An Annotated Bibliography of Protestant Theological Writings on Angels in Post-Reformation Thought from 1565 to 1739

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2. SPECIFICATIONS STATEMENT

The Copernican revolution did little to dislodge the place of angels from the biblically imbued cosmology of the Reformers. Early Protestant theologians may have debated the extent to which angels influenced human activity, but they seldom denied it and never questioned their existence. Since the subject of angels had both speculative and practical applications, it informed – albeit in a subsidiary way – a wide range of intellectual endeavors and fields of study other than theology. Cosmological, anthropological, philosophical, and pastoral concerns of the day were often addressed through theological discourses on angels contained in systems of theology, treatises, sermons and biblical commentaries. Without a guide to locate where angels are discussed in these obscure, difficult to access, multivolume works, researchers are burdened with the task of surveying great quantities of unrelated materials. This bibliography is designed to alleviate the onus of conducting research on angelology as it relates to the post-Reformation literature of influential orthodox scholastic, Protestant thinkers. More specifically it aims at providing a frame of reference to scholars of historical theology, historians of Reformation and Renaissance thought, and those with interdisciplinary interests.

The present bibliography is comprised of fifty-five original works by fifty-one authors of various confessional Protestant sects, representing the Anglican, Arminian, Calvinist, Lutheran, Puritan and Remonstrant traditions. There are 3,242 pages directly related to the topic of angels, of which 1,096 are written in Latin and 2,146 in English. The 3,242 pages may be further divided according to theological genres: Systems of Theology, 1,047; Treatises, 1,831; and Sermons, 364. A Names Index is included, arranged alphabetically, complete with biographical dates, confessional affiliation, and alphanumeric reference to the work of each author.

2.1 DOMAIN

The resources consulted and searched during the process of compiling this bibliography include printed bibliographies, full-text digital libraries, and online union catalogs. The most

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1 The author has adopted the guidelines for the specifications statement from Marcia Bates’ article, ‘Rigorous Systematic Bibliography’, Reference Quarterly 16 (Fall 1976), pp. 7-26.
recently printed bibliography that includes sixteenth and seventeenth century publications on
gangs is George Marshall’s *Angels: An Indexed and Partially Annotated Bibliography of Over 4300
Scholarly Books and Articles Since the 7th Century B.C.*, published in 1999. Although an excellent
guide to texts on angelology in general, Marshall’s work supplied no more than three entries to
this bibliography. The bibliographies of primary source material contained in the *Oxford
Encyclopedia of the Reformation*, as well as a useful bibliography on mostly English angelologists of
the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries contained in Robert West’s, *Milton and the Angels*, were
also consulted. Three, full-text digital libraries provided most of the material contained in this
(EEBO) 1475-1700*, and *Eighteenth Century Collections Online (ECCO) 1701-1800*. The online union
catalogs, *Karlsruler Virtueller Katalog (KVK)*, *Copac Academic and National Library Catalogue*, and
*OCLC FirstSearch*, were utilized to locate first edition dates and title searches. Resources at the
Virginia Theological Seminary’s Bishop Payne Library in Alexandria, Virginia, were also
employed in producing this bibliography.

2.2 SCOPE

Working within the patristic and medieval tradition, Reformation thinkers defined *angels*
as either good or evil, created, spiritual beings that are more powerful and intelligent than
humans. The principal subject of this bibliography concentrates on Reformation theological
writings on the ontological nature and function of *good* or *holy* angels and their place in creation
and human history. In some systems of theology theologians followed a tripartite formula, *de
angelis in genere, bonis angelis*, and *malis angelis*, in their treatment on angels. When angels are
treated within this broader systematic way, evil or fallen angels (demons) were selected for
inclusion. The Reformers employed many synonymous terms for good angels, however they
preferred to use biblically based words such as *cherubim, seraphim, thrones, principalities, dominions,
virtues, powers, archangels, spirits*, and *ministering spirits*. Although rarely employed, some
Reformation thinkers adopted medieval philosophical and metaphysical terminology derived
from Neoplatonic and Aristotelian thought, such as *principles, intellectual or rational substances, separated substances* and *intelligences* as surrogate terms for angels. In time, two broader terms were developed to describe the study, science or field of angels, namely, *angelographia* or angelology, and *pneumatologia* or pneumatology. All of these key terms fall within the subject range of this bibliography.

The texts selected for this bibliography cover a 174 year period from 1565 to 1739, commonly known as the orthodox or scholastic era of post-Reformation Protestantism. During this period of doctrinal and creedal development, a single but variegated Reformation tradition emerged largely through the efforts of successive generations of theologians. Applying diverse methodologies to an array of common theological topics, pastoral imperatives and academic concerns, a vast majority of theologians offered individual formulations and opinions on angels that remained firmly within the boundaries of the confessional tradition.

