

THE EVOLUTION OF ANGELS AND DEMONS IN CHRISTIAN THEOLOGY.

BY R. BRUCE BOSWELL.

THE Hebrew word for angel (*malakh*)¹ is not a specialised term for a celestial messenger or a divine agent. It may be, and actually is, employed as applicable to human beings as well. The very same ambiguity occurs in the use of the equivalent Greek term (*ἄγγελος*) from which our own word "angel" is derived.² Of a nature superior to that of man, "the heavenly host," when manifesting themselves on earth, are usually represented, both in the Old and New Testaments, as of manlike aspect, though revealing it may be some features of superhuman majesty.³ If Cherubs and Seraphs are to be regarded as angels, then an animal or even monstrous form may be attributed to them when seen in prophetic vision or as constituting part of the furniture of the sanctuary; but, as a matter of fact, these ambiguous beings never take any part in angelic ministry among men, but remain either in close attendance upon the Divine Presence, or as guardians of forbidden precincts. The fallen angels of Christian theology, the declared antagonists of God, are unknown as such to the earlier Scriptures. A disastrous union between "the sons of the Elohim" and "the daughters of men" is somewhat abruptly mentioned⁴ in an early

1 "Malachi" means "my angel"; see Malachi iii. 1.

2 Instances of doubtful interpretation occur in Judges ii. 1 and Rev. i. 20.

3 "A man of God came unto me, and his countenance was like the countenance of the angel of God, very terrible" (Judges xiii. 6, R. V.). This terrible aspect is also emphasised in Matt xxviii. 3-4,—"His appearance was as lightning . . . and for fear of him the watchers did quake and became as dead men." So in Dan. x. 6: "His face as the appearance of lightning and his eyes as lamps of fire." The angels of modern art are evidently very different from their ancient prototypes! For the superhuman wisdom of angels, see 2 Sam. xiv. 19-20; xix. 27. For their strength, see Psalm ciii. 20.

4 "The sons of God came in unto the daughters of men." Their leader in Enoch x. is called Azazel ("the strength of God," a name formed like those of the archangels Michael, Gabriel, Raphael, etc.), and he is there said to have been bound by Raphael and cast into a chasm in the desert of Dudael. To him it was that the scape-goat was devoted on the day of Atonement (Levit.

chapter of Genesis (vi. 1-4), belonging to what is apparently the most ancient stratum of the present text, but there is nothing to indicate in the passage itself, as contrasted with later interpretations, that this connexion involved any lapse from innocence, or was visited with divine displeasure. The "evil angels" of Psalm lxxviii. 49 (more correctly translated "angels of evil" in the Revised Version) are the authorised agents of Yahweh's wrath, and Satan himself (another equivocal term, applied sometimes to human beings)¹ is the "Adversary" of man rather than of God.²

The idea of intelligent personality attaching to inanimate objects and phenomena has, doubtless, as prime mover, set to work all the complicated machinery of Jewish and Christian angelology and demonology. Evident traces of such "animism" are met with alike in the Old and New Testament. The stars in their courses fight against Sisera (Judges v. 20), or sing together for joy at the creation of the world (Job xxxviii. 7), the winds and the waves, no less than the wasting fever, are subject to rebuke (Matt. viii. 26; Luke iv. 39).

The second stage of animism is reached when the control of natural forces is attributed to invisible beings separate from the phenomena over which they preside. The host of heaven (*Sabaoth*) are not so much the stars themselves as the astral spirits who are responsible for their movements;³ other angels are the authors of disease and death;⁴ while the Cherubim and Seraphim seem to support the thunder-clouds and to coruscate in the lightning as spirits of the storm. The angels of wind and of fire, of whom strange things are told in the legendary lore of the Talmud,⁵ are already vaguely outlined in the language of a Psalm which declares that the winds are Yahweh's messengers and his ministers are flames.⁶ The Revelation attributed to St. John, like the earlier

xvi.). Iblis according to Mohammedan belief was called Azazel before his fall, which followed upon his refusal to do homage to Adam at God's command.

¹ See 2 Sam. xix. 22 and Matt. xvi. 23 (cf. John vi. 70 where the Greek *Διάβολος* is probably equivalent to the Hebrew word "Satan").

² Cf. 1 Chron. xxi. 1 with 2 Sam. xxiv. 1, where what in the earlier book is attributed to Yahweh himself is in the later one assigned to the agency of Satan. In Job i. 12 and ii. 6 Satan receives a direct personal commission from God.

³ See Ps. cxlviii. 2-3; Isa. xxiv. 21 and xlv. 12; and cf. for different meanings of "the host of heaven," Gen. ii. 1; Ps. xxxiii. 6; Dan. viii. 10; and Luke ii. 13.

⁴ Exod. xii. 23; 2 Sam. xxiv. 16; 2 Kings xix. 35, etc.

⁵ "The Angels of Wind and of Fire

Chant only one hymn and expire," etc. (Longfellow, *Sandalphon*).

⁶ Ps. civ. 4. On the strength of this assertion, a Father of the Church (St. Basil, M. de Spir., S. 16) maintains that the angels, as an actual order of intelligent creatures, are "an airy wind, an immaterial fire"; and this is their elementary constitution according to other high author-

apocalypse of Enoch,¹ is full of such nature-angels, as well as of those belonging to a supernatural order. Thus we read of angels "holding the four winds of the earth" (Rev. vii. 1),² of "the angels of the waters" (Rev. xvi. 5; cf. John v. 4), and of "another angel . . . that hath power over fire" (Rev. xiv. 18). An angel stands in the sun (Rev. xix. 17), as if, like Uriel in *Paradise Lost*, he were its appointed guardian; but elsewhere a star is spoken of as itself a conscious being to whom is given a commission which is faithfully discharged (Rev. ix. 1-2). That the heavenly bodies are instinct with life is a doctrine implied, as well as openly expressed, in many parts of the Book of Enoch, the groundwork of which belongs in all probability to the second century B. C. This was also the doctrine of the old Persian religion, was held as more than probable by Greek philosophy, and has been discussed by learned teachers of the Christian faith in a pre-scientific age as at least a tenable theory.³ It is something more than a mere poetical conceit, which, in the mind of prophet or psalmist, marshals the stars as an army, each unit of which is obedient to the voice of divine command;⁴ a "divine judgment on the astral spirits" (T. K. Cheyne) seems to be implied in the language of Isaiah xxiv. 21, and Jude's allusion to "wandering stars for whom the blackness of darkness hath been reserved forever" (Jude 13), is in close connexion with his previous statement that "angels which kept not their own principality, but left their proper habitation, he hath kept in everlasting bonds under darkness unto the judgment of the great day" (Jude 6). So in the Book of Enoch astral spirits are punished for disobedience in failing to come forth at their appointed time.⁵ Even in modern hymns stars and angels are sometimes coupled together as identical or closely related "powers of heaven,"⁶ just as in the Book of Job we read that "the morning

ities, who, as systematic theologians, habitually turn sublime poetry into ridiculous prose. Cf Heb. i. 7.

