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Lessons from Angelology

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Biography

I hold a PhD in Medieval and Early Modern History from the University of Kent in Canterbury. My research field, angelology, and my background in art history have effortlessly led me to Rome, where I am currently based. I work for the Rome Art Program as Lecturer in Art History, and I also steer the art history section of the Program's online blog: www.romeartprogram.org.

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Abstract

The article juxtaposes human Free Will with its angelic counterpart through the examination of the c. 1587 *Angelorum et daemonum nomina et attributa...* (Los Angeles, Getty Research Institute MS 86-A866) of the Italian Vincenzo Cicogna (1519? – after 1596). This Catholic reformer author argued for the existence of human Free Will as a negative capacity, demonstrated by the loss of the angelic Free Will following the Fall of the Rebel Angels. In the overall context of the work, his arguments pronounced a wider call for renewal within the Catholic Church, which nevertheless did not resonate with the Inquisition.

Keywords

Angelology, Demonology, Catholic reform, Vincenzo Cicogna

Humans are not generally believed to be the only creatures endowed with Free Will. Angelology, a field where the lack of clear doctrines gives comfortable space for alternative approaches, also recognizes Free Will as one of its central components. Most research into the religious context of Free Will concentrates on the ideas of prominent theologians, however, with the evidence demonstrating how institutionalized ideas failed (and fail) to reach everyday people lurking in the background. Juxtaposing the interpretation of human Free Will with ideas about its angelic counterpart highlights these aspects, while the historical examination of non-mainstream works on angelology brings to surface evidence on how the popular image of angels differed from the image outlined by religious authorities. This alternative reception of theological dogmas in non-mainstream works of literary history is well represented in a manuscript in the collections of the Getty Research Institute in Los Angeles (GRI MS 86-A866).¹

The elaborate title of the 170 folio Latin manuscript translates as *On the names of angels and demons as found in the Divine Scriptures and explained by the Fathers, dedicated to the illustrious reverend Giulio Antonio Santori, the highest cardinal of Santa Severina, and on the Ecclesiastical Hierarchy* (“Angelorum et daemonum nomina et

1. I thank the organisers and participants of the 2014 Free Will conference of the Center for Cognition and Neuroethics for improving, with their questions and comments, the final version of the paper. I also thank the Getty Research Institute for their Library Research Grant and for making the manuscript available online for my PhD research project in the Internet Archive Online Library, accessed 20 December, 2014, <http://www.archive.org/details/angelorumetdaemo00cico>.

attribvta passim in divinis scriptvris contenta ad patrvm sententiam explicata ad Illvstriss. et Reverendiss. Ivlvim Antonium Sanctorivm Cardinalem Sanctae Severinae amplissimvm et de Ecclesiastica Hierarchia”). The manuscript divides into two main sections. The first, Lexicon section is a collection of particular and metaphorical references to angels and demons, listing altogether 100 angel and 123 demon keywords in alphabetical order. The keyword selection is based mostly, but not exclusively, on the Bible. The second main section is a treatise which draws a parallel between the angelic and the ecclesiastical hierarchies, and argues that the Church fails to follow the heavenly example of angels. The work as a whole was dedicated to the powerful Cardinal Giulio Antonio Santori (1532–1602), surprisingly enough as the concluding treatise compares cardinal bishops, among them the dedicatee, to Cherubs, identified in the Lexicon as the original order of fallen angels.

The author signed his work as Vincentius Ciconia, and is identifiable with an ecclesiastical author known as Vincenzo Cicogna who lived and worked in Verona, Italy. Cicogna was born in 1519,² when Verona, within the jurisdiction of Venice, was going through a defining ecclesiastical reform process under the local bishop Gian Matteo Giberti (1495–1543).³ Bishop Giberti had been a talented diplomat of the Holy See, who moved to his diocese after the Sack of Rome in 1527. The conditions upon his arrival inspired him to eliminate the obstacles hindering his clergy at becoming proper guides of the population. This called for an overarching regulation from everyday routine to professional aspects. The bishop approached the implementation of the necessary moral and disciplinary changes in a systematic way: first he secured the authority for interventions, then he gained firsthand experience of the local situations by pastoral visits, and finally secured the changes by written regulations. Throughout the construction and implementation of the reforms, Giberti cooperated with a group of learned ecclesiasts, who recognized a need for higher-level reforms and also voiced concerns over the Church’s own ability of renewal. Vincenzo Cicogna was a member of the bishop’s specially trained clergy.⁴

2. Archivio di Stato di Verona, *Anagrafi Comune* 1210; Archivio di Stato di Verona, *Antico Archivio del Comune*, Anagrafe 1215.

