Влияние западноевропейской иконографии на эфиопскую живопись: европейский ад в эфиопских церквях

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Аннотация

Эфиопская христианская иконография тесно связана с византийской и западноевропейской художественными традициями. Иконография Ада и адских сил восходит исключительно к западноевропейскому искусству, однако ее истоки приходится искать в различных европейских школах, как с точки зрения географии, так и с точки зрения конкретного исторического периода. Неожиданные иконографические параллели между эфиопской и мосарабской иконографией ада и адских сил ставят вопрос о том, существовала ли для эфиопских художников историческая возможность познакомиться с необычной дороманской живописью испанцев, живших на завоеванной арабами территории Пиренейского полуострова. Исследование эфиопских международных контактов XV-XVI вв. дает дополнительные аргументы в пользу данной гипотезы.

Ключевые слова: эфиопская живопись, иконография дьявола, мосарабская живопись, книжная иллюминация, мосарабские манускрипты, эфиопская иконография

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Since the 16th century the depictions of Hell and infernal demons had been gaining popularity in Ethiopian Christian painting until they became an important part of iconographic programs of the majority of Ethiopian churches in the 19th c. The images of demons primarily appeared in the context of the Descent into Hell (the Byzantine Anastasis — Resurrection) scenes and then developed into sophisticated compositions in the Last Judgement iconography. The episodes containing depictions of Hell and infernal beasts are included into iconographic programs of the wall-painting and book illumination. They are much less popular in the programs of icons. The reason is clear: the icons are objects of worship, while the temples’ wall-paintings and manuscript illumination serve more educational purposes.

The iconography of Hell, Satan and other infernal beasts obviously goes back to the Western European tradition. The lack of such images in the Ethiopian wall-painting and manuscript illumination of the 12th–15th cc. is natural. Until the end of the 15th c. the Ethiopian art had been developing under the strong influence of provincial Byzantine art, primarily Coptic. The intellectual and aristocratic Byzantine painting basically stayed away from visualization of evil spirits alluding to the folk art and the Jungian collective unconscious. Even in scenes of the Descent into Hell no images of the devil were usually provided for (see Fig. 1). In scarce representations of Satan, he was rendered as a dark man lying under the Christ’s feet. Such is, for example, a miniature from the so called Hamilton Lectionary dated back to ca. 1050–1100, originally from Constantinople [Anderson, 1997, pp. 60–61].

The Byzantine iconographic type of the Descent into Hell is mostly represented in two sub-types well developed already in the 11th c. The first one seems to be a little more popular. Christ is depicted in long chiton and himation, standing on the broken gates, keys and locks that block the entrance into the Underworld. Adam and Eve reach out to him either from their sarcophagi or from under the earth. He holds Adam with his right hand and Eve with the left. The second sub-type is somewhat different: the figures of Adam and Eve are usually located on the same side from Christ who holds only Adam’s hand, while his other arm is occupied with a cross on a long staff. Both sub-types were introduced into Ethiopian manuscripts and icons sometime in the 15th–16th cc. As it was mentioned, there are no known wall-painting representations of the scene dated back to that period. One of the earliest depictions of the Descent to Hell is that from the so-called Kebran manuscript [Wright, Jäger, 1961. Pl. XIX], which is currently kept in Kebran Gabriel Monastery (the Bahir Dar area) dated back to ca. 1420 [Wright, Jäger, 1961. 24]. Its iconography perfectly fits into the Byzantine canon which clearly stands out among Ethiopian stylistic features. The almond-shaped mandorla is reminiscent of of the one on a fresco in the Chora Church in Istanbul, dated back to 1312 [Aksit, 2009, pp. 3, 68–69]. The fresco includes an anthropomorphic dark figure of the guard of the Underworld, his limbs tied up with the chains, while the Ethiopian miniature does not.
Another early depiction of the Descent into Hell in Ethiopia can be seen on the wooden ark encasing the precious Sergut icon (currently in Gethsemene Mariam church, Gojam) [Spencer, 1974, pp. 204, 209]. The Sergut icon is probably Cretan, dated back to the 16th c. [Spencer, 1974, pp. 204, 208], so the ark is likely to be of approximately the same date. Its style — as it can be judged by a photo in Prof. Spencer’s article — supports this date. The paintings are located on the folds of the ark. The western influence on their iconography is quite obvious. The Descent into Hell looks like a mix between the Byzantine iconographic type and the Western European Resurrection. There are two obviously western iconographic details — a flag (instead of a cross) in the Christ’s hand and a philosopher type pallium he is dressed in that leaves one of his shoulders naked.

