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TRAVAUX ET MÉMOIRES
25/2

INVENTER LES ANGES
DE L’ANTIQUITÉ À BYZANCE :
CONCEPTION, REPRÉSENTATION, PERCEPTION

édité par

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À nos anges manqués...

AVANT-PROPOS ET REMERCIEMENTS

Delphine LAURITZEN

Ce volume contient les actes d'un colloque qui n'a pas eu lieu. La rencontre devait se tenir en Sorbonne les 19, 20 et 21 mars 2020. Elle fut annulée au dernier moment en raison de la pandémie de Covid-19 qui débutait. Pris dans les turbulences qui s'ensuivirent, nous aurions pu les unes, les uns et les autres renoncer, en rester là et tourner la page avant même de l'écrire. Au contraire, une première riposte fut lancée les 2 et 3 juillet 2020, sous la forme de sessions en ligne où les conférencières et les conférenciers qui tentèrent l'aventure purent bénéficier de stimulantes discussions entre collègues. Nous venions d'inaugurer le premier événement scientifique « en distanciel » de la Sorbonne – il y en a eu depuis bien d'autres.

Je souhaite tout d'abord remercier celles et ceux qui, à un titre ou à un autre, ont participé au projet ALATA sur les anges sans nécessairement aller jusqu'à l'étape finale du volume collectif. Pour le colloque initial, vingt-sept interventions étaient prévues, dont celles de Alexei Lidov, Marek T. Olszewski et Andrei Timotin. Je suis très reconnaissante aux présidentes et aux présidents de séance qui avaient accepté d'officier à cette occasion : Polymnia Athanassiadi, Nicole Blanc, Anne Boud'hors, Béatrice Caseau, Muriel Debié, Vincent Déroche, Hélène Eristov, Philippe Hoffmann, Catherine Jolivet-Lévy et Ioanna Rapti. Les sessions en ligne ont rassemblé dix-huit intervenants, parmi lesquels Emiliano Fiori, Maria Kanava et Madeleine Scopello. Je remercie également Mihailo Popović et Émilie Villey pour leur intérêt concernant ce projet.

Comme pour tout colloque, il fallait transformer l'essai et passer de la communication orale au stade de la publication. Difficile de se concentrer sur l'écriture d'un article académique lorsque la situation exigeait de parer au plus pressé. De plus, les bibliothèques étaient fermées, les relations « normales » de travail et de recherche désorganisées, l'inquiétude omniprésente. Alors que nous réfléchissions aux êtres incorporels (*asomatoi*), il nous a fallu composer avec la maladie, les accidents et la mort qui nous renvoyaient à notre propre condition. Certaines et certains ici reviennent de très loin et je tenais à saluer leur courage qui force le respect. Travailler ensemble à ce volume nous a sauvés du péril de l'acédie, ou pour l'exprimer à la manière de l'ange de Dürer, de la noire mélancolie.

Concernant le présent ouvrage, mes remerciements vont en premier lieu aux autrices et aux auteurs pour leur confiance et pour leur exemplaire dévouement à leur activité de recherche.

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Enfin, je remercie chaleureusement Constantin Zuckerman pour ses conseils avisés et pour avoir accepté de consacrer à ce projet un volume thématique de la revue *Travaux et Mémoires* ainsi que Artyom Ter-Markosyan Vardanyan pour le travail remarquable qu'il a effectué dans la mise en page des articles et la composition d'ensemble du volume.

Le projet *ALATA. The Making of Angels in Late Antiquity. Theology and Aesthetics* a reçu un financement du programme de recherche et d'innovation de l'Union européenne Horizon 2020, Marie Skłodowska-Curie Actions, convention (grant agreement) n° 793760, 2018-2020 – institution-hôte : Sorbonne Université, laboratoire de rattachement : ANR 10-LABX 72 Labex RESMED Religions et sociétés dans le monde méditerranéen puis UMR 8167 Orient et Méditerranée. Je remercie l'Association des Amis du Centre d'Histoire et Civilisation de Byzance qui a permis à la présente publication de voir le jour, ainsi que l'équipe Monde byzantin pour la subvention complémentaire qu'elle lui a allouée.

INTRODUCTION

Delphine LAURITZEN

Les anges ont, de nouveau, le vent en poupe – l'éternel est indémodable. Rien qu'au cours des dix dernières années, un nombre significatif d'ouvrages scientifiques leur a été consacré (liste non exhaustive) :

- Ἄγγελος – *Angelus. From the Antiquity to the Middle Ages* (Micrologus 23), Florence 2015.
- M. AHUVIA, *On My Right, Michael, on My Left Gabriel. Angels in Ancient Jewish Culture*, Berkeley, CA – Los Angeles, CA – London 2021.
- R. CLINE, *Ancient Angels. Conceptualizing Angeloi in the Roman Empire* (Religions in the Graeco-Roman World 172), Leiden – Boston, MA 2011.
- De Socrate à Tintin. Anges gardiens et démons familiers de l'Antiquité à nos jours*, éd. par J.-P. Boudet, Ph. Faure et Chr. Renoux (Presses universitaires de Rennes), Rennes 2011.
- Entre dieux et hommes : anges, démons et autres figures intermédiaires. Actes du colloque organisé par le Collège de France, Paris, les 19 et 20 mai 2014*, éd. par Th. Römer, B. Dufour, F. Pfitzmann et Chr. Uehlinger (Orbis Biblicus et Orientalis 286), Fribourg – Göttingen 2017.
- E. KLEIN, *Augustine's Theology of Angels* (Cambridge University Press), Cambridge 2018.
- Les Chérubins / Keruvim dans l'Antiquité. Approche historique et comparée*, éd. par Ph. Abrahami et S. Anthonioz (Kasion 6), Münster 2021.
- E. MUEHLBERGER, *Angels in Late Ancient Christianity* (Oxford University Press), Oxford – New York, NY 2013.
- Neoplatonic Demons and Angels*, ed. by L. Brisson, S. O'Neill, and A. Timotin (Studies in Platonism, Neoplatonism, and the Platonic Tradition 20), Leiden – Boston, MA 2018.
- Pouvoir et puissances chez Philon d'Alexandrie*, éd. par F. Calabi, O. Munnich, G. Reydams-Schils et E. Vimercati (Monothéismes et Philosophie 22), Turnhout 2015.
- A. Y. REED, *Demons, Angels, and Writing in Ancient Judaism* (Cambridge University Press), Cambridge 2020.
- The Archangel Michael in Africa. History, Cult and Persona*, ed. by I. S. Gilhus, A. Tsakos, and M. C. Wright, London – New York, NY 2019.

