

Sara Kuehn

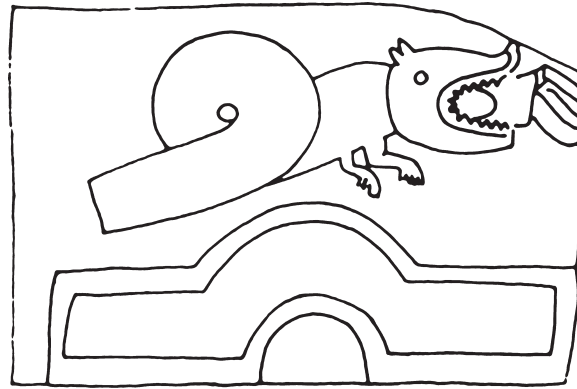
Escaping the «Jaws of Death»: Some Visual Conceptualisations in Late Medieval Islamic and Eastern Christian Art

In medieval Islamic and Eastern Christian writings reference to the gaping maw of a great monster frequently alludes metaphorically to impending calamity and the passage to another world. At the same time it is a mythical paradigm of the bivalence of a deep-seated historic force: the yawning jaws of all-consuming death that is destructive power can as well symbolise the power of life or generative power. This dual force is reflected in the visual pairing of the monstrous heads. The bipartite or double-headed motifs thus may imply a divine-demonic unity.

The primary iconographic representative for the zoomorphic jaws of death/life is the serpent or dragon. Animated by the endless interplay of dichotomous forces, the dragon reveals itself as deliverer or destroyer, regenerator or annihilator, protector or adversary. The powerful creature thus serves to embody the eternal opposition of two distinct forces, one seeking to preserve life, the other to destroy it, a polarity also giving rise to an interval or intermediary junction between two states or two modalities of existence.

The iconography of a dragon-like monster devouring or disgorging a human being appears in the Christian iconography of the Caucasus. A dragon with quadruped forelegs and a looped tail, portrayed in profile and depicted in the process of swallowing a small human figure, is shown above the southern entrance of the mid tenth-century Georgian church of Beris Sakdari, near the village of Eredvi, in the Patara

Fig. 1.
A human figure in the
jaws of a large dragon.
Georgian church
of Beris Sakdari,
southern entrance.
Near the village
of Eredvi,
Patara Liakhvi
Gorge, Georgia.
Mid-10th century.
After Baltrušaitis,
1929, pl. LXXI,
fig. 118



Liakhvi Gorge (fig. 1). An analogue sculptural relief with a human torso in the maw of a comparable mythical creature also with quadruped forelegs (only the protome is featured) is shown above the southern door (east side) of the Georgian Tao-Klarjethi monastery church of Haho (Georgian Khakhuli), modern Bağlar Başı, in northeastern Turkey (fig. 2), which dates between the tenth and eleventh centuries [Winfield 1968: 62–63, fig. 6 and pl. 30b; cf. Mepisashvili 1972: 141–161; Khundadze 2009: 154]. However, whereas on the relief of the Georgian church of Beris Sakdari, the figure is depicted with its head in the dragon's maw (as if being swallowed), in the Haho relief the figure bursts head first out of the beast's jaws, with the arms flung upward as though lifted in prayer, topped by small fish (as if being cast forth from it). The fact that both reliefs are depicted above the entrance to a church also indicates that this iconography was associated with the warding off of evil and the affording of protection, see [Kuehn 2011: 52, figs. 113–116].

These two depictions are probably related to the story in the Book of Jonah in the Old Testament. The episode of the Jonah cycle that concerns us here describes the prophet's flight from the city of Nineveh aboard a ship. When God caused a violent tempest at sea, the prophet is cast, at his own motion and at his own behest into the stormy waves to appease the divine wrath and save the lives of the sailors. The sea

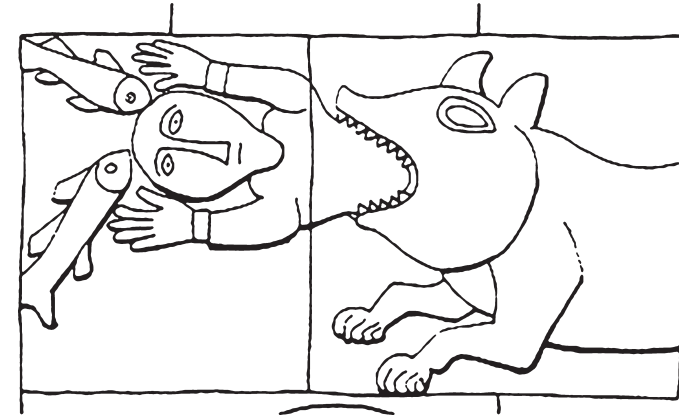


Fig. 2.
A human figure in the jaws of a large dragon.
Georgian Tao-Klarjeti monastery church of Haho (Georgian Khakhuli),
south porch, south door, east side. Modern Bağlar Başı in northeastern
Turkey. 10th to 11th centuries. After [Winfield 1968: 63, fig. 6]

then ceased its raging and did no further hurt and damage. These miracles induced the sailors to confess their belief in Jonah's God. Jonah does not drown, since God sends a large aquatic creature or fish, sometimes described as a dragon-like sea-monster, to swallow him up, but his suffering is such in the creature's belly, representing the "maw of death"¹, that he prays to God for deliverance. God intervenes and saves the prophet from physical death by making the creature regurgitate him out after three days and three nights. The iconographic content of the visual schemata thus revolves around the theme "de morte transire ad vitam."

Typologically, Jonah's three days and nights sojourn in the monster's belly and the physicality of his suffering were seen in early Christian tradition as prefiguring the time Christ spent in the "heart of the

¹ Hades (the Greek underworld) was personified as soul-devouring monster; souls were in the "belly of the underworld (sheol/hades)" (Jonah 2:2). See [Stommel 1954: 46].

earth” after his crucifixion². This gave the story of Jonah an important place among Christian symbols, establishing it as a type of the resurrection of the Christ, and through him, of all mankind. He was ingested, experienced horror, physical pain, though was not digested, emerging alive from the jaws of the great sea-monster following his miraculous salvation, thereby prefiguring the victory of the Son of Man over death. Jonah’s ordeal thus provided a particularly fitting metaphor for the Christians’ mimesis of Christ’s death and his period in the tomb before the resurrection³.

The devouring and expectorating of Jonah by the creature is a motif that, at another level, dramatises the inner transformation and spiritual rebirth of the prophet. Vladimir Propp has pointed out the archaism of the theme of the hero being consumed by a monster. He mentions that the imitation of the ingestion and regurgitation of a hero by an animal such as a dragon was sometimes part of an initiation process, the successful completion of this ritual entitling the initiate to start a new phase of life or existence [Propp 1946: 200–23]. It is of note that in the Jonah cycle this transformation was not preceded by a battle for deliverance inasmuch as the prophet does not fight or hurt the aquatic monster for, as he acknowledges (Jonah 4:2), he knew in advance that by God’s grace he would be forgiven. God would save him from the affliction and extricate him from error since: “...[He is] a gracious and merciful God, slow to anger and abundant in loving kindness, One who relents from doing harm.”

Jonah’s association with dragons is also reflected in the Babylonian Talmud, in the tractate *Bava Batra* 74a, since one of Jonah’s tasks is to bind and bring Leviathan, one of the other great sea-monsters referred to in the Bible, to be feasted upon by the “righteous in Para-

² “Even as Jonah was three days and three nights in the belly of the whale, so shall the Son of Man be three days and three nights in the depths of the earth” (Matthew 12:39–40).