Scholars of historical theology divide the two centuries following the Reformation era (ca. 1517-1565) into three vaguely defined eras of orthodox or scholastic doctrinal development: Early Orthodoxy (ca. 1565-1640), High Orthodoxy (ca. 1640-1700), and Late Orthodoxy (ca. 1700-1790), within which period Richard Muller adds a brief interlude called the ‘pietistic-eclectic phase of orthodoxy’ (1700-1739). The bibliography is subdivided according to these eras espoused by Richard Muller, however, some of the works, though they clearly fall chronologically within one of these three eras, may not necessarily share the characteristic features of doctrinal development of that era.

Post-Reformation theologians had a variety of means of disseminating their opinions about angels to both the academic and Christian community. The principal means of communicating their ideas to both groups were achieved through systems of theology, treatises, sermons, biblical commentaries, catechetical manuals, and disputations. No single genre was used by a theologian to express his full view of a particular theological topic. To produce a comprehensive study of a particular theologian’s opinions on angels, a study of all the genres would be necessary. However, for the purposes of this bibliography, systems of theology, treatises, and sermons were preferred for inclusion since these genres best supported sustained, substantive, and systematic discussions on angels.

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The bibliography, therefore, is not intended to be an exhaustive or comprehensive guide to all theological literature on the subject of angels. Such an undertaking would require a Herculean effort. A comprehensive understanding of Protestant perceptions on angels requires broader work in which these writers were engaged, particularly in the areas of biblical commentaries, exegetical methods, and sermon material. Moreover, a knowledge of their polemical concerns with their Catholic counterparts would need to be explored to produce a balanced picture of the theological development of Protestant angelology.

Theologians of historical repute or those who contributed substantially to Protestant angelology were selected for inclusion. Theologians of note were in part selected from two sources: Richard Muller’s ‘A Survey of Authors and Sources’ in Post-Reformation Reformed Dogmatics, and Robert Preus’s noteworthy Lutheran theologians list located in The Theology of Post-Reformation Lutheranism.

Latin was the universal theological language during the orthodox era of Protestantism. Its use by scholars increased the likelihood that their work would enjoy international circulation, and ensure theological discourse, albeit often polemical, with their Catholic counterparts. The bibliography is intended for use by English speakers who have a working knowledge of Latin. Consequently, works published in Latin and English have been selected for inclusion.

The geographical range of the writings in this bibliography reflect the fact that the Reformation originated as a Western European phenomenon eventually spreading to colonial America.

An important requirement for including items was the personal examination of a text. There were a few promising works that met the selection criteria, but due to a lack of accessibility to those texts, were not included.

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6 Provided here is a small sampling of texts that may have made their way to this bibliography if they had been available to the author: Zanchy, De operibus Dei; Stuck, De angelis angelicoque; Jacob Heerbrand, Compendium theologiae (Tübingen, 1573); John Reynolds, Concerning the state and oeconomy of the angelical worlds (London, 1723); Christopher Love, The dejected soules cure ... The ministry of angels to the heirs of salvation (London, 1657); John Beaumont, An historical, physiological and theological treatise of spirits. (London, 1705); Manitius, Angelographia; Scheibler, Theologia naturalis & angelographia; and Jacobus Ode, Commentarius de angelis (Utrecht, 1739).
First editions were preferred since they often provide a more reliably clear or direct access to the thought of each writer than reprinted editions. When it was not possible to personally examine a first edition, period editions were selected for inclusion.

2.3 ORGANIZATION

Entries are arranged chronologically according to the date of the first printed edition under each literary genre. The earliest publication date for each entry is placed in bold type. The genres are classified into three groups: Systems of theology, Treatises, and Sermons. Systems of theology include *Loci Communes*, *Compendia*, *Corpora*, *Summa*, *Institutiones*, and *Medullae*. The reader will note that the predominate system of theology was the *Loci communes*, conceived by Philip Melanchthon (1497-1560), it quickly became the major pedagogical method of theological investigation in Protestant universities.¹

The organization of each entry is comprised of four fields. The first field provides the entry genre/number followed by the bibliographic citation, the editorial principles of which are outlined below.

The second field records the total number of pages of the work followed by the number of pages [placed in brackets] within that work that specifically treat the subject of angels, and the electronic resource where the reader may locate the cited digital text.

The third field identifies the exact bibliographic level where angels are treated within the work. This is especially useful in identifying a twenty page *locus* on angels within a 1300 page compendium of theology. The bibliographic level within an individual system of theology or collection of sermons is specified on a variety of sub-levels, e.g., sermon, book, chapter, locus, class, part, sermon, article, question, each accompanied by its page reference. Most sub-levels have been abbreviated to produce a more concise record. In addition to indicating the sub-level, its heading is recorded to give the reader additional context and content of the subject matter.


¹ At least sixteen works listed in the bibliography employ the loci method.
scholastic, liturgical texts, and cabalistic), structure of work, and salient topics such as magic, angelic procreation, and planetary rule.