¹ See R. H. Charles on Enoch ix. 12, and cf. W. J. Deane on the Book of Jubilees, *Pseudephigrapha*, p. 228.

² Cf. Zech. vi. 5: "the four spirits [winds, R. V.] which go forth from standing before the Lord of all the earth."

³ See Hagenbach's *History of Doctrines* (Clark, 1846), Vol. I., p. 345, quoting from Augustine a passage (*Enchirid. ad Lavr.* 58), in which he expresses some uncertainty whether the sun, moon, and all the constellations do or do not belong to the society of those blessed and celestial beings who are called by the general name of angels. Cf. Aristotle, *De Cælo*, Lib. ii., cap. 12, where the heavenly bodies are referred to as living and divine.

⁴ Cf. Nehem. ix. 6; Ps. cxlvii. 4; Isa. xl. 26. In the apocryphal Book of Baruch we read (iii. 34): "The stars shined in their watches, and were glad: when he called them, they said, Here we be."

⁵ See Enoch xviii. 3-16 and xxi. 3-6 (R. H. Charles).

⁶ "At His voice creation

Sprang at once to sight;

stars sang together, and all the sons of the *Elohim* shouted for joy" (Job xxxviii. 7).

"It is the characteristic of the Oriental, and especially of the Semitic mind," writes Dean Farrar (*The Life of Christ*, Appendix, Excursus vii) "to see in every event, even the most trivial, a direct supernatural interference, wrought by the innumerable unseen ministers—both good and evil—of the Divine Will. The definite form in which the belief clothed itself was, by the admission of the Jews themselves, derived from Babylon." Angels are introduced into the naïve narrative of the early history of the chosen people with considerable frequency, bearing divine commissions of mercy or of judgment, threats or promises; and their intervention becomes even more conspicuous in later Jewish writings like those that go by the titles of Daniel, Tobit, Enoch, and Fourth Ezra (Second Esdras in the English Apocrypha), in which special names are first assigned to them. Direct communications with Yahweh Himself, the form in which primitive tradition seems to have invested such marvellous events, were gradually superseded by intermediate agency; but many traces are still left of the bolder belief.¹

Growing awe and appreciation of the transcendent nature of the Divine Being rendered such theophanies difficult to accept in a literal sense, and the crudity of the original account was often toned down and brought into accord with maturer ideas. This tendency may be seen at work in many different parts of the Bible. In Exodus (xx. 1, 19, 22) we read that God Himself uttered the Decalogue in an audible voice, but St. Paul writes (Gal. iii. 19) that the Law "was ordained through angels by the hand of a

All the Angel faces,
All the hosts of light,
Thrones and Dominations,
Stars upon their way,
All the heavenly orders

In their great array." ("At the Name of Jesus," etc.)

So in the ancient hymn known from its opening words as *Te Deum*: after the declaration "To Thee all Angels cry aloud" we find mention made in detail of "the Heavens and all the Powers therein, the Cherubim, and the Seraphim." For the origin of this term "Powers of the Heavens" see Matt. xxiv. 29; Mark xiii. 25; and Luke xxi. 25-26, where the sun and moon and stars are found in close association with a phrase used elsewhere of angelic personalities (Eph. i. 2; 1 Pet. iii. 22). Our own words "influence," "dis-aster," "jovial," "saturnine," "mercurial," etc., are relics of belief in good or bad stars or planets.

¹ "They heard the voice of Yahweh Elohim walking in the garden in the cool of the day" (Gen. iii. 8).

"Jacob called the name of the place Peniel: for, said he, I have seen God face to face, and my life is preserved" (Gen. xxxii. 30).

"Yahweh spake unto Moses face to face, as a man speaketh unto his friend" (Exod. xxxiii. 11).

mediator,¹ and the author of the Epistle to the Hebrews (ii. 2) refers to the same code as "the word spoken through angels." The plagues which fell upon the land of Egypt are all attributed to the instrumentality of "angels of evil" in Psalm lxxviii. 49, whereas, except in the case of the death of the first-born, they appear in Exodus (iii. 2, sq.) as due to the immediate action of Yahweh. He too is distinctly implied as the subject of the verb "appeared" in 2 Chron. iii. 1, where reference is made to the vision which David had at the threshing-floor of Ornan; but in 2 Sam. xxiv. 17 and in 1 Chron. xxi. 16 the celestial visitant is described as "the angel of Yahweh." Even in the course of the same narrative traces of editorial revision are sometimes to be detected in the inconsistency of the terms employed. Thus in Exod. iii. "the angel of Yahweh," who appears "in a flame of fire out of the midst of a bush," (verse 2, Cf. Acts vii. 35) afterwards figures as Yahweh himself (verses 4 to 6).² So in Hos. xii. 3, 4, Jacob's "power with God" is explained in a sense less derogatory to deity than the oldest form of the legend may have suggested: "Yea, he had power over the angel and prevailed."³

In the Hexateuch these marks of composite origin are eminently conspicuous, and it would be tedious to dwell upon them all.⁴ A somewhat startling instance of language apparently in direct contradiction rather than modified is found in 1 Chron. xxi. 1 as contrasted with 1 Sam. xxiv. 1, the importance of which has already been pointed out. But Satan, it must be remembered, was not regarded in the early stages of his development as the author of all evil, whose works it is the function of divine power to destroy (1 John iii. 8), and whose kingdom is opposed to that of God (Matt. xii. 26-28), but only as the subordinate agent of His providential dispensations, the executor of His most obnoxious decrees. More and more odium naturally attached itself to such an office in human estimation, until it came to be considered the spontaneous operation of pure malignancy.⁵ An Isaiah could declare (xlvi. 7)

¹ Compare Acts vii. where (verse 53) Stephen addresses his Jewish hearers as having "received the Law as it was ordained by angels," and (in verse 38) refers to "the angel which spake to 'Moses' in the mount Sinai." We find much the same statement in Josephus (*Antiq.* xv. 5, 3).

²Cf. Judg. vi. 11 and 14; xiii. 13 and 22; Zech. iii. 1, 2.

³Cf. Gen. xxxii. 28 and 30 with verse 24.

⁴Cf. Gen. xvi. 10, 11 with verse 13; xviii. 1 with the sequel, and verse 9 with verse 10 (the plural "they" becomes the singular "I"); xviii. 33 and xix. 1 with xviii. 2; xix. 17, 22 with verses 15, 16; xxxi. 11 with verse 13; xlviii. 15 with verse 16; Exod. iii. 2 with verses 4 etc.; xii. 12 with verse 23; xiii. 21 with xiv. 19; xxiii. 20, 23, with xxxiii. 14, 15; Numb. xxii. 18 with verse 35; Josh. v. 13-15 with vi. 2.