³ The theme often recurs in Georgian ecclesiastical hymns and prayers, even in respect to the salvation of a human soul, for instance, “save the prophet from the dragon and save me from sins...” [Modrekili 1979: 5, cit. after Khundadze 2009: 154].

dise”, that is in the messianic world to come, and, according to the tenth-century *Midrash Jonah*, it was his agreement to do so that saved him from drowning at sea. Interestingly, the same *midrash* also informs us on the gender of such fabulous beasts. It recounts that Jonah is transferred underwater from a male to a female sea-creature; and it is the latter, according to the *midrash*, which vomits Jonah up on dry land (*Midrash Jonah* 2:11) [Bet ha-Midrash, ed. Jellinek: 96–105; Ginzberg 1909–1938 vol. 4: 249–50, vol. 6: 350].

Prototypes of the dragon-headed sea-monster depicted in the two Georgian examples are usually identified as *ketos*, represented with a bold lupine head, writhing and winged body and powerful, leonine paws; the physiognomic characteristics derive from Hellenistic art and continue to be seen in Early Christian and Byzantine reliefs up to the sixth century and later⁴. An example is featured on a much earlier fourth- to fifth-century fragment of a Byzantine sarcophagus from Constantinople. The episode shows the casting overboard scene of Jonah from a ship sailing to the right with a crew of four naked men. They are letting Jonah down into the water, and he is falling, head first, into the dragon’s open jaws that are marked by rows of sharp teeth (fig. 3)⁵.

The story of Jonah also migrated eastward into India⁶ appearing in two versions of the Tibetan Lama Tāranātha’s *bKa-babs bdun-ldan*,

⁴ For the *ketos*, translated *vishap*, which swallowed Jonas in later Christian Armenian art, see [Russell 1990: 2681].

⁵ It is quite possible that the Canaanite chaos dragon lies behind the sea-creature that devoured Jonah and that his story may also be associated with the story of Perseus’ deliverance of Andromeda from the mythical sea-monster *ketos*, a tradition already attested by pseudo-Scylax in the fourth century BC, the possible date of the book of Jonah. See [Day 2002: 104].

⁶ It is interesting to note that the motif of an aquatic dragon swallowing a human figure appears also in the Indian story of the six-day-old infant Kāma (incarnated as Pradyumna). The drought demon Śambara stole the child and cast him into a sea of *makaras* where he was devoured by one of the great sea-creatures. When the great fish monster was caught and brought to the palace of Śambara, the demon’s wife discovered the child in the fish’s belly, rescued



Fig. 3.
“Jonah Devoured by the Sea Monster”.
Fragment of a sarcophagus.
H. 90 cm, W. 71 cm. Discovered in Sarıgüzöl,
near the Fenari Isa Mosque. 4th to 5th century.
Istanbul Archaeological Museum, inv. no.
4517 T. After [Kuban 2010: 211, fig. 137]

a History of Buddhism in India from the eleventh century to the reign of the Mughal emperor Akbar (949/1542–1014/1605), thus relating to a period when Islam was established in India, see [Laufer 1908: 576–578].

The ordeal of Jonah (Yūnus ibn Mattā) being devoured and disgorged by a sea-monster under divine command is mentioned in Surat al-Sāffāt (Qurʾān 37:139–144). In the Qurʾān the prophet is mentioned with the epithet “Man of the Whale” (*dhū al-nūn*; 21:87) and “Companion of the Fish” (*ṣāhib al-ḥūt*; 68:48). The big fish is said to have come from India on account of the prophet [al-Kisāʾi: 323–324]. God com-

manded the whale, saying, “Whale, O whale! We shall not make Jonah into your sustenance! Rather We make you a retreat for him, a sanctu-

and adopted him. Vishṇu Purāṇa 5.26–27; Bhāgavata Purāṇa 10.55 (in this myth it is a cook who finds the infant inside the *makara*’s body and brings it up). Hence although the child was initially swallowed, it was protected in the body of the *makara*. Significantly, Kāma, the god of love, who is said to be born from the waters (the “water-born”), is closely associated with the *makara*, who is not only the emblem on his banner (his epithet is *makara-dhvaja*, “*makara*-bannered”), but also serves as his vehicle. As well as communicating the god’s mastery over the *makara*, this legend shows that some aspect of the sea-creature became fused with the figure of the god.

ary” [al-Ṭabarī I 783: 160–166, esp. 166]. The length of the prophet’s enclosure in the body of the whale is not mentioned in the Qurʾān. Muslim tradition proposed different figures ranging from three, seven, twenty to forty days⁷. He was surrounded by the triple darkness of the great sea-creature, the sea and the night. Al-Ṭabarī recounts that God made the fish transparent so that the prophet could see the wonders of the deep regions of the sea. He could hear the songs of praise of the sea-monsters just as the angels heard his prayers from the inside of the fish and interceded on his behalf with God⁸. Salvation was thus once again dependent on prayer, appeal for forgiveness and repentance, for “had it not been that he glorified God, he would certainly have remained in the fish till the day of resurrection” (Qurʾān 37:143–4).

In Sūrat al-Anbiyāʾ (Qurʾān 21:88) Jonah’s great prayer has a central place. From within the layers of darkness he recognises his sin and calls out in desperation: “There is no God but Thou; Glory to Thee. I was indeed wrong.” Members of the Persian Niʿmat-Allāhī Ṣūfī order refer to this *wird* (a spiritually powerful personal prayer) as the Yūnusiyya (pertaining to Yūnus) since its recitation is said to have enabled the prophet’s restoration to life coinciding with his emergence from the creature’s belly into the darkness of nature, thus of the passage of the being to a new state; the initiatic cavern of whale’s body symbolising corporeality, the material world, from whence he was freed and admitted to the dwelling-place of the spirit [Nurbakhsh 1979: 110; cf. Netton 2000: 49]. The manner of expression is comparable to that in the texts of the Ikhwān al-Ṣafāʾ (Brethren of Purity, established c. 373/983) who, centuries earlier, described humanity as analogous to being “foreign prisoners in the bondage of nature, drowned in the sea of matter...”⁹.

⁷ B. Heller and A. Rippin, “Yūnus b. Mattā,” *ET* XI, 347b. In his *Kitāb al-Āthār al-Bāqiyā* or “Vestiges of the Past” al-Bīrūnī, for instance, calculates that Jonah stayed in the belly of the fish for twenty-two days [al-Bīrūnī: 322].

⁸ al-Ṭabarī, *Tafsīr, ad Qurʾān XXI*, p. 87, as a second opinion on the meaning of the “darkness”, i.e. “obscuration”, cit. after B. Heller and A. Rippin, “Yūnus b. Mattā,” *ET* XI, 347b.

⁹ Ikhwān al-Ṣafāʾ, *Rasāʾil* (Epistles), vol. 4, p. 116, see [Netton 2002: 16; cf. Netton 2000: 49].



The Jonah imagery was popular in the Islamic world and frequently illustrated in manuscripts of world history. A large-scale single leaf painting, which may have been used during oral recitation or storytelling, shows Jonah after his release from the belly of the fish. Above him, a gourd plant grows — sent by God to protect him from the elements (Qurʾān 37:146) — and, gliding across the top of the painting, an angel with colourful spreading wings whose right outstretched leg touches the scene's right margin offers Jonah a garment to cover his nakedness (fig. 4).

