michaelem Archangelum saepius hominibus apparuisse, et sacrorum librorum auctoritate, et veteri sanctorum traditione comprobatur. Quamobrem multis in locis facti memoria celebratur. Eum ut olim synagoga Judaeorum, sic nunc custodem et patronum, Dei veneratur Ecclesia. Gelasio autem primo Pontifice Maximo, in Apulia in vertice Gargani montis, ad cujus radices incolunt Sipontini, Archangeli Michaelis fuit illustris apparitio.* (*BR*, *Pars verna*, 8 May, lesson iv, p. 571)

"That the blessed Archangel Michael hath oftentimes been seen of men is attested on the authority of the Holy Bible, and also by the ancient traditions of the Saints. For this reason such visions are held in remembrance in many places. As of old time did the Synagogue of the Jews, so now doth the Church of God venerate Michael as her watcher and defender. But during the Popedom of Gelasius I. the summit of Mount Gargano in Apulia, at whose foot lieth the town of Siponto, was the scene of an extraordinary appearance of this same Archangel Michael" (Bute, II, p. 869). The Church venerates Michael as the Synagogue did: the prince of Israel in Daniel, "Michael your prince" (Dan 10:21), is the guardian of the Church.

The fifth and sixth lessons tell the sign. A bull from the herds of Gargano strayed and was found at the mouth of a cave; one of the herdsmen shot an arrow at it, and "the arrow turned round and came back against him that had shot it" (Bute, II, p. 870; *retorta sagitta in ipsum recidit sagittarium*, *BR*, p. 572). No one dared approach the cave. The people consulted the bishop of Siponto, who proclaimed a fast of three days and answered that the meaning was to be sought from God. "After three days the Archangel Michael gave warning to the Bishop that that place was under his protection, and that he had thus pointed out by a sign that he wished that worship should be offered to God there, with remembrance of himself and of the Angels" (Bute, II, p. 870). The Latin is precise about the object of the worship: *velle ibi cultum Deo in sui et Angelorum memoriam adhiberi*, worship offered to God, in memory of the Archangel and the angels (*BR*, p. 572). The bishop and the citizens found the cave shaped like a church and began to celebrate the divine offices there, "which sanctuary hath been glorified with many miracles" (Bute, II, p. 870). The Martyrology of 29 September remembers the same church, "mean as to building, but filled with power from heaven" (Bute, IV, p. 592).

The *Golden Legend*, in Caxton's English, tells the story more fully, dating it to the year 390 and naming the rich owner of the herds Garganus; in its telling Michael says to the bishop, "Know ye that this man is so hurt by my will. I am Michael the archangel, which will that this place be worshipped in earth, and will have it surely kept" (*Golden Legend*, ed. Ellis, 1900, V, pp. 182–183). The shrine, like the feast, is a school of the doctrine the collect of Michaelmas prays: the angel asks that God be worshipped, and keeps the place where he is.

Rome and the Castle of the Angel. The same lessons of 8 May relate that soon afterwards Pope Boniface dedicated a church of Saint Michael at Rome on the third day before the Kalends of October, *Bonifacius Papa Romae in summo circo sancti Michaelis ecclesiam dedicavit tertio Kalendas Octobris: quo die etiam omnium Angelorum memoriam Ecclesia celebrat* (*BR*, 8 May, lesson vi, p. 572). Bute's English places the church "on Hadrian's Mole" (Bute, II, p. 870). Hadrian's mausoleum took its Christian name from the Archangel in the tradition the *Golden*

Legend records under his feast. In the time of Gregory the Great, when the pope "had established the litanies for the pestilence that was that time, and prayed devoutly for the people, he saw upon the castle which was said sometime: The memory of Adrian, the angel of God, which wiped and made clean a bloody sword, and put it into a sheath. And thereby he understood that his prayers were heard. Then he did do make there a church in the honour of S. Michael, and that castle is yet named the Castle Angel" (*Golden Legend*, V, p. 184). The Castel Sant'Angelo keeps the memory of a city delivered from the plague at the prayer of its bishop, and of the Archangel who put up the sword of God's judgment.

Mont-Saint-Michel. The *Golden Legend* counts the appearing on the Norman coast as the second apparition of the Archangel: "The second apparition was in the year of our Lord seven hundred and ten, in a place which was named Tumba, by the seaside, six miles from the city of Apricens. S. Michael appeared to the bishop of that city and commanded him to do make a church in the foresaid place, like as it was made in the mount of Gargan, and in like wise should hallow the memory of S. Michael there" (*Golden Legend*, V, pp. 182–183). The bishop of Avranches found the site where the Archangel showed him "a bull hid of thieves," and its bounds where the bull had trodden; a man sent by Michael removed two rocks "as lightly as they had weighed nothing"; and the Archangel brought to the new church a piece of the marble on which he had stood and part of the pall laid on the altar of Gargano. The *Golden Legend* adds that the apparition "is solemnly hallowed the seventeenth kalends of November in that place," that is, on 16 October, and tells of the woman with child overtaken by the tide on the way to the church, whom Michael kept whole, so that "she was delivered and childed among the waves in the middle of the sea" (ibid., pp. 183–184). The Directory of 2001 names the Mount first among the great shrines of the angels (*Directory* 216).

The East. The East commemorates an apparition of the Archangel at Chonae in Phrygia on 6 September and keeps its solemnity of the angels, the Synaxis of Saint Michael and the other heavenly powers, on 8 November (*The Liturgical Year*, Time after Pentecost V, September 29; §21).

23.6 The Church's Rule for the Cult of the Angels

The Church honours the angels with veneration and invocation, and she directs all their honour to God. From the first centuries she has also held the cult of the angels to what revelation gives: no worship apart from the Church's worship, no names but the names of Scripture, and no doctrine of the angels built on private revelations.

Laodicea. The Apostle had warned the Colossians: "Let no man seduce you, willing in humility and religion of angels, walking in the things which he hath not seen, in vain puffed up by the sense of his flesh" (Col 2:18), and bade them send his letter on to "the church of the Laodiceans" (Col 4:16). In Laodicea a synod of the fourth century forbade a cult of angels held apart from the Church:

> Christians must not forsake the Church of God, and go away and invoke angels and gather assemblies, which things are forbidden. If, therefore, any one shall be found engaged in this covert idolatry, let him be anathema; for he has forsaken our Lord Jesus Christ, the Son of God, and has gone over to idolatry. (Laodicea, can. 35, trans. Percival, NPNF II.14)

What the canon condemns is the invocation of angels in assemblies that forsake the Church and Christ; the Church's own invocation of the angels at her altar is the opposite of that act. The Carolingian Church read the canon as a rule for the names of the angels. Charlemagne's *Admonitio generalis* of 789, citing "the same council" of Laodicea, directs *ut ignota angelorum nomina nec fingantur nec nominentur, nisi illos quos habemus in auctoritate, id sunt Michahel, Gabrihel, Rafahel*: that unknown names of angels be neither invented nor used, except those we have on authority, Michael, Gabriel, and Raphael (*Admonitio generalis*, c. 16, MGH *Capit.* I, ed. Boretius, 1883, p. 55).

The Roman synod of 745. The rule on names was first laid down by a Roman synod. On 25 October 745 Pope Zachary held a synod in the Lateran on the case of Aldebert, a Frankish cleric whom a synod under Boniface had deprived of the priesthood and who was still leading the people astray. At a later session Boniface's legate, the priest Deneard, produced a prayer Aldebert had composed. It was read until it reached the words, *Praecor vos et coniuro vos et supplico me ad vos, angelus Uriel, angelus Raguel, angelus Tubuel, angelus Michael, angelus Adinus,*

angelus Tubuas, angelus Sabaoc, angelus Simiel (MGH *Conc.* II/1, ed. Werminghoff, 1906, p. 42). The bishops and priests answered that everything read should be burned and its authors anathematized:

> *Quia octo nomina angelorum, quae in sua oratione Aldebertus invocavit, non angelorum, praeterquam Michaelis, sed magis demones in sua oratione sibi ad prestandum auxilium invocavit. Nos autem, ut a vestro sancto apostolatu edocemur et divina tradit auctoritas, non plus quam trium angelorum nomina cognoscimus, id est Michael, Gabriel, Raphael.* (ibid., p. 43)

Of the eight names Aldebert invoked, the synod judged, only Michael's is an angel's; with the others he called on demons to help him. As the Apostolic See teaches and divine authority hands down, the Church knows the names of no more than three angels, Michael, Gabriel, and Raphael. Zachary directed that the writings be kept in the Roman archive to Aldebert's perpetual confusion, and the synod removed Aldebert from every priestly office, to do penance, under anathema if he persisted (ibid.). The synod taught the rule with its reason: names of angels not given by revelation open the door to the invocation of demons.

The Directory on Popular Piety (2001). The Congregation for Divine Worship and the Discipline of the Sacraments restated the Church's practice in its Directory of 17 December 2001. It grounds the devotion in the faith and in the liturgy (213–215), describes its forms (216), and names two deviations. The first is a view of the world "subject to demiurgical struggles, or an incessant battle between good and evil spirits, or Angels and daemons, in which man is left at the mercy of superior forces and over which he is helpless"; such cosmologies "bear little relation to the true Gospel vision of the struggle to overcome the Devil, which requires moral commitment, a fundamental option for the Gospel, humility and prayer." The second is a reading of daily life "so as to ascribe all setbacks to the Devil and all success to the Guardian Angels." It then states the rule on names: "The practice of assigning names to the Holy Angels should be discouraged, except in the cases of Gabriel, Raphael and Michael whose names are contained in Holy Scripture" (*Directory* 217).

The decree on the Opus Angelorum (1992). The Congregation for the Doctrine of the Faith applied the same rule to an association of the faithful devoted to the angels. On 24 September 1983, with decisions approved by the Pope on 1 July, it had directed that the association follow the doctrine of the Church, the Fathers, and the Doctors in promoting devotion to the angels, and not spread among its members a cult of the angels using "names" known from the presumed private revelation attributed to Gabriele Bitterlich, nor use those names in any prayer (*Decretum de doctrina et usibus particularibus consociationis cui nomen "Opus Angelorum"*, 6 June 1992, recalling AAS 76 [1984] 175–176). Having examined further writings, the Congregation judged that the association's own angelology and some usages derived from it were *alienos esse a S. Scriptura necnon a Traditione*, foreign to Scripture and Tradition, and could not ground the spirituality of associations approved by the Church. With the approval of John Paul II it decreed:

> *Theoriae provenientes ex praesumptis revelationibus Dominae Gabrielae Bitterlich de mundo angelorum, de eorum nominibus personalibus, coetibus et functionibus non possunt nec doceri nec ullo modo adhiberi, sive explicite sive implicite . . . in cultu, in orationibus, in formatione spirituali, in spiritualitate publica vel privata, in ministerio et apostolatu.* (ibid., I; AAS 84 [1992] 805–806)

Theories about the world of the angels, their personal names, their groupings, and their functions, drawn from these presumed revelations, may be neither taught nor used in any way. The decree forbade the consecrations to angels practised in the association, the so-called administration of the sacraments at a distance, and the insertion into the Mass and the Office of texts or rites referring to those theories; it directed that exorcisms be used only according to the norms of the Church and with the formulas she approves; and it named a delegate of the Holy See to see to the decree's execution (ibid., II–V). For the Church's teaching on the cult of the angels the decree cites Benedict XIV's treatise on the beatification and canonization of the servants of God, book IV, part 2, chapter 30, *De Angelis et eorum cultu* (ibid., n. 1).

The rule. The acts agree. The Church venerates the angels and invokes them, in the liturgy and in private prayer, because God has sent them to minister to those who shall receive the inheritance of salvation (Heb 1:14). She venerates them in her own worship, which is the worship of God through Christ: the Preface praises the Father "Thro' Christ our Lord: by whom the angels praise thy majesty," and the prayer to Michael asks him to act "by the

divine power." She names the angels whom Scripture names, Michael, Gabriel, and Raphael, invokes the rest by their orders, and forbids the invention of other names, which the Roman synod of 745 judged a door to the invocation of demons. She does not build her doctrine of the angels on private revelations, and she holds the devotion within the Gospel's account of the struggle with the devil, which is won by faith, humility, and prayer.

23.7 Devotion and Its Rule, by Degree

Grade	Proposition	Basis
Church teaching	The Church venerates the angels and has recourse to their intercession; the faithful may invoke them in private prayer	CCC 335; *Directory* 215–216; the indulgenced prayers of the *Raccolta*
Church teaching	Each of the faithful has a guardian angel, to be honoured with reverence, gratitude, and confidence	CCC 336; *Directory* 216; collect of 2 Oct.; Bernard, lesson v of 2 Oct.
Church teaching	A cult of angels apart from the Church's worship is forbidden	Laodicea, can. 35 (disciplinary canon of a particular synod)
Church teaching	Only the names Scripture gives, Michael, Gabriel, Raphael, are to be used; other names are not to be invented or invoked	Roman synod of 745 (MGH *Conc.* II/1, p. 43); *Admonitio generalis* c. 16 (789); *Directory* 217 (disciplinary acts)
Church teaching	Doctrines on angels' names, choirs, and functions drawn from private revelations may not be taught or used; consecrations to angels in the Opus Angelorum are forbidden	CDF decree of 6 June 1992 (AAS 84 [1992] 805–806; disciplinary decree)
Common teaching	Michael is the prince and defender of the Church and the Church's champion against the devil	Dan 10:21, 12:1; Apoc 12:7–9; Breviary of 29 Sept.; prayer after Low Mass
Pious tradition	The Archangel appeared on Mount Gargano under Gelasius I and asked that God be worshipped in the cave	Breviary, lessons of 8 May; Martyrology of 29 Sept.; *Golden Legend*
Pious tradition	Gregory the Great saw the angel sheathe his sword over Hadrian's mausoleum at the end of the plague	*Golden Legend*, St Michael
Pious tradition	The Archangel appeared to the bishop of Avranches and asked for a church at Tumba, Mont-Saint-Michel	*Golden Legend*, St Michael; *Directory* 216

24 The Saints and the Holy Angels

The saints have lived what the Fathers and Doctors taught. From the thirteenth century to the nineteenth the Church's holy men and women kept company with the angels as fellow citizens of the city of God: they fasted in honour of Saint Michael, they spoke with their guardian angels as with friends, they were wounded and purified by the fire of the Seraphim, and they learned to tell the good angel from the enemy who disguises himself as an angel of light. Their witness runs along four lines. The first is Michael, prince of the heavenly host and bearer of souls to God, whom Francis honoured with a Lent of forty days, whom Joan of Arc saw with her bodily eyes, and whom Alphonsus sends to the bedside of the dying. The second is the guardian angel, given to each believer (§17.5) and made visible to a few, as to Frances of Rome and Gemma Galgani, and sung by Thérèse of the Child Jesus and by Newman. The third is the burning love of the highest orders, the Seraph of La Verna and the angel of Teresa's transverberation, in

which the saints found the pattern of their own union with God. The fourth is the angelic life itself, the purity by which Thomas Aquinas became the Angelic Doctor and Gertrude and Mechtild were drawn into the choirs. Bernard of Clairvaux stands at the head of this company (§7.7).

24.1 Francis of Assisi: The Lent of Saint Michael and the Seraph

Bonaventure, seventh successor of Francis in the government of the Friars Minor, wrote the life through which the Church has read the Poverello ever since. Its prologue sets Francis at once among the angels. He preached the gospel of peace, "himself an Angel of the true peace"; he was "appointed unto angelic ministries; thereafter, wholly set on fire by the kindling of the Seraph, and, like the prophet, borne aloft in a chariot of fire" (*Legenda maior*, prol. 1, trans. E. Gurney Salter, 1904). Bonaventure then applies to him the angel of the sixth seal: "he is thought to be not unmeetly set forth in the true prophecy of that other friend of the Bridegroom, the Apostle and Evangelist John, under the similitude of the Angel ascending from the sunrising and bearing the seal of the Living God" (prol. 1; Apoc 7:2). The reason is his life: "living among men, he was an imitator of the purity of the Angels" (prol. 2). Bonaventure presents the identification as a belief to be "faithfully and devoutly held" (prol. 2).

The angels frame the whole life. When Francis began to repair the little church of Saint Mary, he chose to live there because heaven had already chosen it: "Perceiving that Angels ofttimes visited it,—according unto the name of that church, that from old time was called Saint Mary of the Angels,—he abode there by reason of his reverence for the Angels, and his especial love for the Mother of Christ" (II.8). There he began, there he grew, there he died, and dying "commended it unto the Brethren as a place most beloved of the Virgin." Of his prayer Bonaventure writes that Francis had learned, "like the heavenly spirits on Jacob's ladder, to be ever ascending toward God, or stooping toward his neighbour" (XIII.1; Gen 28:12), dividing his time between the labour of preaching and "the peaceful ecstasies of contemplation."

24.1.1 Two Lents for the angels

Francis kept several Lents in the year, and two of them belonged to the angels. Bonaventure gives the order of his devotions in the ninth chapter, on his burning love. After Christ he trusted most in the Mother of God, and fasted in her honour from the feast of Peter and Paul to the Assumption. Then:

> He was bound by ties of inseparable affection unto the Angelic spirits that do glow with wondrous fire to approach God, and in the kindling of elect souls, and out of devotion unto them he would fast for forty days from the Assumption of the glorious Virgin, remaining instant in prayer throughout that time. Unto the Blessed Michael Archangel,—inasmuch as his is the ministry of bringing souls before God,—he cherished an especial love and devotion, by reason of the ardent zeal that he had for the salvation of all such as should be saved. (IX.3)

The Latin gives the reason for the love of Michael in a single clause: *Beato autem Michaeli Archangelo, eo quod animarum repraesentandarum haberet officium, speciali erat amore devotior* — to blessed Michael the Archangel, because his was the office of presenting souls, he was devoted with a special love (*Legenda S. Francisci* IX.3, Quaracchi, *Opera* VIII). Francis loved the angels because they burn, and he loved Michael because Michael brings the saved home; the zeal of the preacher for souls and the office of the archangel who presents them are one desire. The forty days from the Assumption end at Michaelmas, and the Quaracchi editors note that the thirteenth chapter calls the same fast the Lent in honour of Saint Michael. Beside Bonaventure's clause they set the responsory after the fifth lesson of the Roman Breviary for 29 September, *Cui tradidit Deus animas Sanctorum, ut perducat eas in paradisum exsultationis*, and the third antiphon at Lauds, *Archangele Michael, constitui te principem super omnes animas suscipiendas* (IX.3, n. 10 in the Quaracchi edition): the office of Michael that Francis honoured is the office the Church sings.

24.1.2 The Seraph of La Verna

The Lent of Saint Michael was the setting of the greatest grace of Francis's life. Two years before his death he went up the mountain of La Verna, and "When, according unto his wont he began to keep a Lent there, fasting, in honour of Saint Michael Archangel, he was filled unto overflowing, and as never before, with the sweetness of heavenly contemplation" (XIII.1). The Latin names the fast exactly: *Quadragesimam ibidem ad honorem sancti Archangeli*

Michaelis ieiunare coepisset. Bonaventure notes that even the birds of the mountain seemed to welcome him, and a falcon woke him for the night office; "there would seem to have been a divine omen ... inasmuch as that praiser and worshipper of God, upborne on the wings of contemplation, was at that very place and time to be exalted by the vision of the Seraph" (VIII.10).

Three times the book of the Gospels, opened in the name of the Trinity, fell open at the Passion, and Francis understood that he must be made like Christ in suffering before he died (XIII.2). Then came the vision:

> When, therefore, by seraphic glow of longing he had been uplifted toward God, and by his sweet compassion had been transformed into the likeness of Him Who of His exceeding love endured to be crucified,—on a certain morning about the Feast of the Exaltation of Holy Cross, while he was praying on the side of the mountain, he beheld a Seraph having six wings, flaming and resplendent, coming down from the heights of heaven. When in his flight most swift he had reached the space of air nigh the man of God, there appeared betwixt the wings the Figure of a Man crucified, having his hands and feet stretched forth in the shape of a Cross, and fastened unto a Cross. Two wings were raised above His head, twain were spread forth to fly, while twain hid His whole body. (XIII.3)

The Seraph is the one Isaias saw, whose six wings covered face and feet and bore him in flight (Isa 6:2); the Latin says the wings were *tam ignitas quam splendidas*, as fiery as they were bright. Francis rejoiced and grieved at once: he rejoiced "at the gracious aspect wherewith he saw Christ, under the guise of the Seraph, regard him," and the crucifixion pierced him with pity; he marvelled, "knowing that the infirmity of the Passion doth in no wise accord with the immortality of a Seraphic spirit." The Lord gave him the meaning: he was to be "wholly transformed into the likeness of Christ Crucified, not by martyrdom of body, but by enkindling of heart" (XIII.3). As the vision passed it left a fire in his heart and the marks of the nails in his hands and feet and the wound in his side.

Bonaventure keeps a silence where Francis kept one. The saint told the vision only when Brother Illuminato persuaded him that such secrets were shown him for the sake of others also, "adding that He who had appeared unto him had said some words the which, so long as he lived, he would never reveal unto any man. Verily we must believe that those utterances of that holy Seraph marvellously appearing on the Cross were so secret that perchance it was not lawful for a man to utter them" (XIII.4; 2 Cor 12:4). And the fast ended on the angels' day: "when the Feast of Saint Michael Archangel came, this angelic man, Francis, descended from the mountain, bearing with him the likeness of the Crucified, engraven, not on tables of stone or of wood, by the craftsman's hand, but written on his members of flesh by the finger of the Living God" (XIII.5). In Bonaventure's telling the vision belongs to the angels by its form and to Christ by its content: the *seraphicis desideriorum ardoribus*, the seraphic ardours of desire that lifted Francis toward God (XIII.3), were answered by Christ under the likeness of the order that burns, and the love of Christ crucified was the fire that marked his servant. The fire of La Verna marks the whole Franciscan tradition, and Bonaventure's own works are printed under the name of the Seraphic Doctor (*Doctoris seraphici S. Bonaventurae opera omnia*).

24.2 Bonaventure: The Six Wings and the Sermons on the Angels

24.2.1 The Seraph as the way of ascent

Thirty-three years after the death of Francis, Bonaventure, then Minister General, went up La Verna himself. He tells what happened in the prologue of the *Journey of the Mind into God*. He had gone there *amore quaerendi pacem spiritus*, for love of seeking peace of spirit, and while he turned over in his mind certain ascents of the mind into God, *inter alia occurrit illud miraculum, quod in praedicto loco contigit ipsi beato Francisco, de visione scilicet Seraph alati ad instar Crucifixi* — among other things there came to him that miracle which befell blessed Francis in that same place, the vision of the winged Seraph in the likeness of the Crucified. At once it seemed to him that the vision showed both the father's rapture in contemplation and the way to it (*Itinerarium*, prol. 2, Quaracchi, *Opera* V):

> *Nam per senas alas illas recte intelligi possunt sex illuminationum suspensiones, quibus anima quasi quibusdam gradibus vel itineribus disponitur, ut transeat ad pacem per ecstaticos excessus sapientiae christianae. Via autem non est nisi per ardentissimum amorem Crucifixi.* (prol. 3)

By those six wings may rightly be understood six uplifting illuminations by which the soul is disposed, as by steps or stages, to pass into peace through the ecstatic transports of Christian wisdom; and the way is nothing but the most burning love of the Crucified. The same love so absorbed the mind of Francis *quod mens in carne patuit*, that

his mind showed in his flesh when he bore the stigmata for two years before his death. The six wings of the Seraph therefore signify six illuminations *quae a creaturis incipiunt et perducunt usque ad Deum, ad quem nemo intrat recte nisi per Crucifixum* — which begin from creatures and lead all the way to God, whom no one rightly enters except through the Crucified (prol. 3). The ascent of the whole *Itinerarium* is laid out on the Seraph of La Verna: *Effigies igitur sex alarum seraphicarum insinuat sex illuminationes scalares*, the figure of the six seraphic wings signifies six illuminations that are the rungs of a ladder.

24.2.2 The ladder of the hierarchies

Bonaventure's sermons for the feast of Saint Michael preach the angelic hierarchy to the brethren. The Quaracchi editors print five among his sermons for the saints (*Sermones de sanctis*, *De sanctis Angelis* 1–5, Quaracchi, *Opera* IX, 609 ff.); the first is edited from a thirteenth-century Troyes manuscript whose many faults the editors corrected as best they could, but its design is plain. He takes Jacob's ladder for his text (Gen 28:12) and begins with a prayer: *Habemus loqui de hierarchiis angelicis, quae sunt in caelo supra sensum et rationem; ideo in principio rogemus Dominum, quod det mihi Spiritum suum* — we have to speak of the angelic hierarchies, which are in heaven above sense and reason; therefore at the beginning let us ask the Lord to give me his Spirit. The ladder is one order spanning heaven and earth:

> *Scala ista, cuius pars est in caelo et pars in terra, significat ordinationem angelicae hierarchiae, cuius pars est in angelicis spiritibus et Sanctis et pars in hominibus et animabus sanctis.* (s. 1, p. 610)

This ladder, part in heaven and part on earth, signifies the ordering of the angelic hierarchy, part of which is in the angelic spirits and the saints and part in men and holy souls. The heavenly part has three hierarchies of three orders each, which Bonaventure takes from Dionysius, and the earthly part answers it with three hierarchies of the Church: patriarchs, prophets, and apostles in the primitive Church; martyrs, confessors, and virgins in the Church advancing; prelates, contemplatives, and actives in the Church spread abroad.

He then reads the visible heaven as a mirror of the invisible. The first hierarchy answers to the nobility of the heavens, the second to their power, the third to their abundant influence on the earth, and the whole to their ordered harmony. His summary gives each order its office and binds the first three to the Persons of the Trinity:

> *In prima hierarchia sunt Throni, qui respondent potestati Patris, et Cherubim, qui respondent Filio, et seraphicus ordo, qui respondet suavitati Spiritus sancti. In secunda hierarchia sunt tres ordines, scilicet ordo Dominationum, Virtutum et Potestatum; et Dominationum est imperare; Virtutum, exsequi; et Potestatum, triumphare.* (s. 1, pp. 612–613)

The Thrones answer to the power of the Father, the Cherubim to the Son, the seraphic order to the sweetness of the Holy Spirit; of the second hierarchy the Dominations command, the Virtues execute, the Powers triumph. The third hierarchy, which looks to the Church on earth and flows into it, feeds men with a threefold bread: the Principalities lead us by the hand, the Archangels teach us the secrets of God, and the Angels support and guard us in prosperity and adversity. Above the nine orders stand two more: *Et supra se hierarchia angelica habet Virginem gloriosam; et beata Virgo supra se habet Iesum Christum, Filium suum* — the angelic hierarchy has above it the glorious Virgin, and the blessed Virgin has above her Jesus Christ, her Son (p. 612). Their song is one music: *Concentus caeli est harmonia laudis angelicae, quia, sicut in cithara sonat quaelibet chorda secundum proportionem et virtutem suam, sic secundum dona (et) virtutes in angelica hierarchia novem ordinum est exsultationum, iucunditatum et laudum mira consonantia* — the harmony of heaven is the concord of angelic praise; as on a harp each string sounds according to its measure and strength, so in the hierarchy of nine orders there is, according to their gifts and powers, a wonderful consonance of exultation, gladness, and praise.

The sermon ends with an exhortation. Michael, Bonaventure says, was once set over the synagogue and is now set over the Church, *ideo eius officium celebratur per universam Ecclesiam* — therefore his feast is kept through the whole Church (p. 613; Dan 12:1). The angels offer everything, and we refuse it: *Angeli dicunt nobis: Suscipite exempla, documenta et servitia nostra et ministeria; et nos sumus rusticani, quia claudimus eis ostium* — the angels say to us, take our examples, our teachings, our services and ministries; and we are boors, for we shut the door on them (p. 612). *Magnum est confidere in Angelis*, it is a great thing to trust in the angels; and he turns on the learned who speak of heavenly things without love: *Loquuntur de caelestibus et affectum habent in terrenis*, they talk of heavenly things and their affection is on earthly ones.

24.2.3 Remedies, examples, and benefits

The fourth sermon takes the words of Christ, "their angels in heaven always see the face of my Father" (Matt 18:10), and divides the angels' office in two: to minister to men and to contemplate God. *Angeli dicuntur nostri propter tria, quae ministrant nobis, scilicet remedia, exempla et beneficia* — they are called our angels for three things they minister to us, remedies, examples, and benefits (s. 4, p. 620). The three remedies answer the three wounds of sin, proneness to evil, difficulty in good, and distance from God, and each is ministered by an archangel named in Scripture. *Primum remedium ministrat Raphael, qui interpretatur medicina Dei*: Raphael, the medicine of God, healed Tobias of blindness and Sara of the demon, that is, our ignorance and our concupiscence (Tob 6, 11). *Secundum remedium ministrat Gabriel, qui interpretatur fortitudo Dei, quia facit fortes contra difficultatem*: Gabriel, the strength of God, announced the birth of the Forerunner under the law of marriage and the birth of Christ from a Virgin, and so strengthens us to keep both the precepts and the counsels. *Tertium remedium ministrat Michael, qui interpretatur Quis ut Deus. Nam sua ministratio praesentes animas Deo facit*: Michael, *Who is like God*, makes souls present to God, as the Church sings of him, that he *introducit animas in paradisum exsultationis*. His name itself is the cure of our exile: *quis est tam desiderandus ut Deus?* — who is so much to be desired as God? And so, Bonaventure concludes, *tres Angelos solum ex nomine designat sacra Scriptura, scilicet Raphaelem, Gabrielem et Michaelem* — Holy Scripture names only three angels, Raphael, Gabriel, and Michael (s. 4, pp. 620–621), the rule the Church keeps for the angels' names (§23).

The four examples are reverence toward God, when the angels fall on their faces before the throne (Apoc 7:11), purity in themselves, concord among themselves, and clemency toward men, since they carried the beggar Lazarus to Abraham's bosom and rejoice over one sinner doing penance (Luke 16:22; 15:10). For their purity Bonaventure gives the definition he took from Dionysius, the angel as *imago Dei manifestativa luminis occulti, speculum purum*, an image of God that manifests the hidden light, a pure mirror, and adds the saying he read under Jerome's name, *Semper est Angelis cognata virginitas*, virginity is ever kin to the angels. The five benefits are cleansing, as the Seraph cleansed Isaias's lips with the coal (Isa 6:6–7), enlightenment, inflaming with love, protection from the demons (Ps 33[34]:8; Acts 12:11), and the general custody of souls: *nam generales custodes sunt animarum Angeli* (p. 621; Ps 90[91]:11). The fifth sermon, on that last verse, carries the doctrine into the Trinity: *hierarchia nihil aliud est quam sacer principatus*, a hierarchy is nothing but a sacred rule, and there are three, the supercelestial in the divine Persons, the celestial in the angels, and the subcelestial in men, the angels standing between as the aeon stands between eternity and time (s. 5).

24.3 Thomas Aquinas, the Angelic Doctor

The Church calls the author of the treatise on the angels by their name, and his early biographers tie the name to an angelic grace in his youth. When Thomas took the Dominican habit against his family's will, his brothers held him prisoner and tried at last to overcome him with a woman sent into his room. William of Tocco tells what followed. Thomas drove her out with a brand from the fire, traced a cross on the wall with it, and prostrate on the ground begged God with tears for the girdle of perpetual virginity; and as he prayed he fell asleep:

> *ecce ad eum duo Angeli coelitus missi sunt, qui asserentes eum a Domino exauditum et de pugna tam difficili obtinuisse triumphum, stringentesque ipsum hinc inde in renibus, dixerunt: Ecce ex parte Dei te cingimus, quod petivisti, cingulo castitatis, quod nulla possit de cetero impugnatione dissolvi, et hoc quod humanae virtutis haberi non potest ex merito, tibi conceditur divinae largitatis ex dono.* (Tocco, *Vita S. Thomae* c. 10, ed. Prümmer, *Fontes vitae S. Thomae Aquinatis*)

Behold, two angels were sent to him from heaven, who assured him that the Lord had heard him and that he had won the victory in so hard a fight, and binding him about the loins on either side they said: behold, on God's part we gird you, as you asked, with the girdle of chastity, which no assault shall ever loose; and what cannot be had by the merit of human virtue is granted you by the gift of divine bounty. The pressure of the angelic touch was so painful that he woke with a cry; he kept the grace secret and told it only to his companion at the end of his life. The life by Peter Calo gives the angels' words as *Cingimus te cingulo perpetue virginitatis, quod nullatenus de cetero dissolvetur* and records that at the hour of his death Thomas told Brother Reginald *quod ex tunc non sensit nec minimum carnis motum*, that from that time he had not felt the least movement of the flesh (Calo, *Vita* 7, ed. Prümmer, p. 24). Prümmer notes that Tocco attested the same story on oath in the process of canonization.

Tocco closes the chapter with a cry of praise in which the girding and the title meet. Blessed the youth, he writes, *cui Angelica societas, dum castitate cingitur, non negatur, qui meruit fieri puritate Angelicus* — to whom the company of angels is not denied, since he is girded with chastity, and who merited to become angelic by purity. Pius XI made the same connection in the encyclical *Studiorum Ducem* (29 June 1923) for the sixth centenary of the canonization. Among the virtues of Thomas, *prima omnium occurrit ea virtus, unde quaedam cum angelicis naturis visa est esse Thomae similitudo; castimoniam dicimus*, the first that meets us is the one by which Thomas seemed to bear a likeness to the angelic natures, namely chastity, which he kept unharmed in the gravest danger, so that *dignus est habitus quem mystica zona angeli cingerent* — he was held worthy to be girded by angels with a mystical belt. The Pope recalls that Pius V inscribed him among the Doctors *rato Angelici titulo*, with the title of Angelic confirmed, and himself adds that he should be called *non modo Angelicum, sed etiam Communem seu universalem Ecclesiae Doctorem*. The purity and the doctrine are one gift: *si Thomae pudicitia ... cecidisset, verisimile est nequaquam Ecclesiam suum Doctorem Angelicum habituram fuisse* — had the purity of Thomas fallen, the Church would likely never have had her Angelic Doctor.

The grace became an institution. Pius XI commended to the bishops the *Militiae Angelicae societatem*, the Angelic Warfare founded to guard chastity under Thomas's protection, confirmed the indulgences his predecessors had granted it, and allowed its members to wear, instead of the girdle, a medal bearing on its face the image *sancti Thomae cum Angelis ei zonam accingentibus*, of Saint Thomas with the angels girding him. At the end of the letter, so that studies under Thomas's guidance might bear more fruit, he appended the form of prayer *qua ipse utebatur*, which Thomas himself used; it begins with the angels: *Creator ineffabilis, qui de thesauris sapientiae tuae tres Angelorum hierarchias designasti, et eas super caelum empyreum miro ordine collocasti*. The Doctor who set out the three hierarchies in the *Summa* (§15) addressed the Creator in prayer as the one who had designed them from the treasures of his wisdom and set them above the empyrean heaven in wonderful order, and asked of that same Source of light a ray of its clarity on the darkness of his mind.

24.4 Gertrude and Mechtild

Two Benedictine nuns, Gertrude, called the Great, and Mechtild, whose prayers Gertrude sought and to whom, her book records, Gertrude's sanctity was revealed, received revelations in which the choir on earth and the choirs of heaven sing together. Gertrude's *Insinuationes divinae pietatis* were compiled from her papers by a religious of her monastery, all but the second book, which she wrote herself; the Kenmare translation of 1870 renders the second to fifth books as its second to fifth parts. Mechtild's revelations were rendered into English in a London selection of 1875, taken from the five books of her *Spiritual Grace*.

24.4.1 Gertrude and the feast of Saint Michael

The angels in Gertrude's revelations are liturgical. At Mass one day, "it appeared to her that her guardian angel took her in his arms as if she were a little child, at the Kyrie Eleison, and presented her to God the Father, to receive His benediction, saying: 'Eternal Father, bless Thy little child' " (*Life and Revelations*, pt III ch. 21). The Father was silent, Gertrude sank into the knowledge of her nothingness, and the Son clothed her with the merits of his life, so that the angel's request was granted through Christ. At the Christmas chapter the guardian of each nun presented her heart to God, and the choirs came according to the virtue of each: "When those who loved God with the greatest fervour offered Him their hearts, the angels of the choir of Seraphim, who attended our Lord and supported Him, disposed those religious for their offering. When the hearts of those who were most enlightened in the knowledge of God were offered, the angels of the choir of Cherubim came to present their homage" (pt IV ch. 2). At Vespers in the same season she saw angels flying round the convent singing the verse of the hymn with the nuns, and learned "that when angels are present at our solemnities, they pray to God that those who imitate them in their devotion may imitate them in purity of body and soul" (pt IV ch. 2); the psalmist's word, "I will sing praise to thee in the sight of the angels" (Ps 137[138]:1), was fulfilled in her choir.

Her chapter for Michaelmas is a lesson in the honour owed to the angels. As the feast approached, Gertrude prepared for Communion "by meditating on the care which the angels had of her, by the Divine command, notwithstanding her unworthiness," and wishing to make some return she offered the Sacrament itself in their honour: "I offer Thee this most august Sacrament, O most loving Lord, for Thy eternal glory, in honour of the princes of Thy kingdom, and for the increase of their felicity and beatitude" (pt IV ch. 54). The honour of the angels passes through the Eucharist to God, and returns to the soul. Each choir bowed before her and promised its own help:

> "Thou hast indeed honoured us by this oblation, and we will therefore guard thee with special care;" the guardian angels adding: We will guard thee night and day with ineffable joy, and will prepare thee for thy Spouse with the utmost vigilance. (pt IV ch. 54)

She recognized her own guardian, who "appeared to her as a prince magnificently attired, standing between her soul and God, and endeavouring to unite and elevate her soul to God." The Archangels promised: "we will discover to you the Divine secrets, according to your capacity of receiving them"; the Virtues, "We will assist you in your labours, writings, and meditations for the glory of God"; the Dominations, to offer for her the honour she owed to God's sovereignty; the Principalities, to present her to the King adorned according to his heart; the Powers, to "continually remove every impediment, whether exterior or interior, which might interrupt His Divine communications." The Powers gave the reason: "For the prayers of one loving soul prevail more with God, both for the living and the dead, than the prayers of a thousand souls who love less" (pt IV ch. 54). Each order does for her what its name says it does for the Church, the Archangels revealing, the Virtues working, the Powers restraining.