Inventer les anges de l'Antiquité à Byzance : conception, représentation, perception.
éd. par D. LAURITZEN (Travaux et mémoires 25/2), Paris 2021.

À son tour, le présent volume s'inscrit dans le paysage aux contours depuis longtemps bien dessinés et, d'aucuns diront, aux sentiers très fréquentés de l'angéologie. Les anges sont inépuisables ; aussi n'avons-nous pas cherché à produire une « somme théologique » à leur propos. Notre but est de proposer un parcours, tout au long de ces siècles qui mènent de l'Antiquité à Byzance, afin de capter, au moment où la figure de l'ange émerge et s'affirme, les multiples facettes qui contribueront à fixer son identité. L'idée de l'ange est tout sauf univoque. Sa représentation également. En complément du duo associant « conception » et « représentation », il nous a semblé intéressant de mettre l'accent sur un troisième terme : la « perception ». L'approche du phénomène angélique ne saurait en effet s'en tenir au rationnel, tel que le revendique l'exégèse de la pensée ou de l'image. D'autres voies cognitives plus souples, plus imaginatives, s'ouvrent grâce à l'attention portée à une réalité riche de nuances et de significations. C'est bien d'une invention au sens plein du terme dont il s'agit. L'ange ne peut s'expliquer sur le seul mode du syncrétisme. Il ne suffit pas de retracer, dans les textes, les monuments et l'iconographie, les modalités selon lesquelles les anges bibliques – vétéro- et néotestamentaires –, au contact de leurs homologues issus de la culture gréco-romaine et des autres civilisations du pourtour méditerranéen, se seraient pour ainsi dire fondus en eux, produisant une sorte de créature kaléidoscopique, *daimôn* aux ailes teintées de judaïsme, de gnose et de manichéisme, féru de néoplatonisme, ou, cédant à des tentations exotiques, allant jusqu'à s'aventurer du côté du mazdéisme et plus loin encore. L'ange chrétien est hybride ; mais il acquiert une personnalité unique, dont la force se mesure à l'aune de sa postérité.

Au vu de la diversité de perspectives et de compétences requises, l'œuvre ne pouvait être que collective, mieux, collégiale. Tâchant de tirer parti des circonstances particulières énoncées plus haut, nous avons travaillé de manière séparée, certes, mais en gardant constamment à l'esprit la ligne directrice fixée dès le départ. Les articles qui composent ce volume sont fédérés par une communauté d'aspiration et de méthode. L'ensemble ne vise pas à donner un panorama complet – inévitablement illusoire – de tous les aspects regardant les anges dans l'Empire romain d'Orient. L'accent est mis sur l'apparition, la confrontation et le développement de certains traits qui modèlent peu à peu la forme « canonique » de l'ange. Gravitant selon une orbite plus ou moins lointaine autour du pivot qu'est le traité *Sur les Hiérarchies célestes* du Pseudo-Denys l'Aréopagite (début du VI^e siècle), chaque contribution apporte son regard particulier sur l'avènement des anges. La trajectoire embrassée, depuis la littérature juive d'époque hellénistique jusqu'au culte que les Yézidis rendent encore de nos jours à l'ange-paon suffit à prouver, s'il en était besoin, la vigueur sans cesse renouvelée des êtres angéliques.

Le volume est structuré en quatre parties. Le premier article lance la réflexion autour du concept de « mutation » (Anthonioz). Il s'agit là de comprendre, de même qu'un ange passe, comment un ange naît. Il est difficile d'attribuer à un auteur plutôt qu'à un autre la qualité de fondateur de l'angéologie. Un trait commun semble être de tendre vers la mise

en place d'un système, chez Philon (Moreau), Origène (Haecker) ou Proclus (Brisson), avant la mise en ordre « définitive » du Pseudo-Denys l'Aréopagite.

La deuxième partie regroupe deux fois plus d'articles que les autres. C'est qu'elle s'intéresse à la question-clef qu'est l'image de l'ange et aux usages qui peuvent lui être associés. Cette problématique se décline autour de trois articulations. Ce sont tout d'abord les dynamiques visuelles à l'œuvre quant à la représentation des anges qui sont analysées : la relation entre les Amours de l'art antique et les anges est repensée (Lauritzen D.) ainsi que le contraste avec les Victoires ailées se trouvant sur les monnaies (Morrisson) tandis que les différentes postures prises par les anges sont envisagées dans les débuts de l'art byzantin (Lidova) et, au-delà, sur les sceaux (Caseau – Cheynet). Puis la richesse de la documentation provenant d'Égypte permet de proposer un bref synopsis mettant en regard des aspects complémentaires : la manière dont sont perçus les anges dans les récits – en grec, copte, guèze ou arabe – sur les ermites du désert (Malevez) ou dans les homélies coptes sur l'archange Michel (Salsano), les liens avec le domaine de la magie (Dosoo) et les figures zoomorphiques des « Vivants » qui ornaient les églises et les cellules des moines (Rochard). Sont ensuite évoquées diverses régions comme autant d'étapes d'un cheminement angélique. L'archange saint Michel est à l'honneur, d'abord en Nubie pour sa proximité avec la terre d'Égypte et les pratiques qu'on a pu y observer, à travers ses monogrammes (Tsakos) et pour sa fonction apotropaïque (Łaptaś) et, après quelques détours, jusqu'en Cappadoce avec le programme iconographique de la Karanlık kilise (Tsakalos).

Faisant pendant aux « images et usages » de la deuxième partie, la troisième évoque les « voix et visions » qui consentent de manière plus certaine encore que l'image faite de main d'homme l'accès au monde des anges. Selon Éphrem le Syrien, la forme la plus haute de vénération, supérieure aux chants de la liturgie terrestre qui répliquent ceux du ciel, n'est autre que le silence (Cassingena-Trévedy). Or dans les monastères byzantins, l'idéal des moines voulant devenir semblables aux anges – autant toutefois qu'il est possible à des humains – serait de n'être plus que voix (Torres).