While the messianic aspects of the story — developed in the New Testament (Matthew 22:39, Luke 11:29) and in the *Midrash* [Ginzberg 1909–1938 vol. 4: 253, vol. 6: 351; Canaan 1938: 175, n. 249] — are absent in Islamic tradition, it is interesting to note here that Jonah was cast up from the creature's maw “as if he were a new born child fully preserved” [al-Ṭabarī I 783: 160–166, esp. 166]. The prophet's nakedness accords with Neoplatonic Jewish and Christian ideas of the fate of the naked soul in the world, cf. [Stommel 1954: 45], see also (Matthew 12:39–40)

Fig. 4 and detail.
“Jonah and the Whale”.
Folio probably from a *Jāmiʾ al-tawārīkh* (“Compendium of Chronicles”). Ink, opaque watercolour, gold, and silver on paper, H. 33.7 cm, W. 49.5 cm.
Iran, ca. 1400. New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art, inv. no. 33.113. Armenag Bey Sakisian, Paris, until 1933; Purchase, Joseph Pulitzer Bequest, 1933



Another interesting aspect in this painting is the Persian inscription, on the arms of Jonah, quoting a couplet from the *Gulistān* (the “Rose-Garden”) of the celebrated thirteenth-century Persian poet Saʿdī of Shīrāz (d. 691/1292), which reads (on the right side of the miniature, that is the left arm of the figure)

قرص خورشید در سیاهی شد
qorṣ-e ḥoršīd dar siyāhī šod

(and on the left side of the miniature, that is the right arm of the figure)

یونس اندر دهان ماهی شد
yunes andar dahân-e mōhi šod

“The sun's disk went into darkness, Jonah went into the mouth of the fish.”¹⁰

¹⁰ A reference to the story of Jonah in Surat al-Sāffāt (Qurʾān 37:142): “And the fish swallowed him while he was blaming himself.”

The first part of the couplet contains a familiar pun for when the sun's disk goes into darkness, it is implicitly devoured by the astrological dragon monster, the eclipse pseudo-planet *al-Jawzahar* — a metaphorical allusion to Jonah going into the mouth of the fish.

Individual depictions of *al-jawzahar*-Draco as eighth planet next to the seven traditional planets, comprising the Sun, the Moon, Saturn, Jupiter, Mars, Venus and Mercury [Hartner 1938: 114–38]¹¹, often portray a cross-legged figure holding a dragon in each hand. The figure is shown to hold either a pair of upright dragons, their bodies usually forming a loop, or vertical staffs (fig. 5); both the coiling bodies and the allegorical staffs end in confronted dragon heads with gaping snouts framing the central figure, see [Kuehn 2011: figs. 113–116].

It is significant that representations of the planet *jawzahar* thereby make use of the emblematic portrayal of the cosmic ruler. This iconography was ubiquitously used on visual art from the mid-eleventh to the early thirteenth century and was associated with the ancient concept of the “Master of the Beasts/the Master of the Dragons”. This conception of the central figure as dragon tamer thereby perhaps reflects the apparent necessity to harness the forces of this planet.

The choice of this cosmic symbolism underlines the prominence accorded to *al-jawzahar* which gives an indication of the magnitude of the potential effects the planet could have on the course of human events. This is especially important since the planet *jawzahar* was associated with solar and lunar eclipses. In medieval Islam especially, the astrological influence of the eclipse of the Sun is considered one of the foremost signs of the impending destruction of the world.

The prominent depiction of *al-jawzahar* on objects such as the so-called Bobrinski bucket (inscribed with the date *muḥarram* 559/December 1163), probably from Herat, therefore evidently originates, as Willy Hartner has underlined, “not in a doctrinal astrological con-

¹¹ In later medieval Indian literature both nodes, Rāhu (*rās al-tinnīn*), and Ketu (*danab al-tinnīn*), were attributed the same importance as the other seven planets, hence there were a total of nine planets [Hartner 1938: 133, cf. also 151].



Fig. 5.
The planet *jawzahar*.
Detail from the
Bobrinski bucket,
possibly Herat,
Afghanistan.
Muḥarram 559/
December 1163. By
Muḥammad ibn ‘Abd
al-Wāhid and Maṣūd
ibn Aḥmad. Copper
alloy, inlay in silver,
copper and niello.
St. Petersburg, State
Hermitage Museum,
inv. no. JR-2268 (detail).
Photograph by courtesy
of the State Hermitage
Museum, St. Petersburg

ception, but in a purely metaphysical one, being associated with the antagonism between the celestial luminaries and the terrestrial light-devouring dragon” [Hartner 1938: 138]. While the dragon is mainly associated with the eclipses and, hence, the “devouring of light,” it also has a positive aspect namely as giver of light (when it releases the light of the sun at dawn) and, consequently, as protector of light, cf. [Daneshvari 1993: 20]. It is also interesting, for what follows, that in Islamic astronomy the *jawzahar* was often represented as a bipartite or double-headed dragon.

The iconography of a human figure, often reduced to the image of a mask-like face, flanked on either side by dragons, was symbolically very potent in the medieval Iranised world and, as we will see now, existed in different manifestations. The monsters not only frame the central motif but on account of their gaping jaws, at first sight, appear to threaten or perhaps even attempt to consume what they flank. The possibility of the latter interpretation will be discussed in the light of surviving examples of this enigmatic imagery.

Significant relations between the Caucasus region and the Islamic world were established in early Abbasid times. Later on, with

the Saljuq conquests of the Eastern Anatolian region, the Armenian iconographic repertoire served as a source of inspiration and reciprocal contacts between the Saljuqs and the cultural sphere of the Caucasus were established. This may be due to the fact that even though so-called image-worship was not without opponents (and there were several iconoclast phases in Armenia), there was an on-going struggle against iconoclasm. Sirarpie der Nersessian has conclusively shown that, while the Armenian church did not favour excessive forms of image-worship, it was never opposed to images, or to certain forms of image-worship¹². Armenia, in particular, may thus be seen to act as a sort of repository of a more or less uninterrupted transmission of iconographies at a time when iconoclasm began in Byzantium in around 720 and continued for nearly 120 years. This would suggest that at least some vestiges of earlier pre-Christian visual substrates survived in the overall repertoire of medieval Armenian visual religious art which, as a result, incorporated parts of its ancient iconographical tradition.

The motif of two dragons symmetrically flanking a frontally rendered human head is prominently recorded in the visual arts of the Caucasus region, in particular in Armenia. It is found three times on the façade of the central monument of the fortified monastic complex of Ta'ev, located in Siunik' province in southeastern Armenia (fig. 6). The late ninth-century church, dedicated to the Saints Paul and Peter (Surb Poghos Petros), was constructed by the order of prince Ashot' of Siunik' under the supervision of bishop Ter Hovhannes between 895 and 906.

On the eastern façade two human heads are flanked by long pairs of serpent-dragons, while on the northern façade a moustachioed head

¹² Cf. the arguments of opponents and defenders of images in Armenia set forth in the late sixth- or early seventh-century treatise *Yalags patkera-martic'* (*Against the Iconoclasts*) ascribed to Vrt'anes K'ert'ogh [Vrt'anes K'ert'ogh 1927: 23–25, 61–63; Vrt'anes K'ert'ogh 1935]. See [Der Nersessian 1944/1945: 58–87; Der Nersessian 1946: 67–81; Nersessian 2001: 82–88, esp. 84–86].