24.4.2 Mechtild's golden staircase

Mechtild saw the nine orders as a ladder that men climb. "The handmaid of Christ beheld a golden staircase composed of nine steps, with a multitude of angels surrounding it on either side, so that on the first step were the Angels, and on the second the Archangels, and so upwards, in such a way that on each step there was placed an angelic order. And she understood from heaven, that by staircase is signified the conversation of men" (*Select Revelations*, ch. 16, "Of the Angels, and how men are made their companions"). Each step joins a way of life to an order. Whoever "faithfully, and humbly, and devotedly ministereth in the Church of God, and also for God's sake serveth the infirm, or pilgrims, or the poor" stands on the first step and is made equal with the Angels; those who wait on God in prayer serve with the Archangels; those who practise patience, obedience, and poverty climb to the third step; those who fight their vices and despise the enemy triumph on the fourth with the Powers; faithful prelates who watch for souls reign on the fifth with the Principalities; those who bring their flesh under the spirit exult on the sixth with the Dominations; the contemplatives, who offer God a peaceful dwelling, are companions of the Thrones; the learned who pour back on God all they draw from him stand on the eighth with the Cherubim. The ninth is love:

> And they who love God with their whole mind and their whole heart, and who place their whole being in that eternal fire, which is God, and who, being made exceeding like unto Him, love Him no longer with their own, but with His love ... These shall come close to God, with nothing between Him and them, on the ninth step, along with the Seraphim, between whom and God no others are found. (ch. 16)

The ladder follows the order of Gregory the Great, with the Principalities above the Powers (*Hom. in Ev.* 34.7), and it turns into a rule of life the doctrine of Gregory and the Fathers that the elect are taken up into the choirs of the angels (§7.1).

24.5 Joan of Arc and Saint Michael

Joan of Arc gave an account of the archangel in her own words, under oath, to the judges who condemned her.[30] Her voices were Saint Catherine and Saint Margaret, but the first to come was Michael. At the fourth public session, on 27 February, the judges pressed her:

> "What was the first Voice that came to you when you were about thirteen?" "It was Saint Michael: I saw him before my eyes; he was not alone, but quite surrounded by the Angels of Heaven. I came into France only by the order of God." "Did you see Saint Michael and these Angels bodily and in reality?" "I saw them with my bodily eyes as well as I see you; when they went from me, I wept. I should have liked to be taken away with them."

She would not describe him for their curiosity. Asked on 1 March whether he came naked, she answered, "Do you think God has not wherewithal to clothe him?"; asked on 3 March whether Michael and Gabriel had human heads, "I

[30] Her trial at Rouen in 1431 and the depositions taken for her rehabilitation are cited in the English of T. Douglas Murray (1902).

saw them with my eyes; and I believe it was they as firmly as I believe there is a God." On 15 March the examiners set the question of the discernment of spirits before her, and her answers are those of a soul taught by the archangel himself:

> "How did you know it was Saint Michael?" "By the speech and language of the Angels. I believe firmly that they were Angels." ... "When Saint Michael came to me, he said to me: 'Saint Catherine and Saint Margaret will come to thee; follow their counsel; they have been chosen to guide thee and counsel thee in all that thou hast to do: believe what they shall tell thee, it is the order of Our Lord.' " "If the devil were to put himself in the form or likeness of an angel, how would you know if it were a good or an evil angel?" "I should know quite well if it were Saint Michael or a counterfeit. The first time I was in great doubt if it were Saint Michael; and I was much afraid. I had seen him many times before I knew it was Saint Michael."

He had taught her, she said, "so well, and it was so clear to me, that I believed firmly it was he"; and his doctrine was simple: "Above all things he told me to be a good child, and that God would help me." On 17 March, asked in what form he came, she said: "In the form of a true honest man ['prud homme']; of his dress and the rest I will say nothing more. As to the Angels, I saw them with my eyes ... I believe the deeds and words of Saint Michael, who appeared to me, as firmly as I believe that Our Saviour Jesus Christ suffered Death and Passion for us. And that which makes me believe it, is the good counsel, comfort, and good doctrine which he has given me."

Her test is the Church's test, the fruit of the spirit: a good angel gives good counsel, comfort, and sound doctrine, and leads to God. She kept faith with the archangel to the end. A priest present at the sermon of Saint-Ouen deposed in 1452 that she prayed aloud "to Saint Michael that he would direct and counsel her," and that "While they were tying her to the stake she implored and specially invoked Saint Michael"; the physician Guillaume Delachambre heard her at the last "cry 'Jesus' and ... invoke St. Michael; and then she perished in the flame." The archangel to whom, as the Church sings, God has given the souls of the saints was the first voice she heard and the last name she called.

24.6 Frances of Rome and Her Archangel

Frances of Rome, wife, mother, and foundress of the Oblates of Tor di Specchi, lived the whole of her later life in the visible presence of an angel. Her confessor, Giovanni Mattiotti, required her under obedience to tell him her visions in detail, kept a daily record for some years, and after her death wrote her life, which stands in the Bollandist collection; Lady Georgiana Fullerton's life of 1855 is drawn from it and from the later lives.

Her guardian first made himself known by correction. He was "one day to accompany her, not by an invisible presence only, as in the case of all Christians, but, by a rare privilege of grace, in a visible form," and before he showed himself he began to watch her conduct: "At the least imperfection in her conduct, before she had time to accuse and to condemn herself, she felt the blow of a mysterious hand" (Fullerton, ch. 3). Tradition relates that after the death of her little son Evangelista he appeared to her in her oratory with a companion brighter than himself, and told her of the order of heaven: "There are nine choirs of angels in heaven, and the higher orders of angelic spirits instruct in the Divine mysteries the less exalted intelligences." Of his companion he said, "This my companion is higher than I am in rank, as he is more bright and fair in aspect. The Divine Majesty has assigned him to you as a guardian during the remainder of your earthly pilgrimage" (ch. 7). Evangelista departed; "but the archangel remained, and to the day of her death was ever present to her sight."

At her director's command she described him: "His stature," she said, "is that of a child of about nine years old; his aspect full of sweetness and majesty; his eyes generally turned towards heaven ... When I look upon him, I understand the glory of the angelic nature, and the degraded condition of our own" (ch. 7). The light about him was so strong that "At night, and in the most profound darkness, she could always write and read by the light of that supernatural brightness." In her combats with the evil one he was her shield; the rays from his brow drove the demons off. The angel was also her mirror and her rule. "When she committed the slightest fault, the angel seemed to disappear; and it was only after she had carefully examined her conscience, discovered her failing, lamented and humbly confessed it, that he returned"; he taught her to find the will of God in the cares of her household, which she had been tempted to think lost time, and he moderated her penances: "Be not afraid, father; the archangel will not allow me to proceed too far in that course" (ch. 7). Her death was his last errand. Asked by her confessor what she saw, she whispered, "The heavens open! The angels descend! The archangel has finished his task. He stands before me. He beckons to me to follow him" (ch. 14). In Frances is made visible what the Catechism teaches of every believer: "From infancy to death human life is surrounded by their watchful care and intercession" (CCC 336; §17.5).

24.7 Ignatius of Loyola: The Good Angel and the Angel of Light

Ignatius gave the Church a school of prayer in which the angels, fallen and unfallen, have a fixed place.[31]

The first exercise of the First Week begins with the first sin in the world, the sin of the angels. The exercitant is to bring memory, understanding, and will to bear on it:

> I say to bring to memory the sin of the Angels, how they, being created in grace, not wanting to help themselves with their liberty to reverence and obey their Creator and Lord, coming to pride, were changed from grace to malice, and hurled from Heaven to Hell. (First Week, first exercise, first point)

The whole doctrine of the fall is here in a sentence: created good and in grace, free, fallen by pride, fixed in malice (§13; Lateran IV, DS 800). Its use is compunction: the exercitant sets "the one sin of the Angels" beside his many sins and considers "while they for one sin were cast into Hell, how often I have deserved it for so many." The holy angels appear at the end of the second exercise, in the cry of wonder at all creatures that have borne with the sinner: "the Angels, how, though they are the sword of the Divine Justice, they have endured me, and guarded me, and prayed for me" (second exercise, fifth point). In the meditation on the Two Standards the fallen angels are an army. The exercitant sees "the chief of all the enemy" seated in the field of Babylon "as in a great chair of fire and smoke, in shape horrible and terrifying," and considers "how he issues a summons to innumerable demons and how he scatters them, some to one city and others to another, and so through all the world, not omitting any provinces, places, states, nor any persons in particular" (Second Week, fourth day). Against him stands Christ in a lowly place near Jerusalem, sending out his friends.

Ignatius's rules for the discernment of spirits turn on the two angels who move the soul. "It is proper to God and to His Angels in their movements to give true spiritual gladness and joy, taking away all sadness and disturbance which the enemy brings on" (Rules for the Second Week, rule 1). God alone can console the soul without preceding cause; but "With cause, as well the good Angel as the bad can console the soul, for contrary ends: the good Angel for the profit of the soul, that it may grow and rise from good to better, and the evil Angel, for the contrary" (rule 3). Then comes the rule that makes Saint Paul's warning a science, "Satan himself transformeth himself into an angel of light" (2 Cor 11:14):

> It is proper to the evil Angel, who forms himself under the appearance of an angel of light, to enter with the devout soul and go out with himself: that is to say, to bring good and holy thoughts, conformable to such just soul, and then little by little he aims at coming out drawing the soul to his covert deceits and perverse intentions. (rule 4)

The course of the thoughts reveals the spirit: if beginning, middle, and end are all good, "it is a sign of the good Angel"; if they end in something bad or less good, or disquiet the soul and take away its peace, "it is a clear sign that it proceeds from the evil spirit, enemy of our profit and eternal salvation" (rule 5). The seventh rule gives the image: in those who go from good to better "the good Angel touches such soul sweetly, lightly and gently, like a drop of water which enters into a sponge; and the evil touches it sharply and with noise and disquiet, as when the drop of water falls on the stone" (rule 7). The Church's doctrine of the angels' action on the soul (§16.3, §18.2) is here put to work in the soul's choosing.

24.8 Teresa of Jesus: The Angel of the Transverberation

Teresa of Avila saw angels often, but seldom with the eyes. In the twenty-ninth chapter of her *Life* (trans. David Lewis, third edition, 1904) she describes the grace that tradition calls her transverberation, the piercing of her heart:

> Our Lord was pleased that I should have at times a vision of this kind: I saw an angel close by me, on my left side, in bodily form. This I am not accustomed to see, unless very rarely. Though I have visions of angels frequently, yet I see them only by an intellectual vision, such as I have spoken of before. It was our Lord's will that in this vision I should see the angel in this wise. He was not large, but small of stature, and most beautiful—his face burning, as if he were one of the highest angels, who seem to be all of fire: they must be those whom we call cherubim. Their names they never tell me; but I see very well

[31] The *Spiritual Exercises* are cited in Elder Mullan's English from the Spanish autograph (1914).

> that there is in heaven so great a difference between one angel and another, and between these and the others, that I cannot explain it. (*Life* 29.16)
>
> I saw in his hand a long spear of gold, and at the iron's point there seemed to be a little fire. He appeared to me to be thrusting it at times into my heart, and to pierce my very entrails; when he drew it out, he seemed to draw them out also, and to leave me all on fire with a great love of God. The pain was so great, that it made me moan; and yet so surpassing was the sweetness of this excessive pain, that I could not wish to be rid of it. The soul is satisfied now with nothing less than God. The pain is not bodily, but spiritual; though the body has its share in it, even a large one. (29.17)

Her own manuscript names the angel's order as the cherubim; Lewis notes that the earlier editors printed "seraphim" after a marginal suggestion of her confessor Dominic Báñez, and restores her reading (29.16, n. 14). Either way the angel is of the order that seems all fire, and the grace is of one kind with the Seraph of La Verna: an angel of the highest choirs sent to wound a soul with the love of God. Teresa's teaching on the angels is of a piece with it. She insists that she sees the angels by intellectual vision and that the distinctions among them are real and past telling. At another time, rapt in the church, she saw the throne of God borne up and "an exceedingly great multitude of angels, who seemed to me more beautiful, beyond all comparison, than those I had seen in heaven. I thought they were, perhaps, the seraphim or cherubim, for they were very different in their glory, and seemingly all on fire" (39.32).

She knew the other side too. In the thirty-first chapter she recounts the assaults of the devil and the weapon that served her best: "I know by frequent experience that there is nothing which puts the devils to flight like holy water. They run away before the sign of the cross also, but they return immediately: great, then, must be the power of holy water." The reason is the Church's blessing: "I have a joy in reflecting that the words of the Church are so mighty, that they endow water with power" (31.4).

24.9 Francis de Sales and Peter Faber

Francis de Sales brought friendship with the angels into the devout life of the laity. The chapter of the *Introduction to the Devout Life* on honouring and invoking the saints (II.16; French edition of Lyon and Paris, 1832) begins with them:

> *Puisque c'est par le ministère des anges que nous recevons souvent les bonnes inspirations de Dieu, c'est aussi par eux que nous devons lui adresser nos aspirations.*

Since it is by the ministry of the angels that we often receive God's good inspirations, it is through them too that we should send him our aspirations. After the saints and the Mother of God he gives his counsel:

> *Rendez-vous fort familière avec les anges: regardez-les comme réellement présens à toutes vos actions, quoique d'une manière invisible. Aimez surtout et respectez l'ange du diocèse où vous êtes, les anges des personnes avec lesquelles vous vivez, et spécialement le vôtre: priez-les souvent, offrez-leur de fréquentes louanges, et employez leur bon secours dans toutes vos affaires, soit spirituelles, soit temporelles, afin qu'ils coopèrent à vos intentions.* (II.16)

Make yourself very familiar with the angels; look on them as really present at all your actions, though invisibly. Love and respect above all the angel of the diocese where you are, the angels of the persons with whom you live, and especially your own; pray to them often, offer them frequent praise, and use their good help in all your affairs, spiritual and temporal, so that they may co-operate with your intentions. The counsel is a whole doctrine of the angels' offices in small: the angels of dioceses and places, whom the Fathers found in the angels of the nations (Dan 10:13; Deut 32:8, Septuagint; §17.5), the guardians of our neighbours, and our own.

For an example he gives a saint of his own diocese. Peter Faber, first priest and first companion of Ignatius, coming back from his labours in Germany through the diocese of Geneva, where he was born, told how in heretical countries *il s'étoit toujours très-bien trouvé de saluer en arrivant dans une paroisse les anges qui la protégeoient* — he had always found it very good, on arriving in a parish, to greet the angels who protected it, and owed to that practice his escape from the snares of the heretics and the docility of souls to the doctrine of salvation. A lady who heard him as a girl repeated his words to Francis more than sixty years later, and the bishop consecrated an altar in the village where Faber was born (II.16). The first Jesuit greeting the angels of each parish and the bishop of Geneva counselling

the devout to love the angel of their diocese stand in one line: the guardian angels of places are the Church's allies in the work of the Gospel.

24.10 Alphonsus Liguori

Alphonsus places the angels above all at the hour of death. In his sermon for the Sixth Sunday after Epiphany, on the death of the just, he meets the fear of the soul that dreads the last assaults of hell. God does not abandon his servants then; when Eliseus's servant saw the city ringed with enemies, the prophet showed him the angels sent to defend it (4 Kgs 6:16–17). So now:

> The powers of hell will assail the dying Christian; but his angel guardian will come to console him. His patrons, and St. Michael, who has been appointed by God to defend his faithful servants in their last combat with the devils, will come to his aid. (*Sermons for all the Sundays*, s. 11, trans. Grimm, p. 125)

In his sermon on death for the Fifteenth Sunday after Pentecost, the priest at the bedside bids the dying man say after him, "St. Joseph, St. Michael, the archangel, my holy angel-guardian, and all ye saints in paradise, pray to God for me" (s. 44, p. 458). In the *Glories of Mary* the archangel serves his Queen at the same hour. Alphonsus quotes, under Bonaventure's name, the *Speculum Beatae Virginis*: Mary "sends without delay the prince of the heavenly court, St. Michael, with all the angels, to defend her dying servants against the temptations of the devils, and to receive the souls of all who in a special manner and perseveringly have recommended themselves to her": *Michael, dux et princeps militiae coelestis, cum omnibus spiritibus administratoriis, tuis, Virgo, paret praeceptis* (*Glories of Mary* I.2.3). The office that made Francis love Michael, the presenting of souls, is here set within the Queenship of Mary (§19).

24.11 John Vianney, the Curé of Ars

The Curé of Ars spoke of the angels as he spoke of everything, in plain words to his parishioners; Alfred Monnin gathered his catechisms and sayings (*The Spirit of the Curé of Ars*, English ed. 1865). The guardian angel is always by us: "When we are going along the streets, let us fix our eyes on our Lord carrying His cross before us; on the Blessed Virgin, who is looking at us; on our guardian angel, who is by our side" (Catechism on the Cardinal Virtues). He keeps our account: "We always have two secretaries: the devil, who writes down our bad actions, to accuse us of them; and our good angel, who writes down our good ones, to justify us at the Day of Judgment" (pt I, introduction). He rejoices in the pure: "What joy is it to the guardian angel to conduct a pure soul!" (Catechism on the Prerogatives of the Pure Soul); and "How happy is a guardian angel who leads a beautiful soul to the holy table!" (Catechism on Frequent Communion). His reverence for the priesthood set even the angels second: "If I were to meet a priest and an angel, I should salute the priest before I saluted the angel. The latter is the friend of God; but the priest holds His place" (Catechism on the Priesthood).

His biographers record that for many years the devil harassed him by night with noise and violence. Kathleen O'Meara's life gives his own account of the first night: he went back to bed "commending myself to God, to the Blessed Virgin, and my Guardian Angel," and when he knew the cause he prayed God "to be near me with His angels when the enemy came to torment me." He met the trial with the Sign of the Cross and with laughter: "The devil is cunning ... but he is not strong; one Sign of the Cross puts him to flight"; and of his tormentor, whom he called only *le grappin*, "He is more powerful than the grappin" — meaning God (O'Meara, *The Curé of Ars*, ch. 9). O'Meara sets him beside Antony and Hilarion, whom the demons tormented in the desert (§18); the lesson the Curé drew is the Church's own, that the enemy can frighten and cannot harm those whom God keeps.

24.12 Gemma Galgani and Her Guardian Angel

Gemma Galgani of Lucca lived with her guardian angel as a child with an elder brother. Her director, the Passionist Father Germanus, devotes a chapter of her life to him (English trans. A. M. O'Sullivan, 1913). He records that she saw the angel, touched him, and spoke with him "as one friend would with another." "Jesus," she said, "has not left me alone; He makes my guardian angel stay with me always"; and the angel told her, "Yes I shall be thy guide and inseparable companion. Do you not know who it is that gave me charge of thee? It is the merciful Jesus"

(Germanus, *Life*, ch. 20). They prayed together, the angel sometimes "raised in the air with outspread wings, and his hands extended over her or else joined in attitude of prayer," sometimes kneeling beside her; they said the psalms in alternation and vied with each other in aspirations; at meditation the angel opened to her the Passion. Germanus writes as an eyewitness: "I myself have many times assisted at these meditations of Gemma with her angel," and whenever she raised her eyes to the angel she lost the use of her senses.

The angel was her master in perfection. Once he made her write at his dictation, "like a child at school":

> "Remember child, that one who truly loves Jesus, speaks little and endures much. I command thee on the part of Jesus never to give thy opinion unless it is asked; never to maintain thy opinion, but be silent at once ... Remember to guard thine eyes and reflect that the mortified eye shall behold the beauties of heaven." (ch. 20)

He corrected her with severity: "My Angel is a little severe; but I am glad of it. During the past days he brought me to order as often as three or four times a day." He carried her messages and brought her home from church when she had forgotten the hour; when the devil beat her at her evening prayer, the angel lifted her to her bed and watched by her pillow. Her love for him was simple: "Dear Angel," she would say, "I so love you!" "And why?" "Because you teach me to be good, and to keep humble, and to please Jesus." Her director tested her by forbidding familiarity, and she obeyed at once: "From this day forward, I will always use the right terms when speaking to the Angel, and I will show him every reverence." Obedience was the proof the director sought and the angel himself required; when she feared to disobey by listening to him he answered, "No, because I am sent by Him Who has power to send me." Once he turned her from creatures to God: "It is my wish that thy conversation be no longer with creatures; when you do wish to speak, speak with Jesus, and with thy Angel" (ch. 20). Germanus finds the parallel in Scripture, in Raphael and the young Tobias (Tob 12:12–15), and the friendship of Gemma with her angel shows in visible form what every guardian does unseen.

24.13 Thérèse of the Child Jesus

Thérèse of Lisieux, who died on 30 September 1897, the day after the feast of Saint Michael, wrote poems in which the angels take their part. In February 1897, seven months before her death, she addressed her guardian angel. The poem is printed in *Histoire d'une âme* (edition of 1912, pp. 427–428):

> *Glorieux gardien de mon âme,*
> *Toi qui brilles dans le beau ciel*
> *Comme une douce et pure flamme,*
> *Près du trône de l'Éternel ;*
> *Tu viens pour moi sur cette terre,*
> *Et m'éclairant de ta splendeur,*
> *Bel Ange, tu deviens mon frère,*
> *Mon ami, mon consolateur !*

Glorious guardian of my soul, you who shine in the fair heaven like a sweet and pure flame near the throne of the Eternal, you come to this earth for me, and lighting me with your splendour, fair Angel, you become my brother, my friend, my consoler. The second stanza is the little way in the angel's hands: *Connaissant ma grande faiblesse, / Tu me diriges par la main ; / Et je te vois, avec tendresse, / Ôter la pierre du chemin* — knowing my great weakness, you lead me by the hand, and I see you tenderly take the stone out of the road (Ps 90[91]:12). She sends him as her messenger, since he crosses space *plus promptement que les éclairs*, more swiftly than the lightning, to dry the tears of those she loves, and asks his zeal for souls: *Je veux, pendant ma courte vie, / Sauver mes frères les pécheurs ; / Ô bel Ange de la patrie, / Donne-moi tes saintes ardeurs* — I wish, in my short life, to save my brothers the sinners; fair Angel of the fatherland, give me your holy ardour. The last stanzas divide the goods of heaven and earth between them:

> *À toi, le royaume et la gloire,*
> *Les richesses du Roi des rois.*
> *À moi, le Pain du saint ciboire,*
> *À moi, le trésor de la Croix.*

Yours the kingdom and the glory, the riches of the King of kings; mine the Bread of the holy ciborium, mine the treasure of the Cross. The angel has the glory; the child on earth has what the angel cannot have, the Eucharist and the Cross, and she offers her poverty to the Trinity through him.

In her piece on the angels at the crib, the angel of the Child Jesus gazes on the Word made man in the manger; in Susan Emery's translation of 1907 he sings, "O Child, whose light doth blind the sight / Of angels in high heaven divine! / Thou'rt come to save the world to-night, / And who can fathom that love of Thine?" and promises, "Thee will I guard by day and night" (*Poems of Sr. Teresa*, "The Angels of the Crib"). The guardian of the Child in that piece and her own guardian in her poem are the same service, the angels' care for the little ones whose angels see the Father's face (Matt 18:10).

24.14 John Henry Newman

Newman preached on the angels on the feast of Saint Michael and All Angels while he was still a clergyman of the Church of England, and as a priest of the Oratory wrote the *Dream of Gerontius*. The sermon, "The Powers of Nature" (*Parochial and Plain Sermons* II.29), takes for its text "Who maketh His Angels spirits, his ministers a flaming fire" (Ps 103[104]:4) and sets it against the temper of the age:

> There have been ages of the world, in which men have thought too much of Angels, and paid them excessive honour; honoured them so perversely as to forget the supreme worship due to Almighty God. This is the sin of a dark age. But the sin of what is called an educated age, such as our own, is just the reverse: to account slightly of them, or not at all; to ascribe all we see around us, not to their agency, but to certain assumed laws of nature. (pp. 358–359)

Newman answers from Scripture with the doctrine that the angels move the visible creation (§16.2). Reason sees that spirit moves man and beast, but "how do the wind and water, earth and fire, move? Now here Scripture interposes, and seems to tell us, that all this wonderful harmony is the work of Angels." An angel gave the pool of Bethesda its healing, angels wrought the fires of Sinai, restrained the four winds, and smote the camp of Sennacherib. "Nature is not inanimate; its daily toil is intelligent; its works are duties" (pp. 360–361). Then: "Every breath of air and ray of light and heat, every beautiful prospect, is, as it were, the skirts of their garments, the waving of the robes of those whose faces see God in heaven" (p. 362). The science of nature is useful "in subordination to that higher view"; but the man who takes the order he discerns for "fixed laws, self-caused and self-sustained" forgets "the thousands and ten thousands of His unseen Servants." The doctrine humbles, consoles, and draws the soul to heaven: "it is a great comfort to reflect that, wherever we go, we have those about us, who are ministering to all the heirs of salvation, though we see them not" (Heb 1:14); "The very lowest of His Angels is indefinitely above us in this our present state; how high then must be the Lord of Angels!"; and "if we attain to heaven, we shall become the fellows of the blessed Angels" (pp. 365–366).

24.14.1 The Dream of Gerontius

The *Dream of Gerontius* (1865) follows a soul from its death-bed to Purgatory in the arms of its guardian angel. When the soul wakes after death it hears the angel singing:

> My work is done,
> My task is o'er,
> And so I come,
> Taking it home,
> For the crown is won,
> Alleluia,
> For evermore. (*Dream* § 2)

"My Father gave / In charge to me / This child of earth / E'en from its birth, / To serve and save." The soul recognizes in him "a member of that family / Of wondrous beings, who, ere the worlds were made, / Millions of ages back, have stood around / The throne of God:—he never has known sin." The angel himself states the privilege of the guardians: "More than the Seraph in his height of place, / The Angel-guardian knows and loves the ransom'd race" (*Dream* § 2). On the way to judgment they pass the choirs of Angelicals, "Least and most childlike of the Sons of God," who sing

"Praise to the Holiest in the height, / And in the depth be praise" and tell of God's "elder race" made "To battle and to win, / Without the chastisement of pain, / Without the soil of sin" (*Dream* § 5). Before the throne the soul hears the prayers of its friends saying the *Subvenite* on earth, and the guardian points to "the great Angel of the Agony, / The same who strengthen'd Him, what time He knelt / Lone in that garden shade, bedew'd with blood" (*Dream* § 6; Luke 22:43), who pleads for the souls in Purgatory. At the last the guardian lowers the soul into the cleansing waters with a promise:

> Softly and gently, dearly-ransom'd soul,
> In my most loving arms I now enfold thee,
> And, o'er the penal waters, as they roll,
> I poise thee, and I lower thee, and hold thee. . . .
> Farewell, but not for ever! brother dear,
> Be brave and patient on thy bed of sorrow;
> Swiftly shall pass thy night of trial here,
> And I will come and wake thee on the morrow. (*Dream* § 7)

The guardian's office does not end at death; he brings the soul to judgment and will bring it out of Purgatory, as the Church prays in the *In paradisum* (CCC 335; §22).

24.15 The Saints' Witness, by Degree

Saint	Witness and locus	Devotion or teaching	Grade
Francis of Assisi	Bonaventure, *Legenda maior* prol. 1–2; II.8; IX.3; XIII.1–5	Lent of Saint Michael; love of Michael for his office of presenting souls; the Seraph of La Verna and the stigmata	Pious tradition; Church teaching on the angels' ministry to the saved (CCC 336)
Bonaventure	*Itinerarium* prol. 2–3; *Sermones de sanctis*, De sanctis Angelis 1, 4, 5	The six wings as six illuminations; nine orders in three hierarchies with their offices; Raphael, Gabriel, Michael as remedies; angels as general guardians of souls	Common teaching on the hierarchies (Dionysius, §6); Church teaching on the guardians (CCC 336)
Thomas Aquinas	Tocco, *Vita* c. 10; Calo, *Vita* 7; Pius XI, *Studiorum Ducem* (1923)	The angels gird him with chastity; the Angelic Doctor; the Angelic Warfare; the prayer *Creator ineffabilis*	Pious tradition for the girding; the title Angelic confirmed by Pius V (*Studiorum Ducem*)
Gertrude	*Insinuationes*, Kenmare trans. pt III ch. 21; pt IV chs. 2, 54	Guardian presents the soul at Mass; the choirs at the Divine Office; the Eucharist offered in honour of the angels	Pious tradition
Mechtild	*Select Revelations* ch. 16	Nine steps of the orders joined to nine ways of life; the Seraphim nearest God	Pious tradition; order of Gregory (§7.1)
Joan of Arc	Trial of 1431, 27 Feb., 1, 3, 15, 17 Mar.; rehabilitation depositions (Murray, 1902)	Saint Michael, first of her voices; his good counsel as the sign of a good angel; invoked at her death	Pious tradition
Frances of Rome	Fullerton, *Life* chs. 3, 7, 14 (after Mattiotti)	A visible archangel as guardian; nine choirs and illumination of the lower by the higher	Pious tradition; Church teaching on the angels' care from infancy to death (CCC 336)
Ignatius of Loyola	*Spiritual Exercises*, first exercise; Two Standards; Rules for the Second Week 1–7	The sin of the angels; the demons sent through the world; good and evil angel in the soul; the angel of light	Defined that the demons fell of themselves (DS 800); Common teaching on discernment (2 Cor 11:14)

Saint	Witness and locus	Devotion or teaching	Grade
Teresa of Jesus	*Life* 29.16–17; 31.4; 39.32	The cherub of the transverberation; intellectual vision of angels; holy water puts the devils to flight	Pious tradition
Francis de Sales	*Introduction* II.16	Familiarity with the angels; the angels of the diocese, of neighbours, and one's own; Faber's greeting of the angels of parishes	Common teaching (Dan 10:13; §17.5)
Alphonsus Liguori	*Sermons* 11, 44; *Glories of Mary* I.2.3	Guardian and Michael assist the dying; Michael obeys the Queen of heaven	Common teaching; Pious tradition on the *Speculum*
John Vianney	Monnin, *Spirit* (1865); O'Meara, ch. 9	The guardian angel at our side and at Communion; the priest saluted before the angel; the devil's harassment	Pious tradition
Gemma Galgani	Germanus, *Life*, ch. 20	Visible guardian as companion, master, and messenger, under obedience	Pious tradition
Thérèse	*Histoire d'une âme* (1912), pp. 427–428; "The Angels of the Crib" (Emery)	The guardian as brother, friend, consoler; the angels' glory and the Cross and the Host	Pious tradition
John Henry Newman	*Parochial and Plain Sermons* II.29; *Dream of Gerontius* §§ 2, 5–7	The angels move the visible creation; the guardian brings the soul to judgment and Purgatory	Common teaching on the angels' government of bodies (§16.2); Pious tradition in the poem

25 The Angels and the Order of the Universe

God made the world to show forth his goodness, and he made it many and unequal so that it might show that goodness better. "He brought things into being in order that His goodness might be communicated to creatures, and be represented by them; and because His goodness could not be adequately represented by one creature alone, He produced many and diverse creatures, that what was wanting to one in the representation of the divine goodness might be supplied by another. For goodness, which in God is simple and uniform, in creatures is manifold and divided and hence the whole universe together participates the divine goodness more perfectly, and represents it better than any single creature whatever" (*ST* I q. 47 a. 1). The same wisdom that distinguishes things makes them unequal, "for the universe would not be perfect if only one grade of goodness were found in things" (*ST* I q. 47 a. 2); Ecclesiasticus asks "Why doth one day excel another, and one light another … when all come of the sun?" and answers, "By the knowledge of the Lord they were distinguished" (Ecclus 33:7–8). And the many unequal things make one world, "for this world is called one by the unity of order, whereby some things are ordered to others" (*ST* I q. 47 a. 3). The whole of the angelic treatise stands inside these three articles. The angels are the highest grade of the goodness God communicates, the first links of the order by which the many are one, and the first voices of the praise in which the order returns to him.

25.1 The Summit of Creation

The *Summa contra gentiles* opens its account of the distinct creatures with the intellectual creatures and gives the reason in its title: *Quod oportuit ad perfectionem universi aliquas creaturas intellectuales esse.* By the divine disposition, which assigns to created things the best perfection in their mode, it followed that certain intellectual creatures should be made, *in summo rerum vertice constitutae*, set at the very summit of things (*SCG* II.46). Aquinas gives the reasons one after another, and together they are a theology of the angels in miniature. An effect is most perfect when it returns to its principle, *unde et circulus inter omnes figuras, et motus circularis inter omnes motus, est maxime perfectus*; all creatures return to God by bearing his likeness in their being and nature; but since God is

the principle of creatures by his intellect, it was necessary for their perfection that some creatures should understand. The first perfection of a thing is its being, the second its operation, and the consummate perfection of the universe required creatures that return to God *non solum secundum naturae similitudinem, sed etiam per operationem*, which can only be by intellect and will, *quia nec ipse Deus aliter erga seipsum operationem habet*, since God himself has no other operation toward himself. A thing is perfectly like another in acting when it acts not only with the same kind of action but in the same mode; God acts by intellect and will; there must therefore be creatures that act as God acts. The form by which God makes the creature is an intelligible form in his mind; the highest likeness requires creatures in which the form of the divine intellect is expressed *secundum esse intelligibile*. And as God contains all creatures in himself, not by extension but simply, so *factae sunt creaturae intellectuales, quae creaturas corporales continerent, non extensione quantitatis, sed simpliciter per modum intelligibilem* (*SCG* II.46). The *Summa* gathers the argument: "God produces the creature by His intellect and will ... Hence the perfection of the universe requires that there should be intellectual creatures. Now intelligence cannot be the action of a body, nor of any corporeal faculty; for every body is limited to 'here' and 'now.' Hence the perfection of the universe requires the existence of an incorporeal creature" (*ST* I q. 50 a. 1; §8.1).

Dionysius sets the same summit in the language of participation. "It was through goodness that the superessential Godhead, having fixed all the essences of things being, brought them into being," and all things share in a Providence that "bubbles forth" from it: things without life by their being, living things by its life-giving power, "things rational and intellectual participate in its self-perfect and preeminently perfect wisdom, above all reason and mind" (*CH* 4.1). "The holy orders, then, of the Heavenly Beings share in the supremely Divine participation, in a higher degree than things which merely exist, or which lead an irrational life, or which are rational like ourselves," and so "at first hand, and under many forms, participate in the Divine, and, at first hand, and under many forms, make known the supremely Divine Hiddenness" (*CH* 4.2). Gregory the Great places man in the same scale and sees the whole of it gathered in him: *Habet namque commune esse cum lapidibus, vivere cum arboribus, sentire cum animalibus, intelligere cum angelis. Si ergo commune habet aliquid cum omni creatura homo, juxta aliquid omnis creatura est homo* — man has being in common with stones, life with trees, sensation with the animals, understanding with the angels; and since he has something in common with every creature, in some way every creature is man (*Hom. in Ev.* 29.2). Augustine names man's place in the order and its promise: God created man, "whose nature was to be a mean between the angelic and bestial," so that if he kept God's commandments "he should pass into the company of the angels, and obtain, without the intervention of death, a blessed and endless immortality" (*De civitate Dei* XII.21). The angels are the summit toward which the visible creation leans, and man, who understands with the angels, is the creature in whom the lower world is carried up to them.

25.2 The Channel of the Divine Light

The order that makes the world one is an order of causes, and the angels are the highest causes God has made. The *Contra gentiles* gives the reason in a sentence that could stand over the treatise on government: *Ad dignitatem regentis pertinet ut habeat multos ministros, et diversos sui regiminis executores: quia tanto altius et maius ostendetur suum dominium, quanto plures in diversis gradibus ei subduntur* — it belongs to the dignity of a ruler to have many ministers and diverse executors of his rule, since his dominion is shown the higher and greater the more there are who are subject to him in diverse grades; and no dignity of any ruler is comparable with the divine (*SCG* III.77). The order of causes is nobler than the order of effects, as a cause is nobler than its effect, *si autem non essent aliquae causae mediae exequentes divinam providentiam non esset in rebus ordo causarum, sed effectuum tantum* (ibid.). So God, who orders even the least things immediately by his wisdom, executes his providence through intermediate causes, and rules the lower creation through the intellectual creatures: *sicut supremae creaturae sunt sub Deo et gubernantur ab ipso, ita inferiores creaturae sint sub superioribus et regantur ab ipsis* (*SCG* III.78); and among the intellectual creatures themselves the lower are governed by the higher (*SCG* III.79). "Therefore God so governs things that He makes some of them to be causes of others in government; as a master, who not only imparts knowledge to his pupils, but gives also the faculty of teaching others" (*ST* I q. 103 a. 6).

Dionysius draws the procession of that light in images that the Church has never ceased to use. "Even as our sun—not as calculating or choosing, but by its very being, enlightens all things able to partake of its light in their own degree—so too the Good ... by Its very existence sends to all things that be, the rays of Its whole goodness, according to their capacity." The intelligible essences receive those rays first; they "are illuminated as to the reasons of things, in a manner peculiar to themselves; and they again convey to their kindred spirits things appropriate to them" (*DN* 4.1). The purpose of every hierarchy is to make its members "Divine images, mirrors most luminous and without flaw, receptive of the primal light and the supremely Divine ray, and devoutly filled with the entrusted

radiance, and again, spreading this radiance ungrudgingly to those after it" (*CH* 3.2). So the light passes from the first hierarchy, "and from this (Order) again, in due degree, the second, and from the second, the third, and from the third, our Hierarchy, is reverently conducted to the super-original Origin and End of all good order, according to the self-same law of well-ordered regularity, in Divine harmony and proportion" (*CH* 10.1). The *Contra gentiles* names the law by which the light remains one through all its steps: *in vi superioris virtutis omnes inferiores agunt* (*SCG* III.80), so that what belongs to the Seraphim every lower order carries out in their power; and the *Summa* names the reason for the steps themselves, that each higher angel divides the knowledge it receives universally, as a teacher does, so that the lower may grasp it (*ST* I q. 106 a. 1; §14.1).

Augustine, meditating on the government of the world in the third book *On the Trinity*, gives the whole vision in one passage, from which Aquinas takes the sentence he sets over God's government through creatures, over the ordering of the orders, and over the rule of the good angels over the bad (*ST* I q. 103 a. 6 s.c.; §§15.1, 15.2). The will of God, presiding among spirits joined in one will "by a kind of spiritual fire of charity," diffuses itself through all things by ordered movements of the creature, "first spiritual, then corporeal," and nothing is done visibly except by command or permission "from the interior palace, invisible and intelligible, of the supreme Governor" (*De Trinitate* III.4.9; §5.10.7). The angels are that palace's court, the first movements of its will, and the first citizens of its commonwealth (§§16–17).

The light passes through the angels without being diminished into them. Bernard, having named the orders, turns each toward the God it shows: "The Seraphim burn, but with the fire of God, or rather with fire for God ... The Dominions rule, but they rule in subjection to a ruler, and serve Him as well ... The Principalities lead and govern; but they themselves are governed: so that they would no longer know how to govern, if they ceased to be governed ... Angels and Archangels are with us, but He is more our own who is not only with us but in us" (*De consideratione* V.5.11). God alone acts from within the will and justifies (*ST* I q. 106 a. 2); the angels enlighten and persuade. Their whole greatness is to be transparent: "Wherefore, beyond all, they are deemed pre-eminently worthy of the appellation Angelic, on the ground that the supremely Divine illumination comes to them at first hand, and, through them, there pass to us manifestations above us" (*CH* 4.2).