3. For a general bibliography see Turchini 2000.

4. Previous research has not yet clarified the exact status of this specially trained clergy around the bishop. Scholarship simultaneously reports a special school of the bishop (*schola Accolythorum*) and a group of learned intellectuals living in Giberti’s household (*familiares*) without clearly defining the differences and similarities between the two (Proserpi 1969, 226-234; Cervato 1989, 39-55; Eszenyi 2014, 58-60).

Vincenzo became the first ecclesiastical member of a popular local painter dynasty of Greek immigrants, probably due to the reformer bishop's friendship with his father.⁵ The adventurous priest was a member of Giberti's intellectual circle with all the benefits and risks the membership attracted. The bishop's authority granted him professional networks reaching as high as Charles Borromeo, whom Cicogna assisted in pastoral visits in 1564, but also secured his local position as rector of the San Zeno in Oratory monastery between 1544 and 1566 (Rognini 2004, 10; Tacchella 1979, 128–129, 132). The influence of the Giberti circle nevertheless also resulted in Cicogna's first direct encounters with the Inquisition in an 1550 series of Verona trials, when his preaching was found to be 'a fountain of heresy' (Conforti 2004, 104; Tacchella 1979, 128–129).

The mid-century was also the period when Cicogna started to publish, commonly dedicating his works to high level ecclesiasts. His first two works were sermon collections with unquestioned orthodoxy, perhaps one of the reasons for their publications being exactly Cicogna's desire to clarify himself from the early accusations of heresy. *Sermones* 7 (Venice, 1556) was a collection of seven sermons on the Eucharist, dedicated to Aloysio Lipomano, bishop of Verona. These early sermons were republished and accompanied by six new Passion sermons in *Sermones* (Venice: Andrea Arrivabene, 1562), dedicated this time to Cardinal Marcantonio Da Mula (Amulio). The *Oratio in Bernardi Naugerii cardin[alis] amplissimi et episcopi veronen[sis] aduentu* (Venice: Iordani Zileti, 1564) was an oratory speech given by Cicogna when Cardinal Bernardo Navagero paid a visit to Verona.⁶

Cicogna's problems with the Inquisition nevertheless persisted. His best-known theological work, the 1567 *Enarrationes in psalmos*, was 'nisi corrigantur' prohibited and included in the 1580, 1583, and 1596 Indexes of Prohibited Books. It was a commentary of Psalms 118-133 (119–134 today), accompanied by meditations on letters of the Hebrew alphabet, and dedicated to Pius V. The next in line of his censored works is lost, but the Archives of the Congregation of the Doctrine of the Faith, the congregation formerly administering the Inquisition, preserved its dedication. The work was entitled *Thesaurus d<ivina> oracula et attributa continens (Collection of divine prophecies and*

5. On the family see Simeoni 1907; Da Re 1913; Brenzoni 1958; Brenzoni 1972; Guzzo 1996; Varanini 1996; Eszenyi 2014, 22-29.

6. Another published speech, composed at the 1565 death of the same cardinal, is mentioned in Jacopo Vallarsi and Pisrantonio Berno, *Verona Illustrata parte seconda* (1731, 422). The same source also claims that the *Enarrationes in psalmos* appeared in print already in 1556, but I found no confirmation of this early work's claims in other sources.

attributes).⁷ The dedication addressed pope Gregory XIII, consequently its composition is datable to 1572-1585. An undated letter attached to the *Thesaurus*' dedication in the Archives prohibited Cicogna from publishing or even composing anything related theology in the future,⁸ and its author was imprisoned in Rome for six months in 1573 for reasons currently unknown to research (Da Re 1913, 119; Guzzo 1996, n. 40).