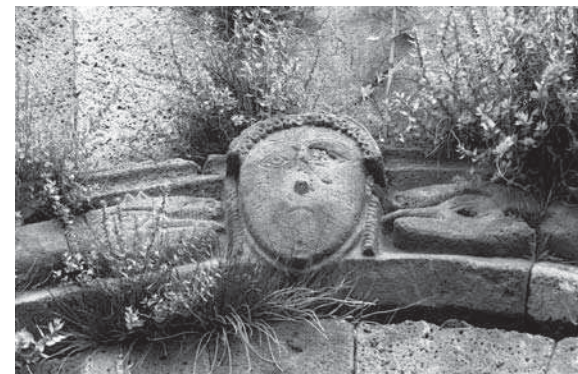


Fig. 6 a-c.
Dragons flanking
human heads.
Church of Saints
Paul and Peter (Surb
Poghos Petros).
Armenia, Siunik'
province, Ta'ev
monastic complex.
Constructed by the
order of prince Ashot'
of Siunik' between 895
and 906. Photographs
Sara Kuehn

is framed by two shorter and slightly more voluminous dragons. All of the creatures are portrayed with mouths ajar, revealing projecting tongues, which appear to touch the ears of the heads. The Armenian historian Step'anos Örbēlian has interpreted the heads as belonging to the donors of the church, Grigor Supan, the ruler of Geghark'unik', as well as prince Ashot' and his wife Shushan [Khal'pakh'chian 1980: 164]. The head identified as that of princess Shushan is framed by shoulder-length tresses. Her head is surmounted by a large composite rosette, which may have conveyed a special significance¹³.

Khal'pakh'chian has suggested a protective function of the motif of the human head between serpent-dragons, since serpents are regarded by Armenians as protectors of homes or *shahapets*, serpent genii of places¹⁴. The Armenian predilection for representing serpents or dragons may perhaps be associated with the fact that in Armenia the dragon or *vishap* belongs to the pre-Christian substrate and as a result is part of the ancient iconographical tradition [Bet ha-Midrash, ed. Jellinek: 96–105; Ginzberg 1909–1938 vol. 4: 249–50, vol. 6: 350].

It should also be pointed out that the visual pairing of the dragon heads is an example of the conceptual doubling aspect of representations which is so prominent throughout the medieval period. This device is intended to reinforce and augment the visual impact and potency of the symbol. The widespread use of the motif of two open-mouthed dragons flanking a mask-like human head is also attested by its use in twelfth-century Armenian manuscripts. It is shown as an element attached to ornate initials, such as in the loop of the initial in this late twelfth-century Cilician Gospel of Luke and Matthew (Baltimore, Walters Art Gallery Ms. 538), written in 1193 for the bishop Ter Karapet, at the monastery of Paughoskan near the fortress of Katen in the region of Mlich (fig. 7).

This theme of symmetrically doubled dragons flanking a human head appears on other three-dimensional constructions recorded in

¹³ For a discussion of the significance of the rosette motif in the early Persian, Sasanian and Umayyad period, see [Ettinghausen 1972: 36–41].

¹⁴ On the *shahapets*, see [Kuehn 2011: 56, n. 66].



Fig. 7.
Dragons flanking
a mask-like human head.
First page of the Gospel of Luke,
written and illustrated for Bishop
Ter Karapet. Cilician Armenia,
monastery of Paughoskan. 1193.
Baltimore, Walters Art Gallery,
MS 538, fol. 154 (detail)
[Der Nersessian,
Agemian 1993: fig. 8]



Fig. 8.
Dragons flanking a mask-like human head.
Caravanserai Susuz Han, composition surmounting the two niches
that flank the main portal. Turkey, central Anatolia, south of Bucak.
Mid-13th century, c. 644/1246. Photograph Sara Kuehn

Fig. 9 and detail.
Dragons flanking
a central medallion.

Wooden door
(central vertical
section replaced
in the style of the
original); detail.
First half of the
13th century.

Northern
Mesopotamia
(Jazīra), Tigris
region. Berlin,
Museum für

Islamische Kunst,
inv. no. I.1989.43.

Photograph
by courtesy
of Staatliche
Museen zu Berlin
Preußischer
Kulturbesitz,
Museum für
Islamische Kunst,
Berlin



Islamic architecture, such as at the thirteenth-century caravanserai Susuz Han (dated c. 644/1246), situated near Bucak, in central Anatolia. At the *khān* the symbolism is shown twice, mirrored above two *muqarnas* niches flanking the main portal, hence effectively doubling the visual impact of the potent motif (fig. 8). Just like the above-discussed Armenian dragonheads, the dragonheads at Susuz Han are portrayed in the so-called “Saljuq”-style¹⁵. Typically these are represented with an ophidian head, whose elongated lips are often curved upwards and rolled outwards, often revealing a proportionately deep cavity with large fangs or row of sharp teeth. This “Saljuq-style” dragon was a motif in common currency from Central Asia to Anatolia long before its place was taken by the so-called “Chinese-style” dragon, introduced in the aftermath of the Mongol invasion.

In what follows, I will show that the motif appears in different guises on other twelfth- or thirteenth-century Islamic works of art, yet its meaning often remained enigmatic with the dragons being mainly perceived as threatening forces. It will be shown that the depiction of this iconography bears many similarities with examples from the Transcaucasian world.

Paired dragons flanking a central motif are also featured on other architectural elements such as a thirteenth-century carved wooden door, probably from the Tigris region, now preserved in the Museum für Islamische Kunst in Berlin (fig. 9). The dragons frame a much effaced motif, perhaps once representing a human bust. The dragon heads are again shown with gaping snouts characteristic of the “Saljuq” type (fig. 9, detail). Instead of a human head as central element held by open-mouthed dragons, the mythical creatures similarly flank an inscription, a vegetal composition or an animal head, for instance that of a bull or a lion, as will be shown in the following.

The close link between the blessings expressed in an inscription and images of fructifying vegetation is evidenced by the parallel de-

¹⁵ Throughout this paper the term “Saljuq” is used in an extended sense, geographically and chronologically. For a discussion of the “Saljuq-style” dragon, see [Kuehn 2011: 4, 12, 29].

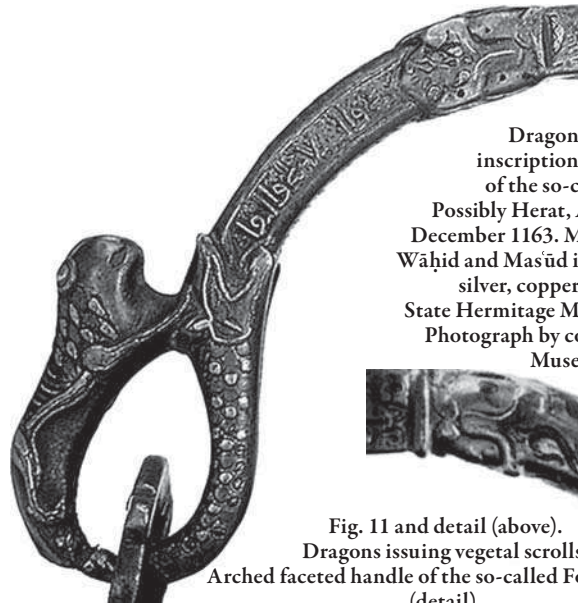


Fig. 10.

Dragons issuing benedictory inscriptions. Arched faceted handle of the so-called Bobrinski bucket.