2.4 EDITORIAL PRINCIPLES FOR THE BIBLIOGRAPHIC CITATION

The bibliographic format follows the guidelines set forth in the fifteenth edition of The Chicago Manual of Style. Most of the works cited in the bibliography have been personally reviewed to ensure an accurate record of the bibliographic fields. Since there is no established, standard practice on citing each element (name, title, publisher, etc.) in a bibliographic entry for early printed monographs, some editorial principles were adopted from the 1998 revision of the Anglo-American Cataloging Rules. Although the AACR2 provided the basis for creating the bibliographic entries, some of the peculiarities of sixteenth and seventeenth century printers forced the author to depart from the accepted norms of cataloging rules. The resulting entries, while they do not conform in their entirety to AACR2 standards and may not be satisfactory to a rare-book cataloger, do serve the purposes of researchers and scholars for which they were created.

Lengthy statements of responsibility have been abridged to include only those words needed to identify the person concerned. Titles and academic credentials have been omitted: ‘George Bull, D.D. Lord Bishop of St. David’s’ is simply recorded as ‘Bull, George’. Author’s names that are recorded in Latin have been placed in the nominative case: ‘per Wolfgangum Musculum’ will be ‘Musculus, Wolfgangus’. Their English equivalent is listed in the Names Index followed by their biographical dates and theological tradition.

Some of the individual works cited in the bibliography have been gathered into larger opera omnia collections. This is particularly true of collected works of prominent Protestant theologians and the sermon collections of lesser known figures. When this is the case both the individual title and the collective title are recorded in the bibliographic citation. The chief title of a publication has been recorded in the form in which it appears on the title page. Consequently, all other title information not grammatically linked to the chief title, including parallel or alternative titles, pious invocations, announcements, epigrams, and statements of patronage are

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8 The author is grateful to Lenore M. Rouse, Curator at the Rare Books & Special Collections at the Catholic University of America, for her helpful advice and suggestions in formulating the editorial principles.

9 Cfr AACR2, 2.14F.
omitted. In some instances, however, alternative titles with direct references to angels or to a specific theological method were included with the chief title. For example, Militia spiritualis, or, A treatise of angels, and Corpus theologicum seu loci communes theologici. Words spelled in an older orthographic convention are not modernized. The initial letter of the title is capitalized as well as any proper nouns within the title. All other words are placed in lower case letters. Latin letters will be standardized as follows: i will remain i; j will be i; the vowel u will remain u, but the consonant u will be v; and vv will be w. Consequently, a title printed on the title page as ‘LOCI COMMNVNES THEOLOGIAE SACRAE, Vt sunt postremo recogniti & emendati’ will be ‘Loci communes theologiae sacrae’.10

All toponyms are transcribed as they appear on the title page of the publication. Because there is considerable variation in Latin nomenclature with respect to the place of publication the modern English place name will be provided in brackets when it is considered necessary for identification: Lugduni Batavorum [The Netherlands].11

In addition to identifying the publisher, all statements that include the name of the printer or that aid in the identification of the role of the publisher are included. For example: ‘London: Printed for R. Baldwin in Warwick-Lane’.12

If any edition information is provided on the title page, it is included after the title. If the work is not a first edition, the date of the first edition is introduced by ‘First printed edition,’ or in the case of sermons, the date of origination is preceded by ‘Preached on’. For example: ‘Ulmae Suevorum: Iohannis Görlini, 1638. First printed edition: 1633’. If the cited work has been translated into English, its original Latin title is given, followed by the original date of publication. It should be noted that the earliest published dates may be unreliable, since they were acquired through union catalogs which do not necessarily reflect the complete records of every published item. When no publication date is given and one is provided, it is placed in editorial brackets. A question mark after the date indicates most probable date of publication: ‘London: William Barret, [1620?]’.13

ABBREVIATIONS

10 Cfr AACR2, 2.14E1.
11 Cfr AACR2, 2.16B.
12 Cfr AACR2, 2.16D.
13 Cfr AACR2, 2.16G.
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**ELECTRONIC RESOURCES**

- **CPT**  *Digital Library of Classic Protestant Texts*
- **ECCO** *Eighteenth Century Collections Online*
- **EEBO** *Early English Books Online*
3. ANNOTATED BIBLIOGRAPHY

3.1 SYSTEMS OF THEOLOGY

3.1.1 EARLY ORTHODOX ERA (CA. 1565-1640)


1,122 [34] pp. Electronic resource: CPT

classis 1, locus 9, *De daemonum natura*, pp. 54-72; locus 12, *De angelorum creatione*, pp. 88-98; classis 2, locus 1, *Creaturas omnes vanitati esse subiectas, quid sibi velit, & quatenus ad angelos pertineat*, pp. 181-84.

A discussion of angelic apparitions – on whether and how angels assume corporeal bodies. The assumption of bodies by angels has christological implications pertaining to transubstantiation and Christ’s hypostatic union. A wide range of sources are marshalled: Jewish, Arabic, Patristic, Platonic, Scholastic and contemporary.