Nevertheless, the *Thesaurus* is probably identical with two volumes on divine names and prophecies Cicogna had sent to Cardinal Santori, the *Angelorum*'s dedicatee, for publication in the year prior to composing the *Angelorum*'s dedication, as the latter text reveals.⁹ Cardinal Giulio Antonio Santori (1532–1602), Cardinal of Santa Severina from 1579 until his death, was an outstanding personality of his times: “he influenced all the affairs of the Church in the last third of the 16th century as few other members of the Roman Curia” (Santori et alia 1966, 5). He acted as personal consultant of several popes and was, in 1592, himself a candidate for papacy. Besides being an advocate for the union of the Eastern and Western Churches he was also a productive man of letters, who composed numerous liturgical, historical and canon law works, as well as personal writings. On the request of Pope Paul V, the cardinal also composed a sacerdotale in 1586, a work which later provided the foundations of the current Roman Ritual. Cardinal Santori is yet best known as Prefect of the Sacred Congregation of the Roman and Universal Inquisition, practically Italy’s most powerful Grand Inquisitor in this position. He participated in the heresy processes of historical characters such as Giordano Bruno, Tommaso Campanella, Cardinal Giovanni Morone, or Henry of Navarre – and ordinary people such as Carlo Ginzburg’s Menocchio. This position within the Inquisition naturally granted Cardinal Santori the overview of the Index of Prohibited Books, which could well have raised the interest of a persecuted author such as Vincenzo Cicogna (Ginzburg 1982, 127–128; see Ricci 2002 for further bibliography on Cardinal Santori).

The *Angelorum* managed to get attention from its dedicatee but apparently was not fully, or perhaps at all, welcomed. The Archives of the Congregation of the Faith register

7. Archivio della Congregazione per la Dottrina delle Fede, *Index Protocolli G*, fols 306’–317’.

8. I thank Dr. Barbara Bombi at the University of Kent Canterbury for the transcription and translation of the text.

9. “Dei Opt. Max nomina, Ill<ustrissim>o Paesul, et attributa, passim in sacris literis contenta in unum redegi volumen, per tres divinas personas atributa, ad sanctissimorum Patrum explicate sententiam. Quod volume anno superiori tuo iussu Romam, cum altero volumine oraculam ad Christi fidem spectantia complectente, transmisi: ut censua et iudicio Sedis Apostolicae...” (GRI MS 86-A866, Fol. 1’).

a document containing Inquisitorial notes about it, by all probability corrections.¹⁰ They are attributed to bishop Federicus Metius, a censor referred to as a *familiaris* of Cardinal Santori in numerous lists of censors (*consultores*) of the Index, normally among primary censors.¹¹ The exact nature of the inquisitorial corrections remains a challenge for further research until the now lost censorship document hopefully resurfaces one day. Til then, the *Angelorum's* dedication, Cicogna's literary oeuvre and biographical data point towards the year 1587 as a likely date for the *Angelorum's* completion, and make it likely to be Cicogna's last work.

Vincenzo Cicogna, Bishop Giberti, and Cardinal Santori were the most important characters in the events leading to the creation of an unusual angel lexicon in a world shaped by the vast turmoil of major religious upheavals. The *Angelorum* is more than theological in nature. More than simply pointing out problems with the Church in the language of angelology, its author took a constructive approach by arguing for the universal nature of Christianity, which he tried to demonstrate by highlighting its understated harmony with pre-Christian philosophical systems. How is Cicogna's angelology relevant for the study of human Free Will? He argued for the existence of human Free Will as a negative capacity, demonstrated by the loss of the angelic Free Will following the Fall of the Rebel Angels.

Cicogna's *Angelorum* recounts that all angels were created good and endowed with Free Will. Lucifer among them, an outstandingly beautiful Cherub on top of the angelic hierarchy, had a unique relationship with God, but fell from this status when he committed a sin, specified by Cicogna varyingly as dissatisfaction, pride, and the misuse of power. The largest part of angels decided to join Lucifer, as a result of which they had to be cast out of Heaven and be separated from the good angels. Besides the physical separation, they are now also separated by a different name: demons. Following the

10. "Vincentii ciconii de nominibus Angelorum et demonum p<er> federicu<m> Metiu<m> f. 567" Archivio della Congregazione per la Dottrina della Fede, Index *Protocolli* D, Fol. 3^v. The volume contains documents dated after 1575.

