

This is quite a mess as I just copied it out of the book “A dictionary of angels, including the fallen” by Gustav Davidson. A fairly scholarly work but the important part is the Introduction which is below, to show not only what he has said but also the contradictions and unknowns he has revealed that as an author I’m more than happy to exploit. As I have of course.

Introduction Some years ago when I started “collecting” angels as a literary diversion, it was certainly with no thought of serving as their archivist, biographer, and finally as their lexicographer. Such an idea did not occur to me—indeed, could not have occurred to me—until I had corralled a sufficient number of the heavenly denizens to make a dictionary of them feasible. At first I thought that angels, named angels, were to be found only in the Bible. I soon learned that, on the contrary, the Bible was the last place to look for them. True, angels are mentioned frequently enough in both the Old and New Testaments, but they are not named, save in two or three instances. Virtually all the named angels in this compilation are culled from sources outside Scripture.¹ Of the books in the New Testament, while the Synoptic Gospels and the Pauline Epistles have been longtime favorites of mine, the book of Revelation always held a particular fascination for me, mainly because, I believe, of its apocalyptic imagery and involvement with angels. I read the book often. But one day, as I was leafing through its pages, my eye was arrested by verse 2, chapter 8: And I saw the seven angels who stand before God; And to them were given seven trumpets. I laid the book aside and asked myself: who are these seven holy ones that stand before God? Has any biblical scholar identified them? Are they of the order of seraphim, cherubim, principalities, powers? And are they always the same seven who enjoy the privilege and excellence of closest proximity to the throne of Glory? And why seven? Were the seven planets the prototype? Or did the notion derive from the well-known chapter in Ezekiel 9: 2-11 which gives a terrifying picture of six “men” and a seventh “clothed in linen” whom God summoned to Jerusalem to “slay without pity”? Challenging, even intimidating, questions and ones that, I felt, ought not to be left unanswered. Meantime, the pursuit led me down many a heavenly brook. Over the years it served to unlock realms of gold I never suspected existed in Heaven or on earth. Of the seven Revelation angels I had no difficulty in establishing the identity of three: Michael and Gabriel (in Scripture) and Raphael (in The Book of Tobit). The last-named angel, by a happy chance, identifies himself: “I am Raphael,” he discloses to his young charge Toby, “one of the seven angels who stand and enter before the glory of the Lord.” No declaration could be more authoritative or conclusive. And so, with three of the seven angels identified, the problem was to bring to light the remaining four. 1. The Koran names seven angels:

Gabriel, Michael, Iblis or Eblis, chiefj l l in Arabian mythology, counterpart of the Judaeo-Christian Satan; Malcc or Malik, principal angel ofHcll; the two fallen angels, Harut and Mariit; and Malaku '1-maut, angel of death, identified as Azrael. Contrary to popular belief and accreditation, the Koran does not name Israfil, lord of the resurrection trumpet.

[x] INTRODUCTION I remembered reading somewhere of an angel called Uriel and that he was a "regent of the sun." He seemed a likely candidate. I was confirmed in this feeling when I came upon Uriel in *Paradise Lost* (11,648 seq.) and found the archfiend himself providing warrant: "him Satan thus accosts./Uriel, for thou of those heav'n spirits that stand/In sight of God's high Throne, gloriously bright," etc. Poe's Israfil, "Whose heart-strings are a lute," was (or is) an Islamic angel,² and I wondered if that fact might rule him out. Then there was Longfellow's Sandalphon. In the poem by that name, Longfellow described Sandalphon as the "Angel of Glory, Angel of Prayer." A great angel, certainly: but, again, was he of an eminence sufficiently exalted to entitle him to "enter before the glory of the Lord"? That was the question. Vondel's Lucifer, Heywood's *The Hierarchy of the Blessed Angels*, Milton's *Paradise Lost*, Dryden's *State of Innocence*, Klopstock's *The Messiah*-all these works yielded a considerable quantity of the celestial spirits, some in the top echelons, like Abdiel, Ithuriel, Uzziel, Zephon; but I had no way of telling whether any of them qualified. Surely, I comforted myself, there must be some source where the answer could be found. Actually there were a number of such sources. I had only to reach out my hand for books in my own library. Instead, in my then state of pneumatic innocence, I looked far afield. Since I was unacquainted at the time with anyone versed in angel lore, I decided to enter into correspondence with scholars and theologians who might help me. I picked half a dozen names at random from the faculty lists of local universities, seminaries, and yeshivas. I put the question squarely to them. The responses were a long time coming and hardly satisfying. "Not in my competence" was the way one biblical exegete put it. Another referred me to the minister of a Swedenborgian church in West Germany. From others I heard nothing. But one rather noted maskil came through handsomely with two sets of seven, each leading off with the familiar motto (Michael, Gabriel, Raphael), thus: 4 4 First List Second List Michael Gabriel Raphael Michael Gabriel Raphael Uriel Raguel Saraquel Remiel (or Camael) Anael (Haniel) Zadkiel Orifiel Uzziel (or Sidriel) I now had eight oily the seven angels I had been looking for but a choice of seven; and, in

2. Not a Koranic angel, as Poe mistakenly makes him out to be. Israfil is not mentioned in the Koran, and Poe's quotation from it must derive, presumably, from a hadith (traditional saying attributed to the Prophet) or from "Preliminary Discourse," George Sale's long introductory essay to his translation of the Koran. Scholars have pointed out that references to Israfil and tributes to him as the Angel of Music in Arabic lore were known to Poe as occurring in the works of the French poet, de Btranger (whom Poe quotes). and the Irish poet, Thomas Moore.

INTRODUCTION [xi] addition, the fables of angels I had not heard of before

f r e In . the course of further correspondence I was apprised of a branch of extracv onical writings new to me: pseudepigrapha, particularly the three Elloch books, a veritable treasure-trove! Enoch I or the Book of Enoch (also called the Ethiopic Elloch, from the fact that the earliest version or recerisioil of the book was found in Abyssinia) was the most readily available. It literally rioted in angel names-many of them, as I quickly discovered, duplications or corruptions of other names. What were Enoch's sources? Did the patriarch (or whoever the author was to whom the Elloch books have been attributed) draw on his own lively imagination? (Certainly the 12-winged kalkydri and phoenixes were his invention.) Did he conjure his angels from the "four hinges of the spirit world?" Or did they come to him, as they have and still do to initiates, after a special, illystical concentration-a gift of grace, a charisma? I left that an open question, for the time being. The Enoch books led me on to related hierological sources and texts : apocalyptic, cabalistic, Talmudic, gnostic, patristic, Merkabah (Jewish mystic), and ultimately to the grimoires, those black magic manuals, repositories of curious, forbiddell, and by now well-nigh forgotten lore. In them, invocations, adjurations, and exorcisms were spelt out in full, often grossest detail, and addressed to spirits bearing the most outlandish names. The Church was not slow in pronouncing its curse on these rituals, although the authorship of one of the most diabolic of them was credited (without warrant, it is true) to a pope, Honorius the Third, who reigned during the years 1216-1227. The work is titled The Grimoire of Honorius the Great, and made its first appear- ance in 1629, some 400 years after the death of its reputed author. Arthur Edward Waite, author of The Book of Ceremonial Magic, cites the grimoire as "a malicious and somewhat clever imposture, which was undeniably calculated to deceive ignorant persons of its period who may have been magically inclined, more especially ignorant priests, since it pretends to convey the express sanction of the Apostolical Seat for the operations of infernal magic and necromancy." All these goetic tracts yielded a boundless profusion of angels (and demons), and I soon had more of the fluttering creatures than I knew what to do with. In order to keep my work within sizable limits, I started weeding out (Heaven forgive me!) what I considered to be the less important names, or the ones about which little or no data could be found. At this stage of the quest I was literally bedeviled by angels. They stalked and leaguered me, by night and day. I could not tell the evil from the good, demons from daevas, satans from sera- phim; nor (to quote from a poem composed at the time) "if that world I could not hope to prove,/Flanhg with heavenly beasts, holy and grim,/Was any less real than that in which I moved." I moved, indeed, in a twilight zone of tall presences, through enchanted forests lit with the sinister splendor of fallen divinities; of aeons and archons, peris and paracletes, elohim and avatars. I felt somewhat like Dante, in the opening canto of The Divine Comedy, when, midway upon the journey of his life, he found himself astray in a dusky wood. Or like some knight of old, ready to try conclusions with any adversary, real or fancied. I reinember one occa- sion-it was winter and getting dark-returning hotne from a neighboring farm. I had cut

3. Subsequently, in other lists of the seven (Enoch I, Ecdra 11, etc.), I came upon the names of the following angels: Jophiel, Jererniel, Pravuil, Salathiel, Sarid, Zachariel, and Zaphiel.

