The Hybridity of Demons: Perceptions of Demons in Medieval Theology and Iconography

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The purpose of this article is to consider the hybridity of demons in the medieval period, both in terms of their physical attributes as understood by theologians at the time and their contemporary representation in visual media. There is a stark difference between the nature and physicality of demons as described by theologians and the way in which demons are represented in the visual arts, a conflict which will form the basis of this paper. The idea of demons and their presence in the human world was an increasingly interesting issue for the medieval church and for theologians. This interest can be found as far back as Augustine's writings, who discussed such topics in *De doctrina Christiana, De civitate Dei* and *De trinitate*. Augustine was writing at a time when pagan concepts were being understood through a Christian worldview and ideas such as *daimones,* neutral spirits in the Greco-Roman world, were translated into Christian demons, which warranted significant discussion. An interest in these topics was revived in the medieval period for various reasons. There was a widespread belief that the year 1000 would herald the Last Judgement, based on the reference in Revelation 20 to Satan being bound for 1000 years, after which he would be freed to wreak havoc on the world.[1] As a result of this, ideas around hell, eternal punishment and sin became more prominent at this time. In the following centuries, the Church was increasingly concerned by non-orthodox beliefs, heretical groups, and the influence of other religions such as Judaism and Islam. A drive toward Church reform ensued and as such the influence of the devil and his demons on human life, and the threat to Christian society that this posed, became a priority for the Church. This led to a wide range of literature

on the subject of demons, both in the form of Church sermons designed to warn the laity, and through the writings of theologians who were particularly interested in the fundamental nature of demons, their powers, and how they could interact with humans. This coincided with a drive towards more formal theology, beginning in the twelfth century, as a result of the emergence of the universities, and that of Paris in particular. This drive resulted in many theological systems and other works produced at this time which sought to address all aspects of theology, including angels and demons. These theological writings often explored the physical attributes of demons, including how they appeared to and interacted with human beings, and often included physical descriptions of them. The heightened interested in demonic forces at this time also led to an increase in visual representations of demons in the twelfth century.[2]

The concept of demonic physicality has been considered in detail by Dyan Elliott in *Fallen Bodies: Pollution, Sexuality, and Demonology in the Middle Ages.*[3] While this text is primarily concerned with notions of bodily purity and pollution, the chapter "On Angelic Disembodiment and the Incredible Purity of Demons" discusses the perceived physical nature of angels and demons in the medieval period at length. Similarly, Anke Bernau's *Bodies and the Supernatural: Humans, Demons and Angels* discusses the bodies of demons as opposed to those of angels and humans.[4] Bernau also discusses the visual representations of demons and describes them as appearing as both "deceptively beautiful" and "terrifying and awe-inspiring".[5] The focus in this work, however, is on the forms that demons take to deceive humans as discussed in literature, rather than the visual imagery used to depict them. A key text in terms of the concept of hybridity in the Middle Ages is Caroline Walker Bynum's *Metamorphosis and Identity,* published in 2001.[6] This volume considers the two concepts of metamorphosis and hybridity in the medieval period primarily through a consideration of the werewolf trope. However, it considers the idea of hybridity more generally, discussing how it was received in the medieval period by theological scholars, and how it related to their wider understanding of the world. While it does not consider the demonic and can therefore not inform this study's understanding of demons as hybrid forms, its exploration of the medieval understanding of hybridity

is important. It is impossible to consider the significance of the representations of demons as hybrid without understanding what hybridity meant to medieval thinkers, what it could be used to represent more widely, and how it impacted the Christian worldview. Bynum concludes that hybridity, and metamorphosis, are 'destabilizings of expectation' which 'shake our confidence in the structure of reality'.[7] This understanding is important to bear in mind when considering the way in which the demonic has been represented in the medieval period and why this has been done.

In this essay hybridity will be studied in through multiple lenses. Firstly, it will consider the conceptual hybridity of demons and the multiplicity of representation between theological understanding and visual imagery, whereby they are simultaneously thought of as both aerial beings, akin to their angelic counterparts, who maintained many of their physical features after their fall, and monstrous forms who are unlike anything seen in heaven or on earth. Secondly, the literal hybridity of the demonic form as represented in visual media in the medieval period will be explored, looking into the origins and consequences of this tradition. The theological understanding of demonic physicality will be explored through a study of some key theological texts which had a wide-ranging impact in the medieval period. The first of these is the twelfth-century *Sententiarum libri quatuor* (hereafter *Sententiarum)* of Peter Lombard. This was one of the most important theological texts of the medieval period and formed an integral part of the theology curriculum at the University of Paris. It was the most successful form of theological system developed in the twelfth century, and the main aim of the text was to provide synthesis between various contradictory authoritative texts, such as the Church Fathers, with regards different areas of theology. Due to its logical structure and its methodology of bringing together different authorities and finding a common conclusion, it became a very important text in the medieval period and was taught at the University of Paris for centuries. Its discussions of topics such as the physical form of demons were highly influential and formed the basis of arguments around this subject by other theologians. Due to the nature of the *Sententiarum,* essentially a compilation of earlier theological thought, the writings of the Church Fathers, and Augustine in particular, make up the