11. Archivio della Congregazione per la Dottrina della Fede, Index *Protocolli* I, fols 359^v and 361^v use the term "*familiaris*", fols 362^r and 360^r list him in the first class of inquisitors, Fol. 366^r specifies that Metui was charged with censorship of books (*quibus assignati sunt Libri ad Censurandum*), Fol. 373^r lists him in a list of *consultores* without further specification. The volume contains documents dated to 27 April 1573 – 28 June 1593.

events, both angels and demons were confirmed in their chosen good or bad natures and from that time on, they are not able to and neither do they will to act otherwise.¹²

Simple as the story might seem to be, there is a lot to explain about the Fall of the Angels in a work on Biblical interpretation as this widespread tradition has no undisputable Scriptural base. Despite a number of passages understandable as possible references to the story, the Fall of the Angels has no clear phrasing in the Scriptures and the Free Will of angels is not associated with any possible coverage of the story. Tradition was clearly the heavier component in its increasing popularity, probably influenced by apocryphal writings as much as its inclusion in the *Legenda Aurea*, its eye-catching compositions in art, and less but not least, by the high number of theologians who could not resist the allure of interpreting these mysterious events in their writings (Eszenyi 2015).

While Cicogna's approach owes much to prominent medieval theologians, his interpretation is anything but common. Thomas Aquinas' *Summa Theologiae*, a work cited in Cicogna's *Angolorum* on several occasions, is arguably the most influential work discussing the question prior to Cicogna. Aquinas argued that angels have will with a stronger natural tendency towards good than man but he described no connection between the angelic Will and the Fall of the Angels (Aquinas 1920). Divine confirmation nevertheless plays an essential part in Cicogna's system, as it is explained under the keyword *Caeli* in the Lexicon section of the *Angolorum* (Fol. 23^{r-v}). At the moment of creation, the sky is called *caelum* in Genesis 1:1, but it is referred to as 'firmament', *firmamentum* in Latin, with a sudden change from Genesis 1:6. Cicogna suggests that the switch expresses the 'firmness' good angels gained from the divine confirmation following the Fall of the Rebel Angels, because the sky symbolically refers to Heaven, their dwelling place.¹³

12. Characteristically of the *Angolorum's* argumentation technique, the concept of the Fall of the Angels does not stand as an isolated argument but recurs in numerous Lexicon entries, some among which shed more light on the author's views by turning the theme into the entry's primary argument. The most informative Lexicon entries are *Astra Matutina* (Fol. 18^{r-v}), the double entry on Cherubs (*Cherubim* on fols 25^r-26^r and *Cherub* on Fol. 110^{r-v}), *Drachmae* (fols 36^r-37^r), *Lucifer* (double entry on fols 55^r and 134^{r-v}), *Lapides* (fols 51^r-52^r) *Michael* (fols 56^r-57^r) *Signaculum similitudinis* (double entry on fols 77^r-78^r and 198^r-199^r), *Stellae* (fols 79^r-80^r), *Draco* (Fol. 116^r), *Fulgur* (Fol. 123^{r-v}), and *Principium* (fols 151^r-152^r).

13. "Quod bene apud Moysen ipsa de mundi historia verba testantur, cum et prius celum factum dicitur: et hoc idem postmodum firmamentum vocatur: Quia videlicet natura Angelica et prius subtilis est in superioribus condita: et post, ne potuisset unquam cadere, mirabilibus confirmata" (GRI MS 86-A866 Fol. 23^r).

Let's now compare the situation of the two groups and see why Cicogna's good angels largely profit from the divine confirmation. Among a range of fascinating metaphors, he also compared angels to electrum, the natural alloy of gold and silver in the entry with the keyword *Electrum* (fols 39^v-40^r). As the electrum is not fully gold but mixed with a material second only to gold, angels are not divine, but they are very close and very similar (*quamsimillimi*) to the divine,¹⁴ and one manifestation of their similarity is the inability to oppose the divine will. Divine confirmation makes angels the only creatures who never oppose the divine will: demons are never obedient, humans are hindered by their Free Will, but the will of angels equals the will of God. The Word of God is incomprehensible for angels as much as for humans, yet angels gain all knowledge and diligence through divine revelation originating from the contemplation of the face of God. This direct observation of the divine teaches angels everything that they later pass on to other creatures, with the intention of making them obedient to God by perfectly fulfilling the divine will, which equals their own. In short, angels lost the ability to choose between good and bad as a result of the divine confirmation, which is in a sharp contrast with their pre-fall state. They are content, however, as neither do they desire the freedom of choice anymore.¹⁵