Possibly Herat, Afghanistan. Muḥarram 559/ December 1163. Made by Muḥammad ibn 'Abd al-Wāḥid and Maṣūd ibn Aḥmad. Copper alloy, inlay in silver, copper and niello. St. Petersburg, State Hermitage Museum, inv. no. JR-2268 (detail). Photograph by courtesy of the State Hermitage Museum, St. Petersburg

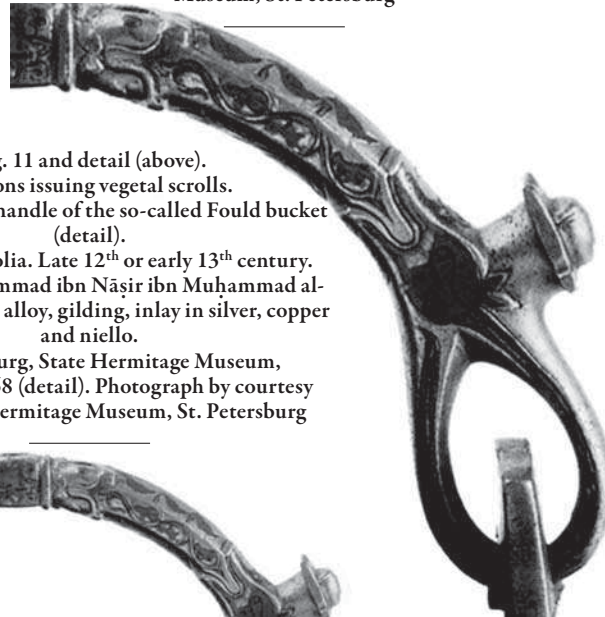


Fig. 11 and detail (above).

Dragons issuing vegetal scrolls.

Arched faceted handle of the so-called Fould bucket (detail).

Possibly Anatolia. Late 12th or early 13th century. Made by Muḥammad ibn Nāṣir ibn Muḥammad al-Harawī. Copper alloy, gilding, inlay in silver, copper and niello.

St. Petersburg, State Hermitage Museum, inv. no. IR-1668 (detail). Photograph by courtesy of the State Hermitage Museum, St. Petersburg



pictions on the handles of the celebrated Bobrinski and Fould inlaid bronze buckets. The handle loops of the Bobrinski bucket are made in the form of dragon protomes from whose gaping mouths springs the central four-sided arched section. On the outside these are flanked by leaping lions (fig. 10). Issuing from the dragons mouths are benedictory inscriptions in *naskhi* on two sides and in Kufic on the top band of the handle with the date *muḥarram* 559/December 1163 [Etinghausen 1943: 193–208]. Since the inlay has partly come off, the inscriptions are only partly preserved, reading

ا- [...] ل او قم ار كل او ؟ فكل ربل [ا] و

Wa [a]l-baraka? wa al-ka[rā]ma wa al- [...] ā

[...] اق بل او قم ال سل او

... wa as-salāma wa al-baqā

The handle loops on the Fould bucket are similarly made of arched dragons topped at the outside by projecting lion head knobs (fig. 11).



Fig. 12.

Dragons flanking a palmette. First page of the Gospel of Matthew. 12th century. Jerusalem, Library of the Armenian Patriarchate Ms. 1796, fol. 6 (detail) [Der Nersessian, Aghemian 1993: fig. 56]

From the dragons' open mouths emerges the six-sided arched handle, decorated on all facets with scrolling foliage in place of the benedictory inscriptions shown on the Bobrinski handle.

In a similar manner an inverted pendant palmette is flanked by open-mouthed dragons inserted in the loop of the initial letter on the first page of a twelfth-century Armenian Gospel of Matthew (fig. 12). The fact that the palmette is placed between the two dragons underlines their affinity with symbols of fertility and fecundity in the vegetal world. These often spring from their jaws — hence are not only associated with the dragons' mouths, but, by extension, with their tongues, breath and saliva.



Fig. 13.
Dragons flanking
a vegetal composition topped by
a double-headed eagle.
Relief carving on the façade
of the Çifte Minare *madrasa*, Erzurum.
Second half of the 13th century
(before 640/1242–43).
Photograph Sara Kuehn

An analogue motif is represented by the relief sculptures on the stone minaret buttresses of the Çifte Minare *madrasa* at Erzurum, probably built just before the fall of Erzurum to the Mongols in 640/1242–3 (fig. 13). Here a pair of dragon protomes issues from the stem of a palm tree in such a way that they come to flank the central vegetation with its small birds, some fruit, perhaps pomegranates, and the double-headed eagle at its apex. Given the close historical relations of Armenians with the principality of Erzurum (Armenian Karin), which at various times belonged to Armenia and under Islamic rulership also had a Christian Armenian population, the Çifte Minare *madrasa* motif may be related to earlier as well as contemporary Armenian references preserved in stone carving or manuscript illumination.

It is noteworthy, that in lieu of vegetation, dragons flank, and perhaps emit, Christian crosses on *vishap*-type Armenian commemorative cross-stones or *khatchk'ar*, such as a twelfth- or thirteenth-century example from Makravank' in Ararat province, on which a closely related form of imagery can be deduced. On this *khatchk'ar* a pair of stylised dragons springs from the base of a

cross. Their serpentine bodies bifurcate, form a loop and then curve upwards to terminate in stylised heads with wide-open jaws. The bases of the small crosses are shown to rest on the tips of short tongues projecting from the dragons' mouths which are flanked by gaping snouts with inward curled tips (fig. 14).

At the same time, the multivalent aspect of the symbol of the cross, employed as metaphor for both the crucifixion and the resurrection of Christ¹⁶, has to be taken into account. In Armenian exegetical works the *khatchk'ar* is often elaborated as “wood of life” (*p'ayt kenats*)¹⁷. It is notable that *khatchk'ar* decorated with the cross, the “wood of life”, as the main decorative motif, symbolise



Fig. 14.
Stylised dragons flanking a cross
and issuing small crosses.
Vishap-type *khatchk'ar*, Makravank',
Ararat province. Probably 12th
or 13th century. No. 12 *khatchk'ar*.
Photograph by courtesy
of Jean-Michel Thierry

- ¹⁶ With regard to the Christian Feast of the Apparition of the Flaming Cross in Heaven, al-Bīrūnī records that, according to Christian scholars, Constantine's mother, Helena, went to Jerusalem to find the cross of Christ which when placed upon a dead body could resurrect the dead. He further notes that the wood used for the cross is referred to as “the wood of Paeonia,” which is frequently “attached to a man who suffers from epilepsy, being considered as a symbol of the resurrection of the dead” (*Kitāb al-Āthār al-Bāqiya* [al-Bīrūnī: 293–294]). For related narratives on the association of the Cross and the Tree of Life, see [Wünsche 1905: 15–17]
- ¹⁷ See the Homily by David Anyaght', cited in [Russell 1994–1995: 630; Russell 2004: 1194]. In Agathangelos' fifth-century theological teachings, *The Teaching of St. Gregory*, the cross is praised as a “Tree of Life rooted in the earth” [Agathangelos 2001: 7–9, 21–23, chs. 577–586, 618–631]. On the cult of the Tree of Life in Armenia, see [Russell 1987: 33]. The Tree of Life as prefiguration of the Cross of Christ is mentioned in the Christian Syriac *Me'ārath gazzē* (*Cave of Treasures*, tr. and ed. [Budge 1927: 34]).

Fig. 15 and detail. Dragons flanking the base of a cross. Marginal ornament in a copy of the Gospel of Mark, Edessa. 1171. Transcribed and illuminated by the priest Hohannes, son of the priest Manuk. Yerevan, Matenadaran Manuscript Museum, Ms. 313, fol. 81. Photograph by courtesy of the Matenadaran Manuscript Museum, Yerevan



to be read as threatening or even less as ingesting the crosses. It may rather be presumed that, conversely, as in the case of vegetation or benedictory inscriptions, the mythical creatures are depicted with crosses issuing from their mouths, perhaps suggesting the active association of the dragons with this symbol of spiritual deliverance. This would suggest a role for them not only as guardians but one may cautiously hypothesise perhaps even as rescuers or deliverers, draw-

¹⁸ Cf. *The Teaching of St. Gregory* [Agathangelos: 159–162, chs. 641–654].

ing on associations with the idea of Christ the Saviour and Deliverer¹⁹.