foundation of the arguments found within it regarding demons and their nature. Augustine's ideas on the demonic will therefore also be considered here. Similarly, due to the importance of the *Sententiarum* as a teaching text, theology students at Paris throughout the medieval period were required to produce commentaries on it in order to gain their degree. The thirteenth-century theologians St Thomas Aquinas and St Bonaventure were two of the more influential commentators, as, unlike many, their commentaries both greatly expanded on the material of the original text and also provide new ideas and opinions. They also both went on to produce their own important theological texts, the *Summa theologiae* of Aquinas and the *Breviloquium* of Bonaventure. The ideas expressed in their commentaries on the physical form of demons were therefore also influential and can be seen as representative of theological thought at the time. Finally, the twelfth-century *Historia scholastica* of Peter Comestor will be explored. This is another important theological text which was fundamental to the teaching of theology in the medieval period. Jean-Pierre Torrell, in his 2005 work on Thomas Aquinas, states that by the 1230s the three basic texts that Dominican friars were expected to study were the Bible, the *Historia scholastica* of Peter Comestor, and Lombard's *Sententiarum*.[8] This work also considers the nature of the demonic and provides a different viewpoint to the other theologians listed so far, as will be explored below.

With regards the visual imagery surrounding demons, this study will look at both manuscript illuminations accompanying religious or theological writings, and the architectural art of medieval churches. The manuscripts considered range from the twelfth to the fourteenth centuries, covering the same period as the theological writings above, and include texts with a link to theological or biblical literature, thereby providing a contextual link to the theological discussions of demons also being explored. The manuscripts include devotional texts, used by both clergy and the lay community, such as psalters, collections of Psalms used for prayer. The highly illustrated Add MS 21926, known as the Grandisson Psalter and held by the British Library, is a thirteenth-century psalter named for its fourteenth-century owner John Grandisson, Bishop of Exeter.[9] Similarly, the Getty Museum's twelfth-century MS 66, named the Ingeborg Psalter as it was produced for

Queen Ingeborg of France, is another richly illuminated example that will be considered.[10] Also used here are two fourteenth-century illustrated Bibles, also both held by the British Library. The first is MS Kings 5, a Dutch example of a *Biblia pauperum*, a typological Bible focussed on illustrations for the illiterate elite comparing similarities between the New and Old Testaments.[11] The second is Add MS 47682, known as the Holkham Picture Book, a fourteenth-century richly illustrated Bible from England, designed by the clergy for an illiterate audience.[12] The final devotional text to be examined is the Taymouth Hours, Yates Thomson MS 13 in the British Library.[13] It is a fourteenth-century book of hours, a devotional text incorporating prayers and psalms for use by the laity. While many of these works included lots of imagery, this is a particularly richly illustrated version, and was possibly made for a royal patron, explaining this emphasis on illumination. Other imagery to be considered comes from a thirteenth century production of Anselm of Canterbury's *De humanis noribus per similitudines* (hereafter *Similitudines),* a work which was possibly revised and finalised following his death.[14] This text considered human morality and compared vice and virtue in a variety of contexts. Also considered is the fourteenth-century *Breviari d'amor,* a lengthy Occitan poem which incorporates a section discussing theology, by Matfre Ermengau, a French friar and troubadour.[15] These examples have been chosen as they are utilised by both the clergy and laity, they all come from manuscripts with a link to theological or biblical thought, and they are contemporary to the theological discussions being considered. The church art to be incorporated into this study focuses on three examples. These are two twelfth-century tympana, those of the Abbey Church of Sainte-Foy in Conques and of St Lazare in Autun. The last is a thirteenth-century wall painting in the church of St Mary and St Michael in Melbourne, England. These have been selected due to their prominent positions within the church settings themselves, their subject matter, and the contemporary time frame of their completion.[16]

This essay will therefore consider the differences between theological descriptions of demons and how they are visually represented within theological and church settings. It will consider the reasons behind the visual representations of demons and how this differs from their understood physicality. It will also make a case for

further research into the implications of this dual understanding of the demonic physical form and how they have both existed within the Christian worldview in the medieval period and beyond.