[xii] INTRODUCTION across an unfamiliar field. Suddenly a nightmarish shape loomed up in front of me, barring my progress. After a paralyzing moment I managed to go lily way past the phantom. The next morning I could not be sure (no more than Jacob was, when he wrestled with his dark antagonist at Peniel) whether I had encountered a ghost, an angel, a demon, or God. There were other such moments and other such encounters, when I passed from terror to trance, from intimations of realms unguessed at to the uneasy conviction that, beyond the reach of our senses, beyond the arch of all our experience sacred and profane, there was only-to use an expression of Paul's in I Timothy 4-"fable and endless genealogy." Logic, I felt, was my only safe anchor in reality; but if, as Walter Nigg points out, "angels are powers which transcend the logic of our existence," did it follow that one is constrained to abandon logic in order to entertain angel? For the sake of angels I was ready to subscribe to Coleridge's "willing suspension of disbelief." I was even ready to drink his "milk of Paradise." But I was troubled. Never a respecter of authority, per se, particularly when it was backed by the "salvific light of revelation," I nevertheless kept repeating to myself that I was pitting my personal and necessarily circumscribed experience, logic, and belief (or nonbelief) against the experience, logic, and belief of some of the boldest and profoundest minds of all times-minds that had reshaped the world's thinking and emancipated it (to a degree, at any rate) from the bondage of superstition and error. Still, I was averse to associating myself with opinions and creeds, no matter how hallowed by time or tradition, or by whomsoever held, that were plainly repugnant to common sense. A professed belief in angels would, inevitably, involve me in a belief in the supernatural, and that was the golden snare I did not wish to be caught in. Without committing myself religiously I could conceive of the possibility of there being, in dimensions and worlds other than our own, powers and intelligences outside our present apprehension, and in this sense angels are not to be ruled out as a part of reality-always remembering that we create what we believe. Indeed, I am prepared to say that if enough of us believe in angels, then angels exist. In the course of much reading in patristic lore I came upon a saying by St. Augustine. It is taken from his Eight Questions ("de diversis questionibus octoginta tribus"). I wrote down the saying on a piece of paper and carried it around with me for a long time, not as something I concurred in, but as a challenge. This is what Augustine said: "Every visible thing in this world is put under the charge of an angel." Genesis Rabba, 10, puts it somewhat differently: "There's not a stalk on earth that has not its [protecting or guardian] angel in heaven." Here and there, wherever it suited his thesis or purpose, St. Paul found angels wicked (as in Ephesians 6, etc.). In Colossians 2:17 he warns us not to be seduced by any religion of angels. Furthermore, God himself, it appears, "put no trust in his servants his angels he charged with folly" (Job 4:18). There was the further injunction in Hebrews 13, "Be not carried about

with divers and strange doctrines." Sound advice ! And I was fain to say to Paul, as Agrippa the king said to him (in Acts 26: 38), "Almost thou persuadest me to be a Christian." But whose . . .

4. Walter Nigg's article "Stay you Angels, Stay with Me." Harper's Bazaar. December 1 derives from Johann Sebastian Bach's "Cantata for Michaelmas Day."

INTRODUCTION [xiii] strange doctrines did Paul have in mind-Moses'? Isaiah's? Koheleth's? Peter's? St. James'? And if it is Paul who thus exhorts us in Hebrews (a book once reputedly his), one might ask: is Paul a trustworthy counselor and guide-a man who, as he himself admits, was "all things to all men," and who honored and repudiated angels in almost the same breath? One thing I soon realized: in the realm of the unknowable and invisible, in matters where a questioner is finally reduced to taking things on faith, one can be sure of nothing, prove nothing, and convince nobody. But more of this anon. One of the problems I ran into, in the early days of my investigations, was how to hack my way through the maze of changes in nomenclature and orthography that angels passed through in the course of their being translated from one language into another, or copied out by scribes from one manuscript to another, or by virtue of the natural deterioration that occurs with any body of writing undergoing repeated transcriptions and metathesis. For example: Uriel, presider over Tartarus" and "regent of the sun," shows up variously as Sariel, Nuriel, Uryan, Jehoel, Owreel, Oroiael, Phanuel, Eremiel, Ramiel, Jeremiel, Jacob-Isra'el. Derivations and/or variations of Haniel, chief of principalities and "the tallest angel in Heaven," may be set down in mathematical equations, to wit: Haniel = Anael = Anfiel = Aniyel = Anafiel = Onoel = Ariel = Simiel. The celestial gabbai, keeper of the treasures of Heaven, Vretil, turns out to be the same as, or can be equated with, or is an aphetic form of, Gabriel, Radueriel, Pravuil, Seferiel, Vrevoil. In Arabic lore, Gabriel is Jibril, Jabriel, Abrael, or Abru-el, etc. In ancient Persian lore he was Soroush and Revan-bakhsh and "the crowned Bahman," mightiest of all angels. To the Ethiopians he is Gadreel. Michael had a mystery name: Sabbathiel. He passed also for the Shekinah, the Prince of Light, the Logos, Metatron, the angel of the Lord, and as St. Peter (for Michael, also, like the prince of apostles, holds-or held-the keys of the kingdom of Heaven). In addition, as the earliest recorded slayer of the Dragon, Michael may be considered the prototype of the redoubtable St. George. To the ancient Persians he was known as Beshter, sustainer of mankind. Raphael, "christened" Labbiel when God first formed him, is interchangeable with Apha-rope, Raguel, Ramiel, Azrael, Raffarel, etc. And, to make matters more complicated, our healing angel operated under a pseudonym, Azariah (as in The Book of Tobit). The Zohar equates Raphael with a king of the underworld, Bael. The archangel Raziel, "chief of the Supreme Mysteries," and "author" of the famous S+r Raziel (Book of the Angel Raziel), answers to Akraziel, Saraqael, Suriel, Galisur, N'Zuriel, and Uriel. The seraph Semyaza may be sunnloned up by the pronouncellent of any of a string of variations of his name-Samiaza, Shenlhazai,

