

Lilya Berezhnaya

ORTHODOX ICONS OF LAST JUDGMENT RUTHENIAN LANDS (16–18th CENTURIES). TRADITIONS, INFLUENCES, AND UNSOLVED PROBLEMS*

Iconography of the Last Judgment is one of the most complicated compositions in Christian art. Probably, the only comparable subject is the icon of «Christ Passions» or «Great Feasts». Usually, art historians while analyzing the structure of the Last Judgments pay special attention to the diversity of details with which painters depicted sufferings of sinners in the infernal fire. This delight in descriptive detail really marks a characteristic feature of the Last Judgment iconography. However, the social applications of this icon do not form the main peculiarity of its composition. For this research Last Judgments are interesting for comparing literary images with visual symbols. In particular, these icons allow for a comparison of «large» and «small» eschatology in religious consciousness, and, which is even more importantly, they are permit an analysis of changing attitudes to death and the afterlife over a long time span. The Last Judgments are vital sources for tracing shifts in religious mentality depending upon the provenance of this or that icon, as well as under the influence of different cultural and religious trends. Last Judgment wall paintings and woodcuts encapsulate both devotional meaning and the reciprocal interaction of different regions. This research adopts mainly a comparative iconographical analysis of the Last Judgments coming from the territories of the 16–17th century Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth. Yet, the main emphasis is on

the Orthodox variants of this image. The reason for it is twofold.

First, the Polish historiography has undertaken a number of significant studies on the Catholic religious art of the 16–17th centuries. There are several particularly interesting monographs dealing precisely with the topic of the Last Judgment iconography and its modifications from Gothic to Mannerist art. A large study collected and described all known copies of the Last Judgments on the territories of modern Poland¹ (a valuable source that cannot be overestimated, is the voluminous *Katalog zabytkow sztuki w Polsce*). On the contrary, the Orthodox Last Judgments coming from the eastern Polish borderlands, still awaits serious research.² The majority of them are even not even collected and described as separate sources, not to mention a serious catalog publication or historical study.

Second, the most promising approach in this context is a comparative one, which serves as the main research tool for the current study. The migration of themes, modifications and cultural interactions of different confessional traditions on the borderland territories seems to be the most appropriate topic for a culturological examination of the Last Judgment iconography. In this context the study of the Catholic influence on the Orthodox interpretations of the Christ Second Coming may provide with valuable data concerning changes in religious

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¹ Just to mention a recent monograph of Zd. Kliś. Paruzja. Przedstawienie Sądu Ostatecznego w sztuce Europy Środkowo-Wschodniej. — Kraków, 1999. Also an important publication is, Domasłowski J. et al. Gotyckie malarstwo ścienne w Polsce. — Poznań, 1984. It contains a thorough description of the preserved in Poland Gothic frescoes, among which there is a number of Last Judgement images. In 1989 A. Sowa defended a magister thesis entitled Ikonografia Sądu Ostatecznego w polskiej sztuce nowożytnej (The Last Judgment Iconography in Early Modern Polish Art) on the Department of the Church Historical and Social Sciences on the Warsaw Catholic Theological Academy under the supervision of Professor J. St. Pasierb. The paper dealt basically with the Northern Polish samples of the Last Judgment iconography that at that time was under the great influence of German and Dutch painting. Unfortunately, this paper remained unpublished.

² For the historiographical outline of the recent studies devoted to the 15–16th century Ruthenian icon painting, see, Kruk M. Stan badań nad zachodnioruskim malarstwem ikonowym XV–XVI wieku // Sztuka Kresów Wschodnich. — T. 2: Materiały sesji naukowej. Kraków, maj 1995, pod red. J. Ostrowskiego. — Kraków, 1996. — 29–55.

consciousness of the Orthodox population in the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth. Therefore, a comparison of the Ruthenian (or, properly speaking, Orthodox icons, which are preserved nowadays in the museums of Ukraine, Belorussia, Poland and Slovakia)³ Last Judgments with the Catholic images predominantly of the Polish provenance provides a more indepth understanding of this issue. Even more challenging is a comparison of the two iconographic Orthodox traditions, Ruthenian and Muscovite ones, which have a long history of dialog-conflict relations, from time to time coinciding or confronting with the waves of political turbulences in these lands.

Another dimension concerns Byzantine iconography and its influence on Polish Catho-

lic images of the Last Judgment. Iconographical interaction is a two-way process and this problem has clear applications to art history. There is a little evidence for such an impact. However, considering, for example, the fragment of Paruzja, one can see, that occasionally it was replaced with Hetimasia. Another Byzantine element sometimes found in the Catholic images is an angel scrolling the skies (for example, on the 13th century fresco from Dobrocin⁴). Art historians are still debating, whether the depiction of Jesus on the throne in the Tumie near Leczyce Church (11th c.) is the traditional *Maiestas Domini*, or the Last Judgment, close to the Byzantine type.⁵

The intention of this article is to compare the Orthodox Ukrainian — «Ruthenian» and

³ The term «Ruthenian» in iconographical context may provoke consequent discussions, since for several years another definition was in historical use. «Carpathian icons», this term encapsulated basically the artefacts of the Carpathian Mountains provenance, mainly from the nowadays South Eastern Poland, Eastern Slovakia, Western Ukraine, and partly Moldavia. The term has been introduced by Janina Klosinska and was gladly accepted by a number of art historians in Poland, Hungary and Slovakia (for example, the term «Carpathian» is widely explored in the well known studies of W. Białopiotrowicz, B. Puskas, H. Skrobucha). However, recently it met several objections from the Ukrainian art historians as well as from their Polish colleagues (see, V. Ovsichuk's last review on J. Kłosińska's book in *ZNTSh*). It seems, therefore, that the definition «Ruthenian icon» is more adequate in such a terminological jumble.

There are all in all around 100 of the preserved Ruthenian Last Judgments, 37 of which are hold in the Lviv National Museum. For the recently published index of the Last Judgment icons in this collection, see, Sydor O. *Ikona Strashnogo Sudu z Vilshanitsi. Z materialiv do zvedennogo kataloga zbioru NML // Litopys Natsionalnogo Muzeiu u Lvovi*. — No. 2 (7). — 2001. — P. 79–96.

⁴ Białoskorska K. Dobrocin. Kościół i resztki polichromii z XIII wieku // *Sztuka i historia. Księga pamiątkowa ku czci profesora Michała Walickiego*. — Warszawa, 1966. — P. 52, 55.

⁵ Klis Zd. Op. cit. — Pp. 15–16. On the Second Coming iconography in Western art, see, Meer E. F. der. *Maiestas Domini. Théophanies de l'Apocalypse dans l'art chrétien. Etudes sur les origines d'une iconographie spéciale du Christ*. — Roma; Paris, 1938. B. Brenk asserts that the Byzantine element Hetimasia (a prepared throne) was often artistically treated as a symbol of Parousie, i. e. *Maiestas Domini*. See, Brenk B. *Tradition und Neuerung in der Christlichen Kunst des Ersten Jahrtausends. Studien zur Geschichte des Weltgerichtsbildes. Mit 95 abbildungen auf 83 Tafeln und 25 Figuren im Text*. — Wien, 1966. — 65–75.

Last decades brought a number of studies devoted to the role of Byzantine culture in the development of the Polish art. Specifically, there is an interest in the relations between the Brest Union and Christian iconographic tradition. Among the most important works are, Biskupski R. *Przemiany ikonograficzne i rola wzoru w malarstwie ikonowym XVII wieku // Polska-Ukraina. Spotkanie Kultur. Materiały z Sesji Naukowej*, pod red. T. Stengera. — Vol. 2. — Gdańsk, 1997. — 351–370; Deluga W. *Przemiany w ikonografii Kościoła greckokatolickiego w XVIII wieku // Czterechsetlecie zawarcia Unii Brzeskiej 1596–1996. Materiały sesji naukowej zorganizowanej w Toruniu w dniach 28–29 listopada 1996*, pod red. S. Alexadrowicza, T. Kempy. — Toruń, 1998. — S. 147–155; Idem. «W kręgu sztuki Kościoła wschodniego. Metoda porównawcza w studiach nad rytownictwem i malarstwem XVI i XVII wieku» // *Polska-Ukraina, 1000 lat sąsiedztwa*. — T. 2, *Studia z dziejów chrześcijaństwa na pograniczu kulturowym i etnicznym*, pod red. St. Stepnia. — Przemysł: Południowo-Wschodni Instytut Naukowy w Przemyslu, 1994. — 327–335; Janocha M., ks. «Spotkanie Wschodu i Zachodu. Boże Narodzenie w polskim i ruskim malarstwie nowożytnym na kresach Rzeczypospolitej», *Oblicza Wschodu w kulturze polskiej*, pod red. G. Koltarskiego, M. Figury. — Poznań, 1999. — 467–480; Idem. «Między Wschodem i Zachodem. Przemiany nowożytnego malarstwa ikonowego na kresach wschodnich na przykładzie tematu Przemienienia Pańskiego i Zstąpienia do Otchłani», *Sztuka Pograniczy Rzeczypospolitej w okresie nowożytnym od XVI do XVIII wieku. Materiały Sesji Stowarzyszenia Historyków Sztuki*. Warszawa, październik 1997. — Warszawa, 1998. — S. 251–275; Idem. «Unia Brzeska a malarstwo ikonowe x XVII wieku. Dialog wyznań czy dialog kultur?», *Sztuka i dialog wyznań w XVI i XVII wieku. Materiały Sesji Stowarzyszenia Historyków Sztuki*, Wrocław, listopad 1999. — Wrocław, 2000. — Pp. 399–415; Stepowyk D. «Unia Brzeska i rozwój ukraińskiego malarstwa ikonowego w XVI i XVII w.» // *Polska Sztuka Ludowa. Konteksty*. — No. 3–4. — 1996. — S. 43–49; Aleksandrovych V. «Religijna mystec'ka kultura Ukrainy XVII stolittia: mova religijna sytuacija, nove mystectvo», *Berestejs'ka Unia i ukraińs'ka kultura XVII stolittia. Materiały Tretich «Berestejs'kich chytan»*, L'viv, Kyiv, Charkiv, 20–23 chervnia 1995 roku, pid red. B. Gudziak. — L'viv, 1996. — 129–160; Biskupski R. «Sztuka Kościoła prawosławnego i unickiego na terenie diecezji przemyskiej w XVII i pierwszej połowie XVIII wieku» // *Polska-Ukraina, 1000 lat sąsiedztwa*. — Pp. 351–370; Bielamowicz Zb., ks. «wiadectwa wzajemnych oddziaływań obrządku łacińskiego i bizantyńskiego w sztuce sakralnej na ziemiach polskich w epoce baroku» // *Ibid.* — Pp. 371–378.

Other examples of the Orthodox influence upon the Catholic Last Judgment iconography are analysed in the article Peters Ch. «Between Catholicism and Orthodoxy: Wall Paintings and Devotional Interaction in Mediaeval Transylvania and Moldavia», *Proceedings of the Commission Internationale d'Histoire Ecclesiastique Comparee*, Lublin, 1996, Part 2, *Christianity in East Central Europe, Late Middle Ages*, ed.-in-chief J. Kłoczowski, eds. P. Kras, W. Polak. — Lublin, 2000. — 329–333.

«Russian» (most frequently, Novgorodian and Russian-Jaroslav) icons that are of particular interest in this sense.⁶ The reason for such a choice is quite simple. The Ruthenian and Russian Last Judgments form a special group in comparison to other Orthodox samples of that time (Moldavian (Wallachian),⁷ Serbian⁸ and Bulgarian⁹). But within this division the differences are also obvious and meaningful. Such a comparison is substantial for explaining the roots of controversies, religious and political, between the Russian and Ruthenian Orthodoxies in the 16–17th c.¹⁰

Literary sources of the standard Christian Last Judgment iconography developed by the time of the conversion of Rus', with basic components taken from Scripture and Apocrypha.¹¹ The icon of the Last Judgment is large and complicated, telling an involved and indicated story. It is generally found on the western wall of the churches, the last image that one sees upon parting after services. Despite of its complexity, it has a relatively simple «geography».

One of the best students of the Last Judgment iconography, Beat Brenk, states, that the formative period of the Byzantine type Last Judgment falls into the time frames between the 4th and the 8th c. and is based mainly upon the sermons of the St. Ephraim of Syria. During

the 9–11th c. the structure of the icon have been enriched by new constitutive elements, such as Deesis, Hetimasia, and the pleading Adam and Eve.¹²

The classical example of the Byzantine interpretation of this topic is the famous fresco of Torcello, near Venice (11th c.), which in time served as a basis for the development of both Orthodox and Catholic iconography.¹³ In the top in the center, Christ is depicted as a Judge in a vertically elongated, pointed mandorla. At his sides are the interceding Theotokos and John the Baptist — what is now called deesis, and the 12 apostles, with angels behind them. Beneath Christ is the Hetimasia or prepared throne, an early Christian representation of the Last Judgment, with an appropriate Gospel text.¹⁴ Below the Hetimasia are Adam and Eve pleading for their offspring. Near the Hetimasia there is an angel rolling up heaven as if it were a scroll, and other angels summoning the dead to rise. Below the apostles on Christ's right are the righteous awaiting favorable judgment. Beneath them is an apocryphically based depiction of paradise, with some of these same righteous in line waiting to enter past St. Peter, and also the bosom of Abraham holding the souls of the saved, the good thief, and the Theotokos. Also below the apostles are representations of the general resurrec-

⁶ This problem has been studied from the artistic point of view in the recently published article of the famous Ukrainian art historian Vira Sventyc'ka, *Pro dejaki ikonographichni analogii ta paralelli v zobrazhenni Strashnogo Sudu v Zachidnoukrajinskych ikonach XV–XVI stolit' ta ikonach hudozhnykiv Novgorods'kogo kola* (On Some Iconographic Analogies and Parallels in Western Ukrainian and Novgorodians Last Judgements) // *Zapysky Naukovogo Tovarystva Imeni Shevchenka*, vol. 236, Praci Komisii Obrazotvorchoho ta Uzhytkovoho Mystectva. — L'viv, 1998. — P. 85–93.

⁷ Fabritius R. *Außmalerei und Liturgie. Die streitbare Orthodoxie im Bildprogramm der Moldaukirchen*. — Düsseldorf, 1999. Review, Mach Ch. *Zeitschrift für Siebenbürgische Landeskunde*. — 25. — Heft 1. — 2002. — 153–155; Peters C. «Mural Paintings, Ethnicity and Religious Identity in Transylvania: The Context for Reformation», *Ethnicity and Religion in Central and Eastern Europe*, ed. by M. Craciun, O. Chitta. — Cluj, 1995. — 44–63; Greceanu E. Spread of Byzantine Tradition in Medieval Architecture of Romanian Masonry Churches in Transylvania // *Etudes byzantines et post-byzantines*, 1. — 1979. — 197–238; Dragut V., Lupan P. *Moldavian Murals from the 15th to the 16th Century*. — Bucharest, 1982.

⁸ See, for example a study of the icons coming from the Pech Patriarchate territory, Petkovich Sr. *Zidno slikarstvo na podruchu Pechke Patrijarshije, 1557–1614. Matica serpska, otdelen'je za likovne umejetnosti*. — Novi Sad, 1965. — 77. On pages 163, 166, 171, 174, 176, 178, 179, 182, 186, 194, 195, 197, 201 there is a brief annotated description of the Serbian Orthodox Last Judgment frescoes from the 16–17th centuries.

⁹ See, Bozhkov A. *Blgarskata ikona*. — Sofja, 1984.

¹⁰ Recent bibliography of comparative methods in Central European arts in literature is published in W. Deluga's article *W kręgu sztuki kościoła wschodniego. Metoda porównawcza w studiach nad rytownictwem i malarstwem XVI i XVII wieku* // *Polska-Ukraina*. — Vol. 2. — S. 327–333.

¹¹ Jugie M. «La doctrine des fins dernières dans l'Eglise greco-russe» // *Echos d'Orient*, 17. — 1914/1915. — 17–22.

¹² Brenk B. Op. cit. — Pp. 65–75. For the extensive study of the Orthodox Last Judgment iconography, see also, Milosevic D. *Das Jüngste Gericht*. — Recklinghausen, 1963.

¹³ Polacco R. *La Cattedrale di Torcello*. — Venice; Treviso, 1984. — 66–67; Garidis M. K. *Etudes sur le Jugement dernier post-Bizantin du XVe à la fin du XIXe siècle. Iconographie-esthétique*. — Thessalonoke, 1985; Voss G. *Das Jüngste Gericht in der bildende Kunst des frühen Mittelalters. Eine kunstgeschichtliche Untersuchung*. — Leipzig, 1884. — 64–71. The traditional Catholic Last Judgment iconography in comparison to the Orthodox (Byzantine) is lacking several characteristic elements: Hetimasia, the river of fire, the scroll of the skies, and the sea delivering up its dead, see, Reau L. *Iconographie de l'art Chrétien*. Vol. 2 // *Iconographie de la Bible, part 2, Nouveau Testament*. — Paris, 1957. — 736.

¹⁴ The Hetimasia notion originates from St. John Apocalypse (20:11). It can also be found in St. Mathew Gospel (25:31; 19:28). See, Bogay Th. v. «Thron (Hetimasia)» // *Lexikon der christlichen Ikonografie*, hrsg. von E. Kirschbaum, SJ. — Rom; Freiburg; Basel; Wien, 1990. — 306–313.

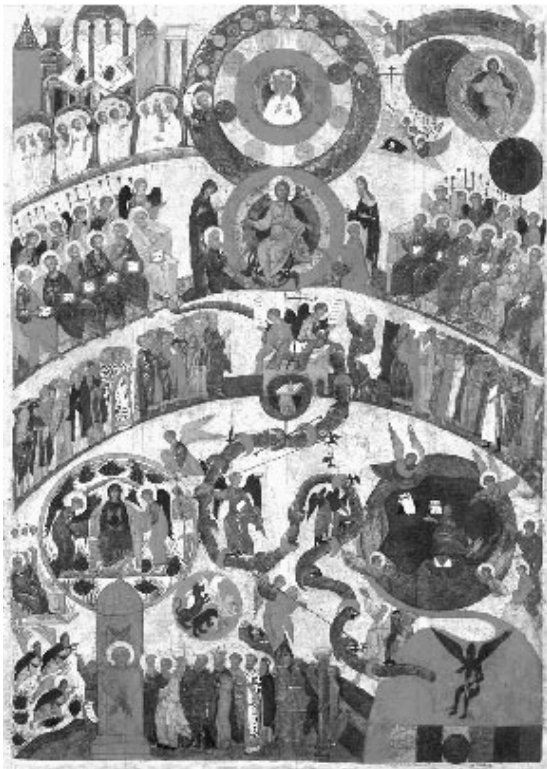


Plate 1. Last Judgment, of the 15th century, Novgorod, Moscow Tretyakov Gallery, Morozov Collection. Reproduced in D. M. Goldfrank, «Who put the Snake on the Icon and the Tollbooths on the Snake? — A Problem of Last Judgment Iconography» in N. Sh. Kollmann, D. Ostrowsky, A. Prigov, D. Rowland, eds., *Harvard Ukrainian Studies. Rhetoric of the Medieval Slavic World. Essays presented to E. L. Keenan on his 60th Birthday*, vol. XIX (Ukrainian Research Institute, 1995), 7.

tion that is the sea, death, and hell delivering up the dead, as well as the fiery lake, towards which angels are forcing Jews and other sinful peoples, and then the torture chambers of hell. Included among the condemned is the rich man (Dives) from the Lazarus Parable. Elsewhere on the lower registers is an angel holding a balance to weight good deeds and sins, and also a few demons, who together could symbolize the immediate (particular) judgment. An optional element at top, found at this time in the West, is the Anastasis (The Descent to the Limbo).¹⁵ For our purposes, the most important standard feature is the river of fire (this notion comes

from the Biblical vision of Daniil, 7:10), leading from Christ as Judge down to the «lake of fire» and Satan, holding Judas in his lap.

