The Signifiers of the Demonic in the Queen Mary Psalter, Ms 2 B VII.

Jevgenija Judova
0800458

Submitted in fulfilment of the requirements for
The Degree of Master of Philosophy
in the Centre for the Study of Literature Theology and the Arts
in the School of Critical Studies
University of Glasgow

September 2013

Abstract

This thesis argues that the Devil is identified not so much on the basis of Biblical narrative or theological inference as by signifiers of the demonic, which are shaped by custom, popular beliefs, existing visual culture, artistic imagination, and patron's wishes. I will show this by analysing the imagery of the Fall of the Angels, the Fall of Man, and the Temptation of Christ in the Queen Mary Psalter. These three narratives were chosen because, in them, the Devil's appearance undergoes a metamorphosis. In the Fall of the Angels the Devil changes from angel to demon; in the Fall of Man, the snake is the Devil. And in the Temptation of Christ, the growing frustration of the Devil, at his inability to tempt Christ, is shown by transforming the Devil's appearance in every temptation scene. It is in the process of change that it is easiest to understand what visual signifiers are used to identify the demonic. Another reason for this choice of narratives is that they are all well-known, and thus many depictions of them are available. More importantly, they all have different origins: The Fall of Lucifer does not appear in the Bible; it was created primarily in Apocryphal texts. The Fall of Man is an Old Testament tale that was often interpreted by theologians, and the Temptation of the Christ is a New Testament story, yet there are two different versions of it in the Bible. Thus, the narratives selected provide a wide scope of potential sources. Each of the three chapters of this thesis looks at one of the narratives by examining its biblical origin, theological and popular interpretations, the representation in the Queen Mary Psalter, and the depictions in other visual material.

Table of Contents

List of Illustrations

Figure 16 Temptation of Adam and Eve, St Albans Psalter, Dombibliothek Hildeshein, MS St Godehard 1, p. 17, England, c. 1120-1145.

Figure 17 Temptation of Adam and Eve, St John's Psalter, Cambridge St John's College, MS K 26, fol. 9, England, c. 1270-80.

Figure 18 Base of pillar, Virgin's door, Cathedral of Notre Dame, Paris, c. 1220.

Figure 19 Michelangelo, Temptation of Adam and Eve, Sistine Chapel Ceiling, 1508-1512, Vatican.

Figure 20 The Story of Adam and Eve, Moutier-Grandval Bible, British Library, MS 10546, fol. 5v, 830-840.

Figure 21 Temptation of Adam and Eve (detail), Huntingfield Psalter, Pierpont Morgan Library, MS M. 43, fol. 7v, Oxford, England, c. 1212-1220.

Figure 22 Winged Snake Fighting a Rooster, Queen Mary Psalter, British Library, MS 2 B VII, fol. 187v (detail), England (London?), 1310-1320.

Figure 23 Creation and the Story of Adam and Eve, Morgan Old Testament Miniatures, Pierpont Morgan Library, MS M638, fol. 1v, Paris, France, c. 1244-1254.

Figure 24 Fall and Expulsion of Adam and Eve, Holkham Bible, British Library, MS 47682, fol. 4.r, England (London), 1327-1340.

Figure 25 Phyllis and Aristotle, Aquamanile, Bronze, The Metropolitan Museum of Art, South Lowlands, late 14th century.

Figure 26a Adam & Eve, Expulsion, Psalter of Queen Isabella, Bavarian State Library, BSB Cod.gall.16, fol.10v (detail), England, 1303-1308.

Figure 26b Centaurs, Expulsion, Psalter of Queen Isabella, Bavarian State Library, BSB Cod.gall.16, fol.11 (detail), England, 1303-1308.

Figure 27 John Collier, Lilith, 1892, Southport Atkinson Art Gallery.

Figure 28 Temptation of Christ, Queen Mary Psalter, British Library, MS 2 B VII, fol. 191r, England (London?), 1310-1320.

Figure 29 Temptation of Christ, Queen Mary Psalter, British Library, MS 2 B VII, fol. 191r, England (London?), 1310-1320, (detail).

Figure 30 Sirens, Queen Mary Psalter, British Library, MS 2 B VII, fol. 191r, England (London?), 1310-1320, (detail).

Figure 31 Baptism and Temptation of Christ, Queen Mary Psalter, British Library, MS 2 B VII, fol. 190 v, 191r, England (London?), 1310-1320.

Figure 32 Temptation of Christ, Huntingfield Psalter, Pierpont Morgan Library, MS M. 43, fol. 20v, Oxford, England, c. 1212-1220.

Figure 33 First Temptation of Christ, St Albans Psalter, Dombibliothek Hildeshein, MS St Godehard 1, p. 33, England, c. 1120-1145.

Figure 34 Second and Third Temptation of Christ, St Albans Psalter, Dombibliothek Hildeshein, MS St Godehard 1, p. 34, 35, England, c. 1120-1145.

Figure 35 Temptation of Christ, Holkham Bible, British Library, MS 47682, fol. 20.r, England (London), 1327-1340.

Figure 36 Devil, *Livre de la Vigne Nostre Seigneur*, Oxford Bodleian Library, MS Douce 134, fol. 98r, France, c. 1450.

Figure 37 Hereford *Mappa Mundi*, Vellum, Hereford Cathedral, England, c. 1285.

Figure 38 Four Saints, Queen Mary Psalter, British Library, MS 2 B VII, fol. 308v, England (London?), 1310-1320, (detail).

Figure 39 Three Temptations of Christ and Entry into Jerusalem, Psalter, Pierpont Morgan Library, MS M. 101, fol. 18 v, France, c. 1270.

Figure 40 Temptation of Christ, Mosaic, St Mark Basilica, Venice, 12th century.

Figure 41 Temptation of Christ, Ormesby Psalter, Oxford Bodleian Library, MS Douce 366, fol. 72r, East-Anglia, 1300-1310.

Figure 42 Temptation of Eve, Caedmon Manuscript, Oxford Bodleian library, MS Junius 11, p. 36, England, c. 1000**.**

Figure 43 Noah's Ark, Queen Mary Psalter, British Library, MS 2 B VII, fol. 7r, England (London?), 1310-1320.

Figure 44 Virgin and Devil, Queen Mary Psalter, British Library, MS 2 B VII, fol. 205v, England (London?), 1310-1320.

Figure 45 David playing bells in the initial of Psalm 80, Psalter of Richard of Canterbury, Pierpont Morgan Library, Ms Glazier 53, fol. 73v, England (London?), 1310-1320.

Figure 46 Sirens, Queen Mary Psalter, British Library, MS 2 B VII, fol. 96v, England (London?), 1310-1320.

Figure 47 Sirens, Queen Mary Psalter, British Library, MS 2 B VII, fol. 97r, England (London?), 1310-1320.

Acknowledgments

I want to thank my supervisors Dr Debra Strickland and Dr A.K.M.Adam, without whose guidance, advice, and patience this work would not be possible. I also appreciate the help of Dr Kathleen Doyle the Curator of Illuminated Manuscripts at the British Library who gave me access to the digital images with colour bars that provided a useful alternative to the original manuscript. Last but not least I am grateful to my Mother and Father whose moral and financial support made this research possible.

Author's Declaration

I declare that, except where explicit reference is made to the contribution of others, that this dissertation is the result of my own work and has not been submitted for any other degree at the University of Glasgow or any other institution.

Signature:

Printed name: Jevgenija Judova

Introduction

The Devil in medieval Christian manuscript illuminations has many faces. There is no generic representation of him: each one is unique. The Devil differs from depiction to depiction, from narrative to narrative; his appearance is constantly changing even within the confines of one manuscript. Despite the huge variety of representations, the Devil is always identifiable. This dissertation will explore why the Devil is always different but recognisable. What are the signifiers of the demonic that allow us to identify him? What informed these identifiers of the demonic: were they fashioned on the basis of biblical narrative or theological inference, by custom, popular beliefs, existing visual culture or artistic imagination?

These issues will be examined by analysing the imagery of the Fall of the Angels, the Fall of Man, and the Temptation of Christ in the Queen Mary Psalter MS 2 B VII. These three narratives were chosen because in them the Devil is in the process of transformation. In the Fall of the Angels the angel Lucifer transforms into the Devil as he falls, in the second image the Devil has assumed the form of a snake and in the Temptation of Christ, the Devil's form changes with every scene.

The reason that the Queen Mary Psalter was chosen for investigation is threefold. The first is that it contains all three of these narratives. The second is that it is an important manuscript that was influenced by both French and English traditions and is related to many other manuscripts that helped to shape contemporary religious beliefs.[1] The third is that its original owner, Isabella of France, is of great interest in relation to the imagery's reception. The fact that the Psalter belonged to a mother and child makes it educational, not just devotional. It provides a chance to see how a child was introduced to the Devil and what role the Devil had: was he a character, an all-consuming evil, or both?

The first chapter of this work will concentrate on the Fall of the Angels (fig. 2). It will examine how a narrative not found in the Bible but developed in extrabiblical sources became a story of the Devil's origin, as well as how the moment of angels transforming into demons was depicted in illuminations. The discussion will touch upon the faulty notion of art as the 'Bible of the illiterate' to explore the complex relationships between images and text. As part of this discussion, I will also explain what was perceived as the Bible in Middle Ages.

[1] See Sandler L.F., *A survey of manuscripts illuminated in the British Isles. Vol. 5.2, Gothic manuscripts, 1285-1385,* (London, 1986).

The second chapter will discuss the Fall of Man (fig.10) and how the Genesis narrative was interpreted in apocryphal writings and by theologians, especially Augustine. I will examine how the snake and the Devil were conflated and how this idea was pictorially presented. This will be done by looking at theological writing and also at two manuscripts that predate Queen Mary Psalter: the Caedmon manuscript and St Albans psalter. These manuscripts were chosen because they show two very different modes of portraying the relationship between the snake and the Devil; thus, I will examine some of the alternative ways in which this relationship was depicted before the Queen Mary psalter. This chapter will also concentrate on the role of Eve in the Fall narrative and on the female-headed serpent which is depicted in the Queen Mary's Psalter.

Finally, the third chapter will be dedicated to the psalter's representation of the Temptation of Christ. The relationship between the illumination, the text, and the *bas-de-page* will provide the framework for this discussion. Here I will look at the signifiers of the demonic in relationship to the holy, and will consider some aspects of monster theory in relationship to the Devil's appearance. Because the conversation will touch upon the diversity of the signifiers of the demonic it will also examine the initial statement that there is no generic way to represent the Devil in medieval art.

The literature I have consulted is diverse. The Devil has been studied by art historians and theologians alike, and the Queen Mary Psalter is well known and well-researched. Nevertheless, this is the first research that closely analyses the depictions of the Devil in this psalter from both theological and an art historical perspectives and compares it with imagery from other manuscripts. Much of the earlier literature deals with the three narratives and their reception. This is particularly the case with the Fall of the Angels since it developed outside the Bible in apocryphal writings. Theological works by Augustine, Aquinas, and Bonaventura have provided a fundamental understanding of how the Devil was perceived to operate in the medieval economy of Christian salvation. I have also extensively dealt with the work of Anne Stanton, the main art historical authority on the Queen Mary Psalter, as well as Kathryn Smith and George Warner. A lot of art historical literature on manuscript studies has been consulted in addition to works on monster theory by Debra Strickland, D. Elliot, David Williams and Ruth Mellinkoff. Very little has been written specifically on medieval artistic depictions of the Devil. Predominantly studies by Neill Forsyth and Elaine Pagels were used in this dissertation,

Forsyth's research offers a cultural, literary, and mythological Ancient Near Eastern context for the development of the concept of the Devil. Pagel, on the other hand, unveils the sociological mechanisms behind it during the Early Christianity, especially in relationship to the female. Jeffrey Burton Russell's monumental five volume work on the Devil proved to be an indispensable resource on the development of ideas about the Devil from the early Christian period to the present day.

This thesis will concentrate only on the depiction of the Devil in specific narratives, trying to determine why the Devil was represented the way he was. Additionally a note on terminology should be made: I use the terms 'Devil' and 'Satan' as interchangeable names for the same personage. Satan derives from '*Satan*' in the Book of Job, where it is not a personal name but a job title of God's minion that translates as 'accuser'. In Revelation, it seems to become the name of the dragon. The second name, 'Devil', comes from the Greek '*Diabolos'*, which translates as 'accuser'. Thus, in essence, the term 'Satan' and 'Devil' are the same word in different languages. Lucifer which was the Vulgate translation of the Hebrew 'helel' in Isaiah 14:12-15 will be used to refer only to the being Devil/Satan in its pre fallen state.[2] Popular terms that are used as synonyms for the Devil such as: 'Beelzebub', 'Mephistotle', 'Azazel', 'Leviathan' in medieval times were often used not just as terms for the devil but as names of specific demons, thus they will not be used in this thesis as not to create confusion.[3] The term 'Anti-Christ' will also not be used as it refers to an entity separate from the devil and different to him that is not a concern in this dissertation. The terms 'demon' and 'imp' will be used to identify Satan's followers. The terms Devil/Satan/Lucifer are culture specific, thus instead of even attempting a brief summary of the changing meanings of these terms, I will examine the development of the notion of the Devil and some of the terminology in the appropriate chapters of this thesis.[4] Before I begin discussing specific narratives within the Queen Mary Psalter I will start with a general overview of the Psalter situated in its contemporary historical and art historical contexts.

[2] See chapter 1.
[3] See W. M. Voekle, 'Morgan Manuscript M.1001: the Seven Deadly Sins and the Seven Evil Ones', in Monsters and Demons in the Ancient and Medieval Worlds, A.E.Farkas, P.O.Harper, and E.B.Harrison (eds), (Mainz on Rhine, 1987), pp. 101-114.
[4] For an example of a brief account of the changing meaning and role of the Devil see P. Dendle, Satan Unbound: The Devil in Old English Narrative Literature, (Toronto, 2001), pp.3-18.

A psalter is a volume containing the Book of Psalms, where the hundred and fifty psalms are divided into sections to be read within a week. Decoration of psalters arose primarily as a way of distinguishing the major divisions.[5] Usually, a psalter also contained other devotional material, such as a calendar, litany, personalised prayers, and pictorial preface that usually consisted of Old and New Testament narratives. The psalter was the primary devotional text in the Middle Ages; however, additional texts and the hours of the Virgin eventually gave rise to the Book of Hours, which was already beginning to eclipse the psalter as a private devotional book by the time the Queen Mary Psalter was created.[6] Anne Stanton argues that one of the main distinctions between a psalter and a Book of Hours was function: the psalms were 'for family use and education, while the hourly readings function more clearly as private devotions'.[7] In this way the function of the image in a psalter is not to entertain, or even to meditate upon, but to teach a lesson. Hence, the Devil as presented in the psalter then becomes not only a tool to help devotion and personal piety but also to instruct, warn and educate.

The Queen Mary Psalter was probably created in London around 1310-1320, most likely for a member of the English royal family.[8] Although it gets its name from Queen Mary I of England (1516-1558), one of the psalter's later owners, she was not the original patron. It is unknown for whom the manuscript was created as there is no documentation left and it lacks heraldic references or images of the donor, and its calendar is the standard Sarum type without any personalized prayers.[9] The only two inscriptions in the manuscript tell us about its later owners. One of them refers to the Earl of Ruthland, but it does not mention which one. Most

[5] The typical English Gothic ten-part arrangement was a combination of the Roman division into eight with the early Irish tripartire psalter; the divisions fell at psalms 1, 26, 38, 51, 52, 68, 80, 97, 101, and 109. A.R. Stanton, 'The Queen Mary Psalter: A Study of Affect and Audience', *Transactions of the American Philosophical Society*, 91 (2001), p. 59.

[6] Stanton 2001:58-59.

[7] Stanton 2001:70.

[8] The dimensions of the Queen Mary Psalter are 175mm x 277mm. On the issue of ownership see the following discussion in this dissertation, as well as G. Warner, *Queen Mary's Psalter: Miniatures and Drawings by an English Artist of the 14th Century, Reproduced from Royal MS. 2 B. VII in the British Museum*, (London, 1912), pp. 1-2, Stanton 2001:4-5, 12, and the British Library entry on the Queen Mary Psalter http://www.bl.uk/catalogues/illuminatedmanuscripts/record.asp?MSID=6467&CollID=16&NStart=20207

[9] Kathryn Smith argues that one of the rare pictorial references to the owner is the dove topped rod in 15v (Joseph Cycle) writing 'The earliest extant representations of the dove-topped 'rod of virtue and equity' in English art date from about the same period as the second extant Coronation Order, that is, the eleventh century. Starting with Edward the Confessor (1042-1066) through the fifteenth century, the motif appears on the seals of most of the English kings'. K.A.Smith, 'History, Typology and Homily: the Joseph Cycle in the Queen Mary Psalter', *Gesta*, 32 (1993), p. 149.

likely it is Thomas Manners, for whom the earldom was revived in 1525, or his son Henry, who succeed his father as Earl in 1543.[10] Henry was a protestant, so when Mary became Queen he was immediately imprisoned on suspicions of supporting Lady Jane Grey. These circumstances help explain the second provenance in the manuscript. It is a customs note, which tells that the manuscript was stopped from being shipped abroad by the London customs officer Baldwin Smith. He later presented it to Queen Mary, who was most likely unaware of the manuscript's provenance.[11]

The Queen Mary Psalter contains a visual encyclopaedia of illustrations, extending the wide historical scope of the psalter into the medieval reader's own time by relating the stories told in the Old Testament and the New Testament texts to the reader's world by positioning them in a landscape with contemporary buildings and dressing them in contemporary clothes. The content of the psalter can be easily divided into two distinct sections. The first - the psalter preface - is a picture-book, with vernacular Anglo-Norman French captions, that contains the Old Testament and apocryphal narratives, from the Fall of the Angels and the Creation (fol. 1v) to the death of King Solomon (fol. 66v). The second section contains the Latin text of the psalter proper, which is divided from the first section by several folios that include genealogical charts and a calendar. The Old Testament section is decorated with full-page or pairs of half-page illuminations of Old Testament scenes, and the psalter section includes a detailed sequential pictorial narrative of Christ's life, which according to Stanton is unprecedented in English or French manuscripts.[12] It is worth pointing out that the prefatory pictorial cycles in English psalters usually emphasized the events of Genesis and Christ's Passion, and stories which in the thirteenth-century manuscripts were updated to reflect contemporary society and literary developments, such as vernacular romances. These prefatory cycles were sometimes limited to New Testament scenes; they never focused solely on the Old Testament as in the Queen Mary Psalter. The only extant example of a psalter that does so is not English, but French: the Psalter of St Louis in Paris, dated c. 1270.[13] Thus, although the Old Testament cycle of the Queen Mary Psalter is in line with the English

[10] For a more indepth discussion see Warner 1912:1 and Stanton 2001:4.
[11] Warner 1912:1 and Stanton 2001:4.
[12] Stanton 2001:60-61.
[13] Stanton 2001:61-62. The Psalter of Saint Louis, Bibliotheque National de Francee, MS Latin 10525, Paris, 1270-1274, http://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/btv1b8447877n

tradition in its narrative arrangement, its omission of all New Testament material is unparalleled but for one French example.[14]

The two parts are also easy to distinguish visually: the Old Testament narrative scenes are rendered in a tinted drawing style, where the delicately drawn images are not fully painted but are shaded with light colour washes of green, blue and brown against plain vellum grounds.[15] The second part of the psalter is painted in fully saturated colours as well as gold, and a more extensive colour palette. Here, the incipits are marked by large illuminations and by historiated initials, and every folio displays a tinted drawing *bas-de-page*.[16] Stanton proposes that the tinted drawings combined with vernacular French captions help represent the Old Testament story as 'Earthly' history:

> The tales are told in a very personal, anecdotal fashion. This is the story of the past, useful as an encyclopaedia of behavioural exempla, full of role models for everyone. Indeed, it is possible that the use of tinted drawing technique may have underlined its historical nature to its fourteenth-century English reader. If so, the use of the same technique for the marginal scenes may have suggested their historical aspects as well. The *bas-de-page* placement of the images, as well as their encapsulation of the reader's contemporary world, adds another level and another era to this encyclopaedic narrative.[17]

Concomitantly, Stanton interprets the vivid colours of the psalter images as signifiers of 'divine history'

> "Divine" history, the life of Christ, is painted in vivid colours against glowing gold backgrounds. These images often are displayed within elaborate architectural borders that contain small figures witnessing the scenes, adding to the immediacy of the viewer's experience. The form of these frames is reminiscent of the small, ivory portable altars, originally gilded and polychromed, that were often used in the personal devotions of well-to-do members of Gothic society.[18]

Stanton's identifications of tinted drawings with 'earthly history' and vivid colours with 'divine history' works within the context of this manuscript. However, it can also be suggested that different painting styles created a typological relationship: the story of Christ was primary important, hence vivid colours and gilding were used, whereas the Old Testament narrative

[14] Stanton 2001:61-62.
[15] Tinted drawing was much favoured during the Anglo-Saxon age and witnessed a revival in England during the thirteenth century in works by Giraldus Cambrensis and Mathew Paris. See M.P.Brown, *The Holkham Bible picture book: a facsimile*, (London, 2007), p.4.
[16] Stanton 2001:12.
[17] Stanton 2001:76.
[18] Stanton 2001:76.

and the marginalia were secondary, supportive material, whose main duty was to help interpret the New Testament story.[19]

The two parts differ not only in narrative and colour but also in quality of parchment. The prefatory section vellum is thin and smooth, while the genealogical and calendar section as well as the psalter section use a thicker parchment that has a 'soft, almost velvety finish'.[20] Stanton explains the difference: 'This [thicker] texture serves both as a better anchor for the heavier gilding and painting in that section, and as an immediate tactile signal for the user'.[21] Furthermore, there are codicological differences. Following a codicological analysis Stanton concludes that 'the preface, for which no known examples exist, was put together quire by quire, ruled page by page, as the designer navigated its uncharted combination of texts and images'.[22] This also suggests that the manuscript was tailored to the wishes of the patron. Stanton then continues, 'The psalter proper was constructed around a very well-known text, even though the *mise-en-page* of its incipits was unprecedented in English manuscripts. The consistent ruling and orderly gatherings seem to indicate a familiarity with its organization'.[23] The Queen Mary Psalter thus consists of two parts that have different narrative foci, use different painting techniques, different types of parchment, and were put together using different methods. The prefatory and psalter sections of this psalter are so different that it can easily be assumed that it comprises two separate manuscripts bound together, yet the palaeographical evidence suggests that the whole manuscript was produced by one artist and one scribe.[24]

Although the manuscript does not use excessive gilding, it was still a very expensive production. For example, the use of blank pages to separate sections is evidence of a luxury production. Vellum was a very expensive material and usually it would not be left blank, unless it was to make a statement about the wealth of the manuscript's patron. Additionally, the lavish script of the manuscript boasts of the wealth of its owner, as all the Latin texts are written in a large and time-consuming *littera manuscula gothica textualis prescissa.* [25] This is

[19] A parallel example of this technique can be found in *Miroir de l'humaine salvation*, Glasgow University Library, Ms Hunter 60 (T.2.18), Bruges, 1455.
[20] Stanton 2001:13.
[21] Stanton 2001:13.
[22] Stanton 2001:17.
[23] Stanton 2001:17.
[24] Warner 1912:17 and Stanton 2001:33.
[25] Stanton 2001:33.

the most formal and labour-intensive of all Gothic scripts, since the scribe must take the trouble to terminate the minims horizontally, parallel to the ruling for each line.[26]

Although the manuscript does not include references to its original owner, it does provide indirect evidence that can be used to determine the owner's likely, general identity. Fundamentally, the Queen Mary Psalter was a very expensive production, hence, only a handful of English families could have afforded it. In 'The Queen Mary Psalter: A Study of Affect and Audience', Anne Stanton undertakes a careful study of the pictorial strategies to determine the potential patron and readership, as the contents of the manuscript typically depended on the intended owner.[27] She establishes that the manuscript is royal due to its iconographic similarities with examples from French and English royal houses and places it 'somewhere at the conjunction' of these two houses, thus the patron or owner of the manuscript is connected with both.[28] She determines that three pictorial themes recur throughout the manuscript: 'virtue of a woman as a mother', 'kingship', and 'childhood and education'.[29] Considering all of the above, the expected audience of the manuscript was comprised of royal mothers and sons expected to rule that were connected to the Capetian Dynasty and the House of Plantagenet.

In the late thirteenth and early fourteenth centuries, the connections between England and France were reinforced by marriage as three successive English kings married French noblewomen. Henry III married Eleanor of Provence, their son Edward I married Margaret of France,[30] and Edward II married Isabella of France. Isabella and Margaret were both from the Capetian dynasty; in fact, Isabella was Margaret's half-niece.[31]

Eleanor, Margaret and Isabella or one of their children are the likeliest owners of this manuscript yet only two of them had children that went on to become kings – Eleanor was mother to Edward I, and Isabella to – Edward III. Margaret was Edward's I second wife and by the time they married he already had a grown-up male heir from his first marriage. Hence, there was little pressure on her to give birth to a male and her sons were very unlikely to ever

[26] Stanton 2001:33.
[27] It should be noted that the patron and owner are not necessarily the same person.
[28] Stanton 2001:194-207.
[29] Stanton 2001:194-220.
[30] Margaret was Edward's second wife, his first wife Eleanor of Castile was the mother of Edward II and though born in Spain was the countess of Ponthieu through her mother Joan Countess of Ponthieu.
[31] Margaret was the half-sister of Isabella's father Phillip IV of France. He was the son of Philip III and his first wife Isabella of Aragon, whereas, Margaret was the daughter of Phillip III and his second spouse Maria of Brabent.

be kings, thus there would be no need to groom them into the role from an early age. Although Eleanor's son did become King Edward I, on stylistic grounds, the manuscript cannot be dated earlier than 1310 and even then it is more likely to have been created closer to 1320, which makes both Eleanor and Margaret unlikely owners. Out of the three the most plausible owner, therefore, is Isabella.

Two scholars on the Queen Mary Psalter, Kathryn Smith and Anne Stanton, both argue the case for Isabella. Smith argues that the psalter was a gift to Isabella after the birth of her second son, John.[32] While Stanton does not argue the case specifically for John, she agrees that the psalter was most likely created for Isabella and her children closer to 1320, when her first son, the future king Edward III, would have been five to seven years old, making the psalter of potential use for Edward as his first primer.[33] She reinforces her argument by looking at Isabella's financial situation and determining that she had the necessary funds to purchase such an expensive book around 1318-1321. Also she points out that Isabella was a far more enthusiastic book collector than most of her contemporaries.[34] Moreover, queens, like all noble mothers, had a primary responsibility to oversee the development and education of their children. The Capetians especially were noted for using images to guide and educate their young.[35] Furthermore the very fact that this is a psalter rather than a Book of Hours, which were more fashionable by this time, suggests that the manuscript had an educational function.

Stanton makes a convincing case that the manuscript was intended for Isabella and her children, and that even if Isabella was not the patron that she and her children were probably the intended audience. Hence, I will examine the psalter not just as at a devotional book but for its potential as an instructional first primer of a child. Stanton illustrates the educational potential of a psalter with an illumination from the Psalter-Hours of Yolande of Soisson. Where, in one of the full-page prefatory miniatures to the psalter section, Yolande is depicted leading her two sons towards the right, gesturing towards the facing page miniature of Saint Francis (fig 1).[36] Stanton compares this image with the illumination at the beginning of the

[32] Smith 1993:147-59 and Stanton 2001:106.
[33] Stanton 2001:238-239.
[34] Stanton 2001:236.
[35] Stanton 2001:217, 238.
[36] Stanton 2001:70, Stanton's analysis works only with the juxtaposition of fol. 1v with fol. 232v. Karen Gould, the main authority of the Yolande de Soisson Psalter-Hours interprets the folios 1v and 2r (which shows St

Book of Hours cycle which shows Yolande in prayer (MS M.729, fol. 232v). She concludes that these two illuminations illustrate that a psalter was educational, whereas a Book of Hours was meant for personal piety.[37] It shows the psalms as an instructive material which is to be read by mothers for their children.[38]

Francis feeding the birds) as a donor and saint image, rather than an illustration of the function of the psalter. K.Gould, *The Psalter and Hours of Yolande of Soissons*, (Cambridge, 1978), pp. 111-114.

[37] Stanton 2001:70.

[38] For more on medieval women and literacy and the role of women in educating their hildren see P. Sheingorn, 'The Wise Mother: the image of St Anne teaching the Virgin Mary', *Gesta*, 32(1993), pp.60-80, and M.Clanchy, 'Did mothers teach their children to read?' in *Motherhood, Religion and Society in Medieval Europe*, Farnham(2011), pp. 129-155.

Chapter 1

The Fall of Lucifer

The Queen Mary Psalter opens with the Fall of the Rebel Angels, tumbling to meet Satan in the hellmouth waiting below (fig 2). The viewer is thus introduced to God and the Devil on the manuscript's first folio. Before analysing the image, the narrative of the Fall of the Rebel Angels should be examined. Unlike the other two stories of concern in this study, the Fall of Lucifer and the rebel angels is not found in the Bible. The story developed in extra biblical sources through the reinterpretation of three Old Testament passages in light of each other. These three are: Isaiah 14:11-15,[39] Ezekiel 28:1-10 and Genesis 6:1-4.[40] Interestingly, none of these mention the Devil.

Isaiah 14:3-23 is a taunt-song against the king of Babylon. Despite the arguments about the identity of the king, the majority of scholars agree that the narrative originated from a myth; however, which myth influenced it most is still disputed.[41] Although the origins of Isaiah 14:3-23 is a fascinating research topic in its own right, for this dissertation it is more

[39] Contemporary scholarship ascribes the authorship of the Book of Isaiah, to three different authors – first Isaiah or Proto Isaiah, Deutoro Isaiah, and Trito Isaiah. Isaiah 14 was written by Proto Isaiah which is usually dated before the Babylonian exile which took place in the sixth century. K. Baltzer, 'The *Book of Isaiah*', *Harvard Theological Review*, 103(2010), p. 262.

[40] Because this dissertation concentrates on an early fourteenth century psalter the Bible translation that will be used and quoted is Douay-Rheims (DR) unless otherwise indicated, as it is closest to the Latin Bible that would have been read at the time.

[41] Joseph Jensen proposes that Isaiah 14:3-23 is not criticism of an earthly king but a comment on contemporary beliefs. He argues that the passage is based on a story of a lesser god aspiring to rise above the stars of El and become the Most High (J. Jensen, 'Helel Ben Shahar (Isaiah 14:12-15) in Bible and Tradition', *Writing and reading the scroll of Isaiah: studies of an interpretive tradition*, Broyles C.C. and Evans C.A. (eds), (Leiden, 1997), p. 341). Jensen's argument is similar to the 'rebellion myth' pattern that Neil Forsyth proposes in *The Old Enemy: Satan and the Combat Myth*, (Princeton, 1989), pp. 124-146. Another scholar Pierre Grelot finds similarity with the Greek myth about Phaeton - son of Eos the goddess of Dawn, because Isaiah 14:12-15 mentions the shinning one, son of Dawn (Grelot as quoted in Jensen 1997:342). In the Greek myth the young Phaeton drives the chariot of the sun too close to the earth and has to be felled by a thunder bolt. Grelot also connects the passage with the Ugaritic myth of Athtar. In the myth after Baal is slain by Mot, Athtar is invited to sit on the throne when she does this she realizes that the throne is too big for her so she descends to rule upon the earth (Grelot as quoted in Jensen 1997:342). In the Athtar myth all action is voluntary and behind it plausibly lies the natural occurrence of Venus 'the morning star' rising to zenith only to be outshined by the rising sun. The mythological background for Isaiah 14:12-15 is also evident in that the Vulgate translates the Hebrew 'Helel' as 'Lucifer' who in Roman Mythology is the son of Aurora the goddess of dawn (M. Albani, 'The Downfall of Helel, the Son of Dawn Aspects of Royal Ideology in Isa 14:12-13', in *The Fall of the Angels*, Christoph Auffarth, Loren T. Stuckenbruck (eds), (Leiden, 2004), p. 62. Also see R.H. O'Connell 'Isaiah 14:4b-23: Ironic Reversal through Concentric Structure and Mythic Allusion', *Vetum Testamentum*, 38 (1988), pp. 407-418).

important to know that the king figure in the text began to be interpreted as Satan and the 'King of Babylon' as a cipher for Satan, by patristic and rabbinic authors.[42]

The second passage Ezekiel 28:1-19 is the Lord's condemnation of the Prince of Tyre because he became proud in his wealth and equalled himself with God (28:5-6),[43] and because of that God threw him to earth (28:17).[44] Despite uncanny similarities with Isaiah 14:3-23 A.J. Williams argues that the passage comes from the same tradition as Genesis 2-3 the Garden of Eden story, and thus reads the character in Ezekiel as Adam.[45] Likewise, Joseph Jensen points out that there is a resemblance between the main characters in Genesis 2-3, Isaiah, and Ezekiel as they all want to be like God and are punished for this by expulsion which equals death. [46] This narrative was later adopted to become the explanation of Lucifer's fall from grace.[47] For the current study the textual relationship between these three texts is irrelevant and their interpretation in view of each other is more important, because as Jensen points out 'in the inter-testamental tradition these three passages are used to interpret each other in such a way that it is impossible to discern priority (i.e. which is interpreted in the light of which), with the resultant amalgam being used to elucidate a new situation'.[48]

The third and arguably the most crucial passage in the early development of the fallen angels myth is Genesis 6:1-4

> And after that men began to be multiplied upon the earth, and daughters were born to them, the sons of God seeing the daughters of men, that they were fair, took to themselves wives of all which they chose. And God said: My spirit shall not remain in man for ever, because he is flesh, and his days shall be a hundred and twenty years. Now giants were upon the earth in those days. For after the sons of God went in to the daughters of men, and they brought forth children, these are the mighty men of old, men of renown.[49]

---

[42] Jensen 1997:355.

[43] Ezekiel 28 was most likely written in Babylon during the exile in the 6th century (P.M. Joyce, *Ezekiel: A Commentary*, (London 2009), p. 3).

[44] It is worth noticing that in 28:8 God threatens to throw him into the pit.

[45] See A.J. Williams, 'The Mythological background of Ezekiel 28:12-19', *Biblical Theology Bulletin: Journal of Bible and Culture*, 6 (1976), pp. 49-61.

[46] Jensen 1997:345-346.

[47] Jensen 1997:345-346.

[48] Jensen 1997:345-346.

[49] The NRSV (Gen 6:1-4) translation reads 'When people began to multiply on the face of the ground, and daughters were born to them, the sons of God saw that they were fair; and they took wives for themselves of all that they chose. Then the LORD said, 'My spirit shall not abide in mortals forever, for they are flesh; their days shall be one hundred twenty years'. The Nephilim were on the earth in those days—and also afterward—when the sons of God went in to the daughters of humans, who bore children to them. These were the heroes that were of old, warriors of renown'.