**ST2**  Zanchius, Hieronymus. *De religione Christiana fides*. Neostadii Palatinorum [Neustadt an der Weinstrasse]: Excudebat Matthaus Harnisch, 1585.


cap. 5 *De mundi creatione, de angelis…*, pp. 18-21

A brief excurses on the creation of angels with an explanation of why they sinned. Discusses the function of demons as adversaries of the human race, and the elect angels as beings that ward off the devil and promote Christ’s kingdom. Argues against the adoration of angels.


Angels were created all at once; they have proper biblical names and can assume bodies for a prescribed period of time. When they were created and whether there is an order among them are unclear mysteries. Half the discussion is devoted to malevolent angels: they only appear to perform miracles and divine future events, but they can tempt humans, for which reason people should fortify themselves against such temptations through perpetual prayer.


1593 (49)


prima pars, locus 5, *De creatione*, 5, *De ordine et modo creationis*, *De sexto die*, pp. 299-303; 7 *Concio de angelis*, pp. 321-38.

Angels were created before man, some of whom fell, others remained steadfast and can neither sin nor experience death. There are nine orders of angels arranged in three hierarchies. Their substance, nature, purpose, and fall are treated. Angels, though once honored by the ancient Church’s institution of a feastday of the angels, are not to be adored. Stresses the angelic protection against the temptations and attacks of malevolent angels. The doctrine of angels enhances man’s understanding of God’s providence and appreciation of God’s immense goodness.

An Annotated Bibliography of Protestant Theological Writings on Angels in Post-Reformation Thought from 1565 to 1739 by Andrew T. Sulavik


Poses a series of standard questions about the definition, nature, and purpose of angels, supported by passages from the Bible. Cites Peter Lombard’s enumeration of the nine orders of angels. Offers examples of Catholic liturgical texts (Feast of St. Michael) as a warning against worshipping angels. Offers reasons why the doctrine of angels is a beneficial belief.

**ST6**


Common Place. 6, Of angels, pp. 72-87; Common Place. 7, Of evill angels, or of devils, pp. 88-99.

Like other loci, it is constructed around a series of well-ordered questions concerning angelic creation, names, movement, speech, appearance, knowledge, order, number, substance, materiality, and functions. The locus on evil angels discusses their fall, foreknowledge, apparitions, ability to perform miracles, powers, and influences upon men. Both sections end with statements concerning the practical use of the doctrine of angels.

**ST7**


Angels are the primary instruments of divine providence. They are not considered to be ‘persons’. Questions concerning angelic apparitions, their nature, and mission are treated. Following Calvin, there is no firm evidence to affirm that each person is assigned a guardian angel. Malevolent angels and their powers and effects upon the world are discussed.

**ST8**

Martinius, Matthias. *Methodus s.s. theologiae*. Herbornae Nassouiorum: [unknown], 1603.


lib. 3 *De exsequutione decreti providentiae*, cap. 2 *De creatione angelorum*, pp. 27-30; cap. 10, *De angelorum gubernatione respectu essentiae*, p. 45; cap. 11, *De modo docendi angelos*, p. 46; cap. 12, *De permissione angelorum in libertate sua*, pp. 46-47; *Notae in librum tertium ad* cap. 2, *De creatione in genere et in specie de creatione angelorum*, pp. 332-41

Angels possess the natural gifts of knowledge, holiness, truthfulness and humility. They were created on the second day of creation. Angelic nature shares three things with the human soul: will, understanding, and immortality. Discusses angelic knowledge, and their locality, namely in an intervening space (*intervallum spatium*)

**ST9**


locus 5, *De angelis bonis et malis*, pp. 32-37.

Written as catechetical instruction, it contains eighteen questions on good and malevolent angels with brief responses. For example: What are angels? Are there established orders of angels? What is the office of
angels? Is it permissible to adore angels? What are the activities and intentions of malevolent angels? What powers do demons possess?


1,064 [33] pp. Electronic resource: CPT

[loca]. *De creatione at angelis*, pp. 1-55 (see pp. 19-51)

A scholastically oriented discussion on angels. Presents various opinions on the question of what day of the hexameron the angels were created but declines to offer his own view. Defines ‘angel’ and discusses angelic knowledge, will, locality, and duration (*aeviterinitas*). Treats angelic hierarchy, the fall of the angels, their number, their merits, how they communicate with one another, the power of the devil, and whether demons can influence human souls.


A short discourse on the nature of good and malevolent angels, followed by a page devoted to eleven disputed questions on angels. The questions and answers are commonplace, for example: Are angels purely incorporeal? Yes; Are angels to be adored? No.; and Can the Devil perform a true miracle? No.


A succinct treatment on the creation of angels, their original state, angelic apparitions and their ability to assume bodily form. It also discusses angelic knowledge, their functions, order, names, and lists the benefits of these doctrines. Treats also of the fall and punishment of the angels, and the influences of demons upon humanity.