La quatrième et dernière partie permet de donner du champ aux cadres géographiques et chronologiques posés jusqu'alors. Cette ouverture est envisagée du point de vue de la réception, ce qui permet d'évaluer la continuité et l'inventivité de la tradition angélique dans l'adaptation à de nouveaux contextes. La transition se fait par la « Chaîne d'or » qui unit les néoplatoniciens de l'Antiquité tardive et de Byzance au monde de la Renaissance (Robichaud). Cet ultime tour d'horizon élargit la perspective, de l'art de l'Occident médiéval (Faure) au Moyen-Orient avec les deux anges coraniques Hārūt et Mārūt (Coulon) et, au-delà, jusqu'en Extrême-Orient, comme l'avait prédit le nourrisson dans son oracle (Tardieu). La dernière pierre apportée à l'édifice est le résultat d'une étude de terrain de première main qui nous plonge au cœur des croyances et des coutumes yézidies contemporaines, héritières des époques antérieures (Rodziewicz).

Par ailleurs, nombreux sont les regards qui peuvent être croisés entre articles, pour contrebalancer ce que la division en parties pourrait avoir de rigide. Nous ne mentionnons

ici que quelques exemples, mais des interactions à tous niveaux ont vocation à être suscitées à chaque lecture. Certains articles auraient pu être placés côte à côte en raison d'une évidente parenté de contenu. Or, leur position dans des endroits différents du volume crée un effet d'écho qui favorise les associations. Cela est ainsi le cas pour le concept de « hiérarchie » chez le Pseudo-Denys l'Aréopagite (Vlad) qui résonne plusieurs siècles plus tard chez Michel Psellos (Lauritzen F.) ; quand l'iconographie angélique des manuscrits syriaques (Pacha Miran) trouve des termes de comparaisons dans les vestiges archéologiques de la Syrie tardo-antique (Abdallah) ; ou lorsque les stèles quadrilatérales d'Arménie (Tchakerian) prennent tout leur sens dans le contexte de l'autocéphalie de l'Église à laquelle elles appartiennent (Mahé). Dans un autre ordre d'idées, le concept de l'« ange gardien » se trouve interrogé chez les premiers Pères de l'Église (Vinel) ou dans les textes liturgiques byzantins (Afentoulidou). De même que nous évoquions en avant-propos les anges « incorporels », on peut suivre le fil, article après article, de la question qui ne cesse d'être posée, par la théologie, la littérature et l'art, du rapport existant entre le spirituel et le matériel. Si les anges ont un corps, celui-ci ne peut être que « subtil », mais à quel degré de corporéité peut-il prétendre pour ne pas perdre cette qualité qui lui est propre (Ramelli) ? D'autre part, les anges, comme on le sait, n'ont pas de sexe. Cela ne veut pas dire pour autant qu'ils ne sont pas générés : les eunuques, à Byzance, en savent quelque chose (Sidéris). Enfin, qui dit corps dit usage des cinq sens. Preuve que les êtres célestes ont du goût : on se trouve saisis par la vision, triviale et sublime, d'un ange qui sale la soupe (Cesaretti-Hamarneh).

Comme il a été dit, aucun ouvrage, aussi volumineux soit-il, ne saurait suffire à épuiser la matière. Cette excursion a été pour la plupart des auteurs de ce volume l'occasion de découvrir ou de redécouvrir leur propre voie vers le monde angélique : puissent désormais de nombreux autres articles et livres se voir pousser des ailes !

Il est maintenant temps de s'acheminer vers le cœur du sujet. Pour ce faire, et puisqu'il a fort aimablement accepté de nous servir de guide, nous serons en la compagnie d'Andrei Pleșu, auteur d'un très beau livre sur les anges. Intitulé *Actualité des anges* dans sa traduction française, cet ouvrage a été traduit du roumain par Laure Hinckel et publié chez Buchet & Chastel, à Paris en 2005 (titre original *Despre îngeri*, Bucarest 2003). Ce livre est le premier que j'ai lu lorsque j'ai commencé ma recherche dans le cadre du projet ALATA. Il a véritablement joué le rôle d'un révélateur et, en bon intermédiaire-messager (*angelos*), m'a permis de faire le premier pas de ma quête angélique. Les profondeurs de vues de l'auteur sont remarquables, son style entraînant, mais surtout, il parvient à replacer les anges, naturellement, au cœur du réel. Voici quelques extraits choisis, à propos de la perspective adoptée dans son ouvrage et qui vaut également pour le présent volume :

« Il est très difficile, je crois, de trouver, aujourd'hui, le ton juste pour écrire sur les anges. On a le choix entre l'appareil dogmatique, le sentimentalisme pompeux et militant ou l'aridité savante. La rhétorique de la présentation universitaire résout le dilemme : discours direct, cordial, à la fois provocateur et descriptif (assorti des indications bibliographiques de rigueur) ».

p. 9

« Tout ce que je me suis proposé, c'est de faire des anges un sujet *plausible* aux yeux du lecteur d'aujourd'hui, lecteur généralement sceptique, le plus souvent inculte au plan théologique, mais ayant conservé un reste de curiosité et d'honnêteté intellectuelle. Autrement dit, je me suis efforcé de redonner à l'angéologie la dignité culturelle et le relief existentiel que, selon moi, elle mérite. Un ami plus jeune, exigeant et impétueux, m'a dit, après la lecture du premier chapitre : « C'est un texte de culture générale. » Oui. C'est cela : l'antidote minimal à *l'inculture générale* que ni l'érudition obèse, ni la platitude de propagande du sermon du dimanche ne peuvent dynamiter ».

p. 10-11

« Aussi bien dans les cultures européennes que dans les autres, le thème de l'ange est un thème récurrent. De Denys l'Aréopagite à Thomas, de Dante à Milton, Blake et Rilke, de Angelus Silesius à Cocteau et Walter Benjamin, sans parler de l'énorme inventaire d'images de l'histoire de l'art, les hiérarchies célestes n'ont de cesse de stimuler "l'imaginaire" de nos semblables. Par conséquent, je ne vous propose pas une fumisterie, je ne vous propose pas un essai sur rien. Je vous propose un essai qui évolue dans un espace spirituel hypersaturé de livres, d'expériences directes et de rites. Pour les uns, je le comprends fort bien, parler aujourd'hui des anges ne rime à rien. Mais en définitive, nous ne sommes pas tous obligés de devenir des analystes politiques, des experts de l'immanence, des professionnels du postmodernisme. Non ? Il est bon qu'apparaissent aussi sur notre horizon mental, au moins de temps en temps, des choses moins sous-entendues, moins actuelles. Autrement, nos articulations se rouillent et nous mourons d'ennui. La réflexion sur les anges peut être, je vous l'assure, une bonne thérapie pour combattre la médiocrité intellectuelle, une menace dont personne n'est exempté ».