Let us now have a look at fallen angels or demons, whom Cicogna also described with abundant metaphors and allegories. How does their situation compare with that of the good angels? Demons remained highly intelligent after the fall but use this intelligence to separate people from God, says Cicogna. They are irreconcilable enemies, showing benevolence but only disseminating heresy among people like weeds among the wheat in the Parable of the Weeds in Matthew 13:24–30.¹⁶ Furthermore, demons

14. "Nam cum auro et argento nihil inter metala sit praeciosius: ita Angeli nobilitate caeteras superant creaturas. Non sunt purum aurum: quia neq<ue> Deus neq<ue> ex Dei substantia su<n>t: sed Deo proximiores, et quamsimillimi sunt... Cum itaq<ue> Angeli Electro comparantur, declaratur illos splendor praefulgare, et spectantibus non mediocrem praebere consolationem" (GRI MS 86-A866 fols 39^v-40^r).

15. "Hoc unum est omnium Angelorum opus et exercitiu<m>, ut benedicant Domino omni tempore, et voluntatem eius faciant. ... Dei enim voluntas aeterna est, et incomprehensibilis non solum hominibus sed etiam Angelis ipsis: de qua quicquid eis a Deo est revelatum, explere quidem possunt, sed eam, prout est, totam capere nequeunt. ... Angeli itaq<ue> semper vide<n>t faciem patris, qui nihil facit, quod sanctis suis non revelet. Intelligentie itaq<ue> oculis, Dei voluntatem illo revelante... Soli Daemones imperfracte voluntati illius revelatae resistant... Homines etiam cum libero arbitrio agant, quandoq<ue> Dei voluntati apertae repugnant, quod ille prohibeat volentes..." (GRI MS 86-A866 Fol. 44^r).

16. "Demonis autem nomen etsi mentem sapientem significet, pro malo tamen spiritu usurpetur, qui sapiens est, ut faciat malum: quod potius est desipere, quam sapere" (GRI MS 86-A866 Fol. 3^v). "Inimicus homo,

also have a quite particular task: they are occasionally sent by God to announce bad news and to complicate the lives of sinful people. Cicogna presents demons as servants of the divine justice, who execute divine justice on disobedient people with corrupt souls. Scriptural examples include the angel who released the plague upon Israel in 2 Samuel 24:15-25, or the angel who caused the Ten Plagues of Egypt in Exodus 5–12.¹⁷

The existence of one particular angel whose duty is the execution of divine punishments was not unknown to medieval thinking. This angel was often referred to as *the* Angel of the Lord as opposed to *an* angel of the Lord, called *Angelus Domini* by his Latin name. Cicogna says the name *Angelus* expresses that this angel is on a mission, however dark it might be, as angels are primarily divine messengers. The name the Angel of the Lord is a reminder that even though demons sinned on their own will, they were still created by God, and their dark powers are strictly limited to what divine providence allows.¹⁸

Cicogna nevertheless seems to hesitate: at one point he suggests that not only one angel is charged with the task but it is a collective responsibility of demons, whereas in other parts of the text he refers to this angel in the singular. If Cicogna had one particular angel in mind it must have been Lucifer as in one point he identifies this mysterious punishing angel with the fallen dragon serpent of Revelations 12:7–9, cast out of Heaven after a battle with good angels under the leadership of Archangel Michael. Identifying the *Angelus Domini* with Lucifer could possibly stand as an individual idea by Cicogna, inasmuch as I have not found examples of the same idea in medieval angelology yet. The text itself does not clearly reveal if the singular-plural inconsistency was intentional

qui scilicet per hominem malum Zizania idest, haereses disseminat in agro Domini appellatus a Christo Diabolus: [...] publicus et privates sit inimicus irreconciliabilis: qui tunc etiam inimicitias gerit, cum amicitiam et benevolentiam praeseferat..." (GRI MS 86-A866 Fol. 129^v). Cicogna mistakenly refers to Matthew 14 instead of Matthew 13 on the margin.