25.3 Charity, the Bond of the Order

The hierarchy is an order of love as much as of light. Dionysius teaches that divine love "is extatic, not permitting (any) to be lovers of themselves, but of those beloved. They shew this too, the superior by becoming mindful of the inferior; and the equals by their mutual coherence; and the inferior, by a more divine respect towards things superior" (*DN* 4.13); and he quotes from the hymns of Hierotheus the definition that sums up the whole angelic order: "Love, whether we speak of Divine, or Angelic, or intelligent, or psychical, or physical, let us regard as a certain unifying and combining power, moving the superior to forethought for the inferior, and the equals to a mutual fellowship, and lastly, the inferior to respect towards the higher and superior" (*DN* 4.15). The same love is God's own. It is "a loving Movement, simplex, self-moved, self-operating, pre-existing in the Good, and from the Good bubbling forth to things existing, and again returning to the Good, in which also the Divine Love indicates distinctly Its own unending and unbeginning, as it were a sort of everlasting circle whirling round in unerring combination, by reason of the Good, from the Good, and in the Good, and to the Good" (*DN* 4.14). The circle of the *Contra gentiles*, by which the universe is perfected in returning to its principle, is the circle of this love.

Aquinas gives the metaphysical form of the same truth when he asks whether the higher angels share all they know: "it is of the nature of good to communicate itself to others," and "much more therefore do the holy angels, who enjoy the plenitude of participation of the Divine goodness, impart the same to those below them" (*ST* I q. 106 a. 4). Gregory gives it its evangelical form: in the highest city certain things are special to each and yet common to all, *quia per caritatem Spiritus ab alio in aliis habentur* (*Hom. in Ev.* 34.14). Grade in heaven is no barrier to communion, for "each gift is more perfectly possessed by the one who can communicate it" (*ST* I q. 108 a. 2 ad 2); the higher are higher in their power to give. Gregory's image of the jewels in the King's ornament shows the other side: the one who scorned the gold of charity fell, and the others, "bound together by charity mutually penetrating them," can never now be loosened from the ornament of the King (*Moralia* XXXII.23.48; §7.1). Even the fallen remain within the order by their unlost nature and are used by God for his purposes (*ST* I q. 109 aa. 1, 4; §15.2). The peace of the whole is the peace Augustine names: "in heaven there is unbroken peace, both between all the intelligent creatures that exist there, and between these and their Creator" (*Enchiridion* 63).

25.4 The Ranks Filled

The order of the universe is not finished while the angelic ranks await their companions. Gregory reads it in the parable of the lost drachma: the woman had ten, *quia novem sunt ordines angelorum. Sed ut compleretur electorum numerus, homo decimus est creatus* (*Hom. in Ev.* 34.6). The heavenly city is made of angels and men, *ad quam tantum credimus humanum genus ascendere, quantos illic contigit electos angelos remansisse* (34.11), and men enter it in the ranks whose lives they have imitated: the lowly who announce little things lovingly, among the Angels; those who burn with contemplation and kindle others, among the Seraphim (34.11; §15.1). Aquinas holds with the Master that the elect are taken into the nine orders themselves, higher and lower according to their merits, and not into a tenth order of their own; "by the gift of grace men can merit glory in such a degree as to be equal to the angels, in each of the angelic grades" (*ST* I q. 108 a. 8), as the Lord promised that the children of the resurrection "are equal to the angels and are the children of God" (Luke 20:36). The Church on earth and the Church in heaven make one hierarchy: *unde in patria non erit alia hierarchia hominum et Angelorum, sed una et eadem et homines in ordines Angelorum distribuentur* (*In II Sent.* d. 9 q. 1 a. 8 ad 4); and the same commentary sets the Blessed Virgin above them all (§19).

Augustine sees the filling of the ranks as the fruit of the Cross: Christ did not die for the angels, yet what was done for man's redemption was in a sense done for them, since friendship between men and the holy angels is restored and the gaps left by the great apostasy are filled up; the things in heaven are gathered together "when what was lost therefrom in the fall of the angels is restored from among men" (*Enchiridion* 61–62; §5.10.6). The Apostle's words in the Douay are that God purposed "to re-establish all things in Christ, that are in heaven and on earth, in him" (Eph 1:10), and "through him to reconcile all things unto himself, making peace through the blood of his cross, both as to the things that are on earth and the things that are in heaven" (Col 1:20). The number of the elect Aquinas refers, with the Fathers, to God alone: *ille scit cui soli cognitus est numerus electorum, in superna felicitate locandus* (*In II Sent.* d. 9 q. 1 a. 8).

Already the faithful stand within this one city. "But you are come to mount Sion and to the city of the living God, the heavenly Jerusalem, and to the company of many thousands of angels, and to the church of the firstborn who are written in the heavens, and to God the judge of all, and to the spirits of the just made perfect" (Heb 12:22–23). Augustine calls the angels and the saints together "one city of God—His living sacrifice, and His living temple," of which a part "is hereafter to be united to the immortal angels, and which at present is being gathered from among mortal men" (*De civitate Dei* XII.9). "This part of the Church, then, which is made up of the holy angels and the hosts of God, shall become known to us in its true nature, when, at the end of the world, we shall be united with it in the common possession of everlasting happiness" (*Enchiridion* 61).

25.5 The Praise of the Whole Creation

The order that descends as light returns as praise. At the beginning of the world, "the morning stars praised me together, and all the sons of God made a joyful melody" (Job 38:7). Isaias saw the Lord "sitting upon a throne high and elevated," and the Seraphim "cried one to another, and said: Holy, holy, holy, the Lord God of hosts, all the earth is full of his glory" (Isa 6:1–3). Dionysius teaches that the Word of God "has transmitted its hymns to those on earth, in which are Divinely shewn the excellency of its most exalted illumination. For some of its members, to speak after sensible perception, proclaim as a 'voice of many waters,' 'Blessed is the glory of the Lord from His place' and others cry aloud that frequent and most august hymn of God, 'Holy, Holy, Holy, Lord of Sabaoth, the whole earth is full of His glory' " (*CH* 7.4). The first hierarchy, he says, "dances round His eternal knowledge in the most exalted ever-moving stability," and teaches those after it "That it is just and right that the august Godhead—Itself both above praise, and all-praiseworthy—should be known and extolled by the God-receptive minds" (ibid.).

Aquinas says that "the angels are ever speaking to God in the sense of praising and admiring Him and His works" (*ST* I q. 107 a. 3 ad 2), and Gregory that "the voice of the Angels in the praises of God is the very admiration itself of inward contemplation" (*Moralia* II.7.10; §14.2). This praise does not end when the world ends. The orders remain for ever by nature, grace, and glory, and their offices, which in this age lead others to the end, remain as they befit the end attained: "Thus also the various ranks of soldiers have different duties to perform in battle and in triumph" (*ST* I q. 108 a. 7). John saw the triumph. Round the throne the living creatures "rested not day and night, saying: Holy, Holy, Holy, Lord God Almighty, who was and who is and who is to come," and the ancients cast their crowns before the throne: "Thou art worthy, O Lord our God, to receive glory and honour and power. Because thou hast created all things: and for thy will they were and have been created" (Apoc 4:8–11). "And I beheld, and I heard the

voice of many angels round about the throne and the living creatures and the ancients (and the number of them was thousands of thousands), Saying with a loud voice: The Lamb that was slain is worthy to receive power and divinity and wisdom and strength and honour and glory and benediction. And every creature which is in heaven and on the earth and under the earth, and such as are in the sea, and all that are in them, I heard all saying: To him that sitteth on the throne and to the Lamb, benediction and honour and glory and power, for ever and ever" (Apoc 5:11–13). The angels begin the song and the whole creation takes it up, through the angels, through man in whom every creature is gathered, through the Church which on earth joins the Seraphim's hymn in her liturgy (§22). The Psalmist calls the whole order to it at once: "Bless the Lord, all ye his angels: you that are mighty in strength, and execute his word, hearkening to the voice of his orders. Bless the Lord, all ye his hosts: you ministers of his that do his will. Bless the Lord, all his works: in every place of his dominion, O my soul, bless thou the Lord" (Ps 102[103]:20–22).

The universe proceeds from God's goodness in many unequal grades; its highest grade is the intellectual creature, which alone can return to God by knowing and loving him; the angels, first in that return, receive the light first and pass it on, and bind the whole in charity; men are taken up into their ranks; and at the last, when the Son has delivered up the kingdom to the Father, "God may be all in all" (1 Cor 15:28). Gregory, having led his people through the nine orders of the heavenly citizens, turned them back to their own lives with a sentence that closes the contemplation: *Suspiremus ergo ad eos, de quibus loquimur, sed redeamus ad nos* — let us sigh for those of whom we speak, but let us return to ourselves (*Hom. in Ev.* 34.15). "Praise ye him, all his angels, praise ye him, all his hosts" (Ps 148:2).

A The Nine Orders

Scripture names nine orders of angels. Dionysius gathers them from "the appellations" of the sacred writers and arranges them in three triads (*CH* 6); Gregory the Great, preaching on the woman with the ten drachmas, reads the same nine names in the coin that was found: *Novem vero angelorum ordines diximus, quia videlicet esse, testante sacro eloquio, scimus angelos, archangelos, virtutes, potestates, principatus, dominationes, thronos, cherubim, atque seraphim* (Gregory, *Hom. in Ev.* 34.7). Aquinas sets the two authorities side by side and holds both orderings reasonable, differing only in the middle of the scale: Dionysius places the Virtues beneath the Dominations and the Principalities beneath the Powers; Gregory places the Principalities beneath the Dominations and the Virtues beneath the Powers (*ST* I q. 108 a. 6 co.). Each arrangement can claim the words of the Apostle: Ephesians 1:21, enumerating upward, supports Dionysius; Colossians 1:16, enumerating downward, supports Gregory (*ST* I q. 108 a. 6 co.). The Dionysian order governs the entries below (§6; on the comparative table, Appendix B).

	Dionysius	*Gregory*
1	Seraphim	Seraphim
2	Cherubim	Cherubim
3	Thrones	Thrones
4	Dominations	Dominations
5	Virtues	Principalities
6	Powers	Powers
7	Principalities	Virtues
8	Archangels	Archangels
9	Angels	Angels

For each order below: the names in Latin, Greek (transliterated), and Hebrew where a Hebrew name exists; the places of Scripture where the order is named, quoted from the Douay-Rheims; the characterization in Dionysius (*CH* 7–9), Gregory (*Hom. in Ev.* 34), and Aquinas (*ST* I q. 108 aa. 5–6).

1. Seraphim. *Names: seraphim* (Latin and Greek alike); Hebrew *seraphim*, "burning ones." *Scripture:* "Upon it stood the seraphims: the one had six wings" (Isa 6:2); "one of the seraphims flew to me, and in his hand was a live coal" (Isa 6:6); compare the six-winged living creatures who "rested not day and night, saying: Holy, Holy, Holy" (Apoc 4:8). *Dionysius:* the name "denotes either that they are kindling or burning," their ceaseless movement about divine things, and their purifying fire (*CH* 7.1). *Gregory: Seraphim namque ardentes vel incendentes vocantur*; they burn with incomparable love from their singular nearness to their Maker (34.10). *Aquinas:* the name comes not from charity only but from its excess, expressed by ardor or fire (*ST* I q. 108 a. 5 ad 5).

2. Cherubim. *Names: cherubim*; *cheroubim*; Hebrew *keruvim*. *Scripture:* God "placed before the paradise of pleasure Cherubims, and a flaming sword" (Gen 3:24); the Psalmist prays, "Thou that sittest upon the cherubims, shine forth" (Ps 79[80]:2; cf. 4 Kgs 19:15); the living creatures of the vision "are cherubims" (Ezek 10:20). *Dionysius:* the name denotes "a fulness of knowledge or stream of wisdom," readiness to receive the highest gift of light, and its ungrudging communication (*CH* 7.1). *Gregory: Cherubim quoque plenitudo scientiae dicitur* (34.10). *Aquinas:* the Cherubim have the excellence of knowledge, the Seraphim of ardor (*ST* I q. 108 a. 5 ad 6).

3. Thrones. *Names: throni*; *thronoi*; no Hebrew order-name (Latin *sedes*, "seats"). *Scripture:* "whether thrones, or dominations, or principalities, or powers" (Col 1:16); "thou hast sat on the throne, who judgest justice" (Ps 9:5); the sapphire throne above the cherubim (Ezek 10:1). *Dionysius:* the name denotes exaltation above every inferiority, an unswerving settlement around the Highest, and "their bearing God" (*CH* 7.1). *Gregory:* thrones are those through whom God exercises judgment, *quibus ad exercendum judicium semper Deus omnipotens praesidet* (34.10). *Aquinas:* they excel as having an immediate knowledge of the types of the divine works; Dionysius explains the name from material seats (*ST* I q. 108 a. 5 ad 6).

4. Dominations. *Names: dominationes*; *kyriotetes*; Parker, "Lordships." *Scripture:* Col 1:16; "above all principality and power and virtue and dominion" (Eph 1:21). *Dionysius:* the name denotes "a certain unslavish elevation," a liberty above every servitude, moulding itself and those after it to the true Lordship (*CH* 8.1). *Gregory: Dominationes autem vocantur qui etiam potestates principatum dissimilitudine alta transcendunt* (34.10). *Aquinas:* the name means "a certain liberty, free from servile condition and common subjection" (*ST* I q. 108 a. 5 ad 2); because the Dominations are above all subjection, they are not sent to outward ministry (*ST* I q. 112 a. 4 s.c.).

5. Virtues. *Names: virtutes*; *dynameis*; Parker, "Powers." *Scripture:* Eph 1:21; "the angels and powers and virtues being made subject to him" (1 Pet 3:22). *Dionysius:* the name denotes "a certain courageous and unflinching virility" for all the godlike energies, unflinchingly looking to the power-making power (*CH* 8.1). *Gregory: Virtutes etenim vocantur illi nimirum spiritus, per quos signa et miracula frequentius fiunt* (34.10). *Aquinas:* the name "signifies a certain virile and immovable strength," first in regard of the divine operations (*ST* I q. 108 a. 5 ad 1).

6. Powers. *Names: potestates*; *exousiai*; Parker, "Authorities." *Scripture:* Col 1:16; "nor angels, nor principalities, nor powers" (Rom 8:38); "the principalities and powers in heavenly places" (Eph 3:10). *Dionysius:* the name denotes "the beautiful and unconfused good order" in the divine receptions, an authority used not imperiously but benignly (*CH* 8.1). *Gregory:* those to whose power the adverse virtues are subject and restrained, *quorum potestate refrenantur, ne corda hominum tantum tentare praevaleant quantum volunt* (34.10). *Aquinas:* the name "signifies a kind of ordination" as regards the reception of divine things and their execution (*ST* I q. 108 a. 5 ad 3).

7. Principalities. *Names: principatus*; *archai*. *Scripture:* Col 1:16; Eph 1:21; Eph 3:10; Rom 8:38. *Dionysius:* the name manifests "their princely and leading function, after the Divine example," their being wholly turned to the super-princely Prince (*CH* 9.1). *Gregory:* those who preside over the good spirits themselves, *qui ipsis quoque bonis angelorum spiritibus praesunt* (34.10). *Aquinas:* the name signifies "one who leads in a sacred order" (*ST* I q. 108 a. 5 ad 3).

8. Archangels. *Names: archangeli*; *archangeloi*. *Scripture:* "with the voice of an archangel and with the trumpet of God" (1 Thess 4:15); "when Michael the archangel, disputing with the devil" (Jude 9); Gabriel, "who stand before God" (Luke 1:19); Raphael, "one of the seven, who stand before the Lord" (Tob 12:15). *Dionysius:* the middle order of the last triad, "of the messenger Order," receiving the divine illuminations from the first powers and announcing them to the angels (*CH* 9.2). *Gregory: qui vero summa annuntiant, archangeli, vocantur* (34.8). *Aquinas:* the Archangels "are called the angel princes; forasmuch as they are princes as regards the 'Angels,' and angels as regards the Principalities" (*ST* I q. 108 a. 5 ad 4).

9. Angels. *Names: angeli*; *angeloi*; Hebrew *mal'akhim*, "messengers." *Scripture:* "their angels in heaven always see the face of my Father" (Matt 18:10); the angels minister to him (Matt 4:11); "thousands of thousands ministered to him" (Dan 7:10); "Michael and his angels fought with the dragon" (Apoc 12:7). *Dionysius:* they are "more properly named Angels by us than those of higher degree, because their Hierarchy is occupied with the more manifest, and is more particularly concerned with the things of the world" (*CH* 9.2); from them come the guardians of men (*CH* 5, 9). *Gregory: Hi autem qui minima nuntiant, angeli . . . vocantur*; and *angelorum vocabulum, nomen est officii, non naturae* (34.8). *Aquinas:* the common name remains proper to the lowest order, since it possesses no excellence above the common manifestation (*ST* I q. 108 a. 5 ad 1); the guardian angels are drawn from this order (*ST* I q. 113 a. 3 s.c.).

Gregory reads the same ninefold company in the figures of the Gospel: the ninety-nine sheep left in the desert are the highest choirs left in heaven when the Lord sought the one lost sheep on earth, and the woman's ten drachmas are nine because the orders of angels are nine (*Hom. in Ev.* 34.3–6). The number of the angels within the orders exceeds our counting, "thousand thousands, and myriad myriads" (Dan 7:10; *CH* 14; *ST* I q. 50 a. 3).

B Comparative Orderings of the Angelic Orders

Scripture names the orders in several places without setting all nine in one list. The Fathers gather the names; Dionysius and Gregory the Great rank them; the later Fathers, the medieval doctors, Aquinas, and Dante follow one ranking or the other. The first table gives each witness's list with its locus, highest order first where the witness ranks the orders and in the witness's own sequence where he does not; the second and third set the ranks side by side. Parker's English of the *Celestial Hierarchy* calls the Dominations "Lordships," the Virtues "Powers," and the Powers "Authorities"; Salmond's Damascene calls the Principalities "Rulers."

Witness	**Locus**	**Orders**	**Arrangement**
St Paul	Eph 1:21	"principality and power and virtue and dominion"	Four middle orders, named from the lowest upward (*ST* I q. 108 a. 6)
St Paul	Col 1:16	"thrones, or dominations, or principalities, or powers"	Four orders, named from the highest downward (*ST* I q. 108 a. 6)
Cyril of Jerusalem	*Myst. Cat.* V.6	Angels, Archangels, Virtues, Dominions, Principalities, Powers, Thrones; the Cherubim; the Seraphim	Named in the eucharistic preface; not ranked
Gregory Nazianzen	*Or.* 28.31	Angels and Archangels, Thrones, Dominions, Princedoms, Powers, Splendours, Ascents, Intelligent Powers	Not ranked; three names beyond the nine
Ambrose	*De fide* V.13.166	angels, archangels, cherubim and seraphim, thrones and dominions and powers	Not ranked
Dionysius	*CH* 6.2; 7.1; 8.1; 9.1–2	Seraphim, Cherubim, Thrones; Lordships, Powers, Authorities; Principalities, Archangels, Angels	Three triads, ranked
Gregory the Great	*Hom. in Ev.* 34.7, 10	Seraphim, Cherubim, Thrones, Dominations, Principalities, Powers, Virtues, Archangels, Angels	Ranked; written from the Angels upward
Gregory the Great	*Moralia* XXXII.23.48	Angels, Archangels, Thrones, Dominations, Virtues, Princedoms, Powers, Cherubim, Seraphim	The nine stones of Ezek 28:13; not ranked
Isidore	*Etym.* VII.5.4; 17–24	*angeli, archangeli, throni, dominationes, virtutes, principatus, potestates, cherubim et seraphim* (5.4)	List not ranked; the exposition (5.17–24) ascends in Gregory's sequence
John Damascene	*De fide orth.* II.3	Seraphim, Cherubim, Thrones; Dominions, Powers, Authorities; Rulers, Archangels, Angels	Dionysius's triads, named from him
Hugh of St Victor	*De sacr.* I.5.30	Seraphim, Cherubim, Thrones, Dominations, Virtues, Powers, Principalities, Archangels, Angels	Written from the Angels upward; Dionysius's sequence
Bernard	*De consid.* V.4.8	Seraphim, Cherubim, Thrones, Dominions, Principalities, Powers, Virtues, Archangels, Angels	Expounded from the Angels upward; Gregory's sequence (also *In Cant.* 19.2–5)
Bernard	*In Cant.* 27.5	Angels, Archangels, Virtues, Dominations, Principalities, Powers, Thrones; Cherubim; Seraphim	Not ranked
Hildegard	*Scivias* I.6	Seraphim, Cherubim; Thrones, Dominations, Principalities, Powers, Virtues; Archangels, Angels	Concentric choirs, two about five about two, from the outer choir inward; Gregory's sequence
Peter Lombard	*Sent.* II d. 9 cc. 1–2	Seraphim, Cherubim, Thrones; Dominations, Principalities, Powers; Virtues, Archangels, Angels	Triads ascribed to Dionysius in Gregory's placing; first list (c. 1) written as Hugh's

Witness	Locus	Orders	Arrangement
Bonaventure	*Brev.* II.8.1, 3	Thrones, Cherubim, Seraphim; Dominations, Virtues, Powers; Principalities, Archangels, Angels	Dionysius's triads; the first triad named from the Thrones upward
Thomas Aquinas	*ST* I q. 108 a. 6	Seraphim, Cherubim, Thrones; Dominations, Virtues, Powers; Principalities, Archangels, Angels	Dionysius's order (*sed contra*); Gregory's held reasonable (co.)
Dante	*Par.* XXVIII.98–126	Seraphim, Cherubim, Thrones; Dominions, Virtues, Powers; Principalities, Archangels, Angels	Dionysius's order (Longfellow's English)
Chaplet of St Michael	*Raccolta* (1910) n. 291, pp. 261–263	Seraphim, Cherubim, Thrones, Dominations, Powers, Virtues, Principalities, Archangels, Angels	Nine salutations, highest first; a third placing in the middle (Powers 5, Virtues 6, Principalities 7)

The Dionysian line (1 = highest)

Order	Dionysius *CH* 7–9	Damascene II.3	Aquinas q. 108 a. 6 s.c.	Dante *Par.* XXVIII
Seraphim	1	1	1	1
Cherubim	2	2	2	2
Thrones	3	3	3	3
Dominations	4	4	4	4
Virtues	5	5	5	5
Powers	6	6	6	6
Principalities	7	7	7	7
Archangels	8	8	8	8
Angels	9	9	9	9

The Gregorian line (1 = highest)

Order	Gregory *Hom. in Ev.* 34.7, 10	Bernard *De consid.* V.4.8	Hildegard *Scivias* I.6	Lombard II d. 9 cc. 1–2
Seraphim	1	1	1	1
Cherubim	2	2	2	2
Thrones	3	3	3	3
Dominations	4	4	4	4
Principalities	5	5	5	5
Powers	6	6	6	6
Virtues	7	7	7	7
Archangels	8	8	8	8
Angels	9	9	9	9

Hugh of Saint Victor's list and Bonaventure's triads follow the Dionysian line (*De sacr.* I.5.30; *Brev.* II.8.1); Isidore's exposition and Bernard's sermon on the love of the orders follow the Gregorian (*Etym.* VII.5.17–24; *In Cant.* 19). Hildegard's column counts the choirs from the outermost inward. The Lombard's triads, which he ascribes to Dionysius, keep Gregory's middle (*Sent.* II d. 9 c. 1). The chaplet of Saint Michael, indulgenced by Pius IX in 1851, salutes the choirs from the Seraphim down and sets the Powers fifth, the Virtues sixth, and the Principalities seventh, a sequence that is neither Dionysius's nor Gregory's (*Raccolta*, 1910, n. 291; §23).

Dionysius and Gregory agree on seven of the nine places. Both set the Seraphim, Cherubim, and Thrones first, the Dominations fourth, the Powers sixth, and the Archangels and Angels last. They differ on the Virtues and the Principalities: Dionysius sets the Virtues fifth, next beneath the Dominations, and the Principalities seventh, at the

head of the lowest triad (*CH* 8.1, 9.1); Gregory sets the Principalities fifth and the Virtues seventh (*Hom. in Ev.* 34.7, 10). Aquinas receives both. "Each of these placings may claim authority from the words of the Apostle": in Ephesians, which "enumerates the middle orders, beginning from the lowest," the Virtues stand between the Powers and the Dominations, as in Dionysius; in Colossians, "numbering the same orders from the highest," the Principalities stand between the Dominations and the Powers, as in Gregory (*ST* I q. 108 a. 6). He gives the reason of each. Dionysius orders the names by their relation to God, to the universal disposition of what is to be done, and to its execution, so that the Principalities stand first among those who execute; Gregory orders them by the things the Dominations dispose, so that the Principalities, "who rule even over good spirits," come next beneath the Dominations, then the Powers, "who coerce the evil spirits," then the Virtues, "which have power over corporeal nature in the working of miracles" (*ST* I q. 108 a. 6). And he concludes that "little or no difference exists in reality between the dispositions of the orders according to Dionysius and Gregory," since Gregory's Principalities answer to Dionysius's Virtues and Gregory's Virtues to Dionysius's Principalities (*ST* I q. 108 a. 6 ad 4). Dante gives the same judgment in verse. Beatrice names the nine as Dionysius named them, and adds:

> But Gregory afterwards dissented from him;
> Wherefore, as soon as he unclosed his eyes
> Within this heaven, he at himself did smile. (*Par.* XXVIII.133–135)

See §15.1 and Appendix A on the orders and their offices, and §§6.7–6.9 on the Dionysian chapters.

C Continuities with the Writings before Christ

Each teaching on the angels or the spirits that a pre-Christian writing holds is set here beside the Fathers who received, corrected, or rejected it and the place where Aquinas or the Church takes the matter up (§3). A parallel without a naming or quotation by a Father is marked as a parallel.

Israel's writings: the Septuagint, the books outside the canon, and Philo

Witness and locus	Teaching	Patristic reception	Disposition	Aquinas or the Church
Septuagint, Deut 32:8–9	Nations bounded by the number of the angels of God	*1 Clem.* 29; Justin, *Dial.* 131; Clement, *Strom.* VII.2; Origen, *De princ.* I.5.2, *C. Cels.* V.29–30; Basil, *Adv. Eun.* III.1; Eusebius, *Dem. ev.* IV.7; Dionysius, *CH* 9.2–4	Received	CCC 57 (cites Deut LXX 32:8); *ST* I q. 108 a. 6; q. 113 a. 8
Septuagint, Deut 32:8–9	(Christological reading) nations pass from the angels to the Lord	Irenaeus, *Adv. haer.* III.12.9; Hilary, *Tract. in Ps.* 2.31	Received (development)	—
Septuagint, Job 1:6; 2:1	Angels of God before the Lord, the devil among them	Gregory, *Moralia* II.3.3; II.4.4–5	Received	*ST* I q. 112 a. 3 ad 3
Septuagint, Job 38:7	All the angels praised God when the stars were made	Augustine, *De civ. Dei* XI.9 (first day); Cassian, *Conl.* VIII.7 (before the world); Chrysostom, *Hom. in Matt.* 76	Received; created with the corporeal world (common teaching)	*ST* I q. 61 a. 3; Lateran IV (DS 800)
Septuagint, Deut 32:43; Ps 96[97]:7	Let all the angels of God worship him	Heb 1:6	Received as Scripture	—

Witness and locus	Teaching	Patristic reception	Disposition	Aquinas or the Church
Septuagint/ Vulgate, Ps 137[138]:1	Psalmody in the sight of the angels	Benedict, *Regula* 19	Received	—
Septuagint, Deut 33:2	Angels at God's right hand at Sinai	Acts 7:53; Gal 3:19; Heb 2:2	Received	*ST* I–II q. 98 a. 3
Septuagint, Isa 9:6	Angel (Messenger) of great counsel	Justin, *Dial.* 126; Origen, *C. Cels.* V.53	Received of Christ	—
Septuagint, Isa 63:9	Not an ambassador nor angel, but the Lord himself saves	Irenaeus, *Adv. haer.* III.20.4	Received of the Incarnation	—
Greek Daniel / Aramaic Daniel, Dan 3:49, 58; 4:10, 14	Angel in the furnace; angels bless the Lord; the watchers	Augustine, *De civ. Dei* XI.9; Jerome, *In Dan.* 4:10	Received as Scripture	Trent (DS 1502)
1 Enoch 1:9	The Lord comes with his holy ones	Jude 14–15; Tertullian, *De cultu fem.* I.3; Clement, *Adumbr. in Iud.*; Augustine, *De civ. Dei* XV.23	Received through Jude; book Apocryphal	Trent (DS 1503); Jerome, *De vir. ill.* 4
1 Enoch 6–8; 15–16	Watchers took wives, begot giants; giants' spirits are demons; angels taught arts	Justin, *2 Apol.* 5; Athenagoras, *Leg.* 24–25; Irenaeus, *Adv. haer.* IV.16.2, IV.36.4; Clement, *Strom.* V.1; Tertullian, *De cultu fem.* I.2, *De idol.* 9, *De virg. vel.* 7; Cyprian, *De hab. virg.* 14; Lactantius, *Div. inst.* II.14; Sulpicius, *Chron.* I.2	Received by these; rejected by Africanus (frag. 2), Chrysostom (*Hom. in Gen.* 22.2–3), Augustine (*De civ. Dei* XV.23; XVIII.38), Cassian (*Conl.* VIII.21)	*ST* I q. 51 a. 3 ad 6; q. 63 aa. 2, 4; Lateran IV (DS 800)
1 Enoch 6:6	Oath on Hermon	Hilary, *Tract. in Ps.* 132.6; Origen, *Comm. in Io.* VI.25	Named and set aside	—
1 Enoch 10:4–12	Fallen bound in darkness until the judgment	Jude 6; 2 Pet 2:4 (Augustine refers to first fall)	Received in substance	*ST* I q. 64 a. 4
1 Enoch 19:1; 99:7	Fallen spirits lead men to sacrifice to demons as gods	Tertullian, *De idol.* 4 (quotes as Enoch)	Received	Ps 95[96]:5; 1 Cor 10:20
1 Enoch 9:1–3; 40:6	Archangels carry men's cause and prayers to God	Origen, *C. Cels.* V.4 (parallel)	Received	Tob 12:12; Apoc 8:3–4
1 Enoch 14:22–23; 39:12; 71:7	Those who sleep not sing the Sanctus	Jerome, *In Dan.* 4:10 (watchers, monastic vigil)	Received	Isa 6:3; Dan 7:10
1 Enoch 61:10	Angels of powers and of principalities with Cherubim, Seraphim	— (parallel)	Received in substance	Col 1:16; *ST* I q. 108 a. 5
1 Enoch 100:5	Guardians from the holy angels for the righteous	— (parallel)	Received	Matt 18:10; *ST* I q. 113 a. 2
1 Enoch 20; 40:9; Tob 12:15	Seven archangels; offices of Raphael, Gabriel, Michael	Clement, *Strom.* VI.16; Origen, *De princ.* I.8.1	Seven received; names beyond three rejected	Roman synod 745 (MGH Conc. II.1); Directory 217
Jubilees 2:2–3	Angels created on the first day, praising God's works	Epiphanius, *De mensuris* 22 (reproduces list, unnamed); Augustine, *De civ. Dei* XI.9 (parallel)	Parallel; created with the corporeal world (common teaching)	*ST* I q. 61 a. 3; Lateran IV "simul" (DS 800)

Witness and locus	Teaching	Patristic reception	Disposition	Aquinas or the Church
Jubilees 2:2	Angels over winds, clouds, seasons	Athenagoras, *Leg.* 24 (parallel)	Received	*ST* I q. 110 a. 1
Jubilees 1:27–2:1	Angel of the presence gives the Law's history	Acts 7:53; Gal 3:19 (parallel)	Received	*ST* I–II q. 98 a. 3
Jubilees 4:15; 5:6–10	Watchers first sent to instruct men, then bound	Justin, *2 Apol.* 5; Lactantius, *Div. inst.* II.14; Irenaeus, *Adv. haer.* IV.16.2 (parallels)	Corrected (sending of good angels kept; unions rejected)	*ST* I q. 112
Jubilees 10:8–11; 17:16; 48:10	Tenth of spirits left to Mastema; evils permitted and limited	— (parallel)	Received in substance	*ST* I q. 114 a. 1; q. 64 a. 4
Jubilees 15:31–32	Spirits over nations lead them astray; none over Israel	Dionysius, *CH* 9.3–4; Eusebius, *Dem. ev.* IV.7	Corrected	CCC 57; *ST* I q. 113 a. 8
Jubilees, the book as a whole	Little Genesis	Epiphanius, *Pan.* 39.6.1; Jerome, *Ep.* 78	Apocryphal	—
Testaments, T. Levi 3	Ranked heavens; angels of the presence offer bloodless offering; thrones, dominions	Origen, *C. Cels.* V.4 (parallel)	Received in substance	Apoc 8:3; Col 1:16
Testaments, T. Levi 5; T. Dan 6	Angel who intercedes for Israel, "Mediator"	Hermas, *Sim.* VIII.3 (Michael)	Corrected	1 Tim 2:5; *ST* III q. 26 a. 1 ad 2
Testaments, T. Judah 20; T. Asher 6; T. Benj. 6	Two spirits; angels of the Lord and of Satan; angel of peace guides the soul	Hermas, *Mand.* VI.2; Cassian, *Conl.* VIII.17	Received	*ST* I q. 113 aa. 1–2; q. 114 a. 1
Testaments, T. Reuben 2–3	Seven spirits of error	Origen, *Hom. in Ies. Nave* 15.5–6 (names the book)	Corrected	*ST* I q. 114 a. 3
Testaments, T. Reuben 5; T. Naph. 3	Watchers allured by women	—	Rejected with the Enochic reading	*ST* I q. 51 a. 3 ad 6
Philo, *De gig.* 16; *De somn.* I.141–142; *De plant.* 14	Angels named by their office as messengers	Origen, *C. Cels.* V.4; Augustine, *Enarr. in Ps.* 103 s.1.15	Received	—
Philo, *De gig.* 6–16	Angels, daemons, souls one kind	Origen, *C. Cels.* V.55 (recalls Philo's reading unnamed)	Rejected	Constantinople 543 (DS 403); *ST* I q. 75 a. 7
Philo, *De conf.* 171–175	God rules through his powers as a king through ministers	— (parallel)	Received and deepened	*ST* I q. 103 a. 6 and ad 3
Philo, *De conf.* 179; *De opif.* 72–75	"Let us make man" said to subordinate powers	Justin, *Dial.* 62; Irenaeus, *Adv. haer.* IV.20.1	Rejected	*ST* I q. 45 a. 5; q. 91 a. 4 ad 2
Philo, *Quaest. in Gen.* I.92	Giants from angels and women	Ambrose, *De Noe* 4.8	Received by Ambrose; rejected after Augustine	*ST* I q. 51 a. 3 ad 6

The Greek poets and philosophers

Witness and locus	Teaching	Patristic reception	Disposition	Aquinas or the Church
Hesiod, *Works and Days* 121–126	The golden race become pure spirits, guardians of mortal men	Lactantius, *Div. inst.* II.14.7–8 (quotes 122–123)	Received: God sent guardians to men; corrected: the fallen usurp the guardians' name to be worshipped	*ST* I q. 113 a. 2; Lateran IV, DS 800 (angels created from nothing)
Hesiod, *Works and Days* 252–255	Thrice ten thousand watchers of mortal men	Eusebius, *Praep. ev.* IV.17	Rejected as applied to the pagan gods and good daemons, who did not guard	Parallel: Dan 4:10, 14 ("watcher")
Plato, *Cratylus* 397e–398c	Daemon named from "knowing"; the good man becomes a daemon	Lactantius, *Div. inst.* II.14.6; Augustine, *De civ. Dei* IX.20; Isidore, *Etym.* VIII.11.15	Etymology received; corrected: knowledge without charity puffs up; the name belongs to the fallen	Aquinas, *De sub. sep.* 20
Plato, *Apology* 31c–d, 40a–c	Socrates' sign from childhood, which forbids	Justin, *1 Apol.* 5, *2 Apol.* 10; Tertullian, *Apol.* 22, *De anima* 1; Minucius, *Oct.* 26; Lactantius, *Div. inst.* II.14.9; Clement, *Strom.* V.14	Disputed among the Fathers: Socrates a foe of the demons (Justin); his spirit an evil demon (Tertullian, Minucius, Lactantius); named without censure (Clement)	—
Plutarch, *De genio Socratis* 20	The daemon's thought imprinted on the mind as light, without voice	—	Parallel	*ST* I q. 111 a. 1 (angelic enlightenment of man)
Plato, *Symposium* 202d–203a	The daemonic interprets between gods and men, carrying prayers up and commands down	Minucius, *Oct.* 26; Lactantius, *Div. inst.* II.14.9; Origen, *C. Cels.* V.4–5	Office received and given to the angels, named from their office; worship reserved to God through Christ; "demon" reserved to the wicked	*ST* I q. 64 a. 4 (angels midway between God and men); CCC 329, 331
Plato (via Apuleius), *Symposium* 203a; Apuleius, *De deo Socr.* 4	"God mingles not with man"	Augustine, *De civ. Dei* VIII.18, 20; IX.15	Rejected: Christ the one Mediator; demons mediate only misery	CCC 331 (Christ the centre of the angelic world)
Plato, *Republic* X 617d–e, 620d–e	A daemon allotted to each soul, guardian of its life	Clement, *Strom.* V.14	Received as a figure of the tutelary angels (Matt 18:10)	*ST* I q. 113 aa. 2, 5
Plato, *Republic* X 617e	"The blame is his who chooses, God is blameless"	Justin, *1 Apol.* 44	Received as borrowed from Moses	—
Plato, *Phaedo* 107d–108b	Each man's genius leads his soul to judgment	Tertullian, *De anima* 53	Corrected: the angel who receives the soul, "the Mercury of the poets"; parallel Luke 16:22	—
Plato, *Republic* X 620d–e; Apuleius, *De deo Socr.* 15–16	The genius or allotted daemon given at birth	Tertullian, *De anima* 39; Origen, *C. Cels.* VIII.34; Lactantius, *Div. inst.* II.14.12	Pagan genius rejected as a demon (Tertullian, Lactantius); guardian angel of the little ones affirmed (Origen)	*ST* I q. 113 a. 5 (guardian from birth)
Plato, *Timaeus* 40d	The origin of the other daemons is beyond telling	Athenagoras, *Leg.* 23; Eusebius, *Praep. ev.* XIII.1	Read as Plato's veiled rejection of the theogonies	—