p. 45-46

RÉSUMÉS – ABSTRACTS

Komait ABDALLAH, *L'iconographie des anges en Syrie à l'époque byzantine* p. 521

The archaeological work in Syria has revealed evidence about the existence of angel's cult in Late Antiquity, well attested by the texts of the Syriac church fathers. The majority are epigraphic documents. Less known than epigraphy, iconography also testify the spread of this cult. The image of the angels is found on buildings, especially in churches, and on devotional objects. These iconographic documents confirm widespread use of the images of the angels in Syria in the Byzantine era and the relations with the propagation of their cult in the region at that time.

Eirini AFENTOULIDOU, *Ministering spirits, guardians, intercessors: the discourse of angels in Byzantine liturgical texts* p. 631

This chapter focuses on Christian ritual texts encountered in the liturgical books of the Byzantine Church, notably priestly prayers, and hymns. These texts bear witness to different angelologies. Angels are not equally present in all these texts and whenever they are present, their function varies. In priestly prayers, angels appear as ministering spirits at the throne of God and they protect human beings at God's command, according to the angelology codified by church authorities. Some prayers for protection in lay spaces go a step further in asking for protection through guardian angels, appropriating elements from non-liturgical traditions. From the 7th-8th centuries onwards hymns dedicated to the angels, notably Michael and Gabriel, proliferate. In these, angels become more and more humanised, and their veneration resembles the cult of saints.

Stéphanie ANTHONIOZ, *Mutations angéliques ?* p. 3

Written in the 2nd century BCE, the book of Daniel testifies to an unprecedented angelic interest (Dn 9:2Salamyeh; 10:5-6.13.21), confirmed by Qumran manuscripts, the Gospels and the apocryphal literature as a whole. Though angels are little known in the Hebrew Bible, they become the object of new theological speculations. The question of the birth of an angelology is not new, but it is not easy to write its history. It is clearly concentrated between the period of the closure of the Torah/Pentateuch, in the Persian-Achaemenid period, and the first centuries of the Christian era. This birth seems to be related to some particular traditions and not all texts reflect this new interest. In order to shed light on these developments, we first consider the etymology and semantics of the root *l'k. We then study the angel *mal'āk* among other mediating entities of the divine. This will allow us to propose an in-depth examination of the biblical angels, before questioning the historical and theological conditions of these evolutions.

Luc BRISSON, *Les anges chez Proclus*

p. 173

In his *Elements of Theology*, Proclus (5th c.) situates angels, along with demons and heroes, at a specific level of the hierarchy of his metaphysical system, seemingly adopting a tripartition derived from the Chaldean Oracles. In so doing, he remains faithful to the project of the Neoplatonic School of Athens, which aimed at demonstrating the agreement between the scientific theology of Plato, as set forth in the second part of the *Parmenides*, and the *Orphic Rhapsodies* and the *Chaldean Oracles*. We are thus in a context in which philosophy has become theology: a scientific theology opposed to Christianity, and derived from the allegorical interpretation of the central myth of the *Phaedrus* and the Myth of Er in Book X of the *Republic*.

Béatrice CASEAU, Jean-Claude CHEYNET, *La place des anges dans l'iconographie des sceaux*

p. 307

This chapter focuses on Byzantine seals and analyses the presence of angels, comparing their iconography with other types of artistic representations. Angels appear on imperial seals of the late 6th century. They replace Victories, winged figures close to angels in iconography. They are also found in biblical scenes, such as the Annunciation, the baptism of Christ, the Crucifixion, the Women at the Tomb, the Ascension and the Dormition. These scenes are rare on mediaeval seals, except for the Annunciation. After the period of Iconoclasm, Archangel Michael is quite frequently depicted on seals, because he is perceived as an effective protector, his shrines are popular and have been developing since the High Middle Ages. The archangel is often chosen by sigillants who bear his first name. He does not seem to be particularly chosen by eunuchs.

François CASSINGENA-TRÉVEDY, *Les messagers du haut silence: l'angéologie d'Ephrem de Nisibe (Hymnes sur la Foi): entre fonction liturgique et apophatisme exemplaire*

p. 617

Ephraem de Nisibis, a Syriac writer in the middle of the 4th century, employs a rich angelology throughout his hymns. In his collection of "Hymns on the Faith", he attacks the rationalist posture of Arian theology by relying on scriptural examples and the referring to the model of the silent and reverent angels. They therefore appear as models of the apophatic theology that he promotes. They are also actors in a celestial liturgy of which earth is a reflection, according to the concept widely shared by the Syro-Antiochian liturgical tradition.

Paolo CESARETTI, Basema HAMARNEH, *Visualising angels in the Life of Andrew, the Holy Fool (BHG 115z). Its sources and parallels*

p. 695

This chapter examines the various ways in which angels are sketched in the *Life of Andrew salos* (BHG 115z). The composition of the hagiographic narrative concerning this fictional Holy Fool, whose life is set in an artificial 5th century Constantinopolitan context, is dated to the 10th century. It is characterized, in general, by alternating episodes with a strong

visual impact, long conceptual—even abstract—digressions, and more specifically, by the ascendancy and authority of its protagonist, Andrew, on angels. This aspect is relevant when the text is compared to its 7th century model, the *Life of Symeon salos* (BHG 1677) by Leontios of Neapolis, and in parallel to the *Life of Basil the Younger* (BHG 264), one more fictional saint whose life is a product of 10th century Constantinopolitan hagiography. These texts, despite differences in authorship and settings, address various patterns of the reception of angels, especially seen from the perspective of human interaction with God, and the strive towards a proper Christian life and behaviour. The life of Andrew delineates the effective power of angels in the struggle against demons, and in fending off evil spirits. However, the stories and episodes in which angels are outlined seem to respond to a specific instructive intent, and touch upon a wide range of eschatological concerns in which angels appear to be utterly decisive.