The ‘sons of God’ in this passage were traditionally interpreted as angels, ‘the giants’ on the other hand, were interpreted in a variety of ways. In the original Hebrew the giants are called Nephilim, and in the Greek tradition they are known as ‘mighty men’.[50] They can be interpreted to be the children of the ‘sons of God’ and women, or the creatures that were on the earth before the union took place. What adds to the confusion is that the passage seems to be an incomplete story, and this has been widely agreed upon by Old Testament scholars.[51] Another issue is that the notion of sons of God lusting after human females is awkward if not embarrassing; however, Ronald Hendel suggests ‘the Yahwist included it [the passage] in the Primeval Cycle of Genesis 2-11 indicates that he did not find it objectionable and that it is indeed an authentic Israelite myth’.[52]

The fallen angels narrative developed in apocryphal writings primarily out of Genesis 6:1-4, as it is the only passage out of the three that is preoccupied with divine beings rather than humans. It is conveniently positioned right before the flood narrative, and thus the flood could be interpreted as a punishment for the actions of the angels, not men. In this way the blame for introducing evil was displaced from men on to angels. It is exactly because of this that the fallen angels narrative became prominent during the inter-testamental period as an alternative explanation to evil that did not involve God or humans. As Christoph Auffarth and Loren Stuckenbruck put it, ‘The Fall of Angels was attractive because of the solution it offered for the problem of evil. Since the introduction of evil is attributed to rebellious angels, God is not directly blamed for the miseries of human life. Neither are the human beings considered guilty in and of themselves’.[53] These ideas are made explicit in the Book of Enoch, which

[50] L.T. Stuckenbruck, ‘The “Angels” and “Giants” of Genesis 6:1-4 in Second and Third Century BCE Jewish Interpretation: Reflections on the Posture of Early Apocalyptic Traditions’, *Dead Sea Discoveries,* 7 (2000), p. 356, also P.D. Hanson, ‘Rebellion in Heaven, Azazel, and Euhemeristic Heroes in 1 Enoch 6-11’, *Journal of Biblical Literature,* 96 (1977), pp. 195-233.

[51] S. R. Hendel, ‘Of Demigods and the Deluge: Toward an Interpretation of Genesis 6:1-4’, *Journal of Biblical Literature,* 106 (1987), p. 14.

[52] Hendel 1987:14.

[53] See C. Auffarh, L.T. Stuckenbruck, ‘Introduction’, in *The Fall of the Angels,* Christoph Auffarth, Loren T. Stuckenbruck (eds), (Leiden, 2004), p. 1. Although, in my view, this is the quintessential reason it is definitely not the only one. Writing a sociological history of the Devil Elaine Pagels explains the popularity of the Watchers narrative by describing it as ‘socio-political satire laced with religious polemic’. She thinks that the narrative is being critical of the Greek rule, as the Greek kings saw themselves as ‘god descent’ thus the fallen angels can be interpreted as the Greek rulers (E. Pagels, *The Origin of Satan*, (New York, 1996), p. 50).

expands on the Book of Genesis and until the Christian era was the most popular text about the fallen angels.[54]

The Book of Enoch not only obviously displaces the guilt from humans and God to angels, but it goes even further: it combines Genesis with Isaiah and Ezekiel narratives. [55] It achieves this by giving a leader to the Watchers - the group of angels that fall. Enoch creates the idea that the Watcher Angels were led by a superior angel, who then becomes responsible for bringing evil into the world 'the whole earth was corrupted through the works that were taught by Azazel: to him ascribe all sin' (10:8). In this way the story ceased to be about the lust of sons of God and became the explanation for the origin of evil in the world. Another famous text that reworks the Fall of the Angels story is Book of Jubilees; however, it is too similar to the Book of Enoch to be considered in its own merit in this work.

By the time of early Christianity the Watcher narrative was widespread, despite its popularity none of the books containing it were canonized. Nonetheless, there are several clear allusions to it in the New Testament.[56] In Matthew 25:41 we find 'Then he shall say to them also that shall be on his left hand: Depart from me, you cursed, into everlasting fire which was prepared for the devil and his angels' and in Luke 10:18 'And he said to them: I saw Satan like lightning falling from heaven'.[57] The Letter of Jude refers to 'And the angels who kept not their principality, but forsook their own habitation, he hath reserved under darkness in everlasting chains, unto the judgment of the great day' (Jude 1:6), and also 'wandering stars, to whom the storm of darkness is reserved for ever' (Jude 1:13).[58] The stars in Jude evoke the 'angels as stars' symbolism in the Book of Enoch 86:1-4, which is also echoed in Revelation 12:4, where the Dragon sweeps one third of the stars with his tail as he falls. Neil Forsyth suggests that Revelation 12:4 should be read in light of the Enoch tradition as well as the myth of the rebellious son of Dawn reflected in Isaiah 14.[59] The association of spiritual beings with

[54] The following translation of the Book of Enoch will be used through out this dissertation: The Book of Enoch, or, I Enoch: a new English edition, Black, M., Vanderkam J.C., Neugebauer O., (Leiden, 1985).
[55] Enoch is mentioned only once in the Torah, in the genealogy in Genesis 5:18-24, he is the son of Jared and father of Methuselah. Enoch would have probably stayed an obscure patriarch if it was not for an ambiguous line in Genesis 5:24 'Enoch walked with God; then he was no more because God took him'. Unlike the other patriarchs Enoch did not die, but was taken by God. During the intertestamental period this passage was expanded to create the Book of Enoch. The book is usually dated sometime between the second and the first century (Forsyth 1989:162).
[56] Forsyth 1989:252.
[57] Forsyth 1989:252.
[58] Forsyth 1989:252.
[59] Forsyth 1989:252.

visible celestial bodies was commonplace in the Ancient Near East; therefore, in texts such as Revelation or *Enoch* 86:1-3 the transition between stars and angels is seamless as one implies the other.[60]

The angels also appear in Revelation 12:9, where they are thrown to earth. Although this passage is reminiscent of the Watchers tradition, we can see that there has been a major development. The angels' leader is not described as an angel, but as the great dragon that 'was thrown down, that ancient serpent, which is called the Devil and Satan'.[61] Contrary to Enoch, in Revelation the descent of the angels to earth does not happen by choice. The angels are 'thrown down', an action which is involuntary and aggressive in nature, and more similar to the consequences of the rebellion in Isaiah and Ezekiel than to the lust of the angels of Genesis and Enoch. Revelation played a big role in the development of Satan not only in its own right, but because it canonized the idea of angels being thrown down to earth.

The rebellion narrative replaced the Watcher story in a gradual transition from one to the other, which can be seen in the works of the Church Fathers. For example, Justin Martyr uses the Watcher and the rebellion traditions in different texts. When in 2 *Apology* 5 he recalls the Watchers myth, the sin of the angels is that they transgressed the divine appointment by taking human wives and fathering demons with them.[62] He states that 'they afterwards subdued the human race to themselves'. By 'they', he meant angels and their children.[63] He lists the crimes of the demons as they seized the rule over humankind and adds, 'Whence also the poets and mythologists, not knowing that it was the angels and those demons who had been begotten by them that did these things to men, and women, and cities, and nations, which they related, ascribed them to God himself'.[64] This not only distances God from everything that is bad but also puts forward the idea that the demons were considered gods. This becomes one of his most famous ideas: the pagan gods were really the fallen angels.[65] Hence, the Fall

[60] The association of angels with celestial bodies explains why later theologians believed that the angels were created on the fourth day with the stars of the firmament. See B. Murdoch B, *The Medieval Popular Bible: Expansions of Genesis in the Middle Ages*, (Suffolk, 2003), p. 23.
[61] In Rev 20:2-3 we find out that the dragon was thrown into the pit.
[62] The following translation of Justin Martyr's *2 Apology 5* is used in this dissertation: Justin Martyr, 2 Apology, Roberts-Donaldson (translator), Early Christian Writings. www.earlychristianwritings.com/text/justinmartyr-secondapology.html
[63] 2 *Apology* 5.
[64] 2 *Apology* 5.
[65] The idea is also directly stated in *Dialogues* 79 'The gods of the nations are demons' (see A.Y. Reed 'The Trickery of the Fallen Angels and the Demonic Mimesis of the Divine: Aetiology, Demonology, and Polemics in the Writings of Justin Martyr', *Journal of Early Christian Studies*, 12(2004), pp. 141-17). Although Justin was

of the Angels ceases to be an explanation for evil and becomes an account of why there are other gods. Another place where Justin Martyr mentions the angels is in the dialogues with Trypho. *Diaogue* 79, where Trypho – a fictional character created by Justin Martyr to question his and Christian views - says 'blasphemies, for you assert that angels sinned and revolted from God'.[66]

What these two examples show is that the two traditions - angels falling because of lust, and angels being thrown out by God - seem to coexist without tension in the thought of the same theologian. Although these stories offer different reasons for the Fall, by the time of Justin they were seen as complementing each other. Justin's works had an influence on generations of future theologians, and his idea that the fallen angels are demons was followed by a number of Christian thinkers including Tatian,[67] Athenagoras, Irenaeus, Clement of Alexandria, Tertullian, Cyprian, Commodian, and Minucius Felix.[68]

According to Neil Forsyth, Origen was the first to separate the Watcher and the Rebel narratives, then discard the Enoch narrative and concentrate on the prideful Lucifer as the key element in his refutation of Gnosticism.[69] Forsyth emphasises the irony of Origen being the main proponent of Lucifer the Rebel: 'While the church retained the rebellious angel who emerged from Origen's thinking, it condemned the philosophical doctrine on which it ultimately depended'.[70] Origen disregards the Enoch tradition in an interesting way: instead of arguing with it, he does not mention it at all, so when talking about the Fall he does not give a reason for it. For example, in *De Principiis*, Preface 6, he states:

> Regarding the Devil and his angels, and the opposing influences, the teaching of the Church has laid down that these beings exist indeed; but what they are, or how they exist, it has not explained with sufficient clearness. This opinion, however, is held by most, that the Devil was an angel, and that, having become an apostate, he induced as

---

one of the earliest and most popular proponent of the idea that the angels are pagan gods, he was not the first to come up with it, we already begin to see this idea in the *Book of Enoch* 'their spirits assuming many forms are corrupting men and will lead them astray into sacrificing to demons' (19:1).

[66] Initially the idea of the Fall of the Angels was criticised by both Greek and Jewish thinkers (Forsyth 1989:249 and Pagels 1996:143).

[67] *Oratio* 7.

[68] Reed 2004:141-171, R. Bauckham, 'The Fall of the Angels as the Source of Philosophy in Hermias and Clement of Alexandria', *Viqiliae Christianae*, 39(1985), pp. 319–21, 323–25, L.R. Wickham, 'The Sons of God and the Daughters of Men: Gen 6:2 in Early Christian Exegesis', *Oudtestamentische studien*, 19(1974), pp. 135-147.

[69] Forsyth 1989: 357-358.

[70] Forsyth 1989:360. This is a reference to the church calling Origen a heretic due to his theory on the Salvation of the Devil (C.A. Patridges, 'The Salvation of Satan', *Journal of the History of Ideas*, 28(1967), pp. 467-478).

> many of the angels as possible to fall away with himself, and these up to the present time are called his angels.[71]

Another thing Origen does is change the meaning of the 'Sons of God' in Genesis 6. If traditionally they were assumed to be angels, in *Against Celsus* 6:44 Origen implies that the Son of God is Jesus.[72]

The emphasis on rebellion and the decline of the Watcher narrative was not the only trend in the development of the concept of the Fall of the Angels in early Christian thought.[73] Another one was the repositioning of the Fall of the Angels closer to the beginning of the world in the Biblical timeline. Although in Genesis, Enoch, and Jubilees the Watchers fall before the flood, in the New Testament passages the timing of the event was not indicated, making it a 'movable' event. It was moved closer to the beginning of the world, and generations of theologians inevitably argued as to whether the Fall happened before or after creation, or whether it happened during one of the six days.[74] This development can be seen in the Books of Adam tradition, notably the Life of Adam and Eve, which became popular

---

[71] Origen, De Principiis Preface 6, Translated by Frederick Crombie. From Ante-Nicene Fathers, Vol. 4. Edited by Alexander Roberts, James Donaldson, and A. Cleveland Coxe. (Buffalo, NY: Christian Literature Publishing Co., 1885.) Revised and edited for New Advent by Kevin Knight. http://www.newadvent.org/fathers/04120.htm

[72] 'Now he who in the Hebrew language is named Satan, and by some Satanas-as being more in conformity with the genius of the Greek language-signifies, when translated into Greek, 'adversary'. But everyone who prefers vice and a vicious life, is (because acting in a manner contrary to virtue) Satanas, that is, an 'adversary' to the Son of God, who is righteousness, and truth, and wisdom. With more propriety, however, is he called 'adversary', who was the first among those that were living a peaceful and happy life to lose his wings, and to fall from blessedness; he who, according to Ezekiel, walked faultlessly in all his ways, 'until iniquity was found in him', and who being the 'seal of resemblance' and the 'crown of beauty' in the paradise of God, being filled as it were with good things, fell into destruction, in accordance with the word which said to him in a mystic sense: 'Thou hast fallen into destruction, and shalt not abide for ever''. (*Contra Celsus* 6:44 quoted from Origen, Contra Celsus Book VI, Translated by Frederick Crombie. From Ante-Nicene Fathers, Vol. 4. Edited by Alexander Roberts, James Donaldson, and A. Cleveland Coxe. (Buffalo, NY: Christian Literature Publishing Co., 1885.) Revised and edited for New Advent by Kevin Knight. http://www.newadvent.org/fathers/04166.htm).

[73] The story of the Fall of the Watchers remained popular in Judaism, as the standard interpretation of Genesis 6:1-4 until the second century CE, when it was superseded by the view that the 'sons of God' (Gen. 6:2-4) were men not angels. From Judaism the Fall of the Watchers assimilated into early Christianity, where it became popular. It was only in the late fourth and early fifth century that influential Christian writers such as: Chrysostom (*Hor. in Gen*. 22, 2: *PG* 53, 2), Jerome (*Brev. in Ps*. 132:3: PL 26, 1293), and Augustine (*De civ. Dei* 15, 23) rejected the interpretation of 'sons of God' as angels, in favour of the view which Judaism had already adopted. Henceforth the traditional Christian view was that Genesis 6:1-4 is a story about righteous men, not angels. Bauckham also points out that 'This change in the exegesis of Genesis 6:1-4 coincided with a general discrediting of the authority of the Book of Enoch. From the fifth century onwards references to the Fall of the Watchers in Christian literature are very rare' (Bauckham 1985:316). On the other hand T.D. Hill argues that the Book of Enoch stayed popular in Britain up until the tenth century and had a great influence on Anglo-Saxon literature. See T.D. Hill, 'The Fall of Satan in the Old English "Christ and Satan"', *The Journal of English and Germanic Philology*, Vol. 76, (July 1977), pp. 315-325.

[74] Murdoch 2003:23.

during the Middle Ages, especially in England.[75] The popularity of the text in Britain is evident as it was translated into Middle English, Cornish and Welsh. Moreover, numerous images showing scenes from Life of Adam and Eve survive in manuscripts as well as in public places; for example, in the frescoes in St Botolph church in Hardham.[76] With the first Adam books composed as early as the first century BCE they gained prominence in the pre-reformation period.[77] In the Adam and Eve tradition, the Fall of Lucifer happened right after the creation of Adam, because Satan did not want to bow down to man, who is 'the image of God' (Latin Life of Adam and Eve 14:2), as Adam was younger than he (Latin Life of Adam and Eve 14:3), and thus inferior to him. Following Satan, his angels also refused to worship Adam. When told that God will be angry, Satan threatened to 'set my seat above the stars of heaven and will be like the Highest' (Latin Life of Adam and Eve 15:3), after which he was expelled.[78]

By the time of Augustine, the Watcher story was already redundant.[79] Augustine himself was probably the last to completely strip the narrative of any authority by transferring the origin of sin from the Fall of the Angels to the Fall of Man. His conversation about the Devil happens in the context of Genesis 2:25-3:24 in *Ad Genesis* Book 11. Like in the Life of Adam and Eve, Augustine explains that the reason for the Fall of Lucifer is his envy of Adam for being created in the image of God. However, envy comes from pride, so really it was the Devil's pride that caused him to fall (*Ad Genesis* 11:14:18). Despite placing the conversation about the Devil into the Eden narrative, Augustine argues that the Devil fell at the very beginning of creation: 'there had not been any previous time when he lived on peace and beatitude with the holy angels' (*Ad Genesis* 11:16:21, 11:19:25-26). Augustine demotes the Devil to an angel belonging to a choir that is not given foreknowledge (*Ad Genesis* 11:17:22). He also confirmed the rebel myth tradition by interpreting Isaiah (*Ad Genesis* 11:24:31) and

[75] The Life of Adam and Eve should not be mistaken with the Book of Adam and Eve which though comes from the same tradition is a later composition. The Live of Adam and Eve survives primarily in manuscripts in Greek, Latin, Slavonic, Armenian, Georgian, and Coptic all of these were translated from different Greek manuscripts thus all seven available versions of the text differ from one another other (M. Stone, 'The Fall of Satan and Adam's penance: three notes on the Books of Adam and Eve', *Journal of Theological Studies*, 4(1993), p. 144).
[76] Murdoch 2009:74-78.
[77] Forsyth 1989:227, and B. Murdoch, J.A. Tasioulas, *The Apocryphal Lives of Adam and Eve: edited from the Auchinleck Manuscript and from Trinity College, Oxford, MS 57*, (Exeter, 2002), p. vii.
[78] 'Latin Life of Adam and Eve', in *The Apocrypha and Pseudepigrapha of the Old Testament*, R.H. Charles, (Oxford, 1913).
[79] Bauckham 1985:316.

Ezekiel as referring to the Devil (*Ad Genesis* 11:25:32).[80] Because of the importance of Augustine in Western Christian theology, Augustine's views dominated and influenced many Christian theologians during the Middle Ages.[81] Hence, after him it was the Fall of Man and not the Fall of the Angels that explained how sin entered the world. The Watcher story became obsolete and the Fall was an act of prideful rebellion that happened during creation, not as an act of lust. The narrative tradition of the Fall of the Angels was fixed. The only aspect of Augustinian thought that was not maintained was Satan's status as a low category angel. Most still saw Lucifer as one of the angelic leaders or head angels, if not as God's original favourite.[82] Also, the moment of the Fall varied in different authors' works, sometimes preceding physical creation, sometimes happening during it or after, but always before the Fall of Adam and Eve.[83]

From Augustine to the early fourteenth century, when the Queen Mary Psalter was created, there were no radical developments in the Fall of Lucifer. Anselm of Canterbury wrote a treatise called *Dialogues de Casu Diaboli* (Dialogues On the Fall of the Devil), where he attempted to explain why the Devil decided to sin. Despite what the name suggests, the treatise is not on the Devil *per se* but rather on reason, free will and faith, and it does not add to the Devil myth.[84] Writing a century later, Peter of Lombard believed that the angels were created during the first step of creation with the four matters, interpreting 'heavens' in *Genesis* 1:1 as everything spiritual, including the angels.[85] According to Peter, they were initially unformed, and their formation happened when they turned forward to God (conversion) or away from God (aversion).[86] These movements did not happen right at the moment of creation, but slightly later.[87] Therefore, there was a short time between creation and the Fall of the Angels, but they were still unformed during that time.[88] The angels that did turn away from

[80] Aquinas uses the same quotes when talking about the Devil in *Summa Theologica* Volume 1 IV.63.5.
[81] D. Elliot, *Fallen Bodies: Pollution, Sexuality, and Demonology in the Middle Ages*, (Philadelphia, 1999), p. 131.
[82] For example Peter Lombard (P.W. Rosemann, *Peter Lombard*, (Oxford, 2004), p. 100), Gregory the Great *Evang* II Hom.34, Aquinas *Summa Theologica* Volume 1 IV.63.7.
[83] For example in Christ and Satan the angels fall after the creation but before the Fall of Man (chapter 1), and in Genesis A before creation (chapter 1-2).
[84] See M. Barnwell, 'De Casu Diaboli: An Examination of Faith and Reason', *Saint Anselm Journal*, 6 (2009), pp. 1-8.
[85] Rosemann 2004: 97.
[86] Rosemann 2004: 97.
[87] Rosemann 2004: 98.
[88] Rosemann 2004: 98.

God had hatred and envy, thus for Peter as for Augustine, the mother of envy is pride.[89] The angels that turned away from God did so because of their pride since they wanted to make themselves equal to God. Following this, the main function of the Devil was to tempt humans.[90]

Fifty years after the death of Peter Lombard, in 1215 during the Fourth Lateran Council under the leadership of Innocent III, a very general ruling about the Devil was pronounced: 'the Devil and other demons were created good by God, but by their own deeds made themselves evil. Man, indeed, sinned at the instigation of the devil'.[91] In this way, the angels were proclaimed to be part of the creation, but their Fall was not.

In the later part of the thirteenth century, only Thomas Aquinas wrote extensively on the nature of the Fall as part of his *Summa Theologica* in which he tries to reconcile the thoughts of different theologians, especially those of Augustine with his own views and those of his contemporaries.[92] He expounds on the angels, the Fall, and the demons in Part I Questions 63-64.[93] On the demons, he writes 'All sins are in the demons, since by leading men to sins they incur the guilt of all sins. But as to affection, only those sins can be in demons which can affect a spiritual nature' (I.63.2). He goes on to say about the Fall, 'Without doubt the angel sinned by seeking to be as God' (I.63.3). Like Lombard's and Augustine's devils, Aquinas's angel fell because of pride. Aquinas also reconciles Augustine's and Peter Lombard's view on whether or not there was a time between the creation of the Devil and his Fall by agreeing with both. Thus, Aquinas' Devil was not wicked in the first instant of his creation (I.63.5). Nonetheless, he also believes that the Devil sinned at once after the first instant of his creation (I.63.6). He disagrees with Augustine only on one matter – the status of Satan before the Fall. After considering all options, he states that Satan was the highest of the angels (I.63.7). It seems that the decision came hard because Augustine argued against this. Bonaventure, like his contemporary, also asserts that the highest angel Lucifer fell during the very instant of his creation.[94]

---

[89] Rosemann 2004: 99.
[90] Rosemann 2004: 108.
[91] Murdoch 2003:20.
[92] The translation used is T. Aquinas, *Basic Writings of Saint Thomas Aquinas: God and the Order of Creation*, Pegis A.C. (ed.), (New York, 1945).
[93] *Summa* heavily quotes from Augustine and often tries to reconcile Augustine's and Aquinas' views.
[94] C.M. Cullen, *Bonaventure*, (Oxford, 2006), p. 131. Bonaventure did not write a lot about the Fall of the Angels, despite this, his work will be looked at in future chapters.

To sum up, by the time the Queen Mary psalter was written, the narrative of the Fall of the Angels was developed into a more or less coherent story: the Devil was the leader of the angels, he was created good but he fell right after or during the moment of his creation because of his pride. Most importantly, it was the Devil who made people sin. The detail that was still not fixed was the time of the Fall. Although the story was in place, theologians writing about the Fall of the Angels preoccupied themselves with actions and motivations and not with the descriptions of the Devil or the Fall. Thus, although there was a semi-consistent narrative, it was the task of the artist to specify the details. It was the artists and not the theologians who preoccupied themselves with questions about the Devil's appearance, his Fall and its relationship to creation.

In the Queen Mary Psalter, the Fall of Lucifer and his Angels is shown in the first illumination (1v), rendered in the tinted-drawing style (Fig. 2). The image is framed by a solid bright vermilion border with three ivy leaves growing out of every corner, a characteristic of East Anglian style of illumination.[95] Within the frame, we find four large intersecting circles, which recall the pattern of some of the roundels of Louis IX's Sainte-Chapelle, built in Paris in 1248, and which are also similar to the frames used in the Psalter of St Louis and Blanche of Castille.[96] The two vertical circles divide the image into the heavenly and the demonic spheres. Christ is shown in the upper vertical circle – in the heavenly sphere - sitting enthroned holding a compass, flanked by two worshipping angels and two cherubs, who are outside his circle. Although Christ is shown with the compass implying that he is the creator of the universe, the compass here can be seen as a symbol of power and not a tool of creation.[97] In the lower circle, we find three angels falling head down from the clouds and three demons standing underneath them. In the intersection of the lower and upper circle we see a wave-like pattern that acts as a border between the celestial and demonic zones. Most likely it symbolises the sky, or heaven, or the atmosphere.[98] It is also possible that the pattern represents the void, the watery chaos out of which the world was created (Genesis 1:1-2). John Friedman argues that there was a tradition of representing the watery chaos and gives an example of The Fall of the Angels in Guyart des Moulins *Bible Historial* to illustrate the point

[95] O.E. Saunders, *English illumination*, (Firenze, 1928), pp. 94-100.
[96] J.B. Friedman, 'Architect's Compass in Creation Miniatures', *Traditio*, 30(1974), p. 423.
[97] For more on God and the compass see Friedman 1974:419-429.
[98] Augustine suggested that the fallen angels fell into the misty atmosphere around the earth which became their prison *Ad Genesis* 3:10:14-15.

(fig 3).[99] In his view, the blue background filled with angels shows them falling through the watery chaos. If that is the case then it is plausible that the same is happening in the Queen Mary Psalter: the angels are shown falling through the watery void.

The three demons in the lower sphere are shown as three furry, humanoid figures. The demon in the middle is larger than the other two, even though he is shown crouching. He is standing on what appears to be a hellmouth, which is a mirror image of the face on his buttock, only significantly bigger. The other two demons are crouching on either side of him, their poses mimicking the worshiping angels above them. They are not worshipping but binding the main demon, a subtle reminder that Satan is the prisoner in hell and not a ruler. Satan, his minions and the hellmouth are also bound within their circular frame, as they are all within it and no body parts trespass the borders. Conversely, the feet of Jesus and the angels transgress the borders of the heavenly sphere, while the Devil and his entourage are safely confined within theirs. The rebellious angel is defeated and twice bound, therefore he holds no danger to God's reign.

Underneath the image is the gloss *'coment lucifer chayit de ciel e devient diable e grant multitude des angeles ouseqe li'* (How Lucifer falls from heaven and becomes a devil, and a great multitude of angels with him).[100] According to this, the image is a continuous narrative: the falling angels are Lucifer and his angels, and they turn into the three demons below. Before the gloss is taken for granted, its relationship to the image should be considered, as should its origin, since this phrase does not come from the Bible.

By the thirteenth century, manuscript production was becoming increasingly commercialised by moving away from monasteries to workshops set up in cities.[101] In the case of the Queen Mary Psalter, George Warner pointed out that the scribe's and artist's knowledge of the Bible was superficial.[102] This accusation can be deemed unfair, because the vernacular nature of the psalter is better explained by its secular patron. As Elfrida Saunders points out, 'the mistakes made by the scribe in the transcription of names of saints in the calendar, render it unlikely to be made for a religious house'.[103] Another problem with Warner's argument is

[99] Guyart des Moulins, *Bible Historial*, British Museum, Royal 19 D.iii, fol 3, France, c.1411. Friedman 1974:424.
[100] All the transcriptions and translations from Anglo-Norman French to English of the Queen Mary Psalter throughout this dissertation are taken from Warner 1912:55-56 unless otherwise stated.
[101] Saunders 1928:94.
[102] Warner 1912:9.
[103] Saunders 1928:96.

that it implies that what he considered to be the Bible in 1912 was identical to the Bible of the Middle Ages. Consequently what was considered 'the Bible' in medieval times must be acknowledged. J.H. Morey states:

> The Bible in the Middle Ages, much like the Bible today, consisted for the laity not of a set of texts within a canon but of those stories which, partly because of their liturgical significance and partly because of their picturesque and memorable qualities, formed a provisional 'Bible' in the popular imagination.[104]

According to Beryl Smalley, a similar tendency can be identified in theological works.[105] In the conclusion to her fundamental work, *The Study of the Bible in the Middle Ages*, she points out that many a theologian was 'in utter ignorance of his forerunners', although she adds that the biggest names, such as Peter Comestor, would have been known to the next generations of clergymen.[106] In the Middle Ages a Bible was a compilation of literary material, preaching and sermons, public art and mystery plays. Vernacular writers often worked from memory rather than from direct reference to the text, so their 'Bible' was sometimes a mental construct.[107] Even chronicle texts would often start with Genesis as it stood for the beginning of history, and thus was seen as relevant to a history chronicle.[108] It is plausible that this broader understanding of the 'Bible' is what informed the Queen Mary Psalter. This is in agreement with Warner's description of the gloss of the psalter:

> The occurrence of these verses tends to suggest that the artist had recourse to some metrical French paraphrase of Bible history, which he quoted almost verbally when he could conveniently do so, but otherwise merely abridged in prose.[109] If so, the work is not known to be still extant….there is a good deal here throughout Genesis and Exodus; but whether the artist found it ready to hand in his principal authority, or introduced it himself from other sources, written or oral, it is impossible to say. Some of it is extremely curious and is difficult to trace to any known authority, and it may possibly have been derived from the imaginative eccentricities of the religious drama, which was being developed at just this time.[110]

---

[104] J.H. Morey, 'Peter Comestor, Biblical Paraphrase, and the Medieval Popular Bible', *Speculum*, 68(1993), p. 6.
[105] B. Smalley, *The Study of the Bible in the Middle Ages*, (Oxford, 1983), chapter 'Conclusions'.
[106] Smalley 1983:357.
[107] Murdoch 2003:1.
[108] Murdoch 2003:8.
[109] Warner also points out that it is plausible that the author of the Queen Mary Psalter and of the Holkham Bible worked from the same text, nevertheless, because the Old Testament part of Holkham is too short there is not enough material for comparison (Warner 1912:7-9). Michelle Brown also suggests a similar visual source (Brown 2007:9).
[110] Warner 1912:7-9.

Biblical paraphrase was not just a vernacular preoccupation, they were also used by theologians and written by them. It is most likely that the psalter would have been influenced by the most famous biblical paraphrases of the Middle Ages - *Glossa Ordinaria* or *Historia Scholastica*. *Glossa Ordinaria* is a commentary that added contemporary knowledge and apocryphal interpretations to the biblical text. The second work, *Historia Scholastica* by Peter Comestor is 'a vast but also elementary and accessible compendium of sacred history, produced for the cathedral school of Notre Dame in Paris in about 1170 and given official approval at Lateran IV in 1215'.[111] Both had an enormous influence on vernacular works produced after the twelfth century.[112]

The wide popularity of these texts can be seen as evidence of the widespread vernacular approach to the Bible that condensed the text into entertaining narratives, and thus extensive parts of it, such as the laws of the Old Testament or the epistles of the New Testament, would not be widely known. Moreover, these texts helped create the idea of the Bible being a continuous, unified narrative, as they filled the gaps with explanations or smoothed out any inconsistencies. For example, *Historia Scholastica* explains Moses' speech imperfection by the fact that he was made to eat hot coal as a child.[113] Today one of the popular approaches to the Bible is 'Bible as literature', whereas in the Middle Ages this would have been more the case of 'literature as the Bible'. The audience for vernacular writings did not have reference works and commentaries as a corrective, and that audience, presented with an apparently biblical story, would have been unable to tell what was an augmentation and what was original.[114]

---

[111] Murdoch 2003:3.

[112] Murdoch 2003:2-3. Unfortunately no English version of *Glossa Ordinaria* or *Historia Scholastica* have been found. However, the *Bibliorum Sacrorum cum Glossa Ordinaria*, 6 vols. (Venice, 1603) manuscript of *Glossa Ordinaria* is available in a digital format from the Lollard Society website (http://lollardsociety.org/?page_id=409). Also, I was unable to find a digital or a printed version of *Historia Scholastica*, yet a 1729 Venetian manuscript (Sp Coll BC 18-c.2) can be accessed in the University of Glasgow Special Collection.

[113] Moses describes himself in Exodus as 'I have more impediment and slowness of tongue' (DR *Exodus* 4:10) and 'uncircumcised lips' (DR Ex 6:12, 6:30; NRSV translates this as 'poor speaker'). This developed into a tradition that he had a speech imperfection, most often thought to be a stutter. Stories developed that tried to explain how he acquired the stutter. One of the more popular Jewish legends tells how Moses burned his tongue on a hot coal in infancy and remained for the rest of his life with a speech impediment. See J.H. Tigay, '"Heavy of Mouth" and "Heavy of Tongue" On Moses' Speech Difficulty', *Bulletin of American Schools of Oriental Research*, 231(1978), pp. 57-67.

[114] Murdoch 2003:16.

Literature did not depend on its readers' knowledge of the biblical narratives, art, on the other hand, did. Visual representations are heavily dependent on the knowledge of their audience to be able to interpret what is shown. Therefore, it is ironic that Gregory the Great's words on art as a Bible for the unlearnt are often taken literally. Arguing against iconoclasm Pope Gregory wrote: 'Pictorial representation is made use of in Churches for this reason; that such as are ignorant of letters may at least read by looking at the walls what they cannot read in books'.[115] Lawrence Duggan was among the first, who started questioning the literal interpretation of Gregory's idea 'Art as Bible for the unlearned'.[116]

He found that Gregory's thought was not always understood literally; for example, Bede expounded Gregory's idea in *On the Temple* 'why should it not be allowable to recall to the memory of the faithful by a painting that exaltation of our Lord Saviour on the cross through which he conquered death'.[117] In Bede's interpretation the viewer does not 'read' the painting, but looking at it recalls what he already knows. Similarly, in his commentary on the *Sentences* of Peter Lombard, Bonaventura asserted that one of the primary values of images was their function as mnemonic devices: 'They [religious images] were introduced on account of the transitory nature of memory, because those things which are only heard fall into oblivion more easily than those things which are seen'.[118] Abbot Suger went even further to state 'not easily understood by the mute perception of sight without a description, we have seen to it that this work, which is intelligible only to the literate, which shines with the radiance of delightful allegories, be set down in writing'.[119] In other words, in Suger's opinion, art is for the literate.

Duggan's article not only reconsiders the medieval interpretation of Gregory's argument, but it is also critical of the tendency in twentieth century scholarship to give art a didactic role in medieval society.[120] Duggan, already at the time his article was written, is not

[115] Gregory the Great from a letter to Serenus Bishop of Marseilles.
[116] L. Duggan, 'Was Art Really the 'Book of the Illiterate'?', *Word & Image: A Journal of Verbal/Visual Enquiry*, 5(1989), pp. 227-251.
[117] Bede as quoted in Duggan 1989:229.
[118] Bonaventura *Opera Omnia*, iii, p 203 as quoted in Duggan 1989:232.
[119] Abbot Suger as quoted in Duggan 1989:233.
[120] Duggan summarises the dated art historical assumptions by giving a quote by Emile Male which is exemplary of this type of scholarship: 'To the Middle Ages art was didactic. All that was necessary that men should know - the history of the world from the creation, the dogmas of religion, the examples of the saints, the hierarchy of the virtues, the range of the sciences, arts and crafts - all these were taught them by the windows of the church or by the statues in the porch. The pathetic name of *Biblia pauperum* given by the printers of the fifteenth century to one of their earliest books, might well have been given to the church. There the simple, the ignorant, all who were

alone in this criticism. George Coulton, Ernst Gombrich, Avril Henry, and Flint Schier all argued that images cannot be read correctly without prior knowledge, and can be used as mnemonic devices that help recall a familiar narrative.[121] Currently this a dominant position in scholarship and is often adapted to the study of manuscripts, where text and image often coexist. The theory of image as a mnemonic device can help establish the relationship between the two. Rather than being a mere illustration of the text, the image adds to it by bringing together references and associations from sermons, theatre plays, stories, similar images seen in other places, guiding the reader in their devotion. In the case of the Queen Mary Psalter it seems that the text indicates what is shown in the image, providing the basic narrative framework.