Witness and locus	Teaching	Patristic reception	Disposition	Aquinas or the Church
Plato, *Timaeus* 41a–b	Made gods, immortal only by the Maker's will	Augustine, *De civ. Dei* IX.23	Received as the holy angels, if created and blessed by cleaving to God	*ST* I q. 50 a. 5 obj. 2 and ad 2 (Aquinas reads them as the heavenly bodies; angels incorruptible by nature)
Platonists (as reported by Eusebius)	Rational natures and daemons as effluences, not made from nothing	Eusebius, *Praep. ev.* XIII.15	Corrected: created from nothing; demons from the fall of angels	Lateran IV, DS 800
Plato, *Laws* IV 713c–e; *Statesman* 271d	Daemons set by God as shepherds over men and kinds of living things	Athenagoras, *Leg.* 24 (parallel: angels' particular providence)	Received	*ST* I q. 110 a. 1 ad 3 ("The holy doctors held with the Platonists")
Plato (via Nemesius), threefold providence	Supreme God, heavenly gods, and demons divide providence	— (Aquinas)	Rejected as to the design of government; intermediaries received as executors	*ST* I q. 22 a. 3; q. 103 a. 6 ad 1
Plato, *Laws* X 896e, 906a	A good and an evil soul; gods and daemons our allies in an immortal conflict	Clement, *Strom.* V.14; Eusebius, *Praep. ev.* XI.26	Received as from Moses: the devil, the spiritual combat (Eph 6:12), Job 1:6, Deut 32:8 LXX	—
Aristotle, *Metaphysics* XII.8, 1073a–1074a	Unmoved movers as many as the heavenly motions, by probable argument	— (Aquinas)	Corrected: the angels exceed all material multitude	*ST* I q. 50 a. 3; *SCG* II.92; *De sub. sep.* 2
Aristotle, *Metaphysics* XII.8, 1074b	The first substances are gods, an "inspired utterance"	Aquinas, *In Metaph.* XII lect. 10 n. 31	Received as to immaterial substances; one God only	—
Aristotle, *Metaphysics* XII.8	Spiritual substances move only the heavenly bodies; no demons	— (Aquinas)	Corrected: angels govern the lower bodies too; demons explain possession and magic	*ST* I q. 110 a. 1 ad 2; *De sub. sep.* 2, 4
Plutarch, *De defectu oraculorum* 10–17	Daemons midway, officers of the gods, some evil; oracles fail when they depart; "the great God Pan is dead"	Eusebius, *Praep. ev.* V.1, 3–5, 16–17	Rejected as to worship: the oracles were demons', silenced under Tiberius by Christ	*ST* II–II q. 94 a. 4 and ad 2
Apuleius, *De deo Socratis* 6, 13	Aerial, passive, eternal daemons carry prayers and gifts	Augustine, *De civ. Dei* VIII.14–22; IX.19	Rejected: the air is the demons' prison; good spirits are angels, never "good demons"	*ST* I q. 51 a. 1 ad 1; q. 64 a. 4
Platonists (via Augustine), gods above the moon, demons below	Division of the heavens	Augustine, as Aquinas cites him (*ST* I q. 63 a. 7)	Received at one point	*ST* I q. 63 a. 7, with Damascene
Plotinus, *Enneads* III.4.3	The guardian is the next higher power of one's own soul	—	Parallel and contrast: the guardian angel is a person	*ST* I q. 113 aa. 2, 5
Plotinus (as reported by Augustine)	Heavenly spirits and men receive light from one Light, God	Augustine, *De civ. Dei* X.2	Received (John 1:9)	—

Witness and locus	Teaching	Patristic reception	Disposition	Aquinas or the Church
Porphyry, *De abstinentia* II.38	Good daemons over animals, fruits, rains, winds; the "transporters" of the *Symposium*	Origen, *C. Cels.* VIII.31–32 (the same doctrine in Celsus)	Received as the angels, "invisible husbandmen and guardians"	*ST* I q. 110 a. 1 ad 3
Porphyry, *De abstinentia* II.38–42	Evil daemons crave worship, sacrifice, and the name of the supreme god	Eusebius, *Praep. ev.* IV.22	Received as the pagans' own witness against their cult	*ST* II–II q. 94 a. 4
Porphyry, theurgy; angels declaring the Father	Theurgic purification; angels who reveal to theurgists	Augustine, *De civ. Dei* X.9–11, 26, 29	Theurgy rejected; angels to be imitated, not invoked; the way is the Incarnation	—
Iamblichus, *De mysteriis* II.3	Gods, archangels, angels, daemons, archons, souls known by theurgic apparitions	Augustine, *De civ. Dei* X.9–10	Rejected: demons invoked under the names of angels (2 Cor 11:14)	—
Proclus (via the *Liber de causis*); the Dionysian corpus (as reported by Aquinas)	Order of first causes; Platonic style of Dionysius	Aquinas, *In De causis* prooem.; *In DN* prooem.; *De sub. sep.* 18	Received as to the first principle; separate forms rejected; all spirits created immediately by God	*ST* I q. 112 a. 4 ad 2
Greek philosophy (general)	Truths about God and the spirits	Justin, *1 Apol.* 44, 59–60, *2 Apol.* 10, 13; Clement, *Strom.* I.5, I.17, I.21, V.14, VI.17, VII.2; Eusebius, *Praep. ev.* XIII pref., 13–14; Augustine, *De civ. Dei* VIII.5, 9, 11, *De doctr. chr.* II.40.60	Received as seeds of the Word, borrowings from Moses, gifts through the angels of the nations, the gold of Egypt; corrected where they contradict	*ST* II–II q. 94 a. 1 ("we call them angels"); I q. 110 a. 1 ad 3
Hebrew doctrine set against Greek daemonism	Rational powers ordered like stars; the fallen; "the gods of the nations are daemons"	Eusebius, *Praep. ev.* VII.15–16	Hebrew doctrine preferred to Greek polytheism	Ps 95[96]:5

D Article Census

Every article of *ST* I qq. 50–64 and *ST* I qq. 106–114, with the further articles of the *Summa* treated in the body, in the *Summa*'s order: the article as Aquinas poses it, his determination, its grade, and the place where the body treats it. The census holds 124 articles in 27 questions.

I q. 50. The substance of the angels absolutely considered

a.	Article	Determination	Grade	Body
1	Whether an angel is altogether incorporeal?	Yes. The perfection of the universe requires intellectual creatures, and understanding is not the act of a body.	Defined that a spiritual creature was made from nothing (DS 800); Church teaching that it is non-corporeal (CCC 328, 330)	8.1
2	Whether an angel is composed of matter and form?	No. It is a subsisting form, composed only of *esse* and *quod est* (act and potency).	Thomist position	8.1
3	Whether the angels exist in any great number?	Yes, in a number exceeding all material multitude.	Common teaching	8.1
4	Whether the angels differ in species?	Yes. No two angels are of one species.	Thomist position	8.1
5	Whether the angels are incorruptible?	Yes, by their own nature, as subsisting forms.	Church teaching that they are immortal (CCC 330); Thomist position that this follows from nature	8.1

I q. 51. The angels in comparison with bodies

a.	Article	Determination	Grade	Body
1	Whether the angels have bodies naturally united to them?	No. Some intellectual substances are separated from bodies, and these are angels.	Church teaching (CCC 330, "purely spiritual creatures")	9.1
2	Whether angels assume bodies?	Yes, sometimes, because Scripture's apparitions were seen by all.	Common teaching (fact); Thomist position (mode: condensed air, represented mover)	9.1
3	Whether the angels exercise functions of life in the bodies assumed?	No, only what vital acts share with non-vital ones; no true eating, sensation, or speech.	Common teaching that they did not truly eat (Tob 12:19); Thomist position otherwise	9.1

I q. 52. The angels in relation to place

a.	Article	Determination	Grade	Body
1	Whether an angel is in a place?	Yes, equivocally: by application of its power, containing rather than contained.	Common teaching (fact); Thomist position (the account)	9.2
2	Whether an angel can be in several places at once?	No. It is present *definitive*, in one place, which may be great or small.	Common teaching	9.2
3	Whether several angels can be at the same time in the same place?	No. Two complete causes cannot be immediate causes of one effect.	Thomist position	9.2

I q. 53. The local movement of the angels

a.	Article	Determination	Grade	Body
1	Whether an angel can be moved locally?	Yes, by successive virtual contacts, continuous or not.	Thomist position (premise defined, DS 801)	9.3
2	Whether an angel passes through intermediate space?	If its motion is continuous, yes; if not, it can pass without the middle, as it wills.	Thomist position	9.3
3	Whether the movement of an angel is instantaneous? (*utrum motus Angeli sit in tempore vel in instanti*)	In time, continuous or discrete, not in an instant, and not the time of the heavens.	Thomist position	9.3

I q. 54. The knowledge of the angels

a.	Article	Determination	Grade	Body
1	Whether an angel's act of understanding is his substance?	No. No creature's action is its substance; action is the actuality of a power, and in God alone are substance, existence, and action identical.	Thomist position	10.1
2	Whether in the angel to understand is to exist?	No. A creature's being is restricted to genus and species; God's being alone is infinite, and His nature alone is its own understanding and will.	Thomist position	10.1
3	Whether an angel's power of intelligence is his essence?	No. Power is ordained to act; where to understand is not to exist, power and essence differ.	Thomist position	10.1
4	Whether there is an active and a passive intellect in an angel?	No, except equivocally: the angels lack both the potency to understand and objects only potentially intelligible.	Thomist position	10.1
5	Whether there is any power of knowing in the angel other than intellect?	No. Powers operating through bodily organs cannot belong to what has no body; only intellect and will remain.	Church teaching that angels have intelligence and will (CCC 330); Thomist position on the exclusion of sense powers	10.1

I q. 55. The medium of the angelic knowledge

a.	Article	Determination	Grade	Body
1	Whether the angels know all things by their substance?	No. Their essence is restricted to a genus and species; God alone knows all things by His essence; the angel's intellect is perfected by species.	Thomist position	10.2
2	Whether the angels understand by species drawn from things?	No. Their species are connatural, received with their nature through an intelligible outpouring from God.	Thomist position	10.2
3	Whether the higher angels understand by more universal species than the lower?	Yes. Nearer to God, the higher angel's intellective power is perfected by fewer and more universal species.	Thomist position	10.2

I q. 56. The angel's knowledge of immaterial things

a.	Article	Determination	Grade	Body
1	Whether an angel knows himself?	Yes. As a subsisting form he is actually intelligible, and knows himself by his own form, which is his substance.	Common teaching (fact); Thomist position (account)	10.3
2	Whether one angel knows another?	Yes, by that other's species impressed on his intellect, existing there intentionally.	Common teaching (fact); Thomist position (account)	10.3
3	Whether angels know God by their own natural principles?	Yes, midway between vision of the essence and mirrored knowledge: by his essence as God's image, without seeing or comprehending the essence.	Church teaching that no created intellect comprehends God or sees His essence by nature (*ST* I q. 12); Thomist articulation (specular)	10.3

I q. 57. The angel's knowledge of material things

a.	Article	Determination	Grade	Body
1	Whether the angels know material things?	Yes. Material things pre-exist in the angels more simply and immaterially than in themselves, by intelligible species.	Common teaching	10.4
2	Whether the angels know singulars?	Yes. Denial derogates from faith (angels administer singulars); universal-cause knowledge does not reach the singular here and now; the angel's one intellect knows both universal and singular.	Common teaching (fact); Thomist position (account)	10.4
3	Whether angels know future events?	In their causes, yes (necessary with certainty, contingent conjecturally); in themselves, no — that belongs to God alone, who sees all in His eternity.	Common teaching that the future in itself is God's alone	10.4
4	Whether angels know the thoughts of our hearts?	No. Effects may betray thoughts even to men and more subtly to angels; but thoughts and affections of the will, as in the mind, God alone can know.	Common teaching that the scrutiny of hearts is proper to God	10.4
5	Whether the angels know all mysteries of grace?	No. Mysteries of grace depend on God's pure will; the angels know them only in the Word and only as God reveals, from the beginning for some, later for others, unequally among the orders.	Common teaching (revelation required); Thomist articulation of the order of disclosure	10.4

I q. 58. The mode of angelic knowledge

a.	Article	Determination	Grade	Body
1	Whether the angel's intellect is sometimes in potentiality and sometimes in act?	Yes, in the second mode for natural knowledge (not always actually considering all he knows), and for things revealed; never for the Word, which he always beholds.	Thomist position	10.5
2	Whether an angel can understand many things at the same time?	Yes, whatever falls under one intelligible species — all things at once through the Word; through innate species, all under one species.	Thomist position	10.5
3	Whether an angel's knowledge is discursive?	No. The angels behold at once all that can be known in the truths they know; hence "intellectual," while men are "rational."	Thomist position	10.5

a.	Article	Determination	Grade	Body
4	Whether angels understand by composing and dividing?	No. By one simple perception the angel grasps all that we learn by composing and dividing; yet he understands our compositions.	Thomist position	10.5
5	Whether there can be falsehood in the angel's intellect?	Not per se: the intellect of the quiddity is always true, and the angel does not compose and divide; demons err accidentally about supernatural matters.	Thomist position	10.5
6	Whether there is a "morning" and an "evening" knowledge in the angels?	Yes. Morning knowledge is of things in the Word; evening knowledge, of things in their own nature.	Common teaching, after Augustine	10.5
7	Whether morning and evening knowledge are one?	Essentially one if the evening knowledge is had in beholding the Word; diverse if had through innate ideas — so Augustine seems to take it.	Common teaching (the distinction); Thomist position (the two media)	10.5

I q. 59. The will of the angels

a.	Article	Determination	Grade	Body
1	Whether there is will in the angels?	Yes: intellect apprehends the universal aspect of good, and such inclination is will.	Church teaching (CCC 330); Common teaching	11.1
2	Whether in the angels the will differs from their intellect and their nature?	Will is a distinct power; only in God are intellect and will identical with essence.	Common teaching	11.1
3	Whether there is free choice in the angels?	Yes: "wherever there is intellect, there is free-will"; without deliberative counsel, by sudden acceptance of truth.	Common teaching (Damascene, *De fide orth.* II.3)	11.1
4	Whether there is an irascible and a concupiscible appetite in the angels?	No: the intellective appetite is undivided; Dionysian "fury and concupiscence" in demons is metaphorical.	Common teaching	11.1

I q. 60. The love or dilection of the angels

a.	Article	Determination	Grade	Body
1	Whether there is natural love or dilection in the angels?	Yes: every nature has a natural inclination; in the intellectual nature this is natural dilection.	Common teaching	11.2
2	Whether there is love of choice in the angels?	Yes: natural love is principle of elective love, as natural knowledge of conclusions.	Common teaching	11.2
3	Whether the angel loves himself with natural and elective love?	Yes, with both loves; friendship and concupiscence distinguished.	Common teaching	11.2
4	Whether the angel naturally loves another angel as himself?	Yes, inasmuch as they share one nature; "as himself" marks likeness, not equality.	Common teaching	11.2
5	Whether the angel by natural love loves God more than himself?	Yes: every part naturally loves the whole more than itself; otherwise natural love would be perverse and not perfected by charity.	Common teaching	11.2

I q. 61. The production of the angels in the order of natural being

a.	Article	Determination	Grade	Body
1	Whether the angels have a cause of their being?	Yes: created by God out of nothing; angels designated by "heavens" or "light" in Gen 1.	Defined (Lateran IV, DS 800; Vatican I, *Dei Filius* ch. 1)	12.1
2	Whether the angel was produced from eternity?	No: God alone is from eternity; the contrary is heretical.	Defined (creation *ab initio temporis*, DS 800)	12.1
3	Whether the angels were created before the corporeal world?	More probably not: one universe, "no part is perfect if separate from the whole"; but "the contrary is not to be deemed erroneous".	Common teaching	12.1
4	Whether the angels were created in the empyrean heaven?	Yes, fittingly: created in the highest corporeal place, presiding over corporeal nature.	Common teaching (argument from fittingness)	12.1

I q. 62. The perfection of the angels in the order of grace and of glory

a.	Article	Determination	Grade	Body
1	Whether the angels were created in beatitude?	In natural beatitude yes; not in the ultimate beatitude that exceeds nature.	Common teaching	12.2
2	Whether the angel needed grace to turn to God?	Yes: the movement toward beatitude above nature requires the help of grace.	Common teaching	12.2
3	Whether the angels were created in grace?	More probably yes, consonant with the saints; grace as seed given with nature.	Disputed	12.2
4	Whether the beatified angel merited his beatitude?	Yes: beatitude is the creature's end, and attainment of a supernatural end is by deserving, not producing.	Common teaching	12.2
5	Whether the angel obtained beatitude immediately after one meritorious act?	Yes: grace perfects nature according to the manner of the nature.	Common teaching	12.2
6	Whether the angels received grace and glory according to the degree of their natural gifts?	Yes: grades of nature are for grades of grace; unobstructed angelic movement.	Common teaching	12.2
7	Whether natural knowledge and love remain in the beatified angels?	Yes: the first is ever preserved in the second; nature is preserved in beatitude.	Common teaching	12.2
8	Whether a beatified angel can sin?	No: vision of God's essence fixes the will on goodness; greater liberty than ours.	Common teaching	12.2
9	Whether the beatified angels advance in beatitude?	No: predestination fixes each degree; accidental joy may grow until judgment; Christ alone was wayfarer and comprehensor.	Common teaching; Disputed whether the blessed merit their accidental reward (ad 3)	12.2

I q. 63. The malice of the angels with regard to sin

a.	Article	Determination	Grade	Body
1	Whether the evil of fault can be in the angels?	An angel considered in his own nature can sin; not to sin is a gift of grace. He sinned by seeking his own good insubordinately to the divine rule, through non-consideration, not ignorance.	Common teaching	13.1
2	Whether only the sin of pride and envy can exist in an angel?	As to affection only pride and envy; the first sin is pride, envy follows.	Common teaching	13.1
3	Whether the devil desired to be as God?	By likeness, not equality: final beatitude sought by his own natural power.	Common teaching (likeness, not equality); Thomist position (object)	13.1, 20.6
4	Whether any demons are naturally wicked?	No; an intellectual nature has no natural inclination to any evil.	Defined (Lateran IV, DS 800; Braga I, DS 457)	13.1
5	Whether the devil was wicked by the fault of his own will in the first instant of his creation?	No; the opinion was reasonably rejected by the masters as erroneous; God cannot cause sin.	Common teaching	13.1, 20.6
6	Whether there was any interval between the creation and the fall of the angel?	More probable: he sinned at once after the first instant, if created in grace and able to act freely in that instant.	Thomist position (more probable); Disputed in the schools	13.1, 20.6
7	Whether the highest angel among those who sinned was the highest of all?	More probably yes, from the motive of pride; the other view not prejudged.	Thomist position (more probable)	13.1
8	Whether the sin of the highest angel was the cause of the others sinning?	Yes, not compelling but inducing by a kind of exhortation; all are subject to him.	Common teaching	13.1
9	Whether those who sinned were as many as those who remained firm?	More stood than fell.	Common teaching	13.1

I q. 64. The punishment of the demons

a.	Article	Determination	Grade	Body
1	Whether the demons' intellect is darkened by privation of the knowledge of all truth?	Natural knowledge undiminished; speculative knowledge of grace lessened; affective knowledge lost with charity.	Common teaching	13.2
2	Whether the will of the demons is obstinate in evil?	Yes, to be held firmly according to the Catholic faith; the cause is the condition of their nature or state.	Common teaching (held by Aquinas as of Catholic faith); Thomist position on the cause	13.2
3	Whether there is sorrow in the demons?	Yes, as a simple act of the will, not as a passion.	Common teaching	13.2
4	Whether our atmosphere is the demons' place of punishment?	A twofold place: hell for their fault, the dark air for the exercise of men, until the judgment.	Common teaching	13.2

I q. 106. How one creature moves another

a.	Article	Determination	Grade	Body
1	Whether one angel enlightens another?	Yes: by strengthening the lower intellect (conversion as spiritual nearness) and by dividing the higher's universal conception so the lower can grasp it; not as to the vision of the essence, which all see immediately.	Common teaching (fact; *CH* 4.3, 7.3, 8.1; Gregory, *Hom.* 34.13; Isidore, *Etym.* VII.5.8); Thomist position (mode)	14.1
2	Whether one angel moves another angel's will?	No: God alone moves the will from within and alone shows the universal good; an angel inclines it by persuasion. Cleansing, enlightening, perfecting among angels concern the intellect.	Common teaching (God alone moves the will from within); Thomist position (triad referred to knowledge; *De ver.* q. 9 a. 3)	14.1
3	Whether an inferior angel can enlighten a superior angel?	No: the order of spiritual substances is never passed over by God, since passing it over would not serve to order men to God.	Thomist position	14.1
4	Whether the superior angel enlightens the inferior as regards all he himself knows?	Yes: the good communicates itself; the holy angels impart all they receive, though the lower receive it less excellently; new things are revealed until Judgment.	Common teaching (Gregory; Lombard); Disputed among the Fathers how far the angels knew the Incarnation beforehand (Jerome, Augustine as reported by Lombard, *Sent.* II d. 11 c. 2)	14.1

I q. 107. The speech of the angels

a.	Article	Determination	Grade	Body
1	Whether one angel speaks to another?	Yes: speech is the ordering of the mental concept by the will to be made known to another; no bodily obstacle intervenes.	Common teaching (fact; Gregory, *Moralia* II.8); Thomist position (account)	14.2
2	Whether the inferior angel speaks to the superior?	Yes: speech about what depends on the created will is speech without illumination, and goes from any to any; illumination only from higher to lower.	Thomist position	14.2
3	Whether an angel speaks to God?	Yes, as a disciple to a master: consulting the divine will and admiring the divine excellence; ever in praise.	Common teaching (Gregory, *Moralia* II.10; Apoc 5:11–12)	14.2
4	Whether local distance influences the angelic speech?	No: intellectual operation abstracts from here and now.	Thomist position	14.2
5	Whether all the angels know what one speaks to another?	No: speech reaches whom the speaker's will orders it to; illuminations, from the common rule of truth, are common to all.	Thomist position	14.2

I q. 108. The angelic degrees of hierarchies and orders

a.	Article	Determination	Grade	Body
1	Whether all the angels are of one hierarchy?	On the part of God the prince, one hierarchy of all rational creatures; on the part of the multitude, a human and an angelic, and three angelic hierarchies by three grades of universality of knowledge. No hierarchy among the divine Persons.	Common teaching (three hierarchies: *CH* 6; Lombard, *Sent.* II d. 9 c. 1); Thomist position (ground of the distinction)	15.1
2	Whether there are several orders in one hierarchy?	Yes: diversity of offices, reduced to beginning, middle, end; three orders in each hierarchy.	Common teaching (nine orders); Thomist position (reduction to three)	15.1
3	Whether there are many angels in one order?	Yes, as we distinguish them; known perfectly, each angel has his own office and order.	Common teaching (many in each order; *CH* 10.2); Thomist position (each angel his own order)	15.1
4	Whether the distinction of hierarchies and orders comes from the angelic nature?	Both: completively by grace, dispositively by nature, grace being given according to natural capacity.	Thomist position	15.1
5	Whether the orders of the angels are properly named?	Yes: each order is named from the perfection that is its property; Dionysius names from spiritual perfections, Gregory from exterior ministries.	Common teaching (names from Scripture; meaning per Dionysius and Gregory); Thomist position (rule of property, excess, participation)	15.1
6	Whether the grades of the orders are properly assigned?	Both Dionysius's and Gregory's orders are reasonable; they differ in Principalities and Virtues, and little or not at all in reality.	Disputed (ordering of middle orders: Dionysius vs Gregory); Thomist judgment that they differ little	15.1
7	Whether the orders will outlast the Day of Judgment?	Yes as to grades of nature, grace, and glory; offices cease as leading to the end, remain as befitting the end attained; illumination continues.	Common teaching (orders remain); Thomist position (offices)	15.1
8	Whether men are taken up into the angelic orders?	Yes by grace, into each grade, not by nature; not a separate order of men.	Scripture (Luke 20:36); Common teaching (Gregory, *Hom.* 34.11; Lombard, *Sent.* II d. 9 c. 6); Disputed number of the elect (Gregory/Lombard vs Augustine, *Enchiridion* 29 as read by Lombard)	15.1

I q. 109. The ordering of the bad angels

a.	Article	Determination	Grade	Body
1	Whether there are orders among the demons?	By glory never; by imperfect grace once, then fell; by nature they remain in the orders, having lost no natural gifts.	Common teaching (order among demons; *DN* 4.23); Thomist position (threefold consideration)	15.2
2	Whether among the demons there is precedence?	Yes: natural subordination and divine wisdom require it; their concord is common wickedness; to preside in evil is greater misery.	Common teaching	15.2
3	Whether there is enlightenment in the demons?	No: enlightenment orders to God; demons lead away from the divine order; they speak but do not enlighten.	Thomist position	15.2

a.	Article	Determination	Grade	Body
4	Whether the good angels have precedence over the bad angels?	Yes: precedence is participated by nearness to God, and the blessed are nearest; the good reveal God's sentences to demons as assessors to executioners.	Common teaching	15.2

I q. 110. How angels act on bodies

a.	Article	Determination	Grade	Body
1	Whether the corporeal creature is governed by the angels?	Yes. Particular powers are ruled by universal ones; all bodies, lower bodies included, are ruled by the angels; the Virtues preside over purely corporeal things.	Common teaching (Augustine, Gregory, Damascene); Thomist position on the Virtues (ad 3)	16.2
2	Whether corporeal matter obeys the mere will of an angel?	No. Every informing of matter is from God immediately or from a corporeal agent.	Church teaching that the devil creates nothing and does not rule weather by his own authority (Braga I, DS 458); Common teaching that angels are not creators; Thomist position on the informing of matter	16.2
3	Whether bodies obey the angels as regards local motion?	Yes. Bodies obey spirits immediately in local motion, and in other changes through it.	Thomist position	16.2
4	Whether angels can work miracles?	No miracle properly so called; God alone works these. Angels work miracles by prayer or ministry; their works are wonders as regards us.	Common teaching	16.2

I q. 111. The action of the angels on man

a.	Article	Determination	Grade	Body
1	Whether an angel can enlighten man?	Yes: by strengthening the intellect and proposing truth under sensible likenesses.	Common teaching	16.3
2	Whether the angels can change the will of man?	Not from within, which belongs to God; angels persuade and rouse passions, without necessity.	Common teaching	16.3
3	Whether an angel can change man's imagination?	Yes, by local movement of spirits and humours, with or without alienation of the senses.	Common teaching (fact); Thomist position (mode)	16.3
4	Whether an angel can change the human senses?	Yes, from without by a sensible object and from within by spirits and humours.	Common teaching (fact); Thomist position (mode)	16.3

I q. 112. The mission of the angels

a.	Article	Determination	Grade	Body
1	Whether the angels are sent on works of ministry?	Yes; sent as ministers, intelligent instruments, applying their power anew to bodies.	Common teaching	16.4
2	Whether all the angels are sent in ministry?	No: the superior angels are never sent to outward ministry; all are sent to interior ministry.	Thomist position, with Dionysius (*CH* 13) and Gregory	16.4
3	Whether all the angels who are sent, assist?	All assist by the immediate vision of God; in the proper sense only the first hierarchy assists.	Common teaching (the distinction, from Dan 7:10); Thomist position (who assists)	16.4
4	Whether all the angels of the second hierarchy are sent?	No: the Dominations are not sent; the five lower orders are.	Thomist position; Disputed between Gregory and Dionysius which are more numerous (ad 2)	16.4

I q. 113. The guardianship of the good angels

a.	Article	Determination	Grade	Body
1	Whether men are guarded by the angels?	Yes: the variable is regulated by the invariable; human knowledge and affection fail in action, so angels are deputed to regulate and move men to good; God guards immediately by grace, as universal instructor through angels.	Church teaching (CCC 336; Heb 1:14)	17.5
2	Whether each man is guarded by an angel?	Each man has his own guardian: providence regards each immortal soul as it regards each species.	Church teaching for each believer (CCC 336); Common teaching for each man	17.5
3	Whether to guard men belongs only to the lowest order of angels?	Particular guardianship to the lowest order; universal guardianship multiplied by orders (human race: Principalities or Archangels; bodies: Virtues; demons: Powers; good spirits: Principalities); greater angels probably guard those chosen for greater glory.	Common teaching; Thomist position (ad 1)	17.5
4	Whether angels are appointed to the guardianship of all men?	Every man while a wayfarer, infidels, foreknown, and Antichrist included; Adam in innocence; Christ had ministering, not guardian, angels; after death an angel reigns with the blessed, a demon punishes the damned.	Common teaching; Thomist position (ad 1)	17.5
5	Whether an angel is appointed to guard a man from his birth?	From birth, not from baptism; the child in the womb probably guarded by the mother's angel.	Common teaching (birth rather than baptism); Disputed (birth or infusion of the soul)	17.5, 20.7
6	Whether the angel guardian ever forsakes a man?	Never entirely; sometimes in some particular by permitting trouble or sin; may leave as to place, not as to effect.	Common teaching	17.5
7	Whether angels grieve for the ills of those whom they guard?	No: nothing happens against the will of the blessed; they will the order of divine justice.	Common teaching	17.5
8	Whether there can be strife or discord among the angels?	Angels "resist" by consulting the divine will on contrary merits; their wills agree.	Common teaching that angels preside over nations; Thomist position on the "resistance"; Disputed on the prince of Persia	17.5

I q. 114. The assaults of the demons

a.	Article	Determination	Grade	Body
1	Whether men are assailed by the demons?	Yes: the assault comes from their envy and pride; its ordering is from God.	Defined that man by sin incurred captivity under the devil's power (Trent, DS 1511); Church teaching (CCC 395); Common teaching	18.2
2	Whether to tempt is proper to the devil?	Yes, since he always tempts to harm by urging to sin.	Common teaching	18.2
3	Whether all sins are due to the temptation of the devil?	Indirectly all, through the first sin; directly not all.	Common teaching; Church teaching (Paul VI, 15 Nov. 1972)	18.2
4	Whether demons can lead men astray by means of real miracles?	Not true miracles; their wonders are sometimes real effects of natural powers, sometimes illusions.	Common teaching	18.2
5	Whether a demon who is overcome by man, is for this reason hindered from making further assaults?	More probably he may tempt others but not the same man, for a time.	Thomist position (the more probable of two recorded opinions)	18.2

III q. 8. The grace of Christ, as He is the head of the Church

a.	Article	Determination	Grade	Body
4	Whether Christ is the Head of the angels?	Yes, also as man: men and angels are ordained to one end, so the mystical body of the Church consists of men and angels, and Christ, nearer God and fuller of his gifts, pours his influence into both.	Common teaching that Christ is set over every order (Col 2:10; Eph 1:20–22; CCC 331); Thomist position that the angels belong to the mystical body and receive the influence of his humanity	19.1

III q. 30. The Annunciation of the Blessed Virgin

a.	Article	Determination	Grade	Body
1	Whether it was necessary to announce to the Blessed Virgin that which was to be done in her?	Yes: for order (instructed in mind before conceiving in flesh), for her witness, for the free gift of her obedience, and because her consent was asked in place of the whole human nature.	Scripture (fact); Church teaching on her free consent (LG 56); Thomist position on the four reasons	19.2
2	Whether the annunciation should have been made by an angel to the Blessed Virgin?	Yes: by the order in which divine things come to men through angels, for the restoration answering the serpent's mission, and because virginity is akin to the angelic nature. Mary was above the angels in dignity, beneath them in the state of this life (ad 1).	Common teaching (Dionysius, *CH* 4.4; Bede, *Hom.* I.1); Disputed on Gabriel's rank (ad 4)	19.2
3	Whether the angel of annunciation should have appeared to the Virgin in a bodily vision?	Yes: fitting to the Incarnation of the invisible God, to her bodily reception of the Son, and to certainty; she also had intellectual illumination.	Common teaching (Chrysostom, *Hom. in Matt.* 4.10); Thomist position on the reasons	19.2
4	Whether the Annunciation took place in becoming order?	Yes: the angel drew her attention by a new salutation, instructed her in the mystery, and led her to consent by Elizabeth's example and God's omnipotence.	Thomist position	19.2

III q. 59. Christ's judiciary power

a.	Article	Determination	Grade	Body
6	Whether Christ's judiciary power extends to the angels?	Yes, also by his human nature: by its nearness to God (he enlightens the angels), by the merit of the Passion, and by the angels' ministry to men; in their dispensations and accidental rewards and punishments, the essential ones having been given by the Word from the beginning.	Thomist position	19.1

E Parallels in Aquinas's Other Works

Where Aquinas treats the same matter elsewhere, in the order of the *Summa*: the *Scriptum* on the Sentences, the *Contra Gentiles*, the disputed questions *De veritate*, *De potentia*, *De spiritualibus creaturis*, and *De malo*, the first *Quodlibet*, the treatises *De ente et essentia* and *De substantiis separatis*, and the commentary on the *Divine Names*.

Summa	Parallel	Agreement or difference
I q. 22 a. 3; q. 103 a. 6 ad 1	*De sub. sep.* 3	Difference of emphasis: *De sub. sep.* 3 presents Platonic providence (higher providing for lower) as agreeing with Aristotle's; the *Summa* rejects Plato's threefold division because God governs all things immediately in the design of government.
I q. 50 a. 1	*SCG* II.46, 49	Agreement. *SCG* II.46 argues the same need for intellectual creatures from assimilation to God ("ad perfectionem optimam universi, esse aliquas creaturas intellectuales"); II.49 argues that no intellectual substance is a body.
I q. 50 a. 2	*De spir. creat.* a. 1	Same conclusion. The disputed question adds that if every potency is called matter, one may speak of matter and form in spirits "ut non fiat vis in verbis", but improperly.
I q. 50 a. 2	*De sub. sep.* cc. 5–8	Fuller treatment of Avicebron. It diagnoses his two errors (taking logical composition as real; one meaning of potency, subject, recipient) and argues at length that spiritual and corporeal matter cannot be one (c. 7).
I q. 50 a. 2 ad 3	*De ente* c. 4; *SCG* II.52–54	Agreement. The composition of *esse* and *quod est*; "potentia et actus ... non tamen forma et materia nisi aequivoce" (*De ente*); *SCG* II.54: composition from substance and *esse* is not of the same kind as composition from matter and form.
I q. 50 a. 3	*SCG* II.92	Agreement: the separate substances exceed all material multitude; Aristotle's count is probable, not necessary; Maimonides' view excluded. *SCG* adds the arguments from the order of the universe and from intelligible being.

Summa	Parallel	Agreement or difference
I q. 50 a. 3	*De sub. sep.* 2	Agreement on number and on the probable character of Aristotle's argument; *De sub. sep.* adds that Aristotle's way is surer but less sufficient than Plato's, because only the Platonists' demons explain possession and magic.
I q. 50 a. 4	*De spir. creat.* a. 8	Same conclusion, with three reasons: the simple form cannot be multiplied; the order of the universe, which is *per se* in the higher parts; and the perfection of the angelic nature. The *Summa* gives chiefly the first.
I q. 50 a. 4	*De ente* c. 4	Agreement: "quot sunt ibi individua, tot sunt ibi species", attributed to Avicenna.
I q. 50 a. 5	*SCG* II.55	Agreement: the chapter title, "Quod substantiae intellectuales sunt incorruptibiles".
I q. 51 a. 1 (for the demons)	*De malo* q. 16 a. 1	Agreement: demons have no bodies naturally united; the question *non multum refert ad fidei Christianae doctrinam.*
I q. 51 a. 1 ad 1	*De sub. sep.* 1	Agreement: the aerial bodies of demons belong to the Platonists' opinion, which Augustine uses without asserting.
I q. 52 a. 1	*Quodl.* I q. 3 a. 1	As Cajetan cites it (on I q. 52 a. 1): if "operation" means motion, the proposition is false; if any union of power, true.
I q. 54 a. 1	*SCG* II.97; *De sub. sep.* c. 13	Agreement: the separate substance's action is not its substance (c. 13 combats those who denied angels knowledge of singulars).
I q. 54 a. 4	*SCG* II.96; *De ver.* q. 8 a. 8	Agreement: no agent/possible intellect in separate substances, "nisi forte aequivoce."
I q. 55 a. 2	*SCG* II.96; *De ver.* q. 8 a. 9	Agreement: knowledge not from sensible things; connatural species.
I q. 55 a. 3	*De ver.* q. 8 a. 10	Agreement: the higher angel knows through fewer, more universal forms.
I q. 56 aa. 1–3	*De ver.* q. 8 aa. 1–7	Agreement in structure and determination.
I q. 57 a. 2	*De ver.* q. 8 a. 11	Agreement; *De ver.* names Avicenna as author of the universal-causes opinion the *Summa* leaves unnamed.
I q. 57 a. 3	*De ver.* q. 8 a. 12; *De malo* q. 16 a. 7	Agreement: the future in itself is *solius Dei*; free-will futures conjectural even to angels and demons.
I q. 57 a. 4	*De ver.* q. 8 a. 13; *De malo* q. 16 a. 8	Agreement: thoughts not known directly, only *per accidens* through bodily signs and merit; *De malo* quotes *De div. daem.* and *Retract.* II.30.
I q. 58 aa. 1–5	*SCG* II.97, 101; *De ver.* q. 8 aa. 14–15	Agreement on non-discursion; difference of emphasis: *SCG* II.97 says the separate intellect is "semper intelligens actu" outright, while *ST* q. 58 a. 1 allows potency in the second mode for natural knowledge.