⁵ This may have been due in some measure to the influence of Persian dualism; but the step was one which might have been taken spontaneously, in the natural order of evolutionary specu-

and that unreservedly,—“I form the light and create darkness ; I make peace, and create evil ; I am Yahweh that doeth all these things” ; and an Amos could exclaim (iii. 6),—“Shall evil befall a city, and Yahweh hath not done it ?” The Deity, in his own person, could at one time be represented without offence as putting a lying spirit into the mouth of the prophets (1 Kings xxii. 23), and even Ezekiel could say of one whose inspiration was fictitious, —“I, Yahweh, have deceived that prophet” (xiv. 9). Yet such a false prophet was still deemed worthy of punishment (cf. 1 Kings xiii. 20 etc.), no less than Pharaoh whose heart Yahweh himself had hardened (Exod. iv. 21).

The Book of Job exhibits an intermediate phase of opinion, where Satan enters Heaven with “the sons of the *Elohim*” and receives permission from the Almighty to afflict the man of Uz in order to test his integrity. In Zech. iii. 1–2 Satan is again the official “Accuser,”¹ bent upon finding matter of blame in the highest and holiest of men ; but here he incurs rebuke² for excess of zeal, if for nothing worse. It is only in the New Testament that Satan (or the Devil)³ assumes a position of direct antagonism to God, “the God of this world” who “hath blinded the minds of the unbelieving” (2 Cor. iv. 4).

“The Angel of Yahweh,” afterwards developed into the *Logos* or word of God,⁴ was the bridge between the visible and invisible worlds, the medium of communication between man and God. Some critics have seen in the *Malakh Yahweh* a sort of divine double (see Zech. xii. 8), akin to the *Ka* of Egyptian theology, or even a manifestation of deity in human form, an idea which readily lent itself to identification with the Second Person of the Trinity,

lation on the origin of evil, a problem suggested in the first instance by the experience of physical pain. First the pains themselves might be personified, or referred to supernatural powers malevolent or capricious, before being supposed to have any connexion with sin, or as the penal visitation of God. Sin and suffering are then regarded as alike due to divine agency, direct or indirect (*Quem deus vult perdere prius dementat*). But the moral revolt against such theology leads to the attribution of sin and at least unmerited suffering, to a spirit of evil, more or less at strife with good.

¹ Cf. Psalm cix. 6 and Rev. xii. 10.

² Cf. Jude 9.

³ A Greek word of much the same meaning as the Hebrew “Satan” (and used to translate it in the Septuagint), except that the Counsel for the prosecution in the Court of Heaven is not only an Accuser but possibly a Slanderer as well.

⁴ The *Logos* of Philo is the *Memra* of the Chaldee paraphrase or Targum, which word often takes the place of the ineffable name Yahweh when it occurs in the sacred text. In the *Ascension of Isaiah*, a composite Jewish and Christian apocalypse, “the angel of the Holy Spirit” is an expression that meets us more than once (iii. 15 ; ix. 36, 40), in accordance with the attribution by Zechariah of the office of prophetic inspiration to “the Angel of God” (i. 12–17, etc.). So also in the *Pastor of Hermas* (Mand. xi. 9) we read of “the angel of the prophetic spirit.”

at an early stage of Christian belief.¹ "The Angel of Yahweh" first appears in Hebrew history, as told by compilers of a comparatively late date, in connexion with the story of Hagar (Gen. xvi. 7-11 and xxi. 17). The same unique representative of the Divine Being (also called "the Angel of God") interposes between Abraham and the sacrifice of his son (Gen. xxii. 11 and 15), speaks to Jacob in a dream (Gen. xxxi. 11), is seen by Moses "in a flame of fire out of the midst of a bush" (Exod. iii. 2), goes before or retires behind the host of Israel, to guide or to guard them (Exod. xiv. 19), stands in the way against Balaam with drawn sword (Numb. xxii. 31), manifests himself to Gideon (Judg. vi. 11-22),² to the parents of Samson (Judg. xiii. 3-21) and to David at the threshing-floor of Araunah (2 Sam. xxiv. 16, 17), gives commands to Elijah the Tishbite (2 Kings i. 3 and 15), and smites the camp of the Assyrians (2 Kings xix. 35).³ The Septuagint translates the Hebrew phrase into Greek sometimes with, and sometimes without, the definite article, but its equivalent in the New Testament is invariably ἄγγελος κυρίου without ὁ, except in reference to a previous mention of the heavenly messenger.⁴ The expression is, however, clearly intended to represent the *Malakh Yahweh* of the Old Testament;⁵ and those who would identify that matchless Angel with Jesus Christ must, it would be imagined, find themselves in an awkward strait, when confronted with Matt. ii. 13 where "the angel of the Lord" can hardly be the same as "the young child."⁶

The human aspect of Yahweh's special representative is so strongly marked that, as in the case of less august messengers, he is called a man in one place and an angel in another.⁷ Even God Himself is sometimes described in terms so crudely anthropomorphic⁸ that it need not surprise us to find a mere angel eating and drinking (Gen. xviii. 8), or playing the part of a wrestler (Gen. xxxii. 24 compared with Hosea xii. 4). Such archaisms as those enumerated in the last footnote were not unfrequently toned down in later versions and expositions. Thus the Septuagint translates

¹ See 1 Cor. x. 4; John viii. 56-58; Justin Martyr *Trypho*, lvi-lx.

² Judg. ii. 1 is of doubtful meaning. See R. V.

³ Cf. 1 Chron. xxi. 12 and Psalm xxxiv. 7.

⁴ Cf. Luke i. 11, 13, etc.

⁵ Cf. Acts xii. 25 with 2 Kings xix. 35 in the Septuagint.

⁶ See *Synonyms of the New Testament* by R. B. Girdlestone, p. 70. The Angel of Yahweh and the Divine Being are clearly differentiated in Zech. iii. 12.

⁷ See Judg. xiii. Cf. Gen. xviii; xix; Mark xvi. 5; Luke xxiv. 4; Acts i. 10; x. 30.

⁸ See Gen. ii. 2, 7, 21; iii. 8, 21; viii. 21; xviii. 21; Exod. iii. 6; xxxiii. 23, etc.; Judg. xiii. 22; Isa. vi. 5.

Exod. xxiv. 10 ("they saw the God of Israel"—*Hebrew*), "they saw the place where the God of Israel stood"; and professional interpreters of the sacred text into the Aramaic vernacular of post-exilic Judaism were warned by high authorities to construe the same passage as "they saw the glory of the God of Israel."