In this way the Fall of Lucifer illumination in the Queen Mary Psalter (fig. 2) and the comment 'How Lucifer falls from heaven and becomes a devil, and a great multitude of angels with him' can be expected to work together, with the gloss providing the information about what the viewer is looking at. According to the gloss, the illumination shows how the angels fall and change their appearance to become demons. The appearance of the Devil was rarely touched upon in writings; Lactantius was amongst the first to state that the angels changed when they fell, but he did not provide any other details, such as how they changed and how long the metamorphosis took.[122] An Anglo-Saxon poem Genesis B (chapter 6) tells that angels changed into demons while falling for three days, which was depicted in a continuous narrative in the Caedmon manuscript (fig. 4).[123] Not all artists showed the process of angels changing into demons; for example, the aforementioned the Lothian Bible (fig. 5) shows four angelic beings falling underneath the Trinity without depicting the process of change. The Holkham Bible does not illustrate the process of falling, and portrays the angels in their prelapsarian state sitting above the encircled God; nonetheless, the fiery pit is already there, underneath the image, as a foreshadow of the event at hand (fig. 6).

---

named 'sancta plebs Dei', learned through their eyes almost all they knew of their faith ... Through the medium of art the highest conceptions of theologian and scholar penetrated to some extent the minds of even the humblest of the people' (Emile Male as quoted in Duggan 1989:241).

[121] G.G. Coulton, *Art and the Reformation*, (Oxford, 1928), chapters 14-15; E.H. Gombrich, *The Image and the Eye. Further Studies in the Psychology of Pictorial Representation,* (Oxford, 1982), pp. 155-157' A. Henry, *Biblia Pauperum*, (Aldershot, 1987), pp. 17-18; S. Flint., *Deeper into Pictures: an Essay on Pictorial Representation*, (Cambridge, 1986); Duggan 1989:243 and Brown 2007:1-2.

[122] *Devine Institutes* 2:9.

[123] The Caedmon Manuscript also includes the Old English *Christ and Satan* which has the scene of the Fall in chapter IV, yet, it does not offer any commentary on the physical changes in the appearance of the Devil.

The Queen Mary Psalter shows the angels both before and after the transformation in the same pictorial space. We see the three beautiful angels falling down and by the time they land they turn into the three demons standing atop the hellmouth. Interestingly, the three falling angels look identical, but once they have turned into demons they acquire individual traits. Satan stays humanoid, but is now covered in brown fur and he becomes bigger than the other two. Also a second face is added to his body onto his crotch. He becomes horned, with bat wings and his feet turn into bird claws. The demon to his left is similar in appearance, only smaller and with green fur, also he does not have the wings, second face or horns. The demon on Satan's right looks like a smaller version of Satan only with green bat wings, and without the extra face and horns. The colour does not seem to be induced with meaning, since the same palette is used for both the heavenly and the fallen angels scenes. The main signifier of the demonic in this folio is hybridity and animalistic traits – horns, claws, and the second face.[124] Even though both the angels and the demons have wings, the demons' wings are derogatory.[125] The angels have bird-like wings that show their holiness and, arguably, refer to the wings of the dove and the Holy Spirit. On the other hand, the bat wings of the demons serve to show their monstrosity and connect them with the serpent of Eden and the dragon of Revelation.

It should be pointed out that some of these signifiers of the demonic or of the divine are not always used in the same way in every manuscript. For example, the Fall of Angels in the early thirteenth century psalter of St Louis and Blanche of Castille (fig. 7) has similarities with the Queen Mary image in that it offers the same two moments - angels falling down and angels turned into demons falling into the hellmouth. Another similarity is that the illumination in both works is divided into the divine sphere at the top, and the demonic at the bottom. In addition, the substance, through which the angels are falling, is shown with an analogous wavelike pattern. As the demons tumble into the mouth of hell they acquire traits

[124] J.B. Russell writes that in Ancient Near Eastern cultures theriomorphy, the manifestation of a spirit as a beast, is associated with ambivalent deities in India, Egypt, and Mesopotamia; in other cultures, an animal appearance was ascribed exclusively to spirits of evil. Animals associated with evil were the pig, scorpion, crocodile, dog, jackal, cat, rat, toad, lizard, lion, serpent, and dragon. Of these the pig, cat, toad, dog and serpent appear most frequently in the Judeo-Christian tradition. The goat form of the devil derives primarily from the image of Pan. From these theriomophic ancestors the Devil inherited his claws, cloven hooves, hairiness, huge phallus, wings, horns, and tail. (J.R. Burton, *The Devil: Perceptions of Evil from Antiquity to Primitive Christianity*, (London, 1977), p. 254)

[125] Tertullian (*Apology* 22) argued that every spirit has wings, Origen on the other hand argued that in the Fall Lucifer lost his wings (*Against Celsus* 6:44).

similar to those of the demons in the Queen Mary Psalter, excluding the wings that stay unchanged in their shape and texture – they remain the feathered bird wings rather than transform into leathery and bat-like.

Another detail that the gloss tells us is that Lucifer does not fall alone, 'a multitude' falls with him. The exact number of angels that falls with him varies from one source to another; for example, in the Book of Enoch 6:6 twenty groups of ten follow him. Furthermore, because Satan is often perceived as the head angel of a choir, it is often assumed that he falls with it, yet the number of choirs usually varies from author to author. Dionysius the Areopagite argued that there are three hierarchies of angels each containing three orders, thus comprising nine choirs of angels in total, albeit he never said which one of them fell. Aquinas followed this scheme agreeing that there are nine choirs and arguing that Satan was a cherub.[126] In the Genesis B tradition the number of choirs rose to ten.[127] Considering all of the above, the number of angels depicted is often symbolic. For instance, in the Lothian Bible[128] (fig. 5), the Holy Trinity is flanked by five rows of angels on each side thus forming ten choirs. The middle row on the left is empty – the angels of that choir are the ones that fell. Michelle Brown interprets the twelve angels in the creation scene of the Holkham Bible as being representatives of the twelve choirs of angels (fig 6).[129] It is possible that the three demons in the Queen Mary Psalter refer to the notion that Satan took a third of the angels from Paradise when he fell.[130] In this way each of the three demons represents a choir, which then implies that there were nine choirs at the beginning. It is also possible that three demons are depicted for both compositional purposes and theological reasons: to mirror the angels above and to plausibly provide a reference to the Holy Trinity as its counterpart – the unholy trinity.

The gloss does not offer any commentary on the time of the Fall, here we have to rely solely on the image. The Fall of Lucifer and his Angels is the first illumination in the psalter, it stands at the beginning of the history of the world, since the subsequent illuminations show God creating animals and fishes, and, finally, man. Despite its positioning at the beginning of the manuscript we cannot be sure if the image shows the angels falling on the first day of

[126] See Pseudo-Dionysius the Areopagite *Celestial Hierarchies* chapters 6,7,8,9 and Aquinas *Summa Theologica*, 1.108 and 1.63.
[127] Murdoch 2003:22-23.
[128] Creation, Lothian Bible, Morgan Library New York, MS M 791, fol. 4, Oxford, England, c. 1220.
[129] Brown 2007:32.
[130] *Revelation* 12:4.

creation or outside of it. It was not uncommon to show the Fall of the Angels taking place outside the divine creation, an example of this is the Creation in the Lothian Bible (fig 5). The story of creation is shown in one illumination, in the upper half of the image we find the three figures of the Trinity, and bellow them six circles eah one representing a day of creation. The creation of the angels is not included into any of the circles, and the Fall is shown underneath the feet of the Trinity and outside the six days of creation; therefore, outside time. It is possible that, like in the Lothian Bible, the Queen Mary Psalter shows the creation of angels and their Fall happening before creation and not as a part of it.[131] Thus, the Devil is introduced before the rest of creation takes place and the reader finds out that evil has entered the world independent from God's design and possibly before it.

Ironically, despite evil being introduced on the first page, the Queen Mary Psalter omits almost every depiction of evil. A great example of this are the scenes of Abel and Cain (fol.4v-5r), where Cain kills Abel not because of jealousy or envy, but over a game. In this way the narrative is made to describe an accident rather than a murder story of rivalry between siblings. From here several question present themselves. Is the Devil in this manuscript a representation of evil or just a character? Is the Fall of the Angels then a representation of evil entering the world or a story about the origins of one of the characters? And if so, is the Devil just a villain in the Queen Mary Psalter or a character that personifies evil?

The Fall of the Rebel Angels came into being through countless exercises in interpretation, both literary and theological. As we have seen in the Middle Ages the border between literary and theological was non-existent, particularly among lay people, and any narrative with a reference to the Bible or a biblical commentary could be perceived as 'the Bible'. The depiction of the Fall of the Angels as found in the Queen Mary Psalter was not uncommon; however, it is less theologically charged than similar images from the period, it does not offer commentary on the actual time of the Fall, the status of Lucifer before the Fall, or the number of angelic choirs. Considering this, and the fact that the manuscript is written in vernacular Anglo-Norman, and that its patron was a lay person, it can be concluded that the image of the Fall in this manuscript is not a commentary on a theological concept of evil. It avoids any serious commentary and offers space for private interpretation and piety. The image and the gloss work well together and fulfil their function to offer guidance in devotion.

[131] Similar depictions can be seen in French manuscripts as well, for example in the Morgan Picture Bible, Pierpont Morgan Library, MS M 638, fol. 1v, Paris, France, 1244-1254.

They do not show how evil entered the world, instead they provided the origins of Lucifer, thus establishing him as one of the important characters in the pages to come.

Chapter 2

The Fall of Man

In the Queen Mary Psalter the complete story of the Fall of Adam and Eve is shown in six illuminations depicted on three folios, which are divided into two registers. The narrative starts on folio 3r, with the creation of Eve from the rib of Adam (*Coment due creast Eue de la coste adam*), and God forbidding them 'the fruit from that tree' (*le fruyt de cel arbre*) (fig. 8). The story continues on 3v with God resting in the top register, and in the bottom, Eve being tempted by the snake (fig. 9). The narrative finishes with the angels expelling Adam and Eve from the 'terrestrial paradise' (*paradise terrestre*) and giving them 'a robe to cover them, and a spade, and a distaff and spindle wherewith to spin' (*e les baile robe pur lour membres moscer E beche e conoylie e fisyle a filer*) (fig. 11). The focus of the following discussion is the image in the lower register of 3v, which shows the Fall of Man (fig. 10).[132]

Folio 3v pairs the end of creation with the beginning of Salvation history, as it depicts God resting on the seventh day in the same folio as the Fall of Adam and Eve (fig. 9, 10). The former is in the top register and the latter in the bottom. Each is surrounded by a vermillion bar frame, which also separates them from each other. Underneath the bar is a short text that relates to the image above, with a thin brown line running beneath it.

The composition of the Fall of Man is traditional: the tree, with the snake curved around it, is in the middle of the image; it is a pictorial reminder that the tree was in the centre of Eden. Adam is on the right, while Eve is on the left from the tree.[133] As in many other depictions, the snake and Eve are facing each other. The snake has a female head and a reptilian lower body. Its hair is tied into buns on either side of its head.[134] The reptilian lower

---

[132] In this dissertation the phrase Fall of Man should be understood as the Fall of Adam and Eve.

[133] Based on observation of the same scene in other manuscripts of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, there does not seem to be a preference of who stands on which side of the tree. Nonetheless, interpreting Hans Memling's *Eve* (1467, Kunsthistorisches Museum, Vienna) Margaret Miles argues that Eve's left ear is exposed to the viewer because, as legend has it, Mary conceived by the Holy Spirit through the left ear (M. Miles, *Carnal Knowing*, (Boston, 1992), p. 16) and in Jan van Eyck's Ghent altarpiece (1432, St. Bravo, Ghent) she is on Adam's left because she was created from Adam's left side (Miles 1992:98). In the Queen Mary Psalter, Eve is located in a theologically appropriate place as she is to the left from Adam and her left ear is exposed to the viewer. It is plausible that there was also a parallel between the representation of Eve on the left side of the tree and the tradition to portray the bad thief on the left side of the Crucifixion. However, this is impossible to prove or disprove as Queen Mary Psalter omits both thieves from the crucifixion scene (fol. 256v).

[134] For more on headdress of the female-faced snake, see F. Gussenhoven, 'The Serpent with a Matron's Face: Medieval Iconography of Satan in the Garden of Eden', *European Medieval Drama*, 4(2000), pp. 207-230 where she argues that a snake with loose hair implied a maiden virgin, and a snake with a headdress is a matron.

body is short with hind legs and a long tail. Behind Eve stands a demonic figure that is guiding her hand to the tree. Two more demonic figures are seen behind Adam, one hovering at his shoulder, the other bending over behind him, so that the demonic figure's buttock is touching Adam's backside. All three demons are holding flesh hooks.

The image is a continuous narrative: many things are happening simultaneously. The snake is telling Eve to try the fruit; Eve is taking the fruit from the tree with one hand, and is giving it to Adam with another. Adam is reaching out to take it with one hand, and is eating it with another. Underneath the image we find a short passage: '*Ici fet Eue Adam pecher. Par mauueise ticement de diable lecher Friaunt li deable qe est eue par derere. Le enseygne a la pome qe deu tint chere'* (Here Eve makes Adam to sin, by evil enticement of the Devil to taste with enjoyment. The devil, who is behind Eve, points to the apple which God held dear).[135]

The story of the Fall of Man is found in Genesis 3 and is preceded by Genesis 2, which gives the second creation account, which culminates in the creation of Woman from Adam's rib (fig. 8). Both chapters (Genesis 2 and 3) are assigned to the Yahwist source, which is traditionally dated 900s-700s BCE and is one of the oldest materials within the Hebrew Bible.[136] In Genesis 3, the serpent, 'who was more subtle than any of the beasts', asks the woman if there are any trees they are not allowed to eat from.[137] The woman responds that that there is a tree in the middle of the garden, whose fruit they are forbidden to eat, because it will kill them. The snake replies, 'No, you shall not die the death. For God doth know that in what day so ever you shall eat thereof, your eyes shall be opened: and you shall be as Gods, knowing good and evil'.[138] This passage is problematic, as it implies that God lied to Adam and Eve.[139] Moreover, the woman was never given the command not to eat from the Tree of Knowledge of Good and Evil. This command was given to Adam, in Genesis 2:16-17, before the creation of Eve, and we have to assume that Adam passed the message unaltered. This inconsistency is smoothed over in the Queen Mary Psalter, by depicting the scene of God

[135] Warner 1912:56.
[136] K.E. Kvam, L.S. Schearing, and V.H. Ziegler, *Eve & Adam: Jewish, Christian, and Muslim Readings on Genesis and Gender*, (Bloomington, 1999), p. 26, although Pagels dates the text a lot earlier - 1000-900 BCE (E. Pagels, *Adam, Eve, and the Serpent: Sex and Politics in Early Christianity*, (New York, 1989), p. xxii).
[137] *Genesis*. 3:1. The NRSV translates the serpent's character as 'crafty'. Often 'subtle' or 'crafty' is interpreted as 'wise'; as for example in Augustine's The *Literal Meaning of Genesis.*
[138] *Genesis* 3:4-5.
[139] For a discussion on the topic see J. Barr, 'Is God a Liar? (Genesis 2-3)', *The Journal of Theological Studies*, 57 (2006), pp. 1-22. For an early theological discussion see Augustine *City of God* 3:13:12 'The meaning of the Death with which God threatened the first human beings'.

forbidding both of them to eat from the tree right after the creation of Eve and before the Fall of Man (fig. 8).

After hearing the snake's argument, Eve looked at the tree and 'saw that the tree was good to eat, and fair to the eyes, and delightful to behold: and she took of the fruit thereof, and did eat, and gave to her husband, who did eat'.[140] Eve's decision to eat the fruit came from accepting the snake's reasoning and her visual analysis of it, whereas Adam just followed her lead. After eating, they realised that they were naked and covered themselves with fig leaves. When they heard God calling, they hid themselves from him.[141] God asked them to come out and after finding out why they hid from him, he understood what they had done.[142] When he questioned Adam, Adam blamed the woman, who in turn accused the snake of leading them astray (Gen 3:11-13). Then God cursed all three of them, but he did not expel them (Gen 3:14-19). The curses, not expulsion, were the punishments for disobedience.

It is only after these curses that Adam named the woman Eve (Gen 3:20) an event often overlooked. Until that moment, in fact, the woman is nameless and is referred to simply as 'woman'; hence, she can be interpreted not as an individual, but a type, a representative of all women. Indeed Eve, more than any other scriptural woman, has been used as a blueprint for what is to be considered 'female'. As Margaret Miles points out

> Her personality traits and behaviour were understood to be characteristic of all women and to be instructive about how men should regard and treat women. As "figure" she collected generalizations about 'woman' that were not open to falsification by men's experience of actual women. Eve provided an important rationale for the treatment of women in patriarchal societies.[143]

After naming the female, God gave them clothes, and only after all this did he expel them (Gen 3:21). This sequence of events is not adhered to in the Queen Mary Psalter, Adam and Eve are first expelled by an angel and only after that they are given clothes (fig. 11).[144] The expulsion is not punishment for disobedience and eating from the tree; it is a decision made by the divine council as a precaution against people becoming powerful:

---

[140] Genesis 3:6.
[141] Genesis 3:7.
[142] Here it is worth noting that later Christian theologians saw God as omniscient, thus the idea that God knew that Adam and Eve would break his commandment was often read into Genesis 3; however, in the actual text there is no evidence of God being omniscient, this is especially supported by Genesis 3:9 where God does not know where to find Adam 'And the Lord God called Adam, and said to him: Where art thou?'
[143] Miles 1992:86-87.
[144] See the discussion on Biblical paraphrase on pages 21-23 above.

> And he said: Behold Adam is become as one of us, knowing good and evil: now, therefore, lest perhaps he put forth his hand, and take also of the tree of life, and eat, and live for ever. And the Lord God sent him out of the paradise of pleasure, to till the earth from which he was taken. And he cast out Adam; and placed before the paradise of pleasure Cherubims, and a flaming sword, turning every way, to keep the way of the tree of life.[145]

Consequently, Adam and Eve are expelled to keep them from eating from the tree of life and living for ever like gods. The story of Adam and Eve explains why the world is the way it is: why people live to work, why labour is hard, why child bearing is painful, why snakes crawl. In Genesis 3 the snake is just a reptile, it is genderless, it is not the Devil or the Devil's avatar, and its motivation to make Eve and Adam eat from the tree is not told. In the Fall of Man as presented in the Queen Mary psalter the snake is given a motivation, it is also given a gender, and it is connected with the demonic. These extra biblical details that are shown in the psalter were influenced not just by the culture contemporary to the Queen Mary psalter but often took centuries, of theological interpretation, to form.

In the ancient Near East and Judea, the serpent symbolized a variety of things, both good and bad: life, death, wisdom, chaos, and fertility.[146] Martin Emmrich proposed that the first association between the snake and the Devil was made around the second century BCE in the Book of Wisdom 2:24: 'But by the envy of the Devil, death came into the world'.[147] Nonetheless, because the passage does not explicitly mention a snake, it is likely that he is reading the modern understanding of the snake as the Devil into the text. Considering the discussion in the previous chapter, it is more likely that Wisdom 2:24 refers to the Watcher Angels, not the Genesis snake. The more likely source for the earliest connection between the Devil and the snake is in the Books of Adam tradition.[148] For example, in the Apocalypse of Moses (the Greek Life of Adam and Eve) the Devil tells the serpent: 'Fear not, only be my vessel and I will speak through your mouth words to deceive them' (16.4). However, even after the link between the Devil and the snake was made, it took centuries for it to become an established association. For example, in a near contemporary of Apocalypse of Moses in the Book of Jubilees chapter 3 the snake is still just a snake. Even by the time of early Christianity

[145] Gen 3:22-24.
[146] Kvam, Schearing, Ziegler 1999:32, M. Emmrich, 'The Temptation Narrative of Genesis 3:1-6: A Prelude to the Pentateuch and the History of Israel', *The Evangelical Quarterly* 73(2001), p. 11.
[147] Emmrich 2001:9-10.
[148] Forsyth 1989:227,233.

an explicit connection between the snake and the Devil is not made until the Book of Revelation (12:9 and 20:2).[149] Only after the Book of Revelation canonised the idea and provided authors with a sanctified reference it became widely accepted.[150] But even then, not all Church Fathers perceived the snake as the Devil. For example, Ambrose described the snake as 'the pleasure of the senses' he even argued that pleasure is the primary source of sin (*Paradise* 15:73).[151] The Gnostics went as far as to identify the snake with YHWH, portraying YHWH as the composite figure of Satan, the New Testament's tempter of Jesus and eschatological tyrant.[152] Another Gnostic tradition found in the Testimony of Truth interpreted the serpent as Jesus himself, and argued that the snake was good as it wanted to give people knowledge.[153] This tradition also identified the Old Testament God Creator with the Demiurge.[154] It was Augustine who solidified the connection between the snake and the Devil, mostly to counteract such Gnostic ideas.

Augustine returned to Genesis 2-3 in his works, writing three commentaries on it and also discussing it in *Confessions* and *City of God*. Out of the three commentaries, only two are completed: the earlier *De Genesi contra Manichaeos* (388-389), and the later *De Genesi ad Litteram* (401-415).[155] Because *De Genesi ad Litteram* is a later work of the two, and as it concentrates on *Genesis* rather than on rebutting Gnostic ideas, it will be looked at in more detail.

In *Ad Litteram*, Augustine goes out of his way to integrate the Devil into Genesis, dedicating Book 11 to this task. He starts in 11:2:4 by stating that the spirit of the Devil dwelled in the serpent and 'for some reason hidden from us', God allowed the Devil to use the serpent. This implies that the Devil would not have been able to control the snake without God's permission (*Ad Litteram* 11:3:5 and 11:12); even in his fallen state the Devil, is still a creature of God and subject to him. Defining Satan's actions as approved by God, does not bring Augustine closer to explaining why man had to be tempted (*Ad Litteram* 11:5:7). Nevertheless, he does explain why man fell by drawing a parallel with Satan. Since it was

[149] See Forsyth 1989:297.
[150] Forsyth 1989:305.
[151] Forsyth 1989:422. For works showing the snake as the Devil see Theophilus (late 100's CE) *Apology to Autolycus*, Book 2 chapter 28; Anastasius Sinaita (c.150-250CE), *Anagogicarum Contemplationum;* Augustine *Ad Genesi;* Tertullian *On the Apparel of Women*; Ambrose *Paradise* chapter 15, Irenaus and Origen.
[152] Forsyth 1989:423.
[153] Not to be mistaken with *Testament of Truth*. Forsyth 1989:319, *Testimony of Truth* 158.
[154] Forsyth 1989:319, *Testimony of Truth* 158.
[155] Forsyth 1989:419.

pride that brought Lucifer to his downfall (*Ad Litteram* 11:14 and 11:16-17), pride is the beginning of all sin (*Ad Litteram* 11:15). Man too fell because of his pride, as it had to exist before the Temptation, so that man could be led into it (*Ad Litteram* 11:5:7). After establishing the parallel between the Fall of Lucifer and the Fall of Man, and the role of pride in both, Augustine goes back to reinforce the connection of the Devil and the serpent (*Ad Litteram* 11:27-30). Augustine argues that the Devil does not become the serpent, but uses it as a medium, like a puppeteer would use a puppet. Thus, the Devil cannot be seen as a snake, but the snake can be seen as the Devil (*Ad Litteram* 11:27-30). In his later work *The City of God,* Augustine does not even feel the need to reinforce the connection between the serpent and the Devil, writing that 'we can see then that the Devil would not have entrapped man by the obvious and open sin of doing what God had forbidden'(*The City of God* 3:14:13).

After setting the scene by determining the relationships between the Fall of Lucifer, Fall of Man, pride, the Devil, and the snake, Augustine turns his attention to the female. In chapter 30 of *Ad Litteram,* after looking at the dialogue between the serpent and the woman in Genesis 3, he condemns the female, stating that 'her transgression would be inexcusable, and no one would be able to say that the woman had forgotten the command of God' (*Ad Litteram* 11:30:38). In the second half of the chapter he states that, in her heart, she already had the 'proud presumption of self' (*Ad Litteram* 11:30:39). He does not give the same detailed account of Adam's transgression, but mentions the temptation of Adam as an afterthought in the last chapter of Book 11 (*Ad Litteram* 11:42:58-60), stating that the snake could not have possibly fooled Adam, and that the expulsion was the woman's fault. It seems that after creating the parallel between the Fall of Man and Lucifer's Fall, Augustine is uncomfortable associating Adam with the Devil and substitutes Eve for Adam. The Devil fell due to pride, and Eve was proud so she fell into his temptation; moreover, she played the role of the tempter serpent when she persuaded Adam to eat from the tree of knowledge.

Forsyth tries to gloss over this explicit anti-female stance by reminding the reader that in *The City of God* 14:13, Augustine tacitly blames Adam as well:

> The evil act … was committed only when those who did it were already evil… the Devil would not have entrapped man by the obvious and open sin of doing what God had forbidden, had not man already started to please himself. That is why he was delighted also with the statement, "You will be like gods".[156]

[156] Forsyth 1989:435. Augustine, *The City of God,* Henry Bettenson (trans.), (London, 2003).

This does little to justify the misogyny. In another passage in 3:13:14 Augustine writes, 'one man who fell into sin through the woman who was made from him before the first sin'. In other words, man fell into sin because of a creature that was his subordinate and a lesser being to him. Augustine also argues that although the woman was made for man to rule over even before the Fall, her condition worsened and began to resemble slavery after the Fall and expulsion from Eden. What is more, this state of subordination must be preserved because 'if this order is not maintained, nature will be corrupted still more, and sin will be increased' (*Ad Litteram* 11:37:50).

Of course it should not be forgotten that Augustine and his contemporaries lived in a time when a woman was seen as inferior to man; he and his ideas are products of his time. Language and social practices reflect and nourish each other: the social fact of women's subordination seems to have justified the literary treatment of women as a collective, which in turn justified the subordinate social treatment, creating a vicious cycle.[157] Augustine was neither the first nor the last to turn Eve into a culprit and the Devil's associate. Nevertheless, he was the authoritative voice that for many centuries shaped the opinions of some authors and helped justify the misogynistic beliefs of others. Similarly, texts written before his time helped inform his own theology. For example, in a passage ascribed to Paul in 1 Timothy 2:13-15, it is written 'For Adam was formed first, then Eve; and Adam was not deceived, but the woman was deceived and became a transgressor. Yet she will be saved through childbearing provided they continue in faith and love and holiness, with modesty'. A Jewish apocryphal source of the early Christian era, the *Testament of Reuben*, went as far as to blame women for the Fall of the Watcher Angels.[158] Augustine's slightly older contemporary, Ambrose, argued that the woman sinned twice: the first time when she ate from the tree, and the second when she gave the fruit to Adam (*Paradise* 6:33, 10:47). Indeed, after looking at five authors, Ambrose, Augustine, Hildegard of Bingen, Martin Luther and Søren Kierkegaard, from the fourth to the nineteenth century, Margaret Miles concludes that 'both celibate and married male authors place blame for the entrance of sin into the world squarely on Eve, whose weakness and malicious seduction of Adam initiated the condition of punishment and misery that has haunted the

[157] Miles 1992:114.
[158] 'The Book of Reuben', in *The Forgotten Books of Eden,* Rutherford H. Platt Jr. (ed.), (San Diego, 2006), pp. 220-223.

human race ever since'.[159] She also adds that the only sympathetic author was female: Hildegard understood Eve as victimized by the serpent.[160]

Augustine argued that human bodies changed after the Fall because they 'became subject to disease and death, like the bodies of animals, and consequently subject to the same drive by which there is in animals a desire to copulate, and thus provide for offspring to take the place of those who die' (11:32:42). Mortality and sexuality are the states that people gained only in the postlapsarian state: if the Fall had not happened, there would have been no sex (11:41:56-57). In her article, 'Eve the Mother of History', S. F. Schreiner attempts to position Augustine's Eve as carrying history within her womb and argues that mortality, not sexuality, resulted from the fall and that sexuality is associated with history, not with sin, punishment or death.[161] However, if Augustine's *Ad Litteram* 11:32:42 is considered, her argument does not withstand criticism. Augustine writes:

> Nevertheless, even in its punishment the rational soul gave evidence to its innate nobility when it blushed because of the animal movement of the members of its body and when it imparted to it a sense of shame, not only because it began to experience something where there had been no such feeling before, but also because this movement of which it was ashamed came from the violation of the divine command. (11:32:42)

Similarly, in *The City of God* 3:13:13, he states that the very first punishment for disobedience was the feeling of shame that followed the realisation that they were naked. Thus, Augustine weaves a net that ties together the snake, the devil, the woman, sex, and the innocence of Adam. In the narrative Augustine creates, the Devil and the woman are guilty culprits, sexuality is a punishment, and Adam is a victim of circumstances.[162]

Elaine Pagels begins *Adam, Eve, and the Serpent* by stating that before Augustine, *Genesis* 1-3 was read as a story of freedom and after Augustine, as a story of bondage.[163] It was considered the story of freedom because it proclaimed that people were created in 'God's image', and this implied equality among people.[164] It was not a story about evil or sin entering the world, since it was the Fall of the Angels that explained the origins of evil, as discussed in

---

[159] Miles 1992:114.
[160] Miles 1992:114.
[161] S.F. Schreiner, 'Eve, the Mother of History: Reaching for the reality of history in Augustine's later interpretation of Genesis', *Genesis 1-3 in the History of Exegesis: Intrigue in the Garden*, (New York, 1988), p. 154.
[162] Augustine returns to argue the same points in *The City of God*.
[163] Pagels 1989:xxv-xxvi.
[164] Pagels 1989:32-57.

the previous chapter.[165] Reading the social history behind Augustine's theology, Pagels points out that the idea of original sin came from a mistranslation of Romans 5:12:

> The Greek text reads, '"through one man" or "because of one man" sin entered the world, and through sin, death; and thus death came upon all men, *in that* all sinned'. John Chrysostom, like most Christians, took this to mean that Adam's sin brought death into the world, and death came upon all because "*all* sinned". But Augustine read the passage in Latin, and so either ignored or was unaware of the connotation of the Greek original; thus he misread the last phrase as referring to Adam. Augustine insisted that it meant that "death came upon all men, *in whom* all sinned" – that the sin of that "one man", Adam, brought upon humanity not only universal death, but also universal, and inevitable, sin. Augustine uses the passage to deny that human beings have free moral choice, which Jews and Christians had traditionally regarded as the birth right of humanity made "in god's image". Augustine declares, that on the contrary, the whole human race inherited from Adam a nature irreversibly damaged by sin. "For we all were in that one man, since all of us were that one man who fell into sin through the woman who was made from him".[166]

Although the idea of Original Sin may have appeared because of a mistranslation, the popularity of the text and its eventually becoming orthodox doctrine was not an accident. By the time of Augustine, Christianity had left the catacombs and was the official religion of the Roman Empire. By that time it was persecuting others for their religious beliefs and it needed justification to do so. Insisting that humanity, ravaged by sin, now lies helplessly in need of outside intervention, Augustine's theory could not only validate secular power, but also justify the imposition of church authority - by force if necessary - as essential for human salvation.[167] Augustine's views became orthodoxy, and with them the idea that all humankind is tainted with sin 'from the mother's womb'.[168]

The Jewish interpretation, like Augustine's, had a special place for sexuality in paradise. If Augustine only considered the sexuality of the first couple, the Jewish interpreters also considered the sexuality of the snake. The idea that the serpent tempted Eve was interpreted as to imply sexual temptation and that the snake sexually lusted after Eve.[169] Thus, in the Midrashic tradition, the snake was male a view that persisted until the Middle Ages. For example, Rabbi Solomon ben Isaac 'Rashi' of Troyes repeated the interpretations of the

---

[165] See chapter 1 of the current work.
[166] Pagels 1989:109.
[167] Pagels 1989:125.
[168] Pagels 1989:130-131.
[169] Thus, maintaining for us (post-Freudians) its reputation as a phallic symbol (H.A. Kelly, 'The Metamorphoses of the Eden Serpent during the Middle Ages in Renaissance', *Viator*, 2(1972), p. 302).

serpent's passion for Eve.[170] The male serpent is also found in sources that became popular in Christianity, such as the Apocalypse of Moses, in which the snake that the Devil recruits is from Adam's side of paradise - the male side (15:3). Early medieval art did not portray the gender of the serpent; nevertheless, it did explicitly reveal the relationship between the snake and the demonic.

The Fall of Man scenes in the eleventh-century Caedmon Manuscript Junius 11 show the tempter first as a snake (p. 20), and then as an angel (pp. 24,28,31). On page 20 (fig. 12), in the first of the temptation scenes in the lower part of the folio, the Devil with wings and horn-like wild hair is tied up in hell. To the left of this scene, one of his messengers climbs through a trap door out of hell into paradise, transforms into the serpent, and is shown talking to Eve. The last scene of this continuous narrative shows Adam and Eve pointing outside the image to the initial on page 21 beginning Satan's lament *Ac ðoliaþ we nu þrea on helle* ('But now we suffer pain in Hell', Genesis B 389).[171] Catherine Karkov argues that the illumination can be read as 'a visual preface to the event recounted in the following pages'.[172] Which then allows Adam and Eve's gesture to be interpreted as an encouragement for the audience to read on about the events that are illustrated.

On page 24 (fig. 13) we have another scene of temptation that Karkov states is 'most likely to be understood as a representation of the Temptation of Adam, rather than the Temptation of Eve'.[173] It shows Adam's successful resistance by portraying him on a small elevation - a common way of indicating superior position in medieval art. He is literally on higher ground looking down on the messenger, who hands him the fruit. The depiction of the Temptation of Adam can also be seen as foreshadowing the Fall, which happens on pages 28, 31 (fig. 14, 15).[174]

---

[170] Kelly 1972:303.
[171] E.C. Karkov, *Text and Picture in Anglo-Saxon England: Narrative Strategies in the Junius 11 Manuscript*, (Cambridge, 2001), p. 11.
[172] Karkov 2001:11.
[173] Karkov 2001:13. She also adds 'While the human figure in the drawing does appear to be female, the androgyny of the first couple prior to the Fall is one of the characteristic features of this Genesis cycle'. Which is interesting in relationship to Miles' statement on the female nude 'female nakedness presented as symbol of sin, sexual lust, and dangerous evil. In depictions of the naked female body, interest in active religious engagement, exercise, and struggle is often subordinated to, or in tension with, the female body as spectacle. Insofar as women and their bodies were assimilated to religious meanings, they "became male"' (Miles 1992:81-82). The two statements together can be interpreted to mean that the female form before the Fall was void of sexual meaning and the Caedmon shows this by depicting Eve as male.
[174] Karkov 2001:13-14. Temptation of Adam is told in Genesis B chapter 11.

The Temptation of Eve illumination is on page 28 (fig. 14), where the angel/demon gives the fruit to Eve, who is on his right, and to Adam, on his left. The Fall is shown on page 31 (fig. 15): in the top register, Eve is giving an apple to Adam, while the devil/angel standing behind her is encouraging her.[175] In the low register we see that Adam and Eve have eaten the fruit and the Devil, in triumph, has torn off the angelic robe and transformed into a wild-looking figure with frizzy hair, tail, and a loincloth. In two (pages 20 and 31) of scenes discussed, the tempter is explicitly demonic: in the first scene it is implied that the demon changes into the snake (fig 12), and on page 31, in the last scene of temptation, he turns back into a demon as soon as Adam and Eve have eaten the fruit.