Jean-Charles COULON, *Le développement de la légende de Hārūt et Mārūt et des origines de la magie dans les premiers siècles de l'islam*

p. 891

Hārūt and Mārūt are two angels ambiguously mentioned in a single verse of the Qurʾān. While angels are supposed to be created of light, inhabiting the heavens and totally subservient to the divine order, Hārūt and Mārūt are notably accused of teaching magic and the art of separating spouses in Babylon. This verse thus poses a number of problems, which have been reflected in an abundant exegesis that has attempted both to identify these angels and to develop their story in order to answer the theological questions they raise, including the question of the angels' sinfulness or their relationship to human beings. One account includes two angels who descended to earth and were seduced by Venus, who caused them to commit sins, for which they were punished in Babylon. Studies have been made of the possible ancient sources of these two angels in the Qurʾān (Indian, Zoroastrian, Hebrew, etc.), but the aim of this chapter is to trace the development of the exegesis of these verses in the early centuries of Islam, to see how the story was formed and how exegetes tried to reconcile this verse with the rest of the Qurʾān and its theological issues.

Korshi DOSOO, *Ministers of fire and spirit: knowing angels in the Coptic magical papyri*

p. 403

The Christianisation of Egypt, completed by the fifth century, produced a shift in the conception of the superhuman world found in magical texts, with the traditional Greek and Egyptian gods being almost entirely replaced by divine beings of the Christian religion—the Trinity, the saints, and, above all, the angels. This discussion surveys the role of angels in Christian magical texts written in Coptic, dating to between the fourth and twelfth centuries, focusing on two aspects—their role as agents of the divine will, which may be experienced positively or negatively by human beings; and the ways in which these (normally) unseen beings make their presence felt through their effects upon the material world. Beginning with a survey of the role of angels in older Graeco-Egyptian and Jewish magic, we then turn to the key roles of angels in Coptic magical texts—the gathering angel, the angelic name, the helping angel, and the dangerous angel.

Philippe FAURE, *Le rayonnement angélique de Byzance en Occident (X^e-XIII^e siècle)* p. 809

This study attempts to identify the modalities of the Byzantine influence on Western medieval art from the 10th to the 13th century in the field of the representation of angels, through the analysis of some major iconographic themes and motives. The main artistic centres concerned (Italy, Sicily, Catalonia) show that the Byzantine representation of angels is closely linked to the visionary, glorious and theophanic dimension of Christianity, which is expressed in particular in the conceptions of the kingdom of God and the heavenly court. The spread of this inspiration is so powerful that it can be found in works painted in Germany, France, and even Great Britain. The treatment of themes such as the angels beside Christ or the Virgin, the heavenly Jerusalem, the celestial hierarchy and the Last Judgement bear witness to this inspiration, but also to a work of appropriation and adaptation. The figures of the archangels are particularly significant in this process: as prince of heaven, Michael appears to be associated with the dramaturgy, eschatology and liturgical celebration. Gabriel, on the other hand, benefited from the promotion of the founding scene of the Annunciation. The creative process led to the integration of Byzantine models in the active form of quotation and the invention of new works. The orientation of Western piety in the 13th century, which tended to focus on the humanity and the Passion of Christ, was accompanied by a gradual retreat from Byzantine inspiration. However, the hieratic nature of the angelic figures tended to be maintained, within the framework of another pole of devotion, the representations of the Virgin in majesty, inseparable from her angelic escort.

Ryan HAECKER, *Origen's speculative angelology* p. 95

Origen of Alexandria (*fl.* AD 184-253/4) should be acknowledged as the founder of a Christian science of angels, or angelology. In 'On First Principles' (1.5-8), he introduces angels as the first created 'rational beings' who, in contemplating the divine Logos, freely choose to direct their will as holy angels in service to or as wicked demons in antagonism against the love of God. The angels and demons thereafter guide the movements of all spirits, substances, and signs in the created world. Origen's angelology has been regarded as an early Christian alternative to Middle Platonic daemonologies. After Karl Barth, his angelology has often been dispensed from Christian theology. However, as Jean Daniélou has observed, Origen departs from the principles of Platonic daemonology in affirming that angelic mediacy must pass away like the light of the stars before the Logos of Christ. He had assimilated the relative mediacy of the angels to the absolute mediation of Christ. And in assimilating angelic to Christic mediacy, Origen also assimilates the reason with which the world is moved to the divine Logos of Christ in God as Trinity. Origen's angelology can thus be read before and after Barth to recommend a new speculative angelology.

Magdalena ŁAPTAŚ, *The apotropaic function of the archangels in Nubian art* p. 479

People in the Nile Valley lived in the constant fear of monsters, demons and other misfortunes threatening them. Therefore, they had to turn to God for protection. God however was far in the Heavens, while his angelic messengers were closer, moving between celestial and earthly spaces. To ensure their protection, their images and names were placed wherever the exposure to the evil forces was the greatest. An attribution of these protective functions is not always clear

from the way the archangels were depicted in art. The figures are shown frontally, frequently freestanding. For the most part, it is the context or accompanying inscriptions that allow an image to be identified as an archangel in its apotropaic function. Therefore, for this chapter, three groups have been chosen connected with the protection of buildings and their interiors; protection of the bodies of living Nubians and finally with deceased. Writing this paper, the author was aware that the subject is so rich that the presented material and its interpretations are only an introduction to further research, which will be gradually undertaken.

Delphine LAURITZEN, *Des Amours et des anges dans l'art de l'Antiquité tardive* p. 207

Angels are usually depicted anthropomorphically. We argue here that this appearance was drawn from Eros/Cupid, the god of love in Ancient Classical mythology. The paper compares and contrasts five main features: wings, age, genre, clothing, and number. Both cupids and angels are intermediaries. Two horizontal figures flying on each side of a central medallion is a favourite theme of Roman sarcophagi. In a funerary context, it symbolizes the transition from life to death. Transposed to angels, the motive encompasses a broader meaning. Angels (*angeloi*) are messengers who cross both ways between the divine and the human level. Moreover, angels never supplant cupids in Late Antique art. One may think that they served different purposes: decorative *vs* religious. The reality appears more nuanced. The meaning of cupids and angels' images is therefore reconsidered on the ground of their common, protective function.