An important marginal ornament features a cross resting on an inverted heart-shaped interlace of split-palmettes ending in two confronted “Saljuq-style” dragon heads, the necks enclosed in narrow ornamental collars. Just as on the above-discussed *vishap*-type *khatchk'ar*, the creatures are distinctly portrayed with their red tongues darting from the wide open mouths to touch the base of the cross. The ophidian heads are capped by pointed ears, the most characteristic aspect being however the wide open, curved snouts, the upper lip ending in a



Fig. 16 and detail. Dragons flanking a vegetal composition bearing the heads of the four Evangelists topped by a cross. Marginal ornament in a copy of the Gospel of Luke, monastery of Gladzor, Vayots Dzor province. 1323. Painting by T'oros Taronatsi. Yerevan, Matenadaran Manuscript Museum, Ms. 6289, fol. 141r. Photograph by courtesy of the Matenadaran Manuscript Museum, Yerevan



¹⁹ Cf. the bronze serpent created by Moses in the wilderness (Numbers 21:4–9) and the cross upon which Jesus was crucified (John 3:14): “And as Moses lifted up the serpent in the wilderness, even so must the Son of Man be lifted up so that everyone who believes may have eternal life in him.” For a further discussion of the association of the serpent-dragon with the Cross, see also [Kuehn 2011: 67–68].

rolled-up tip. The ornament is portrayed on Mark's first page, copied by the priest Hohannes, son of the priest Manuk, in 1171 in Edessa (now known as Urfa) in southeast Anatolia (fig. 15).

Confronted dragons emitting vegetation topped by a cross are also shown on ornaments in other Armenian miniatures, such as on a large early fourteenth-century marginal ornament from the Gospel of Luke. It features open-mouthed dragons with projecting tongues that touch the base of a stylised, tree-like vegetal motif (fig. 16). The latter contains the symbols of the four Evangelists and is surmounted by an ornate cross instead of the double-headed eagle that tops the palm tree on the mid-thirteenth-century Çifte Minare *madrassa*. The ornament was illustrated by the miniaturist T'oros Taronatsi in the important scriptorium of the monastery of Gladzor in southern Armenia.

The same conceptualisation also appears above a door at the monastery of Deir Mār Behnām in Mosul. On the lintel of the southern outer door is a central Greek cross. From its base extends an arched cartouche which encloses a pair of stylised quadruped dragons viewed from behind, whose arched bodies are crossing (fig. 17). The dragons' gaping mouths are turned towards each other and their projecting tongues touch the tip of the cusped lower end of the cross.

At least from the beginning of the fifth century, the cross was regarded as a powerful amulet [Canaan 1938: 175, n. 249]; hence crosses placed on or near entrances served primarily protective and apotropaic functions [Kitzinger 1970: 640]. The Christian cross together with the dragons thus undeniably has a special function as an apotropaion guarding a threshold.

By analogy, should the imagery of dragons flanking and apparently emitting crosses carry a positive symbolism, then this would have implications for other motifs in the same position. The closely related theme of symmetrically doubled dragons flanking a central animal head survives on architectural compositions. It appears on two of the round towers of the northern city wall of the medieval Armenian city of Ani, probably added under Shaddādid rule in the early twelfth century. Here the creatures' heads with gaping jaws, revealing rows of teeth and tongues with bifid tips, frame a bovine head. In one case the bull holds a ring in its mouth (fig. 18). The prominent depic-

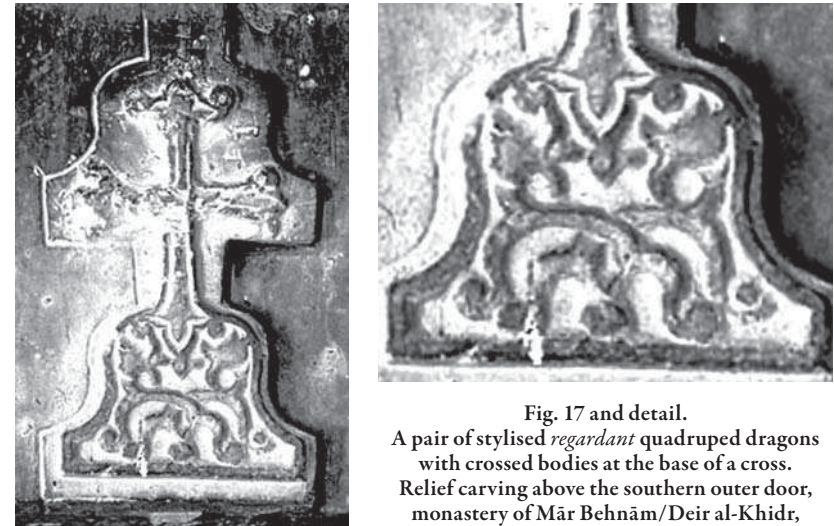


Fig. 17 and detail.
A pair of stylised *regardant* quadruped dragons with crossed bodies at the base of a cross. Relief carving above the southern outer door, monastery of Mār Behnām/Deir al-Khidr, southeast of Mosul. 13th century. Photograph by courtesy of Yasser Tabbaa



Fig. 18.
Dragons flanking a bovine head. Relief carving on a round tower of the northern city wall, Ani. 10th to 12th century. Photograph Sara Kuehn



Fig. 19.
Dragons flanking a lion head.
Marginal ornament in the
Mush Homiliary, monastery of
Avagvank, Erznga(n). 1200–1202.
Yerevan, Matenadaran Manuscript
Museum, Ms. 7729, fol. 492.
Photograph by courtesy of the
Matenadaran Manuscript Museum,
Yerevan

tion of the motif on the towers of the city walls certainly underlines its apotropaic intent.

The same symbolism can be observed in an Armenian marginal ornament in which a lion's mask is featured as the centre with two open-mouthed dragon heads situated just below and connected with the mask by means of a knotted vegetal interlace (fig. 19). This illumination is included in the celebrated Mush Homiliary, transcribed and illuminated at the monastery of Avagvank' near Erznga(n) (present-day Erzincan) in northeastern Anatolia in 1200 to 1202.

The theme reappears in the same manuscript featuring two open-mouthed dragon heads flanking a lion's mask (fig. 20). Significantly, the imagery takes the characteristic form of the pomegranate, a fruit which for

its abundant seeds symbolises immortality both in Armenia and throughout the Iranian world, thus underlining, once again, the auspicious character of the motif²⁰.

Yet another closely comparable conceptualisation is found in the drawing of the brass door handles of the court engineer, al-Jazārī (fl. second half of sixth/twelfth century), intended for the palace door at Diyārbakr in southern Anatolia, which survives only in a copy of the original illustration of al-Jazārī's *Kitāb fī mā'rifat al-ḥiyāl al-bandasiyya* of 602/1206 and a description in the treatise on automata written by the master craftsman (fig. 21). The knockers are shown in the

²⁰ On the pomegranate motif form in Greek mythology, see [Elderkin 1924: 1–3, 18, 25–27, 44–45, 118].