Another famous early English manuscript, the St Albans Psalter, is also visually explicit about the Devil acting through the snake in the Temptation of Adam and Eve (fig. 16).[176] In the illumination, Adam and Eve are shown on either side of the tree, and hiding in its branches is not the snake, but a humanoid demon with claw-like feet, hooked nose and a blue, hairy body.[177] Out of the demon's wide-open mouth comes forth the serpent holding the fruit in its mouth, which Eve takes. Here it is shown that the snake is literally the Devil's mouthpiece as it becomes the extension of his tongue. In both Junius 11 and the St Albans Psalter, a demon is present in the temptation scenes, making it impossible to forget on whose behalf the serpent operates. The gender of the tempter in both representations is ambiguous, though it can be argued that the demon appears more male than female in the Caedmon. In light of this, the transformation of the snake into a female in the Middle Ages appears even more interesting.

In the Queen Mary Psalter the snake has a female head. By the second half of the fourteenth century it became more common to represent the snake with a female head or a female upper body. Sometimes the snake was depicted with a female head and hands, as it is seen in the St John's Psalter 4r[178] (fig. 17). Sometimes it was rendered with a female chest, as in the pillar base carving in the Paris Notre Dame Cathedral (fig. 18). In later depictions, the whole upper body could be humanoid; one of the most famous examples of this is the female

[175] Karkov suggests that the angel/demon on p 20 is less angelic looking then on p. 28 (Karkov 2001:13-14). Temptation of Eve is told in Genesis B 12, and the Fall in Genesis B 13.
[176] St Albans Psalter, Dombibliothek Hildeshein, MS St Godehard 1, p. 17, England, c. 1120-1145.
[177] Jane Geddes proposes that, like in the Caedmon, the demonic figure executing Temptation is not the Devil but one of his minions (J. Geddes, *The St Albans Psalter: A Book for Christiana of Markyate*, (London, 2005), p. 20).
[178] Temptation of Adam and Eve, St John's Psalter, Cambridge St John's College, MS.K.26 fol. 4r, England, c. 1270-80.

snake in Michelangelo's Sistine Chapel fresco (fig 19).[179] Another development of the Eden serpent in medieval art is the acquisition of hind legs, a tradition that Henry Kelly argues is not connected with the biblical idea that the serpent had limbs before the fall. The Conflict of Adam and Eve 18:1 popularized the 'upright but legless' serpent of the kind that can be seen in the ninth century Grandval Bible (fig. 20).[180] Kelly claims that the metamorphosis of the upright snake into the snake with limbs reflects 'a tendency in medieval iconography to represent all kinds of serpents as winged, footed, and dog-headed'.[181] He also argues that hind legs and wings come from the idea of flying serpents, and plausibly, the identification of serpent with dragon.[182] An example of this type is found in the Huntingfield Psalter fol. 7v (fig. 21).[183] However, it was not just the serpent of Eden that was shown in this way, but other snakes too. For example, in the *bas-de-page* of the Queen Mary Psalter (fig. 22) the snake fighting a rooster has wings. Sometimes the winged dragon-snake would merge with the female-headed snake, like it does in the Morgan Old Testament Miniatures fol. 1v (fig. 23) or the Holkham Bible (fig. 24).[184]

If attributes such as hind legs or wings (which are not present in the Queen Mary Psalter) tell us what medieval people thought about the serpent rather than the narrative of the Fall of Man, then the female-headed serpent plausibly tells us what the medieval people thought about women. It also poses questions such as: 'Is it a snake with a female head or a female with a snake's lower body?' or 'Is it the Devil with a female head and a snake's lower body?' Then, by extension, is a female just inferior or actually monstrous? These questions are directly connected with the idea that women's bodies are presented as revealing their 'nature'.[185] In *Metaphysics,* Aristotle stated that women were not a different species.[186] Despite this, Aquinas casually assimilates some women to 'other monsters of nature', although he goes on to say 'in the general plan of nature women are not monstrous'.[187] Margaret Miles

[179] The examples are intentionally given from different countries to show not just the pictorial but also the geographical scope of the imagery.
[180] Kelly 1972:306. The Conflict of Adam and Eve 18:1 'when the accursed serpent saw Adam and Eve, it swelled its head, stood on its tail, and with eyes blood-red, did as if it would kill them'.
[181] Kelly 1972:304.
[182] Kelly 1972:304-305.
[183] Huntingfield Psalter, Morgan Library New York, MS M. 43, fol. 7v, Oxford, England, c. 1212-1220.
[184] Morgan Old Testament Miniatures, Morgan Library New York, MS M638, fol. 1v, Paris, France, c. 1244-1254, Holkham Bible, British Library, MS 47682, fol 4.r, England (London), 1327-1340.
[185] Miles 1992:120.
[186] Miles 1992:161.
[187] Thomas Aquinas *De Veritate* 5.9.d.9 as quoted in Miles 1992:161.

eloquently summarised the problem: 'The female body, however, was a problem for men; the control of female sexuality, reproduction, the economic labour was a perennial preoccupation and anxiety in the male defined and administered communities of the Christian West'.[188]

The story of Adam and Eve, alongside those of Samson and Delilah, Aristotle and Phyllis and many others was seen as a cautionary tale for man against giving power to women.[189] Women were characterised as deceitful, and art and literature insisted that they were the cause of humanity's downfall. This 'power of women' topos underlines two crucial medieval ideas. The first is that God intended that a female must be subject to man, and should this be transgressed the whole order of creation becomes inverted. Eve was not only seen as subject to Adam, due to the order of creation, but also due to the substance out of which she was created. Adam was understood as a creature of reason and spirit because God breathed life into him, and Eve was a creature of the flesh, as she was made from Adam's rib and hence came from his flesh.[190] Eve, like the beasts, was made properly subject to Adam, and it was the natural order, and thus necessary, that the spirit governs the flesh.

The second idea, which follows directly from the first, is the identification of women with the beasts. John Chrysostom describes sin as 'A woman with the form of a beast, savage, breathing flames, hideous, black'.[191] The characterization of women as beasts known for physical rather than moral qualities continued to be commonplace throughout the Middle Ages.[192] However, a woman was not just bestial, she also had the power to turn a man into an animal and in this way was capable of threatening the whole order of creation. This anxiety is best revealed in the 'power of women topos' narrative of Aristotle and Phyllis, although it is present in all narratives that belong to this type.

Phyllis was the wife of Aristotle's pupil Alexander the Great, and to Aristotle's annoyance, she distracted her husband from more important matters. Finally, Aristotle managed to persuade Alexander to turn his mind to business. When Phyllis found out, who was behind her husband's sudden coldness towards her, she decided to have her revenge on Aristotle. She made the philosopher fall in love with her, and then persuaded him to prove his

[188] Miles 1992:17-19.
[189] See S.L. Smith, *The Power of Women: a Topos in Medieval Art and Literature*, (Philadelphia, 1995).
[190] It is interesting that Ambrose interpreted this breath as being protection from lust, see Smith 1995:115.
[191] John Chrysostom *Homily* IX [9], 1 Cor. 3:12–15, this passage is often misquoted as 'Among all savage beasts, none is found as harmful as woman'. See Smith 1995:115.
[192] Smith 1995:115.

affections by letting her ride on his back as though he was a horse. She saddled him, put a bit in his mouth, and arranged her husband to see everything. Needless to say Alexander was not amused, and when he summoned Aristotle to explain himself, the philosopher told him a cautionary tale of the dangers of women.[193] The visual representations of the mounted Aristotle, such as the aquamanile in the form of Aristotle and Phyllis (fig. 25), draw attention to the metaphorical transformation from man to beast and to the perilous instability of the body and its desires.

The crawling Aristotle, more than any other exemplary figure connected with the power of women topos, focuses on the body as a site from which meanings are drawn and directly correlates the power of women with the power of female sexuality.[194] Indeed, the exemplary force of that transformation exceeds its narrative specificity; what the image communicates as a specific reference to Aristotle the individual is secondary to what it conveys directly as a visual motif.[195] In this way, a woman was seen to inherently have the power to subvert the divine creation, to make man subject to her will, and even worse, to turn him from an image of God into an animal.[196] These ideas were sometimes shown in surprising ways. For example, the state into which Eve's temptation led humanity is shown in a *bas-de-page* illumination in another manuscript, which belonged to Isabella of France - the Isabella Psalter, by depicting the first couple as centaurs standing on all fours and staring at each other (fig. 26a and 26b).[197]

In this context, the female-headed serpent ties together anxieties about gender and power, human and bestial, and transgression of borders. The snake as female emphasises the female's role in the fall, her ability to corrupt divine creation and transgress the divine order. It also reveals a supposed 'special relationship' between the Devil and woman, and the female's role as the devil's gateway because she is easily susceptible to the influence of evil spirits - an

[193] The story of Aristotle and Phyllis is taken from G. Sarton, 'Aristotle and Phyllis', *Isis*, 14 (1930), pp. 8-19.
[194] Smith 1993:104
[195] Smith 1995:104-105.
[196] Smith 1995 115-116.
[197] For a discussion on the *bas-de-page* images see Debra Hassig, 'Marginal Bestiaries',in *Animals and the Symbolic in Medieval Art and Literature*, Forsten E. (ed.), (Groningen, 1997), for a discussion on a similar image from a miniature illustrating a popular satirical work the *Roman de Fauvel* see Smith 1995:116-117.

idea that later developed into the *Malleus Maleficarum* (Hammer of Witches) and justified the witch hunts.[198]

The transformation of the male snake found in Jewish thought into a female-headed reptile did not happen just in art, but also in literature and drama. The earliest narrative featuring a female-headed serpent is a Syrian apocryphal text, The Cave of Treasures, which is ascribed to Ephraem the Syrian and is thought to have been influenced by the Books of Adam, especially the Apocalypse of Moses.[199] In this work, Satan, who is hidden in the body of the snake, realises that the snake is so scary that Eve will run away when she sees it. [200] Consequently, he takes the following action:

> …just as a man who teaches a bird to speak Greek hides behind a mirror and makes the bird think that a fellow bird is speaking to it, Satan entered the serpent and called Eve by name. And when she turned round towards him, she saw her own form [reflected] in him, and she talked to him; and Satan led her astray with his lying words, because the nature of woman is soft [or, yielding].[201]

From this it follows that either Eve looked like the snake or that the snake looked like Eve. Although the first assumption should not be completely disregarded, it is more likely that it was the snake that looked like Eve, so when Eve looked at the snake, it had a female form.

It is unlikely that The Cave of Treasures was known to medieval scholars and artists, and John Bonnell argues that Peter Comestor's commentary on Genesis *Historia Libri Genesis* is a more likely original source.[202] In the *Libri Genesis*, Comestor writes, **'**Satan chose a certain kind of serpent, as Bede says, having a virginal face, because like things applaud like'.[203] The second literary source Bonnell cites is Vincent de Beauvais.[204] Both Comestor and Vincent imply, as does The Cave of Treasures, that the Devil transformed into a female-

---

[198] See Part 1 Question 6 Institoris Heinrich, *The Malleus Maleficarum*, edited and translated by P.G. Maxwell-Stuart, (Manchester, 2007).

[199] Kelly 1972:310 and see The Book of the Cave of Treasures 'Introduction'.

[200] The Book of the Cave of Treasures p 63.

[201] Kelly 1972:310 and see The Book of the Cave of Treasures pp. 63-64.

[202] J.K. Bonnell, 'The Serpent with a Human Head in Art and in Mystery Play', *American Journal of Archaeology*, 21(1917), p. 258 and N. Flores, ''Effigies amicitiae...veritas inimicitiae': Antifeminism in the Iconography of the Woman-Headed Serpent in Medieval and Renaissance Art and Literature', in *Animals in the Middle Ages: A Book of Essays*, N. Flores (ed.), (New York, 1996), pp. 167-168.

[203] *Elegit etiam quoddam genus serpentis, ut ait Beda, virgineum vultum habens, quia similia similibus applaudunt.* Translation from Latin to English from Bonnel 1917:279, also see Bonnell 1917:257-258.

[204] '*Speculum Naturale* '*Draconcopedes serpentes magni sunt, et potentes, facies virgineas habentes humanis similes, in draconum corpus desinentes. Credibile est huius generis illum fuisse, per quem diabolus Euam decepit, quia (sicut dicit Beda) virgineum vultum habuit. Huic etiam diabolus se coniungens vel applicans ut consimili forma mulierem alliceret, faciem ei tantum ostendit, et reliquam partem corporis arborum frondibus occultavit'* (Bonnell 1917:257-258).

faced serpent, so that Eve would find the familiar form more pleasing, or as *Historia* reads *similia similibus applaudat*[205] ('like favours like').[206] Frances Gussenhoven points out that not only does Eve favour the serpent-Devil because he took on a female form, but the serpent-Devil favours Eve, and this implies that Eve is 'predisposed to deceive'.[207] After Comestor's work became popular, a shift in the representation of the serpent begins, and the virgin-faced snake becomes 'a familiar figure in subsequent biblical commentary, in popular typological manuals such as the *Speculum Humanae Salvationis*, and even in history encyclopaedias where it is called a dracontopede, or virgin-faced dragon'.[208]

In this way the female-faced snake enters popular Christian thinking as well as literature, theatre, and arts. Interestingly, although Comestor is very specific about the snake being virgin-faced rather than female-faced, possibly to imply that Eve herself was a maiden before the fall, in art the snake is often depicted as a matron.[209] The image from the Queen Mary Psalter shows the snake with her hair tied into two buns which, according to Gussenhoven, means that the female snake is supposed to be a matron.[210] She argues that the hairstyle and headdress of a woman indicated her matrimonial position in medieval art. A matron would be shown with her hair done up, or wearing a head dress, whereas virgin maidens would be depicted with their hair loose.[211] Gussenhoven then applies this theory to the female-faced serpent, and argues that she was shown as a matron to be in a socially authoritative position in relation to Eve: 'to a thirteenth or fourteenth century viewer, a married woman, speaking to a pre-lapsarian Eve, might be expected to impart wise

---

[205] *Historia* as quoted in Flores 1996:168.

[206] Vincent most likely got the idea from Comestor because, just as Comestor, he ascribes the female-headed serpent to a quote by Venerable Bede that does not exist. Bonnell states that Bede never mentions the serpent being female faced, this means that the quote bellow from Vincent de Beauvais is probably taken from Comestor as he like Comestor ascribes it to Bede. Bonnell speculates that Peter is attributing to Bede only what goes before 'as Bede, says', (*ut ait Beda)* namely **'**Satan chose, a certain kind of serpent' (*elegit etiam quoddam genus serpentis*). But he also suggests that Comestor possibly misread *velut organum* as *vultum virgineum* in a work attributed to Bede *Quaestiones super Genesim* by Pseudo-Bede. The full phrase from the pseudo Bede is *'Serpens per se loqui non potcrat ...nisi nimirum illum diabolus utens, et velut organum per quod articulatum sonum emitteret'* (PL 93.276). It should be noted that this cannot be called a 'mistake' in a contemporary sense at it was common to ascribe information to a higher authority even without checking its authenticity. See Bonnell 1917:257-258 and Kelly 1972:308-309.

[207] Gussenhoven 2000:223.

[208] Flores 1996:167-168.

[209] It should be pointed out that Comestor describes the serpent as virgin faced see Flores 1996:168, 170 which makes the representation of the snake in an art predominantly as a matron all the more interesting (see Gussenhoven 2000:207-230) and is evidence of artistic interpretation and innovation rather than artists being copyists of the texts.

[210] Gussenhoven 2000:207-230.

[211] Gussenhoven 2000:208, 231.

counsel'.[212] Moreover, a matron in the context of the Fall of Man can be interpreted to suggest that 'sexual experience, even in marriage, is an overwhelming evil'.[213] Furthermore, she points out that images of the matron-faced, rather than virgin-faced, snake became popular after the First and Second Lateran councils, where it was decreed that the clergy should stay celibate.[214] If Gussenhoven is correct and the illumination depicts a matron-faced snake, whereas Comestor's authoritative text clearly mentioned a virgin-faced snake, this can be seen as evidence of artistic interpretation and innovation that shows illuminators as thinkers who answer to the need of their time, rather than as copyists of authoritative texts. It should also be added that another scholar has a very different explanation for the various hairstyles. Nona Flores states that while the elaborate hairstyles contributed to the feminization of the serpent, they also indicated 'a higher level of sophistication that urge to rise above the level of existence intended by God'.[215]

Historia seems to be the source that made the female-headed serpent popular during Middle Ages. However, research in this area has been insufficient to determine the inspiration behind it. I am aware of only two scholars who addressed the problem: Kelly and Flores. [216] Kelly tries to attribute the popularity and the fast assimilation of the female-headed serpent imagery by pointing out the vast number of mythological creatures that were believed to be female-headed, such as hydra, gorgon, harpy, and sphinx.[217] Flores makes a similar argument, saying that various reptiles had female connotations, such as the scorpion, the viper and the siren.[218] She also finds it plausible that Comestor and others readily accepted a female-faced serpent, because 'both divine and demonic figures in many cultures have been visualised in such hybrid half-human half-bestial representations as a way of indicating the superhuman

[212] Gussenhoven 2000:208.
[213] Gussenhoven 2000:209.
[214] Gussenhoven 2000:229.
[215] Flores 1996:179.
[216] This is an understudied area, one of the most authoritative texts on the topic is almost a century old and largely outdated in its views; however, many scholars still heavily rely on it. And the essays and articles that trace the imagery of the Fall of Man rarely touch upon the female-face of the serpent and its origin, for example out of the 42 pages that J.B. Trapp spends discussing *The Iconography of the Fall of Man*, less than one page is dedicated to the female-headed serpent, it is mentioned at the very end of his article almost as an afterthought (see J.B. Trapp, *The Iconography of the Fall of Man*, (1968), p. 262).
[217] Kelly 1972:313.
[218] Flores 1996:171-174.

characteristics of such being'.[219] Thus, by being half snake, half female, Satan's demonic nature would be shown, but he would still be familiar enough for Eve to be attracted to him.[220]

There are also commentators, such as Jeffrey Hoffeld, who argue that the female-headed serpent is Lilith.[221] The early Jewish interpreters of Genesis 1 and 2 noticed that the humans are created twice in this text. In Genesis 1:27 man and woman are created at the same time and presumably out of the same substance, whereas in Genesis 2:21-22 man is created first and woman second - out of his rib. This led to attempts to synchronise the two narratives, one of the solutions being that Adam was an androgyny: he was created both male and female, and the different gender parts were connected at the back, requiring separation, like conjoined twins.[222] The second theory was that God changed his mind: he intended to create the male and the female in Genesis 1, but instead made only a male, postponing the creation of the female until Genesis 2.[223] Another theory suggested that there were two Eves: one was created in Genesis 1, and the second in Genesis 2 after the first one was removed.[224]

The two Eves tradition was developed further in *The Alphabet of Ben Sira,* where the double creation account was fused together with Middle Eastern folk tales about a night demon, who seduces men and kills babies, to introduce Adam's first wife - Lilith.[225] *The Alphabet* tells us that Lilith was the woman created in Genesis 1:27 at the same time as man and out of the same substance as he, *ergo* equal to man. For these reasons she did not want to submit to Adam, and Adam did not want to submit to Lilith, so she left him. In *The Alphabet*, after Lilith leaves Adam, he never hears from her again; nonetheless, the story developed outside this text to incorporate the events of Genesis 3.[226] When Lilith found out about Adam's new wife, she became jealous and turned into a serpent, who tempted Eve.[227]

Hoffman argues that the Lilith myth 'was widely disseminated by Christian writers in the form of Latin commentaries on the Bible', specifically mentioning Peter Comestor.[228] He does not give any references or quote his sources, but he is most likely referring to the maiden-

[219] Flores 1996:169.
[220] Flores 1996:170.
[221] See M.J. Hoffeld, 'Adam's Two Wives', *The Metropolitan Museum of Art Bulletin*, 26 (1968), pp. 430-440.
[222] *Genesis Rabbah* 8:1 and *Leviticus Rabbah* 14:1, Kvam,Schearing,Ziegler 1999:77.
[223] *Berakoth* 61a, Kvam,Schearing,Ziegler 1999:78-81.
[224] *Genesis Rabbah* 18:4 and Kvam,Schearing,Ziegler 1999:78.
[225] *The Alphabet of Ben Sira* chapter 5, Hoffeld 1968:433, R. Patai, 'Lilith', *The Journal of American Folklore*, 77 (1964), pp. 295-302.
[226] Patai 1964:297.
[227] Hoffeld 1968:434.
[228] Hoffeld 1968:434.

faced snake in *Libri Genesis.* However, Comestor never actually gives the serpent a name in this work. It can be speculated that Comestor found out about Lilith and incorporated the maiden-faced snake into his accounts, because of the influence the Jewish intellectual milieu had on him. Comestor's exposure to Hebrew biblical commentary was ensured during his time at Troyes, one of the capitals of Jewish learning and the city where the great rabbinical commentator Solomon Ben Isaac 'Rashi' had his school. One of Rashi's grandsons, Rabbenu Tam (1100-1171), also a rabbinic authority, lived in Troyes during Comestor's lifetime, and even though there are no records of them meeting, it is possible that they did or that Comestor would have been aware of Jewish theology. Comestor's frequent use of the phrases *Hebraei tradunt* and *Hebraeus ait* suggests some specificity of reference and knowledge of Jewish thought.[229] Nevertheless, it is highly unlikely that Lilith was significant to Jewish theology at the time and as has already been noted, Rashi himself interpreted the snake as male.

Furthermore, considering popular medieval Christian views on women and Jews, and the ways they were represented in art as marginal and, at times, monstrous, it seems that the knowledge of a figure that was a combination of all three: female, Jewish, and a monster, would have been used to an advantage. It appears that Hoffman is reading nineteenth-century views on Lilith into medieval art. In the nineteenth century, Lilith became popular, especially in pre-Raphaelite circles, after being mentioned in Goethe's Faust as a dangerous temptress with golden hair.[230] She also became the symbol of 'the New Woman, free of male control, scourge of the patriarchal Victorian family'.[231] This romanticised *femme fatale* vision of Lilith is explicit in John Collier's painting 'Lilith' (fig. 27), where a seductive female nude is shown with a snake. She also seems to be closer to the Lilith that Hoffman describes, than the medieval female-headed serpent.

Even if Comestor was inspired by Lilith, her identification with the Eden serpent did not make its way into subsequent theological work or popular beliefs. The female-headed snake is labelled '*serpens*', or '*demon',* in mystery plays, and the creature is interpreted as the Devil and not as Adam's estranged wife. For example, in the Chester Plays[232] (verses 2:193-

[229] Morey 1993:12-13.
[230] V.M. Allen, 'One Strangling Golden Hair': Dante Gabriel Rossetti's Lady Lilith', *The Art Bulletin,* 66 (1984), p. 286.
[231] Allen 1984:286.
[232] The Chester plays cycle was written around 1375-1400; however, Kelly maintains that the Fall narrative belongs to an older tradition (Kelly 1972:315).

196) we find this description of the '*Demon*' - '*A manner of an Adder is in this place, that wynges like a byrd she hase, feet as an Adder, a maydens face; her kinde I will take'*.[233] In a previously mentioned illumination from the St John's Psalter (fig. 17) there is a comment in Latin, '*De serpente decipiente adam et euam'* (the serpent deceives Adam and Eve). Similarly, the passage that accompanies the Fall of Man in the Holkham Bible refers to the serpent as the Devil (fig. 24).[234]

Interestingly, the Queen Mary Psalter does not call the snake the Devil. It introduces three demonic figures similar to the demons on folio 1v into the scene of the Fall of Man (fig. 10). The two figures behind Adam are similar to the two holding the Devil bound, and the one behind Eve is similar to the tied-up Lucifer, except he is without wings. The inscription below the image reads '*Ici fet Eue Adam peccher. Par mauueise ticement de diable lecher. Friaunt li deable qe est eue par derere. Le enseygne a la pome qe deu tint chere'* (Here Eve makes Adam to sin, by evil enticement of the Devil to taste with enjoyment. The devil, who is behind Eve, points to the apple which God held dear).[235] Thus, in the Queen Mary Psalter, the temptation comes not from the female-faced serpent, but the demonic figure behind Eve.[236] The addition of the demons in the scene makes it closer to the older tradition of the St Albans Psalter and even the Caedmon Manuscript.

The presence of the demons, according to Stanton, can be attributed to the influence of theatre. She argues that the pictorial connection between the preface and theatre is made explicit in the frequent appearance of devils, which seems much more related to mystery plays than to scriptures or to scholarly works, yet she herself goes on to say that few parallels were found and that the topic remains complicated.[237] Because of the presence of demons, the scene in the Queen Mary Psalter is differs from other pictorial cycles and the Old Testament narrative, and although the mystery play connection is very likely, it cannot be the only explanation of this deliberate deviation from the norm. The growth of the reading public

[233] *The Chester Plays: Re-edited from the MSS*, Hermann Deimling (ed.), (London, 1892), vol 1, p. 28.
[234] Brown 2007:34.
[235] Warner 1912:56.
[236] Warner 1912:9.
[237] A.R. Stanton A.R, *The Queen Mary Psalter: Narrative and Devotion in Gothic England* (Unpublished PhD thesis, University of Texas, 1992), pp. 49-50. Not enough research has been done on the relationship between portrayals of the devil in art and in theatre. One of the studies is by far outdated: J.K. Bonnell, The Serpent with a Human Head in Art and in Mystery Play, *American Journal of Archaeology*, 21(1917), pp. 255-291. Another looks at a much later period: Evelyn S. Newlyn, 'Unconventional evidence of early drama: the stained and painted glass of St Neot's Church, Cornwall', *Records of Early English Drama*, 16(1991), pp. 1-7.

during the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries led to the growth in the production of vernacular texts and the circulation of illustrated manuscripts; people also travelled and corresponded more. Therefore, readers were familiar with more than one textual and visual version of many stories, including biblical narratives and romances. The moral lessons emphasized by the changes in the Queen Mary Psalter would have been apparent to its readers and most likely requested by the patron.[238]

The demons are not just present in the folio, they partake in the events: the Devil is guiding Eve's hand, and his minions are nudging Adam closer to the tree, conveying a message that Eve is not guilty. The Devil did not just persuade her to eat from the tree, but was actively helping and encouraging her. What is more, Eve did not make her husband sin, as Adam was pushed into eating the fruit by the demons, not by his wife. The Queen Mary Psalter does everything to prove Eve's innocence. This pictorial program also fits with the overall portrayal of mothers and women in the manuscript: they are strong, powerful and their actions are the driving force of the narrative.[239] In fact, the portrayal of women is one of the arguments that Stanton uses to support the case of Isabella as patron. These ideas are even seen in the aftermath of the Fall of Man in the upper register of 4r, where we see the angel expel the first couple as the snake slithers away (fig. 11). Adam is looking back at the angel, hesitant to leave, as Eve strides forwards with her head held high, her toes already touching the vermilion border as she leaves paradise. Of course this also puts her literally on the margins of the page showing the ambiguity of the representation of women even when shown as strong she is still further away removed from the divine and paradise than Adam.

If the Queen Mary Psalter is considered as a collection of strong female models and anti-models, such as Noah's wife, then the temptation scene can also be read as the model female, Eve, versus the female-headed snake - the anti-model. In this case, the choice of a female-headed snake was dictated not so much by fashion, but by the need to create a suitable female anti-Eve. In this way the female-headed snake, rather than Eve, is responsible for humanity's fall. Thus, in this folio the function of the Devil, his minions, and the snake is to justify Eve. However, the demons do more than that - they help take some of the blame from the snake simply by sharing it. By adding the Devil into the scene, the snake ceases being the

[238] Stanton 1992:16.
[239] See A.R. Stanton, 'From Eve to Bathsheba and Beyond: Motherhood in the Queen Mary Psalter', in *Women and the Book: Assessing the Visual Evidence*, Taylor J. H. M., Smith L. (eds.), (London, 1996), pp.172-89.

Devil and becomes his culprit. The demons function not just as scapegoats for Eve, but also for the female-faced snake. Because of the importance and popularity of the Temptation of Eve and Fall of Man narrative, a complete exoneration of Eve from the guilt of the Fall would be impossible; nonetheless, a displacement of blame could offer some relief and soften the blame, not just for her but also for the serpent. In other words, even if the woman does wrong, it is because someone very powerful, like the devil, is making her do it. The representation of Eve – the first female and the first mother, as a strong character fits with one of the major themes of this manuscript, as outlined by Stanton, of 'the strong, protective mother'.[240]

The psalter was (most likely) intended not just for Isabella, but also her young child Edward III and it is probable that he, as an intended reader, had a big influence on Isabella's choice of pictorial program. It is natural for a mother not to want her child to see women as monstrous beings that bring temptation and sin into the world.[241] It is also understandable to want to make a textbook interesting for the child to read, and one of the ways to do this is to populate it with monsters and images that the child would see in plays. Isabella was one of the more educated people of her time, and it is plausible that she chose a different way to depict the story because it combined entertainment in its references to theatre with a displacement of guilt from Eve.

This chapter has traced how the Devil was inserted into the narrative of the Fall of Man through association with the snake, as well as the theological underpinnings of this change. It also examined the ways in which the Devil/Snake was depicted, and how the pictorial strategies were influenced by social prejudices and popular beliefs that were encouraged by theological treatises, Apocrypha, and biblical paraphrases. In the Queen Mary Palter we have seen an example of how the female-headed snake is given a new meaning by the insertion of the Devil and his minions into the image. Just by being present in the image, the Devil becomes an ideological scapegoat; the image makes it very clear as to who is responsible for the Fall. The Fall of Man folio is evidence of the strong influence the patron had over the pictorial strategy. Furthermore, it shows that artists were not just copyists of previous models but they, if the patron desired, could create something new. What is more, because the demons in the Fall of Man (fig. 10) are the same as in the Fall of the Angels (fig. 2); this visually

[240] Stanton 2001:85.

[241] Isabella's family the Capetians believed that images have a significant effect on their viewers, and Stanton argues that Isabella shared these assumptions, and thus would have been careful in choosing the images and narratives used for her psalter (see Stanton 2001:2).

implies that the Devil is not just a generic monster in this Psalter, whose appearance will change from scene to scene, but is one of its consistent characters, who must be recognized wherever he might appear.

Chapter 3

Temptation of Christ

The Temptation of Christ illumination is found in the psalter section of the manuscript (fig. 28, 29). The psalter section is the Book of Psalms divided into readings for every day so that all 150 psalms may be read within a week. Visually, the psalter is very different from the preface: its parchment is thicker, the full-page illuminations are not present on every page, and they are fully painted in vivid colours and gold. Some of the initials have images of David, and most pages have small *bas-de-page* drawings in tinted style showing predominantly bestiary scenes. Each psalm division is emphasised with elaborately framed illuminations that present a series of scenes from the life of Christ, beginning with the Annunciation and Visitation on folio 84v, continuing through the Canticles, and ending with the last Judgment scenes on folios 302v-303.[242]

The Life of Christ cycle in the psalter is unusually lengthy. For example, Christ's adult life before the Entry into Jerusalem was often represented by the Baptism and one or two temptation scenes. [243] Here the cycle is extended to show all three temptations, the marriage in Cana, the feeding of the five thousand,[244] Christ and Martha, the raising of Lazarus, John the Baptist teaching, and Christ teaching.[245] Stanton argues that the frequency of illumination throughout the psalms section could have been an effort to increase the devotional aspect for the user, who most probably did not understand the Latin text.[246] The extensive cycle of the *bas-de-page* imagery showing moralising bestiary narratives was then meant to intensify this experience. Stanton describes the relationship between the larger New Testament illuminations, the psalms, and the *bas-de-page* images as symbiotic:

> Use of materials, subject matter and placement also relate to the extra-textuality of the large illuminations and the *bas-de-page* drawings. The large illuminations are fully colored and gilded, and their presentation at the top of the page within architecturally structured frames guarantees that one's eye goes first to them. They depict the life of Christ, the New Testament fulfilment of all Old Testament history, and so they are supra-textual in content as well. They remind the reader of the reasons for the

[242] Stanton 2001:37.
[243] Stanton 1992:136.
[244] The Marriage in Cana and the Feeding of the five thousand are misplaced: they are shown preceding the Baptism when in the Gospels they occur after the Baptism and Temptation.
[245] Stanton 1992:136.
[246] Stanton 1992:134.

> psalmodic devotions by their emphasis on Christ's ministry and Passion, referring both to the salvation offered by the Saviour's life and to his own preference for those hymns.[247]

In the Queen Mary Psalter, following the biblical narrative, the Temptation is preceded by the Baptism of Christ. The two scenes take up most of their pages and are shown opposite each other - the Baptism of Christ on fol. 190v and the Temptation of Christ on 191r (fig. 31). Underneath each of them is the text of Psalm 80/81, which begins underneath the Baptism scene. The initial E of the psalm is illuminated and shows David playing bells. At the very bottom of both folios we find tinted *bas-de-page* bestiary scenes. 190v has a unicorn fighting a lion and 191r shows sirens with fish tails playing musical instruments (fig. 30).

Psalm 80/81 is a summary of Israel's relationship with God. It begins with a reminder of the Exodus and then goes on to warn the people of the consequences of turning away from their God. It can be argued that one of the themes explored in the psalm is loyalty to the one God, which makes the psalm relevant to the temptation narrative, for, when tempted, Jesus is given the option to turn away from God. Temptation itself is mentioned in passing in verse 8 'Thou calledst upon me in affliction, and I delivered thee: I heard thee in the secret place of tempest: I proved thee at the waters of contradiction'.[248] Yet, this phrase describes the opposite of what Jesus does in the Gospels, as he does not call upon God when tempted.

According to Stanton, Psalm 80/81 was to be the first reading for Friday followed by a canticle *Domine Audivi* (Habakkuk 3:2-19) and Psalm 137.[249] Artur Weiser subtitles the Psalm 80/81 as 'God desires to save', and claims that it was used during the New Year liturgy. [250] A more contemporary commentator, John Eaton, gives it a heading 'Rejoicing and Trembling in

---

[247] Stanton 1992:156. Stanton then goes on to say 'Christological exegesis is obviously emphasised in the Queen Mary Psalter, and although I have yet to find many direct links between a particular psalm and the episode of Christ's life represented with it, the relationship is clearly and physically expressed' (Stanton 1992:157). Stanton's discussion links with the earlier observations on the relationship between text and illumination in the preface section of the manuscript, and on the role of the image as a mnemonic device rather than an illustration (see pp. 30-32 of this dissertation).

[248] Translated as 'In distress you called, and I rescued you; I answered you in the secret place of thunder; I tested you at the waters of Meribah. *Selah*' in NRSV 81:7.

[249] Stanton 2001:258. It seems that Psalm 80 was traditionally at the beginning of one of the divisions; for example, it is the first psalm in the sixth division (out of eight) in the eight century Vespasian Psalter, British Library, Vespasian A I, England, eight century (S. Gillingham, *Psalms Through the Centuries. Vol.1*, (Oxford, 2008), pp. 63-64).

[250] A. Weiser, *The Psalms: a commentary*, Herbert Hartwell (translator), (London, 1962), pp. 551, 553.