The Western European type of the Resurrection appeared somewhat later than the Byzantine one. The first examples of the type are dated back to the 14th c., while some iconographic features can be found even earlier. The well-established iconography was developed in the course of the 15th c., with certain variations (see Fig. 2). The most popular sub-type renders the Christ figure frontally. He steps over his sarcophagus, holding a flag and pointing up with the forefinger of the other hand. He is usually dressed in a sort of pallium leaving one shoulder naked. The Gethsemane Mariam church hosts a small Resurrection icon [Spenser, 1974, p. 211]. Its iconography strictly follows the Western European canon and the icon itself seems to have been pain-ted by a European artist. This is quite possible, for at least one of the Italian artists who arrived in Ethiopia in 1480s, Nicolo Brancaleon, was a resident of Gojam [Chojnacki, 2000, p. 25; Salvadore, 2017, p. 136]. In the treasury of Gojam church Wafa Iyasus D. Spenser found a
manuscript consisting of 50 paintings of Saints, angels and the New Testament scenes, signed by Brancaleon [Spencer, 1974, p. 219]. One of the miniatures in Brancaleon’s manuscript is dedicated to an episode of the Descent into Hell [Spencer, 1974, p. 217]. Its iconography is a mix of the Byzantine and Western types. Christ stands on the ruins of infernal gates and holds Adam and Eve’s hands. He is dressed in a white pallium that leaves his right shoulder naked. The devil is not depicted. The program of an icon from the Institute of Ethiopian Studies collection (Addis Ababa), loosely dated by 15th–16th cc. [Chojnacki, 2000, cat. 192], contains a scene of the Descent into Hell of the traditional Byzantine type (no Satan, Christ in oval mandorla holds the hands of Adam and Eve).

Fig. 2. Drawing by Marco Zoppo (mid–15th c.), Italian [Metropolitan Museum, accession No 1998.15]

Thus, the earliest known paintings of Descent into Hell and Resurrection in Ethiopia (dated back to 15th — early 16th c.) miss the depiction of Satan. Some of the later 16th century icons [e.g. Chojnacki, 2000, cat. 61 (see Fig. 3), 114] adhere to this iconographic type.
In the meantime, a new type appeared in Ethiopian painting, iconographically similar to the former one, with a conspicuous addition — the depiction of a dark anthropomorphic figure of Satan prostrate under the Christ’s feet [e.g. Chojnacki, 2000, cat. 7, 100, 150 (see Fig. 4), 179]. By this time the type had been long established in the Western European iconographic tradition. Only one of the known 16th c. icons [Chojnacki, 2000, cat. 133 (see Fig. 5)] derives from the western Resurrection iconography (full frontal figure of Christ, his right hand lifted in a blessing gesture, the left hand grasps a staff of the flag, the lower part of the staff rendered as a spear lancing the devil). It also contains a very unusual depiction: the devil is represented as two kissing demons lying one on top of the other, while their legs seem to merge. The origin of such an interpretation is obscure.

Thus, while the obvious western models for Ethiopian painting visualizing Satan or
demons are not known to scholars for the time being, its iconography can still be easily traced back to the European art. Apart from the Venetian artists, what were the other contacts of the Ethiopian Kingdom that could have influenced the local art?