What happened with this iconographic model on the Russian and Ruthenian lands in the later centuries? I am consciously omitting iconographic developments within the span of the 12–15th c. in order to show the substantial change, which occurred within this period. As to the «Russian» type of Last Judgment, the most known and often published is the icon of Novgorod provenance (3rd quarter of the 15th c.) from the Morozov collection. It is now preserved in the Moscow Tretyakov Gallery (Pl. 1). On the upper tier one can observe God the Savior surrounded by the circle of 12 heavenly bodies (probably, the 12 Zodiac signs).¹⁶ On the left of God the Father is the Heavenly Jerusalem with the righteous. The second and the third tiers are quite traditional and repeat the Torcello model. However, there are some unusual details, which radically differentiate Russian and Ruthenian icons of that time from Greek and the Balkan Orthodox Last Judgment images. First, there is the depiction of condemned «peoples» on the left side of the Supreme Judge. This element also appears somewhat later in Moldavian and even Wallachian icons. In Bulgarian and Serbian icons the element of the condemned peoples are present only in a most truncated form: Moses and the Jews alone.¹⁷

What is even more striking, is an image of a snake in the center with rings representing the tollbooths (toll gates, or, as a literal translation from Russian, ordeals — *mytarstva*). On later variants of this Russian type of the Last Judgment on there is a sin ascribed to each of such rings. The serpent zigzags up from the beast of the Hegenna in the fiery lake through the center of the picture to the right foot of the kneeling, resurrected Adam, who is opposite to Eve.

In the lower level on the right, there are also three figures of sinners who are pushed by angels into Hell (in the Free City of Novgorod these were an Archbishop, a Tsar and a Monk). On the other side of the serpent, there is a circle with four beasts that symbolize the sinful Kin-

¹⁵ Goldfrank D. M. «Who put the Snake on the Icon and the Tollbooths on the Snake? — A Problem of Last Judgment Iconography», *Harvard Ukrainian Studies. Rhetoric of the Medieval Slavic World. Essays presented to E. L. Keenan on his 60th Birthday*, ed. by N. Sh. Kollmann, D. Ostrowsky, A. Prigov, D. Rowland. — Vol. XIX. — Cambridge, Mass., 1995. — 181–182.

¹⁶ Alternation of light and dark colors here means interchange of day and night, see, Lazarev V. *Russkaja ikonopis' ot istokov do nachala XVI veka* (Russian Iconography From Its Origins to the 16th century). — Moscow, 1994. — Pl. 48. D. Goldfrank states, that emblem in this Last Judgment icon also has a representation of the twelve months, that is «astrological heaven», see, Goldfrank D. Who Put the Snake // *Harvard Ukrainian Studies*, 185, footnote 19.

¹⁷ On this element in Ukrainian Last Judgments, see, J.-P. Himka, *On the Left Hand of God: «Peoples» in Ukrainian Icons of the Last Judgment* (forthcoming)

gdoms: that of Babylon, Macedonia, Persia, and Rome).

Finally, in the lowest tier there is a figure of Merciful Lust (an Alms-Giving Adulterer) bound to a pillar. In some later icons above this person there is a short text, which explains that this man «was delivered from eternal sufferings because of alms giving, and was deprived from the Heavenly Kingdom because of his lust».

The last peculiar iconographic motif is the ascension of monks in the lower left down corner of the icon. A special study of this pattern was undertaken by the Russian art historian Leon Nersesyan who traces its origins from the Heavenly ladder of John Climacus,¹⁸ dream of Jacob, and the Orthodox monastic tradition that considered monks to be «earthly angels». This point of view was extremely popular in the 14th c. Russian theological literature and coincides with the Hesichast tradition of Gregory Palamas.¹⁹

If one considers other Russian icons of the same period (till mid-17th c.) coming from the regions of Central Russia. — Moscow, Jaroslavl', Suzdal'), one definitely finds the same structural iconographical elements, peculiar to the Novgorodian type, albeit certain colorist differences. Although some art historians regard these Last Judgments to be not of «pure Russian» origin because of the frontier geographic position of the Free City of Novgorod open to different cultural influences,²⁰ an obvious comparison suggests that the snake's body, Merciful Lust, condemned peoples are present in all of them. In our further analysis these very structural elements will constitute the set of variables, according to which it will be possible to make a comparison between the Russian and Ruthenian Last Judgments.

Political turbulences and the Last Judgment iconography

The first problem, regarding this issue, concerns the subject of the «peoples». Professor J.-P. Himka affirms that these East Slavic icons can be roughly divided into four cultural

types: Russian (which we've already mentioned), West Ukrainian (Galician), Kyivan and Volhynian-Belorussian. He argues that West Ukrainian and Russian Last Judgments have many common features, like very traditional, even programmatic patterns. For example, the «peoples» in both of these types are clearly labeled by inscriptions in Church Slavonic.

Instead, the Kyivan icons often show stylistic influences, particularly a concern for a more naturalistic portrayal. One of such icons is a gorgeous 17th c. Last Judgment from the Kyiv St. Michael's Golden-Domed Cathedral. Its original place was the hospice for the Monastery pilgrims, now it is in the collection of the Ukrainian National Fine Arts Museum in Kyiv. Among the peoples on the left side are Moses, the Jews, some West Europeans (Spanish, but most probably, Dutch, judging by their costumes), a Roman Catholic friar and several Turks. They are unlabeled. On the same icon there is a parallel depiction of several peoples, but already in the mouth of Hell. These frightened and crooked figures, which try to hide both from the unbearable fire and angels' arrows, represent Turks, Tatars and Catholics. Some Ukrainian art historians tend to see there also the Uniates, but it is not quite clear whether such an attribution really makes sense. It is noteworthy that this monumental icon can serve as an illustration of the evident transition of 16–17th c. Ruthenian iconography from the Byzantine traditional style to the Western European manner of depicting the Otherworldly realities.²¹ The innovations did not modify the basics of iconographical tradition, implying characteristically the modes and manners of depiction. In the Kyiv Last Judgment such tendencies are quite obvious. All of the constitutive elements of the Orthodox Last Judgment composition are preserved, whereas its style, color scheme and the whole emotional impression that this icon was aimed to provoke, brought it closer to Western European macabre images of that time. The contrast is so striking that some Ukrainian art historians tend to attribute this icon to two painters, a Russian, who supposedly made the upper («Paradise») part, and a Westerner, who finished a lower

¹⁸ This image has its origin in the story of Jacob's Ladder (Gen. 28:12). It is a pre-eminently monastic theme, devised by John of Sinai, Hegumen of the Monastery of St. Catherine and author of «The Ladder of Perfection», a manual written to monks attain spiritual perfection. Its symbolic structure was elaborated around the 11th century in close connection with the Last Judgment iconography.

¹⁹ Nersesyan L. Voznesenije monahov i padenije angelov. Ob odnom ikonographicheskom motivie v Russkich ikonach «Strashnogo Suda» XVI veka // *Iskusstvoznaniye*. — No. 2. — 1998. — P. 265.

²⁰ This opinion has been expressed by Oleg Sydor from L'viv National Museum in a personal conversation.

²¹ *Shedevry Ukraïns'koho Zhivopysu XII–XIX st.* (Masterpieces of the Ukrainian Painting from the 12–19th c.). — Kyiv, 1999. — P. 30. A full-coloured reproduction can be found on <http://leopolis.lta.lviv.ua/43/436000.html>.



Plate 2. Fragment of the Last Judgment icon from Vovche, 2nd half of the 16th century, at the permanent exhibition of the Lviv National Museum. The slide was graciously given by J.-P. Himka.

(«Hellish») section.²² It is impossible to determine if this is correct since the icon is anonymous; it still waits a more thorough investigation. Strictly speaking, however, a combination of two such tendencies compounded an evolutionary process in the development of the Ruthenian artistic tradition of the 16–18th centuries with the constant reference to the Catholic art as an iconographical source.²³

The Volhynian type it is not quite distinctive, since the peoples are not labeled too, and it is not certain, whether other peoples than Jews are represented.

What peoples usually appear on the icons? Himka compares Ruthenian and Russian icons. For the Russian icons, the people tend to be Jews, Lithuanians (most probably, what we consider now to be Ukrainians and Byelorussians), Turks, Rus', Persians, Poles, Arabs, Indians, Germans, Greeks, Tatars, and less often such peoples as Armenians, Crimeans, and Kalmyks (Pl. 2).

The Ruthenian list includes practically all the neighboring peoples as well as Jews, Tatars, Turks, Germans, Moors, Poles, Rus', Arabs, Armenians, Greeks, Karaites, Hungarians, Calvinists, Cossacks, heretics, Kalmyks, Arians, and Saracens. Himka also states that the Ukrainian icons are more likely than the Russian ones to emphasize religious, rather than ethnic, diversity. Another notable feature concerns the Turks depicted in these icons. J.-P. Himka makes a point while mentioning that some of these Turks bear the marks of a saber and a musket ball. «One can only imagine why someone would slash and shoot at Turks in an icon».²⁴

A Polish historian Alexandra Sulikowska in a recent study asserts, that the list of the peoples on Russian and Ruthenian Last Judgments reflect a negative perception of foreigners in the 16th century Orthodox culture.²⁵ She bases her conclusions upon the premise that iconographically on the left hand of God there were

²² Zholtovs'kyi P. M. *Ukrains'kyi zhyvopys XVII–XVIII stolittia* (Ukrainian Painting of the 17–18th c.). — Kyiv, 1978. — P. 284–285.

²³ Aleksandrovych V. *Religijna mystec'ka kultura Ukrainy XVII stolittia: nova religijna situacija, nove mystectvo // Berestejs'ka Unia...* — S. 134.

²⁴ Himka J.-P. *Op. cit.*

²⁵ Sulikowska A. *Spotkanie z Zachodem — spotkanie z «obcymi» w kulturze ruskiej XVI wieku // Sztuka i dialog wyznań w XVI i XVII wieku.* — S. 384–385.

«unfaithful» people, whereas the righteous are represented only by the Orthodox. Sulikowska affirms, that in contrast to the Byzantine samples, Russian Last Judgments exemplify a certain «hierarchy» of sinners with clear national marks. Among the evident distinctions — peoples' dresses, which, according to Sulikowska, were the signs of «otherness», non-Orthodox belonging, rather than the features of national attribution. Generally speaking, the author argues that the depicted foreigners were the embodiments of condemned nations, close to demons and sinners in Hell.

But what is really unclear is why on the Orthodox icons, both Ruthenian and Russian, among the peoples are representatives of the Orthodox confession (Greeks, Rus', and even Cossacks). Plainly, it is a question probably that can never satisfactorily be answered, but one that begs innumerable other questions within its own referencing. Addressing to the famous Russian Orthodox didactic collection, *Pouchenije Daniila, mitropolita vseja Rusi*, A. Sulikowska identifies these Orthodox peoples on the Last Judgment icons as «non-Christian Russian, whose pagan customs brought them close to the «condemned peoples».²⁶ J.-P. Himka suggests a more complex explanation. He states, that in the course of iconographic development two separate elements were jointed together in one line: one element is Moses and the Jews, who are considered to be the only condemned peoples. The other element is simply a diverse peoples coming to the judgment, a symbol of universality of the process, based upon the Gospel of Matthew. So, they were not a part of the condemned. The latter component explains why the iconographers included in the list not only neighboring peoples, with whom they might have had certain confrontations, but also some far-reaching peoples, like the Karaites, or Kalmyks.²⁷

One might also presume that certain political events had an impact upon the composition of this «condemned peoples»' list. For example in a 17th c. icon the group people is supplied with an inscription, which describe them as «those converted to the Lach's faith,

or they are carried there by devils». Another example comes from an icon from the Museum of Religion in L'viv where there are the figures of Cossacks, who by a rather strained point could be called the «peoples» even in the minds of the Orthodox population of that time. This icon dates back to the end of the 16 — early 17th c., exactly at a period of political and religious turbulences in the Ruthenian lands. One of the possible explanations is that the painter included Cossacks on the list of the condemned peoples after they have signed an agreement with the Turks or Tatars. This happened quite often at that time. But, of course, it remains an assumption.

An interesting and in a way unique example of cultural interactions on the lands of the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth in the sphere of the Last Judgment iconography relates to the anonymous verse leaflet entitled *Straszliwe widzenie Piotra Pegowskiego z Mazosz* (The horrific vision of Piotr Pegowski from Mazowie) from 1608. It was quite recently re-published with a preface by Jacek Sokolski,²⁸ who also elaborated an overview on the problem of denominational identity in this poem.²⁹ The treatise represents a Last Judgment vision of a Catholic nobleman, most probably connected with the Zebrzydowski uprising's polemical debates. Jesus Christ leads the Supreme Tribunal in front of which different ethnic and confessional groups are appearing. This motif is quite unusual for the Catholic representation of the Last Judgment, both in literature and iconography. The very fact of enlisting peoples coming to the judgment indicates the influence of the Byzantine tradition. Among these ethnic and religious groups are Jews, Indians, Catholics, Evangelists, Greeks, Arians, Tatars, and Turks. The logic of representation is the same as in the Orthodox list on the Last Judgments. A Catholic author mentions not only neighboring peoples and members of confronting religious communities, conspicuously, these are also people from India and the American Indians(!).³⁰ This means, that for this text there is no, so to say, «a predestined condemnation» of non-Catholic con-

²⁶ Ibid. — P. 384

²⁷ This element derives from the Vision of Daniil the Prophet (Dan 7, 1–8), see, Goldfrank D. Op. cit. — P. 184; Nersesyan L. *Videnija Proroka Daniila v Russkom Iskusstve XV–XVI vekov* (forthcoming).

²⁸ *Straszliwe widzenie Piotra Pegowskiego z Mazosz*, oprac. J. Sokolski. — Wrocław, 1998.

²⁹ Sokolski J. Problem tożsamości wyznaniowej w utworach literatury polskiej przełomu XVI i XVII wieku // *Sztuka i dialog wyznań w XVI i XVII wieku*. — S. 169–177.

³⁰ J. Sokolski affirms, that there is a certain reference in this context to the concept of «savage people», a topic widely spread in the Early Modern European literature and arts. For him, clear connotations can also be made with the 16–17th centuries travels accounts coming from the New World, see, Sokolski J. Op. cit. — S. 175–176.

fessions that sometimes appears in Polish Catholic sermons and treatises of that time.³¹

Further evidence for the similarities in the presentation of the so-called «condemned peoples» on the above mentioned Orthodox Last Judgments and in «The Horrific vision», compiled by a Catholic author, comes from the tolerant attitude to the «Russians and Greeks». They arrive to the Supreme Judge lead by St. Nicholas. Being their patron, the latter tries to convince, that the Orthodox do not deserve eternal sufferings, since their whole guilt is limited to the consistent preservation of the forefathers' faith. Jesus Christ is represented as a Merciful Judge who treats people not according to the confessional belonging, but considering their personal merits. It comes so, that both the Catholics and the Orthodox in «The Horrifying vision» are represented as a single community, the only waterline lies between the sinful and the righteous. The poem contains a fragment, when St. Peter argues with Archangel Mikhail on whether it is possible for the Catholics to avoid the Last Judgment:

St. Peter... stood not far from God,
Insisting upon people's virtues, they deserve
to be placed to Heaven:
«I have keys from it, there is no need
to judge them».
Instead, Archangel Mikhail offensively
addressed St. Peter:
«Do not shield the guilty...»³²

St. Peter, «the Keeper of the Keys to Paradise», fails in this quarrel. Which is more, there is no particular help for the Catholics even from the side of the Virgin Mary and the saints. The main counter-argument of the Archangel is based upon the notion, that the Catholics possess the true faith, therefore, they do not have any justification for their transgressions.

J. Sokolski in his study of *The Horrific vision* does not come to a clear conclusion whether this text is an example of a serious statement on the denominational tolerance and dialogue between the Christian confessions or just a satirical literary trifle.³³ At least, the lack of rigidity is in evidence, which suggests that

religious interaction between two religious groups was possible. The ease with which artists could cross ethnic-cultural boundaries reinforces this impression. It seems, that further comparative research into the problem of mutual influence of the Orthodox and Catholic Last Judgment paintings will yield a deeper understanding.

Religious controversies, misinterpretations and beyond

An enigmatic and remarkable element in the Last Judgment's composition, the snake with the tollbooths, grabs the viewer's attention. The question why the snake appears on some of the Orthodox Last Judgments is really hard to comprehend. Several years ago, a Russian historian V. Tsodikovich, published an extensive annotated catalogue of the Russian, Greek and Ruthenian Last Judgments, supplied also by the semiotic analysis of its structural elements. For him, the serpent symbolizes the pagan cults of digestion and resurrection. V. Tsodikovich argues that the tollbooths on the Central Russian Last Judgments of the 15–16th c., as well as on the Ruthenian icons from the 15th — beginning of the 16th c. were perceived as trespasses inside a serpent on the way from Hell to Paradise. Later on the sense of such a depiction was lost, it has become anti-canonical, non-corresponding to the Christian symbolic.³⁴ This opinion contradicts with D. Goldfrank's point of view. In an article noticeably entitled «Who put the Snake on the Icon and the Tollbooths on the Snake? — A Problem of Last Judgment Iconography», he argues that the idea of the serpent, covered by tollbooths, belonged to the well-known Russian medieval church leader Iosif Volotski (1439/1440–1515). An American scholar places the origin of the snake and the tollbooths in Russia in the late 15th and early 16th c., relating it to the intellectual and spiritual turmoil of the time, heightened interest in eschatology of Ephraim of Syria, whose works were rendered by a Russian theologian (his text contained a phrase on the «serpent himself... flying in the air»)³⁵

³¹ See, for example, W. Ks. P. Skargi S. J. *Kazania na niedziele i święta*. — Vol. 1. — Lipsk: wyd. J. Bobrowicza, 1843. — S. 129.

³² Sokolski Cf. J. Op. cit. — P. 174.

³³ Ibid. — P. 177.

³⁴ Tsodikovich V. K. *Semantika ikonografii «Strashnogo Suda» v russkom iskusstve XV–XVI vekov* (Semantics of the Last Judgment iconography in Russian Art). — Uljanovsk, 1995. — P. 21–22, 49–50.