17. "Nam ut bona per bonos Angelos: ita mala per malos confert Deus: eaq<am> secundum sibi constitutum modum et mensuram: Etsi enim inuiti et malo animo Dei iustitiam administrant, non tamen sibi praescriptum mensura<m> excedere queunt..." (GRI MS 86-A866 Fol. 141^v).
18. "Dicitur ergo Angelus Dei et a Deo: suo proprio vitio statim factus est malus. Cum itaque creatura Dei sit, Angelus Dei est et dicitur. Et cum idem etiam invitus Dei subiectus sit, neque quicquam possit, nisi id sibi per Deum liceat, a DEO esse, et mitti dicitur. Unde etiam Angeli nomen retinuit, quod Missus significat, cum nomine etiam quaedam alia sibi cum bonis Angelis communia retinens: Est enim spiritus sicut et illi, et Dei administer licet in malis, sicut et illi in bonis. Habet vires sicut et illi, sed illis ipse uti non potest, nisi id sibi a Deo per Angelos bonos sit permissum" (GRI MS 86-A866 fols 97^{r-v}). For the *Angelus Domini* problem see for example Fossum 1985, Deutsch 1999; White 1999; with further bibliography.

on part of the author. Cicogna himself could also have been simply undecided about the question, which had never gone undisputed in medieval angelology. By no way does it lessen the value of the peculiarity of his arguments though for punishing angels with limited divine powers, especially when it comes to the question of Free Will. This makes either Lucifer or all demons unwilling servants of the Lord.¹⁹

Yet Cicogna attributes different powers to demons when they are and when they are not in divine service. With a deceitful nature, they have a tendency to approach people even if they are not sent by anybody, only to mislead, by lies, those who don't exercise proper care at the discernment of spirits. Cicogna says the power of both angels and demons is insuperable for humans when the spiritual messengers are executing the divine will. Nevertheless demons approach us with temptations only in the majority of cases, and in these cases they can and should be overcome.²⁰

Cicogna does not fail to notice that the angel refused worship and directed it to God instead in a conversation with the prophet John in Revelations 19:10 and 22:8-9, with the explanation that he is but a fellow servant of the prophet.²¹ Angels, demons, and humans are all divine servants in Cicogna's opinion, but where is the difference between these three types of servants? Cicogna answered this question by embracing the theory of a cosmological tableau of cosmic order, the ancient Greek idea of the Great Chain of

19. "Angeli itaque appellantur Diaboli: quod ipsi quoque a Deo mittantur, tanquam furoris indignationis tribulationis et gladii sui administri contra rebelles et peccatores: Ut enim bona omnia per bonos, ita mala per malos Angelos confert Deus: Et ut boni in bonorum administratione bene operari, ita isti in malorum immissione peccare dicuntur" (GRI MS 86-A866 Fol. 97^v). "Dicitur ergo Angelus Dei et a Deo: suo proprio vitio statim factus est malus. Cum itaque creatura Dei sit, Angelus Dei est et dicitur. Et cum idem etiam invitus Dei subiectus sit, neque quicquam possit, nisi id sibi per Deum liceat, a DEO esse, et mitti dicitur" (Fol. 97^v). These latter remarks are added to the end of the entry by a Second Hand, who often made additions and corrections to the main text – supposedly the author himself making additions to the secretarial handwriting of the First Hand.

20. "In hoc autem differunt spiritus mali a bonis, quod illi et iussi et non iussi temere nunciant et agunt. Isti vero non nisi iusti agunt et nunciant: Illi spiritus sunt mendaces, et mendacia loquuntur" (GRI MS 86-A866 Fol. 12^v). "...neque sit potestas super terram, quæ ei [demons] resist[ere] queat: ... sed quamvis spiritus iste pervalidus sit, dicitur tamen et ipse spiritus Domini *vel* a Domino egressus: quod nihil omnino possit, invito Deo; cuius ministerio utitur, cum iustitia illius supplicia de peccatoribus exigit: propterea Spiritus tempestatis et furoris Domini appellatur: ut enim bona per bonos ita mala per malos Angelos et spiritus immittit Deus" (GRI MS 86-A866, Fol. 155^v).

21. "Ea erat Ioannis humilitas, ut Angelum honore praevenire, et venerari voluisset: Sed tanta etiam est Anglorum charitas, ut quos sibi a Deo coaequatos videant, inferiores sibi esse non permittant, et illos suos conserves appellent quod eundem Dominum habeant..." (GRI MS 86-A866 Fol. 30^v).