First known Ethiopian contacts with the Western Europe took place in the dawn of the 15th c., when the Ethiopian Embassy arrived in Venice [Salvadore, 2017, p. 21]. In 1403 the European church paraments with embroidered images and engraved liturgical objects, all Venetian, were delivered to Ethiopia [Raineri 1999, pp. 370–371]. During the rule of King Zar’a Yaqob (1434–1468) an embassy was sent to King Alfonso V d’Aragon, that brought back some Spanish artists [Trasselli, 1941, p. 266]. The contacts between Aragon and Ethiopia were rather intense, through the courts, clergy and Catalan merchants in the Middle East [Salvadore, 2017, pp. 34–38]. Even if the Aragonese missions failed [Salvadore, 2017, p. 47], the contacts with Catalan merchants turned out to be more successful. The Aragonese were among foreigners at the Ethiopian court in the late 15th c. [Salvadore, 2017, p. 136]. As it was already mentioned, the Venetian artists arrived in Ethiopia in 1480s and stayed there for four decades. During the second half of the 15th — early 16th c. Ethiopians developed strong contacts with Papal Rome. As a result, the first Ethiopian religious books were printed in Rome [Salvadore, 2017, p. 72]. It seems plausible that the copies of those books were delivered to Ethiopia.
In 1520 a large Portugal military and diplomatic fleet arrived in Ethiopia [Salvadore, 2017, p. 118]. The mission had spent some time in Goa first. Since then, the Portuguese presence in the country was evenly growing through the mid-16th c. [Salvadore, 2017, p. 142]. The Portuguese Jesuits got much involved into the missionary activities and brought to the country engravings and
printed models. Some of them were produced in Indian Goa. Goa was a long-established center of Jesuit missionary expansion in Asia. Goan artists produced engravings and illustrated Christian books, adding their own stylistic features to the traditional Western European iconography. Some of these objects the Jesuits delivered to Ethiopia [Friedlander, M.-H., Friedlander, B., 2007, pp. 41, 43].

Since the mid-16th c., Christ in scenes of the Descent into Hell was depicted in distinctive oriental clothes, while the earlier depictions of the episode had stuck to the Byzantinizing apparel. No matter what iconographic type (either Byzantine or Western European, either with or without an image of the devil), the clothes were mostly rendered in oriental style (see Fig. 4, 5)]. Thus, the hypothesis that Goan illustrated books or engravings (spread over Ethiopian workshops and scriptoria in the second half of the 16th c.) served as models, seems to be very plausible. On the aforementioned 16th c. icon, Christ standing atop of Satan (depicted as two kissing demons (see Fig. 5) is dressed in distinctively oriental clothes.

The second wave of Jesuit activity (the late 16th — early 17th c.) and the foundation of the capital city of Gondar around 1635 were the milestones of the new Ethiopian artistic paradigm. The Jesuits brought to Ethiopia a copy of the famous Roman icon Salus Populi Romani, engravings and theological books, namely the Four Gospels in Arabic (Evangelium Arabicum, printed in Rome in 1590 [Bosc-Tiessé, 2004, p. 85]) and Evangelicae Historiae Imagines (printed in Antwerp in 1593 [Bosc-Tiessé, 2004, p. 84]). Both books were lavishly illustrated and had a great impact on the iconography and style of Ethiopian manuscript illuminations and, to a lesser extent, of the icons and wall-paintings. The art of calligraphy and book illumination flourished in Gondarine scriptoria [Annequin, 1972, p. 196; Bickford Berzock, 2002, p. 8]. Ethiopian kings ordered the copies of the book to be made by local artists [Bosc-Tiessé, 2004, p. 83, 85].

Since the new model books contained numerous illustrations of the episodes of the Temptation of Christ and Healing of the Man Possessed, as well as some elaborate depictions of
Hell, the new iconographic type of the devil and infernal demons entered the Ethiopian painting. The dark roughly anthropomorphic figures with horned human or goat heads, small wings and long tails (occasionally some of these parts of the demons’ anatomy might have been omitted) penetrated book illumination and wall-painting and got beyond the two aforementioned scenes (see Fig. 6). The small demons appeared in illustrations of encounters of saints with the evil forces [Bosc-Tiessé, Wion, 2005, p. 21] and in scenes describing someone’s evil intentions or actions. The new iconographic type was virtually omnipresent in the manuscript illumination.
The 17th c. witnessed the introduction of an important episode — the Last Judgement — into iconographic programs of churches and manuscripts (see Fig. 7). Its popularity was growing.
through the 17th–18th cc., to become an important part of the majority of the 19th c. iconographic programs of the temples. The iconography of the episode relies on the Western European tradition and usually provides for an elaborate picture of sinners tortured by demons. Even the laconic captions d’bls indicate the European origin of the scenes. The depictions of Hell usually offer a variety of infernal beasts. A new, very distinctive type appeared among the anthropomorphic and mixomorphic ones — obviously Satan, in the inscriptions referred to as the Devil (d’bls). The iconographic type of the 17th c. Last Judgement is well established and replicated in a number of wall-paintings and manuscript illuminations. While the majority of details can be traced back to popular medieval European and early Renaissance paintings of the Last Judgement, the type of 17th c. Ethiopian Satan looks somewhat alien to the rest of the scenes. The iconography slightly varies from painting to painting, but basically follows the same pattern.