A *plurality* of angels, or divine envoys, would seem not to have been the earliest form in which the idea of mediation between God and man was conceived: "the Angel of Yahweh" came before "angels of God," and even they, at first, are probably to be distinguished from "the sons of God" of whom we read in Genesis and Job,¹ as well as from the cherubim, first mentioned in connexion with Paradise (Gen. iii. 24), and the seraphim of Isaiah's vision (Isa. vi. 2 sq.). When angels were thought of as "a multitude of the heavenly host" (Luke ii. 13), they were regarded as "sons of God" in a somewhat different sense from what the term would have originally signified.² "The probability is," writes Prof. A. B. Davidson in Dr. Hastings' *Dictionary of the Bible*, "that the right rendering is not 'sons of God' but 'sons of Elohim'—that is, members of the class of beings called Elohim and Elim, just as 'sons of the prophets' means members of the prophetic order." In Genesis vi. they are evidently intended to be superhuman if not divine, the heroes of a legend that has blossomed luxuriantly, whether in the prosaic details of the Book of Enoch and other apocryphal writings,³ or in the romantic poetry of modern times.⁴

The cherubs of the garden of Eden seem to have been thought of as formidable monsters, more like the sphinx of Egypt, the griffin of Phœnicia, or the compound bull of Assyria, than "the young-eyed cherubins," with wings attached to bodiless heads, which do duty for that "order of angels" in mediæval and modern art.⁵ They were not, however, as already remarked, an order of angels at all, properly speaking. What Prof. T. K. Cheyne writes of the seraphim (Polychrome Bible, Isaiah) is equally true of the

¹ Gen. vi. 2, 4; Job i. 6; xxxviii. 7. Cf. Ps. xxix. 1; lxxxix. 6; Daniel iii. 25.

² The word translated "God," *Elohim*, itself, sometimes appears to mean much the same as the "angels" of a later stage of theological development (Ps. viii. 5, and perhaps Exod. xv. 11 and Ps. xcvi. 9), as well as earthly rulers (Exod. xxii. 8; Ps. lxxxii. 1, 6), and the departed spirits of the mighty dead (1 Sam xxviii. 13).

³ See Enoch, chap. vi. et seq; *Text of the xii. Patriarchs*—Reuben, 5; Apoc. of Baruch lvi. 12 C. Jude 6-7; Tobit vi. 14.

⁴ Byron and Moore have both been fascinated by this subject, and written respectively "Heaven and Earth: a Mystery" and "The Loves of the Angels."

⁵ Rabbinic theology, it seems, "regarded the cherubim as youthful angels." (R. E. Ryle art. *Cherubim*, ap. Dr. Hastings's *Dictionary of the Bible*.)

former: "The *Seraphim* are mythical beings, adopted instinctively by Isaiah from the folk-lore of Judah, and quite distinct from *angels*, which are described as altogether human, and without wings." Like Vishnu upon the bird Garuda, Yahweh rides upon a cherub (Ps. xviii. 10) or sits upon (*not* between) the cherubim (Ps. lxxx. 1, etc.), a personification it may be, of the storm cloud.¹ In Ezekiel's second vision of the cherubim (chap. x), the sound of their wings is compared to "the voice of God Almighty when he speaketh" (verse 5), that is, to the noise of thunder (cf. Job xxxvii. 4-5).² Their identity with the living creatures seen by the river Chebar (chap. i.) is repeatedly declared by the prophet himself (x. 15, 20, 21); and in that former vision the same comparison is made (i. 24), and their appearance is associated with "a stormy wind" (i. 4) and ebullitions of lightning (i. 13).

The fourfold face—of a man, of a lion, of an ox, and of an eagle—seems to be a comparatively late development (Ezek. i. 10; cf. Rev. iv. 7); for in the second vision the face of a cherub, as if of well-known aspect, is substituted for that of an ox (Ezek. x. 14). The multitudinous eyes, like those of Argus (Ezek. x. 12; cf. Rev. iv. 6, 8), seem also to have been added to the original conception, symbolical doubtless of divine omniscience, as the other features were of wisdom and power. The prevalent assignment of knowledge to cherubs, and of love to seraphs, as their peculiar attribute, is due to an erroneous etymology and a false analogy. The meaning of the former word is obscure, but certainly has nothing to do with knowledge, though it may involve the notion of strength, of which the ox is taken as a type. Franz Delitzsch connects it with the idea of circular movement, which may explain the association of cherubs with wheels (Ezek. x. 9-13), and is, perhaps, itself derived from the action of the whirlwind or cyclone.

Mention of "the Cherubim" (Gen. iii. 24, R. V.) seems to imply a definite and determined number of those mystic sentinels of the gates of Paradise, whether two, as in the case of the custodians of the Ark (Exod. xxv. 18, etc.), or four, as in the vision of Ezekiel (Ezek. x. 10), corresponding, doubtless, to the four quarters of the sky.³ The "flaming sword which turned every way" is repre-

¹ It is at least curious to note in this connexion the meaning of the phrase in old English "to be in the cherubins," that is "to be all in the clouds," as we should say, "to have no substantial existence."

² "He thundereth with the voice of his majesty . . . God thundereth marvellously with his voice." Cf. Job. xl. 9: Ps. xviii. 13; xxix. 3-9: lxviii. 33; etc.

³ Cf. Zech. vi. 5: "The four winds [or spirits] of heaven, which go forth from standing before he Lord of all the earth."

sented, not as wielded by the winged angel familiar to sacred art,¹ but as gifted apparently with power of independent movement, in order to withstand all attempts at trespass. Its physical source may, perhaps, be found in a long sunbeam flashing out from some dark cloud, in which a Greek would have seen the piercing shaft of the sun-god, the βέλος ἔχευκός (*Iliad* i. 51) of Phœbus Apollo.² The cherub under whose charge the King of Tyre is said by Ezekiel (xxviii. 13 sq. Septuagint) to have been placed in the days of his glory when within "the garden of God," and who afterwards cast him out, is twice characterised by the epithet "overshadowing," suggestive of clouds that seem to brood over the earth.

So "the cherubim overshadowed or covered the ark" (Exod. xxxvii. 9 and 1 Kings viii. 7).³ The "cloud" that "filled the house of Yahweh" with glory (1 Kings viii. 11), the vehicle of the divine presence, is only a translation into prose of the cherubim on which he sits enthroned. In one psalm Yahweh rides upon a cherub (Ps. xviii. 10) and in another makes the clouds his chariot (Ps. civ. 3).⁴

Closely associated with the cherubim, the seraphim⁵ "personified the lightnings that surround the throne" of Yahweh.⁶ Though they are only once mentioned by name in the Bible (Isa. vi. 2, etc.), they seem to be referred to, at least in germ, as the "flaming fire" that Yahweh makes his ministers, even as he "maketh the clouds his chariot" (Ps. civ. 3-4). Cherubim and seraphim thus become his close attendants in the Court of Heaven, just as the voice of thunder proclaims his near approach, like the trumpet of an earthly monarch.⁷ Such personifying views of the powers and phenomena of nature gradually change into a belief in the control of beneficent forces by good angels, and the sim-

¹ Cf. Milton, *Paradise Lost*, I., 663:

"He spake: and, to confirm his words, out flew
Millions of flaming swords, drawn from the thighs
Of mighty Cherubim; the sudden blaze
Far round illumined Hell."