³⁵ Goldfrank D. Op. cit. — Pp. 192–199. For the source basis of this opinion, see, D. Goldfrank introduction to *The Monastic Rule of Iosif Volotsky*, Edited, translated, and introduced by Goldfrank D. 2nd revised edition (Cistercian Studies Series: no. 36, revised edition). — Kalamazoo, Michigan — Spencer, Mass., 2000. — 98–99.

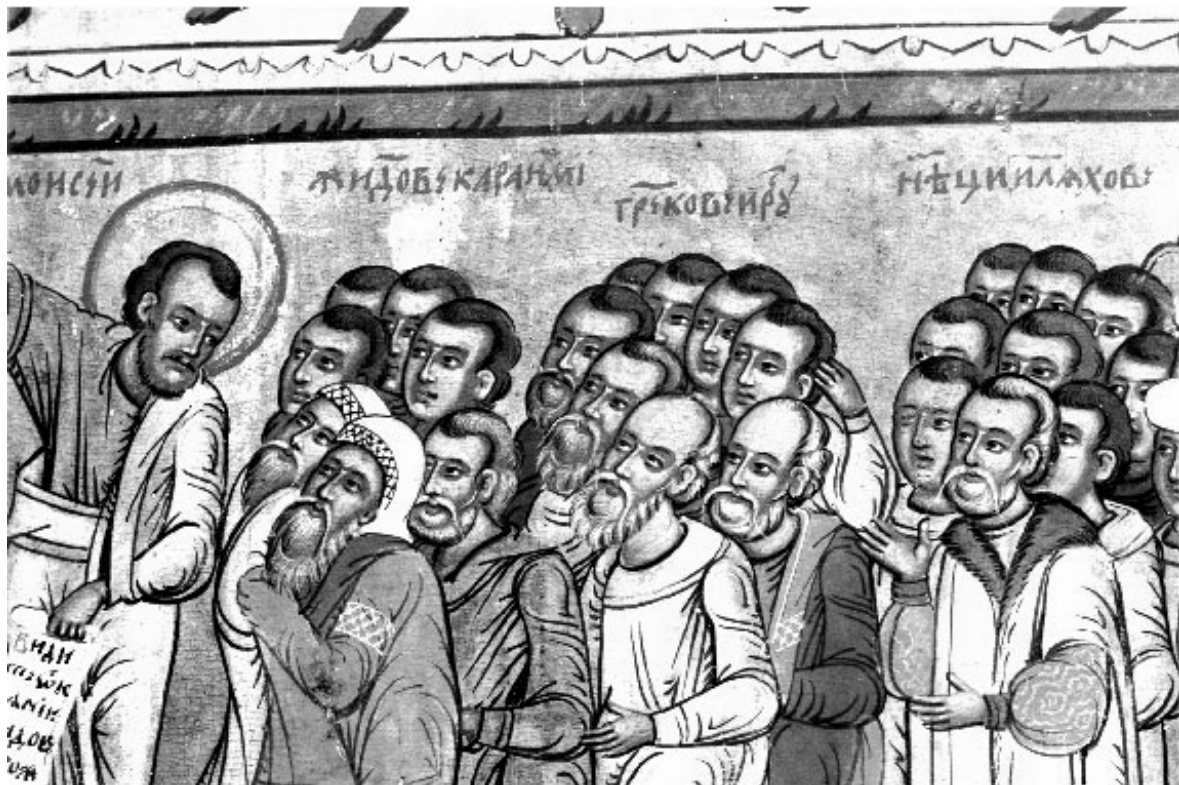


Plate 3. Last Judgment icon from Mshanets, 15th century, at the permanent exhibition of the Lviv National Museum, reproduced at <http://www.ugkc.lviv.ua/Gallery/Pictures/13.jpg>

D. Goldfrank also differentiates between the Ruthenian (he calls it «Mshany») (Pl. 3) and Russian («Novgorodian») types of Last Judgment iconography regarding the *mytarstva* element with 21 and 20 tollbooths on each icon consequently. He argues for the primacy of the Ruthenian variant.³⁶

Tsodikovich's opinion was also criticized by A. Alekseev, who objected to the hypothesis of a «Christian — pagan synthesis» in the Last Judgment iconography. Refusing the notion that the process of overcoming the tollbooths took part inside the serpent, a Russian historian introduces certain limitations to this concept. A serpent had to eat those sinners who could not expiate their transgressions and then to plunge them into Hegenna. According to A. Alekseev, an iconographic embodiment of such a sinner was Adam.³⁷ One of the latest opinions concerning the tollbooths belongs to the Moscow art historian Leon Nersesyan, who regards the Last Judgment serpent as a symbol of a seductive snake from the forefathers' Eden (Gen. 3:1). Then, according to this interpreta-

tion, the depiction of the head of the serpent close to Adam's feet has a clear Christian symbolic meaning (Marc, 9: 48).³⁸

Some of the above mentioned arguments on the snake's origin seem to be too exaggerated (an appeal only to the pagan consciousness), some are oversimplified (binding the idea of a snake to a concrete historical figure). Dare we to assume, that the development of this image included all the discussed phases of stage, whereas for iconographers and their viewers the most obvious was the reference to the snake of Eden and original sin. There is a clear association between sins, Otherworldly punishments and animals, including, of course, a snake. «These *mytarstva*», wrote one of the pioneer students of the Orthodox Last Judgment iconography, N. Pokrovski, «is just the process of the soul's particular judgment». Pokrovski states that the snake originated by the 17th century as a convenient pathway for the tollbooths when they were added to the icon. Undertaking research into the Russian apocalyptic images from the 17–18th c., he affirms, that

³⁶ Goldfrank D. Op. cit. — 182, 187.

³⁷ Alekseev A. «Suzhet «zmieja mytarstv» v kompozitsii russkikh ikon «Strashnogo Suda» // *Tserkovnaia arheologiya*, vyp. 4. — Saint Petersburg, 1998. — P. 13–17.

³⁸ Nersesyan L. *Videniya Proroka Daniila*.

«mytarstva..., or, often just sins, are accompanied by animal figures, birds or insects». For example, in some miniatures a dog is a symbol of envy, a goat is lust, a bear represents fury.³⁹ Analogous personification is widely known in medieval Western Catholic art, sermons and prayer books. Among the most representative examples in Polish art are the frescoes on the northern wall of the Besjce presbytery, depicting women sitting on animals inscribed as seven deadly sins. Invidia is associated with a dog, fox or wolf, Luxuria is equated with a pig, whereas Acedia — with a donkey.⁴⁰ Polish Gothic Last Judgment frescoes supply with the variety of such illustrations. Just to mention a few, Church of St. Jerzy in Przyczyna Gorna (2nd half of the 15th century), Church of Blessed Mary in Szadek (15–16th c.), city hall in Krzyzanow (2nd quarter of the 15 century).⁴¹ More examples can be found on the miniatures from the Torun Crusaders' Apocalypses, as well as on the fresco from the St. John Church in Torun (14th c.). On the latter painting the famous Biblical *Arbor Vitae* is enriched from both sides by allegories of virtues and vices in the form of animals, among which it is possible to define a deer, a horse, and a donkey.⁴²

One can argue that for the medieval Orthodox Russian art such illustrations are not typical. In most cases the development in these territories is connected with the influence of the Western iconographic tradition. Although,

the apocalyptic miniatures belong to a later period in Old Russian painting, they reflect a sort of symbiosis, when the Catholic animal depictions of deadly sins are applied to the Orthodox notion of *mytarstva*. In the above-mentioned cases the number of sins is not limited to seven, but there is a clear association between sins and animal figures.

The final piece of evidence that the image of a serpent on the Ruthenian Last Judgments was linked in painters' opinion with a Paradise seducer, comes from the inscription on the village Jedlinka Last Judgment icon (1650). It describes this figure as «a serpent, that being a devil, brought Adam and Eve to the Paradise for sin».⁴³

Not all the Ruthenian icons of that time depict the process of overcoming the tollgates in the form of a serpent. Sometimes, this motif is realized as a ladder of boxes along the salvation side of the icon, with demon inside and an angel outside of each. Icons from Ruska Bystra, Bahnovaty, Hankowice, Kamjanka-Strumylova, Medynychi, and Torok (on this icon boxes were transformed into two stripes along the both sides), Drohobych, Skorykiv, and Horodka (16–17th centuries) can provide a few of such examples. According to Oleh Sydor, the earliest known icon of such a type comes from the village of Vilshanytsi (1st half of the 16th century). The same depiction can be found on a later icon from the village of

³⁹ Pokrovski N. «Strashny Sud v pamiatnikach vizantijskogo i russkogo iskusstva», *Trudy VI Archeologicheskogo sjezda v Odessie* (1884), vol. 3. — Odessa, 1887. — 372–373.

A. L. Yurganov analyzed the symbolic of punishments during Ivan IV *oprichnina* times and came to conclusion, that it had much in common with animal representation of sins in Orthodox iconography and literature. Tsar's murders signified not just fight for power, but also a struggle for believers' souls, characteristic to hellistic expectations, see, Yurganov A. L. *Kategorii russkoj srednieviekovoj kultury* (Categories of the Russian Medieval Culture). — Moscow, 1998. — P. 365–367.

⁴⁰ Klis Zd. Op. cit. — P. 167. For the analysis of «animal-sin» images in Western art and literature, see, Bloomfield M. V. *The Seven Deadly Sins. An Introduction to the History of a Religious Concept, with Special Reference to Medieval English Literature*. — Michigan, 1967. — 246–249; O'Reilly J. *Studies in the Iconography of the Virtues and Vices in the Middle Ages*. — New York; London, 1988. — 1–45; Katzenellenbogen A. *Allegories of the Virtues and Vices in Medieval Art. From Early Christian Times to the Thirteenth Century*, 2nd edition. — New York, 1964. Hall J. *Illustrated Dictionary of Symbols in Eastern and Western Art*. — John Murray, 1994. — 200–201 (contains a list of Seven Deadly Sins with animal attributes most frequently met in Western medieval art); Houlet J. *Les Combats des Vertus et des Vices, les Psychomachies dans l'Art*. — Paris, 1969. Another symbol of the medieval vices' iconography is connected with the signs of Zodiac. Constellations were often associated with the groups of sins. See, Sniezynska-Stolot E. Das ptolemaische Weltbild und die mittelalterliche Ikonographie // *Wiener Jahrbuch für Kunstgeschichte*, 46/47. — 1993/1994. — 699–880; Idem. *Ikonografia znaków zodiaku i gwiazdozbiorów w sredniowieczu*. — Kraków, 1994. — S. 51, 78.

⁴¹ Domasłowski J. et al. Op. cit. — Pp. 225, 227, 231.

⁴² Torun's painting has become a subject of scholarly discussion for the last several decades. According to I. Błaszczyk, this Tree symbolizes cosmic interpretation of Christian ethics. For M. Michnowska, Z. Kruszelnicki and J. Domasłowski Torun's fresco has particular references to the Italian and Czech iconographic traditions. Zd. Klis affirms, that the main motif of this painting is a dynamic representation of a permanent conflict between Vices and Virtues in the struggle for the human soul, similar to the conflict, described in Prudentius's «Psychomachia». For the brief outline of this discussion, see, Klis Zd. Op. cit. — Pp. 169–170; Domasłowski J. *Malarstwo sciennie. Początki malarstwa ściennego (do 1380 r.)*. — Pp. 23–24, ill. 2; Michnowska M. XIV-wieczne malowidło z «Drzewem Życia» i «Sądem Ostatecznym» w kościele św. Jana w Toruniu // *Sprawozdania Towarzystwa Naukowego w Toruniu*. — 22. — 1970. — S. 53–55.

⁴³ The name of this icon's painter is Pavlo from Muszyna. See, Biskupski R. *Malarstwo ikonowe od XV do pierwszej połowy XVIII wieku na Lemkowszczyźnie* // *Polska Sztuka Ludowa*. — 39. — No. 3–4. — 1985. — S. 61.

Moldavsko, which dates back to the year 1720. On an icon from the L'viv Museum of Religion there is a similar fragment, when instead of snake on the left side of composition the iconographer painted a certain path upstairs from one tollbooth to another where angels and devils present the scrolls with good deeds and evils of the dead.⁴⁴ Janina Klosinska sees both the ladder and the «serpent of sin» representing the «purification of the soul ascends to heaven», and believes that the former is Byzantine, the snake Russian, and the Ruthenian variant a mixture if these two and of Western motifs.⁴⁵ This opinion conflicts with a simple observation that these three East Slavic types contains common features not found in the third, so no simple developmental scheme presents itself as a working hypothesis.⁴⁶

But why the Ruthenian iconographers often avoided the symbol of the snake? For this there is a specific explanation found in literary sources. In the *Life* of the Greeks mystic Basil the Younger (d. 944) there is vision told by the saint's disciple Gregory, which circulated in two Russian versions by the early 16th c.⁴⁷ A brief extract presents a drama of immediate judgment. Basil appears just as two angels and a host of demons are taking the soul of his nurse Theodora from her body:

She was laying at her last gasp, seeing plainly a crowd of Ethiops stand in a circle round her bed, crowding around, making a row, practicing cold deceits and illusions, like dogs and wolves, roaring like a stormy sea, putting their heads to confuse her, bellowing, moaning, croaking, howling, growling in chorus, making

enquiry in her actions, passing papers round in their hands, exchanging mocking looks on their dark and sinister faces, a sight of the Hegenna of fire. But as she listened to their dreadful talk two handsome young men.... came in on her right. This led to a confrontation between them and devils. She was then given a drink so nasty and bitter that it made her more frightened than ever, before the angels received her soul, and as they drew it out of the body she saw her body fall away.

All this is an introduction to ordeals still to come. Before they went on to the tollgates Basil

... casting from his bosom a scarlet purse filled with pieces of pure gold, he gave them to the two angels and said to them: «Take them and redeem her when she is questioned in the aerial tollbooths». The dark and murky demons observed this and indeed were filled with hatred.⁴⁸

In this version there was a total of 21 such stations, arranged in three groups of seven that the soul had to pass during 40 days, each earmarked for a different sin, with a final examination in inhumanity and hardness of the heart. The first seven correspond to the sins of the mouth, eyes and ears. They are slander, abuse, envy, lies, arrogance and foolish speech. The second seven are sins of the Byzantine society, usury, guile, pessimism (*acedia*) and optimism (*kenodoxia*), love of money, love of the wine cup, and resentful remembrance of evil. The third seven, includes the three capital sins of the early Church, idolatry, murder and fornication, but grouped around them are cas-

⁴⁴ Noteworthy, there is no image of a human soul in this picture, which proves that equation of the ordeals with Purgatory did not find ground in the Orthodox iconography.

⁴⁵ Klosinska J. *Icons from Poland*. — Warszawa, 1989. — S. 41.

⁴⁶ According to D. Goldfrank, in the late Byzantine theological manuals (for example, in that of Dionyseus of Fourna) there is no mention of the tollbooths. See, Goldfrank D. Who put the Snake on the Icon and the Tollbooths on the Snake? // *Harvard Ukrainian Studies*. — P. 187, footnote 23.

⁴⁷ Sakharov V. *Eschatologicheskie sochineniia i skazaniia v drevnerusskoi pismennosti i vliianiie ich na narodnye duchovnye stikhi* (Eschatological Treatises and Stories in Old-Russian Literature and its Influence on the Folk Spiritual Songs. — Tula, 1879. — 148, 166». Life of Basil the New» (Xth century) is known in Kievan Rus' from the beginning of the XIth century. The earliest remained Russian copies date back to the XIVth century. «Life of Basil the New» in comparison to other hagiographic monuments of that time contains an overwhelming eschatological material. See, *Ukrains'ka literatura XIV–XVI stolitt'. Apokrif, agiografia, palomnytski tvory, istorychni tvory, polemichni tvory, perekladni povisti, poetychni tvory* (Ukrainian Literature of the XIV–XVth Centuries. Apocrypha, Hagiography, Pilgrim Literature, Histiographical Literature, Polemics, Translated Literature, Poetry). — Kyiv, 1988. — P. 527; Vilinskiĭ S. G. *Zhitiie Sv. Vasiliia Novogo v Russkoi Literature* (Life of St. Basil the New in Russian Literature) Part 2: *Teksty Zhitiia, pervaiia Russkaia redaktsiia*. — Odessa, 1911; Demin A. S. «Puteshestviie dushi po zagrobnomu miru» // *Rosskij literaturovedcheskij zhurnal*. — No 5. — 1994. — 367; Alekseev S. V. *Problema dobra i zla i eschatologicheskaja ideja v religioznych sistemah Jevrazii* (The problem of good and evil and eschatological Idea in the Religious Systems of Eurasia). — Moscow, 1995; *Srednievekovoe pravoslavie ot priroda do patriarhata* (Medieval Orthodoxy from Parish to Patriarchate). — Volgograd, 1997; Patlagean E. «Byzance et son autre monde. Observations sur quelques récits», A. Vauchez et al. // *Faire Croire: modalité de la diffusion et de la réception des message religieux du XIIe au XVe siècles: table ronde, Rome, 22–23 juin 1979, organisée par l'école française de Rome, en collaboration avec l'Institut d'histoire médiévale de l'Université de Padoue*. — Rome; Torino, 1981. — 201–221.

⁴⁸ Zhitiie prepodbnogo otza nashego Vasiliia Novogo, *Ukrains'ka literatura XIV–XVI stolittia*. — P. 49. Cited here after the English translation in, Every G. Toll Gates on the Air Way // *Eastern Churches Review, Journal of Eastern Christianity*. — Vol. 8, no. 2. — Oxford, 1976. — 145.



Plate 4. Fragment of the Last Judgment fresco, Kyiv Caves Lavra, 19th century. The slide was graciously given by J.-P. Himka.

ting spells and observing omens (at one and the same gate), forms of unnatural vice, theft, and gluttony with eating in secret. There is no particular order in enlisting these tollbooths (as it can be found, for example in the works of St. Cyrill of Alexandria). As a matter of fact, this is a common feature of all the otherworldly visions.⁴⁹

Afterwards, Theodora's soul was forwarded to the Paradise, or the Heavenly home, until the Last Judgment. Let us pay attention, that in the *Life of St. Basil the New* these were really aerial tollbooths, not just rings put on the snake, therefore, in the iconographical schemes there was a ground for the second type of depiction of the tollbooths. This tradition preserved until

the late 19th century and finds its correspondence in the 19th fresco in Kiev (Pl. 4).