Amezyarak, Azael, Azazel, Uzza. Metatron, the "lesser YHWH" (i.e., the lesser God) and twin brother of Smdalphon, also had a mystery name, Bizbul. But Metatron had more than 100 other names (see Appendix) and in magical rites he could be invoked by any of them. The leopard-bodied Camael (alias Shemuel, Simiel, Quemuel, Kemuel), while serving in Hell as a Count Palatine and ruler of the wicked planet Mars, served at the same time in Heaven as an archangel of the divine presence. It was Canlael (Kemuel) who accompanied God with a [xiv] INTRODUCTION troop of 12,000 spirits at the promulgation of the Holy Law. This is vouched for in legend.⁷ According to another legend,⁶ Canlael was destroyed by Moses when he tried to hinder the Lawgiver from receiving the Torah at the hand of God. Satan paraded under, or hid behind, a bewildering array of forms and incarnations. The prince of the power of the air," as Paul picturesquely dubs him, is our best example of a quick-change artist in guises and appellatives. In *oroastrotheosophy* he is Ahriman, enemy of man and God, a kind of ur-Satan (since Ahriman antedates by 1,000 years the Judaeo-Christian image of a prince regent of evil). In Leviticus, he is Azazel, the "goat of the sin offering." In Isaiah he is Lucifer (or, rather, mistakenly identified as Lucifer). In Matthew, Mark, and Luke he is Beelzebub, "lord of flies." In Revelation he is "that dragon and old serpent, the Devil." He is Mastema andlor Beliar in The Book of Jubilees and The Book of Adam and Eve. He is Sammael in Baruch III, The Chaldean Paraphrase of Jonathan, and The Martyrdom of Isaiah. In Enoch he is Satanail and Salamiel. In The Apocalypse of Abraham and The Zohar he is Duma as well as Azazel: In Falasha lore he is Suriel, angel of death. And he is Beliar or Beliel in The Testament of the Twelve Patriarchs, The Zadokite Fragments (where Mastema also figures as an alternate to Beliar), and The Sibylline Oracles. In the Koran he is Iblis or Eblis or Haris. And in Jewish tradition he is Yetzer-hara, the personified evil inclination in man. To Shakespeare (I Henry IV) he is the "Lordly monarch of the north"; to Milton (Paradise Regained IV, 604) he is the "Thief of Paradise"; to Bunyan (Holy War) he is Diabolus.⁸ But whatever his guise, the once familiar peripatetic of Heaven is no longer to be found there, as guest or resident; nor is it likely that the black divinity of his feet will ever again be sighted on the crystal battlements-unless he is forgiven and reinvested with his former rank and glory, an eventuality the Church forbids its followers to entertain as possible or desirable, since Satan and his angels have been cursed by the Savior Himself "into everlasting fire" (Matthew 25 :41). - Hell itself, one adduces from Enoch II, Testament of Levi, and other apocryphal and pseudepigraphic works, is not located where one would ordinarily suppose it to be, i.e., in the underworld, but in the "northern regions of the 3rd Heaven," while Evil in its various aspects is lodged in the 4th as well as the 3rd and 5th Heavens.⁹ The first 3 Heavens, according to the Baruch Apocalypse (Baruch III), are "full of evil-looking monsters." In the 2nd Heaven the fallen angels (the amorous ones, those that coupled with the daughters of men) are imprisoned and daily flogged. In the 5th the dread Watchers dwell, those eternally silent Grigori "who, with their Paul was caught up in the 3rd Heaven, he en-prince Salamiel, had rejected the Lord." When

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5. R f . Moses Schwab, *Vocabulaire de l'angélologie*. According to Rabbi Abdimi, no less than 22,000 ministering angels descended on Mt. Sinai on this historic occasion (see Midrash Tehillim on Psalm 68). 6. Louis Ginzberg, *The Legends of the Jews* 111, 110. 7. A recent writer, Jean Lhermitte (*True and False Possession*, 11) longer appears as a personage . . . but disguises himself willingly, even preferably, under the appearance of corporate personalities or institutions." 8. C. E. S. Wood, the American poet, in his *Heavenly Discourse*, gives Satan's P.O. address as Washington, D.C. That was back in 1927. His Satanic Majesty may have moved since then. 9. This must have been in the "north of the 5th Heaven, for elsewhere in the same Heaven, whither Zephaniah claims a Spirit conveyed him, the Old Testament Prophet "beheld angels that are called Lords, and each had a crown upon his head as well as a throne shining seven times brighter than the sun"—quoted by Clement of Alexandria from the lost *Apocalypse of Zephaniah*.

INTRODUCTION [xv] countered there "angels of evil, terrible and without pity carrying savage weapons."¹⁰ In a word, at least 3 Heavens, or regions of at least 3 Heavens, were the abode of the eternally damned. Now, to find Hell in Heaven should not have surprised this writer, or anyone with a smattering of Greek mythology, for the paradisiacal Elysian Fields, "residence of the shades of the Blessed," are in the immediate vicinity of Hades. A rabbinic commentary (Midrash Tannaim) vouches for the fact that Hell and Paradise are "side by side." This is close to what one finds in a commentary on Psalm 90 (Midrash Tehillim) where it is stated that there were seven things which preceded the creation of the world, and that among the seven things were Paradise and Hell, and that "Paradise was on the right side of God, Hell on the left." In a commentary on Ecclesiastes (Yalkut Koheleth) we learn that the two realms are actually only "a hand-breadth apart." This carefully calibrated survey is attributed to the Hebrew sage, Rab Chanina (Kahana), of the late 3rd century c.E.' ' How incongruous, indeed how anomalous it was to plant Hell in Heaven must have occurred finally to the Great Architect Himself for, one day, without f w or f mfare, the entire apparatus of evil—the arsenal of punishment, the chief Scourgers, the apostate angels, the horned or aureoled spirits of wrath, destruction, confusion, and vengeance—was moved from the upper to the lower world, where (if it is not too presumptuous to say so) all such paraphernalia and personnel should have been installed in the first place. The noted scholar R. H. Charles, in his introduction to Morfill's translation of Enoch II, observes in a footnote that "the old idea of wickedness in Heaven was subsequently banished from Christian and Jewish thought." True, and none too soon. For what assurance otherwise would the faithful have been given that, on arrival in Heaven, they would not be lodged in one of the enclaves of Hell? Perhaps the best-or worst-example of the confusion to be found in noncanonical as well

10. The fact that in Paul's day there still were angels of evil in Heaven "carrying savage weapons" would lead one to suppose that the fighting on

high did not end with Satan's rout, and that Michael and his hosts won a Pyrrhic victory, or at best a truce. 11. In this connection, the expression "Abraham's bosom" (Luke 16), interpreted as denoting "the repose of the happy in death," may be cited here. The Apostles' Creed affirms that Jesus descended to Hell after the Crucifixion, purportedly to liberate the "saints in chains" (the unbaptized patriarchs, Abraham among them) in order to transport them to Paradise. The parable in Luke presupposes that Abraham is already there; and the fact that the rich man in Hades (Dives) is able to converse with Abraham across the "great chasm" suggests that the chasm was not very wide, and that, hence, Heaven and Hell were very close to each other, at least in speaking distance. Purgatory, it will be noted, is not mentioned. The explanation is simple: it did not exist-not, anyway, until 604 C.E. Gregory the Great invented it. Perhaps invention is too strong a term. Gregory very likely appropriated the notion of an "upper Gehenna" from the ancient Jews, or from the empyrean of the Gnostics, or from the twelve cycles of purgation of Zoroaster. Be that as it may, Purgatory was made official-it was "legislated into existence"-by decree at the Council of Lyons in 1274, at Florence in 1439, and again in the 1540's at the Council of Trent, and is today part of the religious belief of all or most Christians, except members of the Church of England which, in 1562, condemned Purgatory as "a fond thing vainly invented and grounded upon no warranty of Scripture, but rather repugnant to the Word of God." We know of no angels, fair or foul, inhabiting or frequenting the place. According to Origen, it is reserved for souls waiting to be purged of the "lighter matters" of their sins, "so that they may enter the kingdom of Heaven undefiled." The duration of souls in Purgatory, an indefinable time, may be cut down by indulgences, prayers, and paid masses. Jews have their Yiskor, which is a prayer for the repose of the dead and is recited on Yom Kippur, Sukkot, Passover, and Shavuoth. Where these Jewish dead are deposited is not clear. The Moslems have their Al Aaraaf, a region for "those who are [found] neither good nor bad, such as infants, lunatics, and idiots"-Read's Encyclopedia, "Araaf."