Frederick LAURITZEN, *Psellos' angels between Homer, Proclus, and Dionysius*
(Phil. Min. 1.42 Duffy) p. 739

Psellos' essay on Homer's *Iliad* 4.1-4 offers one an insight into his angelology. He interprets Homer's gods as being God's angels. He achieves this identification by combining his reading of Plato's *Cratylus* with the *Gospel* of John. Moreover, he associates the angels with imperial courtiers. The analysis is the result of his reading of Proclus and specifically his commentary on the *Timaeus* of Plato. His analysis also appears to be in tune with the recent treaty of hierarchy written by Nicetas Stethatos. Thus, Psellos interprets the essay, not as an allegory, but as a transposition (*μεταποίησης*) of myth into truth.

Maria LIDOVA, *Divine Presence: gazing upon the angels in Early Byzantine art* p. 241

This chapter focuses on the selection of roles played by angels in early Byzantine visual culture. In church decorations, the winged beings regularly appeared in pairs as guardians, assuming the likeness of courtiers or military officials. It is argued that within related depictions which show two winged guardians flanking a central motif, the significance of heavenly beings could vary depending on what was placed at the centre, be it a holy figure, a sacred object, or even an ecclesiastical space. Angels could also be depicted in narrative compositions representing the events of the Old and New Testaments. In these compositions, they often performed the role of divine agents enabling the realization of God's will. The chapter analyses the significance of angelic representations in visual rendering of the scriptural and apocryphal events using the rich and detailed programme of the so-called Murano ivory diptych (6th c.) as an example.

Jean-Pierre MAHÉ, *Anges d'Arménie: gloire divine, liturgie, hiérarchie* p. 847

In the Armenian tradition, angels are the emissaries of divine glory, that is to say, not mere envoys, but the living substance of the radiance of the divinity. Angels and glory are closely associated in the liturgy and in the decoration of the vessels, instruments and fabrics of the celebration. By representing the wonder of the angels before the Eucharist, this mystagogy stages the salutary effect of the Incarnation, the restoration of the first glory of Adam, created in the image of God. According to the Areopagite, the nine degrees of the angelic orders are the heavenly archetype of the ecclesiastical hierarchy. At the end of the seventh century, the Armenian Church structured itself accordingly to justify its autocephaly.

Marc MALEVEZ, *The angels in Late Egyptian Antiquity: a study mainly based on two travelogues* p. 341

After an introduction to the monastic spiritual approach described by Evagrius Ponticus, we evoke the travelogues in general, then more specifically *The Mission of Paphnutius / Life of Onnophrius*, of which we will present the various manuscripts and fragments of the Nile tradition known to this day, before we turn to the second travelogue analysed in this chapter, the *Story of Pambo / Life of Cyrus*, less famous and whose Coptic and Ethiopian versions we have studied to date. This will allow us to question the angelic nature, before focusing on the functions of angels in the world of Coptic desert monks, through our two texts. The conclusion is followed by quotations from the studied manuscripts not mentioned in the body of the chapter.

Jérôme MOREAU, *Les anges, λόγοι de Dieu dans l'exégèse de Philon d'Alexandrie* p. 43

Philo of Alexandria presents the angels (*angeloi*) as *logoi*. While he carefully dismisses the word *daimon* for the superstition it carries, he still refers to a Platonic demonology, where the angels are intermediary beings, messengers to and from God, but only insofar as it is confirmed by an exegesis of Scripture. Indeed, as always in his works, his conceptions lie only on the (little) information about angels he can find in the Pentateuch. His system allows him to claim that perfect human souls may also be qualified as angels, as they truly act as intermediaries between God and human beings, and that the Logos in itself, as well as God's Pneuma, are *angeloi*. However, Philo's intellectual angelology does not allow him to fully explain texts in which the angels are told to appear sensibly to someone, despite their purely intellectual nature: he is compelled to avoid this problem rather than addressing it directly.

Cécile MORRISSON, *Les anges sur la monnaie byzantine: de l'omniprésence à la personnalisation* p. 293

The image of the angel on coins replaces that of the Victory starting from the *solidi* of Justin I in 522. Its assimilation to the Eternal Victory of Rome gave it the wings that would become its characteristic feature. It also completed the slow Christianisation of this element

derived from Hellenistic and Imperial coinage. In the 5th century numerous Christian attributes (*labarum*, *globus cruciger*, cross) were added and later disappeared completely at the beginning of the 6th century. From the 11th century onwards, the predominant image is that of the Archangel Michael, the patron saint of the military aristocracy. The archangel remains associated with the ideal of power and illustrates the protection granted to the emperor by the Pantocrator of whom he is, after the angels, another winged envoy. The late numismatics of the Thessaloniki workshop made the wings, attached to an effigy of the sovereign or alone, an imperial attribute, symbol of power and legitimacy.

François PACHA-MIRAN, *Images des anges dans l'enluminure syriaque de l'Antiquité tardive*

p. 267

Images of angels rarely appear in Late Antique Syriac manuscripts. Only two witnesses dating back to the 6th century contain such representations: Florence, Biblioteca Laurenziana, Cod. Plut. I 56, and Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, ms. syr. 33. Yet, the evidence of Syriac angels turns out to be essential to a better understanding of the formation and diffusion of iconographic patterns that marked Medieval art, such as the Annunciation and the Resurrection. These two manuscripts firstly attest the existence of a common visual language, shared among the Eastern Christian communities. The angels simultaneously adopt a role of messengers, witnesses, and heralds, that originates both in Christian literature and Classical art. The images also allow us to examine the different methods of layout and illustration used by Syriac artists, and the close relationships that linked the miniatures to the biblical texts. The presence of inscriptions on and around the miniatures reveals an astonishing concern for the creation of an 'iconographic soundspace'. Through a careful depiction of the dialogues, the angels thereby embody the pronounced sensitivity of Syriac Christianity toward the written word and the dialogue. Between the lines, they finally evoke the vocal performance of hymns and canticles, sung during the main liturgical celebrations.