Satan is rendered as a dark half-sided anthropomorphic figure lying on his back, usually much larger than figures of other demons and sinners (see Fig. 8). The devil has either an ugly anthropomorphic or a goat-like head and a tail ending with a snake head. The most unusual detail of the image is a half-figure merged into the Satan’s contour in the area of legs and tail, in rather unclear manner. It is tinier than the main figure but still bigger than the images of sinners. The pattern is repeated from painting to painting, sometimes a second half-figure is either added behind the Satan’s head or doubles the first half-figure. It looks like the artists were uncertain of the correct way to depict this two-bodied beast. Probably, the models they used were as obscure as replicas.
The origin of this strange iconographic type is likely to go back to John’s Revelation and his unclear descriptions of the devil, the beast and the false prophet. In the meantime, as the iconography of the Last Judgement generally follows the Western European tradition, it seems safe to suggest that the Ethiopian depictions refer to painted models rather than the Revelation text. Thus, the Ethiopian traditions are likely to have inherited iconographic uncertainties of the Western painting. The mainstream iconographic type of Satan had become canonical in Europe long before the 17th c. (see Fig. 9). Satan is usually depicted as a loosely anthropomorphic figure sitting either frontally or in a three-quarters turn, with a horned beast head. Often enough it has another face in the lower part of his stomach or a couple of animal heads adjacent to his sides. This iconographic type appeared in paintings of the so-called second Gondarine style (second half of 18th — 19th c.) (see Fig. 10), while the first Gondarine style art (second half of 17th — first half of 18th c.) either had not known or had not introduced it into the Last Judgement iconography.
Fig. 9. Engraving, after an artist of circle of Baccio Baldini (Florence 1436?–1487?) [Metropolitan Museum, accession No 62.656.9].
The situation was slightly different in the provincial 17th c. art not affected by the Gondarine mainstream. The paintings of two Tigray rock-cut churches (Petros we Pavlos and Yohannes Meakuddi) contain depictions of the devil and demons. The demons torturing sinners at Yohannes Meakuddi have roughly anthropomorphic (or rather skeletal) features (see Fig. 11). The painting in Petros we Pavlos is rather unusual one. The episode of the Descent into Hell includes an image of the devil (see Fig. 12). Its figure is not located under the Christ’s feet, but placed to the right from Eve. It is surprisingly huge as compared to the figures of the scene. The figure is rendered similarly to the other 17th c. images (dark, lying on the back, the limbs chained). In the meantime, the devil’s head, too big even for the large body, is represented frontally. The devil has big eyes, ears and a huge mouth full of teeth. Due to the poor preservation of the fresco it is unclear whether the horns were depicted. Despite its provincial performance quality, the painting of Satan’s
head that is reminiscent of the images dated back to the late 18th–19th cc. The iconographic type may have been influenced by traditional Western European iconography. The prostrate figure remains closer to the 17th c. interpretation, though.