[xvi] INTRODUCTION as canonical lore is the case of Satan. The Old Testament speaks of an adversary, ha-satan. It is a term that stood for an office; it did not denote the name of an angel. To the Jews of Biblical times the adversary was neither evil nor fallen (the Old Testament knows nothing of fallen angels), but a servant of God in good standing, a great angel, perhaps the greatest. However, he is nowhere named. In Job he presents himself before the Lord in the company of other unnamed "sons of God." There is no question of his being evil or apostate." The one instance where ha-satan is given as satan without the definite article (I Chronicles 21), is now generally conceded to be a scribal oversight. In a word, the Old Testament did not name its angels, except in Daniel, a late, postexilic book. There only two angels are named: Michael and Gabriel (names, by the way, that owe their origin to

Babylonian-Chaldean sources). In the New Testament, on the contrary, Satan is unequivocally a person, so named. Here he is no longer the obedient servant of God, the "prime in splendour," but the castout opponent and enemy of God, the Prince of Evil, the Devil incarnate. The transformation of ha-satan in the Old Testament into Satan in the New, and the conflicting notions that arose as a consequence, are pointed up by Bernard J. Bamberger in his *Fallen Angels*: "The classic expositions of the Jewish faith have in plicitly or explicitly rejected the belief in rebel angels and in a Devil who is God's enemy. . . . The Hebrew Bible itself, correctly interpreted, leaves no room for a belief in a world of evil powers arrayed against the goodness of God. . . . Historical Christianity, on the other hand, has consistently affirmed the continuing conflict between God and Satan." This continuing conflict between God and Satan, one might add, is little more than a recrudescence, with modifications, of the dualistic system that Christianity (along with Jewish sectarians of the post-Biblical era) inherited from Zoroastrianism. Equally difficult to deal with was the question whether (and how many) other spirits in the celestial hierarchy were good or evil, fallen or still upright, dwellers of Heaven or Hell. This was a specially baffling problem and left me wandering about in a perpetual cloud of unknowing. A case in point: In *Enoch* I, 6, Remiel is styled "one of the leaders of the rebel angels." Farther along in the same book, Chapter 18, Rerniel is metamorphosed into "one of the seven holy ones whom God set over those who rise." In *Revelation* 9, Abaddon/Apollyon is the "angel of the bottomless pit," suggesting an evil spirit in the sense of a destroyer; but in *Revelation* 20, Abaddon/Apollyon is manifestly good and holy, for here he is said to have "laid hold on the dragon, that old serpent, who is the devil and Satan, and bound him a thousand years" (in *The Greater Key of Solomon* Abaddon is "a name for God that Moses invoked to bring down the t " the Dutch Shakespeare (1587-1678), tells us in his *Lucifer blighting rain over* !). p Vondel, that Apollyon was known in Heaven, before he joined Satan, as the hierarch "of the snowy wings." To Bunyan in *Pilgrim's Progress* Apollyon is an out-and-out devil, the devil, just as he is . . .

12. The hasidic rabbi Yaakov Yitzhak of Pzysha, known as the holy Yehudi (d. 1814), makes this clear when he declared that "the virtue of angels is that they cannot deteriorate." See Martin Buber, *Tales of the Hasidim*, Lclter Masters, p. 231. The fact that the adversary challenges God or questions Him does not, ipso facto, make the adversary evil or an opponent of God—just as, when Abraham and Job "put God to the question, 1, they were not, on that account, regarded as evil men, or even as presumptuous men. See Harry M. Orlin y's *Ancient Imel*, p. 30.

INTRODUCTION I I [xvii] in secular writings generally.¹³ Other examples, to cite a handful: Ariel, "earth's great Lord" and an aide to Raphael in the curing of disease, is at the same time a rebel angel in charge of punishments in the lower world. Kakabel, a high holy prince who exercises dominion over the constellations, is in *Enoch* one of the apostates. The angel Usiel, Gabriel's

lieuteilait in the fighting on high, is designated a coillpanion of the lustful luminaries who coupled with mortal women; in Zoharic cabala he is the cortex (averse demon) of Gog Sheklah, "disturber of all things." Anloilg the rabbis the opiilion is divided with regard to the 90,000 angels of destruction. Are they in the service of God or the Devil? Pirke Rabbi Eliezer inclines to the latter view. In the Pirke they are called "angels of Satan." It is well to bear in mind that all angels, whatever their state of grace-indeed, no matter how christologically corrupt and defiant-are under God, even when, to all intents and purposes, they are performing under the direct orders of the Devil. Evil itself is an instrun entality of the Creator, who uses evil for His own divine, if unsearchable, ends. At least, such may be gathered from Isaiah 45 :7; it is also Church doctrine, as is the doctrine that angels, like human beings, were created with free will, but that they surrendered their free will the-moment they were formed. At that moment, we are told, they were given (and had to make) the choice between turning toward or away from God, and that it was an irrevocable choice. Those ailgels that turned toward God gained the beatific vision, and so becaine fixed eternally in good; those that turned away from God became fixed eternally in evil. These latter are the demons, they are rlot the fallen angels (an entirely different breed of recusants which hatched out subsequently, on Satan's defection). Man, however, continues to enjoy free will. He can still choose between good and evil. This may or may not work out to his advantage; more often than not it has proved his undoing. The best that man can hope for, apparently, is that when he is weighed in the balance (by the "angels of final reckoning"), he is not found wanting.¹⁴ Angels perform a multiplicity of duties and tasks. Preeminently they serve God. They do this by the ceaseless chanting of glorias as they circle round the high holy Throne. They also carry out missions from God to man. But inany serve man directly as guardians, counselors, guides, judges, interpreters, cooks, comforters, dragomen, matchmakers, and gravediggers. They are responsive to invocations when such invocations are properly formulated and the conditions are propitious. In occult lore angels are conjured up not only to help an invocant strengthen his faith, heal his afflictions, find lost articles, increase his worldly goods, and procure offspring, but also to circuinelit and destroy an enemy. There are instances where an angel or

13. In Jewish lore, abaddon is a place-sheol, the pit, or the grave; nowhere is it thc naille of an angel or demon. The term is personified for the first tiine in Revelation and a pears as Abaddon (cap A). St. John makes Abaddon s nonymous with Apollyon and declares it to be the Greek orm of the sallle angel. The Confraternity edition of t e New Testament adds here (Apocalypse 9: 11): "in Latin he has the name Exterininans." On the other hand, The Magus, which offers a number of portraits of the archfiends in color, splits Abaddon and Apollyon into two separate and distinct "vessels of iniquity," showing Abaddon with tawny hair and Roilian nose, Apollyon with russet beard and hooked beak. 14. According to Abbot Anxar Vonier in *The Teaching 4 t h e Catholic Church* (1964).

angels still enjoy free will. This seems to be another or new interpretation of Catholic doctrine on the subject.