In the medieval period theological works primarily understood demons as having the same physical attributes as angels. Peter Lombard's *Sententiarum*, explains that '[m]any Catholic writers have agreed on this and have taught unanimously that angels are incorporeal and do not have bodies united to them.'[17] On demons specifically, Lombard cites Augustine:

> All angels before their confirmation or fall had aerial bodies, formed from the purer and higher part of the air and suitable for acting, but not for suffering. And such bodies were preserved for the good angels who remained steadfast, so that they can act in such bodies, but not suffer...But the bodies of the evil angels in their fall were changed into an inferior quality of thicker air. For just as they were cast down from a worthier place to a lower one, that is, into this cloudy atmosphere, so their refined bodies were transformed into inferior and thicker ones, in which they can suffer from a superior element, that is, from fire. And this seems to have been Augustine's thought, as he says, in *On Genesis*: Demons are called aerial animate beings because they are endowed with bodies of an aerial nature;
> Peter Lombard, *Sententiarum*, II.8.1 [18]

This passage, drawn from Augustine's writings, clarifies that demons were angels before their fall. Angels are aerial creatures and those that fell, becoming demons, retained their aerial nature, although they began taking their substance from a lower quality of air given their new habitat. It is therefore possible to draw the conclusion that demons still do not have an intrinsic corporeal form. Bonaventure's commentary on the Sententiarum explicitly confirms this, stating:

> On this point, however, many doubt whether demons have an inseparable body tied to them in which they are tortured. But it is

> plain enough that just as the good angels do not have a body unless they voluntarily assume one, neither do the wicked angels.
> Bonaventure, *Commentaria,* II.7.1.1.1.[19]

Demons are therefore understood to be aerial and incorporeal, similar to angels, but of a lower quality of matter.

The passage from Bonaventure above also reflects another facet to the theological understanding of angelic and demonic form, that both angels and demons can take on certain forms when required to. The appearance of God and of supernatural creatures, both angels and demons, was a common occurrence in the Old Testament of the Bible, and they took many different forms. God appeared as a burning bush, as pillars of cloud and fire, and as storms.[20] Angels also took the form of other humans, as when they appeared before Abraham. Similarly, demons are seen in the Bible using a variety of forms when they appear to human beings, or possessing the bodies of both humans and animals, such as pigs. Aquinas' *Summa theologiae* provides an example of demons taking different forms when necessary:

> But if from the joining of demons some are occasionally begotten, this is not through the seed cut from them, or from assumed bodies, but through the seed of some man received for this, namely that the same demon which is a succubus to a man, was an incubus to a woman;
> Aquinas, *Summa Theologiae,* q. 51, a.3, ad.6.[21]

Here Aquinas is explaining the mechanics of an incubus, a demon which is able to impregnate a woman using sperm which it has previously taken from a human man. The demons must therefore be able to take the form of both genders in order for this to work. This topic is of interest to theologians as it relates to demons' capabilities and whether they are able to impregnate women. This was another subject which Augustine considered at length in his writings, and much of the discussion in the medieval period was founded on his writings. Augustine was undecided on whether such occurrences did indeed happen, but by the thirteenth century the concept of incubi assaulting women was discussed as fact.[22] As part of his explanation here Aquinas

has clearly stated that demons first take the form of a woman and then take the form of a man, meaning that they are capable of taking the form of both genders.

The most common example given and discussed in theological works is the serpent in the garden of Eden. There is much discussion over whether it was the Devil in the form of a serpent or whether the Devil used a real serpent for his purposes.[23] However, regardless of this difference of opinion, even when it is assumed that it was the Devil in the form of a serpent, there is still much to learn from theological discussions on the topic. In the twelfth century the description of the serpent in the garden as having a woman's head began to become more widespread. This was popularised by Peter Comestor in his late twelfth-century *Historia scholastica* where he described the serpent in Eden as 'having the face of a virgin'.[24] Despite claiming that this description was drawn from an uncited work of Bede, the concept of a female-headed serpent in Eden has no bases in Biblical source material and was refuted both directly and indirectly by other theological writers at the time. Nicholas of Lyra, in the fourteenth century, wrote that 'some say that serpent had a pleasing and virginal face; but this has no scriptural authority…', which directly contradicts Peter Comestor's understanding of the hybrid serpent.[25] Similarly, Lombard's *Sententiarum* indirectly refutes Comestor's account when it explains that:

> But because he could not harm her by violence, he turned to deceit, so that he might overthrow her whom he could not overcome by power. But lest his deception should become too apparent, he did not come in his own form, lest he should be clearly recognised and so rejected. On the other hand, lest his deceit be so excessively hidden it would be impossible to guard against and humankind would also seem to suffer a wrong if God allowed it to be tricked in such a way that it would not be able to take any precautions, the devil was allowed to come in another's form, but in one in which his wickedness would be easily detected. And so, that he came not in his own form was done by his own will; but that he came in a form suitable to his wickedness was done by God. And so he came to the humans as a serpent
> Peter Lombard, *Sententiarum*, II.21.2.[26]

Lombard is here quite explicit that the Devil was not allowed by God to take on a form that would be too appealing to Eve, such as a human form. This, perhaps, is behind the hybrid nature of the serpent-woman that Comestor describes which does not go so far as allowing the Devil to use the full body of a human woman. However, if the purpose of the virgin's face is for Eve to find the Devil appealing and more easily trusted, then Lombard's logic above would not allow for this.