Fig. 11 (left). Wall-painting, Yohannes Meakuddi church. Tigray (ca. 2nd half of the 17th c.).
As the scene of the Last Judgement was introduced to Ethiopian painting in the 17th c., it is logical to assume the influence of some artistic objects brought by the Portuguese Jesuits that could have served as models. The impact of the aforementioned Evangelium Arabicum and Evangelicae Historiae Imagines on the first Gondarine manuscript illumination is very conspicuous [Leroy, 1961, p. 165; Bosc-Tiessé, 2004, pp. 83–87]. Actually, both books contain images of Hell and various types of demons. In the meantime, the style of illustrations corresponds with the European artistic paradigm of the late 16th–17th cc., while Ethiopian depictions of Hell seem to follow the medieval tradition. The linear and two-dimensional first Gondarine style of the icons and wall-paintings does not explain the expressive, dramatic character of the depictions of Hell. Even the second Gondarine images of the Last Judgement still possess the medievalizing features while the Ethiopian painting in general has become more naturalistic and three-dimensional. The manuscript illumination of the first Gondarine style, despite its linearity, often tends to imitate the postural ease and perspective relations of European models. The first attempts at chiaroscuro effects had been made in Ethiopian illumination in the last decades of the 17th c., long before the transition to the second Gondarine style. Still, the depictions of Hell had been preserving medievalizing features for almost three centuries.

So, the origin of Ethiopian iconography of Hell and demons is definitely Western European but it is rather difficult to trace it back to some particular artistic school. The most stunning among the earliest depictions of the Last Judgement are Mozarabic illuminated manuscripts of the Apocalypse dated back to the 10th–11th cc. (the so-called beati). They are abundantly — and very literally — illustrated. The Spanish artists developed elaborated iconographic “canons” of some scenes but remained very imaginative in the other episodes. The literacy of the beati’s illumination complied with the clarity of the particular pieces of the text. The description of a red seven-headed dragon is quite clear — so are the beati’s images.
description of the beast and false prophet is somewhat obscure and so are the beati’s illustrations. Basically, the false prophet (or the beast) is represented as a dark distorted anthropomorphic figure lying on its back, encaged, the limbs tied with a red rope. Apart from the rectangle of the cage, the iconography seems rather generic and does remind of one of the iconographic types of Satan. An example of this type is depicted in the 17th church of Debre Sina Maryam in Gondar, where it makes part of the Descent into Hell scene (see Fig. 13).
A miniature in the 11th c. beatus from Osma provides a very impressive parallelism to the popular 17th c. Ethiopian iconographic type (see Fig. 14). A distorted anthropomorphic figure with a big ugly head is lying on its back, its hands and neck tied with red ropes. Two interesting details allude to iconographic connections between the Mozarabic and Ethiopian painting. The first is a dark half-figure merged into the bosom of the devil that reminds of the mysterious half-figures of the first Gondarine depictions of the devil (d’bels). The second detail is a red dragon with snake heads painted at the feet of Satan. Its tail reaches the low back of the lying figure so that the whole silhouette of the dragon looks like the devil’s tail. The striking parallels allow to suppose that miniatures similar to this one might have served as models for Ethiopian artists. Every next copy would have moved further away from the original painting turning finally into a loose iconographic type of the devil with one or two half-figures attached to different parts of his body and a snake-like tail. This hypothesis also explains the unique depiction of kissing devils (see Fig. 5) mentioned above, that might be an Ethiopian interpretation of the puzzling Mozarabic iconography.
Fig. 14. Miniature Mozarabic beatus from Burgo de Osma (11th c.) [Archives de la Cathédrale, Ms 7, f117v]
Another, less popular iconographic type of the false prophet/beast/devil is represented in beatus de Gerona\textsuperscript{16}, dated back to the 10th c. The depiction of Hell includes a dark, roughly anthropomorphic figure sitting frontally. His head is crowned with a black wreath reminding of Helios iconography. Two snakes entwine his legs laying their heads in his lap. Later this type migrated into Romanesque art. A very similar image of Satan can be seen in the scene of the Last Judgement on the tympanum of the western portal of the Conques-en-Rouergue cathedral, dated back to the mid-12th c. [Гиз, 2001, c. 330–331]. This iconographic type developed through the Gothic and Renaissance times and at some point entered Ethiopian painting. Only a small detail links the second Gondarine depictions of devil to the Mozarabic illuminations — the red chains or ropes. But this detail also appeared (though not often) in Gothic paintings.