Addresses various opinions on what day the angels were created, and offers a detailed account of angelic orders, wherein the Dionysian hierarchical model is discredited. The question of whether angels move celestial spheres (*dogma de intelligentiis motricibus orbium caelestium*) is presented along with the functions of angels.


lib. 1. Of God the creator, cap. 3. Of creation, pp. 69-82; cap. 16. Of the fall of the angels, pp. 228-33.
A discussion of the nature of angels and humans. Angels are immortal spirits with incomparable power and strength, agility and nimbleness. Asserts that angels were created on the first day of creation. An angelic hierarchy is implied since some angels are more glorious than others. Presents the fall, punishment and judgment of the angels.


lib.1, *De Deo cognoscendo*, cap. 5, *canones*, p. 36; cap. 7, *De gubernatione angelorum*, pp. 43-47.

A sparse treatment, both in quantity and theological explication, of angels, arranged according to six doctrinal statements and accompanied with little explication. Raises questions on angelic apparitions, their locality and movement, and asserts God’s providence over both good and malevolent angels.


tractatus 2, *De ecclesia militante, eius notis…*, q. 45 *De angelorum invocatione ac adoratione*, pp. 632-43; q. 46, *De angelorum distinctione*, pp. 644-47; q. 47, *De angelo custode*, pp. 648-50.

A polemical work against Catholic doctrines on invoking angels, angelic hierarchy, and the notion of guardian angels.

1,180 [57] pp. Electronic resource: CPT

art., *De angelis bonis et malis, de spectris, de obsessis*, pp. 222-78.

A comprehensive treatment on good and malevolent angels, ghosts and demoniacs. Attention is given to angelic apparitions, locality, movement, hierarchy and whether each person is assigned a guardian angel. Further questions include: Does the devil have the power to read a people’s thoughts, perform real miracles, or recall the dead to this life? Is it safe to ask for angelic revelations?


*[locus]*, *De providentia Dei, De angelis*, pp. 190-99

A comprehensive treatment on angels, their nature, functions, faculties (intellect, will, and power) ability to assume a body, motion, and fall. Investigates whether angels have power over the stars and planets, human bodies, or the souls of the dead; whether they can cure the sick, perform miracles, or raise the dead. Denies that every person is assigned a guardian angel and that an angelic hierarchy exists.


De angelis, p. 9r.

A brief catechetical entry on angels, affirming that angels were probably created on the first day of the hexameron. Presents a summary of the nature and functions of good and malevolent angels.


locus 6, *De angelis*, pp. 55-73.

A battery of biblical quotations (*testimonia*) supporting five doctrinal statements. Useful for scriptural citations that support general teachings on the nature and functions of good and malevolent angels.

3.1.2 HIGH ORTHODOX ERA (CA. 1640-1700)


locus 5, *De creatione mundi, angelorum*, p.148-60.

Examines the faculties (intellect, will, appetite, powers) and nature of angels, their locality, mobility, and aeviternity. Denies the nine-fold order of angels, but distinguishes between good and malevolent angels. Warns against worshipping demons or of practicing magic and concludes with an explanation of angelic apparitions.


Consists of three parts: the first (pp. 85-96) supplies reasons why God created angels, discusses their nature, powers, knowledge, will, motion, place, order, names, and functions; the second (pp. 96-105) raises nine questions about angels, such as whether angels are to be revered or whether there is a guardian angel assigned to each individual, etc.; the third (pp. 105-115) treats the devil and the fallen angels.


lib. 4 sectio 3, cap. 2, *De angelorum natura, officio et statu*, pp. 347-49.

A concise treatment of the nature, office, number and state of angels. Describes angels in ontological terms as finite, spiritual substances with four qualities: *agilitas*, *subtilitas*, *efficacitas*, and *immortalitas*. Treats demons, free will, and their fall. Denies that angels or intelligences perpetually move the heavenly bodies, or that every person is assigned a guardian angel. Takes up Jewish cabalist notion of a three-tiered hierarchy of angels, the last tier of which is comprised of male and female angels that propagate, eat, and are mortal.


lib. 4, cap. 4, *De angelis*, pp. 123-25.
A brief exposition on the nature, assumption of bodies, motion, functions, creation, and number of angels. Expansive presentation of various views on the angelic hierarchy. No treatment of fallen angels.


Treats the nature of angels, angelic powers, knowledge, apparitions, and hierarchy. Extensive attention is given to the effects angels have upon the world. Considers the fall of the angels, their ability to manipulate the human imagination and God’s limitations upon their influence. Addresses the use of magic, amulets, pacts with the devil, exorcisms, demoniacs, and magic. Angels are agents of God’s providence, but they do not rule over the stars or animate the heavens, nor is their any scriptural evidence that a guardian angel is assigned to each individual.


art. 5, *De creatione*, cap. 2, *De operibus Hexaemeri*, q. 1 *Utrum angeli intra Hexaemeron creationis et quonam die conditi sint?* pp. 988-96.
An Annotated Bibliography of Protestant Theological Writings on Angels in Post-Reformation Thought from 1565 to 1739 by Andrew T. Sulavik

An exhaustive survey of Jewish, cabalistic, arabic, contemporary, and mostly patristic sources on the creation of the angels. States that angels were probably created within the hexameron, but most likely on the first day.


locus 5, *De angelis bonis et malis*, q. 1-18, pp. 107-122.