Worship' and argues that this psalm belonged to the Passover festival.[251] Susan Gillingham also maintains that by the fifteenth century, Psalm 80/81 was interpreted as a Passover psalm, and thus a time of reflection on the Passion and Crucifixion.[252] Either way, there does not seem to be a commentary directly connecting the content of Psalm 80/81 with the Temptation of Christ or his Baptism, though it can be speculated that, like Baptism, the New Year is a time for renewal.

The ministry of Jesus Christ starts with his Baptism and Temptation in the wilderness. The Temptation episode is told in the three Synoptic gospels (Mark, Matthew, and Luke).[253] In Mark, the oldest of the gospels, we find the shortest Temptation narrative, where immediately after Jesus is baptised by John, the spirit drives him out into the desert. Mark 1:13 writes 'And he was in the desert forty days and forty nights, and was tempted by Satan; and he was with beasts, and the angels ministered to him'. The most striking difference between the account in Mark and those in the other two Synoptic gospels is that Mark does not tell us if there was one temptation or more, and if the latter than how many were there.

The temptation narrative is expanded in Matthew 4:1-11 and Luke 4:1-13, which list the three temptations that Jesus underwent. The temptations in both are the same, but their order is different. The first temptation is to turn a stone into a loaf of bread (Luke 4:3-4, Matt 4:3-4). The second temptation in Luke is third in Matthew and consists of being tempted by the riches of the world from the top of the mount:

> And the Devil led him into a high mountain, and showed him all the kingdoms of the world in a moment of time; And he said to him: To thee will I give all this power, and the glory of them; for to me they are delivered, and to whom I will, I give them. If thou therefore wilt adore before me, all shall be thine. And Jesus answering said to him: It is written: Thou shalt adore the Lord thy God, and him only shalt thou serve. (Luke 4:5-8)

The third temptation in Luke (second in Matthew (4:5-7)) was for Jesus to summon angels to save himself:

---

[251] J. Eaton, *The Psalms: a Historical and Spiritual Commentary with an Introduction and New Translation*, (London, 2003), p. 292.

[252] Gillingham 2008:116.

[253] If the Q theory is correct and there is a Q source, then, most likely, the temptation of Christ material belonged to that tradition, or it came from a popular oral tradition. Matthew's and Luke's Temptation narrative and the form of the story draws many parallels with the Exodus narrative by using Deuteronomy, for more details see G.H.P. Thompson, 'Called-Proved-Obedient: a study in the baptism and temptation narratives of Matthew and Luke', *The Journal of Theological Studies*, 11(1960), pp. 1-12 and H. Swanston, 'The Lucan Temptation Narrative', *The Journal of Theological Studies*, 17(1966), p. 71.
Although the Gospel of John does not have a temptation narrative, it is still referred to in John 6:14-15, 7:1-9, 12:27-28 (L.T. Johnson, *The Gospel of Luke*, (Collegeville, 1991), p. 75).

> And he brought him to Jerusalem, and set him on a pinnacle of the temple, and he said to him: If thou be the Son of God, cast thyself from hence. For it is written, that he hath given his angels charge over thee, that they keep thee. And that in their hands they shall bear thee up, lest perhaps thou dash thy foot against a stone. And Jesus answering, said to him: It is said: Thou shalt not tempt the Lord thy God. And all the temptation being ended, the Devil departed from him for a time. (Luke 4:9-13)

The illumination in the Queen Mary Psalter (fig. 29) follows the Lucan narrative. There can be a number of reasons why the Lucan narrative was chosen, hence the knowledge of theological interpretation is necessary to determine if theology influenced this choice of narrative.

According to Luke Johnson's discussion on the Gospel of Luke, the temptations would have been manifestations of Jesus' special powers and relationship with God. Changing the stones to bread would prove that he is able to change the elements of creation; the second temptation shows his political power, while the third demonstrates that he can summon God for help and protection whenever needed.[254] Johnson also adds that 'The tests would suggest to the Hellenistic reader the threefold categories of vice: love of pleasure, love of possessions, love of glory. Jesus' rejection of these lures would identify him as a righteous person, a sage truly capable of teaching virtue'.[255] He also argues that Luke placed the temple temptation last as it was the most severe:

> …for in it the very support for Jesus' stand is subverted. On that high place of the Temple, the Devil takes the texts of Torah (Psalm 90:11-12(LXX)) to offer the dizzying suggestion that Jesus tests his sonship against the promise of God to protect him. How clever, for what is the radical obedience of the servant except something very close to just such a blind leap? But Jesus does not succumb to this spiritual vertigo. He returns to the central text of Deuteronomy 6:13, 'You will not test the Lord your God' not only to rebuke the tempter but also to state the conviction of authentic faith. Jesus will not force the Father's hand.[256]

This is the closest Johnson comes to explaining why Luke and Matthew give the temptations in a different order. Considering this is a study of a fourteenth century manuscript it is worth examining what Bonaventura and Thomas Aquinas wrote on the Gospels of Luke and Matthew.

[254] Johnson 1991:76.
[255] Johnson 1991:76.
[256] Johnson 1991:76.

Bonaventura wrote a commentary on Luke, most likely in Paris during his time as a *bacalaureus biblicus* in 1248-1250.[257] The commentary on the Temptation of Christ takes place in the first part of chapter 4 (4:2:1-4:2:25). The Temptation of Christ comes under the heading 'The teaching of Christ is authenticated by the worthiness of his life'. He continues: 'Now worthiness of life consists of victory over temptation…' (4:2:1). Bonaventura's commentary addresses exactly what the heading says it will - Christ's victory over Temptation and the nature of these three temptations. Interestingly, although Bonaventure quotes scripture, he never compares Luke's temptation with Mark's or Matthew's.

In contrast to Bonaventura, his contemporary Aquinas did not comment just on one gospel, but made a compilation of earlier patristic commentaries of all the gospels. In the *Golden Chain* (*Catena Aurea*), Aquinas goes through the gospels, passage by passage, assembling extracts from the Fathers relating to each one. According to the *Golden Chain*, when it came to Temptation, the main preoccupation of the Church Fathers was to prove that the temple mentioned is the Temple of Jerusalem.[258] As well as to interpret the scene according to the ransom theory, where the Devil used the three temptations to find out if Jesus was God.[259] The first main supporter of the ransom theory was Irenaeus.[260] Jeffrey Burton Russell summarises the theory as follows:

> Since Satan justly held the human race in prison, God offered himself as ransom for our freedom. The price could be paid only by God. Only God could freely submit. No one else could choose freely, because original sin had deprived us all of our freedom. By submitting to Satan's power of his own free will and choice, Christ liberated us from the Devil's power. God handed Jesus over in order to release the hostages. The Devil accepted Jesus. But when he seized him and out him to death, he overstepped the boundaries of justice, since Jesus himself was without sin and could not justly be held. The Devil had held us justly in the past, but when he broke the rules of justice himself, he lost his rights and could no longer hold either Jesus or us. Christ's suffering crippled the Devil, freeing us from death and damnation.[261]

In other words, God tricked the Devil into thinking that Christ is just a mortal man and thus sinful, so that the Devil would accept him. This considered, the Temptation narrative began to

---

[257] Karris 2001:viii. Bonaventura, 'Commentary on the Gospel of Luke', in *Works of St. Bonaventure Vol 8.1.*, Robert J. Karris (ed. and trans.), (New York, 2001).
[258] Rabanus as quoted in *Catena Aurea* Vol. I, Part I, pp. 123-125, and Ambrose as quoted in *Catena Aurea* Vol. III, Part I, pp. 149-152.
[259] Pseudo-Chrysostom as quoted in *Catena Aurea* Vol. I, Part I, pp. 123-125, and Athan as quoted in *Catena Aurea* Vol. III, Part I, pp. 150-152.
[260] J.R. Burton, *Satan: the Early Christian Tradition*, (London, 1981).
[261] Burton 1981:83-84.

be seen as the Devil's attempt to identify Christ either as God or as mortal man.[262] David Wee argues that its origins can be traced to a grammatical misunderstanding:

> In both Matthew and Luke, the Devil prefaces the first two temptations with the words: 'If you are the Son of God...'. But only a misinterpretation or disregard of the grammatical use of the common conditional particle 'if' could result in the dramatic relationship of Christ and Satan in the cycle plays. Such a disregard apparently occurred, however, for the scriptural texts clearly reveal that the Devil had no doubts at all.[263]

In *Catena Aurea* in the commentary to Luke only Maximus and Augustine note the fact that the order of temptations is different in Luke and Matthew. Maximus gives a vague statement: 'But the reason why one Evangelist places this event first and another that, is because vain-glorey and covetousness give birth in turn to one another'.[264] In this system each temptation stands for a sin, hence one sin causes the other, and one temptation causes the other, creating a vicious circle. Therefore, it does not really matter in which order Jesus defeats the temptations as long as he defeats them all. Augustine, on the other hand, admits that he does not know why the order of the temptations is different in Luke and Matthew, but he interprets it as evidence that all three temptations took place.[265]

Another source that can be examined in relation to the temptation narrative is the passion play. The Temptation of Christ occurs in three of the extant Corpus Christi cycles – York (c.1350), Chester (c.1375-1400),[266] and the *Ludus Coventriae* (1450-1500). According to Wee, during the Temptation scenes in these plays, only the two great antagonists would be on stage.[267] Moreover, he asserts that the temptations 'structurally and thematically' recalled and paralleled the Temptation of Adam and Eve in Eden.[268] The Temptation of Christ also acted as foreshadowing the final encounter for man's soul at the gates of hell.[269] In this way it reminded the audience of the human ordeals: the sin of the first couple at the beginning, and the judgement that awaits at the end of time.

---

[262] Pseudo-Chrysostom as quoted in *Catena Aurea* Vol. I, Part I, pp. 123-125, and Athan as quoted in *Catena Aurea* Vol. III, Part I, pp. 150-152.
[263] Wee 1974:1.
[264] Maximus as quoted in *Catena Aurea* Vol. III, Part I, p. 152.
[265] Augustine as quoted in *Catena Aurea* Vol. I, Part I, pp. 125-126, and *Catena Aurea* Vol. III, Part I, p. 152.
[266] For dating see Kelly 1972:315.
[267] D. Wee, 'The Temptation of Christ and the Motif of Divine Duplicity in the Corpus Christi Cycle Drama', *Modern Philology*, 72(1974), p. 1.
[268] Wee 1974:1.
[269] Wee 1974:1.

The motivation behind the Temptation in the plays is different from the one in the gospel narratives and is more similar to those proposed by the Church Fathers in the *Golden Chain*. In the gospels, the Devil is testing Jesus' faith, but in the medieval Passion Plays the Devil is trying to determine if he is the Son of God. The thought of the Church fathers and the motivation in the Passion Plays strongly rely on the ransom theory. What is more, Wee argues that the plays are informed by a single sermon by Gregory the Great, which used Matthew 4:1-11 to outline the nature of the human weaknesses that the three temptations attack: 'Gregory asserts that the Devil tempted Christ in three ways: through the appetite, through the desire of vainglory, and through avarice'.[270] Thus, Gregory used the tradition familiar from the Hellenistic era and applied by Maximus before him, which looked at each temptation as representing a human vice that Jesus, like a hero, battled against.[271] The only difference is that the names of some vices were changed 'Love of pleasure' became 'gluttony'; 'covetousness' became 'avarice', and 'prideglory' became 'vain-glory'.[272] By using Matthew, Gregory turned it into the dominant source of the Temptation narrative in the medieval Church.[273]

Wee's claim is supported by the evidence from the cycle plays. For example, in the Chester cycle the temptations follow Matthew's order, and when the Devil questions Jesus about who he is, he notices that Jesus is a man who does not have any faults, specifically 'glotony, pride, and avarice' (verses 12:33-40).[274] The emphasis on these three can explain why gold and treasures are often added to the temptation scenes in manuscript illuminations, although they are not mentioned in the gospel narratives. Depicting treasures can be seen as the easiest way to pictorially show gluttony and avarice. For instance, in the thirteenth-century Huntingfield Psalter (fig.32), material riches are shown at the foot of the mount and temple in the second and third temptation scenes respectively. Wee states that every medieval temptation cycle sequence he has read follows the Matthean homily, which was popularised

[270] Wee 1974:7-8. In Gregory the Great *Forty Gospel Homilies* the sermon is number 14, the arrangement of the first 20 homilies is superficial as they are in different orders in the surviving manuscripts. For example it is sermon 16 in Migne's *Patrologia Latina* (PL 1135) (Gregory the Great, *Gregory the Great Forty Gospel Homilies*, Dom David Hurst (translator), (Kalamazoo, 1990), pp. 3-4).
[271] See above p. 58.
[272] In the homily Gregory draws a parallel between Adam and Christ he starts that the devil rose up against the first human being, our ancestor, in three temptation 'He tempted him by gluttony, by vain glory and by avarice…He tempted him by gluttony when he showed him the forbidden food of the tree, and told him: "taste it". He tempted him by vain glory when he said "you will be like gods". He tempted him by adding avarice when he said, "knowing good and evil"' (Gregory the Great 1990:102).
[273] Karris 2001:xviii and Wee 1974:7-8.
[274] *The Chester Plays: Re-edited from the MSS*, Hermann Deimling (ed.), (London,1892), vol. 1, p. 219, and Wee 1974:9.

by Gregory, and thus every temptation stands for the fault that Gregory interpreted it to represent – gluttony, vanity, avarice.[275] If this is the case, and every medieval play does follow Matthew, then it is worth asking what pattern pictorial imagery follows, and even more importantly, why does the Queen Mary Psalter use Luke's narrative?

Unlike medieval plays, medieval imagery used both Luke's and Matthew's narratives.[276] For example, the twelfth-century St Albans Psalter (fig. 33, 34) follows the Matthean order: the second temptation happens on top of the temple, and the third takes place on the mountain, where Jesus is offered the whole world. The same order is followed in a contemporary of the Queen Mary Psalter - the English Holkham Bible (fig. 35). The Queen Mary Psalter (fig. 28) itself follows the Lucan pattern, as does the Huntingfield Psalter (fig. 32).

The temptation of Christ in the Queen Mary Psalter is almost a full-page illumination, which is painted in vivid colours on a gold background, and the positioning of the continuous narrative at the top of the page within an architectonic frame guarantees that one's eye is drawn to it first (fig. 28, 29). The architectural frame is part of a tradition begun by the Psalter of St Louis and is seen in a number of Parisian and northern French manuscripts, including those produced in the orbits of Master Honoré and Jean Pucelle.[277] Three figures are depicted inside the niches in each of the two tower-like structures that flank the main scene. The central scene is divided into two registers. In the lower register we find the first and second temptations: in the bottom left corner the Devil is holding a rock up to Jesus, and in the bottom right corner the Devil is looking up at Jesus, who is standing on a mount with a sphere in his hands. The third temptation is in the upper register: it shows Jesus standing on the pinnacle of a temple and the Devil standing at the foot of it. There are no speech scrolls or inscriptions to tell the viewer the correct order of the temptations. The sequence of scenes is shown by depicting attributes from the Temptations' narrative, such as the stones, mountain, and temple, and also by applying pictorial signifiers to the appearance of the Devil.

[275] Wee 1974:14.
[276] Medieval imagery uses both narratives, unfortunately during this study I was unable to find any research in Art History, medieval studies, or Bible reception that tried to determine the reasons and causes why pictorial imagery sometimes preferred one gospel narrative over the other. The query as far too big to successfully and fully pursue it within this dissertation, however, it I an area that I am interested in and I intend to pursue it further in my future research.
[277] Stanton 2001:37.

In medieval art there was no generic way to depict the Devil: he is different from manuscript to manuscript, and each representation is unique. The Devil in the Huntingfield Psalter is different from the Devil in the Caedmon manuscript, which is different from the Devil in the Holkham Bible, which in turn differs from the Devil in the Queen Mary Psalter. These manuscripts do not show only the Devil, but also countless other demons, imps and grotesques. How, then, is the Devil distinguished from his minions? In the Queen Mary Psalter the Devil is a major character, and after he is identified to the viewer in the Fall of the Angels miniature, his appearance stays largely the same in every scene. Other manuscripts use different techniques, for example, *Livre de la Vigne de Nostre Signeur* (fig. 36) shows the Devil as larger than the other demons and hyperbolises his hybridity.

Despite there not being a universal depiction of the Devil, they all seem to include at least one of the twelve categories of monstrosity identified by Isidore of Seville: '(1) hypertrophy of the body, (2) atrophy of the body, (3) excrescence of bodily parts, (4) superfluity of bodily parts, (5) deprivation of parts, (6) mixture of human and animal parts, (7) animal births by human women, (8) mislocation of organs or parts in the body, (9) disturbed growth (being born old), (10) composite beings, (11) hermaphrodites, (12) monstrous races'.[278] Usually the Devil was represented with characteristics from more than one of these categories, and in the temptation scene we see their fluidity as the signifiers of the demonic change, or become exaggerated with every temptation. Even more importantly, the temptation scenes depict both Christ and Devil, which allows us to see what the illuminator considered as derogatory characteristics, because the Devil and Christ are 'paired carriers of opposed meaning'.[279]

In the first temptation depicted in the Queen Mary Psalter, as in the next two, the Devil and Christ stand opposite each other with sufficient space between them - the Devil is on the left and Jesus is on the right (fig. 29).[280] Both are dressed; Jesus is wearing a pastel pink, long-

[278] Isidore *Etymologiae* 11:52 as quoted in D. Williams, *Deformed Discourse: the Function of the Monster in Mediaeval Thought and Literature*, (Exeter, 1996), p. 107.

[279] M. Schapiro, *Words and Pictures: On the Literal and the Symbolic in the Illustration of a Text*, (Hague, 1973), p. 43, also see R. Mellinkoff, *Outcasts Vol 1*, (Oxford, 1993), p. 211. 'Coupled carriers of opposed meaning' means that one of the pair is the vehicle of the higher value and by contrast the other marks the lesser. The opposition is reinforced in turn by differences in size, posture, costume, place, and physiognomy as attributes of the polarized individuals.

[280] From the late twelth century onwards it became very unpopular to show the devil and Christ touching and the representation was usually avoided; as Adelheid Heimann put it 'the idea of Christ in the clutches of the Devil has something abhorrent about it'. The best examples of these scenes from the twelfth century are St Albans

sleeve robe that falls to his feet, with a blue and red tunic over it. Satan is wearing a long-sleeve light brown robe that finishes just above his knees and gives a full view of his furry legs and clawed feet. His legs seem to be shown back to front, as the upper part of the body is turned towards Jesus and the lower part is turned in the opposite direction. This can either be interpreted as evidence that, in the early fourteenth century, anatomical accuracy was not the artist's main priority or as a deliberate sign of monstrosity that made the body appear, literally, back to front. In the Middle Ages, there was a strong belief that the natural or acquired imperfections of the human body, along with any physical features that stray too far from the norm, are connected with sin and danger, the ignoble and the unholy.[281]

In the next temptation scene, Jesus' clothes are similar to those in the previous depiction, except for the tunic, which is now pale blue rather than bright blue. The Devil, on the other hand, is without clothes and his whole furry body is exposed. He is darker than in the previous scene. His fur is grey with a few blotches of brown; it is also longer and given a more detailed rendering than in the first temptation. Christ stands on a hill holding the orb of the world, the surface of which shows a T-O styled *mappa mundi*. The T-O map depicted here is very simple and schematic. A well-known extant example of the same type is the large-scale Hereford Map, which attempts to show the outlines of the continents and identifies some locations (fig. 37).[282] However, no matter how complex or simple, the T-O map always has the same features. It is shaped like a flat disk: 'this world disk is surrounded by a ring of ocean that forms the shape of the letter O. Within the O and dividing it into three parts is a shape resembling the letter T, the bigger part in the top is Asia, to the left is Europe and to the right is Africa'.[283] The map in the Queen Mary Psalter is upside down so Asia is at the bottom, Europe is on the top right and Africa on the top left. Furthermore, although Luke (4:5) says that the Devil showed the world to Christ, the globe here does not seem to symbolise that the Devil is presenting the whole world to Jesus; because Christ is holding the orb it indicates to the viewer that he is already the ruler of the whole world. Considering the popularity of the

---

Psalter (fig. 34) and a capital from the Metropolitan Museum – in both images the devil is shown carrying Christ to the temple for his temptation (Heimann as quoted in L.A. Adam, 'The Temptations of Christ: The Iconography of a Twelfth-Century Capital in the Metropolitan Museum of Art', *Gesta*, 28(1989), p. 132). Also shown carrying Christ in the stained glass panels from Troyes, see the Victoria & Albert stained glass catalogue edited by Paul Williamson.

[281] Mellinkoff 1993:113, also see D. Strickland, *Saracens, Demons, and Jews: Making Monsters in Medieval Art*, (Princeton, 2003), pp. 61-77 especially page 65.

[282] See P.D.A. Harvey, *The Hereford World Map: Medieval World Maps and their Context*, (London, 2006).

[283] J. B. Friedman, *The Monstrous Races in Medieval Art and Thought*, (New York, 2000), p. 38.

ransom theory, the image can be interpreted as the Devil trying to figure out who Jesus is by offering the world to him; however, Jesus is already the ruler of the world, as Jesus and the viewer both know. In this reading, the little orb can be seen as a wink to the viewer, and also an insider joke on the foolishness of the Devil.

The third temptation takes up the whole upper register. It shows the temple as a Gothic church with a central tower and Jesus standing on that tower. He is dressed as in the previous scene and holding the same orb. There are angels on either side of him. The Devil stands at the foot of the temple, his hands are raised up as in the preceding scene. His fur is darker - it is now dark grey and looking wilder. Also he is a lot bigger, when compared to Jesus, than in the previous images.

In all three scenes, relative positioning is used to show Christ's superiority in such a convincing manner that it is plausible that the Lucan narrative was chosen to accommodate this pictorial strategy.[284] With each temptation Christ is shown towering over Satan. In the first temptation he is taller than Satan, in the second he is standing on higher ground - on the hill and Satan is at the foot of it, while in the third he is on the pinnacle and Satan is on the ground. Moreover, with every temptation, Christ is positioned higher on the actual folio of the manuscript, which explains why the illuminator chose to depict the third temptation in the upper plane. Placing the positive character above the negative one is a traditional way of indicating a superior moral stance in medieval art. This pictorial method is used in the Caedmon manuscript in the image of the Temptation of Adam (fig. 13), where Adam's successful resistance and moral superiority are shown by positioning him on higher ground, looking down on Satan.[285]

Another medieval artistic strategy in this image is the exaggeration of monstrous signifiers with every scene. This technique demonstrated the Devil's growing frustration and impotency in relation to Christ. This pictorial method also seems to have been used in the Huntingfield Psalter where, as Debra Strickland has observed, with each temptation another monstrous element is added to the Devil's appearance (fig. 32).[286] The Devil is presented in the first temptation as a slim humanoid figure with pointy ears, a horn on each shoulder, and a second face on his crotch. In the second temptation he develops horns on his head and knees.

[284] See Mellinkoff 1993 chapter 11 where she talks about Location, Position, and Stance, especially page 211.
[285] Karkov 2001:13-14. Temptation of Adam is told in *Genesis B* 11.
[286] Strickland 2003:75.

In the third his figure becomes broader, his facial features more pronounced, and rough, the horns on his shoulders and elbows are emphasised, as is the second face on his crotch.

The Huntingfield Psalter artist also changes the angle at which the face is shown. In the first temptation three quarters of the Devil's face is seen, and in the second and third his face is depicted only in profile. Depiction in profile was a derogatory pictorial representation, which, as Meyer Schapiro proposes, initially became so on aesthetic grounds: 'while the full-face has an ideal closure and roundness – smooth, regular and symmetrical – the profile is intended and asymmetrical and shows a less complete but more sharply characterized face'.[287] Furthermore, profile positioning hides half of the face from view, which makes the figure look suspicious. In the Byzantine tradition, depicting an evil figure in profile prevented them from giving the 'evil eye'.[288] In the Queen Mary Psalter, the Devil is constantly shown in a three-quarter view, as is Christ, but he does change in size, colour, hairiness, and outfit.

Because Jesus and Satan are 'paired carriers of opposed meaning', the changes that happen to Satan in relation to Christ can be seen as derogatory. For example, Jesus stays clothed for the duration of all three temptations, whereas Satan loses his dress after the first one. Therefore, it can be established that dress, in the Queen Mary Psalter, is an important signifier of culture and, possibly, humility. The Devil is dressed in the first image, but his outfit is almost the same colour as his fur and it is short, while Jesus wears a floor-length robe. The Devil's dress is revealing: it shows his legs in a manner that recalls the indecent exposure in a much earlier Caedmon image, where the Devil/Angel flashes one leg at Adam (fig. 13). Melinkoff defines indecent exposure as sinful nudity that occurs when a character is not fully clothed.[289] Furthermore, Strickland adds that nudity and partial clothing were used as signs of barbarity and as ways of showing physical deformities in the representation of demons or the Monstrous Races, ergo nakedness can be seen as a generic sign of sin.[290]

Once the robe comes off in the second scene, the Devil's fur changes from light brown to greyish brown, and then to dark grey in the last scene. The fur also becomes wilder with each temptation. This implies that on this particular folio, black and dark shades and excessive uncontrollable hair are seen as derogative. Colour did not have intrinsic meaning in medieval culture; its meaning depended on the context in which it was used. For example, while the

[287] Schapiro 1973:45 also see Mellinkoff 1993:211-226
[288] Mellinkoff 1993:212.
[289] See Mellinkoff 1993:203-208, especially pp. 203-204.
[290] Strickland 2003:64.

increasing darkness of the Devil in this illumination of the Queen Mary Psalter represents monstrosity, the black habits of Benedictine monks showed their humility. Peter the Venerable even insisted that black is the only appropriate colour for monks to wear as it symbolizes humility, penitence, and abjectness.[291] Like colour, hair did not have an intrinsic meaning.[292] In the Temptation scene of the Queen Mary Psalter, when applied to the Devil, it is a sign of monstrosity; however, when applied to a holy figure in the same manuscript, it can be a sign of holiness. The psalter shows Saint Mary of Egypt (fig. 38) with a body completely covered by hair that appears to resemble a full-length white robe.[293] The depiction of the Devil and the saint show that hair is a signifier, the value of which depends on its context. When hairiness is paired with dark colours and is applied to a negative figure, such as Lucifer, it becomes a sign of evil. Yet, if it is paired with white, fashioned in the shape of a robe and applied to a Saint, it is a sign of modesty and virtue. Consequently, hair can have different values even on the pages of the same manuscript, as is the case here.

The final change that occurs in the Devil's appearance in the third temptation is that he grows in size and becomes larger than Jesus. With every failed temptation in the Psalter, the Devil grows more monstrous, and by the third temptation – his final attempt – he uses every means available to him to tempt Jesus. The change in size occurred in many depictions of the Temptation. For example, in the Huntingfield Psalter the Devil is broader by the final temptation, his exaggerated horns adding to this impression (fig. 32). On the other hand, sometimes the Devil's inability to tempt Christ was illustrated by making him smaller with each scene. For instance, in the St Albans Psalter Jesus and Satan are initially depicted as being the same height; yet by the third temptation the Devil barely comes up to Jesus' chest (fig. 34), and Jesus has to hunch to talk to him. Similarly, in the late thirteenth century French Psalter[294] the Devil is so small by the third scene that he needs a stool to be the same height as Christ (fig. 39). It seems that the tradition that showed the Devil as growing with each failed temptation was an attempt to depict his inner state, his frustration and agitation. Conversely,

---

[291] Gage 1993:84.

[292] See Mellinkoff 1993:181-194 and R. Barlett, 'Symbolic Meaning of Hair in the Middle Ages', *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society*, 4(1994), pp. 43-60.

[293] *The Golden Legend* describes Mary of Egypt as a prostitute who after converting to Christianity spent seventeen years living, worshipping and fasting in the desert. Although Jacobus describes her as 'all black over all her body' (Jacobus 1973:106) she was often depicted with floor length hair that covered her whole body in a way similar to how other saints were depicted robed and clothed. See Jacobus de Varagine, *The Golden Legend Vol III*, F.S. Ellis, (New York, 1973), pp. 106-110.

[294] Psalter, Morgan Library New York, MS M. 101, fol 18 v, France, c. 1270.

the pictorial strategy of showing him increasingly smaller was aimed at visualising Jesus' victory over the Devil, and the Devil's impotency against Christ.

This Temptation of Christ depicts the Devil four times, and the fourth portrayal has not been addressed yet. In the bottom right corner of the illumination a demon defeated by Jesus is seen falling out of the narrative, unlike the fallen angel in fol 1v, this demon is transgressing the border and I falling into the frame and possibly the viewers' world. The defeated Devil is shown falling in a mosaic in the basilica of San Marco in Venice (fig. 40).[295] Another example of a falling Devil is found in an English contemporary of the Queen Mary Psalter - the Ormesby Psalter - where the temptation is shown in the initial 'D' of Psalm 52/53: 'The fool said in his heart: There is no God' (fig. 41). In the sequenced narrative, the Devil is shown in the process of tempting in the first two scenes, and then fleeing from the narrative in the bottom right corner of the initial after the third temptation. It is possible that, in all three examples, the Devil is falling not just in defeat, but also heading downwards back into hell, similar to the way in which the *Christ and Satan* narrative finishes with the Devil being banished back to hell (verses 689-728).

The defeated demon in the Queen Mary Psalter is light brown, like the one in the scene of the first temptation, which plausibly implies that once defeated, the Devil turned back to his original appearance. It can also be interpreted as referring to his inner state: once Satan exhausted all of resources, he was unable to sustain the monstrous appearance. The lighter colour and smaller size show him as harmless and tamed compared to the monstrous figures of the second and third temptations. Moreover, not only do the four representations show the same Devil, but it is also the same figure as in the previous narratives. Thus, using visual means, the psalter offers a continuous story about the Devil as a character.

The defeat of the Devil seems to be an ongoing secondary narrative in the whole manuscript. The Queen Mary Psalter starts with the Fall of the Angels, an image that not only introduces the Devil by showing his origins, but also shows the Devil's first defeat. In the Fall of Man, although the Devil is victorious, we can see the snake escaping from the scene of the crime as it slithers into the tree (fig. 11), similar to the way the demon 'dives' back into hell in the Caedmon manuscript (fig. 43). In the Noah narrative, the story of the Devil meeting Noah's wife is added, and although the Devil's seduction seems to be successful, he is seen

[295] The mosaic uses the Matthean narrative.

fleeing Noah's ark through the hole in its bottom (fig. 43). It should also be added that after the scene of the Temptation of Christ, the *bas-de-page* images show miracles, where the Virgin continuously defeats the Devil (fig. 44). In this psalter the Devil is not only the main villain, but the character who is always made to run away after being physically overwhelmed or out strengthened by a righteous power.

The illumination of the Temptation of Christ, as we have seen, is self-reliant because there is no commentary that can help guide the viewer. The illumination shares the page with Psalm 80/81, which according to Stanton was the first to be read on Friday and, as has already been discussed, its connections with the Temptation of Christ beyond this folio require further research.[296] The psalm starts with a historiated initial showing King David playing bells (fig.31). A reference to David is traditional, as he was considered to be the author of the Psalms. It also seems to have been a custom to illuminate the initial of Psalm 80/81 with King David (or a generic kingly figure) playing bells. This iconography is found in another one of the Queen Mary Master's Psalters, in the Psalter of Richard of Canterbury (fig. 45), as well as in psalters not connected with the Queen Mary Master, such as the Herdringen Furstenbergische Bibliothek Psalter[297] or the All Souls College Psalter.[298] Since illuminations were first made in the psalters to create divisions between the psalms, it seems reasonable to suggest that there is an established pictorial tradition for the initials that dictates what image should accompany which psalm.

The pictorial tradition in this case applies only to the psalm initials and does not extend to the *bas-de-page* imagery. In the Queen Mary Psalter we find two sirens underneath Psalm 80/81, whereas another Queen Mary group manuscript - the Dr Williams's Library Psalter - shows a mounted knight chasing a fox with a rooster in its mouth underneath the same Psalm.[299] If *bas-de-page* imagery was not dictated by a convention, its presence on the folio can then be seen as a device that would help the viewer in their devotion. This is supported by Stanton's argument that everything on the page of the Queen Mary Psalter was in a symbiotic

[296] Stanton 2001:258.
[297] Herdringen Furstenbergische Bibliothek Psalter MS 8 fol 99r.
[298] Oxford, All Souls College Psalter MS 7 fol 75v.
[299] Psalter, Dr Williams's Library, London, MS Anc 6, fol 105v.Unfortunately I am unable to provide an image, yet my information and the description of the psalter was taken from Sandler L.F., *A survey of manuscripts illuminated in the British Isles. Vol. 5.2, Gothic manuscripts, 1285-1385,* (London, 1986), pp. 81-82.

relationship, each image aiding interpretation of the others.[300] Moreover, by the time this psalter was made, the bestiary stories were well known and the viewers were familiar with the moral lessons each narrative carried. Indeed Debra Hassig [Strickland] argues that 'the bestiary texts and images were so familiar that the reader would be able to understand certain meaningful relationships between the psalter and the bestiary, and that the lessons conveyed by the latter need not be reinforced verbally on the manuscript folio'.[301] Thus, the Queen Mary Psalter *bas-de-page* images should be examined in the context of the whole page.

The Queen Mary *bas-de-page* shows two sirens, the one on the right holding a trumpet and a tambourine, the other playing a harp. Both of these instruments are mentioned in the psalm (80:3-4) (fig. 30). Sirens were popularised by Homer's *Odyssey*, which told that they lured sailors with their beautiful songs into dangerous areas of the sea to kill them. This story is also depicted in one of the preceding *bas-de-page* images in the Queen Mary Psalter (figs. 46, 47). David Williams points out that the medieval descriptions put a strong emphasis on the contradiction between the beautiful female upper part, and the repulsiveness of the fish-like scaly lower part. This contradiction mirrors the contrast between the beautiful song of the sirens and their deadly intentions.[302] This makes the juxtaposition of the sirens with the psalms antithetical: the psalms and the image of David playing the bells show music as a means to salvation, whereas sirens' songs can lead only to death.

Gilbert Durand argued that the siren is a feminization of a monster placed in the element of water, which signifies menstruation, and the siren herself is the fatal power of female-matter.[303] Williams adds to this by stating that, in Western thought, 'in the siren is signified the luring destruction of matter and the annihilating power of the flesh as signified by the feminine'.[304] Despite Durand's and Williams' arguments on the monstrosity of the siren, it is hard to see it in this psalter, due to the delicate nature of the drawing. In addition, it is hard not to agree with Sandler's generalising statement

> There are no caricatures, no graphic horrors; perhaps the least convincing illustrations are those showing the 'terrors' of Hell. Dragons, devils and other monsters are delineated with alluring feathery, curlicued tails, beards, claws and wings. The mood is

[300] Stanton 1992:156 and see beginning of this chapter.
[301] Hassig 1997:187-188.
[302] Williams 1996:188.
[303] Gilbert Durand *Les structures anthropologiques de l'imaginaire: introduction à l'archétypologie générale* as translated and quoted by Williams 1996:188.
[304] Williams 1996:189.

> serene; the aggressive, the terrifying, while not ignored, is glossed over by the uniform stamp of lightness and delicacy.[305]

The monstrosity of the sirens is subdued in two *bas-de-page* images (fig. 30, 46). Nonetheless, despite their allure, the sirens' viciousness is shown in the scene where they murder the sailors (fig. 47). This indicates that notwithstanding the delicacy of the images, the viewers were made aware of their bloody intentions and were likely to read them into the more peaceful representations. Consequently, a siren positioned underneath the temptation narrative would be read as a didactic parallel that teaches what happens to those who are seduced into temptation, giving spiritual warning and helping to guide the mind back to the Temptation of Christ and the psalm. Not only do they guard the margins of the page, but also the border between devotion and daydreaming.