In the beginning of the 18th c. a new iconographic type of the devil was probably introduced to Ethiopian painting. A lavishly illuminated manuscript containing the Revelation of John was produced in 1700–1730 in a Gondarine scriptorium\textsuperscript{17}. The illustrations are very literary, reminding again of the Mozarabic beati. The red seven-headed dragon is replicated in several miniatures\textsuperscript{18}. Some of the iconographic features provide intriguing similarity to those in the beati illumination, in particular, specific backgrounds, consisting of wide stripes of contrasting colors and semies of white stars under the dragon’s tail. The iconographic type of the seven-headed dragon found its place in the second Gondarine wall-paintings as well\textsuperscript{19} (see Fig. 15). Though the manuscript belongs to the first Gondarine style, the artists clearly used Western European models of the late 16th–17th cc. In the meantime, the tendency to 3D-modeling of the figures is intriguingly mixed with the flat, rough representation of infernal beasts. The most conspicuous example is a miniature where the scene of temptation of Adam and Eve (obviously imitating the post-Renaissance style) is juxtaposed to a familiar depiction of Satan lying half-faced on his back in the red flames of Hell\textsuperscript{20}. His huge head with wideopen mouth is reminiscent of the depictions of the devil in beati. Probably, lacking the later samples, the artists used medieval (or medievalizing) model books, especially when it came to the Apocalypse illumination, well developed in pre-Romanesque and Romanesque painting.

It seems plausible that some beati copy/copies might have been brought to the country, either by the Aragonese or the Portuguese Jesuits in the 15th c. or by the Jesuit missionaries in the 16th c. The Mozarabic art was known not only to the Spaniards, but to the Portuguese as well. Europeans perceived Ethiopia as an Oriental country, bringing there the Goan illuminated books and the Arabic version of the Gospels. The Arabic influence in Mozarabic art is quite obvious, so the missionaries could have thought of their copies as an appropriate option to be presented to
Ethiopians. The expressiveness of Mozarabic style could have contributed (in the opinion of the Europeans) to its potential attractiveness for the remote African Christian country. In fact, the first Gondarine style bear certain similarities to Romanesque Catalan art as well, which is particularly noticeable in interpretations of the twenty-four Elders of Apocalypse that were often depicted in the Last Judgement scenes. So, it seems plausible that some pieces of Mozarabic and/or Aragonese early Romanesque illumination (or copies of the former) were brought to Ethiopia and served as models for the local artists. If the 16th c. depiction of the kissing devils in the Resurrection scene do derive from a Mozarabic model, then such a model had to be brought to Ethiopia either by the Aragonese or by the first wave of Jesuits.

**Conclusion**

The Ethiopian iconography of Hell and infernal demons had been developing since the 16th c. under multiple Western European impacts. Some of them are quite clear and well-studied, while the others are less obvious, for the additional evidence is yet to be found. The pictures of Hell in Ethiopian painting go back to the Revelation of John via medieval Western tradition. Apart from this scene, the depictions of infernal demons are included into other illustrations to the Revelation text, the evangelical episodes of the Descent into Hell, Temptation of Christ, Healing of the Man Possessed as well as some Ethiopian apocryphal and hagiographical stories. Five basic iconographic types of infernal demons stand out as the most popular in Ethiopian painting. A dark anthropomorphic figure is the earliest type that goes back to Byzantine tradition. Nevertheless, it most likely reached Ethiopia through its Western “derivative” in its Oriental (namely Indian) interpretation. This type is often (but not exclusively) depicted in the Descent into Hell scenes. The origins of the other four types are Western European as well, but they probably go back to different sources, both in terms of place and timing. While the image of a roughly anthropomorphic beast with hairy body, horned head, small wings and long tail infiltrated many Evangelical and apocryphal episodes, a lying snake-tailed figure with adjacent half-figure and full-frontal seating black beast remained within the Last Judgement scene. The seven-headed dragon type was rarely chosen to be depicted, mostly in illustrations to the Revelation of John.