Nevertheless, in Comestor's serpent-woman, the demonic has begun to take on a hybrid form. This hybrid description was commonly reproduced in the illustrations accompanying discussions of Genesis and the fall.[27] A thirteenth-century example can be found in the Grandisson Psalter, produced in England in the 1270s-80s, and most famously owned by John Grandisson, the Bishop of Exeter in the following century.[28] Accompanying Psalm 109, which is concerned with the deceit of the wicked, an image of the Fall of Man appears, including the woman-headed serpent. This is significant as it is a devotional text, owned by a prominent member of the clergy who would have been familiar with theological commentary around the appearance of the serpent and demons in general. Similar examples include the fourteenth-century Biblia Pauperum from the Netherlands, held by the British Library, in which a female-headed serpent appears to Eve alone, and the fourteenth-century Taymouth Hours, produced in England for a royal woman, which depicts the hybrid serpent between Adam and Eve.[29] Biblia Pauperum were Bibles which focussed on imagery as the primary form of communication with little or no text alongside them. They were designed for the lay population who were often unable to read and relied on visual imagery, although the expense of manuscript versions such as this put them out of reach of most of the population. Books of Hours were devotional works used for prayer by the upper classes. Other interesting examples include the fourteenth-century Holkham Bible Picture Book, produced in London and likely to have been designed for a wealthy lay audience. The illustrations representing Genesis include an image of Adam and Eve eating the forbidden fruit, watched by a serpent with a female head.[30] Like the above examples, this is not necessarily intended for a clerical audience, however, it was produced by clergy, probably Dominicans, and sits well within a Biblical

context. Another example can be found in a fourteenth-century manuscript copy of Matfre Ermengau's *Breviari d'amor*, a thirteenth century French poetic work which includes a lengthy section on theology. In this example Eve alone reaches for the forbidden fruit while a female-headed serpent watches her pluck it.[31] Ermengau was himself a cleric and was well versed in the theological arguments of the time. Therefore, despite the secular nature of the work itself, there was a strong link to formal theological discussion accompanying the image of the female-headed serpent in this instance. In all these examples the hybrid nature of the serpent is contrary to the prevailing theological theory at the time, that the Devil appeared as a normal serpent. However, its hybridity is likely to serve to highlight to the viewer of the works its unnatural character and the supernatural element of the situation.

Demons appear as hybrid and monstrous forms in other theological contexts, beyond that of the female-headed serpent in Genesis. Apart from the trope of the female-headed serpent, there were other common elements to the way in which demons were represented. This includes demons as hybrid compilations of other creatures and with overtly monstrous features, including unusual colourings, bat-like wings, enlarged limbs and teeth, or horns. Again, the purpose of this study is not to provide an exhaustive list of examples, however, some instances have been included for demonstration and to consider the possible reasons behind the differences in the visual representation of demons and the theological understanding of their form.

One of the explanations for the female-headed serpent posited above is linked to identification and that the hybridity of the serpent serves to mark it as apart from an ordinary creature. It is possible that the depictions of demons as strange hybrid creatures in visual art more widely was in fact done to ensure that they are easily identified in illustrations as they are often shown alongside humans or angels. This can be seen in a thirteenth-century illustration from St Anselm's *Similitudines*, where the Devil is present alongside saints and sinners.[32] The *Similitudines* were designed to compare the vices and virtues of human morality, using pairs of opposite concepts throughout. One pairing used is between saints and sinners and the illustration depicts God, and angel, and a humble human on the one hand, with an