Summa	Parallel	Agreement or difference
I q. 58 aa. 6–7	*De ver.* q. 8 aa. 16–17; *De sub. sep.* cc. 19–20	Agreement on the morning/evening division (*De ver.* a. 16 gives the same "ex parte rei cognitae / ex parte medii" distinction); difference: *De ver.* a. 17 restricts morning/evening, strictly taken, to the blessed angels' gratuitous knowledge and denies both to the demons, which the *Summa* leaves implicit. *De sub. sep.* cc. 19–20 marshals the same authorities (*DN* 4; *De Gen. ad litt.* VIII).
I q. 59 aa. 1–3	*SCG* II.46–48	Agreement: will and free choice follow intellect in separate substances.
I q. 61 a. 2	*De pot.* q. 3 a. 17	Agreement: the world (and angelic creation) is not eternal; faith, not demonstration.
I q. 61 a. 3	*In II Sent.* d. 2 q. 1 a. 3	Agreement: simultaneous creation more probable, other opinion not to be prejudged "quia non est demonstratum, nec fide expressum".
I q. 61 a. 3	*De pot.* q. 3 a. 18	Agreement: "Angeli simul cum creatura corporali sunt conditi; tamen sine alterius opinionis praeiudicio"; Jerome's report explained "secundum opinionem antiquorum doctorum" (ad 7).
I q. 62 a. 3	*In II Sent.* d. 4 q. 1 a. 3	Development: the commentary calls the natural-state opinion "communior" while preferring created-in-grace; the *Summa* drops the "communior" framing and judges created-in-grace "probabilius et magis dictis sanctorum consonum".
I q. 63 a. 1	*In II Sent.* d. 5 q. 1 a. 1	Agreement: the angel sins by withdrawing consideration from one thing to another, without passion.
I q. 63 aa. 2–3	*In II Sent.* d. 5 q. 1 aa. 2–3	Agreement in substance: pride as the first sin, arising from the sight of his own beauty; the Sentences reject equality *simpliciter* and place the desire in the mode of having beatitude (by his natural powers, without merit), as a. 3 does.
I q. 63 a. 3	*De malo* q. 16 a. 3	Agreement; *De malo* adds that the sin lies in the supernatural order: beatitude sought *per virtutem suae naturae . . . sine Deo gratiam conferente*.
I q. 63 a. 4	*De malo* q. 16 a. 2	Agreement: evil by will, not nature.
I q. 63 a. 5	*In II Sent.* d. 3 q. 2 a. 1	Agreement: the first-instant opinion "vana et erronea et falsa", condemned by the masters; the two-changes argument judged not cogent, as in the *Summa*.

Summa	Parallel	Agreement or difference
I q. 63 a. 5	*De malo* q. 16 a. 4	Same conclusion, different reason: *De malo* sets aside the argument from the nature as God made it and argues from the order of the angel's acts (natural self-knowledge in the first instant); the first-instant position *reprobata fuit ab omnibus magistris tunc Parisiis legentibus*.
I q. 63 a. 7	*In II Sent.* d. 6 q. 1 a. 1	Agreement: Gregory determines the highest of all, the common and probable opinion; the *Summa* adds Damascene's alternative as not contrary to faith.
I q. 63 a. 8	*In II Sent.* d. 6 q. 1 a. 2	Agreement: priority of causality, not of duration; the Sentences already cite Damascene's fall-as-death.
I q. 64 a. 1	*In II Sent.* d. 7 q. 2 a. 1; *De malo* q. 16 a. 6	Agreement: natural intellectual light remains; *De malo* adds that false opinion is possible only about what exceeds natural knowledge.
I q. 64 a. 2	*In II Sent.* d. 7 q. 1 a. 2	Difference of argument: the Sentences reject the formula "mobile before choice, immobile after" as presupposing what is sought and ground obstinacy in the end of the way (fall as death); the *Summa* adopts the formula and grounds it in the immobility of angelic apprehension.
I q. 64 a. 2	*De malo* q. 16 a. 5	Synthesis: intrinsic immobility of the angelic will joined to the extrinsic end of the state of wayfarer; *vis primae electionis*.
I q. 64 a. 4	*In II Sent.* d. 6 q. 1 a. 3	Agreement: the air as penal and for our exercise, hell for their fault.
I q. 106 a. 1	*De ver.* q. 9 a. 1	Agreement; *De ver.* adds the analogy of bodily light (making visible and strengthening sight) and the higher spirit as act of the lower.
I q. 106 a. 1	*In II Sent.* d. 11 q. 2 a. 2	Agreement: the more limpidly one sees the essence, the more effects one knows in it.
I q. 106 a. 2 ad 1	*De ver.* q. 9 a. 3	Agreement, fuller: the three acts all belong to reception of knowledge; *terminus a quo* in angels only nescience.
I q. 106 a. 2 ad 2	*In II Sent.* d. 9 q. 1 a. 4 ad 5	Agreement: Seraphim do not infuse charity but enlighten about what pertains to it.
I q. 106 a. 3	*De ver.* q. 9 a. 2	Agreement; *De ver.* records the contrary opinion and gives three reasons against it.
I q. 106 a. 4 ad 2	*In II Sent.* d. 11 q. 2 a. 4	Agreement, finer: substance of the mystery known from the beginning, circumstances learned in fulfilment; Jerome, Augustine, Dionysius set side by side.
I q. 107 a. 1	*De ver.* q. 9 a. 4	Agreement (three states of the intelligible form; will orders the concept).
I q. 107 a. 1	*In II Sent.* d. 11 q. 2 a. 3	Difference: the Sentences commentary places speech in a naturally knowable sign coordinated with the concept (intellectual signs); *ST* and *De ver.* need no sign.

Summa	Parallel	Agreement or difference
I q. 107 a. 2	*De ver.* q. 9 a. 5	Agreement; *De ver.* defines speech as making present what was absent, illumination as strengthening.
I q. 107 a. 3	*In II Sent.* d. 11 q. 2 a. 5	Complement: the "combat" of Dan 10:13 as contrary merits referred to God; concord in receiving the divine illumination.
I q. 107 a. 4	*De ver.* q. 9 a. 6	Agreement; *De ver.* ad 2 restricts "an angel works where he is" to action on bodies.
I q. 107 a. 5	*De ver.* q. 9 a. 7	Agreement.
I q. 108 a. 1	*In II Sent.* d. 9 q. 1 aa. 1, 3	Agreement; etymology *hieron* + *archon*; royal-court image; Trinity reflected in three by three.
I q. 108 a. 1	*SCG* III.80	Agreement: grades of knowing the order of providence (end, form, disposition; universal causes; particular causes).
I q. 108 a. 3	*In II Sent.* d. 9 q. 1 a. 5	Agreement: no two angels equal in the whole hierarchy; beauty in ordered grades.
I q. 108 a. 4	*In II Sent.* d. 9 q. 1 a. 7	Agreement: grace formal, nature material and dispositive; orders in a manner from creation.
I q. 108 a. 5 ad 1	*In II Sent.* d. 9 q. 1 a. 4 ad 2	Agreement: "angel" name of nature as manifestative, name of office as exterior ministry (Gregory).
I q. 108 a. 6	*SCG* III.80	Agreement: both orders have apostolic authority and differ little.
I q. 108 a. 6	*In II Sent.* d. 9 q. 1 a. 3 co., ad 7	Difference: Dionysius's ordering "more reasonable", Gregory "numbers rather than orders"; orders of each hierarchy reasoned by acts of fruition, order of peace, and limited power.
I q. 108 a. 7	*In II Sent.* d. 11 q. 2 a. 6	Agreement: essentials of hierarchy remain; prelacy for leading wayfarers ceases.
I q. 108 a. 8	*In II Sent.* d. 9 q. 1 a. 8	Agreement, fuller: three positions (Eustratius; virgins or perfect; all elect by merits), the Blessed Virgin above all; number known to God alone.
I q. 109 a. 1 obj. 3	*In II Sent.* d. 6 q. 1 a. 1	Complement: Gregory and common opinion that the first sinner was highest; Augustine left it undetermined.
I q. 109 a. 2	*In II Sent.* d. 6 q. 1 a. 4	Agreement, fuller: order from nature, divine wisdom, and their wickedness; faith among robbers; heavier torment for higher office.
I q. 110 a. 1	*SCG* III.78 nn. 1–6	Agreement; *SCG* adds that intellectual creatures share both the ordering and the execution of providence and act by free will.
I q. 110 a. 1 ad 2–3	*De sub. sep.* 2–4	Agreement: Aristotle set movers over the heavens only and never mentions demons; the Platonists set spiritual substances over bodies, as the holy doctors do.
I q. 110 a. 1 ad 3	*SCG* III.80 n. 11	Agreement: the Virtues move the heavens and execute works beyond nature, with Gregory's sentence.

Summa	Parallel	Agreement or difference
I q. 110 a. 2	*De pot.* q. 6 a. 3; *De malo* q. 16 a. 9	Agreement; *De malo* grounds it in the order by which the lowest are moved by the highest through intermediaries.
I q. 110 a. 3	*De malo* q. 16 a. 10; *De pot.* q. 6 a. 3	Agreement; *De malo* adds that local motion is the least change and can come from a remote agent; *De pot.* calls such works *per modum artis*. *De malo* a. 10 leaves open whether the demons were of the lower angels over the earthly order or fell from the highest (Gregory).
I q. 110 a. 4	*SCG* III.103; *De pot.* q. 6 aa. 3–4	Agreement; *SCG* answers Avicenna at length and allows miracles by spiritual substances acting in divine power; *De pot.* names three modes of angelic share in miracles.
I q. 111 a. 1	*De malo* q. 16 a. 12	Agreement; *De malo* adds that the good angels strengthen the human light and the demons do not, and that demons arrange images toward pride or insoluble doubt.
I q. 111 a. 2 ad 2; q. 114 a. 2 ad 2	*De malo* q. 16 a. 8; *ST* I q. 57 a. 4	Agreement; *De malo* explains why the act of the will is hidden to all but God and the one willing, while species in the intellect may be known by a higher intellect.
I q. 111 aa. 3–4	*De malo* q. 16 a. 11	Agreement; *De malo* tests Augustine's three accounts (*De Gen. ad litt.* XII) and admits only the local change of what pre-exists in the body.
I q. 112 a. 4	*SCG* III.80 nn. 5–19	Agreement on the offices of the orders; *SCG* follows Dionysius's order and reports Gregory's.
I q. 112 a. 4 ad 2	*In De div. nom.* prooem.	Both accept a Platonic principle only where it is consonant with faith (fewer orders nearer the first principle; the doctrine of the first principle), rejecting separate forms.
I q. 113 a. 1	*In II Sent.* d. 11 q. 1 a. 1	Agreement; the Sentences adds the reasons of fittingness (dignity of angels as "duces hominum reductionis in Deum"), angels prepare for grace, carry prayers, do not compel, rarely appear.
I q. 113 a. 1 (with q. 57 a. 2)	*De ver.* q. 8 a. 11	Agreement: guardianship requires knowledge of singulars.
I q. 113 a. 3	*In II Sent.* d. 11 q. 1 a. 2; *SCG* III.80	Agreement; Sentences s.c. cites Bernard, *De consid.*; *SCG* assigns objects of Principalities, Archangels, Angels.
I q. 113 a. 4	*In II Sent.* d. 11 q. 1 a. 3	Agreement (Adam, Antichrist, Christ); Sentences adds "lex communis propter unum mutari non debet" and answers *CH* 4.4 on Christ.
I q. 113 a. 5	*In II Sent.* d. 11 q. 1 a. 3 co. and ad 3	Difference: Sentences gives a guardian from the infusion of the rational soul; *Summa* gives the mother's angel in the womb and a guardian at birth.

Summa	Parallel	Agreement or difference
I q. 113 a. 6	*In II Sent.* d. 11 q. 1 a. 4	Agreement; Sentences adds the angels departing at the hour of death, the lasting impression of one devout prayer, and no one on the way despaired of.
I q. 113 a. 7	*In II Sent.* d. 11 q. 1 a. 5	Agreement; Sentences adds impassibility, joy in their own good works, antecedent and consequent will.
I q. 113 a. 8	*In II Sent.* d. 11 q. 2 a. 5	Agreement with Gregory; Sentences reports Jerome as holding an evil prince and adds the good the Jews did in Persia.
I q. 114 a. 1	*De pot.* q. 6 a. 10	Related: the demons are coerced by God and, in God's power, by saints and angels; to restrain the demons, *Daemones arcere*, belongs to the order of Powers.
I q. 114 a. 4	*De pot.* q. 6 a. 5	Agreement; *De pot.* gives the reason: a miracle is divine testimony, and God will not witness to the demons' falsehood.

Augustine and the Master in the Articles

The places of Augustine and of Peter Lombard that an article quotes, answers, or follows, in the order of the *Summa*.

Summa	Parallel	Agreement or difference
I q. 51 a. 2 s.c.	*De civ. Dei* XVI	Aquinas cites Augustine that angels appeared to Abraham in assumed bodies.
I q. 51 a. 3 ad 6	*De civ. Dei* XV.23	Agreement: the sons of God are the sons of Seth; Aquinas quotes the chapter.
I q. 54 a. 5 co.	*De civ. Dei* XXI.10	Aquinas: Augustine uses the opinion of bodies naturally united to angels and demons without asserting it; Augustine leaves it "not . . . to be laboriously investigated".
I q. 55 a. 2 co., ad 1	*De Gen. ad litt.* II.8.17	Agreement: the knowledge of a thing's reason is first in the angelic mind.
I q. 56 a. 1 s.c.; a. 2 co.	*De Gen. ad litt.* II.8.16	Agreement: things proceed from the Word into the angelic mind and into their own natures.
I q. 57 a. 4 co.	*De div. daem.* 5.9; *Retract.* II.30	Agreement, with Augustine's own retraction quoted.
I q. 57 a. 5 obj. 1	*De Gen. ad litt.* V.19.38	Used as objection (angels knew the mystery from the ages); Aquinas distinguishes.
I q. 58 a. 1 s.c.	*De Gen. ad litt.* II.8.17	Agreement: the angels contemplate from their creation.
I q. 58 aa. 6–7 s.c.	*De Gen. ad litt.* IV.22–24; *De civ. Dei* XI.7, 29	Agreement; Aquinas adds whether evening knowledge is by innate species (a. 7).
I q. 59 a. 4 ad 2	*De civ. Dei* IX.5	Agreement: passions not said of angels as passions.
I q. 60 a. 5 obj. 4	*De civ. Dei* XII.9	Objection from charity poured out in the angels.
I q. 61 a. 1 ad 1	*De civ. Dei* XI.9	Agreement: angels designated by "heaven" or "light".

Summa	Parallel	Agreement or difference
I q. 61 a. 2 ad 2	*De Gen. ad litt.* VIII.20.39	Agreement: God moves the spiritual creature through time.
I q. 61 a. 3	*De civ. Dei* XI.32–33	Agreement: creation with the world more probable; contrary not erroneous; "In the Son" reading.
I q. 61 a. 4 obj. 2, ad 2	*De Gen. ad litt.* III.10.14	Aquinas reads the "upper atmosphere" as said of the angels who sinned.
I q. 62 a. 3 obj. 1, s.c., ad 1	*De civ. Dei* XII.9; *De Gen. ad litt.* II.8.16	Agreement: created in grace (more probable); formation prior by nature, not time; Augustine leaves open unequal grace or more help to the good.
I q. 63 a. 1 ad 4	*De civ. Dei* XII.6–8	Parallel: sin as a good sought without its rule.
I q. 63 a. 2 s.c., co.	*De civ. Dei* XIV.3; *De Gen. ad litt.* XI.14.18	Agreement: pride and envy only, envy after pride.
I q. 63 a. 5 co., ad 1, ad 2, ad 4	*De civ. Dei* XI.13, 15, 19	Difference: the opinion of a devil wicked from the first instant, which Augustine does not count Manichaean and toward which *De Gen. ad litt.* XI.16.21, 23.30 incline, is "reasonably rejected by the masters as erroneous".
I q. 63 a. 6 s.c., ad 4	*De civ. Dei* XI.15; *De Gen. ad litt.* IV.24.41	Aquinas determines the fall immediately after the first instant.
I q. 63 a. 7 co.	*De Gen. ad litt.* XI.17.22, 19.25–26, 26.33; III.10.14	The lower-order opinion (Damascene) against Gregory's; Augustine reports it without adopting it.
I q. 63 a. 9 ad 3	*Enchir.* 29; *De civ. Dei* XXII.1	Agreement: men taken into every order to supply the ruin.
I q. 64 a. 1 obj. 3–5, co., ad 4–5	*De Gen. ad litt.* IV.22, V.19; *De civ. Dei* IX.21, XI.33	Agreement: Christ known to demons by temporal effects.
I q. 64 a. 4 s.c.	*De Gen. ad litt.* III.10.15	Agreement: the dark air a prison until judgment.
I q. 108 a. 1 co.	*De civ. Dei* XII.1	Agreement: one society of good angels and men.
I q. 108 a. 4 obj. 2	*De civ. Dei* XII.9	Charity poured into the angels (objection).
I q. 108 aa. 5–6	*Enchir.* 58	Difference: Augustine declines to distinguish the orders; Aquinas assigns them after Dionysius and Gregory.
I q. 108 a. 5 ad 1	*Enarr. in Ps.* 103, s. 1.15; *De civ. Dei* XV.23	Parallel etymology: *Angelus nuntius dicitur.*
I q. 108 a. 6 co.	*De Trin.* III.4.9	Agreement; used for Gregory's arrangement.
I q. 108 a. 8 co.	*De civ. Dei* XII.9; XXII.29; *Enchir.* 63	Agreement: one society; men equal to angels by grace.
I q. 109 a. 4 s.c.	*De Trin.* III.4.9	Agreement: the sinful spirit ruled by the just.
I q. 110 a. 1 s.c., co.	*De Trin.* III.4.9; *De div. qq. 83* q. 79.1	Agreement.
I q. 110 a. 2 s.c.	*De Trin.* III.8.13	Agreement: matter obeys God, not the rebel angels.
I q. 110 a. 3 s.c.	*De Trin.* III.8–9	Agreement: seeds applied by angels.
I q. 110 a. 4 obj. 2	*De div. qq. 83* q. 79	Objection.

Summa	Parallel	Agreement or difference
I q. 113 a. 2	Lombard, *Sent.* II d. 11 c. 1	Difference with the Master: one angel for each man versus one angel for many.
I q. 114 a. 4 ad 2, ad 3	*De Trin.* III.8–9; *De div. qq. 83* q. 79.4	Agreement.

F Dionysius in the Treatise

Aquinas treats Dionysius as the standing authority on the angels, citing him at every stage of the two treatises. In *ST* I qq. 50–64 on the angelic nature and *ST* I qq. 106–114 on the divine government of the angels, with *ST* II-II q. 8 a. 1 besides, he cites the Dionysian corpus explicitly ninety-eight times. By work the count is: *Celestial Hierarchy*, 58 (including one citation by the Latin title *Hier. Ang.* x at *ST* I q. 50 a. 4 s.c.); *Divine Names*, 36; *Ecclesiastical Hierarchy*, 5. (The citation at *ST* I q. 106 a. 3 s.c. names two works and is counted under each.) Dionysius is named without a work in thirteen further places, most of them the extended comparison of the two orderings of the choirs in *ST* I q. 108 a. 6. No letter and no chapter of the *Mystical Theology* is cited in these questions. The *Celestial Hierarchy* is cited from all of its chapters except the second; chapters 7 (15 times), 8, 6, 3, and 14 carry the most weight. Gregory's *Homiliae in Evangelia* 34, the other great witness to the nine orders, is cited alongside at *ST* I q. 108 aa. 5–6 and *ST* I q. 112 a. 2 (on both witnesses, §6; on the orders, Appendix A).

Summa	**Div.**	**Dionysius**	**Use**
I q. 50 a. 2	s.c.	*DN* 4	First creatures immaterial and incorporeal
I q. 50 a. 3	obj. 4	*DN* 4	Intelligences subsist by the divine rays
I q. 50 a. 3	co.	*CH* 14	Angelic hosts surpass material number
I q. 50 a. 4	s.c.	*CH* 10 (*Hier. Ang.* x)	First, middle, and last in one order
I q. 50 a. 5	s.c.	*DN* 4	Angels free from corruption and death
I q. 51 a. 1	s.c.	*DN* 4	The angels are understood to be incorporeal
I q. 51 a. 3	ad 2	*CH* 15	Members of assumed bodies signify powers
I q. 54 a. 2	s.c.	*DN* 4	To understand is not a movement
I q. 54 a. 2	co.	*DN* 5	God alone comprehends all things in himself
I q. 54 a. 3	obj. 1	—	Dionysius styles angels "intellects" and "minds"
I q. 54 a. 3	s.c.	*CH* 11	Substance, power, and operation divided
I q. 54 a. 5	obj. 3	*DN* 4	A "perverted phantasy" in the demons
I q. 55 a. 1	obj. 1	*DN* 7	Angels know earthly things by their nature
I q. 55 a. 1	obj. 3	*DN* 4	God enfolds the whole in the whole
I q. 55 a. 1	s.c.	*DN* 4	Angels enlightened by the forms of things
I q. 55 a. 2	s.c.	*DN* 7	Knowledge not gathered from sensible things
I q. 55 a. 3	s.c.	*CH* 12	Higher angels have more universal knowledge
I q. 56 a. 1	obj. 1	*CH* 6	"The angels do not know their own powers"
I q. 56 a. 3	obj. 1	*DN* 1	God placed above all heavenly minds
I q. 56 a. 3	obj. 3	*DN* 7	No knowledge of God from sensible things
I q. 56 a. 3	ad 1	—	Dionysius speaks of the knowledge of comprehension
I q. 57 a. 1	co.	*DN* 1; *CH* 4	Angels nearest God; things pre-exist in them
I q. 57 a. 5	obj. 3	*CH* 4	Men enlightened by the angels
I q. 57 a. 5	s.c.	*CH* 7	Angels question Jesus and learn the mystery
I q. 57 a. 5	ad 1	—	The passage of Dionysius already quoted
I q. 58 a. 1	obj. 1	*DN* 4	Angelic minds moved by understanding
I q. 58 a. 3	s.c.	*DN* 7	No discourse from the common to the particular
I q. 58 a. 3	co.	—	Dionysius calls the angels "heavenly minds"

Summa	Div.	Dionysius	Use
I q. 58 a. 4	s.c.	*DN* 7	Clear simplicity of the angelic concepts
I q. 58 a. 4	co.	*DN* 4	The angel a pure and most clear mirror
I q. 58 a. 5	obj. 1	*DN* 4	A "perverted fancy" in the demons
I q. 58 a. 5	obj. 2	*EH* 6	Nescience possible in the angels
I q. 58 a. 5	obj. 3	*DN* 7	Falsehood affirmed of the demons
I q. 59 a. 4	obj. 1	*DN* 4	Fury and concupiscence in the demons
I q. 60 a. 1	obj. 1	*DN* 4	Natural love distinguished from intellectual
I q. 60 a. 2	obj. 1	*DN* 4	Dilection identified with intellectual love
I q. 60 a. 3	obj. 2	*DN* 4	Love "a uniting and a binding power"
I q. 60 a. 3	ad 2	—	"Uniting" and "binding" show love's derivation
I q. 63 a. 4	s.c.	*DN* 4	The demons are not naturally wicked
I q. 63 a. 4	ad 3	*DN* 4	Not evil in the dog to be fierce
I q. 63 a. 7	obj. 1	*CH* 6–7	Cherubim under the order of Seraphim
I q. 64 a. 1	s.c.	*DN* 4	Gifts bestowed on the demons unchanged
I q. 64 a. 1	co.	*DN* 4	Natural knowledge undiminished in them
I q. 64 a. 2	obj. 5	*DN* 4	Demons desire to be, to live, to understand
I q. 106 a. 1	s.c.	*CH* 8	Second hierarchy enlightened by the first
I q. 106 a. 1	co.	*CH* 7; *CH* 15	Taught by higher minds; knowledge divided for the lower
I q. 106 a. 1	ad 1	*DN* 4	Angels enlightened by the types of things
I q. 106 a. 2	obj. 1	—	As one angel enlightens, so he cleanses and perfects
I q. 106 a. 2	obj. 2	*CH* 7	The names designate the properties; Seraphim kindle
I q. 106 a. 2	ad 1	*EH* 6	Chastening of the inferior is an enlightening
I q. 106 a. 3	s.c.	*CH* 4; *EH* 5	Inferior things led to God by the superior
I q. 106 a. 4	obj. 1	*CH* 12	Higher knowledge more universal than the lower
I q. 106 a. 4	obj. 2	*CH* 7	"Who is this King of Glory?"
I q. 106 a. 4	s.c.	*CH* 15	The superior communicates the gift received
I q. 107 a. 2	s.c.	*CH* 7	Lower angels ask the higher, "Who is this King of Glory?"
I q. 107 a. 5	obj. 3	*CH* 15	Each communicates what he learns to the others
I q. 108 a. 1	obj. 2	*CH* 3	Hierarchy is order, knowledge, and action
I q. 108 a. 1	s.c.	*CH* 6	Three hierarchies of angels distinguished
I q. 108 a. 1	co.	*CH* 1; *CH* 7; *CH* 3	Sensible signs; the vestibule of God; cleansing, enlightening, perfecting
I q. 108 a. 2	obj. 1	*CH* 3	Hierarchy is order
I q. 108 a. 2	obj. 3	*EH* 5	The offices of cleansing, enlightening, perfecting
I q. 108 a. 2	co.	*CH* 6	Three orders in every hierarchy
I q. 108 a. 3	co.	*CH* 6	Our knowledge of the angels is imperfect
I q. 108 a. 3	ad 1	*CH* 10	First, middle, and last in one order
I q. 108 a. 4	obj. 1	*CH* 3	Hierarchy "approaches a resemblance to God"
I q. 108 a. 4	obj. 2	*CH* 7	Seraphim called "burning," a mark of charity
I q. 108 a. 5	co.	*CH* 7 (twice)	Each order's name expresses its property
I q. 108 a. 5	ad 1	*CH* 5; *CH* 8	Common name proper to the lowest; "virtues" a virile strength
I q. 108 a. 5	ad 2	*DN* 12; *CH* 8	Dominion attributed to God; Domination a liberty from servitude
I q. 108 a. 5	ad 3	*CH* 8; *CH* 9	Power an ordination; Principality a sacred leading
I q. 108 a. 5	ad 4	*CH* 9	Archangels between Principalities and Angels
I q. 108 a. 5	ad 5	*CH* 7 (twice)	Seraphim from fire; Cherubim fulness of knowledge
I q. 108 a. 5	ad 6	*CH* 7	Thrones named from material seats
I q. 108 a. 6	obj. 4	*CH* 9	Principalities immediately above Archangels
I q. 108 a. 6	s.c.	*CH* 7	Dionysius's placement of the three hierarchies
I q. 108 a. 6	co.	—	The orderings of Dionysius and Gregory compared

Summa	Div.	Dionysius	Use
I q. 108 a. 6	ad 4	—	Little or no real difference between them
I q. 109 a. 1	co.	*DN* 4	The fallen keep their natural gifts
I q. 110 a. 3	co.	*DN* 7	Ends of the first joined to principles of the second
I q. 111 a. 1	obj. 1	*EH* 3	Enlightenment attributed to baptism
I q. 111 a. 1	s.c.	*CH* 4	Revelation reaches men through angelic ministry
I q. 111 a. 1	co.	*CH* 1	The divine ray shrouded in sacred veils
I q. 112 a. 2	s.c.	*CH* 13	Higher ranks fulfil no exterior service
I q. 112 a. 2	co.	*CH* 13	Superior angels never sent to outward ministry
I q. 112 a. 2	ad 2	*CH* 13	The angel sent called "Seraph" equivocally
I q. 112 a. 4	obj. 1	*CH* 8	Second hierarchy enlightened by the first
I q. 112 a. 4	s.c.	*CH* 8	Dominations above all subjection
I q. 112 a. 4	co.	*CH* 7	Properties manifested by the names
I q. 112 a. 4	ad 2	*CH* 14	Angelic multitude surpasses material things
I q. 113 a. 2	obj. 2	*CH* 4, 13	The lower are led to God through the higher
I q. 113 a. 2	obj. 3	*CH* 10	Of all the angels one is greater than another
I q. 113 a. 3	s.c.	*CH* 5, 9	Guardians belong to the lowest order
I q. 113 a. 3	ad 1	*CH* 10	First, middle, and last in each order
I q. 114 a. 3	obj. 1	*DN* 4	The demons a cause of evils
I q. 114 a. 3	co.	—	The words of Damascene and Dionysius
II-II q. 8 a. 1	obj. 2	*DN* 4, 7	Knowledge given according to capacity and mode

The works divide the labour between them. In the treatise on the angelic nature the *Divine Names* predominates, because its fourth chapter on the good and its seventh on the divine wisdom carry the doctrine of participation; in the treatise on government the *Celestial Hierarchy* is nearly the only Dionysian source, and within it the chapters on the triads and the names. The citations are densest at *ST* I q. 108: more than a quarter of them stand in the single question on the hierarchies and orders, where Dionysius is not merely quoted but followed as the master of the whole arrangement (§15.1).

G Magisterial Chronology

The acts through which the Church has taught and ruled on the angels, in order of date, each with what it teaches of the angels and the degree it supports (§2). The disciplinary acts on the cult of the angels stand with them, since they fix the limits of devotion (§23, Appendix J).

Date	Act and authority	Locus	Teaching (grade)
325	Council of Nicaea I (ecumenical), creed	DS 125	God is maker of all things visible and invisible; the unseen creation belongs to the one Creator (Defined; read of the angels by the whole tradition)
c. 343–381	Council of Laodicea (particular synod), canon 35	can. 35	Forbids Christians to leave the Church and invoke angels in private assemblies; names the practice "covert idolatry" under anathema (disciplinary; witness to an early abuse)
381	Council of Constantinople I (ecumenical), creed	DS 150	*factorem caeli et terrae, visibilium omnium et invisibilium*; the form professed by the Church (Defined)

Date	Act and authority	Locus	Teaching (grade)
447, 21 July	Leo I, letter *Quam laudabiliter* to Turibius of Astorga (papal letter)	DS 286	The devil would be good had he remained as made; he misused his natural excellence and did not pass into a contrary substance; evil has no nature (papal teaching; taken up by Braga and Lateran IV)
5th c.	*Statuta Ecclesiae Antiqua* (collection, southern Gaul)	DS 325	A bishop-elect is examined on whether the devil became evil not by his condition but by his will (disciplinary witness to the common faith)
543	Edict of Justinian to Menas, published in the Synod of Constantinople (imperial edict, synodal canons against Origen)	DS 403–411	Condemns: souls pre-existing as holy powers (403); the Word made like each heavenly order (406); ensouled stars as rational powers (408); Christ crucified for demons in the age to come (409); temporary punishment and restoration of demons (411)
561	Council of Braga I (particular council), anathematisms against the Priscillianists	DS 455–464	Condemns: souls or angels from God's substance (455); souls fallen from heaven into bodies (456); the devil not first a good angel made by God but from chaos, the principle of evil (457); the devil maker of creatures, storms, droughts (458); the forming of bodies and all flesh the work of demons (462–463)
745, 25 Oct.	Roman synod under Pope Zachary, against Aldebert (papal synod)	actio III	Only three angels' names are known from Scripture — Michael, Gabriel, Raphael; with the other names in his prayer Aldebert invoked demons, *magis demones*; his writings burned (disciplinary)
789, 23 Mar.	Charlemagne, *Admonitio generalis* (capitulary), c. 16, citing Laodicea	MGH *Capit.* I, p. 55	*ut ignota angelorum nomina nec fingantur nec nominentur*, except those on authority, Michael, Gabriel, Raphael (disciplinary)
1208, 18 Dec.	Innocent III, *Eius exemplo*, profession for the Waldensians (papal letter)	DS 797	The devil became evil not by his condition but by his will, *non per condicionem, sed per arbitrium* (profession of faith prescribed by the pope)
1215, Nov.	Lateran IV (ecumenical), *Firmiter credimus*	DS 800–801	God created from nothing, at the beginning of time, both creatures, the angelic and the earthly; the devil and the other demons were created good by nature and became evil of themselves; perpetual punishment with the devil for the reprobate (Defined)
1442, 4 Feb.	Council of Florence (ecumenical), *Cantate Domino* for the Copts	DS 1333, 1336	All creatures, spiritual and corporeal, made good by the highest good but mutable because made from nothing; no nature of evil; two principles condemned (ecumenical teaching confirming Lateran IV)
1546, 17 June	Council of Trent (ecumenical), Session V, original sin	DS 1511	Adam's sin brought captivity under the power of the devil, "who had the empire of death" (Heb 2:14) (Defined on original sin, with the devil's real power over fallen man)
1870, 24 Apr.	Vatican I (ecumenical), *Dei Filius*	DS 3002, 3025	Repeats Lateran IV: both creatures made from nothing at the beginning of time by God's most free counsel; anathema on whoever denies that all things, spiritual and material, are produced from nothing as to their whole substance (Defined)
1950, 12 Aug.	Pius XII, encyclical *Humani generis*	n. 26; DS 3891	Lists among reproved opinions the questioning of whether angels are personal beings; the angels are personal (Church teaching)

Date	Act and authority	Locus	Teaching (grade)
1968, 30 June	Paul VI, *Credo of the People of God* (solemn papal profession of faith)	3, 8, 29	Creator "of things invisible such as the pure spirits which are also called angels"; the saints associated with the holy angels in Christ's rule (Church teaching)
1972, 15 Nov.	Paul VI, general audience *Liberaci dal male* (papal catechesis)	cites DS 800	Denial of the devil's existence goes outside biblical and ecclesiastical teaching; evil is a living being, spiritual, perverted and perverting; not every sin is directly diabolical (Church teaching)
1975, 26 June	CDF, study *Christian Faith and Demonology*, commended by the Congregation (expert study with the Congregation's approval)	conclusions	Each principal point of Lateran's chapter has equal dogmatic value; the demonic world's existence is a dogmatic datum of the ordinary and universal teaching (Church teaching)
1983, 24 Sept.	CDF, decisions on the Opus Angelorum movement (as recalled in the decree of 1992)	AAS 76 (1984) 175–176	Forbade a cult of the angels using the names drawn from the presumed revelations of Gabriele Bitterlich (disciplinary)
1986, July–Aug.	John Paul II, six general audiences on the angels and the demons (papal catechesis)	9, 23, 30 July; 6, 13, 20 Aug.	Restates the defined doctrine; presents the angels as personal, immortal, pure spirits; the nine choirs after Dionysius; guardian angels; Satan's fall, his power not infinite, Christ's victory (Church teaching)
1992, 6 June	CDF, decree on the Opus Angelorum, approved by John Paul II (congregational decree)	AAS 84 (1992) 805–806	Theories on the angels' names and choirs drawn from the movement's presumed revelations may not be taught; consecrations to angels and the so-called administration of the sacraments at a distance prohibited; exorcisms only by the Church's norms (disciplinary)
1992; typ. 1997	*Catechism of the Catholic Church* (universal catechism)	328–336, 391–395, 414	The angels' existence "a truth of faith"; personal and immortal; created through and for Christ; guardians of each believer; the fall a free, radical, irrevocable choice; Satan's power not infinite (Church teaching)
2001, 17 Dec.	CDWDS, *Directory on Popular Piety* (congregational directory)	213–217	Devotion to the angels grounded in Scripture and the feasts of 29 September and 2 October; naming angels beyond Gabriel, Raphael, and Michael "should be discouraged" (disciplinary)
2005, 28 June	Benedict XVI, *Compendium* of the Catechism (catechetical compendium)	59–61, 74–75	Angels purely spiritual, incorporeal, invisible, immortal, personal; their ministry; the fall and its irrevocability; Satan's power not infinite (Church teaching)

Two lines run through the table. The doctrinal line runs through the creeds and the acts against dualism: Nicaea, Constantinople, Leo I, Braga, Lateran IV, Florence, Vatican I. In them the Church confesses the existence, creation, and created goodness of the angels and the self-willed fall of the demons, and the twentieth-century acts — *Humani generis*, the *Credo* of Paul VI, the CDF study, the catecheses of John Paul II, and the Catechism — teach the same doctrine to a new age. The disciplinary line runs from Laodicea through the Roman synod of 745 to the Directory of 2001 and the Opus Angelorum decree: the Church keeps the cult and naming of the angels to what Scripture gives.

H The Angels in the Calendar

The feasts of the angels in the three Roman calendars, with the rank each book prints. The pre-1955 column gives the rank of the Missal of the 1920 typical edition (*MR* 1920: the Vatican printing and Mame's Tours printing *iuxta typicam* of 1922), with the Roman Breviary printed at Tours in 1898 (*BR*) and Bute's English Breviary of 1908 where they differ; the 1962 column, the Missal of 1962 (*MR* 1962); the postconciliar column, the General Roman Calendar of

the Missal of Paul VI with the *Ordo lectionum Missae* of 1981 (*OLM*). Page numbers are those of the books named. The feasts and their texts are expounded in §22.

Date and feast	Pre-1955	1962	Postconciliar	Note
24 March: *S. Gabrielis Archangeli*	*Duplex majus* (*MR* 1920, kalendarium; Mame 1922, pp. 552–554)	III classis (p. 493)	Honoured on 29 September	The *Raccolta* of 1910 lists "St Gabriel the Archangel, March 18" among the feasts of the chaplet's indulgences (n. 291)
8 May: *In Apparitione S. Michaelis Archangeli*	*Duplex majus* (*MR* 1920, kalendarium and proper); Greater Double (Bute, II, p. 867)	Among the Masses *pro aliquibus locis*: *Missa Benedicite*, as on 29 September (p. [161])	No celebration of the Archangel on this day	Office lessons of Monte Gargano under Gelasius I (*BR*, *Pars verna*, pp. 571–572)
29 September: *In Dedicatione S. Michaelis Archangeli*	*Duplex I classis* (Mame 1922, kalendarium and p. 725); *Duplex 2. classis* (*BR* 1898, p. 378); Double of the Second Class (Bute, IV, p. 592)	I classis (p. 670)	Saints Michael, Gabriel, and Raphael, Archangels: Feast (*OLM* n. 647)	The Leonine Sacramentary keeps on 30 September the *natale basilicae Angeli in Salaria*; the Gregorian, the *dedicatio basilicae sancti Angeli* on 29 September
2 October: *Ss. Angelorum Custodum*	*Duplex majus* (Mame 1922, kalendarium and pp. 726–729; *BR* 1898, p. 397)	III classis (p. 672)	The Holy Guardian Angels: Memorial (*OLM* n. 650)	Permitted by Paul V (1608) and made of precept on this day by Clement X (1670), as *The Liturgical Year* relates
24 October: *S. Raphaelis Archangeli*	*Duplex majus* (Mame 1922, kalendarium and pp. 741–743); Greater Double in Bute's Breviary for England (IV, kalendar)	III classis (p. 695)	Honoured on 29 September	The *Raccolta* lists the day among the feasts of the chaplet's indulgences (n. 291)

The Proper Texts of the Feasts

In the pre-1955 and 1962 Missals every feast of the angels opens with the Introit *Benedicite Dominum, omnes Angeli ejus* (Ps 102[103]:20) and closes with the Communion *Benedicite, omnes Angeli Domini, Dominum* (Dan 3:58). The proper orations and readings are these (*MR* 1920, Mame 1922; *MR* 1962).