The popular type of a small mixomorphic winged demon with a human-like body looks very generic. The painting styles vary from medievalizing to an attempt in three-dimensional interpretation. The iconographic type reminds of the one in the printed books brought by Jesuits in the first half of the 17th c. The iconographic type of a sitting full-frontal enchained devil had not appeared until the second half of the 18th c. Probably, some new European models had arrived in Ethiopia by that time. The seven-headed dragon is not to be often seen in the Western European painting, apart from illustrations of the Apocalypse. The only parallel to the most mysterious type of Ethiopian devil — a lying snaketailed figure with adjacent half-figure — can be seen in Mozarabic illuminated beati (the Revelation of John manuscripts). The last two Ethiopian types of infernal beasts seem to go back (either directly or through some later copies) to those 10 th –11th cc. miniatures.

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**Примечания:**

1. Pierpont Morgan Library, MS M. 639 fol. 1r.
2. E.g. the painting of J. Serra (1381–1382), Museo de Zaragoza.
3. A flag in Christ’s hand, fresco Nolli mi tangere, Giotto (ca. 1304–1306), Capella di Scrovegni.
4. E.g. the painting of Duccio di Buoninsegna (ca. 1306–1311), Museo dell’Opera del Duomo, Siena.
5. E.g. miracle 19 of the Miracles of Mary (Manuscript of Dabra Warq [Annequin, 1972, pl. XXX]; Saint Euphemia holding an icon to exorcise the devil, Homiliary of Archangel Michael, early 18th c., Narga Selassie.
6. E.g. f42v, The Revelation of St. John (1700–1730), Or. 533 MS, British Library.
7. Debre Sina Mariam church; Qoma Fasilides church [Wion, 2001, p. 295]; Or. 510 MS f55v, Or, 508, f84v (both British Library); the Miracles of Mary Manuscript, Chicago Art Institute [Bickford Berzock, 2002, pl. 12]; Pictured book [Fletcher, 2001, cat. 38, p. 99].

8. The Miracles of Mary Manuscript, Chicago Art Institute [Bickford Berzock, 2002, pl. 12].

9. Or. 510 MS f55v, Or, 508, f84v (both British Library).

10. See Revelation, chapter 20, 2, 10.

11. E.g. churches of Narga Selassie, Debre Berhan Selassie, Kebran Gabriel (all in the Gondar area) and Abreha we Atsbeha (Tigray region).

12. Iconographic programs of the second Gondarine churches suggest such representations (e.g. Narga Selassie, Debre Berhan Selassie, Kebran Gabriel (all three — lake Tana region), Abreha we Atsbeha (Tigray).

13. Mozarabic art — the art of the Iberian Christians, living in the lands, conquered by Muslims. Their art was influenced by Islamic tradition.

14. Revelation of John, Chapter 12:3; e.g. see Ms Vit.14.2, f186v Madrid, Biblioteca Nacional; Beatus de Silos, f147v-148r, Add. 11695, British Lybrary.

15. Burgo de Osma, Archives de la Cathédrale, Ms 7, f117v.


17. Or. 533 MS, British Library.

18. Or. 533 MS, f47r, f47v, f49v.

19. E.g. in the iconographic program of Selassie Chelokot church, Tigray.

20. Or. 533 MS, f49r.

Библиография:


Western Iconography’s Impact on Ethiopian Painting: European Hell in Ethiopian Churches

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Abstract

While the Ethiopian Christian iconography relies on two major artistic traditions—Byzantine and Western European, the iconography of infernal demons was inspired specifically by Western European art. The Ethiopian tradition has developed four basic iconographic types of demons, each going back to different artistic schools, both in terms of place of origin and timing. Unexpected though evocative parallels between Ethiopian and Mozarabic depictions of Hell, Satan and other infernal beasts prompt to look for historic opportunities that could have introduced the very specific Spanish pre-Romanesque art of the 10–11th centuries to Ethiopian artists. The studies of Aragonese-Ethiopian and Portuguese- Ethiopian contacts of the 15–16th centuries support the hypothesis of Ethiopian acquaintance with illuminated Mozarabic manuscripts.

Keywords: Ethiopian painting, Devil iconography, Mozarabic painting, Apocalypse illumination, Mozarabic beati, Ethiopian iconography

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