² The flashing sword "is probably intended to denote lightning" (Ryle, *op. cit.*).

³ "Cherubim of glory overshadowing the mercy-seat." (Heb. ix. 5).

⁴ Cf. Isa. xix. 1: "Yahweh rideth upon a swift cloud." So the poet Cowper sings:
"He plants his footsteps in the sea,
And rides upon the storm."

⁵ The same word, *Sakraph*, is translated in Numb. xxi. 8, etc., "fiery serpent." So also in Isa. xxx. 8. "To judge from their name, they [the *Seraphim*] were popularly imagined as serpents" (Cheyne). In Enoch xx. 7 we read of "Gabriel, one of the holy angels, who is over Paradise and the serpents and the Cherubim"; upon which statement the Rev. R. H. Charles remarks in a note, "The serpents may be Seraphim."

⁶ Ryle, *op. cit.*

⁷ Exodus xix. 6. Cf. 2 Kings ix. 13.

ilar direction of tempests, and diseases, and other plagues by evil spirits or demons;¹ though physical calamities are frequently attributed to "the Angel of Yahweh" in the Old Testament.²

The seven spirits before the throne of God (Rev. i. 4; cf. Rev. v. 6 and Zech. iv. 10), of which we read in the Apocalypse of St. John, also called "the seven angels" (Rev. viii. 2) and coupled with "the seven stars" (Rev. iii. 1) are, at least in their original acceptation, the archangelic rulers of the seven known planets of antiquity,³ which presided over the days of the week in many lands and continue nominally to do so (with more or less modification) amongst almost all the nations of modern Europe. These planetary spirits had their representatives in the religious systems of ancient Egypt, Persia, and India. It was from Persia, in all probability, that Judaism borrowed the conception, giving names of its own⁴ to each of the sacred seven. Two only of these occur in the canonical Scriptures,—Michael and Gabriel. In the apocryphal Book of Tobit we read of "Raphael, one of the seven holy angels which present the prayers of the saints, and go in before the glory of the Holy One" (Tobit xii. 15).⁵ In Second Esdras (otherwise known as Fourth Ezra) we meet with the name Uriel or Jeremiel⁶ as that of "the angel that was sent to" the seer (iv. 1; v. 20; x. 28). Meaning "the Light (or Fire) of God," he may be identified perhaps with the "angel standing in the sun" of the Apocalypse (Rev. xix. 17. Cf. Milton, *Paradise Lost*, Book III., 613–622). In the Book of Enoch he is one of the four archangels, of whom mention is made (chapters ix., xx., and lxxiv.), whose place is sometimes taken by Ramiel (xx. 7 in the Greek) or Phannel (liv. 6). The names of the seven are usually given as Michael, Gabriel, Raphael, Uriel, Chamuel, Jophiel and Zadkiel; the last three, however, have never received recognition from either the Eastern

¹ "Thou dumb and deaf spirit, I command thee, come out of him." Mark ix. 25.

² "He arose and rebuked the winds and the sea." Matt. viii. 26.

³ "He stood over her, and rebuked the fever." Luke iv. 39.

⁴ "A spirit of infirmity." Luke xiii. 11.

⁵ "Whom Satan had bound." Luke xiii. 16.

⁶ Cf. Exod. xii. 23; 2 Sam. xxiv. 16; 2 Kings xix. 35.

³ Including the sun and moon, and of course excluding the earth.

⁴ Jewish tradition ascribes these names to Babylonish sources; and in this connexion it is interesting to note that there are now in the British Museum rude earthen bowls from the Euphrates valley bearing the names of Shaltiel, Malkiel, etc., along with those of the Jewish archangels Michael, Raphael, and Uriel, probably used as charms with healing draughts.

⁵ Cf. Rev. viii. 2–3: "I saw the seven angels which stand before God . . . And another angel came . . . and there was given unto him much incense, that he should add it unto the prayers of all the saints upon the golden altar."

⁶ "Jeremiel the archangel" (iv. 36, R. V.).

or Western branch of Christianity.¹ In the New Testament the word "archangel," which is not found at all in the Old Testament, occurs but twice, and then only in the singular number (1 Thess. iv. 16 and Jude 9). In the latter passage Michael is signalised as "*the* archangel." Gabriel is simply called "the man" in Daniel (viii. 16; ix. 21), and in St. Luke's Gospel he is "the angel Gabriel" (Luke i. 26) who stands "in the presence of God" (Luke i. 19).

Although the number seven occurs in Ezekiel (ix. 2) as that of a band of apparently angelic beings, and in Zechariah (iv. 10) as that of those "eyes of Yahweh" which "run to and fro through the whole earth,"² yet it is in the apocryphal Book of Tobit that we get the first distinct notice of seven Archangels,³ though they do not receive that title even there. That tale is saturated with Persian ideas,⁴ and we cannot avoid inferring a close connexion between those seven Princes of the celestial host and the seven Amesha-Spentas of Zoroastrianism. The conception of heavenly Watchers, acting as the eyes of the Almighty, is suggested in symbolical language by Zechariah (iv. 10) and finds definite expression in the Book of Daniel (iv. 13, 17, 23) and the apocryphal Enoch.⁵ The stellar origin of such intelligent beings is shown not only by phrases and allusions that concern Hebrew modes of

¹ *Michael*, the Angel of Judgment, means "Who is like God?"

Gabriel, the Angel of Mercy and of Good Tidings, means "Man of God."

Raphael, the Angel of Protection, means "God's Healer."

Uriel, the Angelic Interpreter, means "the Fire of God."

Chamuel, means "He who sees God."

Jophiel means "The Beauty of God."

Zadkiel means "The Righteousness of God."

Michael as the conqueror of the Dragon (Rev. xii. 7-8) is the lineal successor of Marduk (Bel Merodach), who in Assyrian mythology overcomes Tiamat, the monster of the deep; as the mediæval weigher of souls, he takes the place of the Egyptian Thoth, as may be seen by comparison of many a painting upon our old church walls with pictures of the Judgment scene in *The Book of the Dead*, and elsewhere.

² Cf. Milton's *Paradise Lost*, III., 648 sq.:

"The Arch-Angel Uriel, one of the Seven,
Who in God's presence, nearest to his throne,
Stand ready at command, and are his eyes
That run through all the Heavens, or down to the Earth
Bear his swift errands."

³ Tobit xii. 15: "I am Raphael, one of the seven holy angels, which present the prayers of the saints and go in before the glory of the Holy One."