Comprised of eighteen questions divided equally between good (1-9) and fallen angels (10-18). Questions on angels include: 1) Were angels created by God? 2) What are angels? 3) From what material were they created? 4) How were they created? 5) How many are there? 6) What type and degree of perfection belongs to good angels? 7) Are there specified angelic orders? 8) Does a certain office belong to angels? and 9) Is it permissible to invoke and adore angels?


382 [382] pp. Electronic resource: CPT

art. 1, cap. 1, *De angelis in genere*, pp. 3-51; cap. 2, *De angelis bonis*, pp. 51-290; cap. 3, *De angelis malis* pp. 290-384.

An exhaustive treatment on the creation, existence, attributes, nature, functions, apparitions and mobility of angels. Offers an extensive survey of various opinions on the angelic hierarchy. Devotes one hundred pages to denouncing the invocation, worship and adoration of angels (pp. 100-197); with another one hundred pages dedicated to demonology (pp. 290-384). The treatment ends with seven questions on demons.


locus 6, *De Creatione*, cap. 16, *De angelis bonis et malis*, pp. 221-34.

A comprehensive treatment of angels treating their existence, time of creation, nature, functions, knowledge, communication, assumption of bodies, locality, mobility, will, and hierarchy (lists nine orders). Discusses reprobate angels and their influence upon mankind, and concludes with the usefulness of these teachings.


Details the predestination of both the elect and reprobate angels. Considers angelic will, knowledge, *habitus*, and how some angels were confirmed in God’s grace while others were permitted to fall freely.


third part, Christian Ecclesiasticks, or directions to pastors and people about sacred doctrine, worship, and discipline..., cap. 11, Directions about our communion with the holy angels, pp. 616-19.
Describes the nature and functions of angels within strictly biblical parameters. Angels protect us, convey departed souls to heaven, and are to be loved and imitated. Asserts that it is rational to imagine that the orbs and regions above are inhabited by angels.

**ST32**  


*prima pars*, locus 4, *De praedestinatione*, q. 8, *De angelorum praedestinatione*, pp. 369-75; locus 7, *De angelis*, q. 1-9, pp. 594-625.

Considers the creation of angels, whether they are spiritual substances, their free will, whether angels were predestined to fall or not, their powers, how they are said to appropriate a body, their functions, whether they intercede on our behalf before God, and whether they ought to be worshipped. Argues against the nine tiered, Dionysian order of angels and denies that every person is assigned a guardian angel.

**ST33**  

2,212 [70] pp. Electronic resource: CPT

*prima pars*, *De theologiae praecognitis et fine*, cap. 11, *De angelis*, pp. 442-511.

An extensive and substantial treatment on the nature, properties, cognition, and powers of good angels. A section is dedicated to fallen angels, the cause of their fall, and to demoniacs. Contains a rich variety of cited Protestant and Catholic sources on angelology. Eleven problematic or debatable questions on angels (pp. 494-511) comprise the bulk of the treatment, some of which include: When were the angels created? Should angels be rightly called spirits, that is, incorporeal
substances? How do angels know things – do they know secrets of the heart and future contingents? What power and degree of power belong to angels? Are angels divided into particular orders or choirs, distinguished by their worthiness, rank and office? Is a particular holy angel given as a guardian to each person?


vol. 1, locus 4, *De Creatione, De creatione angelorum*, pp. 270-90.

A philosophically faceted discussion concentrating on the nature, will, cognitive powers (angelic intellect) and fall of the angels. Debunks the authority of Dionysius the Areopagite and the theory of angelic orders. Contemptuous of superfluous scholastic questions on angels.


A lucid and ample treatment of angels, touching on their real existence, creation, nature, intellect, will, and attributes. Denies that an angel is assigned to every individual at birth. Extensive treatment on how demons tempt people and on the phenomenon of demoniacs. Argues vigorously against worshiping or invoking angels.

**ST36** Willard, Samuel. *A compleat body of divinity*, 1726 [1689].

Covers angelic nature as ‘spirit,’ specifically identifies angels as invisible substances, impalpable, agile, powerful, incorruptible, rational creatures. They are limited by their own essence. Their attributes, by analogy of proportionality, are compared to God’s attributes to guide our conceptions of God.

**ST37**  

1,427 [26] pp. Electronic resource: CPT


A comprehensive treatment discussing the nature of angels, angelic creation (probably created on the first day of the hexameron), functions, intellect, will, power, place, motion, and duration (life span). Acknowledges that there is a discernable order or hierarchy of angels. Organized around twelve questions, some of which include: Do angels exist? Were angels created at the beginning of creation? Can angels act outside themselves through their own powers? Are there angelic orders? Are guardian angels assigned to each person, nation and province? and Is religious worship appropriate to angels? Six practical applications or benefits of these teaching are enumerated. A substantial treatment is offered on fallen angels, concerning their fall, powers and influence (conjured through magic) over humanity. Warns readers to be vigilant of these demonic powers.