Feast	Collect	Lesson and Gospel	Proper chants
29 September (and 8 May)	*Deus, qui miro ordine Angelorum ministeria hominumque dispensas*	Apoc 1:1–5; Matt 18:1–10	Alleluia *Sancte Michael Archangele, defende nos in praelio*; in paschal time *Concussum est mare*; Offertory *Stetit Angelus* (Apoc 8:3–4)
2 October	*Deus, qui ineffabili providentia sanctos Angelos tuos ad nostram custodiam mittere dignaris*	Exod 23:20–23; Matt 18:1–10	Gradual *Angelis suis Deus mandavit de te* (Ps 90[91]:11–12); Offertory *Benedicite Dominum* (Ps 102[103]:20–21)
24 March	*Deus, qui inter ceteros Angelos, ad annuntiandum incarnationis tuae mysterium, Gabrielem Archangelum elegisti*	Dan 9:21–26; Luke 1:26–38	Tract *Ave, Maria* (Luke 1:28, 42, 31, 35); Offertory *Stetit Angelus*
24 October	*Deus, qui beatum Raphaelem Archangelum Tobiae famulo tuo comitem dedisti in via*	Tob 12:7–15; John 5:1–4	Gradual *Angelus Domini Raphael apprehendit et ligavit daemonem* (Tob 8:3); Offertory *Stetit Angelus*

The Postconciliar Readings

Celebration	First reading	Psalm and acclamation	Gospel
29 September, Saints Michael, Gabriel, and Raphael (Feast)	Dan 7:9–10, 13–14, or Apoc 12:7–12a	Ps 137[138]:1–5; Ps 102[103]:21	John 1:47–51
2 October, The Holy Guardian Angels (Memorial)	Exod 23:20–23	Ps 90[91]:1–6, 10–11; Ps 102[103]:21	Matt 18:1–5, 10

The Directory of 2001 names the two postconciliar days and the votive Mass of the Holy Angels among the Church's celebrations of the angels (*Directory on Popular Piety* 215).

I Scripture Index

The scriptural loci the body cites or quotes, in the canonical order of the Vulgate, with the places where each is treated. Hebrew or modern numbering follows in brackets where it differs.

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Isa 33:7; 37:2	§17.5
Isa 41:23	§10.4
Isa 49:22–23	§4
Isa 62:10	§4.14
Isa 63:1	§10.4, §19.1, §19.4
Isa 63:1–2	§14.1
Isa 63:9	§3.1
Jer 17:9–10	§10.4
Jer 31:34	§14.1
Jer 51:9	§17.5
Lam 5:21	§12.2
Ezek 1:5–6	§1
Ezek 10:15–20	§1
Ezek 28:12–13	§7.11, Appendix B
Ezek 28:12–14	§1, §7.1, §7.2
Ezek 28:12–15	§4

Reference	Treated at
Ezek 28:12–17	§13, §13.1
Ezek 28:12–19	§5.1, §5.7, §5.9
Ezek 28:13	§15.2, §20.6
Ezek 28:13, 15	§5.10.5
Ezek 28:15	§4.12
Ezek 28:16	§21.5
Ezek 31:8–9	§7.1
Dan 3:49, 58, 95	§3.1
Dan 3:49–50	§1
Dan 3:57–58	§5.10.2
Dan 3:58	§22, Appendix H
Dan 4:10, 14 [4:13, 17]	§3.1, §3.8.1
Dan 6:22 [6:23]	§4
Dan 7:9–10, 13–14	§22, Appendix H
Dan 7:10	§1, §3.2, §3.8.4, §4, §4.11, §4.12, §4.16, §7.1, §7.2, §7.8, §8.1, §16.4, §20.2, §21.7
Dan 8:16	§1, Appendix J
Dan 8:17	§21.3
Dan 9:21	§1, Appendix J
Dan 9:21–26	§22, Appendix H
Dan 10	§2
Dan 10:4–14, 21; 12:1	§22, §23, Appendix J
Dan 10:12–13, 21; 12:1	§17.1, §17.5
Dan 10:13	§5.6, §7.1, §7.2, §14.2, §15.1, §16.4, §18, §24.9
Dan 10:13, 20	§4, §4.13
Dan 10:13, 20–21	§1
Dan 10:13, 21; 12:1	§3.1, §3.3, §3.4
Dan 10:20–21	§5.6
Dan 12:1	§1, §4, §7.3, §24.2
Osee 12:4 [12:5]	§1
Amos 3:7	§10.4
Zach 1–6	§1
Zach 1:9	§5.10.6
Zach 1:12–13	§14, §14.2
Zach 1:14	§4, §7.7
Zach 2:3–4	§7.1, §7.2, §14, §14.1, §16.4
Zach 3:1	§4
Zach 3:1–2	§1
Mal 2:7	§1, §5.10.9
Mal 3:1	§1, §7.4
2 Mac 3:25–26	§1
2 Mac 10:29–30	§1
2 Mac 11:8	§1
Matt 1:20; 2:13	§16.3
Matt 1:20; 2:13, 19	§1, §19.3
Matt 2	§17.5
Matt 4:1; 12:24	Appendix J
Matt 4:6, 11	§1, §17.1, §17.5
Matt 4:11	§18.2
Matt 4:11; Mark 1:13	§19.3

Reference	Treated at
Matt 6:13	§18, Appendix K
Matt 8:31	§5.7, §7.1
Matt 11:10	§1
Matt 11:11	§15.1
Matt 12:24–26	§15.2
Matt 12:44	§18.2
Matt 13:25	§4
Matt 13:39, 41, 49	§1
Matt 13:41	§19.4
Matt 15	§16.3
Matt 18:1–10	§22, Appendix H
Matt 18:6–10	§7.7
Matt 18:10	§1, §3.2, §3.4, §3.8.3, §3.8.6, §4, §4.12, §4.13, §4.17, §5.4, §5.6, §5.7, §5.10.10, §5.10.11, §7.1, §7.2, §7.3, §7.7, §7.11, §10.5, §16.4, §20.7, §21.4, §24.2, §24.13
Matt 18:18	§4.17
Matt 20:28	§7.7
Matt 22:30	§1, §3.2, §4, §10.4, §15.1
Matt 24:31	§19.4
Matt 24:31, 36	§1
Matt 24:36	§10.4
Matt 24:51	§17.2
Matt 25:31	§1, §19.4
Matt 25:41	§1, §4, §5.8, §5.10.5, §7.1, §13.1, §15.2
Matt 25:46	§13.2
Matt 26:41	Appendix K
Matt 26:53	§1, §4.13, §19.3
Matt 28:2–3, 6	§1
Matt 28:2–6	§19.4
Mark 1:2	§5.10.9
Mark 1:24	§5.10.8, §13.2, §19.1
Mark 5:10	§13.2
Mark 9:28 [9:29]	Appendix K
Mark 16:17	Appendix K
Mark 16:20	§18.2
Luke 1:11	§22
Luke 1:11, 19, 26, 28, 38	§1
Luke 1:11, 19, 26–38	§19.2
Luke 1:19	Appendix J
Luke 1:26	§7.1, §7.3, §16.4, Appendix J
Luke 1:26–38	§22, Appendix H
Luke 2:9, 13	§1
Luke 2:9–15	§19.3
Luke 2:13–14	§7.1, §7.3, §22
Luke 2:14	§4.17
Luke 2:51	§19.5
Luke 4:13	§18, §18.2
Luke 8:31	§13.2
Luke 10:17	Appendix K
Luke 10:18	§1, §4, §4.11, §5.1, §13

Reference	Treated at
Luke 10:19	§4
Luke 12:8	§4.13
Luke 15:1–10	§7.1
Luke 15:4–7	§4
Luke 15:4–7, 10	§4.12, §4.15, §4.16
Luke 15:7, 10	§17.1, §17.5
Luke 15:10	§1, §7.9, §12.2, §14.1, §19.1
Luke 16:22	§1, §3.8.3, §7.7, §17.1, §17.3, §17.5, §22, Appendix J
Luke 16:22; 15:10	§24.2
Luke 16:24	§14.2
Luke 20:34–36	§4.15
Luke 20:36	§1, §5.10.6, §15.1, §25
Luke 20:36; Matt 22:30	§19.6
Luke 21:25–26	§7.7
Luke 22:27	§16.4
Luke 22:31–32	§18
Luke 22:43	§1, §17.1, §19.3, §24.14
Luke 24	§9.1
Luke 24:4–5; John 20:12	§19.4
Luke 24:32	§5.6
John 1:3	§4
John 1:9	§3.8.6, §5.10.2
John 1:18	§4.17
John 1:47–51	§22, Appendix H
John 1:51	§1, §7.7, §17.3, §19.4
John 5:1–4	§22, Appendix H
John 5:2–4	§16
John 8:44	§2, §4, §5.7, §5.10.5, §7.2, §7.6, §13, §13.1, §18.2
John 10:16	§7.7
John 12:31	Appendix J
John 16:11	§21.5
John 18:6	§19.3
John 20:12	§1, §4.16
Acts 1:10–11	§19.4
Acts 5:19	§1
Acts 7:30	§5.10.7
Acts 7:30, 35	§1
Acts 7:30–32	§16
Acts 7:53	§1, §3.1, §5.10.7, §5.10.11, §16
Acts 10:3	§1
Acts 10:4	§17.2
Acts 12:7, 15	§1
Acts 12:7–11, 15	§17.1
Acts 12:11	§24.2
Acts 12:15	§4, §4.17, §5.7, §7.2
Acts 14:10–17	§5.10.8
Acts 17:28	§3.8
Acts 17:34	§3.8
Acts 23:8	§8.1

Reference	Treated at
Acts 27:23	§1, §17.1
Rom 1:19–20	§10.3
Rom 1:19; 10:17	§16.3
Rom 1:20	§5.10.3
Rom 5:5	§5.10.4
Rom 6:23	§12.2
Rom 8:38	§1
Rom 11:34	§5.10.3
Rom 13:1	§19.2
Rom 13:2–4	§15.1
Rom 13:10	§7.1, §15.1
1 Cor 2:6–8	§4, §5.6
1 Cor 2:8	§19.1
1 Cor 2:10	§4.12
1 Cor 2:10–11	§10.4
1 Cor 2:11	§14.2
1 Cor 2:15	§15.2
1 Cor 4:7	§7.6
1 Cor 4:9	§1
1 Cor 6:3	§1, §5.10.5, §7.4, §19.1
1 Cor 8:1	§3.8.1, §5.10.8
1 Cor 8:5	§5.4
1 Cor 10:13	§4, §5.7, §18, Appendix K
1 Cor 10:20	§3.2, §3.8
1 Cor 11:10	§1, §3.2, §4.17, §5.1, §5.6
1 Cor 13:1	§1, §14.2
1 Cor 13:10	§10.5, §12.2
1 Cor 13:10–11	§17.5
1 Cor 13:12	§5.10.10, §10.3
1 Cor 14:31	§14.1
1 Cor 15:24	§5.7, §15.1, §15.2
1 Cor 15:28	§25
1 Cor 15:41	§3.8.8, §4
2 Cor 6:15; 11:14	Appendix J
2 Cor 11:14	§3.8.6, §4.12, §5.10.6, §18, §24.7
2 Cor 12:4	§24.1
Gal 1:8	§1, §7.4
Gal 1:15	§20.7
Gal 1:15; 4:1–2	§4
Gal 3:19	§1, §3.1, §5.4, §5.10.3, §5.10.7, §5.10.11, §16
Gal 4:1–2	§17.2, §17.3
Gal 4:26	§14.1
Eph 1:10	§5.10.6, §19.1, §25
Eph 1:20–21	§15.1
Eph 1:20–22	§19.1
Eph 1:21	§1, §4, §5.6, §7.1, Appendix B
Eph 2:2	§4, §4.11, §21.5
Eph 2:8	§16.3
Eph 3:8–10	§14.1

Reference	Treated at
Eph 3:9–10	§7.11
Eph 3:10	§1, §4.17, §5.10.3, §10.4, §19.1
Eph 4:13	§4
Eph 5:8	§5.10.3, §5.10.4, §10.5
Eph 5:13	§14.1
Eph 6:11–12	§4, §23
Eph 6:12	§1, §3.8.3, §4.11, §4.17, §5.7, §7.8, §13.2, §15.2, §18, §18.2
Eph 6:16	Appendix K
Phil 2:3; 2:10	§16.4, Appendix K
Phil 2:7	§17.5
Phil 2:10	§19.1
Col 1:16	§1, §3.2, §3.4, §4, §4.12, §4.13, §4.17, §5.7, §5.10.6, §7.1, §12, §15.1, §19, Appendix B
Col 1:20	§5.10.6, §25
Col 1:20, 27	§4.17
Col 2:10	§19.1
Col 2:15	§4.11, §4.17, §18, Appendix K
Col 2:18	§1, §4.17
Col 2:18; 4:16	§23
1 Thess 3:5	§18.2
1 Thess 4:15 [4:16]	§1, §19.4, §22
2 Thess 1:7	§1
2 Thess 2:9	§17.5, §18.2
1 Tim 2:5	§3.4, §5.10.8, §5.10.11
1 Tim 3:16	§5.10.3, §10.4, §19.1
1 Tim 5:21	§1, §4.13, §5.4
1 Tim 6:10	§5.10.5
Titus 1:2	§5.6, §12.1
Heb 1:4	§4.11
Heb 1:4, 6, 7, 14	§1
Heb 1:4–5, 7, 14	§4
Heb 1:4–7, 14	§19.1
Heb 1:6	§4.11, §4.15, §4.17
Heb 1:6; 2:2, 7	§3.1
Heb 1:7 (Ps 103[104]:4)	§7.9
Heb 1:7; 1:14; 2:2	§16, §16.4
Heb 1:13	§5.10.6
Heb 1:14	§3.8.3, §4.11, §4.12, §4.17, §5.4, §7.1, §7.2, §7.7, §9.3, §10.4, §20.7, §23, §24.14
Heb 1:14; 2:2–3	§5.10.7
Heb 2:2	§1, §4.11
Heb 2:5, 9, 16	§19.1
Heb 2:7	§1
Heb 2:14	§2, Appendix G, Appendix K
Heb 2:16	§4.17, §7.1, §15.1
Heb 2:16; 12:22; 13:2	§1
Heb 11:1	§7.7
Heb 12:22	§19.6
Heb 12:22–23	§5.4, §25
Jas 2:19	§13.2

Reference	Treated at
Jas 3:6	§13.2
Jas 4:7	Appendix K
1 Pet 1:12	§1, §7.2, §10.4, §10.5, §14.1, §19.1
1 Pet 2:2	§4
1 Pet 3:22	§1, §19.1
1 Pet 4:10	§14.1
1 Pet 5:8	§17.5, §23
1 Pet 5:8–9	§18, Appendix K
2 Pet 1:19	§5.10.3, §10.5
2 Pet 2:4	§3.2, §5.10.4, §5.10.5, §13, §13.2
2 Pet 2:4, 11	§1
2 Pet 2:19	§13.1
1 John 3:8	§5.10.5, §13, §18, §20.6, Appendix L
1 John 3:9	§12.2, §20.5
Jude 6	§5.7, §13
Jude 6, 14–15	§3.2
Jude 6, 9	§1
Jude 9	§15.1, §23, Appendix J
Jude 14	§5.10.9
Apoc 1:1–5	§22, Appendix H
Apoc 1:20	§1
Apoc 1:20–3:14	§5.4, §5.6
Apoc 1:20; 2:1	§4.14
Apoc 2:1, 8	§4
Apoc 4:8	§22
Apoc 4:8–11	§25
Apoc 5:8, 11	§1
Apoc 5:11–13	§14.2, §25
Apoc 6:10	§14.2
Apoc 7:1–3; 8:2–4	§1
Apoc 7:1; 14:18; 16:5	§16
Apoc 7:2	§24.1
Apoc 7:11	§19.1, §24.2
Apoc 8:2	§4
Apoc 8:2–4	§3.2, §3.4, §3.5
Apoc 8:3	§7.7
Apoc 8:3–4	§21.5, §22, Appendix H
Apoc 8:4	§4.17, §5.4
Apoc 9:11	Appendix J
Apoc 12:3–4	§4
Apoc 12:4	§5.7, §13, §13.1
Apoc 12:7	§7.1, §7.3
Apoc 12:7–9	§1, §15.2, §21.5
Apoc 12:7–12a	§22, §23, Appendix H, Appendix J
Apoc 12:9	§13
Apoc 12:9–10	§23, Appendix J
Apoc 12:10	§5.4
Apoc 12:10, 12	§7.3
Apoc 18:7	§13.2

Reference	Treated at
Apoc 19:10	§7.1, §7.3
Apoc 19:10; 22:8–9	§1
Apoc 19:10; 22:9	§5.10.8
Apoc 21:4	§17.5
Apoc 21:17	§12.2
Apoc 21:18	§14.2
Apoc 22:9	§4.11, §7.1, §7.2
4 Esdras 4:1, 36	Appendix J
1 Enoch 20:1–8	Appendix J

J The Names of the Angels

Scripture gives the proper names of three holy angels, Michael, Gabriel, and Raphael, and the Church names no others. The Roman synod of 745 confessed that it knew the names of no more than three: *non plus quam trium angelorum nomina cognoscimus, id est Michael, Gabriel, Raphael* (MGH *Conc.* II/1, ed. Werminghoff, 1906, p. 43); Charlemagne's *Admonitio generalis* of 789 forbade that unknown names be invented or used, *nisi illos quos habemus in auctoritate, id sunt Michahel, Gabrihel, Rafahel* (c. 16, MGH *Capit.* I, ed. Boretius, 1883, p. 55); and the Directory of 2001 teaches that "the practice of assigning names to the Holy Angels should be discouraged, except in the cases of Gabriel, Raphael and Michael whose names are contained in Holy Scripture" (*Directory on Popular Piety* 217). The acts are expounded in §23.

The word "angel" is itself a name of office. Gregory teaches, *angelorum vocabulum, nomen est officii, non naturae*, and Isidore repeats it, *Angelorum autem vocabulum officii nomen est, non naturae. Semper enim spiritus sunt, sed cum mittuntur, vocantur angeli* (Gregory, *Hom. in Ev.* 34.8; Isidore, *Etym.* VII.5.2). The proper names are names of office too. In the heavenly city, Gregory says, the angels do not take names in order to be known, for the vision of God makes all known; *sed cum ad nos aliquid ministraturi veniunt, apud nos etiam nomina a ministeriis trahunt*: when they come to us on some ministry, they take their names among us from their ministries (*Hom. in Ev.* 34.8).

The Three Names of Scripture

Name	Scripture (Vulgate)	Meaning as the Fathers give it	In the Roman liturgy
Michael	Dan 10:13, 21; 12:1; Jude 9; Apoc 12:7	*Quis ut Deus* (Gregory, *Hom. in Ev.* 34.9); *qui interpretatur quis sicut Deus* (Jerome, *In Dan.* 8:16); *Qui sicut Deus* (Isidore, *Etym.* VII.5.12)	29 September; 8 May (pre-1955); Confiteor; incense prayer; Offertory of the Requiem; Litany
Gabriel	Dan 8:16; 9:21; Luke 1:19, 26	*fortitudo Dei* (Gregory, *Hom. in Ev.* 34.9); *fortitudo, vel robustus Dei* (Jerome, *In Dan.* 8:16); *fortitudo Dei* (Isidore, *Etym.* VII.5.10)	24 March (pre-1955, 1962); 29 September (postconciliar); the Angelus; Litany
Raphael	Tob 3:25; 5:5; 12:15	*medicina Dei* (Gregory, *Hom. in Ev.* 34.9); *curatio; vel medicina Dei* (Jerome, *In Dan.* 8:16); *curatio vel medicina Dei* (Isidore, *Etym.* VII.5.13)	24 October (pre-1955, 1962); 29 September (postconciliar); Litany

The Fathers read each name as the sign of the angel's work. For Gregory, whenever a work of wondrous power is to be done Michael is sent, so that by the deed and the name it may be understood *quia nullus potest facere quod facere*

praevalet Deus, that no one can do what God can do; and the old enemy who in his pride desired to be like God, saying *similis ero Altissimo*, will at the end of the world be slain by Michael and learn *quia ad Dei similitudinem per superbiam nullus exsurgat.* Gabriel, the Strength of God, is sent to Mary because he came to announce the one who came humble to war against the powers of the air, the *Dominus fortis et potens, Dominus potens in praelio* of the psalm. Raphael is the Medicine of God because he touched the eyes of Tobias as a physician and wiped away the darkness of his blindness (Gregory, *Hom. in Ev.* 34.9; read in the Breviary on 29 September, §22). Jerome, commenting on Daniel's vision, gives the same three offices in other words: Gabriel, *qui praepositus est praeliis*, is sent where wars and the succession of kingdoms are at issue; wherever healing is needed, *Raphael mittitur*; and where propitiation or expiation is needed, *Michael dirigitur, qui interpretatur quis sicut Deus* (Jerome, *In Dan.* 8:16, PL 25). Isidore gathers the whole into his *Etymologies*: where divine power or strength is shown, Gabriel is sent; when a work of wondrous power is done, Michael; wherever there is need of healing, Raphael (*Etym.* VII.5.10–14).

Scripture gives Raphael a second name in the book of Tobias, the name he took in his disguise: "I am Azarias the son of the great Ananias" (Tob 5:18). The sermon the Breviary for England reads under Augustine's name on Raphael's feast comments: "The Angel hid his name from you; he said not, I am the Angel Raphael, but, I am Azarias, the son of Ananias the Great. In the first name that he gave thee he hid his high estate, lest he should scare him that hired him" (Bute, IV, p. 686).

The Titles of Michael in the Liturgy

Title	Where the Church uses it	Scripture behind it
***Princeps militiae Angelorum*; "Prince of the heavenly host"**	Responsory of 29 September (*BR*); prayer after Low Mass ("O Prince of the heavenly host")	Dan 10:13, 21; 12:1; Apoc 12:7
***Praepositus paradisi*, "the Vice-Roy of Paradise"**	Antiphon and responsory of 29 September (*BR*; Bute, IV, p. 594)	—
Salutis signifer*; *signifer sanctus Michael	Vespers hymn of 29 September; Offertory of the Mass for the Dead	Apoc 12:7–9
Angelus pacis	Lauds hymn of 29 September	—
Dei nuntius pro animabus justis*; prince *super omnes animas suscipiendas	Antiphons of 29 September	Luke 16:22
Princeps gloriosissime	Magnificat antiphon of 29 September; *Raccolta* n. 289	—
"Prince of the Church of Jesus Christ"	Versicle of the chaplet (*Raccolta* n. 291)	Dan 12:1

The Names of the Fallen in Scripture

Scripture gives the fallen angels names that are titles of their revolt and of their work. The Church uses them as Scripture does.

Name	Scripture (Douay)	Reading
Satan	"Satan also was present among them" (Job 1:6); "that old serpent, who is called the devil and Satan" (Apoc 12:9)	The accuser: "the accuser of our brethren is cast forth" (Apoc 12:10)
The devil (*diabolus*)	"to be tempted by the devil" (Matt 4:1); Apoc 12:9	The tempter of Christ, "who seduceth the whole world" (Apoc 12:9)
The dragon, the old serpent	Apoc 12:7–9	"that old serpent," cast out by Michael and his angels (Apoc 12:9)
Beelzebub	"Beelzebub the prince of the devils" (Matt 12:24)	The name the Pharisees used for the prince of the demons
Abaddon, Apollyon, *Exterminans*	"the angel of the bottomless pit (whose name in Hebrew is Abaddon and in Greek Apollyon, in Latin Exterminans)" (Apoc 9:11)	The king over the locusts of the abyss (Apoc 9:3–11)
Asmodeus	"a devil named Asmodeus" (Tob 3:8)	The demon bound by Raphael (Tob 8:3)
Belial	"what concord hath Christ with Belial?" (2 Cor 6:15)	Set by the Apostle over against Christ
The prince of this world	"now shall the prince of this world be cast out" (John 12:31)	The dominion broken by the Cross (§18)
Lucifer	"How art thou fallen from heaven, O Lucifer, who didst rise in the morning?" (Isa 14:12)	Applied by the Fathers to the devil's fall: Origen, *De principiis* I.5.5; Gregory, *Hom. in Ev.* 34.9 on Isa 14:13–14

The prophet speaks to the king of Babylon, and the Fathers read in his fall the fall of the first rebel. Origen argues from the name itself: "Most evidently by these words is he shown to have fallen from heaven, who formerly was Lucifer, and who used to arise in the morning. For if, as some think, he was a nature of darkness, how is Lucifer said to have existed before? Or how could he arise in the morning, who had in himself nothing of the light?" (Origen, *De principiis* I.5.5, trans. Crombie, ANF 4). The name of the light-bearer is thus a witness to the doctrine the Church defined against the dualists: the devil was created good and became evil of himself (Lateran IV, DS 800; §2; §13). Scripture adds that "Satan himself transformeth himself into an angel of light" (2 Cor 11:14).

Names from the Apocryphal Books

The fourth book of Esdras, which the Douay Bible of 1610 printed after the canonical books "because they are not receiued into the Canon of Diuine Scriptures by the Catholique Church," names two angels: "the Angel answered me, that was sent to me, whose name was Vriel," and "Ieremiel the Archangel answered to those things" (4 Esdras 4:1, 36, Douay 1610 appendix). Isidore received the first name into his *Etymologies*: *Vriel interpretatur ignis Dei, sicut legimus apparuisse ignem in rubo* (*Etym.* VII.5.15). The first book of Enoch gives seven "names of the holy angels who watch": Uriel, Raphael, Raguel, Michael, Saraqâêl, Gabriel, and Remiel (1 En 20:1–8, trans. Charles, 1917; §3). The names that stand only in these books are graded Apocryphal.

The Names the Roman Synod of 745 Rejected

Aldebert's prayer, read before Pope Zachary's synod, invoked eight angels by name: *angelus Uriel, angelus Raguel, angelus Tubuel, angelus Michael, angelus Adinus, angelus Tubuas, angelus Sabaoc, angelus Simiel* (MGH *Conc.* II/1, p. 42). The synod judged that of these only Michael was an angel, and that under the names of angels Aldebert had invoked demons, *sub obtentu angelorum demonum nomina introduxit* (ibid., p. 43).

Name	Other witness	Disposition
Uriel	4 Esdras 4:1 (“Vriel”); Isidore, *Etym.* VII.5.15	Rejected by the Roman synod of 745; Apocryphal
Raguel	1 En 20:4 (§3)	Rejected by the Roman synod of 745; Apocryphal
Tubuel, Adinus, Tubuas, Sabaoc, Simiel	Known from Aldebert’s prayer	Rejected by the Roman synod of 745 as names of demons
Michael	Dan 10:13; Jude 9; Apoc 12:7	The one angel’s name in the prayer; a name of Scripture

The Congregation for the Doctrine of the Faith applied the same rule in 1983 and 1992 to names of angels drawn from presumed private revelations, which may be neither taught nor used in prayer (decree of 6 June 1992, AAS 84 [1992] 805–806; §23).

K The Demons’ Powers and Their Limits

The demons keep the natural powers of the angelic nature (*ST* I q. 64 a. 1); their will is fixed in evil (a. 2); and every use of their power falls under the command, permission, or restraint of God. Gregory states the rule: “the will of Satan is always evil, but his power is never unjust, for his will he derives from himself, but his power he derives from God” (*Moralia* II.10.17). Augustine gives the double limit, of permission and of nature: a man “can walk, yet … cannot do so if he is not permitted; but … cannot fly, even if he be permitted” (*De Trin.* III.9.18). The rites and discipline of exorcism belong to the study *Catholic Exorcism: History, Discipline, and Pastoral Practice*.

Power	What the demons can do	Limit under God	Aquinas	Fathers and the Church
Natural knowledge	Keep their natural knowledge whole; the angelic gifts “exist, and are complete, and all luminous” in them	Speculative knowledge by grace is lessened to what is revealed; affective knowledge and charity are lost; they knew the Incarnation less fully; error is possible in what exceeds nature	*ST* I q. 64 a. 1; *De malo* q. 16 a. 6	Dionysius, *DN* 4.23; Damascene, *De fide orth.* II.4 (“they know the Scriptures”); Augustine, *De div. daem.* 6.10
Knowledge of the future	Foreknow by conjecture what proceeds from causes usually or necessarily; foretell by speed and observation, and often what they themselves are about to do	The future in itself is known to God alone; they are deceived when a higher command overturns their plans, and they deceive from envy	*ST* I q. 57 a. 3; *De malo* q. 16 a. 7	Athanasius, *Vita Antonii* 31–33; Damascene, *De fide orth.* II.4; Augustine, *De div. daem.* 5.9–6.10
Knowledge of thoughts	Learn thoughts in their effects, from signs in the body and bearing, and explore a man’s disposition by temptation	The thought as it is in the will is known only to God and to the one who wills	*ST* I q. 57 a. 4; q. 114 a. 2 ad 2; *De malo* q. 16 a. 8	Cassian, *Conl.* VII.15–16; Augustine, *De div. daem.* 5.9, qualified in *Retract.* II.30
Imagination and senses	Move the imagination through the spirits and humours, sleeping or waking; present sensible objects outwardly; change the senses from within; rouse the passions	Cannot impress a form never received from sense (“a man born blind”); cannot infuse species into the intellect; the will remains free to consent or resist	*ST* I q. 111 aa. 2–4; *De malo* q. 16 aa. 11–12	Augustine, *De civ. Dei* XVIII.18; Cassian, *Conl.* VII.8; Origen, *De princ.* III.2.4

Power	What the demons can do	Limit under God	Aquinas	Fathers and the Church
Local motion of bodies	Move bodies locally, including bodies not joined to them, and through local motion apply natural agents	Cannot induce a substantial form immediately; create nothing; do not rule the weather by their own authority; act only as far as permitted	*ST* I q. 110 aa. 2–3; *De malo* q. 16 aa. 9–10	Braga I, can. 8 (DS 458); Augustine, *De Trin.* III.8.13, III.9.18; Damascene, *De fide orth.* II.3–4
Wonders	Produce real effects by applying the "seeds" in the elements, as the serpents and frogs of Pharaoh's magicians and the fire and wind against Job; work illusions on the senses	No miracle in the proper sense; no man turned into a beast and no dead man raised; the magicians failed at the gnats, "the finger of God"	*ST* I q. 110 a. 4; q. 114 a. 4; *SCG* III.103; *De pot.* q. 6 a. 5	Augustine, *De Trin.* III.7.12–8.13, *De civ. Dei* XVIII.18, XX.19; Exod 8:18–19
Temptation	Tempt to sin as their proper office; persuade and kindle thoughts; the devil is the indirect cause of all sins through the first sin	Cannot force the will; not the direct cause of every sin; not beyond a man's strength; the Powers restrain them; the conquered withdraw for a time	*ST* I q. 111 a. 2; q. 114 aa. 1–3, 5	Origen, *De princ.* III.2.2–3; Cassian, *Conl.* VII.8, 20, 22; Gregory, *Moralia* II.10–11, *Hom. in Ev.* 34.10; 1 Cor 10:13
Dominion over fallen man	By Adam's sin man fell into captivity under the devil's power	Broken by Christ's victory; Satan's power is a creature's and not infinite, and permitted by providence	*ST* I q. 114 a. 1	Trent, DS 1511, 1521; CCC 395, 2853; Athanasius, *Vita Antonii* 28, 41; Col 2:15

The remedies the Fathers name are the weapons of the Christian life. Antony sums them up: the demons "fear the fasting, the sleeplessness, the prayers, the meekness, the quietness, the contempt of money and vainglory, the humility, the love of the poor, the alms, the freedom from anger of the ascetics, and, chief of all, their piety towards Christ" (*Vita Antonii* 30). Paul VI gave the same answer: *tutto ciò che ci difende dal peccato ci ripara per ciò stesso dall'invisibile nemico. La grazia è la difesa decisiva*, whatever defends us from sin shields us by that very fact from the invisible enemy; grace is the decisive defence (audience of 15 November 1972).

Remedy	Scripture (Douay)	Fathers	Aquinas and the Church
The Cross	"despoiling the principalities and powers" (Col 2:15)	Athanasius, *Vita Antonii* 23, 35 ("they are cowards, and greatly fear the sign of the Lord's Cross"); *De incarnatione* 47.2 ("by the Sign of the Cross, though a man but use it, he drives out their deceits"); Cassian, *Conl.* VII.23, VIII.18	CCC 2853: the victory "won once for all at the Hour" of the Passion
The name of Jesus	"The devils also are subject to us in thy name" (Luke 10:17); "In my name they shall cast out devils" (Mark 16:17); Phil 2:10	Athanasius, *Vita Antonii* 40–41; Origen, *Contra Celsum* I.6 ("Such power, indeed, does the name of Jesus possess over evil spirits"); Augustine, *De div. qq. 83* q. 79.4	*ST* I q. 110 a. 4 ad 2: the signs of public justice, "as by invoking the name of Christ"
Prayer and fasting	"This kind can go out by nothing, but by prayer and fasting" (Mark 9:28[29]); "Watch ye: and pray that ye enter not into temptation" (Matt 26:41); Matt 6:13	Athanasius, *Vita Antonii* 23 ("by prayer, fasting, and faith in the Lord their attack immediately fails"), 30	CCC 2849: the battle and the victory "become possible only through prayer"; Paul VI, 15 November 1972, on Mark 9:28[29]

Remedy	Scripture (Douay)	Fathers	Aquinas and the Church
Faith, humility, and resistance	"Taking the shield of faith" (Eph 6:16); "Whom resist ye, strong in faith" (1 Pet 5:9); "resist the devil: and he will fly from you" (Jas 4:7)	Antony's counsel to rejoice in the Lord and despise the enemy (*Vita Antonii* 42); Cassian, *Conl.* VII.8; Origen, *De princ.* III.2.3–4	*ST* I q. 111 a. 2: the will "ever remains free to consent to, or to resist"
Grace and the sacraments	"that, through death, he might destroy him who had the empire of death" (Heb 2:14)	Chrysostom, *Hom. in Ioann.* 46: "Let us then return from that table like lions breathing fire, having become terrible to the devil"; Ambrose to the newly baptized, in CCC 2852	Trent on the captivity from which justification frees (DS 1511, 1521); *ST* I q. 114 a. 1 ad 2: the recompense gained "principally through the grace of God"
The holy angels	"Fear not: for there are more with us than with them" (4 Kgs 6:16); Ps 33[34]:8; Ps 90[91]:11	Origen, *De princ.* III.2.5 (the angel who stands with Jacob in the struggle); Gregory, *Hom. in Ev.* 34.10 (the Powers bridle the adverse powers), *Moralia* XVII.13.19	*ST* I q. 114 a. 1 ad 2: "secondarily through the guardianship of the angels"; §17

L Positions on the First Sin

Lateran IV fixes what the faith holds: the devil and the other demons were created good by nature and became evil of themselves (*ipsi per se facti sunt mali*, DS 800). The witnesses below, in chronological order, state in their own words what the sin was in its object and when it was committed; §20.6 expounds their division.

Witness	Locus	Object of the sin	Moment and cause
Gregory of Nazianzus	*Or.* 38.9–10	Pride: Lucifer "became and is called Darkness through his pride"; his hosts "creators of evil by their revolt against good"	After the angelic world's creation and before the visible world's (38.9–10); by their own movement toward evil
Augustine	*De civ. Dei* XI.13–15; XII.6–7	Pride: forsaking God and turning to themselves, "the beginning of sin" (XII.6, citing Ecclus 10:15)	Not from the beginning of his created existence but "from the beginning of his sin" (XI.15, on 1 John 3:8); the evil will has no efficient cause (XII.7)
John of Damascus	*De fide orth.* II.3–4	Rebellion: set over the earthly realm, he "determined to rise in rebellion" against God, the first to depart from good (II.4)	Of his free choice, after his making by the good Creator; for angels the fall is as death, admitting no repentance (II.4)
Anselm	*De casu diaboli* c. 4	He willed *aliquod commodum, quod nec habebat nec tunc velle debuit*; thereby *voluit inordinate similis esse deo*, by a will *nulli subdita*, subject to none	By his own will, after creation; the object was what he would have reached had he stood fast
Peter Lombard	*Sent.* II d. 5 c. 1	Pride, the mother of envy: *voluerunt se parificare Deo*	*Post creationem mox*: aversion by free will; the converting grace given to those who stood was never given to those who fell
Bonaventure	*In II Sent.* d. 5 a. 1 q. 1; d. 4 a. 1 q. 2	Pride: presumption at the sight of his own beauty; ambition to preside over the rest by his own authority, subject to none (*aequiparantia*); confirmed in envy and hatred	At once upon beholding himself; grace had more probably not been given in the first instant (d. 4 a. 1 q. 2)

Witness	Locus	Object of the sin	Moment and cause
Aquinas	*ST* I q. 63 aa. 2–3, 5–6; *De malo* q. 16 aa. 3–4	Pride: likeness to God in seeking final beatitude *per virtutem suae naturae… sine Deo gratiam conferente*; not equality, which he knew to be impossible	Not in the first instant (rejected by the masters as erroneous, a. 5; his reason: the first instant is the turn to natural self-knowledge); at once after it, if created in grace (a. 6)
Scotus	*Ord.* II d. 6 qq. 1–2	An inordinate friendship-love of self, then immoderate desire of beatitude; *non fuit superbia proprie dicta… magis videtur reduci ad luxuriam*; equality with God only by an inefficacious volition of complacency (q. 1)	The will's first inordinate act, an elicited free act following the order of *velle amicitiae* before *velle concupiscentiae* (q. 2)
Suárez	*De angelis* VII.13–14, 28–30	De facto, and very probably: pride desiring the hypostatic union for his own nature, and envious opposition to Christ from the beginning (VII.13 n. 13)	Upon the revelation of Christ as the angels' head and the author of grace (VII.30); a positive precept laid on them is probable (VII.28)

All the witnesses hold the frame of *Firmiter*: a spiritual creature, made good, turning from God by its own will, with pride in the broad sense as the sin's name. They divide on the object — likeness to God in beatitude by natural power (Anselm, Aquinas), equality or self-sufficient preeminence (Lombard, Bonaventure), inordinate self-love (Scotus), the hypostatic union (Suárez) — and on the moment, whether the sin could fall in the first instant of creation and how soon after it the fall is to be placed. That the fall was the angels' own is Defined (DS 800); its object and its moment are Disputed among the schools (§20.6).

M Terminology

The English terms this reference prefers, with the Latin and Greek of the sources and the loci that fix the usage. English *Summa* wording follows the English Dominican translation; the Latin follows the Leonine text; Greek is transliterated.