Besides that, the obvious inspiration for this type of tollbooths is the above mentioned spiritual ladder of John Climachus. Actually, its depiction is very often met on the Ruthenian woodcut illustrations to the 16–17th c. imprints. One of it dates back to 1640 and gives a picture of a certain staircase with thirty rungs on which four monks climb to Paradise.⁵⁰ They are accompanied on their right by the Guardian angels who carry the souls to Heaven (in fact, angels are quite unusual for the iconographical scheme of this icon).⁵¹ At the top of the ladder awaits salvation in the person of Christ. He holds an open scroll. The ascent of the ladder

⁴⁹ Batiushkov F. *Spor dushi s telom v pamiatnikakh srednieviekovoj literatury. Opyt istoriko-sravnitel'nogo issledovaniia*. — Sankt-Peterburg, 1891. — 82. Another source for the «mytarstva» concept is the so-called *Sermon on the... Celestial Powers* (12th c.). Its extended version contained the *Word on Soul's Departure* sometimes attributed to St. Cyrill the Philosopher. The fullest text was published by S. Shevyriev in, *Izvestiia Imperatorskoi Akademii nauk po Oidelu Russkogo iazyka i slovesnosti*. — Vol. 9. — St. Petersburg, 1860. — P. 182–192. The number of tollbooths in this text was reduced to twenty. According to the majority of its students, the *Celestial Powers* became the literary standard for the Russian Last Judgment iconography. See, Goldfrank D. Who put the Snake on the Icon and the Tollbooths on the Snake? // *Harvard Ukrainian Studies*. — P. 190; Alekseev A. N. Slovo ob ischodie dushi Kirilla Filosofa // *Opyty po istochnikovedeniiu. Drevnirusskaia knizhnost', paleografiia, kodikologiia*. — Saint Petersburg, 1999. — 8–16 (contains *The Word on Soul's Departure* in the 15th c. Russian version)

⁵⁰ Similar depiction preserved on the woodcut «Perfection Ladder» made by Vasiliy Ushakievich from *Triod' Pisma* (1664) published in L'viv.

⁵¹ Compare, for example, with the double-sided icon Koimesis-Ladder of St. John Klimax (16th c.) from the Pantokrator monastery in Greece.

is beset by temptations in the form of devils tugging at the monks' habits. They bring those who did not attain Perfection to the mouth of Hell, which has clear applications to the Last Judgment depictions of Hegenna.

An interesting variant of the tollbooths interpretation is presented in another 17th century Ruthenian woodcuts. Surprisingly, neither serpent nor staircase are depicted on the majority of these Last Judgments. Instead, the artists used the symbols of thread of a chain of rings to exemplify tollbooths. There is no sense in seeking any particular semantics of these images inasmuch as simplification of the iconographical structure is rather normal for the woodcut stylistics.

Harking back to the problem of a snake on the Ruthenian Last Judgments, one has to bear in mind that before and after the Union of Brest (1596) in the pro-Uniate polemical literature there is an often-repeated argument that tollbooths are nothing else than the Catholic Purgatory.⁵² In their opinion immediately after death souls which committed venial sins have to overcome a serial of purifying obstacles, after which they reach the Heavenly Kingdom.

There are several examples. One of the Uniate theologians, Kassian Sakovich, wrote in 1625: «*Mytarstva* is a place where the souls are suffering pain, it is the Latin *purgatorium*».⁵³ Thus the Uniate theologians sought the common with the Orthodox Church ground for the depiction of the Other World (the Eastern Christianity traditionally denies the idea of the souls' posthumous purgation). The main similarities for the Unites lie in the common tradition of praying for the dead, which helped cleansing from the venial sins. According to the Uniate polemicists, while passing through the tollbooths, the soul suffers, and if it comes over, it reaches the Heaven. This means, that it has expiated all the sins. At the same time, they accepted the notion of the posthumous particular judgment. For example, one of the best known Uniate leaders, Hipacy Pocij affirmed:

«If there is no Purgatory, there is no need of praying for the dead. For those, who are in Heaven, there is no sense to pray, for those condemned there is neither need for it. Therefore, there must be a place, where the souls are purified».⁵⁴

So, how did the Orthodox iconographies interpret the problem of Purgatory-tollbooths? What side did they support? Generally speaking, the iconographic structure of the Ruthenian Last Judgments follows the path of the Orthodox conception of the afterlife. According to it the series of tollbooths on the snake meant a posthumous immediate judgment, which includes the testing of a soul in different categories of sins. The list of transgressions on tollbooths is much more extensive than that of the hellish sufferings. However, the very fact, that most of sins are appearing both on the serpent rings and in the fire of Hell, suggests that the tollbooths were perceived exactly as a testing, not an expiating procedure. A soul that does not manage to come through the number of gates where angels and devils were revealing their good and bad deeds, fell into Hell.

Figure 1 presents the cross-listed sins on the tollbooths and in the Hell. On the basis of several Ruthenian icons from the 16–17th centuries (the number is limited because many inscription are hardly readable) it was possible to undertake a rudimentary statistical analysis. The aim of such a study was twofold:

First, it traces the dependence between the list of sins on the tollbooths and in Hell in order to investigate whether or not there was a place for Purgatory in the Orthodox religious consciousness. However, the very fact, that inscriptions on tollbooths and in Hell overlap with each other, reappear in both lists, suggests that the Orthodox painters regarded tollbooths as a chain of examinations rather than a set of purifying obstacles. They did not bring into question the nature of the posthumous immediate trials, while presenting on *mytarstva* all categories of sins.

⁵² This opinion is also present in, Klosinska J. Op. cit. — P. 41.

⁵³ Studynski Cf. K. *Polemichne pysmennytsvto v r. 1608*. — Lviv, 1911. — P. 22.

⁵⁴ Ibid. — P. 22. Actually, such an equalization of the Orthodox tollbooths and the Catholic Purgatory had the right to exist. The notion of the posthumous weighing of the soul, which was very popular in Catholic literature and art, could be regarded from another point of view: it was not primarily an unequivocal assessment of the individual's mortal worth, but rather a contest between angels (as usual Archangel Michael) and the Devil for possession of the soul — indeed a kind of extension of the struggle that had been waged at the moment of death. Such an explanation shows a lot of common features between the Catholic and the Orthodox «small» eschatologies. Moreover, Archangel Michael thus appeared in Catholic conception not as the impartial «weightier of souls», but rather as «the champion of man against the Devil». For, it seems to imply that the eternal destiny of men and women will be decided in this way at the Last Judgment, thus apparently ignoring the whole purpose of the doctrine of the Immediate or Particular Judgment and of Purgatory. There was no need in Christ's Judgment after death, because man's destiny was decided during the contest between angels and devils. See, Brandon S. G. *The Judgment of the Dead. A Historical and Comparative Study of the Idea of a Post-Mortem Judgment in the Major Religions*. — London, 1967. — 124.

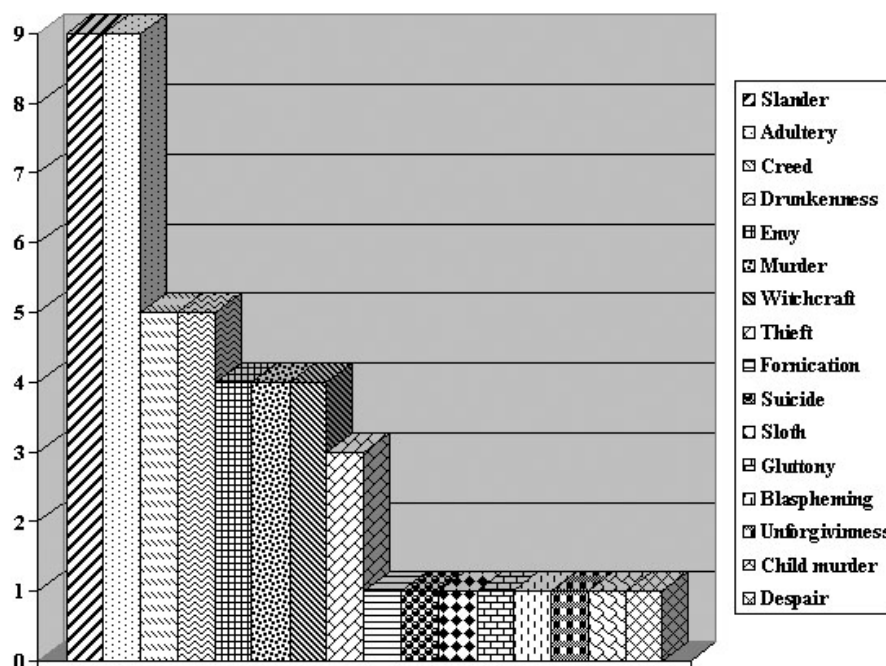


Figure 1. Sins on the Tollbooths Cross-listed with Sins in Hell

The second purpose of this statistical examination was to find a relationship between the mortal and venial, forgivable and unforgivable sins in these lists. Obviously, this distinction seemed to be blurred and vague in the Orthodox moral theology and preaching. Nonetheless, Last Judgment iconography is a vital source for studying the devotional meaning, and the paths by which religious tenets reached the mass of believers. Our first assumption is that these two lists (sins on tollbooths and sins in Hell) were formed from autonomous sources, «Theodora's Vision» and the New Testament teaching on hellish sufferings (as well as the 12–13th c. translated Greek apocrypha *Khozhdeniie Bogoroditsi po mukam* (The Theotokos Journey on Hellish Sufferings), consequently. It was N. V. Pokrovsky who first paid attention to this differentiation.⁵⁵ There is also a room for a second assumption that the iconographers made in a way unconscious gradation of sins, which the soul had to testify

after death. A simple calculation reveals, which of the enlisted tollbooths were considered to be the most obstinate to overcome. In other words, the questions was, which sins, according to Ruthenian painters, were the «heaviest», and brought the souls to the hellish sufferings?

What are the transgressions in which the majority of souls cannot overcome on tollbooths and which inevitably lead to Hell? Interestingly enough, these are the sins that practically repeat the officially accepted in the Catholic Church *saligia* («seven deadly sins»),⁵⁶ as well as the sins against the Ten Commandments. Slander, adultery (7th Commandment) (which differs from fornication),⁵⁷ creed, robbery, witchcraft, gluttony (and its variety drunkenness), envy, non-forgiveness, theft (6th Commandment), sloth, blasphemy (1st Commandment), murder (6th Commandment), these are all capital sins, which do not have anything in common with Purgatorial «venial sins».⁵⁸

⁵⁵ Pokrovsky N. V. Op. cit. — P. 89

⁵⁶ The form «saligia» appears for the first time in the works of the 13th c. theologian Henry from Ostia (d. 1271). Some historians, however, tend to connect the spread of this term with the Counter Reformation processes and the Jesuit activity. See, Bloomfield M. W. *The Seven Deadly Sins: Introduction to the History of a Religious Concept, with Special Reference to Medieval English Literature*. — Michigan, 1952. — 86.

⁵⁷ An interesting study made by Prof. Acs Pál from Budapest on the differentiation between adultery and fornication in the XVIth c. Hungarian Protestant literature was recently published in, Pál Acs, «'Thou shall not commit adultery' 'Ne paráználkodjál.' The metaphor of adultery/paráznaság as applied in the literature of the Reformation», *Der Mythos von Amor und Psyche in der europäischen Renaissance*, hrg. Von József Jankovics und S. Katalin Németh (Studia humanitatis, 12). — Budapest, 2002. — 7–10.

⁵⁸ In the Catholic tradition there is a clear division between the sins, which lead to Hell and that, which can be expiated in Purgatory. The former are called «the major and hence the hardest sins, it will not be dissolved by fire». The latter are «very slight, minor sins», those built of wood of straw, will be dissolved. But the petty sins will be destroyed after death only if the good actions of the sinner in this life warrant such destruction. The quoted passages belong to

In the first place, Ruthenian painters depicted slander as a sin, which people commit most frequently and hardly repent. The manner of exposure of this sin is clearer in the Theodora's case from «St. Basil's Life»:

If in the cause of my vain life I, like any other human being, had spoken evil of anyone or insulted them face to face, they brought out the person and the day and the hour in which I had spoken slander of anyone face to face or by myself, and they produced the words as well. They witnessed against me many times of falsehoods spoken with deceitful words and an evil disposition, which I did not wholly understand, but are now no longer concealed from me. For what they brought in truth to accuse me I clearly understood; I was ashamed and wholly filled with fear, for often under a pretext of spiritual love and of correcting the failings of a brother, out of sheer want of sympathy, not understanding the bias of my inclination, I have spoken ill of someone.⁵⁹

Usually, the slanderers were depicted on the Last Judgment icons with long red tongues hanging on hooks. Another punishment for a slander was to eat his tongue. Most probably, this depiction derives from the story rendered in the popular collection *Velikoie zertsalo* («A Great Mirror»),⁶⁰ later coming to the cor-

pus of *Sinodik*. Ie. Petukhov mentions seven *Sinodik* codices that include this story.⁶¹

One can readily assume, that in the Last Judgment icons the notion of capital, heavy, or «mortal» sin was not always unforgivable in character. The gradation of sins, which follows from Last Judgment iconography, presupposes that there was a number of tollbooths that souls could hardly overcome, and corresponding transgressions most often lead to Hell. Nonetheless, there was not an inevitable verdict, nor predestination, neither a sharp division between «mortal» and «venial» sins.⁶² The immediate particular judgment after death corresponded with the Last Judgment after the Second Coming. Both trials were represented on the icons that, hence, presumed a final possibility to appeal for Divine Mercy.

Interestingly enough, 16–17th century the Uniate argument that in the Orthodox topography of the Other World there is a place for Purgatory, found its resonance in the contemporary Ukrainian historiography. There is the notion that the figure of the Merciful Lust is a prototype of a purgatorial soul, which is situated between the delightful pleasures of Paradise and the infernal fire. This figure is treated to be a unique Ruthenian phenomenon, which constitutes a tendency towards the unification of the churches.⁶³ I. Paslavs'kyj main-

the «last father of Purgatory», as Jacques Le Goff has called St. Gregory the Great, Le Goff J. *Le naissance du Purgatoire*. — Paris: Editions Gallimard, 1981. English translation, Le Goff J. *The Birth of Purgatory*, transl. by A. Goldhammer. — Chicago, 1984. — 91. See, also Ombres R. OP, «Images of Healing: The Making of the Tradition Concerning Purgatory» // *Eastern Churches Review, Journal of Eastern Christianity*. — Vol. 8, no. 2. — Oxford, 1976. — 128–138.

⁵⁹ Every Cf. G. «Toll Gates on the Air Way» // *Eastern Churches Review*. — Vol. 8, no. 2. — P. 147.

⁶⁰ Published in O. A. Derzhavina, «*Velikoie zertsalo*» i iego sud'ba na russkoi pochvie (The Fate of «The Great Mirror» in Russian lands). — Moscow, 1965; Dergatchova I. *Stanovlenie povestvovatelnykh nachal v drevnirusskoi literaturie XV–XVI vekov (na materialie sinodika)* (The Formation of Narrative in the Old-Russian Literature from the 15–16th c. On the example of *Sinodiks*). — München, 1990. — 150.

⁶¹ The story describes the vision of a «saint monk» who saw a soul of the dead slanderer with extremely long tongue. Since this tongue was dragging on the ground, it made the poor soul suffering and «whipping like a wolf». Finally, it became clear that it was a punishment for evil speaking. Ye. Petukhov, *Ocherky iz literaturnoi istorii Sinodika* (Essays on the *Sinodik* Literary History) part 2. — St. Petersburg, 1895. — P. 179.

⁶² Among the preserved Ruthenian Last Judgments there is an example, which in a way objects this argument. An icon from Pohorilivka village, Chenivtsi region in modern Ukraine from the 18th c. is designed in an original, even extraordinary manner. Its lower tier, depicting the hellish sufferings, consists of multiple dwellings each containing a sinner's figure. Even rectangles are placed along the four main lines. Here one can find a variety of personages, starting from different craftsmen and «unmerciful rich men», finishing with the picturesque genre scene in a tavern. It is full of card players and not sober visitors, lying on the floor near the foots of an inn-keeper. Meanwhile, the most original feature of this composition is the classification of sins according to its gravity. On the most upper tier the painter depicted the so-called «the seven basic sins». An Orthodox iconographer has modified the established *saligia* list. Instead of idolatry he depicted a symbol of greediness, adding also the figure of an untidy, dirty woman, who did not keep her house in cleanness. A brief description of this icon can be found in, Zholtovs'kyi P. M. *Ukrains'kyi zhyvopys XVII–XVIII st.* — P. 285.

Gradation of sins according to the «mortal»/«venial» differentiation was not typical for the Orthodox iconography of Hell. This sample was rather exceptional and indicates the late Catholic influence on a traditional Orthodox Last Judgment composition.

⁶³ On the basis of such observations, a Ukrainian historian makes a conclusion on the «essence of the Ukrainian mentality. Its entire history proves no doubtful fact: the Ukrainian spirituality has always tended to develop in Western direction as an inseparable part of European cultural entity», Paslavs'kyj I. *Ujavlennia pro potojbichny svit i formuvannia poniattia chystylushe v ukrains'kij seredniovechnoj narodnij kulturi* // *Zapysky Naukovogo Tovarystva Imeni Shevchenka* (hereinafter — *ZNTSh*). — Vol. 228, *Praci Istoryko-Filosof's'koi Sekciji*. — L'viv, 1994. — P. 348, 356.

tains that the figure of the Merciful Lust on the earliest Ruthenian Last Judgment icon from Mshany⁶⁴ (end of the 15th — beginning of the 16th century) is borrowed from the West European «Vision of Tnugdál» (12th c.).⁶⁵ This treatise was translated into Slavic languages at approximately the same time. A Ukrainian historian concludes that geographically both the icon and the translated «Vision» derive from the same cultural centers of the Przemyśl region, either Lavrs'ky or Spass'ky monasteries. He affirms, that later on this figure appears in many Ruthenian icons (coming from Mala Gorozhanka, Kam'janka-Strumylova, Dolyna), paying special attention to the 1720 Moldav-s'ko icon, which has a known author, Marko Domazhyrs'kyj Shestakovych. The latter contains on the lower tier two clusters between Hell and Paradise with figures of sinners, one of which suffers from the fire, another one waits for his turn. I. Paslavs'ky suggests, that «literary and iconographic sources testify for the Otherworldly picture with clear shapes of Purgatory, which existed in the lower levels of the Orthodox Ruthenian culture practically until the end of the 17th century, when the East Slavic Christendom has been covered with Byzantine-Muscovite frost».⁶⁶

It seems such statements are poorly grounded. One of the first arguments that comes into mind against attributing the figure of the Merciful Lust with purifying procedures of the Purgatory, relates to the Catholic Last Judgment iconography. It did not incorporate the Purgatory element at all, since according to the patristic teaching, the «third place» of

the Otherworldly topography will be eliminated after the Second Coming.⁶⁷

Furthermore, in the Western Catholic iconography in general, and in the Polish tradition in particular, the purgatorial souls are often depicted in the lake of fire. They are pleading for mercy, suffering pain, but in most cases they are not bound to pillars.⁶⁸ A few notable examples are the illustration to the Book of Hours of the Queen Bona made by Stanisław Samostrzelnik in the 1520s,⁶⁹ or the frescoes in the parochial church of Puck from 1663, or the later image from the 2nd half of the 17th century in the town of Zamarzki, close to Katowice. The last fresco depicts the crucifix, the Virgin, and the Purgatorial souls surrounded by the saints.⁷⁰ The Catholic Purgatory in the late Middle Ages certainly inherited the major elements of Hell, though its fire was less drastic and there was no instruments of tortures. Instead of demons, angels, who brought a cup of water or just took out those who have already expiated their sins, surrounded the sinners.⁷¹ For the Orthodox symbol of the Merciful Lust one has to seek other iconographical and textual sources.