⁴ Asmodeus seems to be derived from the Persian evil spirit Aēshma; the companionship of a dog may be compared with a similar feature in legends relating to the Persian protecting spirit Sraosha whose attributes are like those of Raphael. He is repeatedly called "the fiend-smiter" in the Avesta.

⁵ See chaps. x., c., etc. In the apocryphal "Revelation of Paul" we read of the sun, moon, and stars coming before God, and complaining of the wickedness of men, and from "all the angels . . . bring before Him the works of men, of each what he has done from morning even to evening, whether good or evil."

thought, but also by the Vedic hymns of ancient India where we read that Varuna's "spies proceed from heaven towards this world; with thousand eyes they overlook this earth"; by the Greek myth of Argus, and the beautiful prologue of the *Rudens* of Plautus, in which the star Arcturus tells how

"Jove, supreme o'er gods as o'er mankind
Hath us as Watchers o'er your race assign'd :
Scatter'd thro' different nations, among you,
We knowledge take of all that mortals do. . . .
Their names, by us recorded, meet the eyes
Of Jove, who learns what guilt for vengeance cries. . . .
But we on other tablets write the name
Of each whose worthy deeds such record claim."

Each nation was believed to have its own special angel to guard and govern it. In the Book of Daniel, Michael is termed "your prince" (x. 21) in reference to the prophet and his fellow-countrymen, on whose behalf it is further predicted that he shall interpose at a critical juncture: "Michael . . . the great prince which standeth for the children of the people" (xii. 1). One angel is spoken of as "the prince of the Kingdom of Persia," and another as "the prince of Greece" (x. 20). In the Book of Enoch (chaps. lxxxix—xc) the Seventy Shepherds, who are rebuked and punished for neglecting their charge, would seem to be the angelic watchers who presided over and represented¹ the (supposed) seventy nations of the world.²

The doctrine of guardian angels, not only of nations and churches, but also of individual souls, is not so much taught as taken for granted in the New Testament (e. g., Heb. i. 14), being based upon such passages of the older Scriptures as Ps. xxxiv. 7; xci. 11; Dan. iii. 28. That each human being is under the care of a special tutelary spirit is more than a mere "pious opinion" in the Church of Rome, and seems distinctly sanctioned by New Testament authority (Matt. xviii. 10). We are reminded by this Jewish, or at any rate early Christian, belief of the *Gentius* of the old Roman religion and the γενέθλιος δαίμων of Pindar. The twin-born spirit

¹ So seven angels, in Rev. ii. and iii., represent the seven churches of Asia.

² See Lightfoot, *Hor. Hebr.* John vii. 37 and Targ. Ps. Jonath. Genesis xi. 7, 8. Just seventy nations are mentioned in Genesis x. as descended from Noah; and according to the Septuagint (Deut. xxxii. 8), the bounds of the nations were appointed "according to the number of the angels of God" who were to preside over them. Cf. the Book of Jubilees xv. 23 (as translated by Schodde, *Bibliotheca Sacra*, July, 1886): "There are many nations and many peoples, and all are his [i. e., the Lord's], and over all has he appointed spirits to rule, that they should lead them astray from him, but over Israel he did not appoint any ruler, neither an angel nor a spirit, but he alone is their ruler, and he preserves them." Clement of Alexandria (*Strom.* vi. 17) says that "regiments of angels are distributed over nations and cities"; but he is more doubtful as to whether "some are assigned to individuals."

was popularly regarded (like the astral body of occult theosophy) as possessing the form and features of the person to whom he belonged (Acts xxii. 15), or rather who belonged to him (Acts xxvii. 23). In the *Pastor* of Hermas we find a further development of the doctrine in the conception of a bad angel as well as a good one attached to every individual. "There are two angels," he writes (ii. 6. 2), "with a man,—one of righteousness and the other of iniquity," and he gives directions how to distinguish between the voices of the two, as heard within the heart. Such language is more than metaphorical when first employed. The restraining voice of the goddess Athena in Homer is not a mere personification of the man's own prudence; but in the Fable of the Choice of Heracles, as narrated by Prodicus, the advocates of virtue and of vice are as manifestly unreal as the allegorical characters of a "morality" or a masque. The nature of angels comes in course of time to be divested of all those corporeal attributes which connected it more or less closely with humanity in the artless narratives of the past.¹ Indeed, that nature is so etherialised and refined by the more spiritually minded among devout believers, that there is little left upon which the imagination can work with any effect. As with the idea of God or immortality under similar conditions, what is gained in grandeur is lost in vivid apprehension. The angels of Philo are hardly to be distinguished from abstract qualities clothed in the language of *Prosopopæia*.

Certain mysterious, if not altogether incomprehensible, faculties are assigned to the semi-human denizens of the sky even in the earliest Biblical accounts of their appearance among men. Their power of being visible or invisible at will is implied in the story of Balaam and the angel who opposed his onward progress (Numb. xxii. 31), and their independence of ordinary means of locomotion is shown in that of Manoah and his wife (Judges xiii. 20). The absence of palpable flesh and bones in the spiritual organisation is plainly declared in the New Testament (Luke xxiv. 39; cf. 1 Cor. xv. 50), and in virtue of their immortality they are represented as having no concern with those sexual relations upon which the perpetuity of life upon our planet depends (Matt. xxii. 30). This view of the angelic nature is, however, inconsistent with Jude's ascription of the Fall of the Angels to carnal lust, as is evident from the context (Jude 6, 7,) of the passage. The earliest commentators had no doubt that the words referred to that intercourse between the sons of God and the daughters of men, to which

¹ Cf. Gen. xviii. 8; xix. 3; xxxii. 24-30; Psalm lxxviii. 25 ("Angels' food," A. V.).

is ascribed the depravity of the age before the flood (Gen. vi. 2 sq.); and this is the unanimous verdict of modern scholars. In Apocryphal literature ("Book of Enoch," etc.) the original corruption of the human race is attributed to this Fall of the Angels and its results in a mixed progeny of demons, rather than to a Fall of Man, directly, in the persons of Adam and Eve.¹

Other and less sensual motives were sometimes assigned as the cause of the defection of the Angels, ending in a forced expulsion from "their proper habitation" (Jude 6), rather than a voluntary withdrawal.² Pride or presumption was the origin of the Devil's condemnation according to the second century (?) writer of 1 Timothy (iii. 6),³ and our own Milton, in his grand picture of "War in Heaven" and its disastrous issue for Satan and his hosts, has attributed the source of the revolt to "envy against the Son of God."⁴ His account of the celestial mutiny, which the average Englishman supposes to be derived, at least in its general outlines, from the Bible, has in truth more points of connexion with Pagan mythology than with the Sacred Scriptures of Jew or Christian. The world-wide myth of the defeat of the Dragon of Darkness by the Powers of Light (familiar to Judaism from the Babylonian version)⁵ furnishes the writer of the Apocalypse (Rev. xii. 7-10) with the form of phraseology in which he predicts the *future* tri-

¹ In the Apocalypse of Baruch, it is said that by Adam's transgression death and other evils came into the world, but the doctrine of original sin is absent (liv. 15). Indeed he writes: "Adam was the cause of guilt to his own soul only; but we, each of us, are the Adam to our own souls (liv. 19). In 4th Ezra (2d Esdras) the orthodox doctrine is taught (iii. 21-22; vii. 48 [118]) so far at least as hereditary corruption is concerned. But, as R. H. Charles remarks on Apocrypha of Baruch liv. 19, "the evil impulse does not constitute guilt or sin unless man obeys it." Cf. Apoc of Baruch xlviii. 42.