English	Latin	Greek	Note
accuser	*criminator*	*diabolos*	ANF "accuser" (Lactantius, *Div. inst.* II.8.6)
advantage	*commodum*	—	The object of the will for happiness; happiness is made of advantages (Anselm, *De casu diaboli* 4, 12–14)
adverse powers	*virtutes adversae*	—	Restrained by the order of Powers (Gregory, *Hom.* 34.10)
aevum	*aevum*	*aion*	Angelic duration between time and eternity; also "aeon" (*ST* I q. 61 a. 2; cf. *In II Sent.* d. 2 q. 1 a. 1; Bonaventure, *De sanctis Angelis* 5)
affective knowledge	*cognitio affectiva*	—	*producens amorem Dei*; English Dominican "effective" (*ST* I q. 64 a. 1 co.)
after the image / after the likeness	*ad imaginem / ad similitudinem*	*kat' eikona / kath' homoiōsin*	Palamas, *Cap.* 39, 62–64; *ST* I q. 93 a. 3
ally	—	*symmachia*	The angel "brother" to the mind, "set beside … as an ally" (Gregory of Nyssa, *De vita Moysis* II; PG 44, 337D)

English	Latin	Greek	Note
angel	*angelus*	*angelos*	A name of office, not of nature: *nomen officii, non naturae* (Gregory), *officii nomen* (Augustine, whose words the Catechism gives); Gregory: "Graeca etenim lingua angeli nuntii"; Isidore gives the Hebrew "malachoth" (Mal 3:1; *CH* 4–5; *ST* I q. 108 a. 5 ad 1; Augustine, *Enarr. in Ps.* 103, s. 1.15; *De civ. Dei* XV.23; Gregory, *Hom. in Ev.* 34.8; Isidore, *Etym.* VII.5.1–2; *Sent.* I.10.1; Rabanus, *De universo* I.5; CCC 329)
angel entrusted with Persia	*angelus cui Persis credita est*	—	Princes of the nations (Jerome, *In Dan.* 10:13)
angel of peace	—	—	Petition of the litany for the catechumens (Chrysostom, *Hom. in 2 Cor.* 2; *Hom. in Col.* 3)
angel of punishment	—	—	"belongs to the just angels" (Hermas, *Sim.* VI.3)
angel of repentance	—	—	The Shepherd; guardian of the penitent (Hermas, *Vis.* V; *Sim.* X.1)
angel of righteousness / of iniquity	—	—	The two angels with each man (Hermas, *Mand.* VI.2)
angel of the diocese	—	—	French *l'ange du diocèse*; angels of places and parishes (Faber; de Sales II.16)
angel ruling a nation	*Principatus*	*ethnarchēs angelos*	Basil's argument from the dignity of a nation; Aquinas's Principalities (Basil, *Adv. Eun.* III.1; *ST* I q. 108 a. 6)
angel who reigns with him	*Angelus conregnans*	—	After the way (*ST* I q. 113 a. 4)
Angelic Doctor	*Doctor Angelicus*	—	Pius XI adds "Communis seu universalis" (*Studiorum Ducem*; Prümmer prol.)
Angelic Warfare	*Militia Angelica*	—	Confraternity for chastity under St Thomas (*Studiorum Ducem*)
Angelical Crown (chaplet of St Michael)	—	—	*Raccolta* n. 291
Angels	*Angeli*	*angeloi*	*CH* 9.2
angels of the presence	—	—	Highest class in Jubilees and T. Levi (Jub 1:27; 2:2; T. Levi 3)
Apparition of St Michael	*In Apparitione S. Michaelis Archangeli*	—	Bute: "Manifestation" (*MR* 1920, 8 May)
application of power	*applicatio virtutis*	—	Ground of angelic place (*ST* I q. 52 a. 1 co.; a. 2 co.)
Archangels	*Archangeli*	*archangeloi*	Chief messengers, *summi nuntii* (Gregory, Isidore); Isidore: "archos ... princeps", and archangels "primatum teneant inter angelos"; Augustine ranks them above the angels only in *De civ. Dei* XXII.30 (Jude 9; 1 Thess 4:15 [4:16]; *CH* 9.2; Gregory, *Hom.* 34.8; Isidore, *Etym.* VII.5.6; Augustine, *Enchir.* 58)
assault	*impugnatio*	—	Distinguished from its ordering, *ordo impugnationis* (*ST* I q. 114 pr., a. 1)
assumed body	*corpus assumptum*	—	United as a represented mover (*ST* I q. 51 a. 2 s.c., ad 2)
at once from the beginning of time	*simul ab initio temporis*	—	The disputed particle of *Firmiter* (DS 800; DS 3002)

English	Latin	Greek	Note
Averter	*Apopompaeus*	—	Origen, *De princ.* III.2.1 (Lev 16:8)
be funnelled	—	*chōneuesthai*	Etymology of Chonae (*Synaxarium CP*, 6 Sept.)
beginning of the ways of God	*principium viarum Dei*	—	Douay "beginning of the ways of God" (Job 40:14 [40:19]; Gregory, *Moralia* XXXII.23.47, Library of the Fathers "chief of the ways of God"; Isidore, *Sent.* I.10.4)
beyond measure	*extra mensuram*	—	Where the evil of the angelic sin lies (Hugh, *De sacr.* I.5.26)
birthday of impatience	*natales inpatientiae*	—	Tertullian, *De pat.* 5.5
both creatures	*utramque . . . creaturam, spiritualem et corporalem, angelicam videlicet et mundanam*	—	Defined: both creatures made from nothing at the beginning of time; created together, the common teaching of the Latin Doctors (Lateran IV, *Firmiter* (DS 800); *ST* I q. 61 a. 1)
bound / loosed	*ligari / solvi*	—	Demons hindered from, or permitted, what their nature reaches (*De pot.* q. 6 a. 5)
burning, fire, beginning of their mouth	*ardor, incendium, principium oris*	—	Etymology of *Seraphim*; cf. *ST* I q. 63 a. 7 ad 1 (Jerome, *Ep.* 18.6)
by a kind of exhortation	*quadam quasi exhortatione*	—	How the first sin caused the others (*ST* I q. 63 a. 8 co.)
by equality / by likeness	*per aequiparantiam / per similitudinem*	—	The devil sought likeness, not equality (*ST* I q. 63 a. 3 co.)
by essence / substantially	*substantialiter*	—	Whether holiness is by nature (Origen, *De princ.* I.5.3)
by property, by excess, by participation	*per proprietatem, per excessum, per participationem*	—	Rule of naming the orders (*ST* I q. 108 a. 5 co.)
by the power of his own nature	*per virtutem suae naturae*	—	Object of the first sin (*ST* I q. 63 a. 3; *De malo* q. 16 a. 3)
by way of art	*per modum artis*	—	Angelic and demonic works on bodies (*De pot.* q. 6 aa. 3, 5)
by way of persuasion	*per modum suadentis*	—	How angels move the will from without (*ST* I q. 111 a. 2)
candidates for angelhood	*angelorum . . . candidati*	—	The praying Church learning the Sanctus (Tertullian, *De orat.* 3.3)
chaste fear	—	—	Library of the Fathers "chaste fear" (Gregory, *Moralia* XXXIV.21.40)
Cherubim	*Cherubim; cherubin*	*cheroubim*	"Fullness of knowledge", *plenitudo scientiae* (Gregory); *scientiae multitudo* (Isidore); "fulness of knowledge or stream of wisdom" (Dionysius); the first angel is called "Cherub" for surpassing knowledge (*ST* I q. 63 a. 7 ad 1; Ezek 10:20; *CH* 7.1; Gregory, *Hom.* 34.9, 34.10; *Moralia* XXXII.23.48; Isidore, *Etym.* VII.5.22–23)
chief captain (of the Lord's host)	—	*archistratēgos*	Basil, *Adv. Eun.* III.1; Jos 5:15 [5:14]
chief princes	*principes primi*	—	The archangels (Jerome, *In Dan.* 10:13)
choir-leader	—	*chorostatēs*	Michael (Theodore, *Or.* 6.1)
circumscriptively / definitively	*circumscriptive / definitive*	—	Body / angel; God neither (*ST* I q. 52 a. 2 co.)

English	Latin	Greek	Note
completively / dispositively	*completive / dispositive*	—	Grace / nature in the distinction of orders (*ST* I q. 108 a. 4 co.)
composing and dividing	*componere et dividere*	—	Denied of angelic knowledge (*ST* I q. 58 a. 4)
comprehensor	*comprehensor*	—	Said of Christ's soul and of the Church in heaven (*ST* I q. 113 a. 4 ad 1; III q. 8 a. 4 ad 2; III q. 30 a. 2 ad 1)
comrade	*contubernalis*	—	The angel is in the soul as comrade, God as life (Bernard, *De consid.* V.5.12)
confirmation in good	*confirmatio in bono*	—	Of the nature of beatitude (*ST* I q. 62 a. 1)
connatural / innate species	*species connaturales (innatae)*	—	Not drawn from things; received with the angelic nature (*ST* I q. 55 a. 2 co.)
consummate grace	*gratia consummata*	—	Grace of the beatific conversion (*ST* I q. 62 a. 2 ad 3)
conversion (turning toward)	*conversio*	—	Spiritual analogue of local nearness (*ST* I q. 106 a. 1 co.)
conversion / aversion	*conversio / aversio*	—	The division of the angels by the will's turning (Hugh, *De sacr.* I.5.23–24; Lombard, *Sent.* II d. 5 c. 1)
cooperating grace	*gratia cooperans; gratia apposita*	—	Added grace (*gratia apposita*); given to those who turned, never to those who fell (Hugh, *De sacr.* I.5.24; Lombard, *Sent.* II d. 5 cc. 1, 3–4)
creating nature and bestowing grace in one act	*simul . . . condens naturam et largiens gratiam*	—	Basis of the created-in-grace opinion (Augustine, *De civ. Dei* XII.9; *ST* I q. 62 a. 3 s.c.)
daemon / angel	*daemon / angelus*	*daimōn / angelos*	Philo identifies them; the Fathers keep the office-name; the Church rejects the identity of souls and angels (Philo, *De gig.* 6; *De somn.* I.141)
daemon / demon	*daemon*	*daimōn; daimonion*	Neutral or honorific among the Greeks; Christian usage reserves "demon" to the fallen (Augustine, Origen); this reference writes "daemon" for the philosophers' beings and "demon" for the Fathers' (Plato, *Cratylus* 398b–c; Augustine, *De civ. Dei* IX.19–20; Origen, *C. Cels.* V.5)
dark air	*caliginosus aer*	—	English Dominican "darksome atmosphere" (*ST* I q. 64 a. 4 co.)
day-knowledge	*diurna cognitio*	—	Knowledge of things in the Word, Aquinas's *cognitio matutina*; NPNF "noonday knowledge" (Augustine, *De civ. Dei* XI.29)
Dedication of St Michael (Michaelmas)	*In Dedicatione S. Michaelis Archangeli*	—	Gregorian: *Dedicatio basilicae sancti Angeli*; Leonine: *natale basilicae Angeli in Salaria* (*MR* 1920/1962, 29 Sept.)
definitively in place	*esse in loco definitive*	—	Against circumscriptive presence (*ST* I q. 52 a. 1; Paris art. 219)
delegated	*delegatus*	—	Jerome, *In Matth.* III
demon	*daemon*	*daimonion; daimōn*	A fallen angel; the Christian name for an evil spirit, never used in Scripture of good spirits; named from knowledge; one devil, many demons (DS 800; Augustine, *De civ. Dei* IX.19–20; Justin, *1 Apol.* 5)
demon / dragon (deserter)	—	*daimōn; drakōn; apodedrakenai*	Theophilus's etymology (Theophilus, *Ad Autol.* II.28)

English	Latin	Greek	Note
determination of the will	*determinatio voluntatis*	—	Measures an angel's speed (*ST* I q. 53 a. 3 ad 1)
devil	*diabolus*	*diabolos*	Created good, evil by his own act; "throws himself across"; "the slanderer" (DS 800; CCC 2851; Chrysostom, *Power of Demons* hom. 2.2)
Dominations	*Dominationes*	*kyriotetes*	Direct the lower orders; Gregory: *dominari . . . subjectos quosque possidere*, above principalities and powers; Isidore: above virtues and principalities; Parker renders "Lordships"; Crombie's Origen renders "powers" (Col 1:16; Eph 1:21; *CH* 8.1; *ST* I q. 108 aa. 5–6; Gregory, *Hom.* 34.10; Isidore, *Etym.* VII.5.20; Origen, *De princ.* preface 2)
double of the first/second class	*duplex I/II classis*	—	In 1962, *I/II/III classis* (*MR* 1920, Mame; *BR* 1898)
efficacious / inefficacious volition	*volitio efficax / inefficax (complacentiae)*	—	Complacency may will the impossible (Scotus, *Ord.* II d. 6 q. 1)
efficient / deficient cause	*causa efficiens / deficiens*	—	The evil will has no efficient cause (Augustine, *De civ. Dei* XII.6–7)
effluence	—	—	Platonic derivation of rational natures, corrected to creation from nothing (Eusebius, *Praep. ev.* XIII.15)
elective love	*dilectio electiva*	—	Love of choice; meritorious (*ST* I q. 60 a. 2)
empyrean heaven	*caelum empyreum*	—	Highest corporeal place, "from its splendor" (Strabus; *ST* I q. 61 a. 4)
emulation	*aemulatio, certamen*	*hamilla*	Of the angels by the faithful (Maximus, *Myst.* 24)
envy	*invidentia; invidia; livor (liuor)*	—	*odium felicitatis alienae*, following pride (Augustine); taken not as passion but *pro voluntate renitente bono alterius* (Aquinas); the source of all evils, *cunctorum malorum fontem esse liuorem* (Lactantius; Augustine, *De Gen. ad litt.* XI.14.18; *ST* I q. 63 a. 2 ad 2; Lactantius, *Div. inst.* II.8.5)
equal-making	*aequiparantia*	—	To preside subject to none (Bonaventure, *In II Sent.* d. 5 a. 1 q. 1)
equality of honour	*aequalitas honoris*	*isotimia*	With the bodiless powers in the age to come (Maximus, *Myst.* 19)
essence, power, energy	*essentia, potentia, operatio*	*ousia, dynamis, energeia*	Triad behind *ST* I q. 54 a. 3 (*CH* 11.2)
evening knowledge	*cognitio vespertina; vespera; uespertina cognitio*	—	Knowledge of things in their own nature, of the creature in itself; NPNF "twilight knowledge" (*ST* I q. 58 aa. 6–7; Augustine, *De Gen. ad litt.* IV.22.39–23.40; *De civ. Dei* XI.29)
ever-moving	*semper mobilis*	*aeikinētos*	Damascene's "in perpetual motion" (NPNF); Aquinas: ever actually intelligent (Damascene, *De fide orth.* II.3; *ST* I q. 50 a. 1 obj. 2, ad 2)
every spirit is winged	*omnis spiritus ales est*	—	Of angels and demons alike (Tertullian, *Apol.* 22.8)
evil of fault	*malum culpae*	—	The subject of q. 63 (*ST* I q. 63 pr.)

English	Latin	Greek	Note
evil of punishment	*malum poenae*	—	The subject of q. 64 (*ST* I q. 63 pr.; q. 64)
exercise (of the evil angel)	*exercitium*	—	"ad custodiam … ad exercitium" (Lombard, *Sent.* II d. 11 c. 1)
existence / what is	*esse / quod est; quo est*	—	Boethian composition in angels (*ST* I q. 50 a. 2 ad 3)
fall (of the angels)	*casus*	*ekptōsis*	"what death is to men" (Damascene, *De fide orth.* II.4)
familiar friends	*familiares (angelos)*	—	"Habetote familiares angelos" (Bernard, *In Ps. Qui habitat* 12.10)
feast; memorial	*festum; memoria*	—	Ranks of celebration (postconciliar calendar)
fellow citizens (of angels and men)	*cives; socii*	—	Christmas reconciliation of angels and men (Gregory, *Hom. in Ev.* 8.2; Bede, *In Luc.* I; PL 92, 333)
first-born angel	—	*angelos protogonos*	The angel who fell first (Tatian, *Or.* 7)
first-born princes of the angels (seven)	—	—	Clement, *Strom.* VI.16
first-created angels	—	—	The six builders and counsellors (Hermas, *Vis.* III.4; *Sim.* V.5)
force of the first choice	*vis primae electionis*	—	Demons sin in every choice (*De malo* q. 16 a. 5 co.)
free choice	*liberum arbitrium; liberi arbitrii*	*autexousios*	"Ubicumque est intellectus, est liberum arbitrium"; free, self-determining (Damascene), NPNF "with free-will" (*ST* I q. 59 a. 3; Damascene, *De fide orth.* II.3)
friendship-love / desire-love	*velle amicitiae / velle concupiscentiae*	—	Order of the will's acts (Scotus, *Ord.* II d. 6 q. 2)
from nothing	*ex nihilo*	—	"Idest postquam nihil fuerat" (*ST* I q. 61 a. 2)
Gabriel	*Gabriel*	*Gabriel*	*fortitudo Dei* (Gregory; Dan 8:16; Luke 1:19)
genius	*genius; genii*	*daimones*	Latin rendering of daemon; the pagan household spirits, which Tertullian and Lactantius identify as demons; Jowett uses "genius" for *daimon* in *Phaedo* and *Republic* (Apuleius, *De deo Socr.* 15; Tertullian, *De anima* 39; Lactantius, *Div. inst.* II.14.12)
girdle of chastity	*cingulum castitatis; mystica zona*	—	Calo: *cingulum perpetue virginitatis* (Tocco c. 10; *Studiorum Ducem*)
gnostic (perfect Christian)	—	*gnostikos*	Clement's term for the perfect believer (Clement, *Strom.* VII)
good angel / evil angel	—	—	"angel of light" (2 Cor 11:14; Ignatius, *Spiritual Exercises*, Rules for the Second Week 3–7)
grappin	—	—	Vianney's name for the devil (O'Meara ch. 9)
greater double	*duplex majus*	—	Bute: "Greater Double" (pre-1955 kalendaria)
ground of presence	*ratio essendi in loco*	—	The gloss: substance is not the *ratio* (Paris art. 219 gloss; Cajetan on *ST* I q. 52 a. 1)
guard of our life	*custodia*	*phylax tēs zōēs*	Basil, *Hom. in Ps.* 33.5; *ST* I q. 113 pr.
guardian (tutelary spirit)	*custos*	—	Not the Christian guardian angel; Clement's "tutelary angels"; Guthrie's "guardian" in Plotinus translates *daimon* (Hesiod, *WD* 123; Lactantius, *Div. inst.* II.14.8; Clement, *Strom.* V.14; Plotinus, *Enn.* III.4.3)

English	Latin	Greek	Note
guardian angel	*angelus custos*	—	"Beside each believer" (Basil, in CCC 336); French *ange gardien* (Thérèse, de Sales); Newman "Angel-guardian"; "angel guardian" in 1920 English (Matt 18:10; CCC 336; *ST* I q. 113 aa. 4, 6; Thérèse, "À mon Ange gardien"; de Sales II.16)
guardianship	*custodia*	—	Guard, keeping; English Dominican "guardianship"; *in custodiam sui angelum delegatum* (Jerome; *ST* I q. 113 pr.; Jerome, *In Matth.* III; Hilary, *Tract. in Ps.* 134.17)
guardianship and cultivation of mankind	*tutela cultusque generis humani*	—	ANF "protection and improvement" (Lactantius, *Div. inst.* II.14.1)
guidings by the hand	*manuductiones*	—	Sacraments as guidings into intelligible things (*De ver.* q. 9 a. 1)
heavenly army / soldiers of God	*militia coelestis; exercitus angelorum*	—	Luke 2:13; Bede, *In Luc.* I; PL 92, 333; Gregory, *Moralia* XVII.13.19
heavenly ministry	*ministerium caeleste*	—	The whole angelic creation (Jerome, *Ep.* 18.7)
heavenly powers	*virtutes caelestes*	*ouraniai dynameis*	Common name for all orders (*CH* 11.1)
help of grace	*auxilium gratiae*	—	Needed to turn toward beatitude (*ST* I q. 62 a. 2)
here and now	*hic et nunc*	—	Why a body cannot understand (*ST* I q. 50 a. 1 co.)
hidden seeds	*occulta semina; naturae semina*	—	Causes latent in the elements; angels apply them, do not create (Augustine, *De Trin.* III.8.13; *De pot.* q. 6 a. 3)
hierarchy	*hierarchia; sacer principatus*	*hierarchia (hieron + archon)*	Sacred principality; "sacred order and science and operation" (Dionysius, in whose corpus the word first appears); defined by order, science, action, likeness to God; supercelestial, celestial, subcelestial (Bonaventure; *CH* 3.1; *ST* I q. 108 a. 1 co.; *In II Sent.* d. 9 q. 1 a. 1 co.; Bonaventure, *De sanctis Angelis* 5)
Holy Guardian Angels	*Ss. Angeli Custodes*	—	2 October; a memorial in the postconciliar calendar (*MR* 1920/1962, 2 Oct.; *OLM* n. 650)
honour of love, not servitude	*caritate, non servitute*	—	The honour due to the angels (Augustine, *De vera religione* 55.110)
illumination	*illuminatio; illuminare; illustratio*	*photismos; ellampsis*	Enlightenment; second of the triple law (Dionysius); "manifestation of the known truth", strengthening plus proposal (Aquinas); as *illustratio*, *ellampsis*, uncreated in Palamas (*CH* 3.2–3; *ST* I q. 106 a. 1; *De ver.* q. 9 a. 1; Palamas, *Cap.* 64–65; *DN* 4.8)
immortal by grace	*immortalis per gratiam*	*kata charin . . . to athanaton*	Aquinas: perfect immortality includes immutability (Damascene, *De fide orth.* II.3; *ST* I q. 50 a. 5 ad 1)
in place of the whole human nature	*loco totius humanae naturae*	—	The Virgin's consent (*ST* III q. 30 a. 1 co.)
incorporeal	*incorporeus*	*asōmatos; asōmaton*	Relative to us: "compared with God . . . dense and material" (Damascene); Origen discusses the term (Damascene, *De fide orth.* II.3; *ST* I q. 50 a. 1 ad 1; Origen, *De princ.* preface 8)

English	Latin	Greek	Note
influences (opposing)	*virtutes*	—	Crombie's "influences" for Rufinus's *Virtutes* (Origen, *De princ.* preface 5)
instant; now	*instans; nunc*	—	Angelic time as succession of "nows" (*ST* I q. 53 a. 3 co.)
intellective appetite	*appetitus intellectivus*	—	Undivided into irascible/concupiscible; "remanet indivisus; et vocatur voluntas" (*ST* I q. 59 a. 4)
intellectual / rational	*intellectuales / rationales*	—	Names of the two intellectual natures (*ST* I q. 58 a. 3)
intellectual companionship	*intelligibilis societas*	—	English Dominican "intellectual companionship" (*ST* I q. 51 a. 2 ad 1)
intelligent essence	*substantia intellectualis*	*ousia noera*	First term of the definition (Damascene, *De fide orth.* II.3)
intelligible outpouring	*intelligibilis effluxus*	—	God's concreation of the species with the angelic nature (*ST* I q. 55 a. 2 co.)
intelligible species	*species intelligibiles*	—	The angelic medium (*ST* I q. 55 a. 2)
intentional existence	*esse intentionale*	—	The mode in which one angel exists in another's intellect (*ST* I q. 56 a. 2 ad 3)
intercession (of angels)	*intercessio*	—	Needed by our weakness, not by God (Hilary, *Tract. in Ps.* 129.7)
interior word; word of the heart	*verbum interius; verbum cordis*	—	*ST* I q. 107 a. 1 co.; *In II Sent.* d. 11 q. 2 a. 3
interpreter, messenger	*interpres, salutiger*	—	The *Symposium*'s office of the daemonic (Apuleius, *De deo Socr.* 6; Plutarch, *De def.* 13; Porphyry, *De abst.* II.38, "transporters")
justice	*iustitia*	—	Rectitude of will; its absence where due is injustice (Anselm, *De casu diaboli* 4, 9, 14–16)
knowing (etymology of daemon)	*peritus, rerum scius*	*daemones / daemonas*	A chain of one etymology (Plato, *Cratylus* 398b, Jowett "daemones, knowing or wise"; Lactantius, *Div. inst.* II.14.6; Isidore, *Etym.* VIII.11.15; Augustine, *De civ. Dei* IX.20; Aquinas, *De sub. sep.* 20)
Lady of the angels	*Domina angelorum*	—	English "by angels mistress own'd" (*Ave Regina caelorum*; *Manual of Prayers*, 1889, p. 77)
laws of the angels	*leges angelorum*	—	Hilary, *Tract. in Ps.* 118 Vau 8
Lent of Saint Michael	*Quadragesima ad honorem sancti Archangeli Michaelis*	—	Forty days from the Assumption to 29 Sept. (Bonaventure, *Leg. maior* XIII.1; Quaracchi note to IX.3)
let us attend	*attendamus*	*proschōmen*	Michael's word after the fall (*Synaxarium CP*, 8 Nov.)
Little Genesis	*parva Genesis*	*ta Iōbēlaia / Leptē Genesis*	Names of Jubilees (Jerome, *Ep.* 78; Epiphanius, *Pan.* 39.6.1)
love of concupiscence	*amor concupiscentiae*	—	Love of a good to be had (*ST* I q. 60 a. 3)
love of friendship	*amor amicitiae*	—	Wishing good to a subsisting good (*ST* I q. 60 a. 3)
lovers of mankind	—	*philanthrōpoi*	The angels (Theodore, *Or.* 6.1)
Lucifer	*Lucifer*	*heosphoros*	Read of the devil under the figure of the king of Babylon (*ST* I q. 63 a. 5; Isa 14:12)
Masses for particular places	*Missae pro aliquibus locis*	—	8 May in 1962 (*MR* 1962 appendix)

English	Latin	Greek	Note
matter in the restricted sense	*materia appropriate*	—	As principle of undergoing change (Bonaventure, *In II Sent.* d. 3 p. 1 a. 1 q. 1 ad 1)
mediator	*mediator*	—	Christ the one Mediator, against the demons' mediation (Augustine); angels mediate "ministerially and dispositively" (Aquinas; 1 Tim 2:5; T. Dan 6; Augustine, *De civ. Dei* IX.15; *ST* III q. 26 a. 1 ad 2)
medium of knowing	*medium cognoscendi*	—	Second head (q. 55): the species, not the power (*ST* I q. 54 pr.)
merit	*meritum; meritorius*	—	Deserving, not producing, the supernatural end (*ST* I q. 62 a. 4)
messenger	*nuntius*	*angelos*	The general name of the whole heavenly city; the Latin gloss of *angelus*; Hebrew *mal'ak*, *malakh*: "delegated", "ambassador" (Augustine, *De civ. Dei* XV.23; *De Gen. ad litt.* V.19.37; Gregory, *Hom.* 34.8; Isidore, *Etym.* VII.5.1, 5; John Paul II, audience of 30 July 1986)
Messenger / Angel of great counsel	*magni consilii angelus*	*megalēs boulēs angelos*	Brenton "Messenger"; ANF Justin/Origen "Angel of (the) great counsel" (Isa 9:6 LXX; Brenton 9:5)
Michael	*Michael*	*Michael*	*Quis ut Deus* (Gregory, *Hom.* 34.9; Dan 10:13; Jude 9; Apoc 12:7)
minister (intelligent instrument)	*minister, instrumentum intelligens*	—	Definition of angelic ministry (*ST* I q. 112 a. 1)
ministering angel	*Angelus minister*	—	Christ's, as inferior (*ST* I q. 113 a. 4 ad 1)
ministering spirits	*spiritus administratorii*	*leitourgika pneumata; ta pneumata ta leitourgounta*	"Sent to minister"; "spirits which serve before Him" (Heb 1:14; Jub 2:2; Epiphanius, *De mensuris* 22; Athanasius, *C. Ar.* III.14; Chrysostom, *Hom. in Heb.* 3.4)
miracle (proper / wide)	*miraculum proprie / large*	—	Outside the order of the whole created nature / exceeding human power (*ST* I q. 110 a. 4; q. 114 a. 4)
mirror	*speculum*	—	The angelic nature as mirror of the Divine image (*ST* I q. 56 a. 3 co.; *DN* 4.22)
mode of knowledge	*modus cognitionis*	—	Fourth head (q. 58; *ST* I q. 54 pr.)
morning knowledge	*cognitio matutina; mane*	—	Knowledge of things in the Word; Augustine's *mane*, the turning of evening knowledge to praise (*ST* I q. 58 aa. 6–7; Augustine, *De Gen. ad litt.* IV.22.39, IV.30.47)
mysteries of grace	*mysteria gratiae*	—	Known only by revelation in the Word (*ST* I q. 57 a. 5)
mystical body	*corpus Ecclesiae mysticum*	—	Includes men and angels (*ST* III q. 8 a. 4 co.)
name of office, not of nature	*nomen officii, non naturae*	—	Aquinas: nature-name as manifestative, office-name as exterior ministry (Gregory, *Hom.* 34.8; Isidore, *Etym.* VII.5.2; *In II Sent.* d. 9 q. 1 a. 4 ad 2)
natural appetite	*appetitus naturalis*	—	Inclination without knowledge (*ST* I q. 59 a. 1)
natural love	*dilectio naturalis; amor naturalis*	—	"Inclinatio naturae indita ab auctore naturae" (*ST* I q. 60 a. 1)
nescience	*nescientia*	—	The only *terminus a quo* of angelic learning (*ST* I q. 106 a. 2 ad 1)

English	Latin	Greek	Note
night knowledge	*cognitio nocturna*	—	*non dicitur vespertina, sed nocturna* (*ST* I q. 64 a. 1 ad 3)
non-continuous motion	*motus non continuus*	—	Whole place quitted at once (*ST* I q. 53 a. 1 co.)
obstinate / confirmed	*obstinata / confirmata*	—	Demons' will and good angels' will (*ST* I q. 64 a. 2 co.)
office of presenting souls	*animarum repraesentandarum officium*	—	Salter: "ministry of bringing souls before God" (Bonaventure, *Leg. maior* IX.3)
offices	*officia*	—	"rational offices and orders" (Origen, *De princ.* I.5.1)
operation	*operatio*	*energeia*	Third term of the definition of hierarchy (*CH* 3.1)
opponents of God	—	*antitheoi*	The apostate angels (Palamas, *Cap.* 27)
order	*ordo*	*taxis*	First term of the definition of hierarchy; "multitudo caelestium spirituum, qui inter se in aliquo munere gratiae similantur" (Lombard); in a twofold sense, grade and ordering (Aquinas; *CH* 3.1; Lombard, *Sent.* II d. 9 c. 2; *ST* I q. 108 a. 2 ad 1)
orderer (of evil wills)	*ordinator*	—	God orders wicked wills; he does not create them (Hugh, *De sacr.* I.5.27)
outward (external) ministry	*exterius ministerium*	—	Action by divine command on bodies (*ST* I q. 112 aa. 2, 4)
particular / universal guardianship	*custodia particularis / universalis*	—	*ST* I q. 113 a. 3
perfection	*perfectio*	*teleiosis*	Perfecting; third of the triple law; consummation in known truth (*CH* 3.2–3; *ST* I q. 106 a. 2 ad 1; *De ver.* q. 9 a. 3)
perseverance	*perseverantia*	—	Received by the good angel; not received by the devil because he would not (Anselm, *De casu diaboli* 2–4)
personal vs specific distinction	*discretio quoad personalitatem / quoad speciem*	—	The position Bonaventure calls "sober and catholic", *positio sobria et catholica* (Bonaventure, *In II Sent.* d. 3 p. 1 a. 2 q. 1)
place	*locus*	—	The body the angel's power touches (*ST* I q. 52)
place of punishment	*locus poenalis*	—	*duplex locus poenalis* (*ST* I q. 64 a. 4 co.)
plan of government / execution	*ratio gubernationis / executio*	—	God holds the plan immediately; executes partly through creatures (*ST* I q. 103 a. 6)
Plani (a kind of demon)	*Plani*	*planoi*	NPNF note: "seducers"; some MSS *Fauni* (Cassian, *Conl.* VII.32)
power in acting; readiness in ministering; clearness in knowing; unchangeableness after choice	*virtuositas; officiositas; perspicacitas; immutabilitas*	—	The four companions of the four attributes (Bonaventure, *Brev.* II.6.2)
power of knowledge	*virtus cognoscitiva*	—	First of the four heads of the treatise on angelic knowledge (*ST* I q. 54 pr.)

English	Latin	Greek	Note
power of strength, dominion, administration	*potestas virtutis, dominationis, administrationis*	—	The angels' threefold power (Hugh, *De sacr.* I.5.13)
Powers	*Potestates*	*exousiai*	Restrain the adverse powers, *virtutes adversae* (Gregory; *ST* I q. 109 a. 4 s.c.); Parker renders "Authorities" (Eph 1:21; Rom 8:38; *CH* 8.1; *ST* I q. 108 a. 5 ad 3; Gregory, *Hom.* 34.10; Isidore, *Etym.* VII.5.18)
powers of the air	*aereae potestates*	—	Overthrown by Christ announced by Gabriel (Gregory, *Hom.* 34.9; Isidore, *Etym.* VII.5.11; Bede, *In Luc.* I)
prayers after Low Mass	*preces post privatae Missae celebrationem*	—	"Leonine prayers" (Collectio 1929 n. 331)
precedence, prelacy	*praelatio*	—	*ST* I q. 109 aa. 2, 4
presidency (of the angels over bodies)	*praesidentia*	—	Aquinas's term for the angels' rule over the corporeal creature (*ST* I q. 110 pr.)
presumption; ambition	*praesumptio (praesumendo); ambitio (ambiendo)*	—	Lucifer made himself his own principle and highest good (Bonaventure, *Brev.* II.7.3)
pride	*superbia*	—	*amor excellentiae propriae*, which precedes envy (Augustine); *non subdi superiori in eo quo debet* (Aquinas; Augustine, *De Gen. ad litt.* XI.14.18; *ST* I q. 63 a. 2 co.)
prince of the heavenly host	*princeps militiae caelestis / Angelorum*	—	Leo XIII, prayer to Saint Michael; *BR*, 29 Sept., fourth responsory
Principalities	*Principatus*	*archai*	Preside over the good spirits; *principari est inter reliquos priorem existere*, to be first among others (Gregory); Salmond's Damascene renders "Rulers" (Eph 1:21; Col 1:16; Rom 8:38; *CH* 9.1; *ST* I q. 108 a. 5 ad 3; Gregory, *Hom.* 34.10; Isidore, *Etym.* VII.5.19; Damascene, *De fide orth.* II.3)
private contracts / public justice / signs of public justice	*privati contractus / publica iustitia / signa publicae iustitiae*	—	Private compacts; the wonders of magicians, of good Christians (the saints), and of bad Christians (Augustine, *De div. qq. 83* q. 79.4; *ST* I q. 110 a. 4 ad 2)
privilege of creation	*conditionis praerogativa*	—	Dominion as native privilege vs merit (Origen, *De princ.* I.5.3)
property of angelic power	*proprium angelicae potestatis*	—	To take a body from no matter (Tertullian, *De carne Christi* 6.10)
purely spiritual creature	*creatura pure spiritualis*	—	"quae in Scriptura sacra Angelus nominatur" (*ST* I q. 50 pr.)
purification	*purificatio; mundatio; purgatio*	*katharsis*	Cleansing, purgation; first of the triple law; among angels, the removal of nescience only (*CH* 3.2–3, 7.3; *ST* I q. 106 a. 2 ad 1; *De ver.* q. 9 a. 3)
Queen of Angels	*Regina Angelorum*	—	Litany of Loreto (*Manual of Prayers*, 1889, p. 67)
quiddity	*quod quid est*	—	The intellect's proper object; about it, no error (*ST* I q. 57 a. 1 ad 2; q. 58 aa. 4–5)
ramparts of the angels	*angelorum munitiones*	—	Hilary, *Tract. in Ps.* 124.5

English	Latin	Greek	Note
rank, host (in vision)	*acies*	—	The choirs seen in concentric ranks (Hildegard, *Scivias* I.6)
Raphael	*Raphael*	*Raphael*	*medicina Dei* (Gregory; Tob 3:25; 12:15)
rational animal (of the angel)	*rationale animal*	—	Metaphorical, per *ST* I q. 51 a. 1 ad 2 (Gregory, *Hom. in Ev.* 10.1)
religion; piety	*religio; pietas*	*threskeia; eusebeia, theosebeia*	Ambiguities of the Latin words (Augustine, *De civ. Dei* X.1)
report (as angels)	—	*diangellousi*	Philo's etymology of the office-name (Philo, *De somn.* I.141)
resistance of the will	*renisus voluntatis*	—	Sorrow as a simple act of will (*ST* I q. 64 a. 3 co.)
reverence, devotion, confidence	*reverentia, devotio, fiducia*	—	For the angel's presence, goodwill, and guardianship; Melleray renders *devotio* "gratitude" (Bernard, *In Ps. Qui habitat* 12.6)
sanctifying grace	*gratia gratum faciens*	—	"In gratia gratum faciente creatos" (*ST* I q. 62 a. 3)
Satan	*Satanas*	*satanas*	"Adversary"; the fallen angel of Scripture and Tradition; "Sata", apostate, and "Nas", serpent (Justin); "Satan signifies an apostate" (Irenaeus; CCC 391; Justin, *Dial.* 103; Irenaeus, *Adv. haer.* V.21.2)
science	*scientia*	*episteme*	Second term of the definition of hierarchy (*CH* 3.1)
seal of likeness	*signaculum similitudinis*	—	Douay "seal of resemblance" (Ezek 28:12; Gregory, *Hom.* 34.7; *Moralia* XXXII.23.47 ("seal of the likeness of God"); Isidore, *Sent.* I.10.6)
secondary Lights; Splendours	—	—	The NPNF rendering (Gregory Nazianzen, *Or.* 28.31; 38.9; 40.5)
secrets of hearts	*cogitationes cordium*	—	Known to God alone (*ST* I q. 57 a. 4)
seminal principles	*rationes seminales*	—	Grace given as seed with nature (*ST* I q. 62 a. 3)
sensitive appetite	*appetitus sensitivus*	—	Reaches particular goods only (*ST* I q. 59 a. 1)
separate substance	*substantia separata*	—	Aquinas's name for the philosophers' incorporeal substances, which the faith calls angels (Aquinas, *De sub. sep.*; *ST* I q. 50 a. 3 co.)
Seraph	*Seraph*	—	The singular, of the Seraph who appeared to Francis on La Verna (Bonaventure, *Leg. maior* XIII.3; *Itin.* prol. 2)
seraphic	*seraphicus*	—	"Doctor seraphicus" as printed title (Bonaventure, *Leg. maior* XIII.3; *Itin.* prol. 3; Quaracchi title)
Seraphim	*Seraphim; seraphin*	*seraphim*	"Burning, kindling", *ardentes vel incendentes* (Gregory, Isidore); "kindling or burning" (Dionysius); "Quorum profecto flamma amor est" (Gregory; Isa 6:2; *CH* 7.1; Gregory, *Hom.* 34.9, 34.10; Isidore, *Etym.* VII.5.24)
service due to God only	*servitus; cultus*	*latreia*	Augustine borrows the Greek word (Augustine, *De civ. Dei* X.1)
shepherd	—	*nomeus*	Of the believer; CCC 336 "shepherd" (Basil, *Adv. Eun.* III.1)
situal	*situalis*	—	Local; said of angelic operation on bodies (*De ver.* q. 9 a. 6 ad 2)