It is noteworthy is that the same element of the Merciful Lust is found on all the Russian icons of Last Judgment.⁷² F. Buslaev found some of its correlations in the «Life of St. Basil the New». He quotes a passage from the Vision of Gregory. «A young innocent lady, beautiful and honorable all of a sudden has descended from the skies, that was a Divine Mercy, who was pleading for the crowd of sinners. She addressed to angels: «I was praying God to

⁶⁴ It is a debatable statement, since among the earliest preserved Ruthenian icons is that from Vanivka (3rd quarter of the 15th c.), where the figure of Merciful Lust is depicted as well.

⁶⁵ Carozzi Cl. «Structure et fonction de la vision de Tnugdál», *Faire Croire*. — Pp. 223–234.

⁶⁶ Paslavs'kyj I. «Ujavlennia pro potojbichny svit» // *ZNTSh*. — Vol. 228. — P. 348–350.

⁶⁷ The pioneer study in this field, Le Goff J. Op. cit. See also, Moisan-Jablonska K. *Obraz czyśćca w sztuce polskiego baroku: studium ikonograficzno-ikonologiczne*. — Warszawa, 1995.

⁶⁸ Moisan-Jablonska K. Op. cit. — P. 38; Bylina St. «Obraz zaswiatów w chrześcijaństwie zachodnim u schyłku średniowiecza» // *Kwartalnik Historyczny*. — No. 1. — 1986. — 13. Compare also, Eustachiewicz J. «Fresk z kaplicy sw. Krzyża przy kościele Dominikanów w Lublinie» // *Rocznik Humanistyczny*. — Vol. VII. — Z. 4. — 1958; Smolowski I. «Fragment malowidła ściennego z Lublina i obraz ze Słucka przedstawiający prześladowanie reformatorów religijnych» // *Sprawozdanie Komisji do Badań Sztuki w Polsce*. — Vol. VIII. — Z. 1–2. — Kraków, 1907.

⁶⁹ Borkowska U. OSV, *Królewskie modlitewniki. Studium z literatury religijnej epoki Jagiellonów (XV — początek XVI wieku)*. — Lublin, 1999. — Ss. 126–127, 150–151, il. 26. Z. Ameisenowa traces some anti-protestant elements in this picture, which is quite rare for the praying books. See, Z. Ameisenowa. *Cztery rękopisy iluminowane z lat 1524–1528 w zbiorach obcych*. — Kraków, 1967; Tomkiewicz S. *Modlitewnik królowej Bony w Wilanowie // Prace Komisji Historii Sztuki*. — 1930/1934. — S. 30–44.

⁷⁰ *Katalog Zabytków Sztuki w Polsce*, tom VI, Województwo Katowickie, pod red. I. Rejduch-Samkowej, I. Samka, zeszyt 3, miasto Cieszyń i powiat Cieszyński. — Warszawa, 1974. — Ill. 156. See also, «Adoracja Dzieciątka Jezus» (Adoration of Jesus the Child), end of the 17th c., Bernardin Church in Grodzisk Wielkopolski // *Śmierć w kulturze dawnej Polski*. — Warszawa, 2001. — Ill. 12.

⁷¹ Le Goff J. Op. cit. — Ill. 3; Vovelle G. et M. *Vision de la mort et de l'au-delà en Provence d'après les autels des âmes du purgatoire XVe — XXe siècles*. — Paris, 1970. — Il. 1.

⁷² See the catalogue in, Tsodikovich V. Op. cit.; also, Filatov V. V. *Kratki ikonopisnyi illiustrirovannyi slovar. Kniga dla uchashchichsia*. — Moskva, 1996. — P. 178–180.

deliberate them and He ordered to return them back.' And all of them turned in front of God, trembling like the autumn leaves. The Supreme Judge told them: 'Because of your mercy I shall deprive you from the eternal fire, because of your adultery, other dirty sins and passions I prohibit you to enter My Heavenly Kingdom. You will not enjoy My pleasures, and will not see My awards.' He has allowed a place in the North, for them to be deprived from all the necessities». F. Buslaev compares this text with the 14th century paintings of a famous Florentine artist Orcagna di Cione.⁷³ A Solomon's figure on the cemetery wall in Pisa reflects a total confusion, hesitation and uncertainty of a person whose consciousness is heavily charged by sins.⁷⁴

The story of the Merciful Lust is frequently repeated in the traditional Orthodox collections of sermons (among the well known examples — *Izmaragd* («Emerald»),⁷⁵ which often served the purposes of lay parishioners. Most versions contain «A Word on a Lust, who Gave Alms, but did not Refuse Adultery» («*Slovo o nekojem bludnikie izhe milostyniu tvoriashe, a bluda nie ostasia*»). Here comes the story:

There was a man in the City of Constantinople, he was rich and merciful, giving alms to beggars at the same time committed an unpleasant sin of adultery against his wife. Like so he got old, all the time in this manner giving alms, and thus he died. Many were grieving for him, whereas patriarch German and the bishops assured that he was saved because of mercifulness. As it is written, those will be save, who granted wealth for the poor, others were confident, that of because of lust he was condemned. A monk was praying God and saw a field. On the right hand there was a Paradise full of fruits, on the left hand — a fiery lake. Its fire was reaching clouds... Between Paradise and dreadful fire there was a dead bind to pillar, he often turned his eyes to Heaven, sorrowfully crying. He saw a radiant angel, who approached him. «Why do you cry, a man, these are your alms and your sins. You are free from sufferings and because of disgusting adultery you are refused of Heaven. Patriarch German said for that, «Indeed, adulterer's mercies are not pleasant to God.⁷⁶

It is difficult to refute the moral essence of this sermon. A man is liable for his deed and thoughts. His free will determines the mode of behavior, whether to sin or not. In a «com-

⁷³ Orcagna di Cione (1308–1368) — a Florentine painter, sculptor. His brothers, Nardo, Jacopo, and Matteo, were also architects, sculptors, and painters. Brothers were registered in the Florentine Guild of Painters in 1357. In that year Andrea (Orcagna) collaborated with Francesco di Talento on plans for the enlargement of S. Maria del Fiore. In 1358 he executed the mosaics for the façade of the cathedral of Orvieto. The chief paintings of Orcagna which have survived are: a St. Matthew, painted, in collaboration with his brother Jacopo, for S. Maria Novella, now in the Uffizi; a «Virgin with Angels», in the Somzée collection at Brussels; a «Vision of St. Bernard», in the Academy of Florence; a «Coronation of the Virgin», executed for San Pier Maggiore, Florence, now in the National Gallery, London. In 1357 Tommaso di Rossello Strozzi commissioned Orcagna to paint an altar-piece for the same chapel in which Nardo had painted the frescoes. Orcagna was commissioned in the following year to paint the life of the Blessed Virgin on the walls of the choir of S. Maria Novella. These paintings were ruined by damp, owing to a leaking roof, but were restored by Ghirlandajo who drew his inspiration from the happy «inventions of Orcagna» (Vasari). Orcagna was under the great influence of the Sienna art school. See, *Bolshaja Sovetskaja Encyklopedia*, vol. 43. — Moscow: OGIZ RSPHSR, 1939. — Cols. 346–347; *The Catholic Encyclopedia, an international work of reference on the constitution, doctrine, discipline, and history of the Catholic Church*, ed. by Ch. G. Herbermann. — Vol. IX. — New York, 1912?

⁷⁴ Buslaev F. «Izbrazhenije Strashnogo Suda po russkim podlinnikam», Idem. *Istoricheskije ocherki russkoj narodnoj slovesnosti i isskustva*, vol. 2: *Drevnirusskaja literatura i isskustvo*. — Sankt Peterburg, 1861. — 140–141.

⁷⁵ *Izmaragd* (Emerald), an anthology of about 150 homilies of such authors as SS. John Chrisostom, Basil the Great, Gregory I, Theodosius of the Caves, and Cyril of Turov. There are approximately 200 copies of the *Izmaragd* manuscripts. It was undoubtedly the favorite book of devotional readings for the Russian laity for approximately four centuries. Although nothing is known of its author, it is a common opinion of scholars that he must have been a Russian who lived in the 14th century, the date ascribed to the oldest manuscripts. See, Klibanov A. I. *Duhovnaja kultura srednieviekovoj Rusi* (Spiritual culture of Medieval Rus'). — Moskva, 1994; Jakovlev V. A. *K literaturnoj istorii drevnirusskikh sbornikov. Opyt issledovanija «Izmaragda»* (To the Literary History of Old Russian Collections. An Attempt at «Izmaragd» Study). — Odessa, 1893. For the extensive study of «Izmaragd's» ethics and moral teaching, see, Fedotov G. P. *The Russian Religious Mind. Vol. 2. The middle Ages the 13 to the 15th centuries*. — Cambridge, Mass., 1966.

⁷⁶ «Bie slaven cheloviek v Konstantinie gradie, i bogat miluia nishaia, i siroty nadielaia, deistvom nepriiaznenym, preliuby ot zheny, svoia tvoriashe tako i do starosti preide, milostyniu nieprestaiusche tvoria, takozh i ounrie vo obychai tom. I mnogi i nem by sov ckrushanie patriarhom Germanom s jepiskopi ovi glagohou spasen est' milostynia rad. Pisano bo jest' svoim bogatestvom izbavleniem, inii glaguhou bluda nies spasen. I bych voshischen nekakoie pole videch. Odesnuiu rai ispolnien ploda, a otlevuui iezerie ognienieie. Jego plamien' do oblak vshodiashe i be mezhdu raia i strashnogo plamieni. Oumiershi stoiasha priviazan chasto k raiu vzirashe, zle stonasha i videh angela svetonosna, pristupleshe jemu glagolischa. Pochto stonieshi chelovieche, se tviia dela milostyni. Ot muki esij izbavlen, a skvernij rad bluda blazhennagi raiu lishen jesi. Patriarh... glagolohou. Poistinnie... nepriiantnie Bogu bludnikov darove ni milostivy Bogou». *Kniga Izmaragd Riekomy*, polustav, 1518, Sinodalnoje Sobranije, Gosudarstvennyj Istoricheskij Muzej Rossii, Moskva. — Fond 765, (GN, fond 230). — F. 131–132v.

plicated case», as it was with a sinner who spent a devout life and in a way each life is a «complicated case», there is an option, a third position between punishment and reward. Neither joy in Paradise, nor hellish sufferings. Sounds strange, but this was indeed a great issue. Human weakness was in a way recognized, nonetheless the most appreciated was an attempts at repent could change one's way of life. However, what happens in this life and might happen afterwards, form the spiritual and material picture of the medieval worldview. Both spheres of perception are interrelated, when believer's consciousness becomes a battlefield, which sets the limits of free will.⁷⁷

In the XVIth — beginning of the 17th centuries one can find in Ruthenian lands the widely spread «*Prologues*»⁷⁸ with the descriptions of the Merciful Lust's afterlife. Two of such collections from the 16th century are available in the L'viv Stefanyk Library's manuscript collection of A. S. Petrushevich (f. 77, op. 1. spr. 69, 27 (hereinafter — ASP-69, ASP-27)).⁷⁹ Both volumes are compiled from Saint Fathers' treatises, as well as passages borrowed from *Izmaragd*. Both render the story of a Merciful Lust. However, *Prologue* ASP-27 is less uncompromising in making conclusions from the story. In contrast to ASP-69, which literary repeats the above quoted fragment from *Izmaragd*,⁸⁰ the ASP-69 collection ends the moral with an appeal for mercy and repent first before giving alms. («By giving alms we save our souls. Since if you are a true alms giver, you have first to receive mercy yourself and preserve the purity of your body. Without that nobody can see God, nothing helps those who grant silver without penance».)⁸¹

Already in the 19th century N. V. Pokrovsky has noticed that the roots of the Merciful Lust figure could be found in the Byzantine chronographic tradition. He quotes a passage, which was published in the old-Russian version. The Northern country from the «Life of the Basil the New» was exchanged with the pillar. Pokrovsky admits, that according to the Orthodox tenets such a depiction cannot be justi-

fied inasmuch as there is no room for an intermediate stage in the Other World. At the same time, the very character of the Merciful Lust applies the duality of his position. In anyway, the tradition regards him as a sinner who has to endure certain sufferings but not to the extent the other damned do.⁸²

Most probably, the Merciful Lust really means some latent, unconscious tendency in the Orthodox tradition towards the description of a third place (besides Hell and Heaven) in the Otherworldly topography. However, it might be too exaggerated to associate this phenomenon with exclusively Ruthenian iconography of the 16–17th century. In this pattern the Ruthenian iconographers followed the path of an established tradition.

Remarkable is that there are really several elements which differ the Ruthenian Last Judgment from the Russian ones. The majority of the Orthodox Last Judgment students paid little attention to another structural element of its iconography, namely the Abraham Bosom (Is. 3:6; Gen. 23: 15, 22: 27), which in post-Brest Union times was also a matter of debate in religious polemics. The only exception is Janina Klosinska's article on two Ruthenian icons from Lipie and Paszowa, now preserved in Poland. The author declared, that in all Russian icons of Last Judgment this element is placed outside the Paradise circle, while on the Ruthenian variants it was always included into the circle.⁸³

The notion of Abraham Bosom, taken from Jewish prayers, was introduced to Christian eschatology by the Evangelists (Math. 8:11; Luke 16:22). From the 5th c. it is mentioned in the Coptic liturgy of St. Basil. It states, «Welcome them into the bosom of Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob; receive them into the verdant place with its refreshing waters, into the paradise of delights». A connection was quickly established between the Paradise and «The Bosom of Abraham» to which Lazarus the beggar «was carried away by the angels» after death; the rich man saw him there, on the other side of

⁷⁷ Klibanov A. I. *Dukhovnaia kultura srednieviekovoi Rusi* (A Spiritual Culture of Medieval Rus'). — Moscow, 1994. — P. 29–30.

⁷⁸ *Prologue (Prologumenon)* is a collection of Saints' Lives and sermonic texts arranged according to the liturgical calendar from 1 September until 31 August. See, Adrianova-Perets V. K. voprosu o krugie chteniia drevnerrusskogo pisatielia // *Trudy Otdela Drevnerrusskoi Literatury* (TODRL). — Vol. 27. — Moscow, 1974. — Pp. 3–29.

⁷⁹ I am grateful to Prof. J.-P. Himka for his assistance in discovering these manuscripts.

⁸⁰ ASP-69. — Fond 77, op. 1. — Ff. 56–56v.

⁸¹ ASP-27. — Fond 77, op. 1. — Ff. 497v.–498v.

⁸² Pokrovsky N. V. Op. cit. — P. 96

⁸³ Klosinska J. Dwie ikony Sądu Ostatecznego w zbiorach Sanockich. Ze studiów nad ikonografią // *Materiały Muzeum Budownictwa Ludowego w Sanoku*. — 1967. — No. 6. — Grudzień. — S. 38.

the «great chasm» that separated them (Luke, 16: 19–31).⁸⁴

According to J. Delumeau, most patristic and Greek writers justified the statement of the place where the souls of the just await the eschatological resurrection. Belief in the place of waiting was evidently connected with the conviction that the parousia, or return of Jesus, would not be long delayed. Abraham Bosom was perceived as the limbo of the fathers (*limbus patrum*), from the 12–13th century Catholic theology distinct from the limbo of children (*limbus puerorum*). The latter was designated as the place in which infants who have died without baptism are forever deprived of the beatific vision, even though they do not suffer. In 1240 the University of Paris condemned as heretical the teaching about a place in which the just waited. Not until the 14th century, however, did the Catholic Church officially and categorically reject the idea of *refrigerium*. In 1331 the pope John XXII stated that the righteous will not enjoy the beatific vision prior to the resurrection of their bodies and the Last Judgment, but he did not issue the bull condemning the Abraham Bosom. Clearly, the place of waiting, the Paradise for sleeping souls, or the bosom of Abraham in course of time contracted in the Catholic teaching to a Purgatory in which the just suffer while also hoping.⁸⁵ With good reason A. Turner maintains, «the idea of Purgatory was a strong instrument of propaganda which thus gave masses a hope for salvation... From the theological point of view the idea of Purgatory perfectly fitted the concept of “Abraham’s bosom”. Even dead children could count on eternal happiness».⁸⁶

The Orthodox theology did not elaborate an established opinion on the status of Abraham Bosom. As it was already mentioned, most Greek fathers supported the idea of a resting place for the righteous in the Other World. What was the basic difference between their condition before and after the Last Judgment was not clearly explained (waiting for delights

or enjoying the pleasures). In a certain way, it was a tribute for the specifically Orthodox approach in treating the Otherworldly realities. According to Saint Fathers’ explanation, for the believers it was better not to venture into the transcendental spheres, open only to the Divine Providence. However, in John Chrysostom sermons, found in the 14–18th century East Slavic collection *Zlatoust* («Chrysostom»), there is definition, that the Abraham Bosom will serve the righteous until the Last Judgment instead of Paradise.⁸⁷

The iconographical problem whether or not the Abraham Bosom constitutes a part of the Paradise, had its symbolic theological meaning. Basically, the dilemma was restricted to the question; whether in the Orthodox Otherworldly topography there was an intermediate separate place for the righteous souls besides the Paradise. If not, the Abraham Bosom was regarded as a certain place without any particular functions, a part of the Paradise, its prototype.

In the 16–17th c. religious polemics around the Brest Union the place of the Abraham Bosom was of particular importance. In addition to the notions of the tollbooths and Purgatory, it provoked a wave of discussions. In the majority of cases, these were the Orthodox polemicists, who were attempted to delineate this place. Stephan Zizany, who was excommunicated in Moscow as a heretic from the Orthodox Church glorified himself not only by proclaiming the Pope as the Antichrist, but also by his original interpretations of the «world beyond the grave». According to his opinion, a soul could not exist separately from the body. Consequently, the statement that soul feels either sufferings or enjoyments after death was absolutely unacceptable.

First, Zizany denies the particular judgment after death. «Sinful souls just after death do not experience any hellish tortures before the Last Judgment».⁸⁸ This polemicist only recognizes the punishment after the Second Coming, therefore in his system of argumentation there is no place for Purgatory. «Hell is a Greek

⁸⁴ Delumeau J. *Un histoire du Paradis: Le Jardin du Délices*. — Paris, 1992. Quoted from English translation, Delumeau J. *History of Paradise. The Garden of Eden in Myth and Tradition*. — Urbana; Chicago, 2000. — 28, 34.

⁸⁵ Delumeau J. Op. cit. — 32–38.

⁸⁶ Turner A. *Historia Pieka*. — Gdańsk, 1996. — 108.