**ST38**  

Addresses a broad range of questions: the time of angelic creation, their nature, intellect, will, communication, movement, locality, powers, how they act in the world, and angelic apparitions. Denies that there is a hierarchy of angel, or that there are guardian angels. Angels are not to be venerated. Asserts that accounts of exorcisms, apparitions, and magic are false and to be deplored.

3.1.3. Pietistic-Eclectic Phase of the Late Orthodox Era (ca. 1700-1739)

**ST39**  
First printed edition: 1716.  
  
cap. 9, *De angelis bonis et malis*, pp. 171-88.  
A thorough yet succinct treatment of angels with respect to their nature, motion, will, knowledge, locality, order and number. Comments upon fallen angels, their sin, punishment and power in this world.

### 3.2 Treatises

#### 3.2.1 Early Orthodox Era (ca. 1565-1640)


Comprised of fifty-one chapters, Salkeld, a former Jesuit and Protestant convert, presents many Catholic teachings on angels according to scholastic methodology. Devotes seven chapters (5-11) on angelic substance and apparitions; five on angelic locality (12-16); eleven on angelic knowledge (20-30); four on guardian angels (43-46). The final chapter concludes with ten questions on the devil. The treatise is dedicated to King James I, reputed to have had a major interest in angelology.

Schneider, Michael M. *Angelologia Sacra*. Sub praesidio Johannis Gerhardi. Ienae: Johannis Reiffenbergeri, 1633.


A doctoral dissertation, written under the supervision of Johannes Gerhard, divided into three parts: the first part treats questions concerning their time of creation, immortality, knowledge, assumption of a body, mobility, and their ability to be anyplace (*alicubitas*); the second, angelic names, confirmation in grace, attributes, guardian angels, and angels as planetary movers; and the third, the fall of the angels, their sin and punishment, as well as demonic powers over humanity. A final section offers five benefits derived from the doctrines on angels.

### 3.2.2 HIGH ORTHODOX ERA (CA. 1640-1700)


Divided into two parts: part one (pp. 6-53) discusses angelic nature, powers, knowledge, apparitions, and the influences that angels can exert upon humanity. Acknowledges that there is a guardian angel for every individual protecting him from the attacks of the devil and bestowing spiritual benefits. The second part (pp. 53-189) is chiefly concerned with the punishment, functions, and deceits of the devil and fallen angels. A spiritual treatise on how a Christian ought to arm himself in spiritual warfare against the temptations of the devil.


221 [149] pp. Electronic resource: EEBO

Bk. 1, Of God and his angels, pp. 1-77; (Bk. 2, Of the souls of men, pp. 78-131); Bk. 3, Of the evill angels, pp. 132-203.

Comprised of three books, two of which treat of benevolent and malevolent angels. Book one discusses angelic numbers, powers, knowledge, functions, order, and worship. An interesting section on apparitions offers many purported historical examples. Book three treats of evil angels, their fall, number, powers, and assaults on mankind. One section deals with conjuring demons through witchcraft and magic, pp. 185-188. The author summons a wide variety of sources, drawing upon patristic, scholastic (Aquinas), and contemporary Catholic and Protestant writings.


An exhaustive, scholastic treatise on the subject and place of guardian angels within the Christian tradition, specifically among Protestant theologians. Affirms the belief that every Christian,
An Annotated Bibliography of Protestant Theological Writings on Angels in Post-Reformation Thought from 1565 to 1739 by Andrew T. Sulavik

nation, and city is assigned a guardian angel. Raises twelve, questions about guardian angels (pp. 81-147) e.g., Q. 6: When is a guardian angel assigned to an individual, at the time of his conversion, baptism, birth, or conception? Provides a list of benefits to those who embrace the doctrine on guardian angels.


76 [76] pp. Electronic resource: EEBO

Primarily concerned with how angels protect and influence an individual throughout their life, from the moment of conception until death and resurrection. Deals with angelic manipulation of an individual’s interior senses through dreams, imagination, suggestions, moving the will to conversion and holy actions. Provides a rich source of contemporary anecdotal stories of angelic apparitions and interventions. Urges reader to befriend angels by imitating their angelical life.


Written in response to a perceived threat of a growing disbelief in the spiritual world. Comprised of six chapters with an appendix refuting Webster’s treatment of the existence and nature of angels published in The Displaying of Supposed Witchcraft. Presents the nature of angels (i.e., their knowledge, free will, power, and agility), proofs of their existence, their number, order, and functions. Dwells on guardian angels and lists liturgical texts related to the adoration of angels. Chapter six is devoted to the benefits derived from a knowledge of angels.


A discourse on angelic nature, power, and functions. Acknowledges an angelic hierarchy but not the Dionysian model. Cites many historical examples of angelic apparitions, and states that malevolent angels are more likely to materialize than good angels. Supports the notion of guardian angels and proposes a *cultus fraternae societatis*, namely that angels should be fraternally honored, but not worshipped. Urges readers to imitate the angels in service and obedience to God. Concludes with a section on the sin and misery of fallen angels (pp. 104-132).