English	Latin	Greek	Note
speech	*locutio*	—	Ordering of the mental concept to another by the will (*ST* I q. 107 a. 1; *De ver.* q. 9 a. 4)
spirit (name of nature)	*spiritus*	—	What the angels are (Augustine, *Enarr. in Ps.* 103, s. 1.15)
spirit about matter	—	—	The devil's original charge (Athenagoras, *Leg.* 24; Methodius, as Photius preserves him)
spirits and humours	*spiritus et humores*	—	Bodily means by which imagination and sense are moved (*ST* I q. 111 aa. 3–4)
spiritual fire	*spiritualis ignis*	—	The angelic nature (Honorius, *Elucidarium* I.6)
spiritual matter	*materia (large sumpta) in spiritualibus*	—	"matter" taken broadly as every constitutive potency (Bonaventure, *In II Sent.* d. 3 p. 1 a. 1 q. 1)
spiritual substance, a body of its own kind	*substantia spiritalis . . . corporis alicuius, sui tamen generis*	—	Tertullian's own view; contrast *ST* I q. 50 a. 1 (Tertullian, *De carne Christi* 6.9)
standard-bearer	*signifer*	—	"salutis signifer" (Requiem Offertory; *Te splendor*)
stewards and tutors	*actores et tutores*	—	Gal 4:2; Bernard, *In Ps. Qui habitat* 12.7
stronger nature	*natura potior*	—	The angels relative to man (Hilary, *Tract. in Ps.* 134.17)
subsisting form	*forma subsistens*	—	Form existing without matter (*ST* I q. 50 a. 2 ad 3; a. 5 co.)
subtlety and tenuity (of demons)	*subtilitas et tenuitas*	—	ANF "subtleness and tenuity" (Tertullian, *Apol.* 22.5)
subtlety of nature; experience of times	*subtilitas naturae; experientia temporum*	—	"experience" by similitude only (*ST* I q. 58 a. 3 ad 3; Isidore, *Sent.* I.10.17)
sudden acceptance of truth	*per subitam acceptionem veritatis*	—	Angelic choice without counsel (*ST* I q. 59 a. 3 ad 1)
summit of things	*in summo rerum vertice*	—	Intellectual creatures (*SCG* II.46 n. 1)
supernatural beatitude	*beatitudo supernaturalis*	—	Beatitude beyond natural faculty, by charity (*ST* I q. 60 a. 5 ad 4; q. 62 a. 1)
surrounding circle of angels	*angelorum circumstantia*	—	Tertullian, *De orat.* 3.3
synaxis	*synaxis*	*synaxis*	"attention, concord, union" (*Synaxarium CP*, 8 Nov.)
theurgy	*theurgia*	*theurgia*	Rejected as demon-worship under angels' names (Augustine, *De civ. Dei* X.9–10; Iamblichus, *De myst.* II.3)
threefold cord	*funiculus triplex*	—	The angels' love: for God, for us, for themselves (Bernard, *In festo S. Michaelis* 1.4)
thrice-holy hymn	*Trisagium*	*Trisagion*	Maximus uses it also of the Sanctus (Maximus, *Myst.* 13, 19; Hapgood p. 86)
Thrones	*Throni; sedes*	*thronoi*	Called *sedes* (Gregory, Isidore); God sits in them and decrees judgments (Col 1:16; *CH* 7.1; Gregory, *Hom.* 34.10; Isidore, *Etym.* VII.5.21)

English	Latin	Greek	Note
to assist / to minister	*assistere; ministrare; administrare*	—	To stand by; assisting is proper to the first hierarchy (Dan 7:10; Gregory, *Hom.* 34.12; *Moralia* XVII.13.18; Isidore, *Etym.* VII.5.19; *In II Sent.* d. 10 q. 1 a. 1; *ST* I q. 112 a. 3)
to enter (the mind)	*illabi (menti)*	—	Proper to God alone (Gennadius, *De eccl. dogm.* 83; *ST* I q. 56 a. 2 obj. 3)
to tempt	*tentare*	—	"To make trial", *experimentum sumere* (*ST* I q. 114 a. 2)
tongue of angels	*lingua Angelorum*	—	Metaphor for the power of manifesting the concept (*ST* I q. 107 a. 1 ad 2)
transverberation	—	—	The received name of Teresa's vision (Teresa, *Life* 29.16–17)
tutor	*paedagogus*	*paidagōgos*	Of the believer; CCC 336 renders Basil's sentence with "protector" (Basil, *Adv. Eun.* III.1; PG 29, 656B; Bernard, *In Ps. Qui habitat* 12.3)
types of the divine works	*rationes divinorum operum*	—	Known the more, the more perfectly God is seen (*ST* I q. 106 a. 1 ad 1)
union by pressure from without	*applicatio et oppressio*	—	How demons act on the possessed (Gennadius, *De eccl. dogm.* 83)
universal matter	*materia universalis*	—	Avicebron (*ST* I q. 50 a. 2 co.; *De sub. sep.* c. 5)
upper, middle, lower classes of a city	*optimates; populus honorabilis; vilis populus*	—	English Dominican "nobles, middle-class, common people" (*ST* I q. 108 a. 2 co.)
vestibule of God	*in vestibulis Dei*	—	First hierarchy; Parker "Its very vestibule" (*ST* I q. 108 a. 1 co.; *CH* 7.2)
Vice-Roy of Paradise	*praepositus paradisi*	—	Bute's rendering (*BR*, 29 Sept.)
virtual contact	*contactus virtutis*	—	English Dominican "virtual contact" (*ST* I q. 53 a. 1 co.)
virtual quantity	*quantitas virtualis*	—	Contrasted with dimensive quantity (*ST* I q. 52 a. 1 co.)
Virtues	*Virtutes*	*dynameis*	Channel of miracles (Gregory), through whom signs and miracles are done (*ST* I q. 110 a. 4 obj. 1); also the common name of all the heavenly spirits, as in Jerome's *Virtutes Dei*, "Powers of God"; Parker renders "Powers", a source of confusion with the Powers, *potestates* (Eph 1:21; 1 Pet 3:22; *CH* 8.1; *ST* I q. 108 a. 5 ad 1; Gregory, *Hom.* 34.10; Isidore, *Etym.* VII.5.17; Jerome, *Ep.* 18.17)
ward	*alumnus*	—	"pray for his ward" (Suárez, *De angelis* VI.17)
watch-tower of the angels	*specula angelorum*	—	Rendered "watch" (Hilary, *Tract. in Ps.* 137.5)
watcher	*vigil*	*ir*	Jerome: signifies angels "quod semper vigilent"; Douay "watcher"; *ir* is Theodotion's transliteration of the Aramaic; the Enochic books' name for angels holy and fallen; Ephrem's usual name for the angels (Dan 4:10, 14 [4:13, 17]; Jerome, *In Dan.* 4:10; Ephrem, *Nat.* I, XIV; *Epiph.* IV, VI, VIII; cf. Hesiod, *WD* 252–255)

English	Latin	Greek	Note
wayfarer / comprehensor	*viator / comprehensor*	—	The blessed angels are *comprehensores*, not *viatores*; guardianship lasts "quandiu viator est" (*ST* I q. 62 a. 9; q. 113 a. 4)
will	*voluntas*	—	Inclination following intellectual apprehension of good in general (*ST* I q. 59 a. 1)
will for happiness	*voluntas beatitudinis*	—	Tempered by justice without losing the power to exceed (Anselm, *De casu diaboli* 13–14)

N Witness Register

Every author and every act that this treatise cites as a witness appears here once. Scripture, the Jewish writings outside the canon, and the philosophers come first; then the councils, popes, and Roman congregations by date; the Fathers and Doctors by date; Thomas Aquinas and the later scholastics; the saints and spiritual writers; and the liturgical books. "Standing" gives the Church's recognition of the person, or the kind of the act. A Doctor of the Church is named with the proclaiming pope and the year, as the act or another Holy See document records them or, for proclamations before 1909, the *Catholic Encyclopedia*'s article "Doctors of the Church"; the year is omitted where it is uncertain. The four Latin Doctors are dated by Boniface VIII's decree of 1298 ordering their feasts kept as doubles in the whole Church, and the four Greek Doctors by the Breviary of Pius V (1568), which raised their feasts to the same rank. Where no such title applies, the column says "Father," "saint," or what the witness was. Standing describes the witness; the grade of a teaching stands with the teaching where it is stated. "Works read" names the works read at their own loci, whose editions and translations are listed in Appendix P; "Where treated" gives the sections and appendices that expound or cite each witness.

Witness	Standing	Works read	Where treated
Scripture, the Jewish writings outside the canon, and the philosophers			
Sacred Scripture (Latin Vulgate, in the Douay–Rheims)	Scripture	The Old and New Testaments in the Douay–Rheims (Challoner) English	1, I, J; *passim*
The Septuagint (Greek Old Testament)	Scripture in the Greek version received by the Fathers	Genesis, Deuteronomy, Job, Psalms, Isaiah, Daniel, Tobias (Brenton)	3.1, 3.3, 3.7, 4, 4.13, 5.6, 6, C; *passim*
1 Enoch (composite; before and about the time of Christ)	Jewish writing outside the canon (Apocryphal)	*The Book of Enoch*	3.1, 3.2, 3.3, 3.5, 3.7, 4, 5.10, C, J
Jubilees (2nd c. BC)	Jewish writing outside the canon (Apocryphal)	*The Book of Jubilees*	3.2, 3.3, C
Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs (date disputed)	Jewish writing outside the canon (Apocryphal)	Testaments of Reuben, Levi, Judah, Dan, Naphtali, Asher, Benjamin	3.4, 3.7, C
4 Esdras (c. AD 100)	Apocryphal; printed after the canon in the Douay Old Testament of 1610	4 Esdras 4 (Douay of 1610)	J
Philo of Alexandria (c. 20 BC–c. AD 50)	Jewish philosopher	*De opificio mundi*, *De gigantibus*, *De plantatione*, *De confusione linguarum*, *De somniis* I, *Quaestiones in Genesin* I	3.6, 3.7, C
Hesiod (c. 700 BC)	Greek poet	*Works and Days*	3.8.1, 3.8.9, C
Plato (c. 428–348 BC)	Greek philosopher	*Cratylus*, *Apology*, *Symposium*, *Phaedo*, *Republic*, *Timaeus*, *Laws*, *Statesman*, *Phaedrus*	3.8.1, 3.8.2, 3.8.3, 3.8.5, 3.8.6, 3.8.8, 3.8.9, C; *passim*
Aristotle (384–322 BC)	Greek philosopher	*Metaphysics* XII; *De caelo*	3.8.4, 8.1, 9.3, 11.1, 16.2, 17.5, C, E; *passim*

Witness	Standing	Works read	Where treated
Plutarch (c. 46–c. 120)	Greek philosopher	*De defectu oraculorum*; *De genio Socratis*	3.8.1, 3.8.2, 3.8.5, 3.8.9, C
Apuleius (c. 124–c. 170)	Latin Platonist	*De deo Socratis*	3.8.2, 3.8.3, 3.8.5, 3.8.9, 5.10, C
Plotinus (c. 205–270)	Neoplatonist philosopher	*Enneads* III.4–5	3.8.6, 3.8.9, C
Porphyry (c. 234–c. 305)	Neoplatonist philosopher	*Life of Plotinus*; *De abstinentia* II	3.8.4, 3.8.6, 3.8.9, 13.1, C
Iamblichus (c. 245–c. 325)	Neoplatonist philosopher	*De mysteriis*	3.8.6, 3.8.9, C
Councils, popes, and the Roman Curia			
Council of Nicaea I (325)	Ecumenical council	Creed (DS 125)	2, G
Council of Laodicea (c. 343–381)	Particular council	Canon 35	23, G
Council of Constantinople I (381)	Ecumenical council	Creed (DS 150)	2, G
Statuta Ecclesiae Antiqua (5th c.)	Canonical collection (southern Gaul)	DS 325	2, G
Synod of Constantinople and Edict of Justinian against Origen (543)	Imperial edict and synodal canons	Canons (DS 403–411)	2, 3.6, 4, 4.15, 5.8, 5.9, 13.2, G; *passim*
Council of Braga I (561)	Particular council	Anathematisms (DS 455–464)	2, 13.1, 16.2, G, K
Roman synod under Pope Zachary (745)	Papal synod	Acts against Aldebert (actio III)	1, 2, 3.5, 3.7, 6, 23, G, J; *passim*
Council of Nicaea II (787)	Ecumenical council	Definition on images (DS 600–603)	21.3, 21.9
Admonitio generalis (789)	Carolingian capitulary	c. 16	23, G, J
Council of Constantinople IV (869–870)	Ecumenical council	Canon 3 (DS 655–656)	21.3, 21.9
Innocent III (pope 1198–1216)	Pope	*Eius exemplo*, profession for the Waldensians, 1208 (DS 797)	2, G
Fourth Lateran Council (1215)	Ecumenical council	*Firmiter credimus* (DS 800–801)	2, 4, 5.10, 8.1, 9.3, 12.1, 13.1, 20.4, C, G; *passim*
Stephen Tempier, bishop of Paris (condemnation of 1277)	Episcopal condemnation	The 219 articles (*Chartularium Universitatis Parisiensis*, no. 473)	20.2, 20.3
Council of Florence (1442)	Ecumenical council	*Cantate Domino* (DS 1333, 1336)	2, G
Council of Trent (1546–1547)	Ecumenical council	Sessions IV, V, VI (DS 1502–1503, 1511, 1521)	2, 3.2, 3.7, 18, 18.2, C, G, K
First Vatican Council (1870)	Ecumenical council	*Dei Filius* (DS 3002–3003, 3025)	2, 8.1, 12.1, 20.4, G
Pius XI (pope 1922–1939)	Pope	*Studiorum Ducem* (1923)	24.3, 24.15
Pius XII (pope 1939–1958)	Pope	*Humani generis* (1950); *Munificentissimus Deus* (1950); *Ad caeli Reginam* (1954)	2, 19.5, G
Second Vatican Council (1962–1965)	Ecumenical council	*Lumen gentium* (1964)	19.2, 19.5
Paul VI (pope 1963–1978)	Pope	*Credo of the People of God* (*Solemni hac liturgia*, 1968); general audience of 15 November 1972	2, 5.10, 18, 18.2, 22, G, H, K
Congregation for the Doctrine of the Faith	Roman congregation	*Christian Faith and Demonology* (1975); decree on the Opus Angelorum (1992)	2, 23, G, J
John Paul II (pope 1978–2005)	Pope	Six general audiences on the angels and demons (9 July–20 August 1986)	1, 2, 17.1, 17.4, 17.5, 17.6, 23, G

Witness	Standing	Works read	Where treated
Catechism of the Catholic Church (1992; Latin typical edition 1997)	Universal catechism	Nos. 56–58, 328–336, 391–395, 414, 2846–2854	1, 2, 4, 4.18, 5.10, 7.5, 13.2, 17.6, 18.2, 22; *passim*
Congregation for Divine Worship and the Discipline of the Sacraments	Roman congregation	*Directory on Popular Piety and the Liturgy* (2001)	5.10, 7.5, 17.4, 17.5, 22, 23, G, H; *passim*
Compendium of the Catechism of the Catholic Church (2005)	Catechetical compendium (Benedict XVI)	Nos. 59–61, 74–75	2, G
Benedict XVI (pope 2005–2013)	Pope	General audience on Dionysius the Areopagite (14 May 2008)	2, 6, 7.10, G
Fathers and Doctors of the Church, and the writers of their age			
Clement of Rome (fl. c. 96)	Apostolic Father; pope, saint	*1 Clement*	3.1, 3.7, 4, C
Ignatius of Antioch (d. c. 110)	Apostolic Father; bishop, martyr, saint	Letters to the Trallians, Smyrnaeans, Ephesians	4
Barnabas, *To Diognetus*, *Martyrdom of Polycarp* (2nd c.)	Among the Apostolic Fathers	*Epistle of Barnabas*; *Epistle to Diognetus*; *Martyrdom of Polycarp*	4, 5.10
Hermas (2nd c.)	Among the Apostolic Fathers	*The Shepherd*	3.4, 3.7, 4, 17.2, 17.5, 17.6, C
Justin Martyr (c. 100–c. 165)	Father; apologist, martyr, saint	*First* and *Second Apology*; *Dialogue with Trypho*	2, 3.1, 3.7, 3.8.2, 3.8.8, 3.8.9, 4, C; *passim*
Tatian (2nd c.)	Greek apologist; later Encratite	*Address to the Greeks*	4
Athenagoras (fl. c. 177)	Greek apologist	*Legatio* (*A Plea for the Christians*)	3.2, 3.3, 3.7, 3.8.3, 3.8.9, 4, C
Theophilus of Antioch (d. c. 185)	Greek apologist; bishop of Antioch	*To Autolycus*	4
Irenaeus of Lyons (c. 130–c. 202)	Father; bishop, saint; Doctor of the Church (Francis, 2022)	*Adversus haereses*	3.1, 3.2, 3.3, 3.6, 3.7, 4, 19.1, C
Clement of Alexandria (c. 150–c. 215)	Ecclesiastical writer (Alexandria)	*Stromata*; *Adumbrationes in Iudam*	3.1, 3.2, 3.7, 3.8.3, 3.8.8, 3.8.9, 4, C; *passim*
Tertullian (c. 155–c. 220)	Ecclesiastical writer (Carthage)	*Apologeticum*; *Adversus Marcionem*; *De anima*; *De carne Christi*; *De oratione*; *De patientia*; *De idololatria*; *De cultu feminarum*; *De virginibus velandis*	3.7, 3.8.2, 3.8.3, 3.8.9, 5.1, 5.2, 5.9, C; *passim*
Minucius Felix (fl. c. 200)	Latin apologist	*Octavius*	3.8.2, 3.8.3, 3.8.9, 5.2, 5.9, C
Julius Africanus (c. 160–c. 240)	Christian chronographer	*Chronographia*, fragment	3.2, 3.7, C
Origen (c. 185–c. 254)	Ecclesiastical writer (Alexandria, Caesarea)	*De principiis*; *Contra Celsum*; commentaries on Matthew and John; homilies on Numbers and Joshua	3.6, 3.7, 3.8.3, 3.8.9, 4, 13.2, 17.5, 18.2, 20.7, C; *passim*
Cyprian of Carthage (d. 258)	Father; bishop, martyr, saint	*De habitu virginum*; *De zelo et livore*; *Quod idola dii non sint*; *Ad Demetrianum*	3.2, 3.7, 5.1, 5.2, 5.3, 5.9, 5.10, C
Gregory Thaumaturgus (c. 213–c. 270)	Father; bishop, saint	*Panegyric on Origen*	4, 17.2
Methodius of Olympus (d. c. 311)	Father; bishop, saint	*Banquet of the Ten Virgins*; *On the Resurrection* (with Photius's synopsis)	4

Witness	Standing	Works read	Where treated
Lactantius (c. 250–c. 325)	Ecclesiastical writer; apologist	*Divinae institutiones* II; *Epitome*	3.2, 3.7, 3.8.1, 3.8.2, 3.8.9, 5.3, 5.9, C; *passim*
Eusebius of Caesarea (c. 260–c. 339)	Ecclesiastical writer; bishop, historian	*Praeparatio evangelica*; *Demonstratio evangelica*	3.1, 3.3, 3.7, 3.8.1, 3.8.3, 3.8.5, 3.8.6, 3.8.8, 3.8.9, C
Hilary of Poitiers (c. 315–367/8)	Father; bishop, saint; Doctor of the Church (Pius IX, 1851)	*Tractatus super Psalmos*; *De Trinitate*; on Matthew 18 (in the Breviary)	3.1, 5.4, 5.9, 17.1, 17.5, 19.3, 22, C; *passim*
Athanasius of Alexandria (c. 296–373)	Father; bishop, saint; one of the four Greek Doctors (1568)	*Orationes contra Arianos*; *De incarnatione Verbi*; *Vita Antonii*	4.11, 4.18, 12.1, 18, 18.2, 20.4, K
Ephrem the Syrian (c. 306–373)	Father; deacon, saint; Doctor of the Church (Benedict XV, 1920)	Hymns on the Nativity, for the Epiphany; Nisibene Hymns	4.16, 4.18
Basil of Caesarea (c. 329–379)	Father; bishop, saint; one of the four Greek Doctors (1568)	*De Spiritu Sancto*; *Hexaemeron*; *Adversus Eunomium* III; homilies on Psalms 33 and 48	2, 4.13, 4.18, 17.2, 17.4, 17.5, 17.6, 23; *passim*
Cyril of Jerusalem (c. 315–386)	Father; bishop, saint; Doctor of the Church (Leo XIII)	*Catecheses*; *Mystagogical Catecheses*	4.12, 4.18, 19.4, 19.6, 22, B
Gregory of Nazianzus (c. 329–390)	Father; bishop, saint; one of the four Greek Doctors (1568)	Orations 2, 28, 31, 38, 40, 41, 42, 45	4.14, 4.18, 12.1, 19.1, 19.3, 19.4, 20.4, 21.1; *passim*
Gregory of Nyssa (c. 335–c. 395)	Father; bishop, saint	*Oratio catechetica*; *De hominis opificio*; *Contra Eunomium*; *De vita Moysis* II	3.8.3, 4.15, 4.18, 17.2, 17.5, 17.6
Ambrose of Milan (c. 340–397)	Father; bishop, saint; one of the four Latin Doctors (1298)	*De Spiritu Sancto*; *De fide*; *De viduis*; *De Noe*; *Expositio evangelii secundum Lucam*	3.7, 5.5, 5.9, 8.1, 18.2, 19.2, 19.3, C; *passim*
Epiphanius of Salamis (c. 315–403)	Father; bishop, saint	*Panarion*; *De mensuris et ponderibus*	3.3, 3.7, C
John Chrysostom (c. 347–407)	Father; bishop, saint; one of the four Greek Doctors (1568)	Homilies on Genesis, Matthew, John, Acts, 1–2 Corinthians, Ephesians, Colossians, Hebrews; *De sacerdotio*; *Ad Theodorum lapsum*; *De diabolo tentatore*	4.17, 4.18, 15.1, 17.5, 18, 18.2, 19.1, 19.3; *passim*
Jerome (c. 345–420)	Father; priest, saint; one of the four Latin Doctors (1298)	*De viris illustribus*; commentaries on Daniel, Matthew, Ephesians, Titus; Letters 18, 78	5.6, 5.9, 12.1, 17.5, 20.7, 22, C, J; *passim*
Sulpicius Severus (c. 363–c. 425)	Ecclesiastical writer (Aquitaine)	*Chronica* I	3.2, C
Augustine of Hippo (354–430)	Father; bishop, saint; one of the four Latin Doctors (1298)	*De civitate Dei*; *De Trinitate*; *De Genesi ad litteram*; *Enchiridion*; *Enarrationes in Psalmos* (Ps 103); *De divinatione daemonum*; *Retractationes*; *De vera religione*; *De diversis quaestionibus LXXXIII*; *De doctrina christiana*; *De cura pro mortuis gerenda*	3.8.9, 5.10, 10.5, 13.1, 15.1, 16, 16.2, 18.2, C, E; *passim*
John Cassian (c. 360–c. 435)	Monastic writer (Marseilles)	*Conlationes* VII–VIII	3.7, 5.7, 5.9, 16.3, 17.2, 17.5, 18, K; *passim*
Leo the Great (pope 440–461)	Father; pope, saint; Doctor of the Church (Benedict XIV, 1754)	Sermons 2, 21, 26, 73, 74; Letter 15 to Turibius (DS 286)	2, 5.8, 19.2, 19.3, G
Gennadius of Marseilles (fl. c. 495)	Ecclesiastical writer	*Liber de ecclesiasticis dogmatibus*	5.7, 5.8, 5.9, 7.11

Witness	Standing	Works read	Where treated
Dionysius the Areopagite (corpus c. 500)	Author of the corpus received under the name of Dionysius of Acts 17:34	*Celestial Hierarchy*; *Divine Names*; *Ecclesiastical Hierarchy*	3.8.7, 6, 14, 15, A, B, F; *passim*
Benedict of Nursia (c. 480–c. 547)	Abbot, saint	*Regula* 19	3.1, 3.7, 23, C
Gregory the Great (pope 590–604)	Father; pope, saint; one of the four Latin Doctors (1298)	*Homiliae in Evangelia* 34; *Moralia in Iob*; *Dialogues* IV	6, 7.1, 7.5, 13.1, 14.2, 15.1, 15.2, 16.2, 16.4, 22; *passim*
Andrew of Caesarea (fl. c. 600)	Archbishop of Caesarea in Cappadocia; commentator	Commentary on the Apocalypse (with the Papias fragment)	21.1, 21.5, 21.9
Isidore of Seville (c. 560–636)	Father; bishop, saint; Doctor of the Church (Innocent XIII, 1722)	*Etymologiae* VII–VIII; *Sententiae* I	3.8.1, 7.2, 7.5, 10.5, 12.1, 15.1, J; *passim*
Maximus the Confessor (c. 580–662)	Father; monk, saint	*Mystagogia*	21.2, 21.7, 21.9
Bede (672/3–735)	Father; monk, saint; Doctor of the Church (Leo XIII, 1899)	On Luke; homily on the Annunciation; *Explanation of the Apocalypse*; *Ecclesiastical History*	7.2, 7.3, 7.5, 7.11, 16.3, 19.2
John Damascene (c. 675–c. 750)	Father; monk, saint; Doctor of the Church (Leo XIII)	*De fide orthodoxa* II; *On Holy Images*; homilies on the Dormition	8.1, 13.1, 13.2, 14.2, 16.2, 16.3, 21.1, 21.9; *passim*
Theodore the Studite (759–826)	Abbot of Studios, saint	Orations 5 and 6	19.5, 21.4, 21.9
Rabanus Maurus (c. 780–856)	Abbot of Fulda, archbishop of Mainz	*De universo* I	7.4, 7.5
Anselm of Canterbury (1033–1109)	Archbishop, saint; Doctor of the Church (Clement XI, 1720)	*De casu diaboli*; *Cur Deus homo* I	7.6, 7.9, 7.12, 13.1, 17.3, 20.6, L
Honorius Augustodunensis (fl. 1106–1135)	Ecclesiastical writer	*Elucidarium*	7.9, 7.12, 17.3, 17.5, 17.6
Hugh of Saint Victor (c. 1096–1141)	Canon regular; theologian	*De sacramentis* I.5; commentary on the *Celestial Hierarchy*	6, 7.6, 7.8, 7.11, 7.12, B
Bernard of Clairvaux (1090–1153)	Abbot, saint; Doctor of the Church (Pius VIII, 1830)	*De consideratione* V; sermons on Psalm 90, for Saint Michael, on the Song of Songs; homilies *Super Missus est*	7.7, 7.12, 15.1, 17.3, 17.5, 19.2, 23, B; *passim*
Peter Lombard (c. 1100–1160)	Bishop of Paris; the Master of the Sentences	*Sententiae* II, dd. 1–11	7.11, 7.12, 12.2, 14.1, 15.1, 17.5, 20.5, 20.6; *passim*
Hildegard of Bingen (1098–1179)	Abbess, saint; Doctor of the Church (Benedict XVI, 2012)	*Scivias* I.6	7.10, 7.12, B
Bonaventure (c. 1217–1274)	Cardinal, saint; Doctor of the Church (Sixtus V, 1588)	*In II Sententiarum*; *Breviloquium*; *Itinerarium*; *Legenda maior*; sermons *De sanctis Angelis*	7.12, 8.1, 20.1, 20.2, 20.5, 24.1, 24.2; *passim*
Gregory Palamas (1296–1359)	Archbishop of Thessalonica; Byzantine theologian	*Capita CL*	19.6, 21.6, 21.9

Witness	Standing	Works read	Where treated
Thomas Aquinas and the scholastics after him			
Thomas Aquinas (1225–1274)	Friar Preacher, saint; Doctor of the Church (Pius V, 1568); the Angelic Doctor	*Summa theologiae*; *Summa contra gentiles*; *De veritate*; *De malo*; *De potentia*; *De spiritualibus creaturis*; *De substantiis separatis*; *De ente et essentia*; *In II Sententiarum*; commentaries on the *Metaphysics*, *De causis*, *Divine Names*	8, 9, 10, 11, 12, 13, 14, 15, 16, 17, 18, 19, 20, 24.3, D, E, F; *passim*
John Duns Scotus (c. 1266–1308)	Franciscan theologian	*Ordinatio* (*Opus Oxoniense*) II	6, 7.4, 7.8, 9.3, 20.2, 20.3, 20.6, L
Thomas de Vio Cajetan (1469–1534)	Dominican theologian, cardinal	Commentary on the *Summa*, Prima pars	20.2, 20.3, E
Francisco Suárez (1548–1617)	Jesuit theologian	*De angelis*	17.3, 17.5, 17.6, 20.4, 20.6, L
Saints, spiritual writers, and their witnesses			
Francis of Assisi (1181/2–1226)	Saint	As related in Bonaventure's *Legenda maior*	24.1, 24.2, 24.10, 24.15
Jacobus de Voragine (c. 1230–1298)	Dominican, archbishop of Genoa; hagiographer	*The Golden Legend* (Caxton's English)	23
Mechtild of Hackeborn (1241–1298)	Nun of Helfta, venerated as a saint	*Select Revelations*	24.4, 24.15
Gertrude the Great (1256–c. 1302)	Nun of Helfta, saint	*Insinuationes divinae pietatis*	24.4, 24.15
William of Tocco and Peter Calo (14th c.)	Dominican hagiographers	Lives of Thomas Aquinas	24.3, 24.15
Dante Alighieri (1265–1321)	Poet	*Paradiso* XXVIII	B
Joan of Arc (c. 1412–1431)	Saint	Trial of 1431 and rehabilitation depositions (ed. Murray)	24.5, 24.15
Frances of Rome (1384–1440)	Saint	As related by Georgiana Fullerton, *Life* (1855)	24.6, 24.15
Ignatius of Loyola (1491–1556)	Saint; founder of the Society of Jesus	*Spiritual Exercises*	24.7, 24.9, 24.15
Teresa of Jesus (1515–1582)	Saint; Doctor of the Church (Paul VI, 1970)	*Life*	24.8, 24.15
Francis de Sales (1567–1622)	Bishop, saint; Doctor of the Church (Pius IX, 1877)	*Introduction à la vie dévote* II.16	24.9, 24.15
Alphonsus Liguori (1696–1787)	Bishop, saint; Doctor of the Church (Pius IX, 1871)	*Sermons for all the Sundays*; *The Glories of Mary*	24.10, 24.15
John Vianney (1786–1859)	Parish priest of Ars, saint	As related by A. Monnin (1865) and K. O'Meara	24.11, 24.15
Prosper Guéranger (1805–1875)	Abbot of Solesmes; Servant of God	*The Liturgical Year*	22
John Henry Newman (1801–1890)	Cardinal, saint; Doctor of the Church (Leo XIV, 2025)	*Parochial and Plain Sermons* II.29; *The Dream of Gerontius*	24.14, 24.15
Thérèse of the Child Jesus (1873–1897)	Saint; Doctor of the Church (John Paul II, 1997)	*Histoire d'une âme* (1912); poems	24.13, 24.15
Gemma Galgani (1878–1903)	Saint	As related by Germanus of Saint Stanislaus, *Life* (1913)	24.12, 24.15

Witness	Standing	Works read	Where treated
Liturgical books and prayer collections			
Roman sacramentaries (Leonine, Gelasian, Gregorian)	Liturgical books of the Roman Rite	Masses of the Dedication of Saint Michael (29 and 30 September)	22, H
Missale Romanum (typical editions of 1920 and 1962)	Liturgical book of the Roman Rite	Ordinary, Canon, Holy Saturday, Masses of the angels and for the dead; with the Tours printing of 1922	19.5, 19.6, 21.8, 21.9, 22, 23, H
Breviarium Romanum (Tours, 1898)	Liturgical book of the Roman Rite	Offices of 29 September, 2 October, 8 May; Compline; with Bute's English (1908)	19.5, 22, 23, 24.1, H, J
Rituale Romanum (Ratisbon, 1872)	Liturgical book of the Roman Rite	Commendation of the soul; burial of the dead	22, 24.14
General Roman Calendar (1962 and postconciliar)	Liturgical calendar	The calendars of the Missals of 1962 and of Paul VI	22, H
Byzantine service books (Hapgood, 1906)	Liturgical books of the Byzantine Rite	Divine Liturgy; Vespers; feasts of the Annunciation and the Falling-asleep	19.2, 19.5, 19.6, 21.7, 21.8, 21.9
Synaxarium Ecclesiae Constantinopolitanae	Liturgical calendar of Constantinople	6 and 25 September; 8 November	21.7, 21.8, 21.9
The Raccolta and the *Preces et pia opera*	Collections of indulgenced prayers	Angelus; prayers to Michael, Raphael, the guardian angel; the Angelical Crown	22, 23, B, H, J
Lay missals and prayer books	Catholic prayer books	Cummiskey's *Roman Missal* (1843, 1861); *Manual of Prayers* (1889); *Key of Heaven* (1901)	19.2, 19.5, 22, 23

O Scope, Corpus, and Qualifications

Question and reader. This reference asks what the Catholic tradition, as Saint Thomas Aquinas systematized it, holds about the angels: what they are, how they know and will, how they were made and how some fell, how they are ordered, and what they do for the world and for man; and on what authority each part rests. It is written for a Catholic reader, student, or teacher who wants that teaching in the order of the *Summa theologiae*, with the Scriptures, the Fathers, and the saints from whom Aquinas received it and in whom the Church has lived it.

Corpus and completeness. The systematic spine is *ST* I qq. 50–64 and *ST* I qq. 106–114. Every article of those twenty-four questions is treated in the body and listed once in the article census (Appendix D); other articles of the *Summa* enter where the treatise points to them. The *Celestial Hierarchy* is expounded in all fifteen of its chapters, but not reproduced. Fathers and Doctors are read at their own loci rather than through the *Summa*'s quotation of them; a view reported only as Aquinas reports it is attributed to Aquinas's citation. The Greek and Latin Fathers before Dionysius, Augustine, and the Fathers and Doctors after him receive their own expositions, and the saints and spiritual writers of later centuries enter for the Church's lived devotion to the angels. Later school authors and the Byzantine tradition enter as witnesses to named questions at identified loci. Magisterial acts are those that teach or regulate belief and devotion concerning the angels; liturgical claims name the rite, book, calendar, and rank. Handbooks and encyclopedias served only to locate texts.

Grades of authority. Each doctrinal proposition carries one of seven grades, which describe the standing of the proposition and not the weight of its author:

Defined
: taught by a conciliar definition or a profession of faith;

Church teaching
: taught by the ordinary magisterium, the Catechism, or a papal act, without a definition;

Common teaching
held commonly by the Fathers and theologians, without a magisterial act that teaches it;

Thomist position
Aquinas's determination where another Catholic school determines otherwise;

Disputed
an open question on which the witnesses divide without a prevailing common teaching;

Pious tradition
devotional tradition received in the Church's life, such as the lives of the saints and the apparitions the Church honours in her calendar; and

Apocryphal
material from writings outside the canon, stated as such.

The grade is the compiler's judgement; its basis is the act or witness cited beside it. Where the witnesses do not settle a grade, the lower grade is given and the reason stands with the claim. Each question of the *Summa* closes with a frame giving the governing loci, the grades with their basis, the authorities the articles invoke together with the further witnesses read, and any contrary opinion.

Texts, translations, and terminology. English quotations of the *Summa* follow the translation of the Fathers of the English Dominican Province (second revised edition, 1920) as presented by New Advent; Latin key terms follow the Leonine text as presented by the Corpus Thomisticum. The *Celestial Hierarchy* is quoted in John Parker's translation (London and Oxford, 1899) and addressed by chapter and section. Scripture is cited by the books, chapters, and verses of the Vulgate, with the Hebrew numbering in brackets where it differs, and quoted from the Douay–Rheims Bible in Challoner's revision. In its own prose the book names the persons of the Old Testament in the Douay forms (Isaias, Ezechiel, Eliseus, Osee); quotations keep the forms of their translators. The Fathers are quoted from the Ante-Nicene and Nicene and Post-Nicene Fathers series where those translations exist, and otherwise rendered by the compiler from an identified Latin or Greek edition. Where no public-domain English exists, as for the Latin of the councils and the Italian of recent papal addresses, the English is the compiler's own and the original words stand beside it in italics. Greek terms are given in italic transliteration. Appendix M records the preferred English terms with their Latin and Greek.

Attribution of the Dionysian corpus. The corpus bears the name of Dionysius the Areopagite, Saint Paul's convert at Athens (Acts 17:34), and under that name the Church of East and West received it: Gregory the Great, John Damascene, and Aquinas cite it as the Areopagite's. Modern scholarship dates its composition to about the year 500. The exposition follows the text as the Church received it and gives the modern dating only where a historical claim depends on it; the authority of its teaching rests on that reception.

Rights. Project prose, tables, and gradings are released under the licence stated in the colophon. Extended quotations are from public-domain editions and translations. Official documents of the Holy See and modern translations are quoted briefly, with attribution. Postconciliar English liturgical texts are cited rather than reproduced. Received prayers are given only from identified editions.

Limits. The fallen angels are treated as the treatise treats them. The rites, discipline, and pastoral practice of exorcism belong to the study *Catholic Exorcism: History, Discipline, and Pastoral Practice* in this collection. Nothing here judges a particular case, gives a method of deliverance, or makes any claim about a named person's spiritual state. The teaching of other religions about spirits enters only where a Father's argument requires it. Where the Catholic schools divide, each position is given with the school that teaches it.

Review. This reference was composed with artificial-intelligence assistance, as the generation metadata records. No independent theological, clerical, or ecclesiastical review has been performed, and none is claimed. It carries no *nihil obstat* or *imprimatur*.

P References

The editions and translations read for this treatise, grouped by kind and listed once each. An entry gives the work, its editor or translator, the place and date of the edition as recorded at the reading, and the copy that was read, named by its host. Appendix N names the witnesses and where each is treated.

Abbreviations: ANF, *The Ante-Nicene Fathers*, American edition; NPNF1 and NPNF2, *A Select Library of the Nicene and Post-Nicene Fathers*, first and second series (Schaff edition), both read in the plain text of the Christian Classics Ethereal Library (ccel.org); PG and PL, J.-P. Migne, *Patrologia Graeca* and *Patrologia Latina*, read in the OCR text or page images of scans at archive.org and, for several PL volumes, in the page images at documentacatholicaomnia.eu; CSEL, *Corpus Scriptorum Ecclesiasticorum Latinorum*; GCS, *Die griechischen christlichen Schriftsteller*; MGH, *Monumenta Germaniae Historica*; DS, Denzinger's numbering.

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