adulterous pair and the Devil on the other. The visual imagery here is important so that the wickedness of the Devil can be distinguished from the goodness of the angel. Another example can be found in the Ingeborg Psalter, a twelfth century prayer book commissioned for Ingeborg, the wife of Philip II of France.[33] As a devotional text used by a member of lay royalty, it is helpful for the viewer to be able to immediately recognise demonic figures from the human or the divine. The illustration for Psalm 53, which begins 'the fool hath said in his heart, there is no God', depicts a man holding a piece of parchment which reads 'non est Deus'. He is flanked by two devils, identifiable as grey imp-like creatures with wings and horns. In stark visual contrast, an angel, who is warning the man, is shown above in robes with golden hair and a divine halo. In both of these examples, were these creatures to be represented according to their true nature, this would not only be impossible due to their incorporeality, but they would also look the same given the Devil's and his demons existence as fallen angels. This highlights two issues facing those tasked with visually representing angels and demons. The first is the impossibility of accurately representing an incorporeal being. The second is how to distinguish between two beings which are identical in their physicality but completely opposite in their fundamental nature, a point which is important to make to clear to the viewer. Standard tropes therefore developed with angels depicted in a similar way to saints with halos to demonstrate their closeness to God, and wings to mark them as supernatural. Demons, on the other hand, were depicted as monstrous and hybrid beings, demonstrating both their wicked nature and distinguishing them from other animals or creatures. As mentioned above Caroline Walker Bynum, in her *Metamorphosis and Identity,* explained that hybridity was seen in the medieval period as conflicting with standard notions of reality and what individuals what expect to encounter.[34] It could be that the hybridity of the demonic, especially incorporating the animalistic, is in contrast with the concepts of man being made in God's image and the incarnation of the divine in Christ. However, elsewhere, Bynum also refers to Bernard of Clairvaux's attitudes to hybridity, which he terms *unitas* in reference to the unity of multiple parts. Bynum explains that Bernard sees Christ as hybrid, combining both the divine and human, and that humans themselves are hybrid as they are made up of the body, the soul, and

the spirit.[35] However, these notions are referring to a hybridity of nature, rather than of form, and the visual representation of the demonic as hybrid and animal is still in stark contrast to the concept of the divine as akin to man's form. The hybrid nature of the representation of demons in these instances is therefore a way to demonstrate their otherness and that their very existence is in conflict with the reality that Christianity strives for. This leads to another possible reason for the specific way in which demons were depicted, which was to provoke fear.

One of the concerns of the Church in the medieval period was ensuring that the general populace remained God-fearing and did not stray from the tenets of Christianity. The Church relied on continued piety to retain their position of power within society, to ensure their income from tithes, and to stamp out unorthodox beliefs and heresy. One of the methods utilised to ensure good behaviour and piety was a fear of life outside of the Christian faith and of exclusion from heaven in the afterlife. Church art, including painting, stained glass, and sculpture, was used to reinforce this. Many images within a Church setting were therefore designed to praise divinity, for example, images of saints, Christ, and Biblical scenes. However, some imagery was used to highlight the "other" and to increase fear amongst the laity of transgressing. The imagery within Churches was also able to extend to a much wider audience than illustrations within manuscripts. Some of the examples above would have been accessible only to a scholarly audience, such as the *Similitudines.* Others would have been more widely seen, such as those in devotional texts, but still limited to the wealthy elite. Church art, displayed publicly, would have been seen by a much broader segment of the population. A good example is a wall painting from St Michael and St Mary in Melbourne, Derbyshire.[36] The image is damaged and there is debate over exactly what it depicts, with two figures in the foreground being suggested as either gossiping women or witches involved in sabbat rituals. However, an unmistakable element of the image is the large demon positioned between the two figures, depicted with an enlarged nose and ears, talons on its feet, hair covering its body, and two pairs of wings. It is a striking image and its position in the church meant that it was facing the congregation directly and would have been in full view at all times. The general populace,

when faced with this imagery, would not be concerned around the theological details of demonic physicality. They would, however, be frightened by the force of this memorable visual imagery, which would not otherwise be commonplace in the life of a medieval churchgoer. Even for those individuals who did not formally attend church regularly might still be exposed to this kind of visual representation with sculpture featured on the building of the Church itself. Architectural examples can be found in the tympana of two churches in France, those of St. Lazare Cathedral in Autun and the Abbay Church of Sainte-Foy in Conques.[37] The tympanum was a large, semi-circular carving above the main entrance into a Church, and was therefore in a very prominent position. These carvings often portrayed Last Judgement scenes, and demons were a common aspect. The demons in both of these tympana are depicted as grotesque creatures with exaggerated features and long, skeletal limbs. While they are clearly not representing humans, animals, or anything divine, the representation is so extreme that viewers would feel a sense of unease looking at it. Given the context of the Last Judgement, identification of the figures as demons is not a concern, and it is clear that one of the main aims of this imagery is to inspire fear of the afterlife if one were to live outside of the Church and its protection.

There are other reasons for the use of hybrid imagery when depicting demons, which are less removed from the theological source material considered earlier. While twelfth-century theology did not largely support the concept of the demon as a hybrid or monstrous form, there were theological precedents for this idea within the writings of the Church Fathers. Augustine, who wrote extensively on the subject of demons and heavily influenced the twelfth-century ideas on the subject, was writing at a time of conversion. He was himself a pagan convert and much of his writing was concerned with the translation of pagan ideas into the Christian worldview. *Daimones,* neutral spirits of the Greco-Roman world which could be called upon for benign or malign purposes, had no place within Christian theology and became demons, providing the linguistic basis for the Latin *daemones.* These were aerial spirits with no form and their link to Christian demons does not contradict the idea of the latter as aerial and incorporeal. However, other elements of pagan belief were also associated with the demonic by writers such as Augustine in order to find a place for them in the

Christian world. This included many mythological creatures, whose non-existence had not been conclusively proven, including fauns, such as woodland deity Pan, sirens, and other hybrid creatures which were associated by the Church Fathers with demons. This systematic translation of problematic pagan ideas into Christian demons may also account for some of the more unusual visual characteristics we have seen in the examples above, such as horns and other animal parts. Many of the mythical creatures in the ancient world were understood as hybrid, and the desire to condemn these creatures as demonic and anti-Christian could have influenced the ongoing association between demons and hybridity.