² ἀπολιπόντας τὸ ἴδιον οἰκητήριον (Jude 6).

³ Cf. Shakespeare, *Henry VIII.*, Act III, Scene 2:

"Cromwell, I charge thee, fling away ambition:
By that sin fell the angels," etc.

⁴ *Paradise Lost*, Book V., 662. Milton's portrait of the "Archangel ruined" has no real parallel in the Biblical passages which have in part suggested it. Isaiah's magnificent apostrophe to Babylon (xiv. 12 sq.) has, of course, nothing to do with the "Lucifer" of mediæval imagination, except through patristic misinterpretation. In the pseudo-Ignatian epistle to the Philip-pians (ch. xi.) the Fall of Satan is attributed to sensuality as well as pride. A double apostasy of the angels is assumed by some divines, one, before the creation of Adam and Eve, manifested in open rebellion, the other due to secret desertion of their high estate for union with "the daughters of men." According to Tatian (*Apol.* 7) the angel "who was more subtle than the rest" became a demon, and was excluded from fellowship with God, in consequence of the part he took in the Fall of our first parents. Cyprian (*De dono patient.*, p. 218) assigns the interval between the creation of man and his temptation as the time of the Devil's apostasy and attributes its cause to envy against the former as made after the image of God. Cf. Wisdom ii. 24: "by the envy of the devil," etc., Irenæus *Adv. hæer.* iv. 40, 3, and Gregory of Nyssa, *Orat. catech.* c. 6. Lactantius (*Inst.* ii. 8) refers the Fall of Satan to envy of the Logos, a spirit created by God like unto himself.

⁵ Marduk (Merodach or Bel) conquers the monster Tiamat, as Michael subdues "the great dragon . . . called the Devil" (Rev. xii. 9). Cf. Isa. xxvii. 1.

umph of "the kingdom of our God and the authority of his Christ." Isaiah employs somewhat similar imagery to foreshadow, as it were, the downfall of the King of Babylon (Isa. xiv. 12-15); but the prototype is here no monster of the night,¹ but the brilliant planet of the dawn, which

"dropt from the zenith like a falling star."

—*Paradise Lost*, Book I., 744.

The physical phenomenon of a meteoric shower may indeed have first suggested a Fall of Angels from Heaven, some Satan "with his rebellious rout," like those Titans or Giants who in their audacity would have dethroned the Father of Gods and Men. (Cf. Isa. xxiv. 21; xxxiv. 4; Luke x. 18; Rev. ix. 1.)

Besides, passages to which allusion has been already made, a Fall of the Angels or their consequent punishment receives canonical recognition in Matt. xxv. 41 ("the eternal fire prepared for the Devil and his angels");² 1 Cor. vi. 3 ("we shall judge angels"); 2 Pet. ii. 4 ("God spared not angels when they sinned, but cast them down to Tartarus, and committed them to pits of darkness to be reserved unto judgment");³ and Rev. xx. 10 ("the Devil that deceived them was cast into the lake of fire and brimstone").

The Devil,⁴ Satan,⁵ Beelzebub,⁶ "the prince of the demons" (Matt. xii. 24), Belial⁷ (2 Cor. vi. 15), Abaddon or Apollyon, i. e., "the Destroyer" (Rev. ix. 11), the Dragon, the old Serpent (Rev. xx. 2), are all names applied in the New Testament apparently to one and the same enemy of all good, "the god of this world" (2 Cor. iv. 4; cf. John xii. 31), "the prince of the power of the air" (Eph. ii. 2; cf. Eph. vi. 12, R. V.). This latter designation

¹ So, according to the common interpretation, the King of Tyre is compared to a cherub for brightness (Ezek. xxviii. 14-17).

² Cf. Enoch, liv. 5, 6 and x. 13.

³ Cf. Enoch, vi.-xi.

⁴ ὁ Διάβολος, "the Slanderer," or perhaps "Accuser" (Latin *criminator*, *Lact. Inst.*, ii. 9), never used in the plural number; his angels are demons, not devils. In John vi. 70 the term is applied to a human being, like "Satan" elsewhere.

⁵ Satan, "the Adversary," is not always used as a proper name (Matt. xvi. 23, cf. 2 Sam. xix. 22). Even as such it occurs in the plural in Enoch xl. 7; as also in the Korān, etc.

⁶ Identical with the god Ekron, Baal-zebub (2 Kings i. 2 sq.) meaning "Lord of flies," or "Lord of the (heavenly) dwelling" if the correct form of the name is preserved in the Greek of the New Testament as Beelzebub (Βεελζεβούλ), instead of being a contemptuous play upon the word, signifying "Lord of the dunghill." "The conception of Satan, the adversary, was of gradual and largely native growth in the Jewish mind, though not uninfluenced by impressive dualistic ideas. He took more definite character in the later ages, and with his kindred demons was shaped, in part, out of the rejected gods of heathendom and the spirits that dwelt in the wastes" (John Leyland).

⁷ "Worthlessness." In the Old Testament the word is not a personal name (Deut. xiii. 13, etc.).

was in accordance with the belief that storms and pestilences were brewed by infernal spirits, and that the atmosphere was filled with them in innumerable multitudes. The notion has survived to our own day that "lightning and tempest" may be dispersed by the ringing of church bells, even where it has ceased to be regarded as a means of driving away demons that caused them. It was with this view among others¹ that they were and still are solemnly blessed or baptised, as is done with elaborate ritual in the Roman Church. The all-pervading presence of evil spirits, of one kind or another, in the air around is a constant article of faith among the Jews, and in the East generally.² They are believed to haunt solitary places (cf. Isa. xxxiv. 14 and Matt. xii. 43), and Sepulchres (cf. Matt. viii. 28), but also to frequent the habitations of men and women and crowded assemblies. "The *chalebi*, the old traditional head-dress of the Jewish women, seems to have been invented for the express purpose of keeping off the *Schedim*, who sit on the hair of women whose heads are uncovered" (F. W. Farrar, *Life of Christ*, Excursus vii). This cannot fail to remind us of St. Paul's exhortation to the female members of the Church of Corinth with reference to their apparel (1 Cor. xi. 10).³

The subject of demoniacal possession is one which meets us more or less distinctly throughout all periods of the world's history. It was a theory to account for certain forms of madness and other diseases, by no means peculiar to Jewish modes of thought, and one that is still rife in Oriental lands. It differed from the ordinary assaults of evil spirits, which might entail lingering and painful maladies,⁴ in its hold over the mind as well as the body. The

¹ The object of the "passing" bell was to relieve the soul of the sick person from the assaults of evil spirits during its passage from this world to the next.