Being in full revival among Early Modern magicians of his time.²² The opening lines of his *Angelorum* take as a starting point that divine wisdom and providence gave a hierarchy to creatures, where angels occupy the highest position above man, animals, and of course demons.²³ The idea of predestination also surfaces in Cicogna's angelology when he adds that angels will spread divine love and mercy to selected people, and the selected will be confirmed just like the obedient angels were confirmed.²⁴

Why this emphasis on hierarchy, in Heaven and Earth, before and after death? Examining the contents of the Lexicon section in the wider context of the *Angelorum's* closing treatise offers an explanation. Cicogna argues for the leading and exemplary role of angels throughout the work, supporting his arguments with Scriptural passages such as the angel leading the Israelites from Egypt to the Promised Land in Exodus 23. He argues that their close proximity to God grants angels excellence over other creatures: second to God only they stand incorrupt, humble, and always in agreement with one another.²⁵ They are almost omnipotent, with powers dependent on God only. Their greatest virtue is the ability to pass on this power to people, and they are good spiritual leaders because they provide examples.²⁶

In context of the manuscript's closing treatise drawing a parallel between angels and the clergy, this point echoes bishop Giberti's reform ideas about the clergy standing as an example for the people. Giberti re-organized religious life with the aim of creating a clergy that functions as an example for the people – similarly to the way the clergy was supposed to mirror angels in Cicogna's *Angelorum*. The idea of the preacher whose main duty is to teach and inspire was also outlined in a manual bishop Giberti's press

22. On Early Modern angelology see Marshall and Walsham 2006; Bailey 2007; Fanger 1998; Keith, 1997.

23. "Divinae sapientiae et providentiae congruum esse videbatur, ut cum creaturas condere statuisset, eas /ut scribet Sapiens/ in pondere numero et mensura crearet. Propterea quamvis /ut idem docet/ omnia simul creaverit, eas tamen ordinati condidit: et ex his alias praestantiss<im>as, alias mediocres, alias vero infimas esse voluit. Primum et praestantiss<im>um locum apud se Angelos, medium vero hominem, infimum habere voluit belluas" (GRI MS 86-A866 Fol. 3r).

24. "Quod Angeli Dei dilectionem et misericordiam erga se et caeteras creaturas perpetuis laudibus efferant. Ab aeterno siquidem et ante tempora secularia electos suos tum ex Angelis tum ex hominibus dilexit... Sed ut Dei iustitia poscebat, ut Angeli rebelles ab accepta gratia deicere<n>tur: ita Dei dilectio et misericordia voluit, ut qui in veritate stetissent, in ea ita confirmati et stabilita essent..." (GRI MS 86-A866 Fol. 49^o).

25. "Excelsi autem appellati sunt, quod dignitate et excellentia virtutu<m>, omnes creaturas celestes, terrestres, et infernales superent, et Deo proximiores sint... nulla tamen est inter illos discordia..." (Fol. 42^o).

26. "Est enim Angelus Dei dilectionis et misericordiae utuum exemplar: quandoquide<m> in illis, nobis ardere et contemplari licet, quae et quanta sit Dei charitas et dilectio..." (GRI MS 86-A866 Fol. 49^o).

printed in 1544, entitled *For the Preaching Fathers (Per li padri predicatori)*. This detailed practical guide for the evangelization instructed priests to teach the population not only with preaching but also once they leave the pulpit, persuading people with the example of their very own lives. Giberti saw the ideal clergy as living an extremely severe and elevated life, which the bishop himself also practiced in his own household (Segala 1989; Prospero 1969, 201, 215, 231, 251–252, 261–262, 180–182).

Perhaps inspired by the impressive diplomatic careers of Bishop Giberti and Cardinal Santori, Cicogna raised this idea to a political level and extended spiritual guidance to secular governance. Angels command people as people command animals, and God commands angels as angels command people, he said, with the divine origins of angelic power granting its legitimacy. Secular forms of leadership are rather problematic, their only correct form is the one guided by angels. With reference to Gregory the Great, Cicogna interpreted the expression 'kings and counsellors' in Job 3:13–15 as a metaphor expressing that God rules this world with the help of kings acting upon the spiritual counsel of angels. In light of the closing treatise comparing angels to members of the clergy, angels advising kings are not difficult to understand as a call for clerical advisors by the sides of kings.²⁷

Most of the Lexicon entries commenting upon angelic leadership are doubled in Cicogna's *Angelorum*, the *De Démoniis* section providing counterexamples of the ideals outlined in the *De Angelis* section of the work. Demonic activities explain the negative potentials of government. Tyrants are the opponents of kings, representatives of bad government influenced by demons, which explains the title 'king' being attributed to the Devil in Job 41:34. Cicogna states that non-believers, just like devils, have a strong desire to exercise a restrictive authority over others, therefore it is proper to call their leader a king. Yet this is a king who reigns insufficiently, exercising tyranny. Cicogna stresses that the Job passage associates tyrants and non-believers with pride and reminds his reader