[xviii] INTRODUCTION troop of angels turned the tide of battle, abated storms, conveyed saints to Heaven, brought down plagues, fed hermits, helped plowmen, converted heathens. An angel multiplied the seed of Hagar, protected Lot, caused the destruction of Sodom, hardened Pharaoh's heart, rescued Daniel from the lions' den, and Peter from prison. To come closer to our own times: it will be recalled that when Spinoza was "execrated, cursed, and cast out" from his community in Amsterdam for holding along other "heretical views" that "angels were an hallucination," the edict of excommunication against him was drawn up by the rabbis "with the judgment of the angels." The might of angels, as made known to us in Targum and Talmud, is easily a match for the might of the pagan gods and heroes. Michael overthrew the giants. Gabriel bore Abraham on his back to Babylon, whither an unnamed angel later conveyed the prophet Habbakuk (by the hair) from Judea, to feed Daniel pottage." Jewish legend tells us that, during the siege of the Holy City by Nebuchadnezzar, "the prince of the world" (Metatron? Michael? or perchance Satan?) lifted Jerusalem "high in the air" but that God thrust it down again.¹⁶ We know from Revelation that seven angels of the wrath of God smote a "third part of the stars." The mighty Rabbis are able to stop the planets in their courses. The Talmudic angel Ben Netan prevents the earth from being consumed by holding back the South Wind with his pinions. Moriel has the power of making everything in the visible world invisible. The Atlantean Splendides supports the globe on his back. Ataphiel (Barattiel), hierarch of Merkabah lore, keeps Heaven from falling down by balancing it on three fingers. The Pillared Angel (mentioned in Revelation) supports the sky on the palm of his right hand. Chayyel, the divine angel-beast, can-if he is so minded-swallow the whole world in a single gulp. When Hadraniel proclaims the will of God, his voice penetrates through 700,000 firmaments." It was Hadraniel who struck Moses "dumb with awe" when the Lawgiver caught sight of the dread luminary in the 2nd Heaven. As late as the 17th century, the German astronomer Kepler figured out (and somehow managed to fit into his celebrated law of celestial mechanics) that the planets are "pushed around by angels." A brief word about the number of angels abroad in the world. Since the quantity, according to Church doctrine, was fixed at Creation, the aggregate must be fairly constant. An exact figure -301,655,722-was arrived at by 14th-century cabalists, who employed the device of "calculating words into numbers and numbers into words." This is a very modest figure if we regard stars as angels (just as the Apocalyptics did: John in Revelation, Clement of Alexandria in Stromata VI, etc.) and include them in the total." Thomas Heywood in his Hierarchy cautions us metrically: "Of the Angels, the exact number who/ Shall undertake .to tell, he shall growl

15. See apocryphal additions to Daniel 5:86. 16. In 1291-1294 c.E., angels moved the house of the Virgin Mary from Nazareth to Dalmatia. thence to various parts of Italy, finally depositing it in the village of Loretto. The

miraculous haulage is the subject of a canvas (now in the Morgan Library, New York), by the 15th-16th-century artist Saturne di Gatti. 17. Rabbi Jochanan (Talmud Hagiga 14a) reminds us that, far from having ceased being formed at Creation, angels are born "with every utterance that goes forth from the mouth of the Holy One, blessed be He." The Jewish notion of a continuing act of Creation (as opposed to the rotational doctrine of the early Church) is traditional in Talmud, and embraces not only angels but all things formed in the first six days. This is clear from a hymn found in Greater Hechaloth 4: 2, where God is praised for not ceasing to create "new stars and constellations and zodiacal signs that flow and issue from the light of His holy garment."

INTRODUCTION [xix] From Ignorance to Error; yet we may/Conjecture." Albertus Magnus conjectured, and put "each choir at 6,666 legions, and each legion at 6,666 angels." But demons are winged horses of another color. Unlike the angels, these apes of God are capable of reproducing their kind. What is more, as Origen alerts us, "they multiply like flies." So today there must be a truly staggering horde of them. The problem of population explosion here is clearly something to worry about." As for the vernacular employed by angels, the odds favor Hebrew. In The Book of Jubilees and in Targum Yerushalmi, we learn that the language God used at Creation and in the Garden of Eden was Hebrew. Even the serpent spoke Hebrew, according to Midrash Lekah Genesis 31 : 1. So, inferentially, angels also spoke it, or speak it. The Apocalypse of Paul puts it precisely: "Hebrew, the speech of God and the angels." Indeed, in rabbinic lore, and in sundry secular writings, Hebrew is said to have been the language of all mankind up to the "confusion of tongues," an event that occurred at the building of the Tower of Babel in 2247 B.C.E. (as computed by Archbishop Ussher, noted 17th-century Irish theologian). That the Torah was originally conceived and set down in Hebrew is a widely postulated view among Jews, though disputed by Philo (who thought the language was Chaldean Aramaic) and by Muslims generally (who claim it was Arabic). St. Basil thought it was Syriac. ' whole it is safe to say that the lingua franca of angels--of all spirits, in fact--is Hebrew. Some exegetes hold that angels, being monolingual, speak the holy tongue exclusively, not even understanding the closely related Aramaic (as specifically stated in The Zohar I, 92); other authorities contend differently. They point out that Gabriel, Metatron, and Zagzagel each had a knowledge of seventy languages. ' In recent times, Sandalphon was overheard conversing in Yiddish, the eavesdropper being the storyteller Isaac Bashevis Singer. Furthermore, we have it on the word of the Swedish mystic Swedenborg that angels not only speak Hebrew, they also write it. In his Heaven and Its Wonders and Hell, he avers that "a little paper was sent to me from Heaven on which a few words were written in Hebrew." This remarkable document, so far as is known, was never produced for public scrutiny, nor has it ever turned up among Swedenborg's effects. Are angels immortal? In the opinion of most scholars, yes. But are angels eternal? No. God alone is eternal.²² Still, the life span of angels is a fairly long one, starting from the moment they were "willed

into being” to the last crack of doom. But a number of angels have, mean-

18. Luther’s followers, in a work entitled *Theatrunc Diabolorum*, not satisfied with the then-current estimates of devils, raised the figure to 2.5. billion, later to 10.000 billion. A reassuring thought, provided by Hagiga 16a, is that while ”demons beget and increase like men, like men they die.” 19. At the Exodus and in the Wilderness, God also spoke Hamitic. He did this, it is said, in order to make Hiin- self understood by the Egyptian Moses and by Hamitic-qxaking Jews who made up the greater bulk of Moses’ followers. 20. See *The Book of Adam and Eve*. p. 245. 21. Talmud Sotah, fol. 36, narrates that Gabriel taught Joseph seventy languages overnight. The ailgel Kirtabus (in Tyana’s *Nuctemeron*) is described as a ”genius of languages.” 22. John of Damascus qualifies this by saying in his *Ewposition ofthe Orthodox Faith*: ”God alone is eternal, or rather. He is above the Eternal; for He, the Creator oftimes, is not under the dominion ofTime, but above Time.”

[xx] INTRODUCTION while, been snuffed out.²³ Thus God put an end to Rahab for refusing, as commanded, to divide the upper and lower watem²⁴ God burned the angels of peace and truth, along with the hosts under them, as well as an entire legion of administering angels (*Yalkut Shimoni*), for objecting to the creation of man-a project the Creator had His heart particularly set on and was determined to carry through, although later He repented of the venture, as we learn from *Genesis* 6:6. God also annihilated a whole ”globe of angels,” the Song- Uttering Choristers, for failing to chant the *Trisagion* at the appointed hour. And there is the case of a mortal doing away with an immortal: Moses, who in fact did away with two of them-Kemuel (already mentioned) and Hemah. This Hemah was the angel of fury ”forged at the beginning of the world out of chains of black and red fire.” Legend has it that, after swallowing the Lawgiver up to the ankles, Hemah had to disgorge him at the timely intervention of the Lord. Moses then turned around and slew the vile fiend. While there are numerous instances of angels turning into demons, as exemplified in the fall of one-thrd of the Heavenly hosts (*Revelation* 12), instances of mortals transformed into angels (named angels) are rare.²⁵ Four instances have come to light, three deriving from passages in *Genesis* and *I Kings*. The first relates to the patriarch Enoch, who was apotheosized into the god-angel Metatron. The second relates to the patriarch Jacob, who became Uriel, then Isra’el, ”archangel of the power of the Lord” and chief tribune among the sons of God.²⁶ The third relates to the prophet Elijah, who drove to Heaven in a fiery chariot and, on arrival, was transformed into the angel Sandalphon.²⁷ The fourth instance, vouched for in *The Douce Apocalypse*, . . . instance is the transforming is that of St. Francis, who evolved into the angel R h a n i e l Another