In this way, the image has a task to encourage and 'tempt' the princes' eye and mind to wander off and succumb to temptation, while at the same time reminding him of the consequences. Considering this image was created for a young prince, it is likely that the sirens, rather than any other being that represents the perils of temptation, were chosen to provide a reference to the adventurous *Odyssey*. It is also plausible that it is a way for the mother to start teaching her son about the affairs of the heart and that when lured by beauty he should resist temptation. If this is the case, then in the Queen Mary Psalter the women take on two distinct roles: good mothers of kings, who help their sons achieve greatness, or seducing half-bestial monsters, who follow the 'power of female' topos. This argument is then supported by the iconographical choice of portraying the serpent with a female head rather than with a snake's or a demon's. In combination with the previous chapter, it seems that in case of the Fall of Man and the Temptation of Christ, it was the Devil doing the tempting while a monstrous female is always lurking nearby.

This image, arguably, tells more about why the Devil was represented the way he was. There was no generic way to portray the Devil, yet there were basic guidelines for depicting monstrosity, and the Devil seems to be more a compilation of random monstrous characteristics than an established set of traits. He can be distinguished on the pages of one manuscript either by having the most monstrous traits or by his placement within a narrative. For example, the monster tempting Christ in the three Temptations will always be the Devil.

[305] Sandler 1986:66.

The monstrous traits were described and popularised by Isidore of Seville in his encyclopaedic *Etymologiae*. Hence, the pictorial tradition was initially informed by the work of a theologian; however, which monstrous traits were to be used, as well as which temptation narrative to use (Luke's or Matthew's) was an artistic choice, possibly influenced by other visual representations, and the patron's wishes.

Conclusions

The Devil in medieval art has many faces, each unique yet always identifiable. In this study, by examining the Fall of the Angels, the Fall of Man, and the Temptation of Christ illuminations in the Queen Mary Psalter, I have attempted to determine what texts and traditions influenced the varying representations of the Devil. I aimed to investigate the signifiers of the demonic, how were they formed, and what pictorial characteristics allowed the viewer to recognise the Devil in his different guises.

The role of the biblical narrative in interrogating these issues should not be overestimated. It is true that the Bible provides us with a framework that helps to identify the Devil. For instance, when we see an image with a monster holding a rock and standing next to Christ, we can deduce that it is the scene of the First Temptation, hence the monster must be the Devil, no matter what his appearance. Although the role of the Bible cannot be disputed, it should be differentiated from the biblical tradition, and biblical paraphrases that grew from it. As this research has shown, the Bible was a mental construct in the Middle Ages that was shaped by biblical paraphrases, popular sermons, mystery plays, and custom. Moreover, the Bible *per se* did not provide all of the narratives. For example, the Fall of Angels was an extra-biblical creation, and the episode is only briefly referenced in some New Testament texts; the full account if the narrative is never given (see chapter 1). Thus, any attempts to depict Lucifer relied on custom, previous examples and artistic preferences, rather than on one authoritative text. Moreover, the Devil was also often incorporated into biblical narratives where he is not mentioned in the biblical text, as we have seen in the case of the Fall of Man story. In Genesis the Devil does not make an appearance in Eden; nevertheless, the snake was interpreted as such by theologians and so it was depicted as the Devil's agent in many of the examples discussed above.

Artistic and patron's preferences played major roles in where and how the Devil was to be positioned within a given illuminated manuscript. The addition of three demons into the Fall of Man scene in the Queen Mary Psalter was clearly done in response to the patron's demand. At the beginning of this research, I assumed that the patron's influence would extend to the choice of images but not to the manner of their representation; but my findings have

suggested otherwise. The active involvement of the patron also strengthens the claims made in other recent research that the manuscript was commissioned by Isabella of France.

This research has also revealed that the Bible, theological treatises and even biblical paraphrases were alone not key in shaping the pictorial signifiers of the demonic. Writers and theologians did not preoccupy themselves with the appearance of the Devil as there was no need for them to do so. In order to write about the Devil, one does not have to describe his physical form, and during this research I did not come across any extensive descriptions of the Devil's appearance. On the other hand, physical appearance is the primary concern of the artists, as they face the challenge to depict the narrative and its characters, including the Devil. Essentially, medieval artists had to construct a paradigm of a character, working from their imagination, contemporary customs and previous examples. As this research has shown, the categories of monstrosity outlined by Isidore of Seville were applied to the representations of the Devil: by these definitions, he had to be monstrous. The choice of which traits from the list to apply was the prerogative of the artist, and even when the Devil is depicted in a stylistically delicate manner, as in the Queen Mary Psalter, he is still monstrous.

It is impossible to say if any of the artists or illuminators were acquainted with Isidore's work, hence the role of previous pictorial examples can be seen as vital. This research has not shown that any of the illuminators directly copied models but rather that they used similar pictorial strategies. For example, artists often used the Devil's appearance to show his inner state in pictorial cycles of the Three Temptations of Christ. In this imagery, it seems that the most popular methods were to either multiply the monstrosity to show the Devil's increasing frustration, or to make him smaller and in this way emphasise his impotency against Christ. Similarly, by the early fourteenth century, there were two methods of portraying the snake in the Fall of Man illustrations. The first was to render the tempter as a snake, the second, as a female-headed serpent. The choice of the method was made by the artist or just as plausibly, by the patron.

Given the limitations of such a short study, I was able to look only at the three narratives outlined at the start of this research. Obviously, for a more decisive conclusion about representations of the Devil, a wider investigation would be beneficial. Nevertheless, the scenes chosen are key to the development of traditions concerning the Devil's role in salvation history as well as representative of the wider pictorial programme of the manuscript. They

show the Devil in the process of metamorphosis, which helps distinguish the signifiers of his demonic nature. This current study can be brought by a decisive conclusion that the Devil in the Queen Mary Psalter is identified not so much on the basis of the Biblical narrative or theological inference, as by the signifiers of the demonic, which are shaped by custom, popular beliefs, existing visual culture, artistic imagination, and the wishes of the patron.

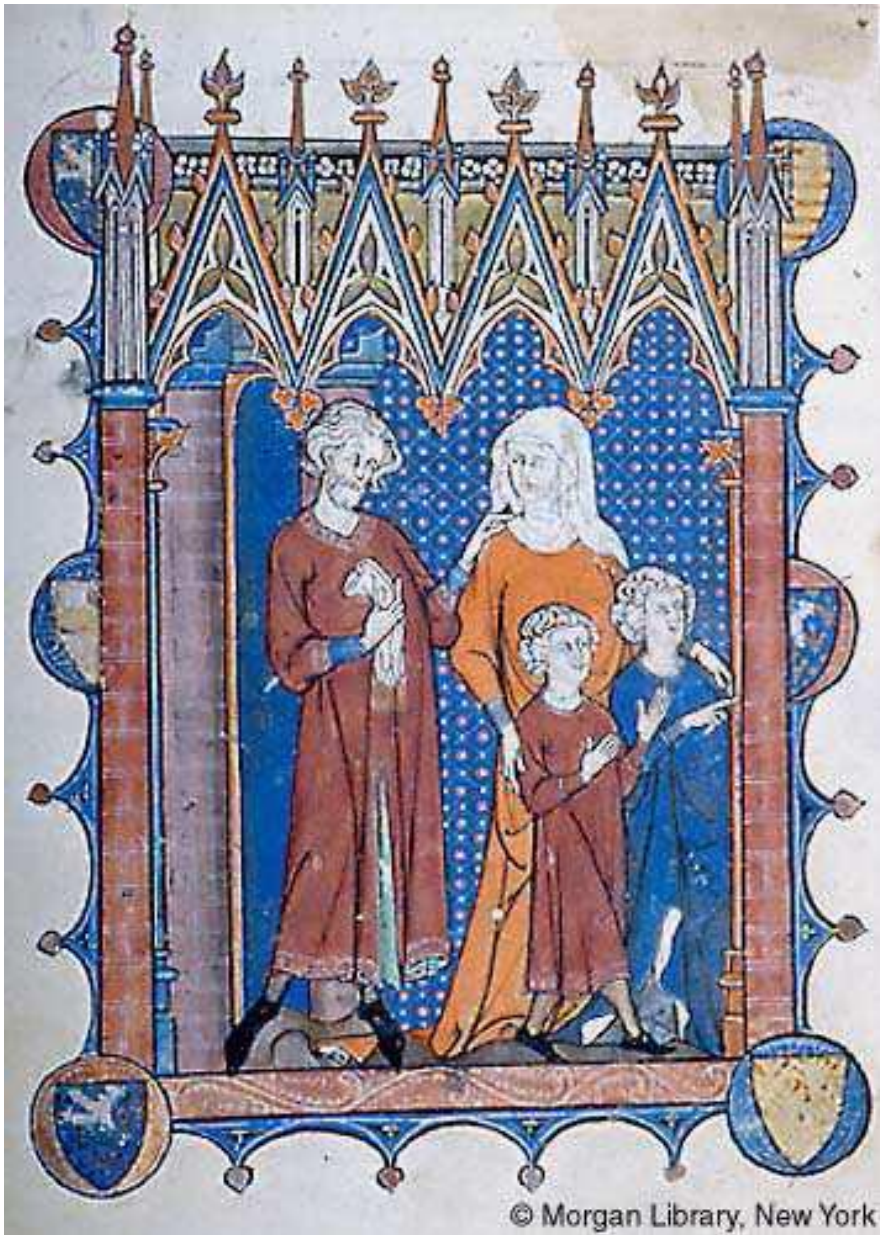

Figure 1 Yolande leading her sons to the Psalter, Psalter-Hours of Yolande de Soissons, Pierpont Morgan Library, MS M 0729, fol. 1v, France, 1280-1300.

Figure 2 Fall of the Angels, Queen Mary Psalter, British Library, MS 2 B VII, fol. 1v, England (London?), 1310-1320.

Figure 3 God Creator, Guyart des Moulins, *Bible Historial*, British Library, Royal 19 D.III, fol. 3r, France, c.1411.

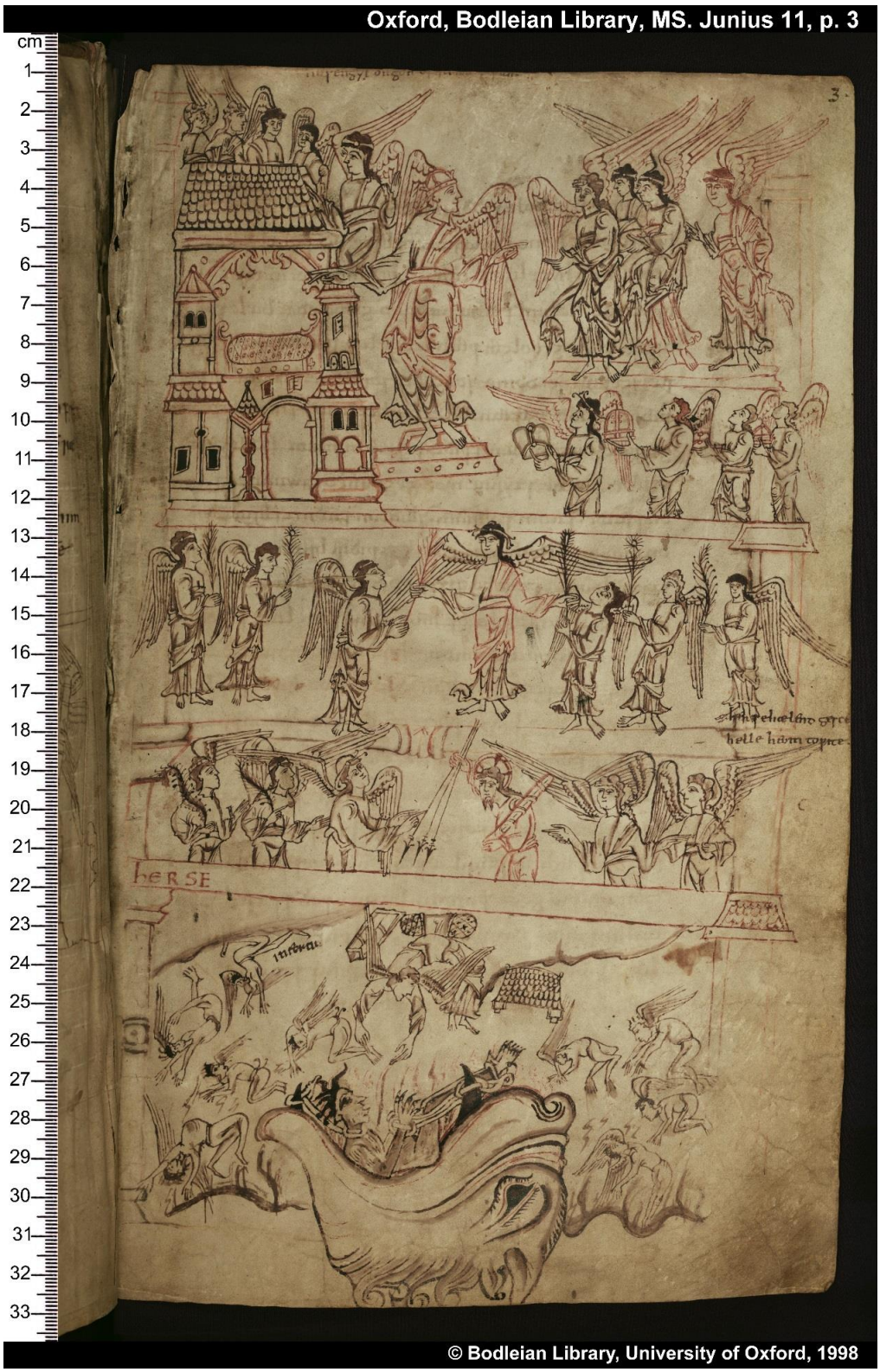

Figure 4 Fall of the Angels, Caedmon Manuscript, Bodleian Library, MS. Junius 11, fol. 3, England, c. 1000.

Figure 5 Creation, Lothian Bible, Pierpont Morgan Library, MS M 791, fol. 4v, England (Oxford), c.1220.

Figure 6 Creation, Holkham Bible, British Library, MS 47682, fol. 2r, England (London), 1327-1340.

Figure 7 Fall of the Angels, Psalter of St Louis and Blanche of Castille, Bibliothèque de l'Arsenal, MS 1186, fol. 9v, Paris, early 13th century.

Figure 8 Creation of Eve, and God Forbidding to Eat From the Tree, Queen Mary Psalter, British Library, MS 2 B VII, fol. 3r, England (London?), 1310-1320.

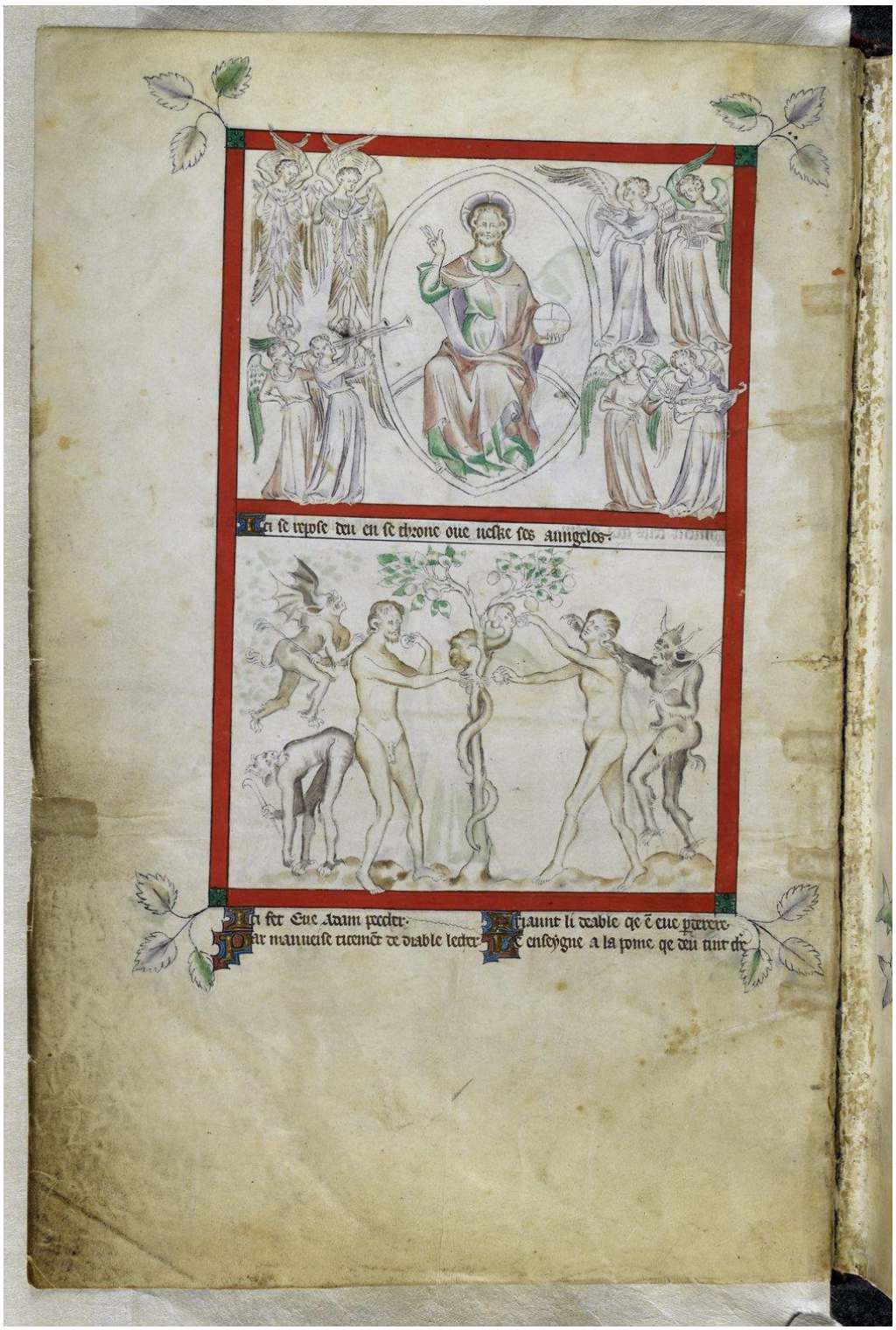

Figure 9 God Surrounded by Angels and the Fall of Man, Queen Mary Psalter, British Library, MS 2 B VII, fol. 3v, England (London?), 1310-1320.

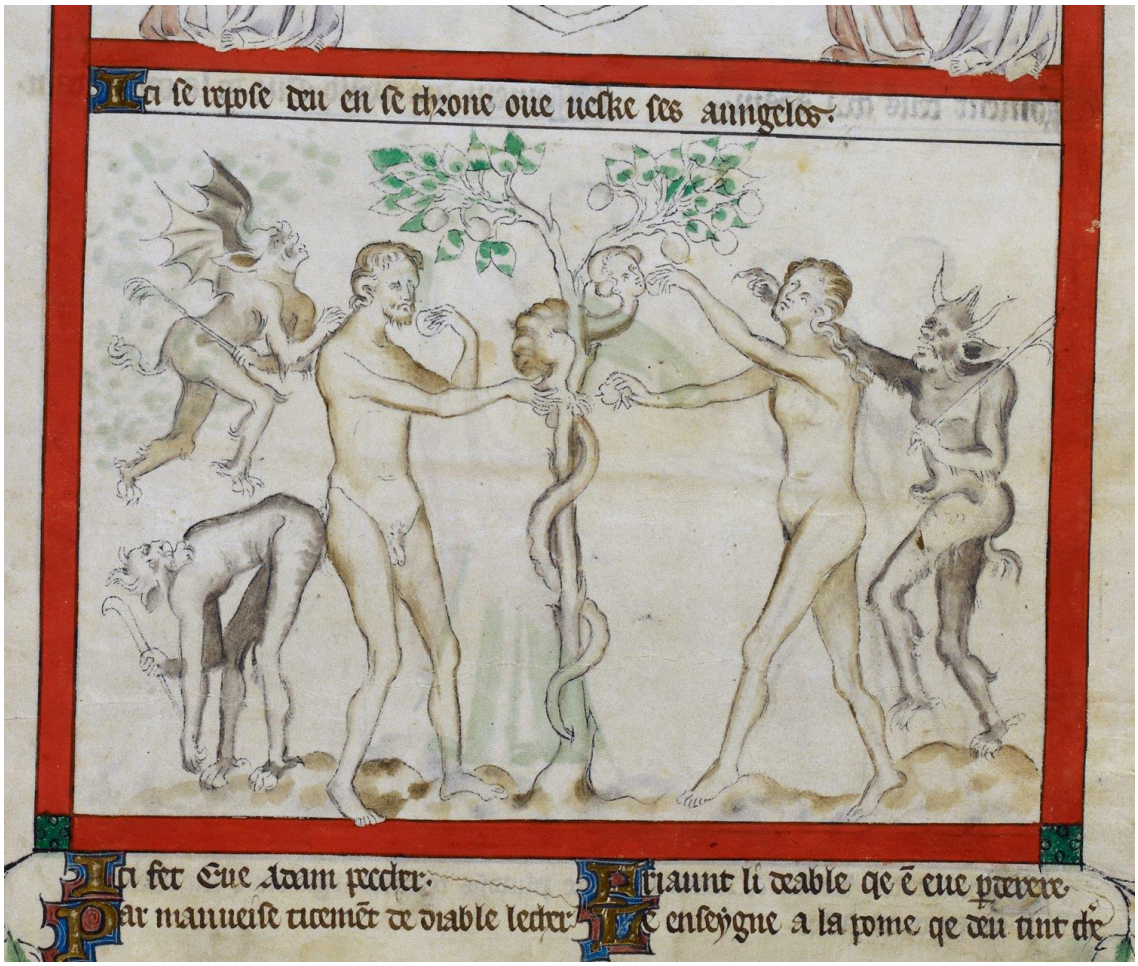

Figure 10 Fall of Man (detail), Queen Mary Psalter, British Library, MS 2 B VII, fol. 3v, England (London?), 1310-1320.

Figure 11 Expulsion from Paradise, Queen Mary Psalter, British Library, MS 2 B VII, fol. 4r, England (London?), 1310-1320.

Figure 12 Fall of Man, Caedmon Manuscript, Bodleian Library, MS Junius 11, p. 20, England, c. 1000.

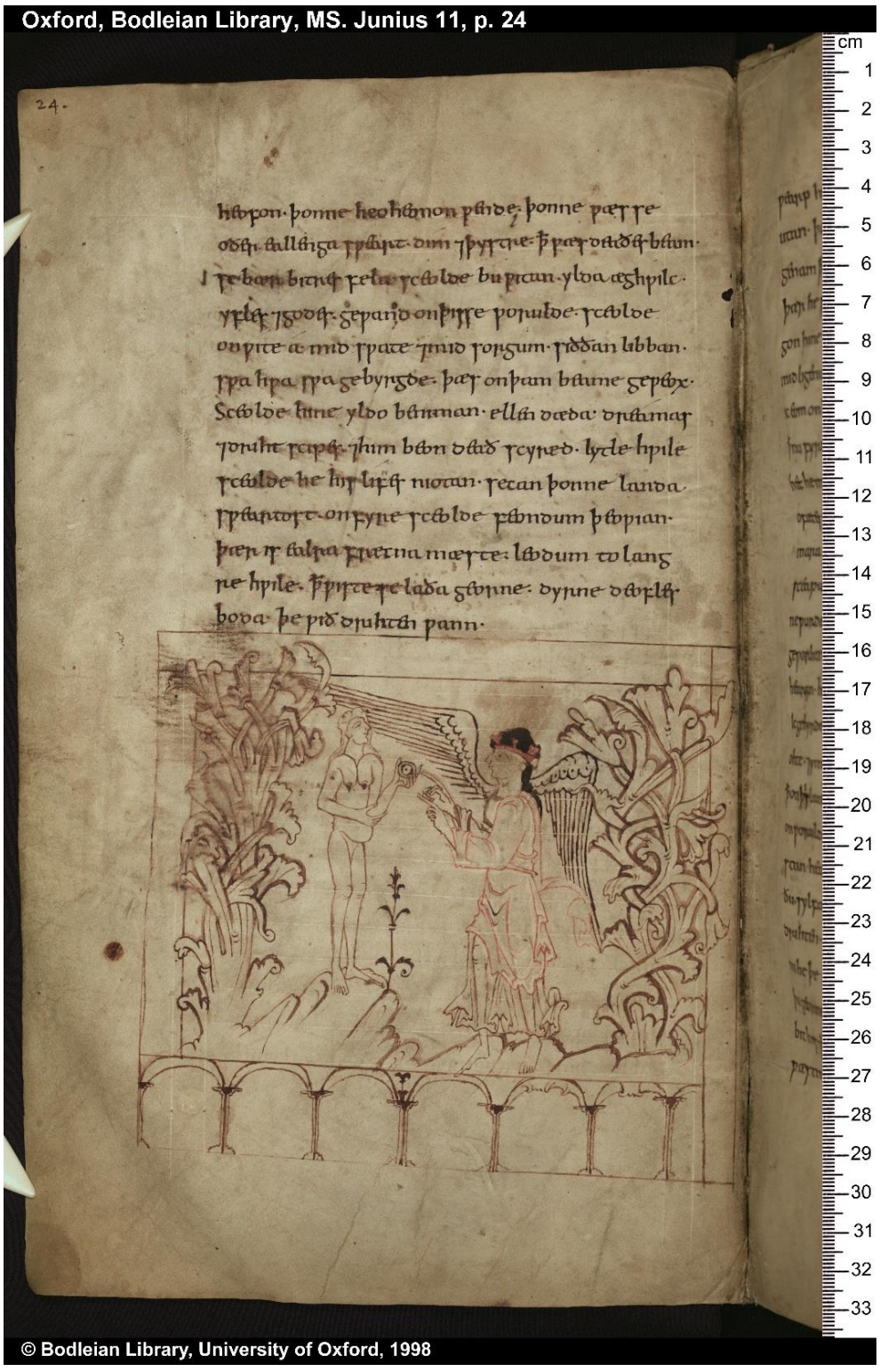

Figure 13 Temptation of Adam, Caedmon Manuscript, Bodleian Library, MS Junius 11, p. 24, England, c. 1000.

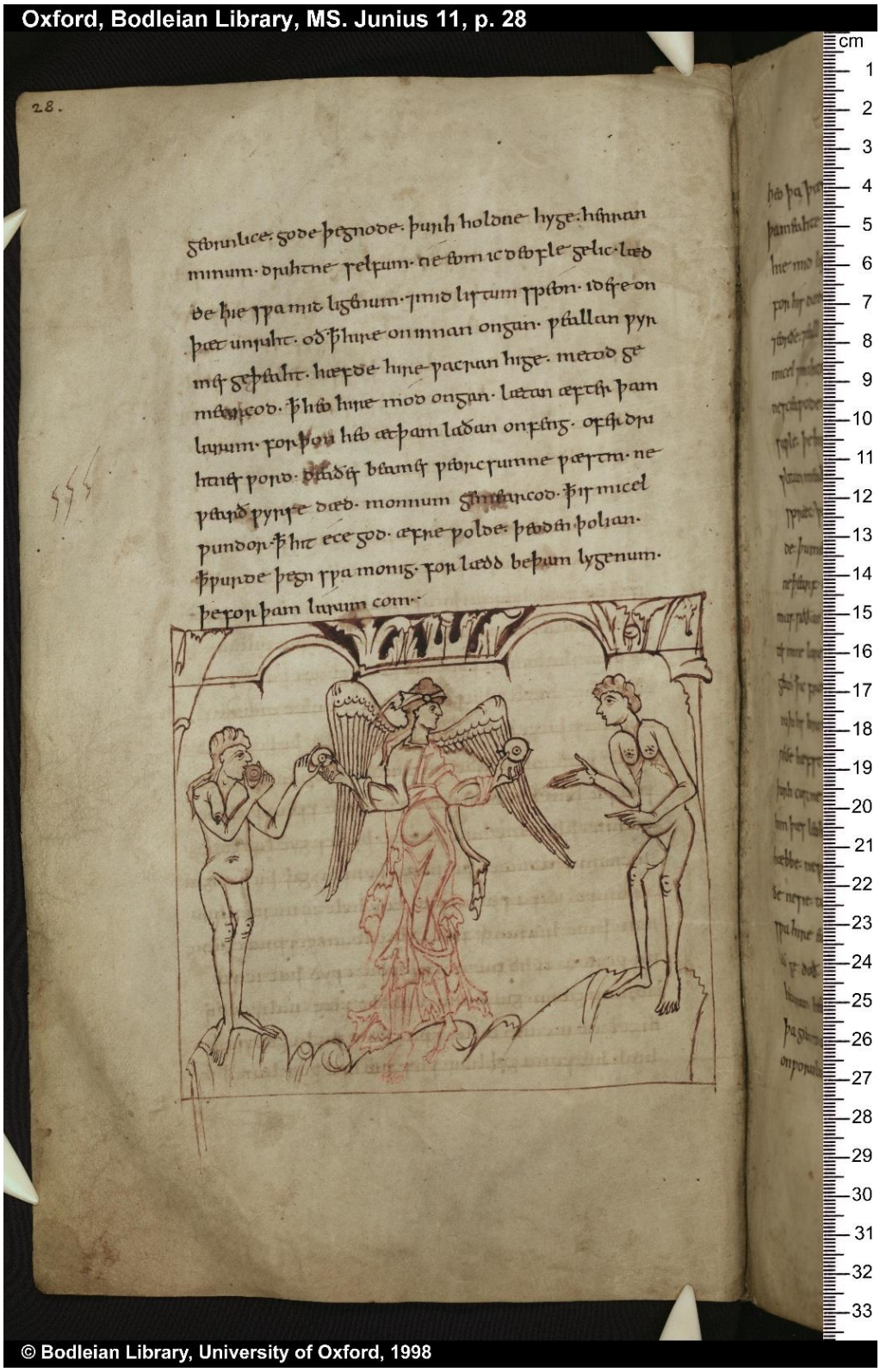

Figure 14 Temptation of Eve, Caedmon Manuscript, Bodleian Library, MS. Junius 11, p. 28, England, c. 1000.

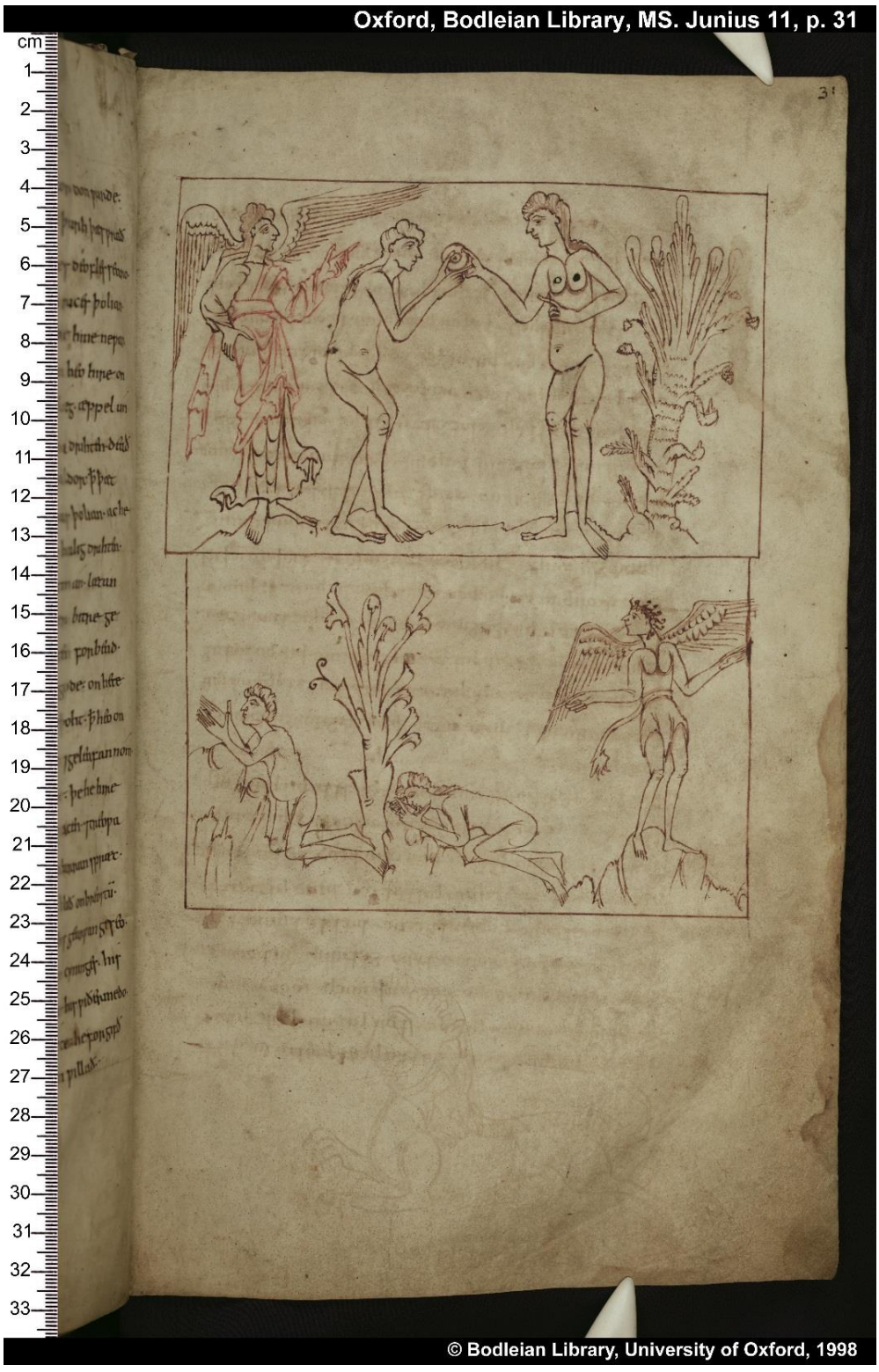

Figure 15 Fall of Man, Caedmon Manuscript, Bodleian Library, MS. Junius 11, p. 31, England, c. 1000.