3.2.3 PIETISTIC-ECLECTIC PHASE OF THE LATE ORTHODOX ERA (CA. 1700-1739)


A comprehensive treatment on angels, with little or no discussion of fallen angels. The first five chapters discuss the names of angels, proofs of their existence, their incorporeal nature, creation, number, order, knowledge, and their functions as agents of God’s providence. Chapters six through eight treat of guardian angels and their powers and influences upon humanity; chapter nine, the role of angels during and after death as well as the significance of apparitions. Chapters twelve and thirteen set forth the duties and honor that are owed to angels. The final two chapters urge the reader to imitate the angelical life, which consists in knowing, understanding and loving God, and holy activity.


60 [50] pp. Electronic resource: ECCO
A short treatise comprised largely of a battery of scripture quotations to support propositions concerning angelic order, number, nature, ability to produce prodigies, appear in dreams, destroy the wicked, fight Satan, and heal sickness. Supports the notion of a guardian angel assigned to each individual. Establishes a fourfold order among angels, namely Thrones, Dominions (preside over empires), Principalities (over kingdoms) and Powers (govern armies, produce famines, thunder, plagues and tempests). Asserts not only that angels inhabit the planets, but that they are not incorporeal spirits, but ethereal bodies formed from the same substance as the planets.

### 3.3 SERMONS

#### 3.3.1 HIGH ORTHODOX ERA (CA. 1640-1700)

**S1**  


A sermon on Deut. 32. 8-9 preached to astrologers emphasizing the relationship between the angels and stars (almost interchangeable terms) as agents of God’s providence. Touches on the nature and number of angels, as well as the types of protecting angels overseeing the affairs of the world, nations, and individuals.

**S2**  

79 [38] pp. Electronic resource: EEBO

The sermon entitled, ‘An angel, in a vision appeareth to a Souldier,’ preached on Acts. 10.2-4, discusses the nature of angelic apparitions, whether angels can speak and angelic knowledge. Asserts that it is probable that a guardian angel is assigned to each individual.
Patrick, Simon. *Fifteen sermons upon ... also two sermons on the ministration of angels.* London, 1719. Preached on September 29, 1672.

525 [67] pp. Electronic resource: ECCO

Sermon 16, pp. 445-74; Sermon 17, pp. 475-511

Two sermons preached on Michaelmas-Day. The first sermon on Mt. 18.10, offers reasoned and scriptural proofs for the existence of angels and discusses angelic orders and their functions – the chief of which is the physical protection of individuals. Although the notion of a guardian angel assigned to each person is not advocated, the assertion that angels provide security to nations is put forth. The second sermon is a continuation of the first on Mt. 18.10. It emphasizes how angels attend to the spiritual welfare of the soul, preserving individual from illusions, malevolent inclinations, harmful imaginations suggested by the devil and demons. Asserts that angels carry prayers to God, transport human souls to heaven, and that man should imitate them. The sermon ends with a lengthy prayer of thanksgiving to God for providing angelic care.

3.3.2 PIETISTIC-ECLECTIC PHASE OF THE LATE ORTHODOX ERA (CA. 1700-1739)


121 [121] pp. Electronic resource: ECCO

Comprised of seven sermons: Sermon I (pp. 1-21) treats angelic nature, powers, holiness, and knowledge; Sermon II (pp. 21-38) the angelic order and stresses Christ’s headship over it; Sermon III (pp. 39-55) angelic protection over man’s body and soul throughout his life; Sermon IV (pp. 56-77) how angels are said to watch or safeguard communities, kingdoms, cities, countries and individuals – with a brief description of their powers over humans; Sermon V (pp. 79-94) angelic protection from the devil and denies that there is a guardian angel assigned to each individual; Sermon VI (pp. 95-104) our communion with angels here and their presence in church assemblies; and Sermon VII (pp. 105-121) emphasizes that children are protected above all others.
by angels, and that we should imitate the angelic life by learning about God, and loving, obeying and praising Him.


Sermon 11, pp. 262-88; Sermon 12, pp. 288-325.

Sermon Eleven on Heb. 1.14 discusses the existence of angels based on human reason and divine revelation, their creation by God and spiritual nature, and argues against the veneration and invocation of angels. Sermon Twelve, a continuation of Sermon Eleven on Heb. 1.14 describes the functions of angels and their role within Providence. A short discourse on whether or not there are orders of angels, with a lengthy discussion of the role of guardian angels is contained within.


Preached on Heb. 1.14, the nature and functions, attributes and perfections of angels are presented to an audience of merchants. The benefits derived from the doctrine on angels are outlined and applied especially to the spiritual warfare that occurs between the devil and good angels over man’s spiritual life.
Names Index

AR = Arminian/Remonstrant
APPR = Anglican/Puritan/Presbyterian/Separatist
L = Lutheran
CR = Calvinist/Reformed

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