23. The noted 12th-century Jewish poet and theologian, Judah ha-Levi (1085-1140) in his work called *The Book of Kuzari* (IV), taught that there were two classes or species of angels. He wrote: ”As for the angels, some are created for the time being, out of the subtle elements of matter (as air

or fire). Some are eternal (i.e., existing from everlasting to everlasting), and perhaps they are the spiritual intelligences of which the philosophers speak." He goes on to say: "It is doubtful whether the angels seen by Isaiah, Ezekiel, and Daniel were of the class of those created for the time being, or of the class of spiritual essences which are eternal." What were they then? one might ask. Saadia B. Joseph was of the opinion that they were visions seen during prophetic ecstasy rather than outward realities. In the view of St. John of Damascus (700?-754?), Orthodox Faith, angels are immortal, but "only by grace, not by nature." 24. This "angel of insolence and pride" had two lives. He was deprived of the first for the reason given above, at the Exodus. Here he is drowned by God Two thousand years later, resuscitated but still obdurate, he reappears for espousing the cause of the Egyptians, which, as that nation's tutelary angel, he was honor bound to do. 25. Origen's belief in a "final restitution," when God would forgive all his sinning creatures, even the most damned, opened the door to a return of Satan to his archangelic perch in the Heavenly purlieu. Because of this heretical belief Origen, it is said, was never canonized. 26. Prayer of Joseph. 27. Elijah-Sandalphon became the celestial psychopomp "whose duty it was," says Pirke R. Eliezer, "to stand at the crossways of paradise and guide the pious to their appointed places." 28. According to Jewish tradition, all patriarchs, along with those who led exceptionally virtuous lives, attained angelic rank when they got to Heaven. This, however, has been disputed: "the belief that the souls of the righteous after death become angels has never been part of Jewish thought" (Universal Jewish Encyclopedia I, 314). That it was at one time part of patristic thinking can be deduced from Theodotus (Excerpts) to the effect that "those who are changed from men to angels are instructed for a thousand years by the angels, after they are brought to perfection" and that then "those who have been taught are translated to archangelic authority."

INTRODUCTION [xxi] of Anne, the virgin's mother, into the angel Anas (q.v.). Mention might also be made here of three Biblical psalmists-Asaph, Heman, and Jeduthun-who showed up in Heaven, with their earthly names and occupations unchanged, as celestial choirmasters. Regarding the sex or gender of angels, I was often hard put to arrive at any conclusion in the matter, even with the help of scholars. True, angels are pure spirits and so should be presumed to be bodiless and, hence, sexless.²⁹ But the authors of our sacred texts were not logicians or men of science; in the main, they were prophets, lawgivers, chroniclers, poets. They did not know how to represent invisible spirits other than by giving them visible, or tangible, embodiment: accordingly, they pictured angels in their own image (i.e., in the guise of men), acting and talking and going about their business-the Lord's business-the way men do.³⁰ Angels in Scripture, as a consequence, were conceived of as male.³¹ However, it was not long before the female of the species began putting in an appearance. In early rabbinic as well as in occult lore, there are quite a number of them: the Shekinah, for one. She was the "bride of God," the divine *intvohnurg* in

man, who dwelt with lawfully wedded couples and blessed their conjugal union. There was Pistis Sophia ("Faith/Wisdom"), a high-ranking gnostic aeon, said to be the "pro-creator of the superior angels." There was a r b e l o consort, of Cosn ocrator, a great archon, "perfect in glory and next in rank to the Father-of-All." There was Bat Qol, the "heavenly voice" or "daughter of the voice" of Jewish tradition, a prophetess symbolized as a dove, who gave warnings and counsel when the days of prophecy were over. Another female power that comes to mind is the gnostic Drop or Derdekea. According to the Berlin Codex, Drop used to descend to earth on critical occasions "for the salvation of mankind." And there were the six left-side emanations of God, created to counterbalance the ten male emanations that issued from God's right side.³² And finally there was the vixen Eisheth Zenunim, angel of prostitution and mate of Sammael. In Hebrew, eisheth zenunim means "woman of whoredom" and the epithet applied with equal force to three other wives of Sammael: Lilith, Naamah, Agrat bat Mahlah. - -

29. In theology there are three classifications of spirit: (1) God, W h o is divine spirit; (2) angels and demons, who are pure spirits; and (3) man, who is impure spirit. 30. In The Zohar (Vayera 101a) we read: "When Abraham was still suffering from the effects of the circum- cision, the Holy One sent him 3 angels, in visible shape, to enquire of his well-being." And the text goes on to say: "You may perhaps wonder how angels can ever be visible, since it is written, 'Who makes his angels spirits' (Psalms 104:4). Abraham, however, assuredly did see them, as they descended to earth in the form of men. And, indeed, whenever the celestial spirits descend to earth, they clothe themselves in corporeal elements and appear to men in human shape." But it is difficult to reconcile the foregoing with the statement in The Book of Jubilees (15:27) that "all the angels of the presence and all the angels of sanctification" were already circumcised when they were created. O n the issue of the materiality of angels, authorities have been divided. Those who believe that angels are composed of matter and form include Alexander of Hales, Bernard of Clairvaux, St. Bonaventura, Origen. Those who hold, to the contrary, that angels are incorporeal include Dionysius the Areopagite, John of Rochelle, Moses Maimonides. Maximus the Confessor, and William of Auvergne. 31. The Koran 53:27: "Those who disbelieve in the Hereafter [are those who] name the angels with the names of females." 32. In the texts of the early commentators, Moses of Burgos and Isaac Ben R. Jacob ha-Cohen, as in the supplement to The Zohar, there are also ten evil emanations (male), of which "only seven were permitted to endure." See Appendix.

[xxii] INTRODUCTION This free-loving quartet constituted a kind of composite Jewish equivalent of the Sidonivl Astarte. Zoroastrianism, which was not averse to including females in its pantheon, had its Anahita, a lovely luminary characterized as "the immortal one, genius of fertilizing waters." Offsetting her was Mairya, evil harbinger of death, represented indiscriminately as male and

female. She (or he) tempted Zoroaster with the kingdoms of the earth, just as, in Matthew 4, Satan tempted Jesus. Another angel of indeterminate sex was Apsu. In Babylonian-Chaldean mythology, Apsu was the "female angel of the abyss"; but, though female, she fathered the Babylonian gods and was at the same time the husband or wife of Tamat. She (or he) was slain finally by her (his) son Ea. A true tumtum!³³ It seems, also, according to Genesis Rabba and confirmed by Milton in *Paradise Lost* I, 423-424, that angels; at least some of them, were able to change their sex at will. The Zohar (Vayehi z3zb) phrases it this way: "Angels, who are God's messengers, turn themselves into different shapes, being sometimes female and sometimes male." To revert to the question as to whether angels have an existence outside Holy Writ, or apart from the beliefs and testimony of visionaries, fabulists, hermeneuts, ecstasies, etc. Such a question has been a debatable one from almost the start, even before the down-to-earth Sadducees repudiated them and the apocalyptic Pharisees acknowledged and espoused them. Aristotle and Plato believed in angels (Aristotle called them intelligences). Socrates, who believed in nothing that could not be verified by (or was repugnant to) logic and experience, nevertheless had his daimon, an attendant spirit, whose voice warned the marketplace philosopher whenever he was about to make a wrong decision.³⁴ Now, to invent an angel, a hierarchy, or an order in a hierarchy, required some imagination but not too much ingenuity. It was sufficient merely to (1) scramble together letters of the Hebrew alphabet; (2) juxtapose such letters in anagrammatic, acronymic, or cryptogrammatic form; (3) tack on to any place, property, function, attribute, or quality the theophorous "el" or "irion." Thus Hod (meaning splendor, like zohar) was transformed into the angel Hodi'el. Gevurah (meaning strength) burgeoned into the angel Gevurah'el or Gevurion. Tiphereth (meaning beauty) provided the basis for the sefirah Tiphereth'el. The lords of the various hierarchic orders came into being in similar fashion, Cherubiel becoming the eponymous chief of the order of cherubim; Seraphiel, the eponymous chief of the order of seraphim; Hashmal, of the hashmallim, etc. Countless "paper angels" or "suffix angels," many of them unpronounceable and irreducible to intelligent listing, were thus fabricated; they passed, virtually unchallenged, into the religious and secular literature of the day, to be accredited after a while as valid. In some cases they were given canonical or deuterocanonical status. The practice preempted no one from begetting ex nihilo and ad infinitum his

33. Tumtum is a Talmudic term for any spirit whose sex could not be easily determined. See M. Jastrow, *Dictionary of the Targumim, Talmud Babli and Yerushalmi, and the Midrashim Literature*. 34. In the Middle Ages, the most eminent scholars and divines ranged themselves on opposite sides of the question. And that is perhaps still true today; a belief in angels is part of the doctrine of three of the four major Zoroastrian (mainly Catholics), Jewish (mainly orthodox), Mohammedan.