There was therefore a twofold understanding of demons in the twelfth century with two distinct origins. On the one hand, demons were considered to be fallen angels which shared an aerial, incorporeal nature with their divine counterparts. They were able to take on the appearance of form but never had true bodies. The aerial *daimones* of the ancient world were considered to be the same beings by theologians, misunderstood by pagan intellects and wrongly considered neutral. On the other hand, demons were also strongly linked to the fantastical and monstrous forms of myth and legend rooted in the ancient world. For theologians, supernatural creatures which could not otherwise be explained were not of God and therefore had to be demonic. Similarly, the gods of pagan culture were clearly demons who had deluded humans into worshipping them and must be classified as such. This second origin of Christian demons is likely to have influenced the visual representation in medieval culture as hybrid and monstrous, especially given the increased interest in Greek works from the twelfth century onwards with their re-emergence in the West. Even within theological contexts, such as illuminations in theological manuscripts, it is very likely that the purpose of the illustrations representing demons was not to reflect theological accuracy. It would be very difficult to represent demons as incorporeal beings made of air. Similarly, showing demons as taking on specific human or animal forms would also be difficult as there would be no immediate and obvious way of determining whether they were demons in that form, or the forms themselves, outside of specific tropes such as a non-hybrid serpent in the garden of Eden.

Using monstrous, and specifically, hybrid forms demonstrates their demonic, supernatural nature to the viewer immediately.

It is clear that there is a complex and contradictory tradition around visual representation of demons which extends beyond the time period examined here and beyond the confines of formal theology. For example, a sixth-century Byzantine mosaic depicts the Devil alongside an angel and Christ in a last judgement scene. The Devil, on Christ's left, is here as an angel-like figure, almost indistinguishable from the angel sat on Christ's right-hand side and identifiable by the goats before him which have been separated from the sheep, in reference to Matthew 25:31.[38] Much later, in the fourteenth-century *Inferno* of Dante's *Divine Comedy*, the Devil is represented within hell as a monstrous, hybrid being with multiple heads, designed for causing maximum torment and punishment to those around him.[39] Both of these images represent the varying origins of the demonic discussed above, which has led to two vastly different understandings of the demonic physicality, both of which sit within Christian tradition. There is therefore significant scope to undertake further research on the dual nature of the demonic within Christian tradition, how the two tropes interact with and inform one another, and how they have both been incorporated into Christian understanding, despite their apparent conflict.

Notes

1 See Richard Landes, Andrew Gow, David Van Meter (eds.), *The Apocalyptic Year 1000: Religious Expectation and Social Change, 950-1050,* Oxford University Press, (Oxford, 2003), and Richard Kenneth Emmerson, Bernard McGinn (eds.), *The Apocalypse in the Middle Ages,* Cornell University Press, (New York, 1992).

2 Debra Higgs Strickland, *Saracens, Demons, & Jews: Making Monsters in Medieval Art,* Princeton University Press, (Woodstock, 2003), p. 61.

3 D. Elliott, *Fallen Bodies: Pollution, Sexuality, and Demonology in the Middle Ages,* (Philadelphia, 1998).

4 A. Bernau, *Bodies and the Supernatural: Humans, Demons and Angels, in A Cultural History of the Human Body in the Medieval Age* edited by Linda Kalof, (London, 2014).