⁸⁷ «Avraamlie lono Tsarsvo Niebiesnoie menit, idezhe pravednykh dushi vodvorajutsia» // *Kniga glagoliemaia Zlatoust*. — Pochaiev, 1795. — F. 160v. This passage is literary repeated in the «Izmaragd» collection. See, *Kniga Izmaragd Riekomy*, f. 130. To compare it with the Catholic teaching, it is worth mentioning the Polish Jesuit Peter Skarga’s opinion, that after the Descent to Limbo, Christ annihilated the Abraham Bosom. W. Ks. P. Skargi S. J., *Kazania na niedziele i święta całego roku*. — Vol. 2. — Lipsk, wyd. J. Bobrowicza. 1843. — S. 155.

⁸⁸ Zizany St. «Kazanie Sw. Cyrilla», Studinsky K. *Pam’yatnyki polemichnogo pysmennyctva*. — Vol. 1. — Lwiv, 1906. — P. 58.

word and means an unknown place».⁸⁹ Devils are only «those angels who once transgressed and did not receive any punishment for their sins». Zizany does not explain how do souls arrive either to Paradise or to Hell. He suggests in a kind of a fourfold scheme, describing the structure of the Other World. Hell and the Paradise are separated from the so-called *ciemnosci* («the dark places») and *Tsarstvo niebiesnoie* («the Heavenly kingdom»). The former will terminate its existence after the Second Coming. Hell and Paradise (this polemicist did not use the term Abraham Bosom) were exactly the places designed, in Zizany's opinion, for the dead to wait until the Last Judgment. Zizany's notions concerning the Other World are rather fragmentary. K. Studinsky explains such gaps by the certain «fanaticism against the Union of Brest, which led Orthodox people along the road of contradictions, historical inaccuracies and strained judgments».⁹⁰ Another 19th century scholar, S. Golubiev, connects these shortcomings with the fact that on the «Ukrainian-Byelorussian territories Orthodox religious thought did not yet receive the fundamental and decisive steadiness». He also argues that the main mistake of Zizany is in his denial of the particular Judgment.⁹¹

Obviously, certain «mistakes» in the views of the famous polemicist is determined by the level of tension in Catholic-Orthodox relations at that time as well as by the unstable position of the Orthodox Church in these territories. Certain vagueness persisted in the minds of the polemicists and in church teachings regarding the journey of the elect in the after-death world. The situation was still further complicated because there was some scriptural evidence to support the idea of an immediate judgment after death.⁹² It is also necessary to remember the influence of Reformation trends and its popular argumentation against the Catholic hierarchy. Besides that, Zizany's works indicate the tendency, which is connected with an attempt to save the traditional Orthodox foundations, and to preserve settled notions about the Last Judgment. It is hard to agree with the opinion of S. Golubiev that «Zizany

denies the Particular Judgment adopted in the Eastern Church», since an official position has not yet been created.

In his aspirations for strengthening Orthodox positions on the Polish lands St. Zizany was not alone. In the other polemic work, «Questions and answers of the Orthodox and Catholic priests» (1609) an Orthodox monk Vasylyi Ostroz'kyi attempted to ground his views by quoting the Holy Scripture. While referring to the authority of St. Dionisy, he proclaims: «...before the Last Judgment God will not provide any kind of trial, any payment neither for good nor for bad actions».⁹³ Ostroz'kyi underlines that pious men's souls are carried to the Abraham bosom.⁹⁴ M. Smotricky, a famous theologian and polemicist, also shared their opinion: «Sinful souls are suffering in Hell only partly.» He illustrates his point of view while describing the King's dinner, where friends are waiting for the beginning of the feast, whereas the condemned criminals are observing all the preparations. They are locked in prison, therefore cannot join the dinner, and are waiting for the Judge's sentence.⁹⁵ Amazingly enough, while denying the particular judgment immediately after death and insisting upon a partial retribution before the Last Judgment, the Orthodox polemicists in a way embodied the Purgatory theory. The concept of a separate place, different from Heaven and Hell, had applications to the Catholic idea of the afterlife cleansing procedures.

It is interesting to mention that the similar notions were popular at that time not only among the Polish Orthodox polemicists. One of the sources which characterizes the position of the Armenian Church on Polish lands in the 17th century depicts the main differences which prevents Polish Armenians from Union with the Catholic church. First, it was the denial of the Purgatory and the particular Judgment after death. Second, it was the notion that the souls of saints before the Last Judgment are situated not in the Paradise but are waiting somewhere else in the air. That is why all the Armenians are praying both for the saints and for the children who died immediately after

⁸⁹ Ibid. — P. 55.

⁹⁰ Ibid. — P. V.

⁹¹ Golubiev S. T. *Bibliographicheskije zamiechanija o niekotorych staropiechatnykh staroslavianskikh knigach, preimushestvenno k. XVIth — n. XVII stoletij* (Bibliographical Notes on Some Old Printed Slavic books, mainly from the end of the 16th — beginning of the 17th c.). — Kiev, 1876. — P. 13.

⁹² Brandon S. G. F. Op. cit. — P. 110

⁹³ *Russkaia istoricheskaia biblioteka (RIB)*, vol. 7. — Saint Petersburg, 1882. — P. 60.

⁹⁴ Ibid. — P. 62.

⁹⁵ *RIB*, vol. 19. — Saint Petersburg, 1903. — P. 1266.

the baptism.⁹⁶ These were the notions almost similar to that of St. Zizany!

In conclusion, it is necessary to say that along with their Orthodox great predecessors, the Ruthenian polemicists insisted on the idea that the Abraham bosom existed a separate place of rest for the just until the Last Judgment. It was not perceived as a part of Paradise, but rather as a discrete element of the Other World geography. It was not than surprising, that the Russian Last Judgment icons followed this model, depicting three patriarchs holding the souls beyond the Paradise circle.

What were the grounds for another iconographical type, namely the Ruthenian one, depicting the Abraham bosom as a Paradise cluster? The Abraham Bosom appears in the Byzantine scenes of Last Judgment from the 10th century.⁹⁷ It is present in the Torcello fresco as a place included into Paradise. In Ruthenian icons this element is often represented as a group of three prophets, Abraham, Isaac, Jacob, who sit in front of a table, holding a sort of a towel with souls. The icon from Mala Horozhanka (16th — early 17th c.) now on permanent exposition at the Oles'ko Castle Museum (branch of the L'viv Art Gallery), contains a variety of foods and drinks on this table, with plant decorations beyond the prophets. The inscription on the table states that it is «an endless and everlasting dining» («*nieoskudievaiemaia i nieskonchajemaia trapienza*»). Even more interesting is the 16th c. icon from the same Oles'ko Muzeum collection hold in its storage. It is a rare example of a separate Abraham Bosom depiction, not included into the general Last Judgment structure. Three prophets are sitting in front of a table, whereas the Theotokos is depicted nearby to the beautifully decorated

Renaissance furniture.⁹⁸ However, this icon, as well as the other Ruthenian Last Judgments, represents the Abraham Bosom as a mere dwelling of Paradise, being its symbol.

Undoubtedly, it is senseless to find the roots of such a model in Western European iconography. The place of the Abraham Bosom on the Ruthenian Last Judgment topography reflects an old Christian tradition of equating Paradise with the Abraham Bosom, which was long kept alive. This conception was at a time when the theologians did not yet draw a line between the condition of the just souls before and after the Second Coming. Both models of depicting the Abraham Bosom had its grounds in the Church teaching; both did not conflict with the Orthodox Last Judgment symbolic. However, the ambiguity and vagueness of theological explanations gave birth to multiple iconographical interpretations.

Noteworthy, there are several other elements, which differ the Ruthenian Last Judgment from the Russian ones. These parts undoubtedly bear the marks of the Catholic influence upon the Orthodox iconography, the influence deriving from the borderland position of Ruthenian lands.⁹⁹ I have in mind the images of death and the figures of sinners in Hell.

The fear of death, the death of fear

It has to be underlined, that the figure of death appears on the Ruthenian Last Judgments from the end of the 15th — beginning of the 16th centuries. On the oldest known and preserved icon from the village of Vanivka (some scholars date it by the 1st quarter of the 15th century) the image of death is missing.¹⁰⁰ Later on in many icons this figure reappears, enriched by

⁹⁶ *Źródła dziejowe. Dzieje zjednoczenia Ormian polskich z Kościołem Rzymskim w XVII wieku z dwóch rękopisów, włoskiego i łacińskiego*, vol. 2. — Warszawa, 1876. — S. 7.

⁹⁷ Kliš Zd. Op. cit. — P. 19.

⁹⁸ I am grateful to Tetyana Sabodazh from the Oles'ko Muzeum for showing me this unique icon. For the excellent reproduction of the Mala Horozhanka icon, see, Svetsits'ka V., Otkovych V. *Ukrains'ke narodne malarstvo* (Ukrainian Popular Painting). — Kyiv, 1991. — Pl. 23; more information can be found in, *Oles'ky zamok. Putivnyk* (Oles'ko Castle. A Guide). — L'viv, 1981.

⁹⁹ Among the recent studies of Ruthenian art in the 14–16th century under the influence of Western and Eastern Christian traditions, see, Aleksandrowycz W. *Ukraińskie malarstwo religijne drugiej połowy XIV–XVI wieku: spotkanie Wschodu i Zachodu // Między sobą. Szkice historyczne polsko-ukraińskie*, pod. red. T. Chynczewskiej-Hennel i N. Jakowenko. — Lublin, 2000. — S. 56–83.

¹⁰⁰ The icon is preserved in the Lviv National Art Museum. The lower part of it is missing, therefore, it is hard to affirm, that there was no figure of death on it. However, the 16th century icon from the Cosmas and Damian Church of Lukiv-Venecija, where there is no figure of death, exactly repeats the Vanivka model, which allows to visually reconstruct the lower part of the earliest known icon (I would like to thank Oleh Sydor from Lviv National Art Museum for this valuable information). Although D. Goldfrank assures, that Vanivka-Lukiv-Venecija type with missing death is an exception, it is more likely, that the figure of death appears only on later variants. See, Goldfrank D. *Who put the Snake on the Icon and the Tollbooths on the Snake? // Harvard Ukrainian Studies*. — 185, footnote 16; Hordynsky S. *The Ukrainian Icon of the 12–17th Centuries*, trans. W. Dushnyck. — Philadelphia, 1973. — Pl. 141; St. Tkac. *Ikony, zo 16.–19. storočia na severovýchodnom Slovensku*. — Tatraň, 1980. — Pl. 58, p. 47; Skrobucha H. *Icons in Czechoslovakia*. — Pl. 23.



Plate 5. Death on the Pale Horse, woodcut, 1627, Kyiv. Reproduced in *Ukrainskije knigi kirilovskoi pechaty XVI–XVII vekov (Ukrainian Cyrillic Books from the 16–17th century)*, 1st edition (Moscow, 1990).

a variety of weapons and equipments that are usually associated with Western religious culture and their symbols of death (Pl. 5). There is no doubt in the influence of the Catholic «macabre» tradition on this element of the Orthodox iconography (both the Last Judgments and different types of woodcuts).¹⁰¹

The image of death has different interpretations on the Ruthenian icons. Sometimes, it is implemented in the image of a young woman sitting on donkey, but more often in the figure of a mysterious warrior, equipped by a heavy sword. An interesting image is engraved on the icon from Mshany. Death is represented

as an old bald headed man, who carries an open-mouthed, red-tongued mask on his chest. On death's shoulders and bended elbows the painter also depicted pairs of open eyes. This figure of death is equipped with the arsenal of various weapons. A Ukrainian art historian Hanna Kos maintains that the origin of such a depiction derives from the Buddhist religious cults (namely, a popular Lamaist goddess White Tara is also represented with seven eyes). One of the possible ways of how similar images could reach the Ruthenian territories, were the raids of the 16–17th c. Kalmyk nomads.¹⁰² There is no way to confirm or disapprove this

¹⁰¹For the possible prototypes of death figures in Polish and European art see, in particular, Kochowicz Z. *Człowiek polskiego baroku*. — Łódź, 1992. — S. 332–349; Nowicka-Jezowa A. *Pieśni czasu śmierci: Studium z historii duchowości XVI–XVIII wieku*. — Lublin, 1992 (KUL, Zakład Badań nad Literaturą Religijną, 20). — S. 190; Idem. *Homo viator-mundus-mors: Studia z dziejów eschatologii w literaturze staropolskiej*. — T. 1–3. — Warszawa, 1988; Idem. *Sarmaci i Śmierć: O Staropolskiej Poezji Żałobnej*. — Warszawa, 1992; Male E. *L'art religieux de la fin du XVIe siècle, du XVIIe siècle et du XVIIIe siècle. Etude sur l'iconographie apres le Concile de Trente. Italie — Espagne — Flandres*. — Paris, 1972; Chroscicki J. *Pompa Funebris. Z dziejów kultury staropolskiej*. — Warszawa, 1974.

¹⁰²Kos H. «Strashny Sud» v ukrains'komu malarstvi // *Kyivs'ka tserkva*. — P. 107. Dashkevych Ya. Z istorii budyzmu v Ukraini: Kalmyky Pivnichnoho Prychernomoria i Livoberezhzhia seredyny XVII–XVIII st. // *Istoriia religii Ukrainy*.

statement. At least, it is clear, that the Ruthenian iconography was at that time under the influence of a variety of religious traditions. The image of death was in no way exceptional in this context.

Usually, the figure of death was portrayed near the deathbed of a rich man from the evangelical parable of Dives and Lazarus. Very often death was accompanied by devils, which tortured a dying person. On contrary, the deathbed of Lazarus was surrounded by angels and singing David the Psalmist. A logical conclusion which a viewer could make from this composition, had to be the only one: the righteous do not suffer from agony's pains. Consequently, the posthumous fate of the soul is decided before death and the way a believer dies indicates his (her) future in the afterlife.¹⁰³ A skeleton standing behind a rich man was a popular image on the Ruthenian woodcuts. For example one of the illustrations to the famous «Trebnik» of Peter Mohyla depicts the figure of death with scythe watching how Dives is forcing his servants to work on a construction. As well as other woodcut images of death (i. e., apocalyptical death on a white horse, 1627; a group of skeletons with scythes, which raked the heap of bodies, the end of the 17th c.; or a lot of other pictures) such illustrations most often declared an old *vanitas* conception *contemptus mundi* and equality in front of inevitable end.

Interestingly enough, the figure of death is missing on the Russian or Novgorodian Last Judgments. Undoubtedly, the fragment of a soul

departing the body, depicted on the illustration to the Parable of Dives and Lazarus, has clear connotations to the concept of the tollbooths. According to L. Nersesyan, the only known Russian Last Judgment icon, containing this element is the one from the collection of George Hann (16th c.).¹⁰⁴ However, most depictions of death appear on the later stages of the Russian art's development, from the mid-17th century. Among the Russian icons containing the figure of death are:

- icons *Jedinorodny syn* («The onlyborn son») (1668) (in the holdings of the Moscow Tretyakov Gallery). It belongs to the so-called «didactic icons», being for a certain period a subject of theological discussion on the impact of the Latin tradition.¹⁰⁵

- a woodcut *The death of St. Theodora*, a miniature from the manuscript «The Death of the St. Theodora», from the collection of I. Zabelin, the 17th century, now preserved in the Russian State Historical Museum, f. 440;

- a woodcut *Struggle between Life and Death* (17th c.), from F. Buslaev collection¹⁰⁶

- to the 17th century belong several variants of the icon *Dvojeslovije zhivota i smerti* («A dialogue between life and death»)¹⁰⁷. The interest towards such types of icons in Muscovy could be traced in the 16–17th centuries, later coming to the old-believers tradition. Interestingly enough, the popularization of this icon is more connected with the influence of the translated Western literature, and not with the «Life of Basil the New».¹⁰⁸

Materialy IX mizhnarodnoi konferentsii (A History of Religion in Ukraine. Proceedings of the IXth International Conference). — L'viv, 1999. — P. 125.

¹⁰³Some art historians regarded this scene exclusively from social point of view. For them, the image of death portrayed near the dying rich man indicated a direct critique against the upper strata of society. See, Zholtov'skyi P. *Ukrains'kyi zhvyvopys XVII–XVIII st.* — Pp. 288–289.

¹⁰⁴Nersesyan L. «O niekotorykh istochnikakh...». This icon is reproduced in, Garidis M. Op. cit. — Pl. 38. See, also Avinov A. *Collection of George Hann* // Carnegie Institute Catalogue, 1944. — 229.

¹⁰⁵Myslivec J. Pocatky didaktickych nametu w starem ruskem malirstvi, *Cestam Umeni. Sbornik praci pocte sedesatych narozenin Antinina Matejcka*. — Praha, 1949; Hamilton G. H. *The Art and Architecture of Russia*. — Harmondsworth, 1954 (The Pelican History of Art, 6). — 101–102; Retkovskaia L. S. O pojavlenii i razvitii kompozitsii «Otechestvo» v russkom iskusstvie XIV — nachala XVI vekov, *Drevnierusskoje iskusstvo XV—nachala XVI vekov* (An Old-Russian art of the 15th — beginning of the 16th c.). — Moskva, 1963. — P. 256. W. Los traces analogies between the icon «Jedinorodny syn» and the image of the Holy Trinity from the Torun Poliptich 1360, Los W. Program ikonograficzny kwatery wietej Trójcy Poliptyku Toruńskiego // *Sztuka Torunia i ziemi chełmińskiej (1233–1815). Materiały sesji naukowej zorganizowanej dla uczczenia jubileuszu 750-lecia Torunia w dniach 18–20 kwietnia 1983 r.* Pod. red. J. Poklewskiego. — Warszawa; Poznań; Toruń, 1986. — S. 132–134.

¹⁰⁶Both woodcuts are published in, F. Buslaev, *Istoricheskie ocherki russkoi narodnoi slovesnosti*, (Historical Sketches of the Russian Popular Literacy) 2 volumes. — Sankt-Peterburg, 1861; A. N. Sobolev, *Mifologia slovia. Zagrobny mir po drevnierusskim predstavleniam (literaturno-istoricheskii opyt issledovaniia drevnierusskogo narodnogo mirosozercaniia)* (Slavic Mythology. The Other World according to the Old-Russian Notions), serija «Mir kultury, istorii i filosofii». — Sankt-Peterburg, 2000. — P. 45, 63.

¹⁰⁷Among them — the icon reproduced in V. Briusova's album, *Russkaia zhivopis' 17 veka* (Russian painting of the 17th c.). — Moskva, 1984; from the Assumption Church in Tipnitsi, now in the collection of the Karelia Fine Arts Museum. The icon is enhanced by additional elements, such as the dead rowing the boat, «the righteous souls in the light place», «the sinful souls in the dark place».

¹⁰⁸Dmitrieva R. P. *Povesti o sporie zhizni i smerti* (Tales of the Dialogue between Life and Death). — Moskva; Leningrad, 1964; Briusova V. Op. cit. — Pp. 163–164.