INTRODUCTION [xxiii] own breed of angels, and putting them into orbit.³⁵ The unremitting industry of early cabalists in creating angels spilled over

into the raiding of pagan pantheons, and transforming Persian, Babylonian, Greek, and Roman divinities into Jewish hierarchs. Thus the kerubim of the ancient Assyrians—those huge, forbidding stone images placed before temples and palaces—emerge in Genesis 3 as animate cherubim, guardian angels armed with flaming swords east of Eden and, later, in upper Paradise, as charioteers of God (after Ezekiel encountered them at the River Chebar). The Akkadian lord of Hell, the li6n-headed Nergal, was cooverted into the great, holy Nasargiel, and in this acceptable guise served Moses as cicerone when the Lawgiver visited the underworld. Hermes, the good daimon, inventor of the lyre and master of song in Greek n ythology, became in e w i i h lore the angel Herrnesiel and identified with David, "sweet singer of Israel." The rabbinic Ashrnedai derived from the zend Aeshmadeva. Etc., etc. The Church, let it be said to its credit, tried to call a halt to the traffic, although the Church - itself at one time recognized a considerable number of angels not in the calendar, and even per- mitted them to be venerated.¹⁶ Scripture, as we have seen, gives the names of no more than two or three angels. That there may well be seven named angels in Scripture is the subject of a paper by this compiler; it is a thesis on which, admittedly, no two theologians are likely to agree. In the "orthodox" count, fixed by the 6th-century pseudo-Dionysius (otherwise known as Dionysius the Areopagite)? there are nine orders in the celestial hierarchy. But there are other "authoritative" lisaprovided by sundry Protestant writers that give seven, nine, twelve orders, including such rarely encountered ones as flames, warriors, entities, seats, hosts, lordships, etc. The Dionysian sequence of the orders, from seraphim to angels (a sequelice for which there is no Biblical warrant, and which Calvin summarily dismissed as "the vain babblings of idle men") has likewise been shuffled about, some sources ranking seraphm last (rather than 6rst), archangels second (rather than eighth), virtues seventh (rather than fourth or sixth), and so 011.⁷ Miracles, feats of magic, heavenly visitations, and overshadowings are often ascribed to

35. Isaac de Acco (13th-14th century), a disciple of Nahmanides, "laid claim to the performance of miracles by a transposition of Hebrew letters according to a system he pretended to have learned from the angels." See A. E. Waite, *The Holy Kabbalah*, p. 53. 36. Certain early theologians like Eusebius (c. 263-c. 339) and heodoret (c. 393-c. 458) opposed the veneration of angels, and a Church council at Laodicea (343-381?) condemned Christians "who gave themselves up to a masked idolatry in honor of the angels." This, despite the fact that St. Ambrose (339?-397) exhorted the faithful, in his *De Viduis*, 9, to "pray to the angels, who are given to us as guardians." In the 8th century, at the 2nd Council of Nicaea (787), there was another change of heart, for the worship of angelic bein s was then formally approved. The practice, nevertheless, seems to have fallen into disuse. Today there is a tren in some ecclesiastical circles to revive it. The Dominican priest Pie-Raymond RCgamey, author of *What Is an Angel?* (1960), thinks that veneration of angels is not a bad thing. but warns against the "danger of such devotion becoming superficial."

37. The time that Dionysius lived and wrote has never been satisfactorily determined. Originally his writings were attributed to one of the 'udges of the Greek meopagus court), whom Paul converted (Acts 17:34). But scholars, finding such dating untenable, moved the time ahead to the 6th century. However, according to a French legend cited by A. B. Jameson (Legends of the Madonna), "Dionysius the Areopagite was present at the death of the Virgin Mary," which would place him back in the 1st century. The legend relates that "Dionysius stood around the bier beside the twelve apostles, the two great angels of death (Michael and Gabriel), and a host of lamenting lesser angels." 38. Cf. varying sequences of the ninefold hierarchy offered by Augustine (City of God), Gregory the Great (Homilies and Moralia), Isidore of Seville (Etymologiae), Bernard of Clairvaux (de consideratione), Edmund Spenser (An Hymne of Heavenly Beautie), Drummond of Hawthornden (Flowres of Sion), etc.

[xxiv] INTRODUCTION different angels.³⁹ Thus, the three "men" whom Abraham entertained unawares have been identified as God, Michael, and Gabriel; also, according to Philo, as the Logos, the Messiah, and God. In Matthew the news of Mary being found with child of the Holy Ghost is conveyed to her spouse Joseph by the "angel of the Lord"; in Luke it is Gabriel who does the announcing- not to Joseph but direct to Mary who, however, seems to know nothing - of the matter. The overnight destruction of the army of Sennacherib, numbering 185,000 men, ascribed in II Kings to the "angel of the Lord," has been laid to the prowess of Michael, Gabriel, Uriel, or Remiel. No one has yet, to the knowledge of this investigator, identified the specific "angel of the Lord" whom David saw "standing between the earth and the heaven, having a drawn sword in his hand stretched over Jerusalem" (I Chronicles 2:16). A good guess would be Michael, for that battle-ax of God, when he is not in Heaven assisting Zehanzuryu or Dokieli in the weighing in of souls, is busy on earth lopping off the heads of the unfaithful.* In their hurried exodus from Egypt, and in their encounter with Pharaoh's horsemen at the Red (Reed) Sea, the Hebrews were helped by "the angel of God, which went before behind them . . . in a pillar of fire and cloud" (Exodus 14). Here the identity of the angel of God poses no problem: he was Michael or Metatron, each the tutelary prince-guardian of Israel. However, Michael or Metatron did not fight alone: he had the aid of a swarm of "ministering angels who began hurling [at the pursuing or retreating Egyptians] arrows, great hailstones, fire, and brimstone." Present also, it is reported, were hosts of "angels and seraphim, singing songs of praise to the Lord," which must have helped considerably in turning the tide of battle. On the enemy side, harrying the Hebrews, was the guardian angel of Egypt, once holy but now corrupt. It appears though that Egypt had more than one guardian angel-four in fact, and that they all showed up, armed to the teeth. Various sources identify them as Uzza, Rahab, Mastema, and Duma. The fate of Rahab we know: he was drowned, along with the Egyptian horsemen. Mastema and Duma went back to Hell, where they had unfinished business to attend to. As for Uzza, some authorities say he was actually Semyaza, grandfather of Og, a

leader of the fallen angels; and that since the Red Sea episode, and after his unfortunate affair with the maiden Shtahar (immortalized in song by Byron), he hangs head down between Heaven and earth in the neighborhood of the constellation Orion. Indeed, Graves and Patai in their *Hebrew Myths* - say that Selnyaza is merely the Hebrew forill for the Greek Orion. . . .