² The Jews divide them into two main classes, one wholly supernatural, fallen angels under their leader Satan or Sammael ("the poison of God"), and the other half-human, of which there are again two kinds: (1) the *Lilin* ("belonging to the night"), sprung from Adam and Lilith (see Isa. xxxiv. 14, R. V. margin) who reigns over them, or other female spirits, and (2) *Shedim* ("violent"), the progeny of Eve and certain male spirits, whose king is Asmedai (the Asmodæus of the Book of Tobit). Akin to them are the *Jinn* (plural of *Jinnæ*, the *genie* of the *Arabian Nights*) of the Arabs, though there are both good and bad beings amongst them. See Sale, *Introduction to Koran*, Sec. iv.

³ Tertullian explains the phrase "because of the angels" as suggested by those apostates who, captivated by women's charms, "fell from God and heaven." "So perilous a face then," he continues, "ought to be shaded, which has cast stumbling-stones even so far as heaven: that, when standing in the presence of God, at whose bar it stands accused of the driving of the angels from their native confines, it may blush before the other angels as well" (*De virg. vel.* 7), and cf. *Cont. Marc.* v. 6: "If he [St. Paul] means the fallen angels of the Creator, there is great propriety in his meaning. It is right that that face which was a snare to them should wear some mark of a humble guise and obscured beauty."

⁴ Cf. Job ii. 7; Luke xiii. 16; iv. 39; 2 Cor. xii. 7.

demons which thus "possessed" human beings could be expelled, as it was thought, by the adoption of suitable means, or transferred to other persons or even brutes.¹ Exorcism passed from Judaism into the Christian Church. A special order of "exorcists" still exists in Roman Catholicism; evil spirits are driven out of candidates for baptism as part of the regular ritual, as well as out of the oil and water which receive solemn consecration for religious use, and more striking exhibitions of priestly power are not altogether unknown in cases of extraordinary possession which appear to present themselves from time to time even in European countries. Doctrines of demoniacal obsession and possession readily lent themselves to expansion in connexion with sorcery and witchcraft, so that the mediæval Devil, with all his ridiculous grotesqueness and gullibility,² was, nevertheless, invested with such terrible powers over nature and mankind as created a veritable nightmare throughout Christendom from the middle of the fifteenth century onwards.

As the angels of light were spoken of in military language as arranged in hosts (Ps. ciii. 21, etc.), camps (Gen. xxxii. 1-2; Ps. xxxiv. 7), and legions (Matt. xxvi. 53), so the angels of darkness are referred to in terms of similar organisation (Mark v. 9). Their ranks of comparative dignity are to some extent parallel with those of the celestial hierarchy. On the one side we read of "principalities" and "powers," "the world-rulers of this darkness," "the spiritual hosts of wickedness in the heavenly places"³ (Eph. vi. 12; cf. Rom. viii. 38 and Col. ii. 15), and, on the other side, of angelic "thrones," "dominions," "principalities," and "powers" (Col. i. 16; cf. Eph. i. 21), all subordinate to the Son of God. These celestial orders received elaborate exposition at the hands of the author who wrote under the name of Dionysius the Areopagite (fifth century A. D.?), and are arranged by him in three triple groups, thus :

¹Cf. Matt. viii. 31-32.

²The ease with which the stupid Devil of folk-lore is imposed upon and cheated is a feature in his character not altogether accounted for by inheritance from popular traditions of trolls and giants, for it is not confined to those Teutonic countries where such stories were current. It may be considered as, in some measure at least, the vulgar reflexion of that theory of man's redemption which was the prevailing one before Anselm wrote his great work *Cur Deus Homo*—viz., that the Devil was outwitted and deceived in accepting the person of Christ as his prey, in lieu of humanity at large, under the impression that he was a mere man, and could be held fast by him in the bonds of death.

³This expression (ἐν τοῖς ἐπουρανίοις) may mean the regions of the middle air assigned by Jewish tradition to the powers of evil; though it must be remembered that in the Book of Job Satan presents himself before Yahweh among "the sons of God," and receives a mandate directly from him (cf. 1 Kings xxii. 21 sq.).

Counsellors	{ Seraphim Cherubim Thrones
Governors	{ Dominations Virtues Powers
Ministers	{ Principalities Archangels Angels

In the *Secrets of Enoch* (30 B. C.?) ten orders of angels throng the steps of the throne of God (chap. 20). A modified worship of angels, along with that of saints and martyrs, attained considerable prominence in the fourth century of the Christian era (a sort of recrudescence of polytheism, led up to by the doctrine of the Trinity, and the veneration of the Virgin Mary),¹ and has continued to do so in the Roman and Eastern Churches. Its rise seems to be alluded to in Coloss. ii. 18, as well as in Rev. xix. 10.

Angels, as represented in sacred art,² have features which we can trace in the *Erôs* or *Hymên* of the Greeks, the *Victories*, *Cupids*, and *Genii* of the Romans, and more remotely in the winged symbolical figures of Egypt, Assyria, and Persia. In like manner the mediæval portraits of the Devil and his crew are derived in some measure from *Pan* and the *Satyr*s, the *Lemures* and *Laræ*, the *Pythons* and *Hydras* of classical antiquity, as well as from Teutonic prototypes of woodland monsters; though Chaldaea may have furnished the original idea of the Dragon which has been handed down to us in so many varying shapes, in *Tiamat*, the Monster of the Deep, whose compound effigy we may still see on a well-known bas-relief in the British Museum.³ But to match the gruesome imagination which once covered the walls and gates of Christian churches and cemeteries with realistic presentments of foul fiends torturing the damned, we must go as far as China, so true is it that men at the same stage of culture, however far removed from one another in time and space, are apt to develop almost identical conceptions without any means of actual communication between them.

¹ The term "Mariolatry" is incorrect. It is homage (*δουλεία*), not the highest worship (*λατρεία*), which is paid by Roman Catholics to the Blessed Virgin, as to other saints or angels, though to her in a preëminent degree (*Hyperdulia*.)

² They do not make their appearance till the beginning of the fifth century A. D., in the mosaics of Ravenna and Monreale.

³ It is not till the eleventh century that sculptured figures of the Devil and his imps present themselves in Christian architecture.