Ilaria L.E. RAMELLI, *Conceptualities of angels in Imperial and Late Antiquity: nature and bodies of angels, degrees of corporeality, and comparative angelologies / daemonologies in "Pagan" and Christian Platonism*

p. 115

The chapter studies the ways in which angels were conceptualised in Imperial and Late Antiquity, their nature or essence (for Origen, the same as that of all rational creatures), and their bodies. The reflection on their corporeality or incorporeality will be framed within the theories of degrees of corporeality in both "pagan" and Christian Platonism and within the relativity of notions such as "corporeal/incorporeal" and "material/immaterial." Attention will be paid to the genderlessness of angels, contrasted with the apparent descriptions of Satan as a male creature. Finally, a brief comparative study will be offered of d(a)emonologies in "pagan" and Christian Platonism. This will point out, among other interesting elements, the partial overlap of angels and good δαίμονες.

Denis J.-J. ROBICHAUD, *The Star of the Magi or the afterlife of Chaldean angels in Iamblichus, Proclus, Psellos, Pletho, and Ficino* p. 763

This chapter studies how angelic epiphanies are understood in the exegetical tradition on the *Chaldean Oracles* in the writings of the Syrian Iamblichus, the Greek Proclus, two Byzantines, Michael Psellos and Georgius Gemistus Pletho, and the Florentine Marsilio Ficino. Working backwards from Ficino, the culmination of this philosophical approach to the *Chaldean Oracles*, it reconstructs this tradition through Ficino's sources for his sermon the *De stella magorum* and his eighteen-volume *Platonic Theology*. Examining new manuscript evidence, it demonstrates how this tradition of Chaldean epiphanies is central to Ficino's understanding of the Star of the Magi in the Gospel of Matthew and the angelic apparition to the shepherds in the Gospel of Luke, as well as the philosophical considerations on angels in Ficino's *Platonic Theology*.

Hélène ROCHARD, *Le trône divin et les quatre Vivants dans la peinture égyptienne (VI^e-XIII^e siècle)* p. 435

The depiction of Christ surrounded by the four living creatures is a widespread image of medieval art and a well-studied theme of Christian iconography. This type known as *Maiestas Domini* and principally based on the John's vision of the throne of God in Heaven and the vision of the Old Testament prophet Ezekiel is one way to visualize the divine. Christ in Majesty occurs in various forms in the Early Byzantine world and Egyptian examples provide several variants among which are the oldest remains of Christian art. In most early Egyptian wall paintings, the throne of Christ is carried by four beasts and four wheels. This chapter focuses on the allegorical interpretation of the divine throne and the living creatures in Late Antique and Medieval Egypt.

Artur RODZIEWICZ, *Heft Sur – the Seven Angels of the Yezidi tradition and Harran* p. 943

The chapter, based mainly on field research conducted by the author in Iraq, Turkey, and Georgia, is devoted to the Yezidi cult of the Seven Angels and their leader, called the Peacock Angel. Following an introduction to the Yezidi religion, it focuses on the relationship between the Yezidi concept of God's essence (*sur*) and the Seven Angels, who, like the seven Yezidi saints and the seven planets, are its manifestations and objects of religious worship. Apart from an attempt to answer the question which of the heavenly bodies the Peacock Angel is connected with and to which angel it corresponds to in other religious traditions, another object representing him, the *sanjak*, is discussed. The search for the origins of the Yezidi cult points to several other religions which also refer to the seven angels, and concludes with the Harranian 'Sabians', whose beliefs were a mixture of elements of Platonism and local traditions. The preserved accounts about them allow the conclusion that, after the destruction of their temples, when the last representatives of the Sabians migrated to the area of Mardin and Mosul, they could have joined the religious community that was forming there between the 12th and 14th centuries and which became known as Yezidis.

Anna SALSANO, *The archangel Michael in Coptic homilies* p. 383

On the basis of the roles of the archangels Michael and Raphael in Coptic tradition and specifically fifteen Coptic homilies on the archangel Michael, one can say that he has different functions including devil's antagonist, intercessor, avenger, healer, rescuer, guardian, messenger, guide, encourager, archistrategus, tamer of beasts, Christ's fellow and psychopomp. Some roles show a specialization towards a particular aspect, others are more diversified. This chapter will analyse these roles and the related epithets applied to the archangel Michael. It will also include the comparison of these homilies with other types of literary texts such as hagiographic and apocryphal sources.

Georges SIDÉRIS, *Quelques remarques sur les anges eunuques dans le Récit sur la construction de Sainte-Sophie* p. 721

Through an analysis of the presence of eunuch angels and eunuchs in the *Narrative on the Construction of Hagia Sophia* and the sources used by the anonymous author, the chapter proposes to date the writing of the *Narrative* during the reign of Leo VI the Wise (886-912), in the circles close to the emperor. It also argues that the work was perhaps written by an imperial eunuch. Concerning the eunuch angels, the author was inspired in particular by the *Life of John the Chaplain* composed by Leontios of Neapolis in the 7th century and known at the time in Byzantium. For the eunuchs he consulted sources dating from the reigns of Justinian I and Justin II, from which he drew an onomastic reserve. He was able to consult these sources in the Palace library. The aim of the *Narrative* is to exalt Leo VI, the new Justinian, to assert his authority over Hagia Sophia and the Imperial Church, to promote and legitimise the court eunuchs through the angels, their role with the Emperor and in the imperial ceremonial, as well as their presence in Constantinople, the city of eunuchs. The *Narrative* is presented as a historical and patriographic text, composed according to the technique of *ekphrasis*, the art of description, but it is in fact a work of propaganda.

Michel TARDIEU, *Les anges du bouddhisme* p. 921

The god-kings of Buddhist mythology are recognisable by the name of angels, given to them in the non-Christianised epilogues of the Arabic versions of the History of Barlaam and Jehoshaphat. There are four of them, installed at the cardinal points as guardians of the universe, they intervene in dreams and transport their protégés in the air. What environment favoured the passage of the god-kings from the polytheistic Indian world to a monotheistic system or systems? The transfer cannot depend on Byzantine Greek writing, since it derives from Arabic via Georgian. Nor can it come from Qur'anic angelology, since the narrative, transmitted by the Ismaili and Shi'a Imamite compilations, is only superficially Islamised. The study compares the representations of the infant oracle with the biographical episodes of the Buddhist legend, as attested by the Barlaamian literature, by Rashid al-Din and in the Chinese Manichean iconography preserved in Japan. It follows from the comparison that the transfer of the god-kings into angels took place through contact with the Eastern Manichaeans.