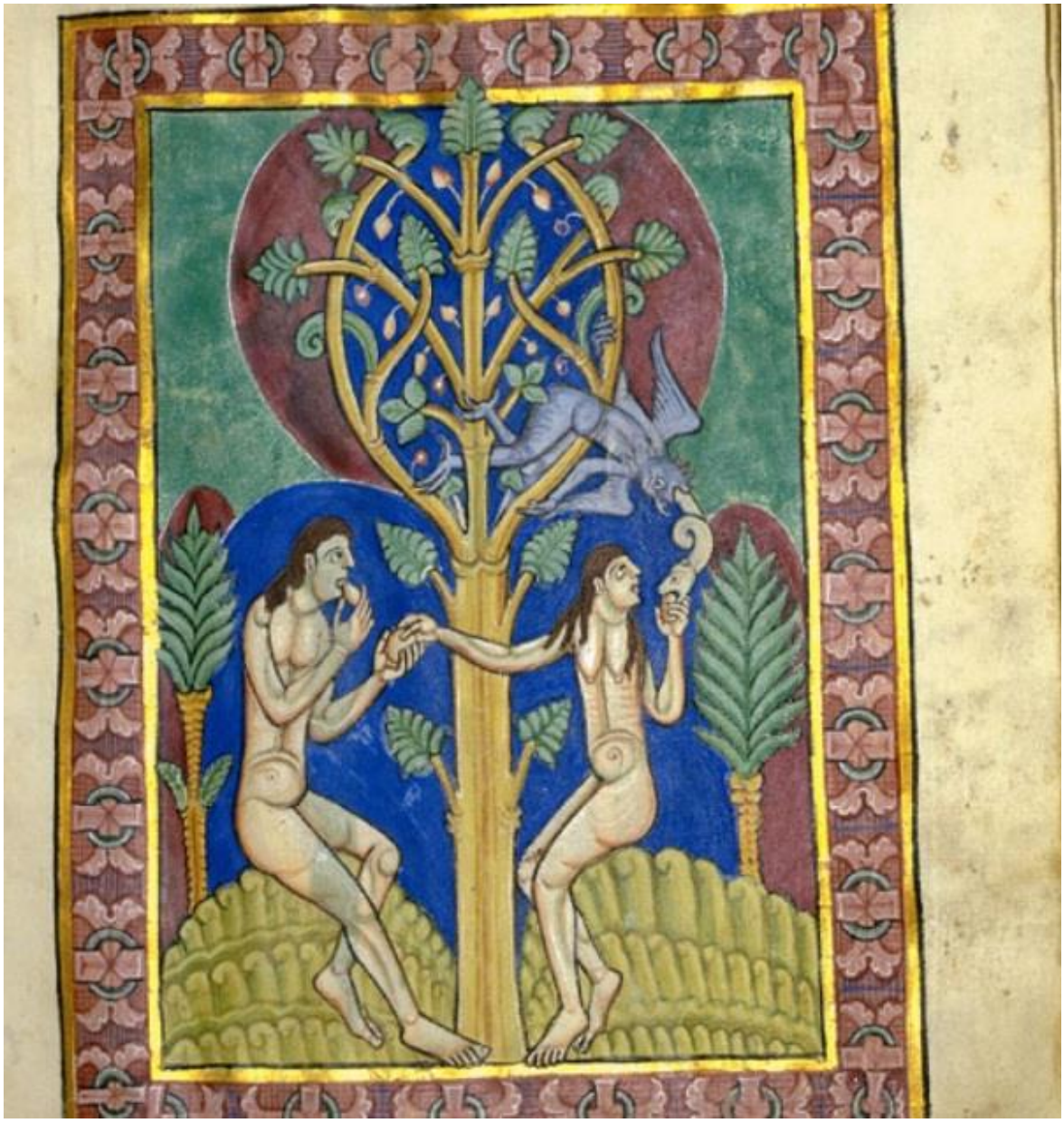

Figure 16 Temptation of Adam and Eve, St Albans Psalter, Dombibliothek Hildeshein, MS St Godehard 1, p. 17, England, c. 1120-1145.

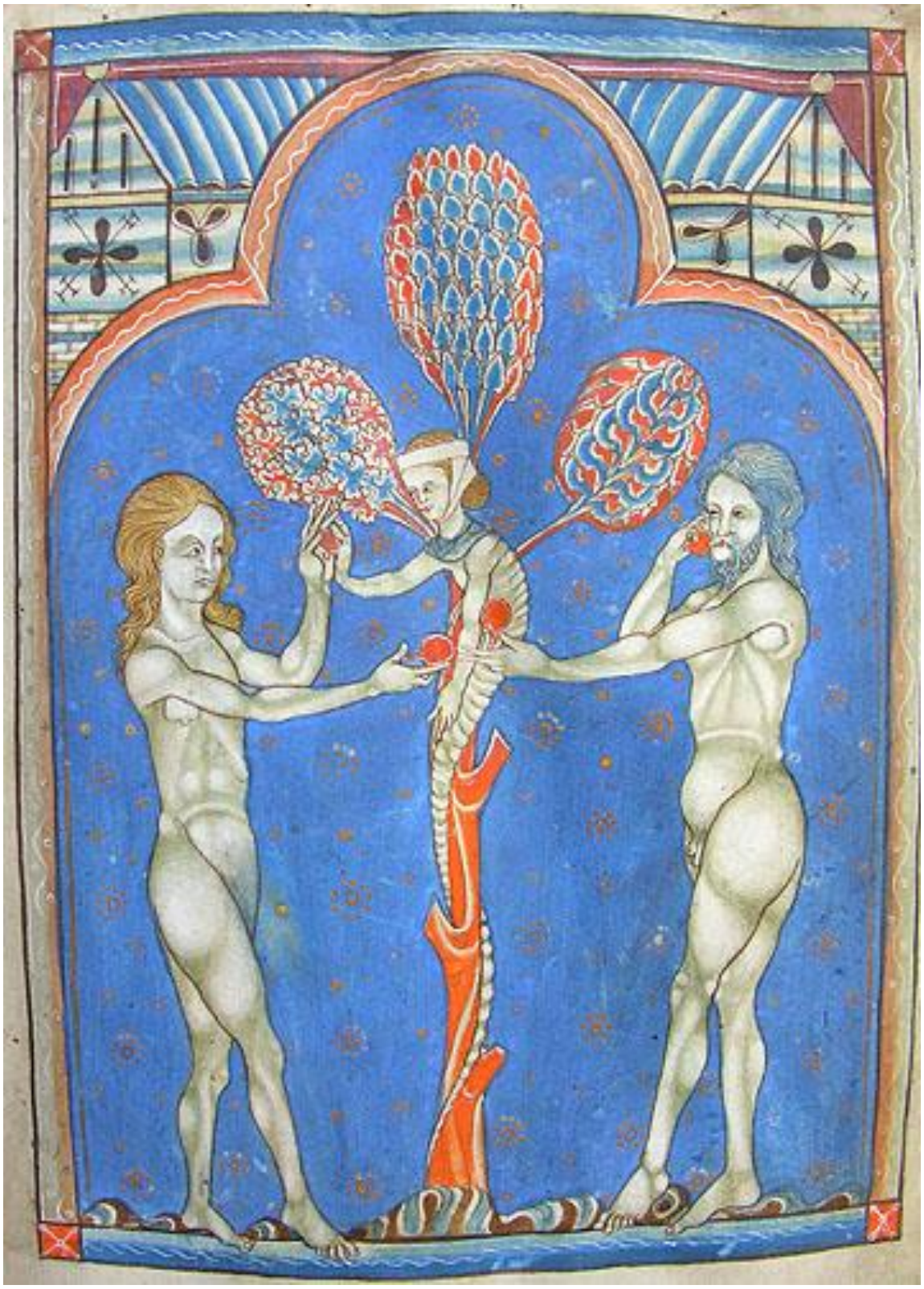

Figure 17 Temptation of Adam and Eve, St John's Psalter, Cambridge St John's College, MS K 26, fol. 9, England, c. 1270-80.

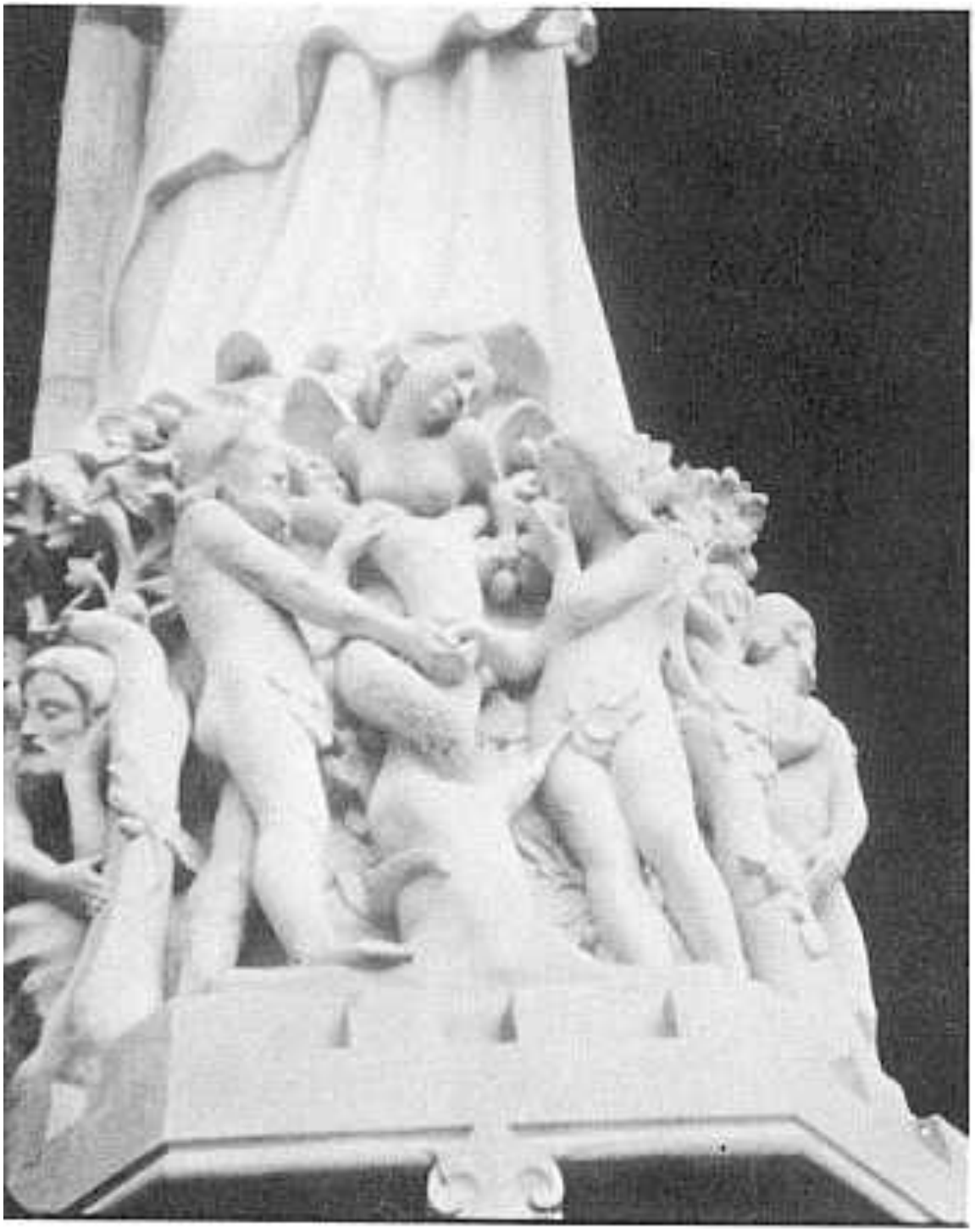

Figure 18 Base of pillar, Virgin's door, Cathedral of Notre Dame, Paris, c. 1220.

Figure 19 Michelangelo, Temptation of Adam and Eve, Sistine Chapel Ceiling, 1508-1512, Vatican.

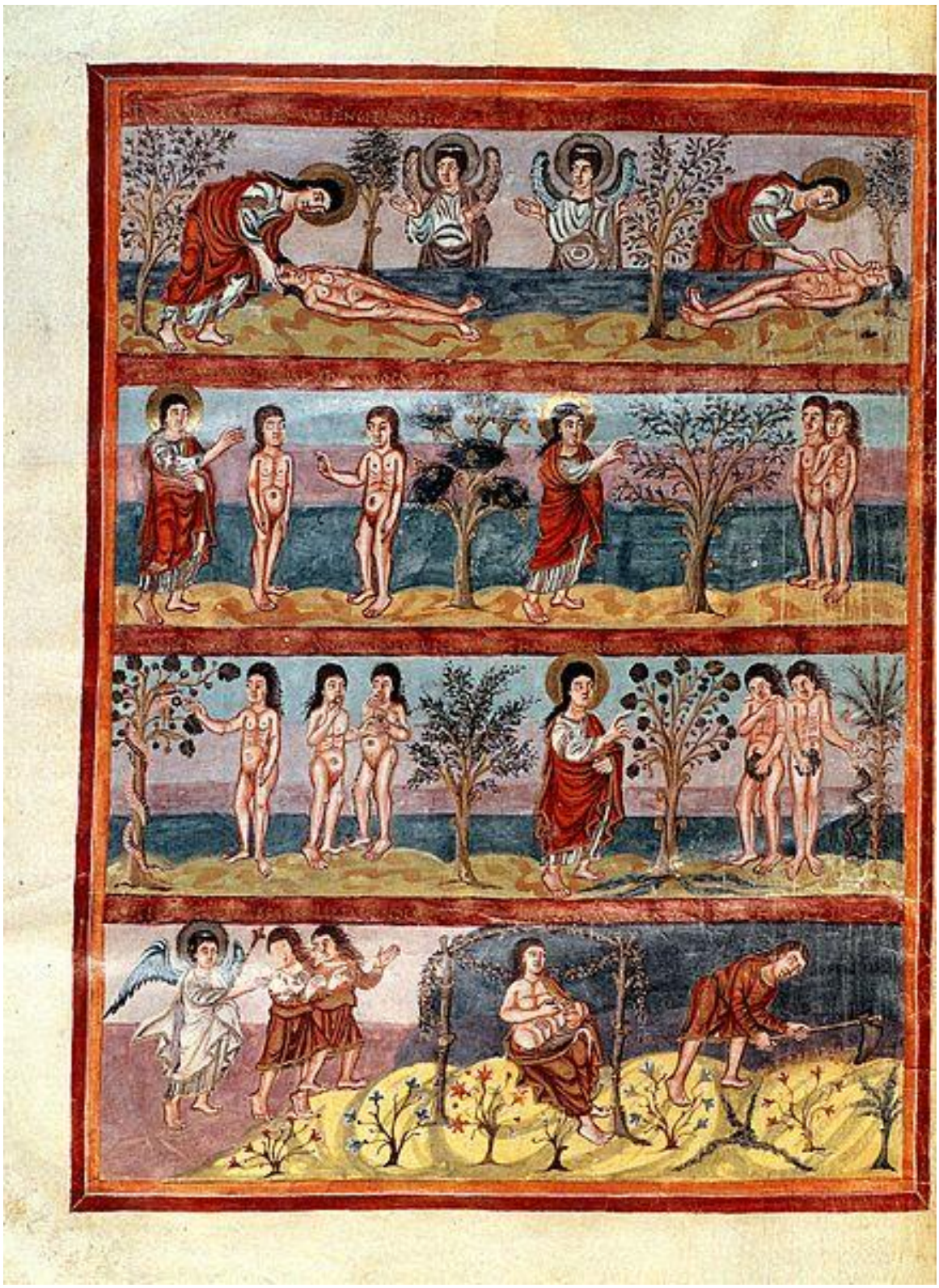

Figure 20 The Story of Adam and Eve, Moutier-Grandval Bible, British Library, MS 10546, fol. 5v, 830-840.

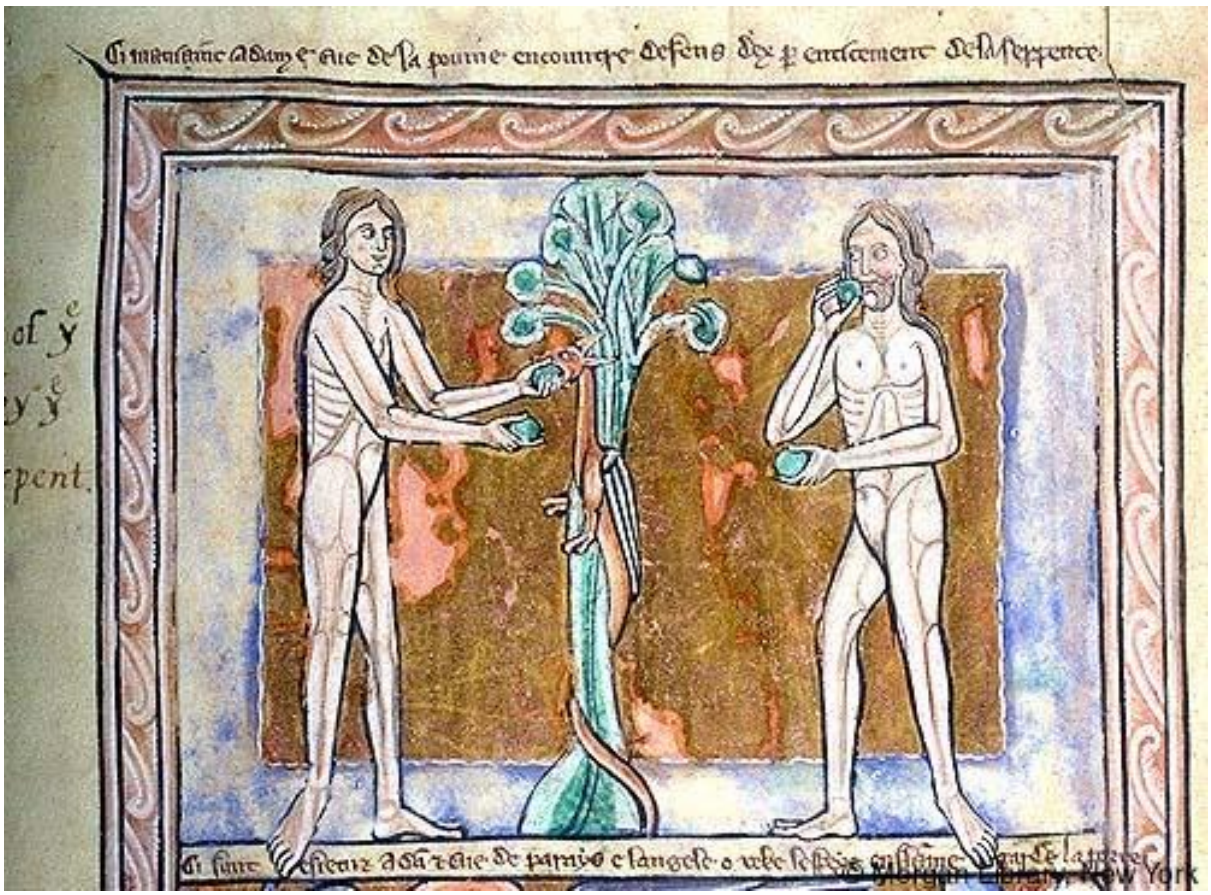

Figure 21 Temptation of Adam and Eve (detail), Huntingfield Psalter, Pierpont Morgan Library, MS M. 43, fol. 7v, Oxford, England, c. 1212-1220.

Figure 22 Winged Snake Fighting a Rooster, Queen Mary Psalter, British Library, MS 2 B VII, fol. 187v (detail), England (London?), 1310-1320.

Figure 23 Creation and the Story of Adam and Eve, Morgan Old Testament Miniatures, Pierpont Morgan Library, MS M638, fol. 1v, Paris, France, c. 1244-1254.

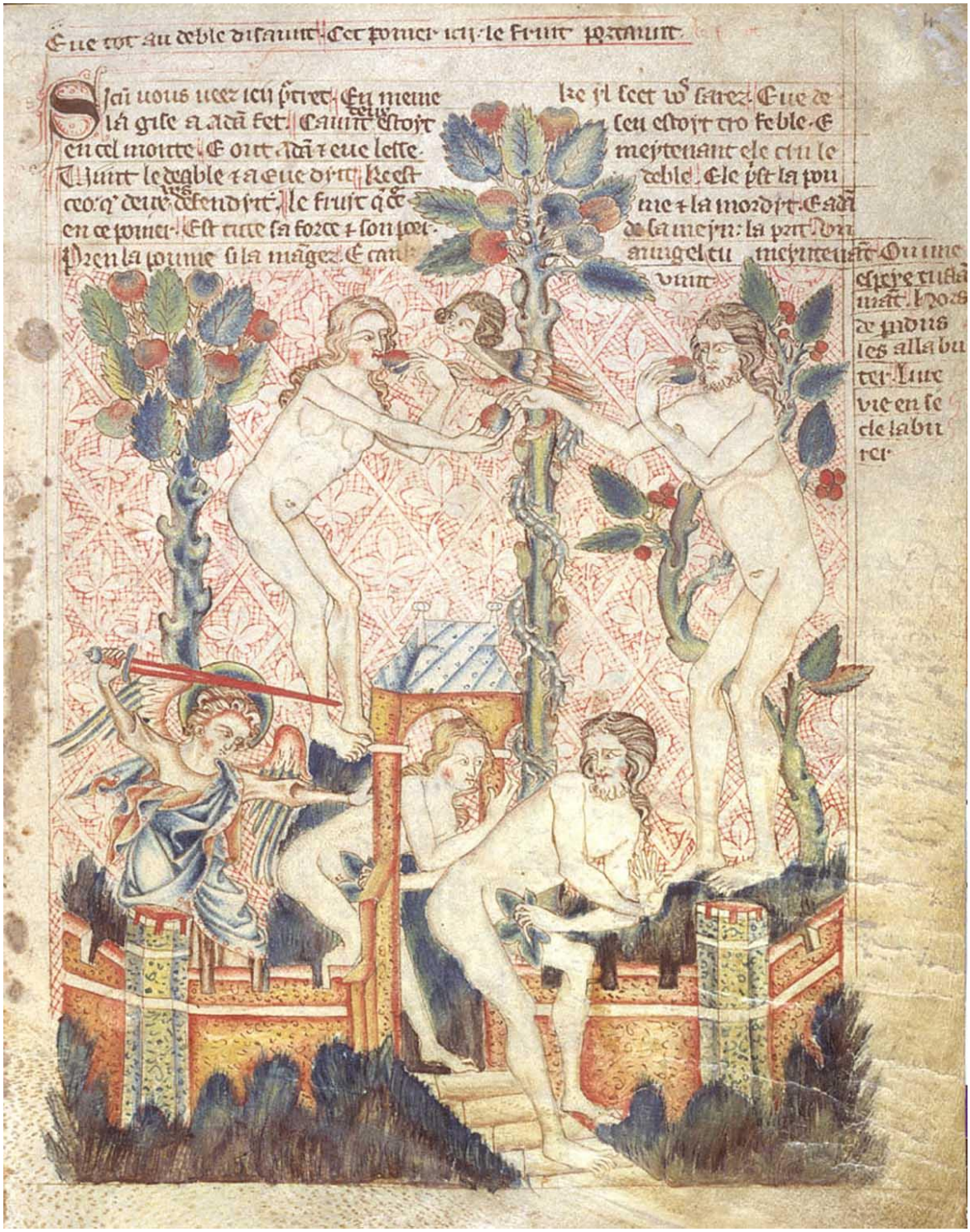

Figure 24 Fall and Expulsion of Adam and Eve, Holkham Bible, British Library, MS 47682, fol. 4r, England (London), 1327-1340.

Figure 25 Phyllis and Aristotle, Aquamanile, Bronze, The Metropolitan Museum of Art, South Lowlands, late 14th century.

Figure 26a Adam & Eve, Expulsion, Psalter of Queen Isabella, Bavarian State Library, BSB Cod.gall.16, fol. 10v (detail), England, 1303-1308.

Figure 26b Centaurs, Expulsion, Psalter of Queen Isabella, Bavarian State Library, BSB Cod.gall.16, fol. 11 (detail), England, 1303-1308.

Figure 27 John Collier, Lilith, 1892, Southport Atkinson Art Gallery.

Figure 28 Temptation of Christ, Queen Mary Psalter, British Library, MS 2 B VII, fol. 191r, England (London?), 1310-1320.

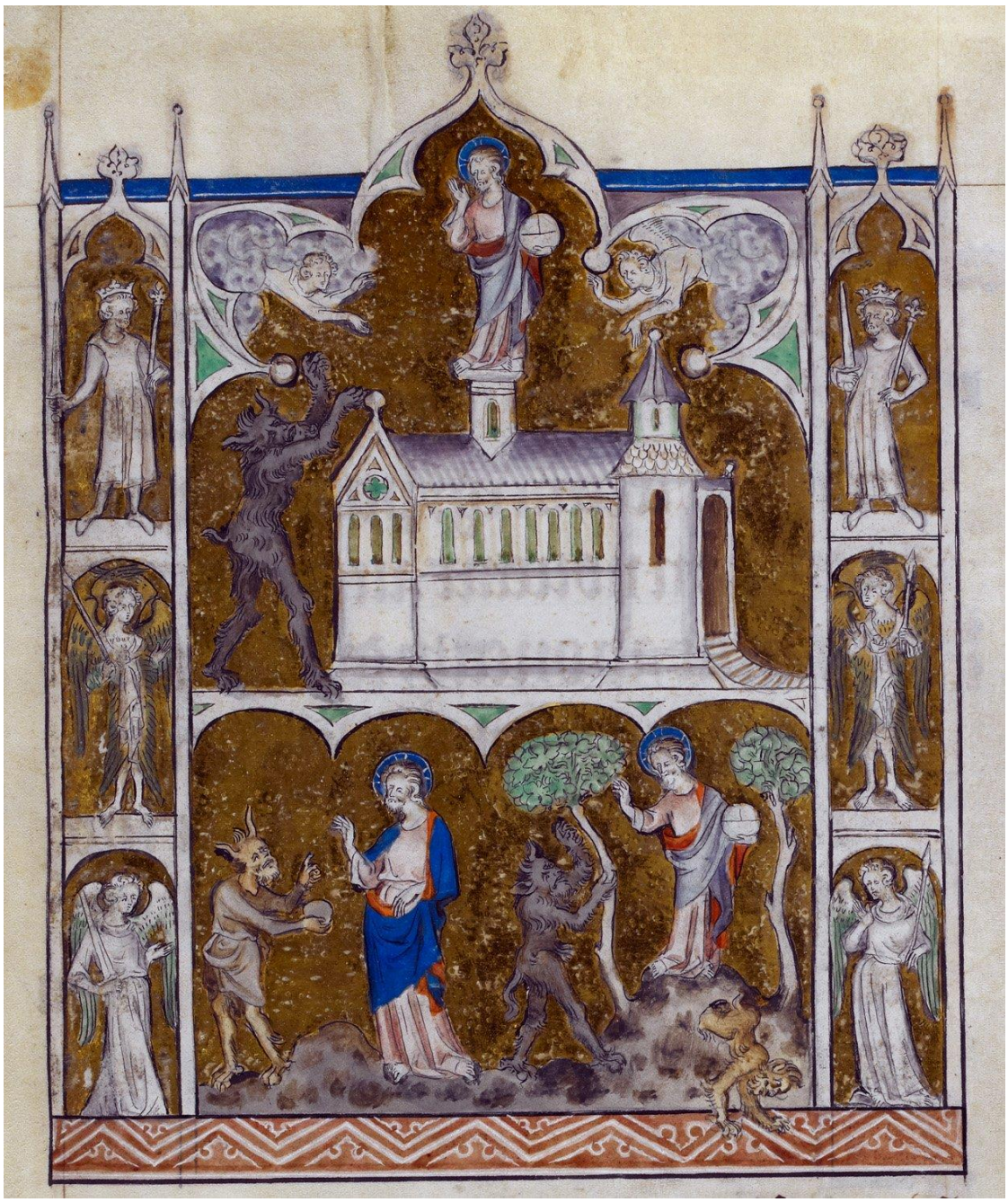

Figure 29 Temptation of Christ, Queen Mary Psalter, British Library, MS 2 B VII, fol. 191r, England (London?), 1310-1320, (detail).

Figure 30 Sirens, Queen Mary Psalter, British Library, MS 2 B VII, fol. 191r, England (London?), 1310-1320, (detail).

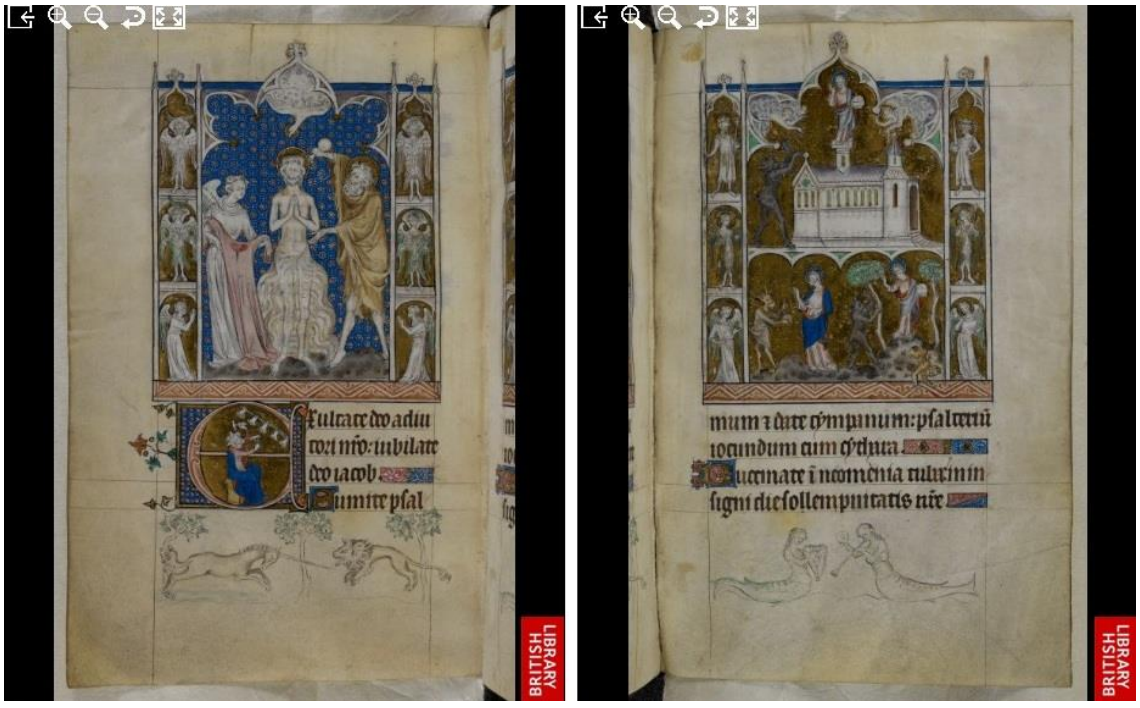

Figure 31 Baptism and Temptation of Christ, Queen Mary Psalter, British Library, MS 2 B VII, fol. 190 v, 191r, England (London?), 1310-1320.

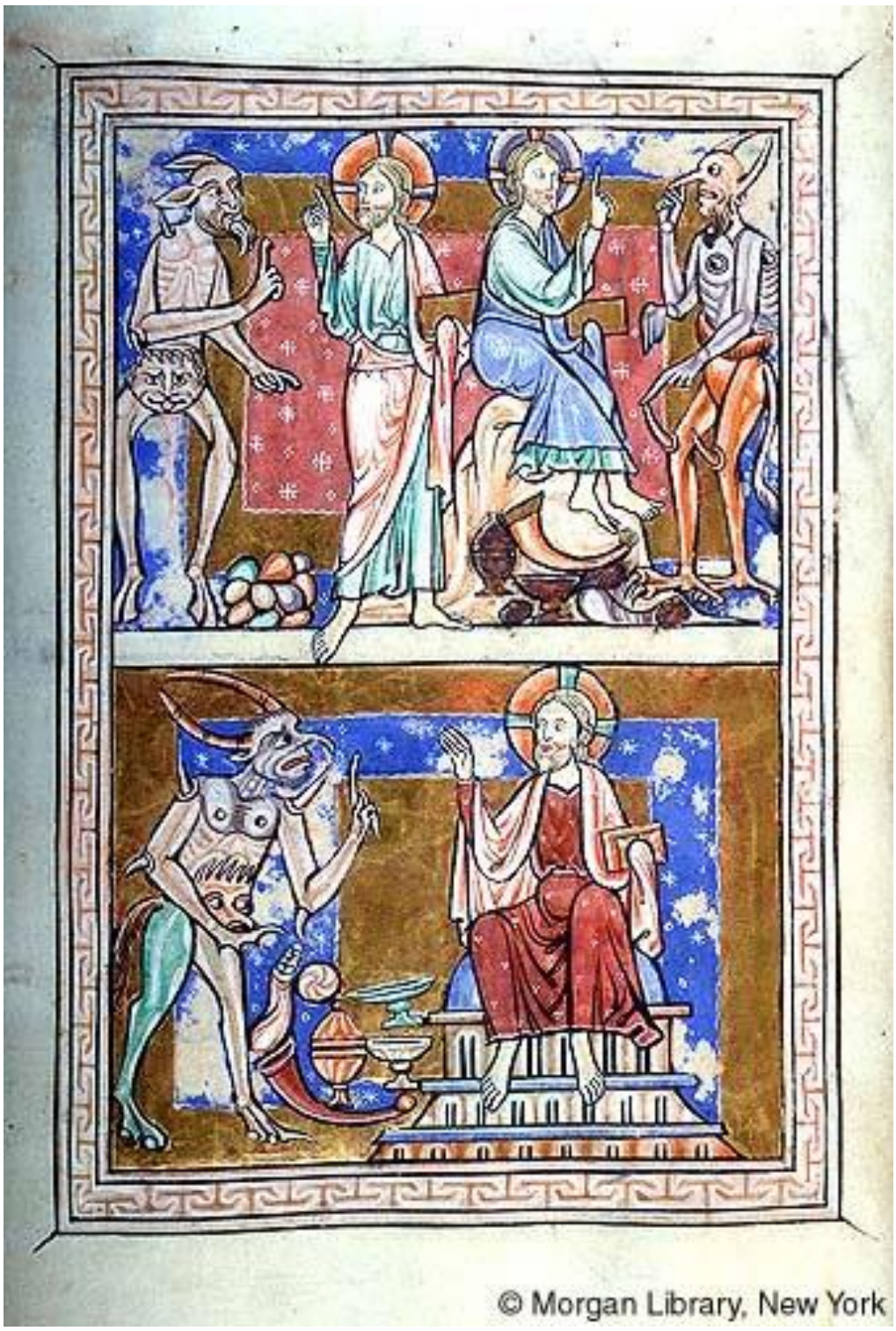

Figure 32 Temptation of Christ, Huntingfield Psalter, Pierpont Morgan Library, MS M. 43, fol. 20v, Oxford, England, c. 1212-1220.

Figure 33 First Temptation of Christ, St Albans Psalter, Dombibliothek Hildeshein, MS St Godehard 1, p. 33, England, c. 1120-1145.

Figure 34 Second and Third Temptation of Christ, St Albans Psalter, Dombibliothek Hildeshein, MS St Godehard 1, p. 34, 35, England, c. 1120-1145.

Figure 35 Temptation of Christ, Holkham Bible, British Library, MS 47682, fol. 20.r, England (London), 1327-1340.

Figure 36 Devil, *Livre de la Vigne nostre Seigneur*, Oxford Bodleian Library, MS Douce 134, fol. 98r, France, c. 1450.

Figure 37 Hereford *Mappae Mundi*, Vellum, Hereford Cathedral, England, c. 1285.

Figure 38 Four Saints, Queen Mary Psalter, British Library, MS 2 B VII, fol. 308v, England (London?), 1310-1320, (detail).

Figure 39 Three Temptations of Christ and Entry into Jerusalem, Psalter, Pierpont Morgan Library, MS M. 101, fol. 18 v, France, c. 1270.