5 Bernau, *Bodies and the Supernatural,* pp. 106-110.

6 C. Walker Bynum, *Metamorphosis and Identity,* (New York, 2001).

7 Walker Bynum, *Metamorphosis and Identity*, p. 31.
8 See J-P. Torrell, *Saint Thomas Aquinas, Vol. 1: The Person and His Work*, trans. by Robert Royal, 2nd edn (Washington, 2005), p. 40.
9 Little is known about the Grandisson Psalter's origins, other than that it was made in England. Its ownership by the Bishop of Exeter is documented by his coat of arms inserted at the beginning of the manuscript and its inclusion in his will. See Add MS 21926, https://www.bl.uk/manuscripts/FullDisplay.aspx?ref=add_ms_21926, (accessed 27th September 2021).
10 See M. H. Caviness, 'Anchoress, Abbess, and Queen: Donors and Patrons or Intercessors and Matrons?', in *The Cultural Patronage of Medieval Women,* ed. by June Hall McCash, (Athens, 1996), pp. 133-5, and 'Master of the Ingeborg Psalter', https://www.getty.edu/art/collection/artists/11379/master-of-the-ingeborg-psalter-french-active-about-1195-about-1210/, (accessed 27th September 2021).
11 See *Detailed Record for King's 5*, https://www.bl.uk/catalogues/illuminatedmanuscripts/record.asp?MSID=7880&CollID=19&NStart=5, (accessed 27th September 2021).
12 See *Bible (the 'Holkham Bible Picture Book'),* http://searcharchives.bl.uk/primo_library/libweb/action/dlDisplay.do?docId=IAMS040-002104030&fn=permalink&vid=IAMS_VU2, (accessed 27th September 2021).
13 *Book of Hours, Use of Sarum (The Taymouth Hours)*, http://searcharchives.bl.uk/primo_library/libweb/action/dlDisplay.do?vid=IAMS_VU2&docId=IAMS040-002354423&fn=permalink, (accessed 27th September 2021).
14 See *Six Figures: God, Good Will, the Devil, a Peasant, a Woman, and an Adulterer, In St. Anselm's 'Similitudes' And Other Works,* https://www.bl.uk/onlinegallery/onlineex/illmanus/cottmanucoll/s/011cotclec00011u00002v00.html, (accessed 27th September 2021).
15 See *Royal MS 19 C 1*, https://www.bl.uk/manuscripts/FullDisplay.aspx?ref=Royal_MS_19_C_I, (accessed 27th September 2021).
16 This study does not extend to a consideration of hybridity in other contexts beside the demonic, for example, gargoyles and grotesques in Church architecture. For more on this see M. Camille, *Image on the Edge: The Margins of Medieval Art,* (London, 1995).
17 'Dicunt quoque plurimos catholicos tractatores in hoc convenisse atque id concorditer docuisse, quod angeli incorporei sint, nec corpora habeant sibi unita, assumant autem aliquando corpora, Deo praeparante, ad

impletionem ministerii sui sibi a Deo injuncti, cademque post expletionem deponunt', Lombard, *Sententiarum,* pp. 667-8.

18 'Angeli omnes ante confirmationem vel lapsum corpora aerea habuerit de puriori ac superiore parte formata, ad faciendum habilia, non ad patiendum: et angelis bonis qui persiterunt, talia sunt observaya corpora, ut in eis possint facere, et non pati ... Angelis vero malis mutata sunt in casu corpora in deteriorem qualitatem spissioris aeris. Sicut enim a loco digniori in inferiorem locum, id est, caliginosum acrem, dejecti sunt, ita illi corpora tenuia mutata sunt et transformata in deteriora corpora et spissiora in quibus pati possunt a superiori elemento, id est, ab igne. Et hoc Augustinus sensisse videtur super. Gen. ita diceus: Daemones dicuntur aerea animalia, qui corporum aereorum natura vigent', Lombard, *Sententiarum,* p. 667.

19 'De hoc tamen plures dubintant, utrum daemones habeant corpora sibi inseparabiliter alligata, in quibus torqueantur. Sed satis planum est, quod sicut boni Angeli non habent corpora nisi voluntarie assumta, sic nec mali.' Bonaventure, *Commentaria,* p. 211.

20 Exodus 3:1–4:17; Exodus 13:21-22; Job 38:1.

21 'Si tamen ex coitu Daemonum aliqui interdum nascuntur, hoc non est per semen ab eis decisum, aut a corporibus assumptis, sed per semen alicuius hominis ad hoc acceptum, utpote quod idem Daemon qui est succubus ad virum, fiat incubus ad mulierem', Aquinas, *Summa,* p. 283.

22 Elliott, *Fallen Bodies,* pp. 52-3.

23 See Nona C. Flores, *'"Virgineum Vultum Habens": The Woman-Headed Serpent in Art and Literature From 1300 To 1700*, PhD diss., University of Illinois, 1981, p. 14.

24 'Et hoc per serpentem, quia tunc serpens erectus est ut homo, quia in maledictione prostratus est, et adhuc, ut tradunt, phareas erectus incedit. Elegit etiam quoddam genus serpentis, ut ait Beda. virgineum vultum habens, quia similia similibus applaudant. et movit ad loquendum linguam ejus, tamen nescientes sicut et per fanaticos et energumenos loquitur.' Peter Comestor, *Historia scholastica,* p. 1072.