Another peculiarity of the Ruthenian Last Judgments is the diversity of sinners depicted in the Hell. This phenomenon appears in the Russian iconographical tradition in a later period. In the 15th — 1st half of the 16th c. the majority of icons comprised only the river of fire and small boxes that indicate different types of sufferings. It is noteworthy is that the Hell at that time preserved its symbolic meaning in the Russian Orthodox tradition. The clusters symbolize the biblical wars that never die,¹⁰⁹ the fire that never goes out,¹¹⁰ the entire darkness,¹¹¹ endless cold, crying and gnashing teeth.¹¹² Later on the number of clusters was extended and filled with the inscribed figures of sinners.¹¹³ Miltiadis Garidis mentions a significant example from more recent times. On the Last Judgment fresco from the village of Tazevo near Kursk, Leo Tolstoi, excommunicated by the Russian Orthodox Church in 1901, is depicted among the sinners in Hell.¹¹⁴

On the contrary, the Ruthenian version of Hell already in the 15th — 1st half of the 16th c. was much more diverse. It is well known that both the Catholic and the Orthodox iconographies of Last Judgment address the problem of virtue and sin. Traditionally, in Catholic drawings the capital sins are depicted in front of the entrance to the mouth of Hell.¹¹⁵ For instance, in the Church of Strzelcy near Sobotka

(14th c.) one can find a Lucifer addressing a group of sinners among whom are, two non-identified persons with Jewish hats, a woman with the crown, two players, a usurer and a woman inn-keeper. Similar depictions are placed in the churches of Frombork, Bistrz, and Malujowce. There is also quite an extended list of sinners in Hell in the medieval Polish Catholic sermons.¹¹⁶ Images of woman innkeeper as well as suffering sinners are often depicted in 17–18th c. Polish woodcuts.¹¹⁷

St. Bylina underlines, that the list of sinners in Hell in the Polish Catholic medieval literature and arts partly coincides with the known index *prohibitiones a communione paschali* (sinners not allowed to receive the Easter communion).¹¹⁸ Whereas the Polish art historian Alicja Karłowska-Kamzowa asserts, that such depictions of sins in Hell derive from the theatrical performances on the Easter or Christmas Eves.¹¹⁹

It seems rather obvious that the picturesque figures on the Ruthenian Last Judgments bear the mark of the Catholic influence, while enhancing and adjusting it to the needs of local parishioners. This local color is interesting. One of the most vivid examples of such an adaptation is the icon in the church near Trushevich (the end of the 16th c.). There is a remarkable inscription near the figure of an innkeeper. She

¹⁰⁹Marc, 9:44.

¹¹⁰Marc, 9:43.

¹¹¹Matthew, 8:12.

¹¹²Matthew, 13:42; Matthew, 8:12.

¹¹³See multiple examples in, Tschizewskij D. *Paradies und Hölle. Russische Buchmalerei*. — Recklingshausen, 1957. — Pl. 10, 13, 16, 19, 21, 28, 29, 30, 31, 32, 33, 34, 35.

¹¹⁴Garidis M. Op. cit. — P. 104.

¹¹⁵Schmidt G. D. *The Iconography of the Mouth of Hell: Eighth-Century Britain to the Fifteenth Century*. — London, 1995; Davidson C., Seiler T., eds., *The iconography of Hell*, Early Drama, Art, and Music series; 17. — Kalamazoo, Mich., 1992; Gardiner E. *Medieval Visions of Heaven and Hell: a Sourcebook*; Garland medieval bibliographies; Vol. 11; Garland reference library of the humanities; Vol. 1256. — New York, 1993.

¹¹⁶Bylina St. *Człowiek i zaświaty. Wizje kar posmiertelnych w Polsce średniowiecznej*. — Warszawa, 1992. — S. 99–100. A Polish historian underlines, that ranging sins in Hell presupposed a mixture of social and ethic categories. Candidates for eternal sufferings were tested according to 7 deadly sins, 5 senses, as well as the famous list from the 1st Epistle to Corinthians, 6:9–10 (i. e., fornication, idolatry, adultery, effeminacy, theft, drunkenness, covetousness, falsehood, extortion) and to their social attribution. Idem. — P. 98.

According to J. Sokolski, the fullest and the best systematized old Polish literary account of the sinners' posthumous tortures is *Katownie więzienia piekielnego* («A Torture Chamber of the Hellish Prison»). This treatise belongs to the Jesuit Giovanni Battista Manni. It was translated from Italian in 1695 and included to the second edition of K. Bolesławiusz's poem *Przerazliwe echo... traby ostatecznej*. The text consists of 13 brief chapters enriched by a set of illustrations. Along with K. Bolesławiusz's work, this treatise got an immense popularity and several editions. See, Sokolski J. *Staropolskie zaświaty*. — Wrocław, 1990. — S. 140–147.

¹¹⁷Among the well known examples are the woodcut illustrations to the several editions of K. Bolesławiusz poem «*Przerazliwe echo traby ostatecznej*». For instance, the Krakow version from ca. 1700 contains illustrations to the hellish sufferings in accordance with five senses, seven deadly sins and the New Testament stratification of sufferings (cold, fire, darkness, and worms). A woman inn-keeper and various social categories are embodied, for example, in the 17th century Polish woodcut «*Lament roznego stanu ludzi nad umarłym kredytem*». T. Seweryn characterizes this figure as a pretentiously dressed young woman with flowers in hair. He quotes a satirical vagant poem from the mid-17th century that portrays such ladies recently coming from villages and seeking easy life. See, Seweryn T. *Staropolska grafika ludowa*. — Warszawa, 1956. — S. 86.

¹¹⁸Bylina St. Op. cit. — P. 99.

¹¹⁹Karłowska-Kamzowa A. *Malarstwo łaskie 1250–1450*. — Wrocław; Warszawa; Kraków; Gdańsk, 1979. — S. 18.

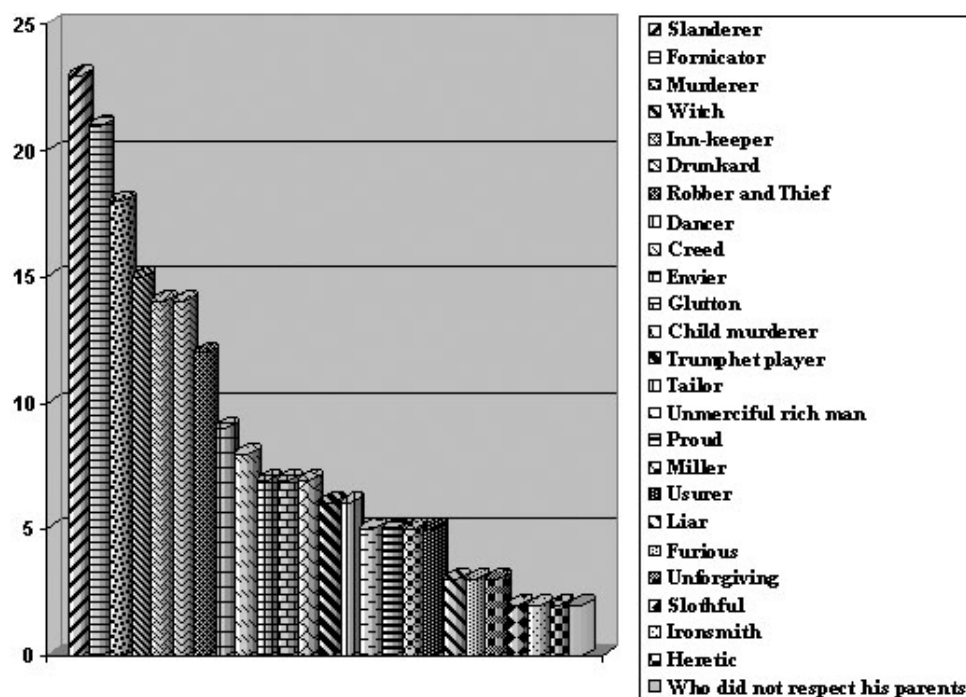


Figure 2. Categories of sinners, most frequently depicted in Hell

is placed in Hell not because of seducing others by the sin of drunkenness or gluttony, but because she did not pour enough wine into the cups of her clients.¹²⁰

On the basis of the preserved Ruthenian Last Judgment icons it is also feasible to define the heaviest transgressions. Figure 2 ranges the different categories of sinners in Hell. Interestingly enough, these are mostly social sins, reflecting not so much the «Western» influence, but rather popular perceptions. Musician, dancer, those who did not pay their servants, miller, tailor, goldsmith, and ironsmith were characters which parishioners met in their everyday life. This observation is partly confirmed by a comparison with similar Orthodox Last Judgment images from Transylvania. Christin Peters, an Oxford historian working on Early Modern Romanian and Moldavian iconography, suggests that torments of stereotypical sinners in Hell are rare features in Catholic Last Judgments in Transylvania, but they are features of Orthodox iconography in the churches of Hateg region. An exceptional example is the Sighisoara Catholic Church which tends to reflect a South German influences. Surprisingly enough, the damned on these images are represented by the same figures portrayed in the Rut-

henian samples. One can see in the Transylvanian Last Judgments the familiar images of a goldsmith, an ale seller, as well as the personifications of various vices.¹²¹ The same refers to the iconography of the 16–17th century Serbian Last Judgements. Here, among the sinners burning in internal fire, there is an entire gallery of those who incurred the odium of the peasants: usurers, incendiaries, robbers, false witnesses, those who encroach upon neighbour's lands, and familiar inn-keepers guilty of diluting their wine with water.¹²² In her study, Ch. Peters comes to a conclusion, that a particular emphasis on categories of sinners might be a sign of a close connection in the Orthodox iconography between sin and damnation. Dare we assume, that such conclusions refer to the Catholic-Orthodox relations exclusively in the Transylvanian region. In case of the 16–17th century Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth there are numerous examples with depiction of different types of torments in Hell according to the groups of sins. Besides the previously mentioned Catholic Last Judgment frescoes, there is another bright iconographical example, illustrating this observation. It comes from the parochial church in Malogoszcz (mid-17th century). The traditional iconographic structure is enriched

¹²⁰Similar inscriptions are placed on the icons from Lipie (1st half of the 17th c.) in the collection of the Sanok Historical Museum in Poland; and on the icon from Peremyshl region (16th — beginning of the 17th c.) hold at the National Museum in Kraków.

¹²¹Peters Ch. «Between Catholicism and Orthodoxy...» // *Proceedings of the Commission*. — Pp. 332–333.

¹²²Petkovic S. Op. cit. — P. 220

by the depiction of Mercy and sins. Several people, dressed in Polish national costumes with typical hairstyle, drinking wine, playing music, talking and dancing, represent the latter.¹²³

Quite often the declared condemnation was addressed directly to the wealthy believers. On several icons (like, for example on that from the Ostrozhskyj manor, 17th century) there is a depiction of «unmerciful rich men», who are taken by devils to Hell.¹²⁴ Evidently, the painters and those who commissioned the Last Judgment icons were looking for vices among their surrounding. Appropriately for a parish church, these warnings were addressed to the entire community, as well as to specified individuals within it. If one looks for a social critique on the Last Judgment paintings, it is worth paying attention to a particular detail. Besides individuals, recognizable by the church communities, in most cases neither nationally defined figures, nor the church hierarchs are depicted as perpetually torn in Hell. On the one hand, this lack of contemporary critique signifies that the Orthodox painters vacillated on whether to include all the non-Orthodox among the damned. On the other hand, it indicates a relative «resistance» of the Byzantine-rooted visual culture to anti-clerical manifestations.

Four icons, from Lukiv-Venecja (16th c.), Svidnik (17th c.), Ruska Bystra (mid-16th c.), and Topolia (17th c.) somehow refute this hypothesis. Each of them contains a figure of a clergyman, who either «did not teach his flock according to the Law», or «did not follow all the proper rituals». The Topolia icon provides a picture of two established persons, a tsar and a church figure (or just a monk). Ruska Bystra depicts a priest's wife (from the inscription it is not quite clear why she was condemned). In order to find the reason for these images on the Orthodox icons, it is necessary to check the provenance of all four copies. Dare we to assume, that the borderland position of the Slo-

vak region, from which all the icons derive, has determined a certain vulnerability to the Hussite movements previously so popular on the neighbouring territories. A comparable sample comes from the Catholic the Nativity of Mary Church in Picin (14th c.). Czech art historians mention among those depicted in Hell the figure of the Pope, who is pushed to Heggenna by devils. V. Svec traces stylistic similarities between this image and the later Hussite codices of the same provenance. Most of them concentrated upon the moral critique of the Papacy and church hierarchy, paying particular attention to the Communion sacrament.¹²⁵

Apparently, religious polemics did not have a decisive influence upon the Orthodox iconography. Speaking in more general terms, the Orthodox religious consciousness was unresponsive and immune to a critique of the Church leaders, both Catholic and Orthodox. Even when in case of the above mentioned Orthodox Last Judgements from presentday Slovakia, most of the depicted clergymen were parish priests, not the Church hierarchs. Undoubtedly, these priests were regarded as members of a local community, and well recognized figures. Whereas the Pope and other church leaders were perceived from an indifferent perspective, being representatives of a certain foreign milieu.

This feature is exceptionally evident in view of comparable Western images. It is enough to recall the well known Western European *dances macabres* or other *vanitas* images of that time. While tackling with the Polish examples, which seem almost habitual in this study, it is worth mentioning the doors from the Krakow Mary's Church old cemetery mortuary (2nd half of the 17th century). Representatives of different estates surround the figure of death. One of these lapsed is a person with the Pope's tiara, another with a cardinal cap, and a third one with the King's orb.¹²⁶ Such depictions were rather exceptional in

¹²³Michalczyk St. Sąd Ostateczny w Malogoszczy w aspekcie Piśma świętego // *Biuletyn Historii Sztuki*. — 3, rok 23. — Warszawa, 1961. — S. 297–299.

¹²⁴This element is also found on the icons from the villages of *Volosyanka* (Hajasd) (17th c.), now in the collection of the Budapest Museum of Ethnography; *Roztoka* (18th c.), Transcarpathian region, Church of the Representation of the Theotokos; *Lipie* (1st half of the 17th c.) in the collection of the Sanok Historical Museum in Poland; *Dobroslava* (2nd half of the 17th c.) from St. Paraskeva Church in Slovakia; Plavie (Skolyvschyna) (17th c.) in the storage of the L'viv National Museum.

¹²⁵Klis Cf. Zd. Op. cit. — Pp. 161–162. Recently a group of Czech art historians made research into the iconography of another Bohemian Last Judgement coming from the Prague city Church (1604). The particular feature of its iconographic structure is the absence of the Virgin. Art historians interpret this phenomenon as a Calvinist influence. See, Sronek M., Rohacek J., Danek P. Vaclav Trubka z Rovin — studie o mestanskem mecenatu v Rudolfske Praze // *Umeni*. — Vol. XLVII. — 1999. — S. 296–308.

¹²⁶Jasińska A. Drzwi z kostnicy dawnego cmentarza przy kościele Mariackim w Krakowie // *mierć w kulturze dawnej Polski*. — P. 107. For the extended study of the Polish Dance Macabre images, see, Nałęcz-Dobrowolski M. Tańce śmierci w polskiej sztuce // *Tygodnik Ilustrowany*. — 1924. — N 7. — S. 102–103; N 8. — S. 116–117; N 9. — S. 11, 168–170.

the Orthodox milieu of that time. Although a certain interest to the macabre images with anti-clerical intonations can be traced in the Ruthenian iconography from the 2nd half of the 17th century, and in most cases it related mostly to woodcuts that was undoubtedly connected with the Catholic influence. A curious example related to Church censorship, comes from a Kievan metropolitan Gregory Kremiennyskyi, who in 1774 noted in his resolutions journal: «On the choir of the Kievan St. Sophia Cathedral there is a Last Judgement fresco with a lot of indecent images and crowned people dressed in different ways. The Reverend metropolitan ordered painting over of all these figures and left only the naked people in darkness and fire».¹²⁷

In this context the question arises why neither the zeal of religious polemics, no macabre subjects were of interest for the Ruthenian iconographers until the 17th century? This problem relates as well to the idea of Purgatory. The general conclusion of this study is that there were no noticeable efforts to introduce this notion to iconographical structures, finds its support in the common opinion of the Ukrainian art historians. The majority of them are sure, that until the Zamoscie council in 1720 there was basically no difference between the Orthodox and Uniate visual interpretations of the Other World.¹²⁸ Most likely, the answer is hidden both in the specifically Orthodox attitude toward sin and the posthumous fate of the soul, as well as in the reference group to which this image system was addressed. For Eastern Christian tenets concerning sin, death and the Other World one must return to the Saint Fathers' teachings and later developments in theology and homiletics.¹²⁹ For the specific worldview of those who commissioned, painted and regarded these icons one must understand the artistic milieus

and iconographic centers that existed at that time in Ruthenian lands. More general question is, whether the 16–17th c. iconography can be a source basis for the historical study of religious mentality? The answer lies in the social and religious background of the painters and their commissioners.

Vasyly Ostroz'kyi, a religious polemicist, sadly noticed in his treatise, that there were just «a few iconographers who skillfully depicted the sacred images in a traditional form». In the new coming generation of painters Ostroz'kyi observed religious neglect, indifference to the depicted object.¹³⁰ No doubt, such connotations reflected changes in the artistic milieu, a new perception of an artist.

The 16–17th century Ruthenian iconographers mostly had urban background. Occasionally, they were clergymen, namely monks. Among the well known representatives of such painters was Stephan Lubenskyi, who created the iconostasis for the Kievan St. Mikhail Golden-Domed Monastery. In fact, the first known Ruthenian painters came from the clergy. These were Petro Rogatyn'skyi, who later has become a Kievan metropolitan, Gayl' — a Przemyśl' priest, Antony — a Kievan monk. Among the other 14–15th c. iconographers (in general, there are around ten of them known) there was also a chance of several clergymen. However, the majority of later artists, to repeat it once again, came from the cities.¹³¹

By the end of the 16th c. most artists did not suffer from restrictions regarding their confessional belonging. These were the remnants of the Jagiellonian tolerate policy concerning the Orthodox painting that did not regard them as heretical or stylistically foreign to the main artistic trends in the Polish-Lithuanian state. Several well known examples of the «Ruthenian style» in the Polish Catholic cathedrals as well as participation of the Catholic painters

¹²⁷Zholtovs'kyi Cf. P. M. Op. cit. — P. 285. Fascinatingly enough, although this prescription was fulfilled, on the preserved till nowadays St. Sophia fresco a painter has depicted the Church hierarchs in the lake of fire on the left hand of God. It became visible after restoration. The fresco is also peculiar for it is missing the Merciful Lust and tollbooths and an interesting depiction of Paradise as a map of Kiev. Besides that, the fresco is enriched by the illustration of the Noah Deluge. See, Zholtovs'kyi P. M. *Monumental'nyi zhyvopys na Ukraini XVII–XVIII st.* (Monumental Painting in Ukraine in the 17–18th c.). — Kyiv, 1988. — P. 42; P-ko V. K istorii Kievo-Sofijskago sobora // *Kievskaia starina*. — Vol. 93, no. 5–6. — Kiev, 1906. — P. 8–9; *Istoriia ukrains'koho mystectva* (A History of Ukrainian Art). — Vol. 3. — *Mystectvo 2 polovyny XVII–XVIII stolittia*. — Kyiv, 1968. — P. 182, ill. 139.