27. "Quia /ait [Gregory the Great]/ cunctorum conditor omnia per semet ipsum tenet: et tamen ad distinguendum pulchræ universitatis ordinem alia aliis dispensantibus regit, non immerito Reges Angelorum spiritus accipimus: qui quo omnium auctori familiarius serviunt, eo subiecta potius regunt... Qui bene etiam consules vocantur, quia spiritali Rei p<er> bene consulunt, dum nos sibi socios adiungunt... Bene Consules vocantur, quia dum ipsi nunciantibus voluntatem conditoris agnoscimus... quorum omnium saluti cum consulant, Deum consulentes, merito Reges et Consules, seu Consilarii /ut vox chaldaica sonat/ sunt appellati: idque præsertim, quod non solum Deus sua consilia illis committit, sed quod nos saluberrimis consiliis moneat, quibus nostram ipsorum salutem consequi, et exitium cavere possimus: si ergo recte rebus nostris est consultum, id Angelis acceptum ferre debemus, a quibus est omne bonum consilium" (GRI MS 86-A866 Fol. 73'). On the relationship between clergy and monarchs see for example Hay 1977.

that the king of non-believers, the devil, fell of the same sin at the Fall of the Angels. By associating Satan with the sin of pride that caused his fall, Cicogna closes the circle of his argumentation and returns to the Fall of the Angels, the popular tradition building a bridge between his angels and demons.²⁸

Cicogna, in short, argued for the existence of human free will as a negative capacity, demonstrated by the loss of the angelic free will. Angels in his understanding were all created good and endowed with free will, but the largest part of them intentionally chose to turn bad. As good angels were confirmed in their goodness by divine grace after the Fall of the Rebel Angels, so were rebel angels, now demons, confirmed in their malicious nature. Contrary to their pre-fall state, their will is now limited to what is in accordance with their predefined good or bad nature. Both groups lost their ability to choose between good and bad, but good angels largely profit from this loss by earning a place second only to God in the existential Hierarchy of Beings, due to their inability to sin. Demons can never agree to the divine will, yet they are paradoxically forced to serve it as executors of divine punishments. Humans occupy an in-between position between demons and angels as Free Will hinders their ability to act upon the divine will. Consequently humans should be obedient to angels no less than to God, which is understandable as a call for obedience to the clergy in light of the closing treatise of Cicogna's *Angelorum*.

Cicogna's angelology challenged the traditional positive evaluation of human Free Will in lines that rhymed with the ideology of his own conservative Catholic reformer background. He did not necessarily correspond to the mainstream approaches and fashionable intellectual trends of his age or ours, but demonstrated the potentials within a yet unclarified and somewhat obscure tradition. His theory about Lucifer's possible identification with the Angelus Domini as a punishing angel could be a novelty within the field of angelology itself. One can only wonder what impact such a highly educated,

28. "Diabolus etiam potens est... in dolo in peccato: quae quidem potestas Tyrannidis potius nomen habet... si enim illi nos assenserimus, potens efficitur, si resistimus fugit, et imbecillus efficitur... At Angeli potentes sunt virtute: quia illorum virtutes et fortitudo est Deus... Verbum Dei est voluntas illius" (GRI MS 86-A866 Fol. 68^v). "Rex super universos filios superbiae a Iob: a Salomone vero Rex magnus obsidens civitatem parvam, in qua sit pauper eam ad obsidione liberans, appellatur Satan... Hic obsedit civitatem parvam, in qua est pauper: Ipsa est Ecclesia, in qua est Christus, quam divexare quidem, sed capere aut destruere non potest... Dicitur etiam Diabolus Rex super omnes filios superbiae; quod ille unus superbia sua omnes superbissimos ea celat et superet: cum non solum omnibus creaturis, sed ipsi etiam creatori se praetulerit: et perpetuo studeat suae superbiae habere imitatores: Superbiam, ut ipse, ita et homines matrem et altricem habere vult" (GRI MS 86-A866 fols 153^v-154^r).

well-networked, successful but controversial author could have made, had it not been for the Inquisition's vigilance, which still preserved Cicogna's angelology as a captive and captivating representative of the intellectual diversity of the 1500s.

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