25 H. A. Kelly, 'The Metamorphosis of the Eden Serpent during the Middle Ages and Renaissance', *Viator,* 2 (1971), 326.

26 'Sed quia illi per violentiam nocere non poterat, ad fraudem se convertit, ut dolo hominem supplantaret, quem virtute superare nequiret. Ne autem fraus illius nimis manifestaretur, in sua specie non venit, ne aperte cognosceretur, et ita repelleretur: iterum ne nimis occulta foret fraus ejus quae caveri non posset, et homo simul videretur injuriam pati, si taliter circumveniri permitteret eum Deus ut praecavere non posset, in aliena quidem forma venire permissus est diabolus, sed in tali in qua ejus malitia posset deprehendi. UT ergo in propria forma non venire, voluntate sua

propria factum est; ut autem in forma suae malitia congruenti veniret, divinitus factum est. Venit ergo ad hominem in serpente', Lombard, *Sententiarum,* p. 695.

27 A more thorough overview of this specific piece of visual imagery has been conducted by Nona C. Flores both in her above-referenced 1981 thesis: Flores, '"*Virgineum Vultum Habens*"' and in her later essay: '*"Effigies amicitae ... veritas inimicitiae": Antifeminism in the Iconography of the Woman-Headed Serpent in Medieval and Renaissance Art and Literature"',* in *Animals in the Middle Ages,* ed. by Nona C. Flores, (Abingdon, 2016), pp. 167-196.

28 *Full page miniature showing the Temptation of Adam and Eve with a serpent having a woman's face*, BL Add MS 21926 f.150v, https://www.bl.uk/manuscripts/Viewer.aspx?ref=add_ms_21926_fs001r, (accessed 27th September 2021).

29 *Eve and the serpent*, BL Kings MS 5 f.1r, https://www.bl.uk/manuscripts/Viewer.aspx?ref=kings_ms_5_fs001r, (accessed 27th September 2021). Bas-de-page scene of Adam and Eve eating the apple of the Tree of Knowledge, while a female-headed serpent coils round the tree, BL Yates Thompson MS 13 f.20v, https://www.bl.uk/manuscripts/Viewer.aspx?ref=yates_thompson_ms_13_fs001r, (accessed 27th September 2021).

30 *Adam and Eve eat the forbidden fruit while the serpent, with a woman's head, watches*, BL Add MS 47682 f.4r, https://www.bl.uk/manuscripts/Viewer.aspx?ref=add_ms_47682_fs001r, (accessed 27th September 2021).

31 *The Temptation of Eve*, BL MS Royal 19 C I f.66v, https://www.bl.uk/manuscripts/Viewer.aspx?ref=royal_ms_19_c_i_fs001r, (accessed 27th September 2021).

32 *Six Figures: God, Good Will, The Devil, a Peasant, a Woman, and an Adulterer*, BL Cotton MS Cleopatra C XI f.2v, https://www.bl.uk/onlinegallery/onlineex/illmanus/cottmanucoll/s/011cotclec00011u00002v00.html, (accessed 27th September 2021).

33 "Initial D: The Fool with Two Demons." Getty MS 66 f.56, https://www.getty.edu/art/collection/objects/127959/master-of-the-ingeborg-psalter-initial-d-the-fool-with-two-demons-french-after-1205/, (accessed 27th September 2021).

34 Walker Bynum, *Metamorphosis and Identity,* p. 31.

35 Walker Bynum, *Metamorphosis and Identity,* p. 159.

36 *Medieval wall painting, St Michael and St Mary, Melbourne, Derbyshire* https://upload.wikimedia.org/wikipedia/commons/e/e2/Medieval_wall_pa

inting%2C_St_Michael_and_St_Mary%2C_Melbourne%2C_Derbyshire.jpg, (accessed 27th September 2021).

37 *Last Judgment Tympanum at Autun*, https://www.flickr.com/photos/jimforest/3713195749, (accessed 27th September 2021). For more detail on the Cathedral at Autun and the link between the tympanum's imagery and the site's importance on the pilgrimage routes see L. Seidel, *Legends in Limestone: Lazarus, Gislebertus, and the Cathedral of Autun,* (Chicago, 1999), pp. 6-9. *Conques carving detail*, https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:2003_Conques_carving_detail_IMG_6348.JPG, (accessed 27th September 2021). The imagery in this tympanum is discussed at length in A. R. Stead, '"Eye Hath not Seen ... which Things God Hath Prepared ...": Imagining Heaven and Hell in Romanesque and Gothic Art', in *Imagining the Medieval Afterlife,* ed. by Richard Matthew Pollard, (Cambridge, 2020), pp. 196-8.

38 *Christ separates the lambs from the goats* (prophecy of the Last Judgment, Matthew 25: 31) https://www.akg-images.co.uk/archive/-2UMDHUHWO7DX.html, (accessed 27th September 2021).

39 *Inferno* Canto XXXIV in Dante Alighieri, *The Divine Comedy,* trans. by C. H. Sisson, (Oxford, 1998), p. 191-2.