Sipana TCHAKERIAN, *Anges de pierre en Géorgie et en Arménie tardo-antiques : le témoignage des monuments crucifères à stèle quadrilatérale*

p. 547

In Late Antique Armenia and Iberia, the cult of the Cross was materialized through an original type of carved architecture: the cross-bearing monument with a four-sided stela. This paper investigates the role of the angels in the decorative program of these monuments and in the experience of the faithful praying before them. After evoking the depictions of angels represented on diverse media throughout the region, the various types of angels identified on monumental crosses (angels, archangels, seraphim, cherubim) and their iconography are analysed. It appears that the angel contributes to the primary function of these peculiar monuments, namely the exaltation of the Cross of Christ. Moreover, the study of the angels' iconographical formulas and their display on the monument provides noteworthy information for a better understanding of these structures, especially when it comes to the hierarchization of their decorative program and to their functions as objects of prayer and sacred space. These monuments take advantage of their morphology, both vertical and polygonal, to offer the faithful a dual dynamic space, both circular and ascending. Through its plural presence, the angel accompanied the ritual apprehension of these monumental crosses.

Marie-Emmanuelle TORRES, « Chanter comme les anges ». *Discours et pratiques d'une sensorialité « isangélique » dans les monastères cénobitiques (IX^e-XV^e siècle)*

p. 665

From the 8th–9th century onwards, the Stoudios monastery required the coenobite monk to “live like the angels.” In this way, the monk could win divine favour for the Empire and for the founders. In fact, the imitation of the angels through chanting occupies most of the monk's life, providing him with a reason for being, an ascetic practice and an effective spiritual exercise. This chanting wins divine favour, contributes to the sanctification of the monk and allows him to approach the angelic model. This support in asceticism makes the isangelic transformation possible. To be effective, this chanting must be carried out without error, and each founder acts as a “vocal coach.” He chooses the songs, the places, the voices... but also the state of mind, the sensations, the emotions, the body attitude that are appropriate. This definition of the singer's body and voice is directly inspired by the common perception of angels. All these musical indications shed light on the way the angels' senses and body are understood. These *typika* thus show how to make an anthropomorphic angel.

Antonis TSAKALOS, *Χιλιάδες ἀρχαγγέλων καὶ μυριάδες ἀγγέλων. Angels in the painted decoration of Karanlık kilise, Cappadocia*

p. 577

In the *katholikon* of the Cappadocian monastery of Karanlık kilise, the abundance of angelic portraits is in perfect accord with the *topos* of the “angelic life” in monastic practice—the moral perfection monks and ascetics seek to achieve. Our analysis underlines the diversity of the archangels' functions as healers, protectors, guardians, and intercessors during life and at the moment of death, as well as intermediaries between the faithful and God. Two major themes are highlighted in the sophisticated iconographic programme: the

reality of the Incarnation of the Logos and Christ's dual nature, in combination with the idea of defending the Orthodox faith against heretics or other religious apostates (which is unsurprising for the border region of Cappadocia during the agitated period of the second half of the 11th c.). The innovative arrangements in Karanlık kilise's painted decoration are so numerous that they should not be considered as simple confusion or random coincidence. The dynamic network of interactions among the images constitutes an important indication of the seven donors' interventions in shaping the architectural setting and the layout of this exceptional iconographic programme, connected with certain liturgical practices.

Alexandros TSAKOS, *Invoking graphically archangels: the case study of the Archangel Michael in Christian Nubia*

p. 461

The role of intermediate beings in the belief system of African Christianity cannot be overestimated. In the Sudanese Nile Valley, three Christian kingdoms thrived during the period that is termed "Medieval" or "Christian Nubia," and from the rich archaeological record that they have produced it appears that the most popular intermediate being was the Archangel Michael. The intermediation of Michael was manifested in his culturally conditioned appearances to humans, according to theological norms or by expressions of art and language. All manifestations of this archangel—as of all angels—were a message, either from God to the humans or from the humans to God. The study offers a qualitative presentation of the forms that these messages take, with a focus on the letter-shaped ones, and especially monograms and cryptograms. These are perceived as "grapho-linguistic techniques" which knowledgeable individuals use on the basis of a set of skills that has been termed "graphicacy". In some cases, the message is the archangel himself. New interpretations for understanding Nubian Christianity—as well as related Oriental Christianities—open up by investigating this possibility.

Françoise VINEL, *Les anges, proches de Dieu, proches des hommes: jalons d'une réflexion, du livre de Tobit à la littérature chrétienne des premiers siècles*

p. 69

The Old Testament's Book of *Tobit* was probably written during the 2nd century BCE. The short tale facilitates a comprehensive understanding of the angelic nature and qualities in the Biblical and Christian tradition. In the context of the development of Jewish angelology, Raphael's role with Tobit and his family reveals an angelic invisible people who are both close to God and close to the believer people who need some help. In Early Christian literature, especially in Origen's *De oratione*, the idea of guardian angels is formed. An important aspect of these celestial beings is their eschatological and liturgical missions. According to biblical images, the angelic army inhabits the whole universe and is ready to fight against evil's powers, as well as never stops praising God and inviting human beings to join its prayer. If we keep also in mind the legacy of the Greek *daimones*, there is some evidence that, from Origen to Augustine, the angelic Christian doctrine takes consistency, before Dionysius' developments and synthesis.

Marilena VLAD, *Dionysius' concept of Hierarchy*

p. 189

The chapter concerns both Pseudo-Dionysius the Areopagite and Proclus, specifically the idea of a structured reality. Dionysius' *Celestial Hierarchy*, even if influenced by Proclus' perspective, transforms the understanding the structure of the reality, namely as a *hierarchy*, or sacred governing of the reality. There is a double act of revelation at work between the *hierarchy* and the divine principle or *thearchy*, so that the role of the angelic hierarchy can only be understood inside this reciprocal manifestation. The difference between Dionysius' celestial hierarchy and Proclus' structure of the intelligible world, reveals that the hierarchy is not the highest object of knowledge, but rather a system through which God transmits knowledge and manifests his presence throughout the reality. In Dionysius' perspective, there is no knowledge about the hierarchy, but only knowledge transmitted inside the hierarchy, so that his own interpretative activity becomes a hierarchical act.

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