Fig. 20.
Dragons flanking a lion head
in the form of a pomegranate.
Marginal ornament in the
Mush Homiliary, monastery of
Avagvank, Erznga(n). 1200–1202.
Yerevan, Matenadaran Manuscript
Museum, Ms. 7729, fol. 98.
Photograph by courtesy of the
Matenadaran Manuscript Museum,
Yerevan



Fig. 21.
A knocker in the form of a pair of dragons
framing a lion-headed knob.
Drawing of the doors of the Diyārbakr palace,
the model for the doors of the Ulu Cami at Cizre.
Illustration in a copy of Ismā'īl ibn al-Razzāz al-
Jazārī, *Kitāb fī mā'rifat al-ḥiyāl al-bandasiyya*.
Early 13th century. Istanbul, Topkapı Sarayı
Müzesi, Ms. Ahmet III, A.3472, fol. 165b.
Photograph by courtesy of the Topkapı Sarayı
Müzesi, Istanbul

form of two affronted dragons with gaping mouths and outstretched tongues that frame the lion-headed knob.

With regard to the iconography at Susuz Han, examined above, Gönül Öney has identified the human heads as sun rosettes threatened by the “underground forces and the dark moon symbol” of the dragon



Fig. 22.

Dragons flanking a human head topped by winged figures, probably angels. Caravanserai Susuz Han, composition surmounting the two niches that flank the main portal. Turkey, central Anatolia, south of Bucak. Mid-13th century, c. 644/1246. Photograph Sara Kuehn

[Öney 1969–70: 200; cf. Otto-Dorn 1978–79: 131], hence associating it with astrological functions, according to which, as mentioned before, the dragon is the cause for solar and lunar eclipses. It is important to note however, that the concept of the *jawzahar* dragon solely in its role as eclipse monster threatening the light of the luminaries presents but one aspect of the multivalent symbolism of the dragon. There exists at the same time another possibility: that of perceiving the symbolism of the gaping dragons' jaws flanking a central motif as beneficial and apotropaic. At Susuz Han this reading is moreover supported by the two confronted winged figures whose presence seems to bestow a honorific dimension upon the iconography of the gaping dragons' jaws facing the mask-like human faces (fig. 22).

It should be reiterated that the symbolism of the draconite monster possesses both a generative and a destructive aspect that is demonstrated in particular by its connection with the two forms of “death” and “resurrection” under which every change of state appears, according to whether it is regarded in relation to the earlier and the subsequent state. Just as Jonah's sojourn in the monster's belly is a place of burial, it is at the same time a place of “rebirth”. His restoration to life — coinciding with his emergence from the initiatic cavern — necessarily implies a “death” in relation to a former state; death and birth (regeneration or resurrection of the being) are inseparable from one another, representing two opposite faces of the same state. This junction draws two juxtaposed principles together into a unified being, thereby creating a duality which simultaneously contrasts and fuses two opposites. These composites reflect an iconological amalgamation not only of external, that is physical, but also of internal, that is innate, characteristics. The iconography of gaping dragons' jaws flanking a central motif, which also entails an astrological aspect, thereby affords a glimpse into the intermediary process of conflating two principles.

This arresting visual trope serves as a shorthand or mnemonic *significatio*, alluding to the act whereby the dragons have issued or will devour the central element. The syntax of this visual utterance thus presumes cycles of emission and ingestion, creation and dissolution, in summary form, for an audience that already recognises the reference. Generative and destructive processes are thereby intrinsically linked. The outcome of the symbolic synthesis which unifies irresistible potent forces is probably to be seen as empowering. The imagery of the dragons flanking a central motif thus may be presumed to represent a beneficial iconography, serving as powerful apotropaic device. The iconography itself is imbued with talismanic potency. The polysemic character of this imagery thereby also acts prophylactically revealing aesthetic as well as wondrous qualities.

A shorter version of this paper was read on 22 Jan. 2013 at a public seminar at the Orient Institut der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft (OIG), Beirut, Lebanon.

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Третий выпуск альманаха «In Umbra: Демонология как семиотическая система» включает статьи российских и зарубежных авторов, изучающих разные аспекты демонического в западно-европейской, славянской, исламской, еврейской культурах, в книжности, иконографии и фольклоре от Средневековья до наших дней.

Первый раздел, «Ведьмы, демоны, инквизиторы», посвящен ведовским процессам в Европе раннего Нового времени и различным текстам, связанным с этим явлением. О.И. Тогоева в статье «Узнать врага в лицо. Иерархия ведьм и колдунов в “Демономании” Жана Бодена» рассуждает о демонологическом трактате французского мыслителя XVI в. в контексте более ранних его сочинений и приходит к выводу, что попытка выстроить четкую иерархию, научную классификацию ведьм и колдунов (по признакам половой принадлежности, социального происхождения, образования, сферы интересов, полагающихся им наказаний) была призвана восстановить социальную гармонию. Следовательно, все три трактата Жана Бодена могут быть поняты как составные части единого учения о принципах утверждения и поддержания общественного порядка. Г.В. Бакус в статье «За три дня до смерти и много лет тому назад: История Агнессы и Анны, ведьм из Равенсбурга, в experientia Генриха Инститориса» рассматривает историю двух женщин,

обвиненных в 1484 г. и казненных за многолетнее сожительство с инкубами и преднамеренное колдовство. Рассказ о банщице Агнессе и Анне из Миндельхайма разнесен фрагментарно по разным главам «Молота ведьм»: Г.В. Бакус реконструирует историю в ее целостности и анализирует ее семантику и структуру в контексте европейского «ведовского стереотипа» XV–XVII вв. Г.С. Зеленина в статье «“Вся Европа дрожит при упоминании его имени”: Апокалиптический монстр, пожирающий сам себя» рассуждает о том, как в XVI–XVII вв. восприятие инквизиции авторами из числа крещеных евреев пересекалось с представлением об «иудейской ереси» у христианских авторов. Те и другие создавали на страницах своих сочинений образ врага как уроборотического монстра и сравнивали его со зверем Апокалипсиса. Так, по мнению Г.С. Зелениной, работает традиционный механизм «зеркального» применения концептов — с сохранением парадигмы, но переносом ролей и знаков, что характерно для культурной модели «свой–чужой». Кроме того, использование схожих образов говорит о гибридном характере маранизма, испытавшего влияние не только иудаизма, но и христианства.

Следующий блок статей посвящен изучению демонического в иконографии. А.Е. Махов в статье «Средневековый дьявол *post mortem*: трансформация визуальных маркеров демонического в “Иконологии” Чезаре Рипы» демонстрирует, как разрушается в Новое время средневековый визуальный образ дьявола: из всего разнообразия маркеров, определявших прежде его облик, остаются лишь самые тривиальные, либо же фигура демона становится полностью антропоморфной. Однако сами маркеры не исчезают бесследно, но осуществляют своеобразный «дрейф» — уходя из области визуальной демонологии, в искусстве Нового времени они начинают применяться к другим персонажам.

В статье Сары Кюн «Спасение от “челюстей смерти”: Визуальные концепты в исламском и восточнохристианском искусстве позднего Средневековья» (публикуется по-английски)

рассмотрены мотивы исламского и восточнохристианского искусства позднего Средневековья, в которых фигурирует раскрытая пасть чудовища/дракона — двойственный символ, объединяющий идеи смерти и возрождения. Анализируя различные изображения дракона в миниатюре и архитектуре, С. Кюн привлекает библейский и коранический сюжет о пророке Ионе (Юнусе), которого во время шторма проглотил и через три дня изверг кит. В христианстве этот сюжет метафорически соотносится с сошествием Христа в преисподнюю и воскрешением, символизируя победу над смертью. По мнению автора, именно сюжет об Ионе лежит в основе двух изображений в грузинских церквях: на одном из них дракон заглатывает человеческую фигуру, на другом, скульптурном, извергает. Об апотропейной функции этих образов говорит то, что оба они расположены над входами в церкви. В исламе история пророка Юнуса не связывается с мессианством и спасением человечества, но в ней также присутствует мотив нового рождения (автор ссылается на «Историю» ат-Табари начала X в.). На одной из миниатюр конца XIII в., посвященных сюжету о Юнусе, приведена цитата из «Гулистана» Саади, где поглощение Юнуса китом сравнивается с поглощением драконом аль-Джавзахром солнца, скрывающегося во тьме. Двойственность «поглощения/возвращения» выражается и в том, что дракона Джавзахра часто изображали двуглавым.