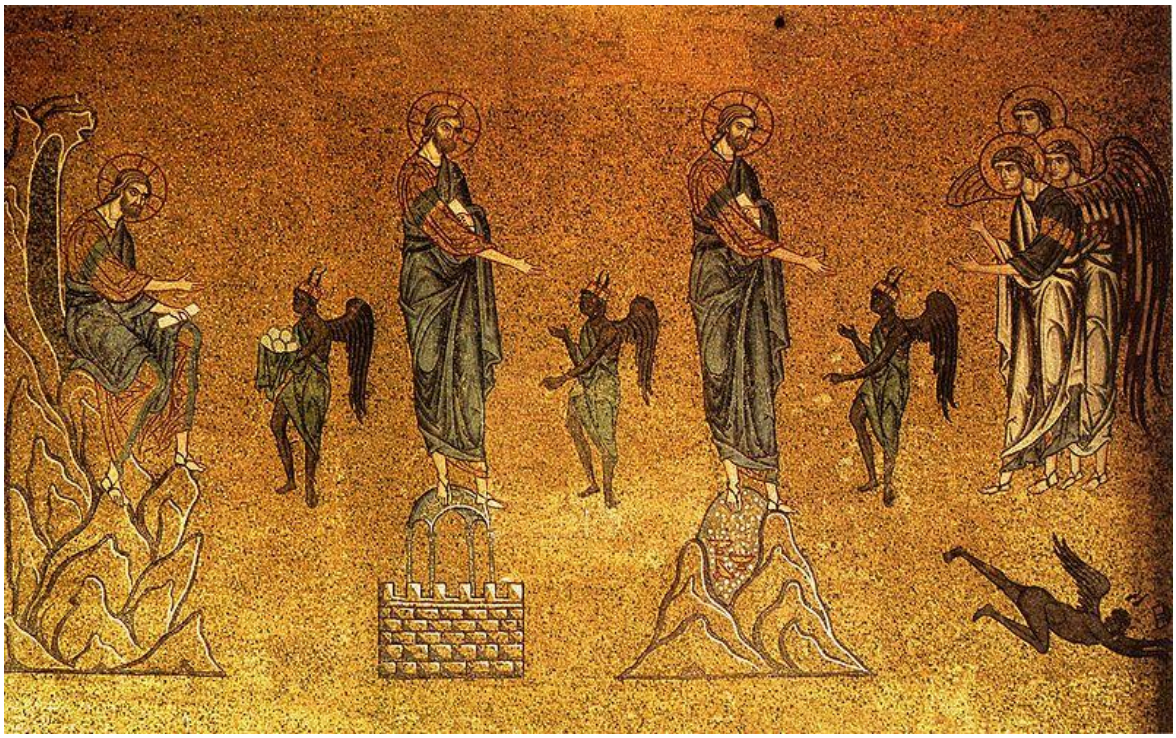

Figure 40 Temptation of Christ, Mosaic, St Mark Basilica, Venice, 12th century.

Figure 41 Temptation of Christ, Ormesby Psalter, Oxford Bodleian Library, MS Douce 366, fol. 72r, East-Anglia, 1300-1310.

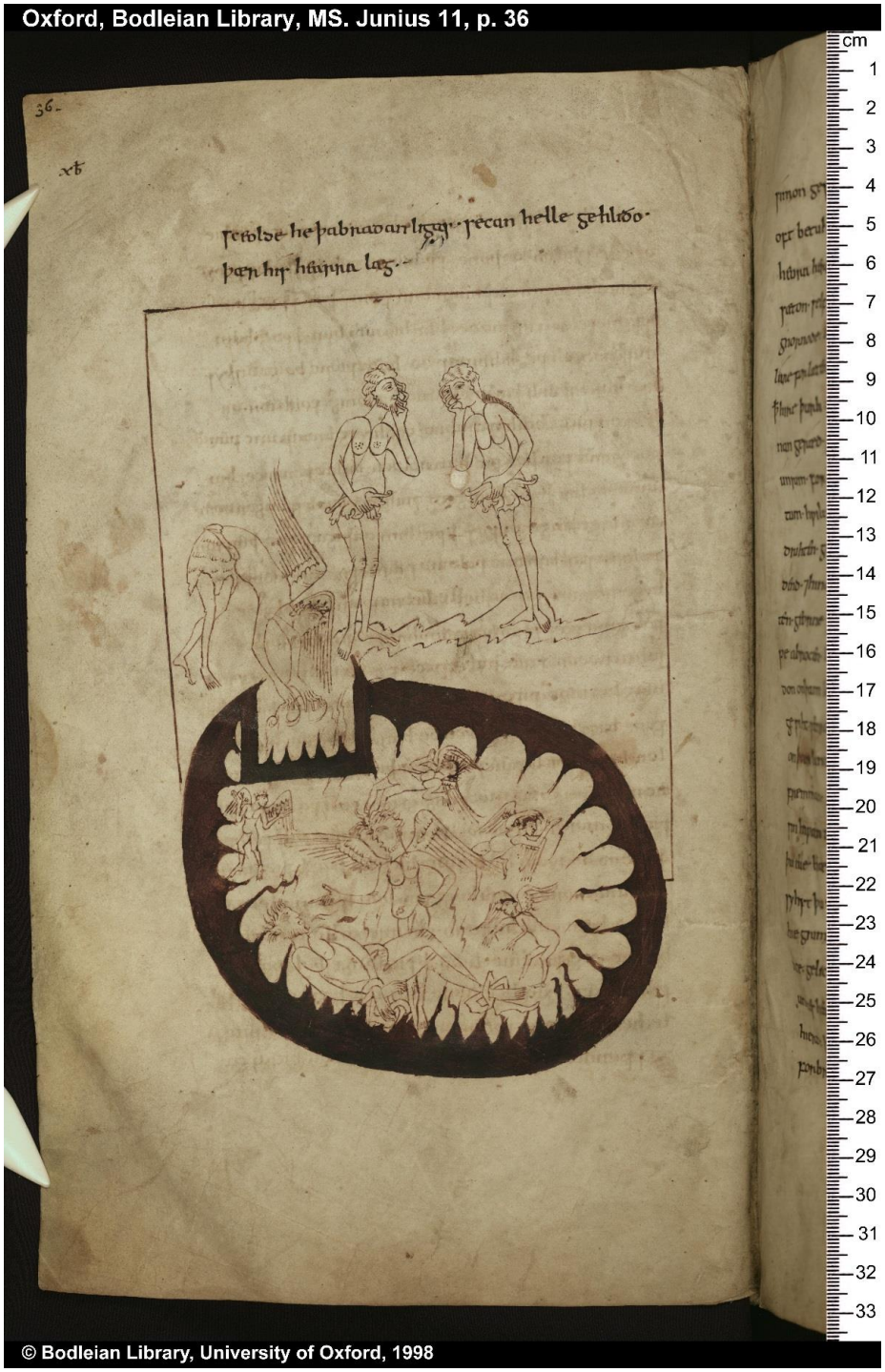

Figure 42 Temptation of Eve, Caedmon manuscript, Oxford Bodleian library, MS. Junius 11, p 36, England, c. 1000**.**

Figure 43 Noah's Ark, Queen Mary Psalter, British Library, MS 2 B VII, fol. 7r, England (London?), 1310-1320.

Figure 44 Virgin and Devil, Queen Mary's Psalter, British Library, MS 2 B VII, fol. 205v, England (London?), 1310-1320.

Figure 45 David playing bells in the initial of Psalm 80, Psalter of Richard of Canterbury, Pierpont Morgan Library, Ms Glazier 53, fol. 73v, England (London?), 1310-1320.

Figure 46 Sirens, Queen Mary Psalter, British Library, MS 2 B VII, fol. 96v, England (London?), 1310-1320.

Figure 47 Sirens, Queen Mary Psalter, British Library, MS 2 B VII, fol. 97r, England (London?), 1310-1320.

Bibliography

Bible

Doug Reims translation of the Bible
http://www.biblestudytools.com/rhe/

NRSV translation of the Bible
http://bible.oremus.org/

Primary Sources

Abrose, 'Paradise, chapter 4-15', in *Eve & Adam: Jewish, Christian, and Muslim readings on Genesis and gender*, Kvam K.E., Schearing L.S., and Ziegler V.H. (eds.), (Bloomington, 1999), pp. 136-141.

Anastasius Sinaita (c.150-250CE), 'Anagogicarum Contemplationum', in *Eve & Adam: Jewish, Christian, and Muslim Readings on Genesis and Gender,* Kvam K.E., Schearing L.S., and Ziegler V.H. (eds.), (Bloomington, 1999), p. 131.

Anselm of Canterbury, *De Casu Diaboli*, Hopkins J. and Richardson H. (trans.), (Minneapolis, 2000).

Aquinas T., *Basic Writings of Saint Thomas Aquinas: God and the Order of Creation*, Pegis A.C. (ed.), (New York, 1945).

Aquinas T., *Catena Aurea: Commentary on the Four Gospels*, collected out of the works of the fathers, J.H. Newman (translator), (Oxford, 1841).
http://archive.org/details/a6788682p103thomuoft
http://archive.org/details/p1catenaaureacom01thomuoft

Augustine, *De Genesis Ad Litteram (The Literal Meaning of Genesis Vol. 1and Vol. 2)*, from series Ancient Christian Writers, Lawler T.C. (translator), (New York, 1982).

Augustine, *The City of God*, Henry Bettenson (translator), (London, 2003).

Berakoth, Maurice Simon (translator), Rabbi Dr I. Epstein (editor).
http://www.come-and-hear.com/berakoth/index.html

Bonaventura, 'Commentary on the Gospel of Luke', in *Works of St. Bonaventure Vol. 8.1.*, Robert J. Karris (ed. and trans.), (New York, 2001).

Christ and Satan, Codex Junius 11, The Online Medieval and Classical Library (OMACL).
http://omacl.org/Junius/christandsatan.html

Cursor Mundi, *The Cursur o the World: a Northumbrian Poem of the XIVth Century*, Morris R. (ed), (London ,1874-1893).

Dionysius the Areopagite, *The Mystical Theology and the Celestial Hierarchies*, (Fintry, 1949).

Genesis A&B, Codex Junius 11, The Online Medieval and Classical Library (OMACL).
http://omacl.org/Junius/genesis.html

Genesis Rabba (Midrash Rabbah), Rabbi Dr. H. Freedman and Maurice Simon (translators), (London, 1961).
http://archive.org/stream/RabbaGenesis/midrashrabbahgen027557mbp#page/n7/mode/2up

Greek Life of Adam and Eve (Apocalypse of Moses), Gary A. Anderson (translator), (Louvain-la-Neuve, 1987).
http://www2.iath.virginia.edu/anderson/vita/english/vita.gre.html

Gregory the Great, *Gregory the Great Forty Gospel Homilies*, Dom David Hurst (translator), (Kalamazoo, 1990).

Gregory the Great, 'Epistle CV: Letter to Serenus Bishop of Marseilles', *Nicene and Post-Nicine Fathers, Series II, Volume 13*, Philip Schaff (ed.), p.69.
http://www.ccel.org/ccel/schaff/npnf213.pdf

Glossa Ordinaria, Lollard Society website, digital version of *Bibliorum Sacrorum cum Glossa Ordinaria*, 6 vols. (Venice, 1603).
http://lollardsociety.org/?page_id=409

Jacobus de Varagine, *The Golden Legend Vol III*, F.S. Ellis, (New York, 1973).

John Chrysostom, 'Homily IX [9]. 1 Cor. iii. 12–15', in *Nicene and Post-Nicine Fathers*, Series I, Volume 12, Philip Schaff (ed.), p.93.
http://www.ccel.org/ccel/schaff/npnf112.pdf

Justin Martyr, *2 Apology*, Roberts-Donaldson (translator), Early Christian Writings.
http://www.earlychristianwritings.com/text/justinmartyr-secondapology.html

Lactantius, *Divine Institutes, Book II (Of the Origin of Error)*, William Fletcher (translator), New Advent.
http://www.newadvent.org/fathers/07012.htm

Lactantius, *Epitome of Divine Institutes*, chapter 27, William Fletcher (translator), New Advent.
http://www.newadvent.org/fathers/07012.htm

'Latin Life of Adam and Eve', in *The Apocrypha and Pseudepigrapha of the Old Testament*, R.H. Charles, (Oxford, 1913).

http://www.pseudepigrapha.com/pseudepigrapha/adamnev.htm

Origen, *Contra Celsus Book IV*, Translated by Frederick Crombie. From Ante-Nicene Fathers, Vol. 4. Edited by Alexander Roberts, James Donaldson, and A. Cleveland Coxe. (Buffalo, NY: Christian Literature Publishing Co., 1885.) Revised and edited for New Advent by Kevin Knight.
http://www.newadvent.org/fathers/04166.htm

Origen, *De Principiis (Preface)*, Translated by Frederick Crombie. From Ante-Nicene Fathers, Vol. 4. Edited by Alexander Roberts, James Donaldson, and A. Cleveland Coxe. (Buffalo, NY: Christian Literature Publishing Co., 1885.) Revised and edited for New Advent by Kevin Knight.
http://www.newadvent.org/fathers/04120.htm

Tertullian, 'On the Apparel of Women', in *Eve & Adam: Jewish, Christian, and Muslim Readings on Genesis and Gender*, Kvam K.E., Schearing L.S., and Ziegler V.H., (Bloomington, 1999), pp. 132.

Theophilus (late 100's), 'Apology to Autolycus, Book 2 chapter 28', in *Eve & Adam: Jewish, Christian, and Muslim Readings on Genesis and Gender*, Kvam K.E., Schearing L.S., and Ziegler V.H., (Bloomington, 1999), pp. 129-130.

The Book of Enoch, or, I Enoch: a new English edition, Black, M., Vanderkam J.C., Neugebauer O., (Leiden, 1985).

The Book of Jubilees, translated from the editor's Ethiopic text and edited, with introduction, notes, and indices by R.H. Charles, (London, 1902).

'The Book of Reuben', in *The Forgotten Books of Eden*, Rutherford H. Platt Jr. (ed.), (San Diego, 2006), pp. 220-223.

The Book of the Cave of Treasures: a history of the patriarchs and the kings their successors from the Creation to the Crucifixion of Christ, translated from the Syraic text of the British Museum MS. Add. 25875 by E.A. Wallis Budge, (London, 1927).

The Chester Plays: Re-edited from the MSS, Hermann Deimling (ed.), (London, 1892), Vol. 1.

'The Conflict of Adam and Eve with Satan', in *The Forgotten Books of Eden*, Rutherford H. Platt (translator), 1926.
http://www.sacred-texts.com/bib/fbe/fbe005.htm#page_3

The Testimony of Truth, The Gnostic Society Library, The Nag Hammadi Library, Soren Giversen and Birger A. Pearson (translator).
www.gnosis.org/naghamm/testruth.html

Manuscripts

The Moutier-Grandval Bible, British Library, MS 10546, France, 830-840.
http://www.bl.uk/manuscripts/Viewer.aspx?ref=add_ms_10546_f001r

The Caedmon manuscript, Bodleian library, MS. Junius 11, England, c. 1000.
http://bodley30.bodley.ox.ac.uk:8180/luna/servlet/view/all/what/MS.%20Junius%2011/where/English?os=0&pgs=50&sort=Shelfmark

The St Albans Psalter, Dombibliothek Hildesheim, MS St Godehard 1, England, 12th century.
http://www.abdn.ac.uk/stalbanspsalter/english/commentary/page017.shtml
http://www.abdn.ac.uk/stalbanspsalter/english/index.shtml

The Latin Palter of Louis IX and Blanche of Castile, Bibliotheque de l'Arsenal MS. 1186, Paris, early 13th century.
http://www.europeanaregia.eu/en/manuscripts/paris-bnf-bibliotheque-arsenal-ms-1186/en
http://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/btv1b7100723j

The Huntingfield Psalter, Pierpont Morgan Library, MS M. 43, Oxford, England, c. 1212-1220.
http://corsair.themorgan.org/cgi-bin/Pwebrecon.cgi?v1=1&ti=1,1&Search_Arg=Huntingfield&Search_Code=GKEY%5E&CNT=50&PID=QloHaGtDLJ2BeWLZmkFYNaQ4oJipv&SEQ=20130914093611&SID=1

The Lothian Bible, Pierpont Morgan Library, MS M.791, England (Oxford), c. 1220.
http://utu.morganlibrary.org/medren/single_image2.cfm?imagename=m791.004v.jpg&page=ICA000128656

The Morgan Old Testament Miniatures, Pierpont Morgan Library, MS M638, Paris, France, c. 1244-1254.
http://corsair.themorgan.org/cgi-bin/Pwebrecon.cgi?v1=2&ti=1,2&SC=Author&SA=Pierpont%20Morgan%20Library%2E%20Manuscript%2E%20M%2E638%2E&PID=MxylmXfFYyVgkfe3wdWmfw12HDDI9&SEQ=20130914095001&SID=2

Psalter, Pierpont Morgan Library, MS M. 101, France, c. 1270.
http://corsair.themorgan.org/cgi-bin/Pwebrecon.cgi?v1=1&ti=1,1&Search_Arg=m101&Search_Code=GKEY%5E&CNT=50&PID=3x9H8LpiUcjapkwJDWe5R_HUnS805&SEQ=20130914100233&SID=2

The Psalter of Saint Louis, Bibliotheque National de Francee, MS Latin 10525, Paris, 1270-1274.
http://www.europeanaregia.eu/en/manuscripts/paris-bibliotheque-nationale-france-mss-latin-10525/en
http://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/btv1b8447877n

The St John's Psalter, Cambridge St John's College, MS K.26, England, c.1275. http://www.joh.cam.ac.uk/library/special_collections/manuscripts/medieval_manuscripts/medman/K_26.htm

The Psalter-Hours of Yolande de Soissons, Pierpont Morgan Library, MS M.0729, France, 1280-1300.
http://utu.morganlibrary.org/medren/pass_page_through_images_initial.cfm?ms_letter=msm&ms_number=0729&totalcount=1

The Ormesby Psalter, Oxford Bodleian Library, MS Douce 366, East-Anglia, 1300-1310.
http://bodley30.bodley.ox.ac.uk:8180/luna/servlet/view/search?q=Shelfmark=%22MS.%20Douce%20366%22&os=100&pgs=50

The Psalter of Queen Isabella, Bavarian State Library, BSB Cod.gall.16, England, 1303-1308.
http://daten.digitale-sammlungen.de/~db/0005/bsb00056556/images/index.html?id=00056556&fip=eayaqrsqrsxdsydyztseayafsdrweayawqrs&no=20&seite=1

The Queen Mary Psalter, British Library, MS 2 B VII, England (London ?), 1310-1320.
http://www.bl.uk/manuscripts/FullDisplay.aspx?index=0&ref=Royal_MS_2_b_vii

Psalter of Richard of Canterbury, Pierpont Morgan Library, Ms Glazier 53, England, 1310-1320.
http://utu.morganlibrary.org/medren/pass_page_through_images_initial.cfm?ms_letter=msg&ms_number=0053&totalcount=1

The Holkham Bible, British Library, MS 47682, England (London), 1327-1340.
Brown M.P., The Holkham Bible picture book: a facsimile, (London, 2007).

Guyart des Moulins *Historia Scholastica*, British Library, Royal 19 D.III, France, c.1411.
http://www.bl.uk/manuscripts/FullDisplay.aspx?ref=Royal_MS_19_d_iii

Livre de la Vigne Nostre Seigneur, Oxford Bodleian Library, MS Douce 134, France, c. 1450.
http://bodley30.bodley.ox.ac.uk:8180/luna/servlet/detail/ODLodl~1~1~39166~109061:Livre-de-la-Vigne-nostre-Seigneur-

Miroir de l'humaine salvation, Glasgow University Library, Ms Hunter 60 (T.2.18), Bruges, 1455.
http://special.lib.gla.ac.uk/exhibns/month/sep2000.html

Secondary sources

Adam L.A., 'The Temptations of Christ: The Iconography of a Twelfth-Century Capital in the Metropolitan Museum of Art', *Gesta*, 28(1989), pp. 130-135.

Albani M., 'The Downfall of Helel, the Son of Dawn Aspects of Royal Ideology in Isaiah 14:12-13', in *The Fall of the Angels*, Christoph Auffarth, Loren T. Stuckenbruck (eds), (Leiden, 2004).

Allen V.M., ''One Strangling Golden Hair': Dante Gabriel Rossetti's Lady Lilith', *The Art Bulletin*, 66(1984), pp. 285-294.

Auffarh C.,Stuckenbruck L.T., 'Introduction', in *The Fall of the Angels*, Christoph Auffarth, Loren T. Stuckenbruck (eds), (Leiden, 2004)

Baltzer K., 'The Book of Isaiah', *Harvard Theological Review*, 103(2010), pp. 261-270.

Barr J., 'Is God a Liar? (Genesis 2-3)', *The Journal of Theological Studies*, 57(2006), pp. 1-22.

Barlett R., 'Symbolic Meaning of Hair in the Middle Ages', *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society*, 4(1994), pp. 43-60.

Barnwell M., 'De Casu Diaboli: An Examination of Faith and Reason', *Saint Anselm Journal*, 6(2009), pp. 1-8.

Bauckham R., 'The Fall of the Angels as the Source of Philosophy in Hermias and Clement of Alexandria', *Vigiliae Christianae*, 39(1985), pp. 313-330.

Bonnell J.K., 'The Serpent with a Human Head in Art and in Mystery Play', *American Journal of Archaeology*, 21(1917), pp. 255-291.

Burton J.R., *Satan: the Early Christian Tradition*, (London, 1981).

Burton J.R., *The Devil: Perceptions of Evil from Antiquity to Primitive Christianity*, (London, 1977).

Clanchy M., 'Did mothers teach their children to read?' in *Motherhood, Religion and Society in Medieval Europe*, Farnham(2011), pp. 129-155.

Coulton G.G., *Art and the Reformation*, (Oxford, 1928).

Cullen C.M., *Bonaventure*, (Oxford, 2006).

Dendle P., Satan Unbound: The Devil in Old English Narrative Literature, (Toronto, 2001).

Duggan L., 'Was Art Really the 'Book of the Illiterate'?', *Word & Image: A Journal of Verbal/Visual Enquiry*, 5(1989), pp. 227-251.

Eaton J., *The Psalms: a Historical and Spiritual Commentary with an Introduction and New Translation*, (London, 2003).

Elliot D., *Fallen Bodies: Pollution, Sexuality, and Demonology in the Middle Ages*, (Philadelphia, 1999).

Emmrich M., 'The Temptation Narrative of Genesis 3:1-6: A Prelude to the Pentateuch and the History of Israel', *The Evangelical Quarterly* 73(2001), pp. 3-20.

Flint S., *Deeper into Pictures: an Essay on Pictorial Representation*, (Cambridge, 1986).

Flores N., '"Effigies amicitiae...veritas inimicitiae": Antifeminism in the Iconography of the Woman-Headed Serpent in Medieval and Renaissance Art and Literature', in *Animals in the Middle Ages: A Book of Essays*, N. Flores (ed.), (New York, 1996), pp. 167-195.

Forsyth N., *The Old Enemy: Satan and the Combat Myth*, (Princeton, 1989).

Friedman J.B., *The Monstrous Races in Medieval Art and Thought*, (New York, 2000).

Friedman J.B., 'Architect's Compass in Creation Miniatures', *Traditio*, 30(1974), pp. 419-429.

Gage J., *Colour and Culture*, (London, 1993).

Geddes J., *The St Albans Psalter: A Book for Christiana of Markyate*, (London, 2005).

Gillingham S. E., *Psalms Through the Centuries. Vol. 1*, (Oxford, 2008).

Gombrich E.H., *The Image and the Eye. Further Studies in the Psychology of Pictorial Representation*, (Oxford, 1982).

Gould K., *The Psalter and Hours of Yolande of Soissons*, (Cambridge, 1978).

Gussenhoven F., 'The Serpent with a Matron's Face: Medieval Iconography of Satan in the Garden of Eden', *European Medieval Drama*, 4(2000), pp. 207-230.

Harvey P.D.A., *The Hereford World Map: Medieval World Maps and their Context*, (London, 2006).

Hassig D., 'Marginal Bestiaries', in *Animals and the Symbolic in Medieval Art and Literature*, Forsten E. (ed.), (Groningen, 1997).

Hendel S. R., 'Of Demigods and the Deluge: Toward an Interpretation of Genesis 6:1-4', *Journal of Biblical Literature*, 106(1987), pp. 13-26.

Hendel S. R.,Kronfeld C., Pardes I., 'Gender and Sexuality', in *Reading Genesis: Ten Methods*, Ronald Hendel (ed), (Cambridge, 2010), pp. 71-91.

Henry A., *Biblia Pauperum*, (Aldershot, 1987).

Hill T.D., 'The Fall of Satan in the Old English 'Christ and Satan'', *The Journal of English and Germanic Philology*, 76 (1977), pp. 315-325.

Hoffeld M.J., 'Adam's Two Wives', *The Metropolitan Museum of Art Bulletin*, 26 (1968), pp. 430-440.

Jensen J., 'Helel Ben Shahar (Isaiah 14:12-15) in Bible and Tradition', *Writing and Reading the Scroll of Isaiah: Studies of an Interpretive Tradition*, Broyles C.C. and Evans C.A. (eds), (Leiden, 1997), pp. 339-356.

Johnson L.T., *The Gospel of Luke*, (Collegeville, 1991).

Joyce P.M., *Ezekiel: A Commentary*, (London 2009).

Karkov E.C., *Text and picture in Anglo-Saxon England: Narrative Strategies in the Junius 11 Manuscript*, (Cambridge, 2001).

Kelly H.A., 'The Metamorphoses of the Eden Serpent during the Middle Ages in Renaissance', *Viator*, 2(1972), pp. 301-328.

Kvam K.E., Schearing L.S., and Ziegler V.H., *Eve & Adam: Jewish, Christian, and Muslim Readings on Genesis and Gender*, (Bloomington, 1999).

Miles M., *Carnal Knowing*, (Boston, 1992).

Mellinkoff R., *Outcasts Vol 1&2*, (Oxford,1993).

Millar E.G., *English Illuminated Manuscripts of the XIVth and XVth Centuries*, (Paris, 1928), pp. 13-15.

Morey J.H., 'Peter Comestor, Biblical Paraphrase, and the Medieval Popular Bible', *Speculum*, 68(1993), pp. 6-35.

Murdoch B, *The Medieval Popular Bible: Expansions of Genesis in the Middle Ages*, (Suffolk, 2003).

Murdoch B., Tasioulas J.A., *The Apocryphal Lives of Adam and Eve: Edited from the Auchinleck Manuscript and from Trinity College*, Oxford, MS 57, (Exeter, 2002).

Newlyn E.S., 'Unconventional Evidence of Early Drama: the Stained and Painted Glass of St Neot's Church, Cornwall', *Records of Early English Drama*, 16(1991), pp. 1-7.

Pagels E., *The Origin of Satan*, (New York, 1996).

Pagels E, *Adam, Eve, and the Serpent: Sex and Politics in Early Christianity*, (New York, 1989).

Patai R., 'Lilith', *The Journal of American Folklore*, 77(1964), pp. 295-314.

Patridges C.A, 'The Salvation of Satan', *Journal of the History of Ideas*, 28 (1967), pp. 467-478.

Reed A.Y., 'The Trickery of the Fallen Angels and the Demonic Mimesis of the Divine: Aetiology, Demonology, and Polemics in the Writings of Justin Martyr', *Journal of Early Christian Studies*, 12 (2004), pp. 141-171.

Rosemann P.W., *Peter Lombard*, (Oxford, 2004).

Sandler L.F., *A Survey of Manuscripts Illuminated in the British Isles. Vol. 5.1&2, Gothic Manuscripts, 1285-1385*, (London, 1986).

Sarton G, 'Aristotle and Phyllis', *Isis*, 14 (1930), pp. 8-19.

Saunders O. E., *English Illumination*, (Firenze, 1928).

Schapiro M., *Words and Pictures: On the literal and the Symbolic in the Illustration of a Text*, (Hague, 1973).

Schreiner S.F., 'Eve, the Mother of History: Reaching for the Reality of History in Augustine's Later Interpretation of Genesis', *Genesis 1-3 in the History of Exegesis: Intrigue in the Garden*, (New York, 1988), pp.135-186.

Sheingorn P., 'The Wise Mother: the image of St Anne teaching the Virgin Mary', *Gesta*, 32(1993), pp.60-80, and

Smith K.A., 'History, Typology and Homily: the Joseph Cycle in the Queen Mary Psalter', *Gesta*, 32(1993), pp. 147-59.

Smith S.L., *The Power of Women: a Topos in Medieval Art and Literature*, (Philadelphia, 1995).

Stanton A.R., 'The Queen Mary Psalter: A Study of Affect and Audience', *Transactions of the American Philosophical Society*, 91(2001), pp. 1-287.

Stanton A.R., 'From Eve to Bathsheba and Beyond: Motherhood in the Queen Mary Psalter', in *Women and the Book: Assessing the Visual Evidence*, Taylor J. H. M., Smith L. (eds.), (London, 1996), pp. 172-89.

Stanton A.R, *The Queen Mary Psalter: Narrative and Devotion in Gothic England* (Unpublished PhD Thesis, University of Texas, 1992).

Stone M., 'The Fall of Satan and Adam's Penance: Three Notes on the Books of Adam and Eve', *Journal of Theological Studies,* 4 (1993), pp. 143-156.

Strickland D., *Saracens, Demons, and Jews: Making Monsters in Medieval Art*, (Princeton, 2003).

Swanston H., 'The Lucan Temptation Narrative', *The Journal of Theological Studies*, 17(1966), p.71.

Thompson G.H.P., 'Called-Proved-Obedient: a study in the baptism and temptation narratives of Matthew and Luke', *The Journal of Theological Studies,* 11(1960), pp. 1-12.

Tigay J.H., ''Heavy of Mouth' and 'Heavy of Tongue' On Moses' Speech Difficulty', *Bulletin of American Schools of Oriental Research,* 231(1978), pp. 57-67.

Trapp J.B., *The Iconography of the Fall of Man,* (1968).

Voekle W.M., 'Morgan Manuscript M.1001: the Seven Deadly Sins and the Seven Evil Ones', in *Monsters and Demons in the Ancient and Medieval Worlds,* A.E.Farkas, P.O.Harper, and E.B.Harrison (eds), (Mainz on Rhine, 1987), pp. 101-114.

Warner G., *Queen Mary's Psalter: Miniatures and Drawings by an English Artist of the 14th Century, Reproduced from Royal MS. 2 B. VII in the British Museum,* (London, 1912).

Wee D., 'The Temptation of Christ and the Motif of Divine Duplicity in the Corpus Christi Cycle Drama', *Modern Philology*, 72(1974), pp. 1-16.

Weiser A., *The Psalms: a Commentary*, Herbert Hartwell (translator), (London,1962).

Wickham L.R., 'The Sons of God and the Daughters of Men: Gen 6:2 in Early Christian Exegesis', *Oudtestamentische studien*, 19 (1974), pp. 135-47.

Williams A.J., 'The Mythological background of Ezekiel 28:12-19', *Biblical Theology Bulletin: Journal of Bible and Culture,* 6, (1976), pp 49-61.

Williams D., *Deformed Discourse: the Function of the Monster in Mediaeval Thought and Literature*, (Exeter, 1996).

Consulted but not cited

Blackley F.D., 'Isabella of France, Queen of England 1308-1358 and the Late Medieval Cult of the Dead', *Canadian Journal of History*, 15(1980), pp. 23-47.

Burton J.R., *Lucifer: the Devil in the Middle Ages*, (London, 1984).

Burton J.R., *Mephistopheles: the Devil in the Modern World*, (Ithaca, 1986).

Clark E.A., 'Heresy, Asceticism, Adam and Eve. Interpretations of Genesis 1-3 in the Later Latin Fathers', *Genesis 1-3 in the History of Exegesis: Intrigue in the Garden*, (New York, 1988), pp. 99-134.

Clines D.J.A., 'The Significance of the 'Sons of God' Episode (Genesis 6:1-4) in the Context of the 'Primeval History' (Genesis 1-11)', *Journal for the Study of the Old Testament*, 4(1979).

Cox J.D., *The Devil and the Sacred in English Drama, 1350-1642*, (Cambridge, 2000).
Gathercole P.M., *The Depiction of Angels and Devils in Medieval French Manuscript Illumination*, (New York, 2004).

Hanson P.D., 'Rebellion in Heaven, Azazel, and Euhemeristic Heroes in 1 Enoch 6-11', *Journal of Biblical Literature*, 96(1977), pp. 195-233.

Lachs S.T., 'The Source of Hebrew Traditions in the Historia Scholastica', *Harvard Theological Review*, 66(1973), pp. 385-395

Lang B., 'No God but Yahweh!', in *Monotheism*, Geffre C. and Joshua J.P. (eds.), (Edinburgh, 1985).

Levine B.A., 'Assyrian Ideology and Israelite Monotheism', *Iraq*, 167(2005), pp. 411-427.

Lewis S., Reading Images: Narrative Discourse and Reception in the Thirteenth-Century Illuminated Apocalypse, (Cambridge, 1995).

Meek T.J., 'Monotheism and a Religion of Israel', *Journal of Biblical literature*, 61(1942), pp. 21-43.

Menache S., 'Isabelle of France, Queen of England - a reconsideration', *Journal of Medieval History*, 10(1984), pp.107-124.

O'Connell R.H., 'Isaiah 14:4b-23: Ironic Reversal through Concentric Structure and Mythic Allusion', *Vetum Testamentum*, 38(1988), pp. 407-418.

Omrod W.M., 'The Personal Religion of Edward III', *Speculum*, 64(1989), pp. 849-877.

Openshaw K.M., 'The Battle between Christ and Satan in the Tiberius Psalter', *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes*, 52 (1989), pp. 14-33.

Pagels E., 'Christian Apologists and 'The Fall of the Angels': An Attack on Roman Imperial Power?', *The Harvard Theological Review*, 78 (1985), pp. 301-325.

Porada E., 'Introduction', in *Monsters and Demons in the Ancient and Medieval Worlds*, A.E.Farkas, P.O.Harper, and E.B.Harrison (eds), (Mainz on Rhine, 1987), pp.1-13.

Robson M., 'Queen Isabella (c. 1295/1358) and the Greyfriars: An Example of Royal Patronage Based on Her Accounts for 1357/1358', *Franciscan Studies*, 65(2007), pp. 325-348.

Rosen-Zvi I., 'Bilhah the Temptress: The Testament of Reuben and 'The Birth of Sexuality', *Jewish Quarterly Review*, 96(2006), pp. 65-94.

Seaver H.L., 'Hair and Holiness', *Proceedings of the Massachusetts Historical Society*, Vol. 68(1944-1947), pp. 3-20.

Seybolt R.F., 'The Legenda Aurea, Bible, and Historia Scholastica', *Speculum: A Journal of Mediaeval Studies*, 21(1946), pp. 339-342.

Smalley B., *The Study of the Bible in the Middle Ages*, (Oxford, 1983).

Stuckenbruck S.T., 'The 'Angels' and 'Giants' of Genesis 6:1-4 in Second and Third Century BCE Jewish Interpretation: Reflections on the Posture of Early Apocalyptic Traditions', *Dead Sea Discoveries*, 7(2000), pp. 354-377.

Woolf R.E., 'The Devil in Old English Poetry', *The Review of English Studies*, IV(1953), pp. 1-12.

Wright M.R., 'Sound in Pictured Silence: The Significance of Writing in the Illustration of the Douce Apocalypse', Word and Image, 7 (1991), pp. 239-74