¹²⁸The analysis of the exceptional example of the anti-Uniate religious polemics in Ruthenian iconography is provided in, Janoch M., ks. *Unia Brzeska a malarstwo ikonowe x XVII wieku // Sztuka i dialog wyznań w XVI i XVII wieku*. — Pp. 399–415

¹²⁹See, for example, Berezhnaya L. Sin, Fear, and Death in the Catholic and Orthodox Sermons in the 16–17th Century Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth (An Attempt at Comparison) // *Etre Catholique — etre Orthodox — etre Protestant. Confessions et identites culturelles en Europe*. Sous la dir. de M. Derwich, M. Dmitriev. — Wrocław, 2002 (in press)

¹³⁰RIB, vol. 7. — Saint Petersburg, 1882. — S. 932–933.

¹³¹Zholtovs'kyi P. M. *Khudozhnie zhyttia na Ukraini v XVI–XVIII st.* (An artistic life in Ukraine in the 16–17th centuries). — Kyiv, 1983. — S. 48–53.

in the Orthodox churches' decoration reflected a relative freedom of artistic expression in the pre-Tredentine period.¹³²

However, the general development of city guilds did not ignore the artistic professions. The first painters' guild on the Eastern Polish borderlands was organized in 1596 in L'viv on the initiative of the Catholic archbishop Dmitri Solikowski. It turned to be an exclusively Catholic enterprise. The guild received a number of privileges, specifically, release from the city defense obligation, an exclusive right to produce images for churches as well as liturgical equipment for the funeral processions. Such privileges were also valid for the Rus'ky, Volyns'ky and Podils'ky vojevodships. Those painters, who did not enter this corporation, lived basically on the outskirts of the city. Since they were more numerous than their Catholic counterparts, in a certain way these were the iconographers who shaped the L'viv artistic image at the turn of the 16–17th c.¹³³ Surely, it was one of the reasons for the conflict situation, which appeared between the painters, gathered in the guild and the outsiders, the so-called «schismatics». According to the guild law, the Uniate painters had a right to enter the guild, but it was prohibited for Orthodox iconographers. The Przemyśl artistic guild consisted exclusively from the Roman Catholics. However, freelance iconographers in the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth could also enjoy the so-called «servitorial» privileges. These painters were considered to be the extraordinary talented artists, whose works were incomparable to the mediocre handicraft products. Only some of these painters were on the magnates' permanent service.

More insight into the professional life of Ruthenian iconographers is revealed in the study of a L'viv historian Volodymyr Aleksandrovych. He thoroughly investigated the main

archival data concerning the life histories of three iconographers from the end of the 16th century: a Ruthenian Lavrin Pukhalski, an Armenian Pavlo Bogush, and a Pole Wojciech Stefanowski. All of them belonged to the L'viv artistic guild. Alexandrovich introduced new facts in their biographies, at the same time providing an evaluation of their artistic heritage. Three painters represent in a certain way three main directions of Ruthenian art at the end of the 16th century. Pukhalski's icons embodied the medieval tradition, which by that time, according to Alexandrovych, was in flux. At the same time, a Ukrainian historian argues that exactly at the end of the 16th century there was a shift in «artistic priority» from Przemyśl to L'viv. Study of the Pavlo Bogush artistic heritage ascertained that he belonged to the Western European oriented painters, representatives of the L'viv based Armenian art. Bogush happened to be a leader of the non-Catholic painters struggling for equality with the L'viv guild status. Wojciech Stefanowski is noticeable for his secular portrait paintings.¹³⁴ This artist was one of a few well doing free-lanced masters, who enjoyed the «servitorial» privileges, independent from guild restrictions.¹³⁵

However, the average social status of iconographers was quite low. The Polish magnates, nobility and the Cossack starshina considered painters to be the ordinary artisans.¹³⁶ An intangible proof for such an attitude can be taken from a short poem (17th c.):

We all have gathered here,
Not just the average people, all the artisans,
The copyists, the painters,
The blacksmiths, the metal workers,
The musicians, the bell ringers,
The tailors, the shopkeepers.¹³⁷

¹³²Idem. — Pp. 55–59.

¹³³Mańkowski T. *Lwowski cech malarzy w XVI–XVII w.* — Lwów, 1936. — Table 3. According to M. Golubets, there were around 75 Ruthenian painters who were not the members of the L'viv guild at the turn of the 16–17th centuries, Golubets M. *Ukrains'kie malarstvo XVI–XVII st. pid pokrovom Stavropigii // Zbirnyk L'vivs'koi Stavropigii.* — Vol. 1. — L'viv, 1921. — P. 255. The official Polish reaction to the edicts of the Tredentine council vis-à-vis art was noted on the Krakow Council 1621. It issued ten statutes, denoting which iconographical depictions had to be eliminated from church interiors. The third statute specified what kind of artefacts could employ dogmatic errors. As an example the Council used the subject of Annunciation, when Jesus as a Child descends from Heaven to Mary's bosom. In such a depiction the Catholic theologians discovered an Orthodox as well as the Valentine heresy's (2nd c.) influences. See, Pasierb J. *St. Miasto na górze.* — Pelplin, 2000. — S. 234–236.

¹³⁴Aleksandrovych V. *L'vivsk'ki maliari kintsia XVI stolittia* (L'viv painters from the end of the 16th c.). — L'viv, 1998.

¹³⁵Zholtovs'kyi P. M. *Khudozhnie zhyttia.* — P. 59.

¹³⁶P. Zholtovs'kyi underlines that usually the painters were the last to be mentioned in the list of the servants and those who accompanied the nobles and the Church hierarchs in their trips. More information about the painters' material and social status can be taken from the contract agreements, normally signed between an iconographer and his commissioners (the latter were represented either by church communities, Cossack starshina or by the noblemen). Until the mid-18th century iconographers usually got their payment in natural products. Idem. — P. 60–61.

¹³⁷Cf. idem. — P. 60

The list of artisans and masters starts from the iconographers. One can assume that these were the very professionals who decorated the provincial church iconostases; some of them were the authors of the analyzed Last Judgments. The origin, social behavior, tastes and artistic manner brought these painters close to the popular culture which impact is also reflected in style, characteristic to these icons. There were many ways to express this affiliation. Herein are just a few the most vivid examples.

It is worth mentioning, that on the majority of the Ruthenian Last Judgments the figures of sinners in Hell are deprived of tragic tension. In most cases their faces do not reflect any condition of pain, neither unbearable sufferings. These often schematically drawn figures produce an indifferent impression, although the methods of their punishment could make a viewer trembling. This unconcerned and at the same time satirical stylistics preserved in the Ruthenian Last Judgment iconography approximately until the mid-17th century. The baroque macabre influence brought into the Orthodox iconography a certain fascination with horrifying subjects.¹³⁸ It referred to the depiction of sinners as well as to the figures of their torturers.

Devils in the Ruthenian as well as Russian Last Judgments in course of time got anthropomorphic or zoomorphic features, they grew in size and attained fearful appearance. M. Garidis affirms, that such a tendency reflected two tendencies, one, connected with the 16th c. Crete iconography influence, another, related to eschatological fears widely spread in popular culture.¹³⁹ At the same time, a lot of the Ruthenian Last Judgments preserved an elaborated stylistic system in which the dark forces are represented as small black demons, whose comic silhouettes could provoke anything but fear.¹⁴⁰ Demons behave themselves as human-like personages, living their own parallel life,

following a distinct path. These figures are joking, provoking, plotting, pandering, and conspiring. Obviously, demons' images are deprived of fearful angry force; they are full of grotesque comic features. A long-nosed devil is whispering something to an inn-keeper (maybe again he asked her to cheat her clients), another group of dark demons with comic enthusiasm tug a crowd of bound by lance sinners to Hell. Devils are sometimes depicted as autocephalous figures, but more often as funny characters with pig's tails and pipes in mouths. They harness the «unmerciful rich men» to the plough and push with long whips the smokers to Hegenna. Demons remind capricious children who in disorder are entertaining themselves in various ways, like, for example, hanging over the scales where the good deeds and sins are weighted. One can assume that these depictions also comprised the popular perceptions that were most often associated with satirical subjects. Death and the comic figures of devils on the Ruthenian Last Judgments reminded very much the images from the 17–18th c. numerous Easter and Christmas poems-«orations».

For the Ukrainian literary critic Leonid Makhnovets, the majority of these poems were of the Eastern Polish borderlands provenance.¹⁴¹ Their authors were called *mir-katchi* (from the greeting *mir vam* that literally means «peace to you», the first words of a guest when entering a house). These were the wondering students who during the holidays were traveling around to gain money and food, becoming teachers, «orators», they could perform intermedies or dialogues. A declamation «Verses on Christmas» contains a dialogue in which 24 students are discussing how to conquer death. One of them suggested to pour buckwheat to her mouth and to run away quickly. Another one preferred to cook «the biggest

¹³⁸Of course, the «Westernization» of the Ruthenian iconography was not so radical in comparison to, say, Moldavian variants. Regarding the Last Judgments, the most eloquent and known example of such an impact is the fresco from Voronets Monastery (17th c.). P. M. Zholtovs'kyi also identifies two periods in the formation of the early modern Ruthenian Last Judgment iconography, the 16th — 1st half of the 17th c., and the 2nd half of the 17–18th c. However, the Ukrainian art historian is tended to connect the second phase exclusively with popular art and folk motives. Zholtovs'kyi P. M. *Ukrains'kyi zhyvopys XVII–XVIII st.* — P. 115.

¹³⁹Garidis M. Op. cit. — Pp. 44–45.

¹⁴⁰This feature is particular not only to the Ruthenian Last Judgment images, but also to the whole Early Modern East European eschatological tradition. In particular it refers to the Polish Catholic depictions. According to some historians, the Church teachings in these lands in treating the problems of eternal punishment tended to avoid the detailed depictions of hellish horrors that could force fear and despair. See, Bylina St. *Człowiek i zaświaty. Wizje kar pośmiertelnych w Polsce średniowiecznej.* — Warszawa, 1992. — S. 167; Idem. «L'Enfer en Pologne médiévale (XIVe–XVe s.)» // *Annales E. S. C.* — No. 5. — 1987; Geremek B. *Człowiek i grzech. Trzy książki o kulturze średniowiecznej* // *Znak.* — No. 1. — 1983. — S. 94–99.

¹⁴¹Makhnovets L. *Gumor i satyra nashych predkiv* // *Davnij ukrains'kyi humor i satyra* (Old-Ukrainian Humor and Satire). — Kyiv, 1959. — S. 20.

cake» and to beg her mercy. Meanwhile the others resolved that the best way is to hold a pious life and thus to reach Heaven.¹⁴² All the Christmas poems-«orations» glorify the idea of conquering death, the fight which outcome is determined only by Christ. Only upon His will, death

a cruel witch,
was crooked as an arc;
her back was broken,
and all her armor
was swept away like a cobweb.

The main victory came with Resurrection that opened a way to the better life:

The fear is lost,
The path to Paradise
Is now open.¹⁴³

The genre of these poems (otherwise called «travesties», or poems turned upside down, L. Makhnovets) allowed enriching the image of death with comic and grotesque features, mocking and kidding on its weakness in front of the Divine forces. It is noticeable that in all the Easter and Christmas satirical poems this personage is depicted along with devil defeated by Christ. Interestingly enough, death can be literally driven into corner,

A hussy death,
Turns here and there,
Flaps her bones
And runs to a corner.¹⁴⁴

It worth keeping in mind that «highly sophisticated religious ideas were preserved in these poems, instead of the wild image system of its language».¹⁴⁵ And the all the way round. The «oration» poems, i. e., the Christian dogmas rendered in folkloric form (otherwise call «the primitive», L. Tananaeva¹⁴⁶) promoted the popularization of the idea of defeated death in the world which is totally turned upside down, where a fear becomes the other side of laugh.

* * *

This research adopted mainly the analysis of the Ruthenian Last Judgments' structural elements. It was concentrated basically on the comparative examination of these several fragments with the analogous subjects in the Russian and the Polish Catholic Second Coming iconography. This approach allowed to reveal the particular for the 16–17th c. Ruthenian iconography artistic interpretations. Besides, it permitted to make more general conclusions about the perception of theological concepts in the religious consciousness of the Orthodox population in the eastern Polish borderlands.

In sum, these conclusions can be arranged as follows:

1. The problems of national and religious consciousness did not have a direct influence on the Last Judgments' iconographical development. For example, the so-called «condemned peoples», which for the first glance had to represent all the non-Orthodox neighboring surroundings, in fact were the evangelical symbols of unavoidable common Tribunal. Unfortunately, the conducted analysis did not allow to make assumptions on the character of religious and national tolerance in the 16–17th c. Ruthenian Orthodox community. However, some initial conclusions can be made. Confessional and national debates quite rarely interfered into the Orthodox Last Judgment iconography as well as the 16th c. Polish literary sources, which interpreted the notion of the «condemned peoples».

2. The problem of the Otherworldly topography in this study was principally limited to the question of Purgatory. The concept of a «third place» besides Paradise and Hell was regarded in this analysis in more general context of religious polemics about the Brest Union 1596 that emerged in these territories after a new Uniate church came into being. Three main elements of the Last Judgment iconography that were often interpreted in religious debates and later historiography as the potential prototypes of the imaginable «intermediate place» with cleansing functions were the subject of inves-

¹⁴²Cf. *Istoriia ukrains'koi literatury* (A History of Ukrainian Literature). — S. 329.

¹⁴³Christmas poems, Bilets'kyi O., ed. *Khrestomatiia davnioi Ukrain's'koi literatury* (A Source-book of the Old-Ukrainian Literature). — Kyiv, 1949. — S. 367.

¹⁴⁴Makhnovets L. «Gumor i satyra nashych predkiv» // *Davnij ukrains'kyi humor i satyra*. — S. 226.

¹⁴⁵Hrytsai Cf. M. *Davnia Ukrain's'ka poezii. Rol' fol'kloru u formuvanni obraznogo myslennia ukrains'kykh poetiv XVII–XVIII st.* (The Old-Ukrainian Literature. The Folklore's Role in the Shaping of the Ukrainian Poets' Imaginary in the XVI–XVIII centuries). — Kyiv, 1972. — S. 100.

¹⁴⁶Tananaeva L. «O nizovykh formakh v iskusstve Vostochnoi Ievropy v epohu barokko (XVII–XVIII v.), *Primitiv i iego mesto v khudozhestvennoy kulturi Novogo i Novejshego vremeni* (The Place of Primitive in Modern and Contemporary Culture). — Moscow, 1983. — S. 32.

Categories mentioned only once:

Goldsmith	Blasphemer
Who did not pay his servants	Smoker
Who did not attend Church services	Tobacco merchant
Desperate	Who was singing wrong

TABLE 1. List of the Ruthenian Last Judgment icons and polichromes used for statistical analysis

No	Provenance	Type of icon, location, dating, painter
1.	Chotyniec	Polichrome, Church of the Nativity of the Theotokos, 1735 (Poland)
2.	Dobroslava	Icon on wood (central part is missing), restored, Church of St. Paraskeva, 2 nd half of the 17th century (Slovakia)
3.	Dolyna	Painter — master Dymytrii, icon on wood, 1560s, at the permanent exhibition of the L'viv National Museum (Ukraine)
4.	Kosice	Painter — Pavlo from Muszyna, probably from the village church of Jedlinka, 1650s, East Slovakian Museum (Slovakia)
5.	Kozhany	Tempera on canvas, 1790s, Church of Our Lord's Encounter (Slovakia)
6.	Krakow	Icon, tempera on wood, 16th — beginning of the 17th century, National Museum of Krakow (Poland)
7.	Lanckut	Church in Korytniki, two fragments, end of the 16th century (Poland)
8.	Lipie	Tempera on board, Church of the Synaxis of the Theotokos, 1st half of the 17th century, Historical Museum of Sanok (Poland)
9.	Lukov-Venecia	Church of SS. Cosmas and Damian, icon on wood, end of the 16th century (Slovakia)
10.	Mala Horozhanka	Icon, 16 — early 17th c., at the permanent exposition of the Oles'ko Castle Museum, branch of the L'viv Art Gallery (Ukraine)
11.	Moldavs'ko	Painter — Shestakovych, Marko Domazhyrsky, icon on wood, 1720, in the storage of the L'viv National Museum (Ukraine)
12.	Mshanets	Icon on wood, 15th century, at the permanent exhibition of the L'viv National Museum (Ukraine)
13.	Pashova	Tempera on board, only a central part is preserved, Church of the Synaxis of the Theotokos, 16th century, Museum of Popular Construction in Sanok (Poland)
14.	Plavie	Icon, tempera on board, 17th century, in the storage of the L'viv National Museum (Ukraine)
15.	Pohorilivka	Icon on canvas, 18th century, Chernivtsi Region Fine Arts Museum (Ukraine)
16.	Polana	Icon, tempera and gold on wood, partly on canvas, end of the 15th century, Church of St. Nicholas, National Museum of Krakow (Poland)
17.	Przemysl	Tempera on wood, 16th century, in the storage of the National Museum of the Przemysl Land (Poland)
18.	Roztoka	Icon, Church of the Representation of the Theotokos, Transcarpathian region, (Ukraine) 18th century
19.	Ruska Bystra	Icon on wood, right fragment preserved, Church of St. Nikolas, mid-16th century, Museum of Ukrainian-Rysin Culture, Svidnik (Slovakia)
20.	Stanylia	Icon on wood, 2 nd half of the 16th century, at the permanent exhibition of the L'viv National Museum (Ukraine)
21.	Svidnik	Tempera on wood, 17th century, Museum of Ukrainian-Rysin Culture, Svidnik (Slovakia)
22.	Vanivka	Icon on wood, the lowest tier is missing, 15th century, in the storage of the L'viv National Museum (Ukraine)
23.	Vil'shanytsia	Church of St. George, icon, tempera on board, 1 st half of the 16th century, in the storage of the L'viv National Museum (Ukraine)
24.	Volosianka (Hajasd)	Icon on wood, 17th century, in storage of Budapest Museum of Ethnography (Hungary)
25.	Vovche	Icon on wood, 2 nd half of the 16th century, in the storage of the L'viv National Museum (Ukraine)

tigation. In course of the comparative and statistical analysis it became clear that neither the space around the figure of the Merciful Lust, nor the serpent (or the ladder) of the tol-booths, not even the Abraham Bosom presumed the cleansing procedures in the afterlife. More that that, the historiographical idea of the particular Ruthenian, distinctive from Russian, iconographical interpretation of the purgatorial place was also objected. In this issue the Ruthenian painters followed the path of the Orthodox concept of the afterlife.

3. The last conclusion is connected with the topics that were under the direct influence

of the Western *vanitas* style. Some images of death and the figures of numerous sinners depicted in Hell bear the marks of the Catholic macabre symbolics. At the same time, another tradition is obviously traceable. Although the majority of the iconographers were of urban origin, their very artistic manner and the declared satirical pathos clearly indicate the ambiguous impact of the popular culture on the Last Judgment iconography. This influence together with the particular Orthodox attitude to death and posthumous sufferings manifested in the absence of the horrifying and frightening macabre symbols on many of these icons.