Среди рассматриваемых С. Кюн изображений значительную часть составляет композиция «центральная фигура, по бокам от которой находятся два обращенных к ней дракона с раскрытыми пастьями». Центральной фигурой может быть человек, человеческая голова или маска, голова животного, дерево, растительный элемент или крест. Этот мотив встречается в Малой Азии и Армении, в исламских и христианских манускриптах, архитектуре и скульптуре. В исламских изображениях между двумя драконами помещаются, среди прочего, растения с плодами либо тексты благопожеланий, а в христианских — крест, символизирующий следующее за смертью возрождение.

Рассматривая визуальный контекст таких изображений, а также их прагматический аспект (охранительная сила креста, защитная функция крепостных стен, особое значение армянских хачкаров для спасения душ умерших), Сара Кюн подчеркивает, что во всех случаях драконы или змеи несут положительное значение. Соответственно, утверждения, что эти изображения символизируют разрушение и угрозу, исходящую от драконов-змеев, автор считает неверными.

М.Р. Майзульс в работе «Коса, крылья и нимб: как изобразить Смерть?» описывает разные способы конструирования визуального облика Смерти — популярного в европейской традиции персонажа-персонификации, который представал во множестве личин, часто принимая образ трупа или скелета, изображался пешим или конным, вооруженным различными орудиями и атрибутами, а в редких случаях наделялся нимбом — знаком, традиционно (хоть и не всегда) обозначавшим святость.

В разделе «История — книжность — фольклор» публикуются три работы. О.Б. Христофорова в статье «“Слово о ядении” преп. Нифонта в иконографии и устной традиции: трансформация образов видения и визионера» на примере книжного текста агиографического происхождения, попавшего в лубочную и устную традицию, изучает трансформации сюжета и обусловившие их механизмы. С.Ю. Нескюдов в статье «Фольклорный Разин: аспект демонологический» анализирует народные предания о знаменитом разбойнике, рассматривая круг характерных для них мотивов, их фольклорно-мифологический контекст и типологические параллели, а также выявляет «пусковые механизмы», на основе которых демонологизировался образ исторического персонажа. Работа А.В. Полонской «Демонологический *порец* в литературе на идише» посвящена фигуре *пореца* (барин / высокомерный человек) как персонажа еврейского фольклора и возникшей на его основе литературы. Анализ разнообразных контекстов употребления этого слова и его производных позволяет глубже понять семантику фольклорного и литературного образа, а также идеологию идишских писателей.

Следующий блок посвящен славянской демонологии. А.Н. Виноградова в статье «Оппозиция “единичный / множественный” как один из идентифицирующих признаков мифологических персонажей» показывает, что в славянской мифологии признак множественности характерен, в первую очередь, для духов болезней и календарных демонических существ, генезис которых связан с душами умерших людей (хотя он характеризует также бесов или «тайных», «скрытых» людей). Наличие или отсутствие этого признака отличает, в частности, генетически разных персонажей, называемых в полесской традиции *русалка*. В.А. Черванёва в статье «Как покойник “ходит”? Из наблюдений над лексикой физического восприятия в мифологическом тексте» рассматривает былички о «ходячих покойниках» с точки зрения употребления в них перцептивной лексики (вербальных единиц с семантикой зрительного и физического восприятия) и обнаруживает в мифологических нарративах действие собственно языковых закономерностей и влияние семиотической системы текста. Е.Е. Левкиевская в работе «Что общего у русского водяного и польского *topielnika*? (Польская и русская мифологии в их взаимодействии с христианством)» обращается к демонологии и календарной обрядности в русской и польской народной традиции, прослеживая, насколько глубоко либо, напротив, поверхностно было адаптировано ими христианское мировоззрение и насколько сильно православной и католической церквям удалось трансформировать архаические обрядовые модели и верования в разных регионах славянского мира.

Заключительный раздел строится вокруг публикации мифологических рассказов, записанных В.В. Запорожец от М.К. Гайдук, жены священника с. Задельское Львовской обл. Эти тексты демонстрируют целый комплекс поверий о различных демонических персонажах — от ходячей покойницы до «классического» христианского беса. Публикация В.В. Запорожец сопровождается двумя исследовательскими работами. Е.Е. Левкиевская составила комментарий к текстам М.К. Гайдук («О некоторых мотивах карпатской мифологии»), показав, как переплетаются

в ее историях элементы традиционной культуры Карпатского региона и «прихрамового фольклора». Д.И. Антонов в статье «“Свидетель внутренний” и “свидетель внешний”: апеллятивная стратегия в быличке» проанализировал функции и различные вариации апеллятивного приема в мифологическом рассказе. Этот коммуникативный ход применяется информантом в общении с собирателем, которого рассказчик, по разным причинам, считает сомневающимся либо плохо включенным в контекст, и стремится вовлечь в беседу, сделав «соавтором» мифологического текста, вынуждая подтвердить и тем самым санкционировать достоверность ключевых моментов собственной истории. В статье показано, как повествователь может «настраиваться» на слушателя по ходу беседы, меняя различные стратегии убеждения.

В заключение позволим себе небольшую ремарку. Некоторые из рецензентов альманаха отметили, что в первых его выпусках отсутствует единая концепция, материал не гомогенный, а исследовательские подходы зачастую разнятся¹. Подчеркнем, однако, что наша концепция и заключалась в таком тематическом и методологическом разнообразии; оно было заявлено как формообразующее начало альманаха (что в определенном смысле соответствует переменчивому облику и множественности функций самих изучаемых персонажей, а также многообразие культурных текстов, в которых они фигурируют). Мы не предлагали, и не будем предлагать авторам единой методологической и тем более мировоззренческой парадигмы. Добавим

¹ Адоньева С. В тени. Рецензия на издание «In Umbra: Демонология как семиотическая система: Альманах. Вып. 1» / Отв. ред. и сост. Д.И. Антонов, О.Б. Христофорова. М.: РГГУ, 2012. 545 с. // Антропологический форум. 2014. № 20. С. 403–410; Петрова Н.С. Систематизируя демонов (In Umbra 2) // Живая старина. 2014. № 2. С. 60–62. См. подробные рецензии на альманах И.А. Морозова (вып. 1, 2; опубл. в: Антропологический форум. 2014. № 20. С. 410–418) и Н.В. Петрова (вып. 1; опубл. в: Живая старина. 2014. № 2. С. 59–60).

к этому, что демонологии «вообще» не существует: всякий раз мы имеем дело со множеством «языков» и «диалектов», на которых говорили и говорят люди разных традиций в разные эпохи, преследуя различные цели. Каждая статья имеет особый исследовательский фокус и описывает свой фрагмент той сложной мозаики, которая формирует в культуре представления о низших духах и — шире — многоликий «образ врага».

Надеемся, что новый выпуск альманаха покажется читателям не менее интересным, чем предыдущие².

Составители

² Мы приносим благодарность за помощь при работе над альманахом Михаилу Гардеру (ЦТСФ РГГУ).