39. Miracles and magic were not always frowned upon by the Church, despite Jesus' exhortation against signs and wonders as a basis for belief (John 4:48). When Pico della Mirandola (1463-1494) declared that "no science yields greater proof of angels, purgatory, hellfire, and the divinity of Christ than magic and the Kabbalah," Pope Sixtus IV "was delighted and had the Kabbalah translated into Latin for the use of students of divinity" (Albert C. Sundberg. r.. in *The Old Testament and the Holy Church*, Harvard Theological Studies, 15th appointed by a succeeding pope, Innocent VIII, condemned at least ten of Pico's theses as "rash, false, and heretical." This seems to have been the attitude of the Church thereafter, the cabala being proscribed as a Jewish system of black magic, the "laboratory of Satan." 40. Tractate Beshallah, *Mekilta de Rabbi Ishmael*, vol. 1, p. 245. 41. Martin Buber, *Tales of the Hasidim*, Later Masters, chapter on Rabbi Yaakov of Sadagora. While God, naturally, rejoiced over the victory of His Chosen People, He did not like to see His angels crowing over it. Thus, the Talmudists describe God as silencing an angelic chorus that chanted hallelujahs when the Egyptian hosts met with disaster, by crying out: "How dare you sing in rejoicing when my handiwork [i.e., the Egyptians] is perishing in the sea!" [Rf: Ben Zion Bokser, *The Wisdom of the Talmud*, p. 117.1

INTRODUCTION [xxv] Jacob's antagonist at Peniel was God, as Jacob himself finally figured out when day broke (Genesis 32: 30). But our learned rabbis, after pondering the text, have concluded that the antagonist was not God but an angel of God, and that he was either Uriel, Gabriel, Michael, Metatron, or even Sanmael, prince of death.⁴² When Enoch was translated to Heaven, his angelic guide, according to Enoch's own testimony, was Uriel. But later on in the same book (Enoch I) Uriel turns out to be Raphael, then Raguel, then Michael, then Uriel all over again. Apparently they were the same angel, for Enoch throughout speaks of "the angel that was with me." But perhaps it is too much to expect Enoch to be consistent. He is, as we have seen, notoriously unreliable. True, we do not have his original scripts, or even early copies; the writings accredited to him have come down to us in a hopelessly corrupt form, much of it clearly "doctored" to conform to the views of interested parties. Still it is hard to believe he was a clear thinker or accurate reporter, although he purports to have been an eyewitness in many of the incidents he describes. The habitat of angels proved equally perplexing. In the opinion of Aquinas, angels cannot occupy two places at the same time (theoretically it would not be impossible for them, being pure spirits, to do so). On the other hand, they call journey from one place to another, however far removed, in the twinkling of an

eye. In angelology, one comes upon instance after instance where an angel is a resident of, or presider over, two or three Heavens simultaneously. Thus, in Hagiga 12b, Michael is the archistrategus of the 4th Heaven. Here he "offers up daily sacrifice." But Michael is also governor of the 7th and 10th Heavens. As for Metatron, he is reputed to occupy "the throne next to the throne of Glory," which would fix his seat in the 7th Heaven, the abode of God. But we find Metatron, like Michael, a tenant of the 10th Heaven, the primum mobile, which is likewise the abode of God-when, that is, God is not in residence in the 7th. Gabriel, lord of the 1st Heaven, has been glimpsed sitting enthroned "on the left-hand side of God (Metatron's throne, then, must be on God's right).⁴³ This would indicate that Gabriel's proper province is not the 1st but the 7th or 10th Heaven (it was in the 10th Heaven that Enoch beheld "the vision of the face of the Lord"). However, according to Milton in *Paradise Lost* IV, 549, Gabriel is chief of the angelic guard placed over Paradise, and Paradise being in the 3rd Heaven, we should, accordingly, find the enthroned Ailnunciator camping out there. Logically, one should look for Shamshiel, prince of in zebul or sagun (the 3rd Heaven) where Azrael, suffragan angel of death, lodges, next to the Tree of Life. But some

42. There are any number of princes or angels of death. Prominent among them, besides Sarnrael, are Kafziel, Kezef, Satan, Suriel, Yehudiam, Michael, Gabriel, Metatron, Azrael. Abaddon/Apollon. They are all under orders from God. When they fail to accomplish their mission, as in the case of Moses who refused to give up the ghost, then God Himself assumes as His own angel of death. According to legend (Ginzberg, *The Legends of the Jews* III, 473). after God used His best arguments to persuade the aged Lawgiver that he would be better off dead than alive, and the Lawgiver still proving stubborn, God descended from Heaven (in the company of Michael, Gabriel, and Zagzagel) and "took Moses' soul with a kiss" (Jude 9). The legend goes on to say that God then buried Moses, but "in a spot that remained unknown, even to Moses himself." 43. It is here also the right hand of God the Father Almighty" that Jesus sits, according to the Apostles' Creed. 44. Other princes of Paradise include Johiel, ikphon, Zotiel, Michael, Gabriel.

[xxvi] INTRODUCTION sources place Shamshiel in charge of the 4th Heaven (also called ebul). On the other hand, if we go by *The Book of Jubilees*, Shamshiel is chief of the Watchers, and so properly he would be overseeing the 2nd or 5th Heaven, where the Watchers dwell, "crouched in everlasting despair." Furthermore, in the guise of Shemu'el (the archonic warden who stands at the windows of Heaven "listening for the songs of praise ascending from synagogues and houses of study below"), Shamshiel would be posted at the portal of the 1st Heaven. Which leaves Shamshiel where? Obviously, in an emergency, it would be difficult to locate him. A final instance: Zagzagel or Zagzagael, prince of the Torah, "angel with the horns of glory," is the celestial guard of the 4th Heaven-let us bear in mind that Shamshiel is already in charge at this level-and

Zagzagel, being at the same time seneschal of the 7th Heaven, his stewardship of the 4th Heaven poses a knotty problem. Confusion without end ! One is constrained to cry out, with the dying Goethe: "More light !" A contemporary of the great Hillel, Ben Hai Hai (identified with another noted rabbi of his day, Ben Bag Bag) used to say: "According to the labor is the reward."⁴⁶ Goethe in *Faust*, part 6, comforts his readers with a similar maxim: "Kiihi das Miihen, herrlich der Lohn"- "Daring the labor, lordly the reward." If there is any reward for the labor of compiling this Dictionary, it is in the knowledge that every effort has been made to keep the sins of commission and omission down to a minimum (and no one knows better than the author how many sins may be committed in the course of such a work). There are still many problems left unresolved here. This is due either to the inaccessibility of much of the extant material in the field or to its indecipherability, or because the wit and wisdom to provide the solutions were wanting. Future investigators, better equipped, for whom some of the underbrush has been cleared away, may be able to provide the solutions, along with the names of additional angels that no doubt will turn up in new finds. I might interpose here (to paraphrase Rabbi Nathan's famous dictum, "He who preserves a life preserves a world") that the preserving of a single angel-not one of the "suffix" creatures-is like pre-serving a whole hierarchy. The task certainly is not an easy one, but it may prove easier than the one confronting this voyager when he started out on his quest, primed with only the scantiest notion of the labor that lay ahead. A good way to conclude this *Apologia pro libro suo* is to quote from a recently published paper on the guise of angels. It was there intimated that "in view of the continuing hold of the supernatural over the minds of men, and the fact that a belief in the existence of angels (and demons) is an article of faith with two of our major world religions, and part of the tradition of at least four of them (Persian, Jewish, Christian, Muslim), it is highly probable that we shall have the winged creatures with us for a long, long time to come." True, we may not always know whether we are in the presence of "a spirit of health or goblin damned," whether we are being fanned by "airs from Heaven or blasts from Hell," but it is best to be on guard. Even Satan, as Paul cautioned us, can show himself transformed into an angel of light.

45. In Peter de Abano, *Heptameron*, *zebu1* is also a designation for the 6th Heaven. 46. *Pirke Aboth*, chapter 5, *mishna* 26.

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