



The President and Fellows of Harvard College

Imago hostis: Friends and Foes in Ruthenian and Russian Printmaking
(Mid-Seventeenth—Beginning of the Eighteenth Centuries)

Author(s): Liliya Berezhnaya

Source: *Harvard Ukrainian Studies*, Vol. 31, No. 1/4, POLTAVA 1709: THE BATTLE AND THE MYTH (2009-2010), pp. 309-354

Published by: [Harvard Ukrainian Research Institute](#)

Stable URL: <http://www.jstor.org/stable/41756507>

Accessed: 14-04-2015 01:17 UTC

REFERENCES

Linked references are available on JSTOR for this article:

http://www.jstor.org/stable/41756507?seq=1&cid=pdf-reference#references_tab_contents

You may need to log in to JSTOR to access the linked references.

Your use of the JSTOR archive indicates your acceptance of the Terms & Conditions of Use, available at <http://www.jstor.org/page/info/about/policies/terms.jsp>

JSTOR is a not-for-profit service that helps scholars, researchers, and students discover, use, and build upon a wide range of content in a trusted digital archive. We use information technology and tools to increase productivity and facilitate new forms of scholarship. For more information about JSTOR, please contact support@jstor.org.



Harvard Ukrainian Research Institute and The President and Fellows of Harvard College are collaborating with JSTOR to digitize, preserve and extend access to *Harvard Ukrainian Studies*.

<http://www.jstor.org>

Imago hostis: Friends and Foes in Ruthenian and
Russian Printmaking (Mid-Seventeenth–Beginning
of the Eighteenth Centuries)

LILIYA BEREZHNYAYA

To Create an Enemy

Start with an empty canvas
Sketch in broad outline the forms of
men, women, and children....

Fill in the background with malignant
figures from ancient nightmares – devils
demons, myrmidons of evil.

When your icon of the enemy is complete
you will be able to kill without guilt,
slaughter without shame.

The thing you destroy will have become
merely an enemy of God, an impediment
to the sacred dialectic of history.

Sam Keen (1986)

NOT A SINGLE WAR OCCURS without enemy image construction. In the social sciences, particularly psychology, this process is called “enmification,”¹ which presumes stereotyping, selective perception,² mirror imaging of the enemy,³ dehumanization, or causal attribution.⁴ These processes are inherent in human relations in general, but wartime accelerates their polarization.⁵

The wars against the Poles, Turks, and Swedes that Muscovy and, later, the Russian Empire waged at the turn of the seventeenth century were no exception to the case.⁶ Russia’s transformation into an empire also involved rapid changes in the meanings attributed to the categories of “friends,” “foes,” and “others.”

It is difficult to overestimate Ruthenian (i.e., Ukrainian and Belarusian)

influences on these processes. The presence of Ruthenians in the courts of the Muscovite (Russian) monarchs and in Muscovite monasteries has long been a subject of scholarly investigation.⁷ Ruthenian monks were among the most active propagators of the new imagery in Russian culture, and were thus also responsible for the construction of the image of an enemy. The Battle of Poltava and its celebration in the Russian Empire was, perhaps, the culminating point of the enmification of the Ruthenian “other,” which was methodically developed with the help of church hierarchs of Ruthenian origin. But, in the case of early modern Ruthenian-Muscovite relations, the history of the enmification was not simply a consequence of the victory over Hetman Ivan Mazepa, a defeated “turncoat.” According to David Frick, the polarization of the Ruthenian elites into “us” and “them,” and of Ruthenians as “friends” and “foes” in the Russian Empire, had a long prehistory of “misinterpretations, misunderstandings, and silences” in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries.⁸

During the Petrine era the visual arts played a significant role in this process of enmification.⁹ Especially popular were engravings that were easy to reproduce and could be quickly disseminated. Again, as in the case of the written tradition, Ruthenian engravers had a huge impact on the formation of Russian imperial printmaking. However, the Ruthenian case cannot be reduced to the Muscovite-Ruthenian cultural exchange. At least two cultural traditions, Polish and Tatar-Turkish, influenced the formation and development of Ruthenian iconographic imagery, which presumed not only mutual artistic influences, but also blurred the boundaries between the categories of “us” and “them” and “friends” and “enemies.”

This paper analyzes the function and changing meaning of the enemy image in the Ruthenian and Muscovite printmaking traditions. It covers the period from the mid-seventeenth century to the early eighteenth, ending with the post-Poltava celebrations as a watershed marking the enmification of Mazepa’s followers in Russian graphic art. Images of the “self” and the “other,” and thus historical stereotypes and their function, are of particular interest here, as well as the processes of mutual influences and transference.

The major questions to be addressed are the following:

- (1) Who “ordered” such images and who were the major “players” in their construction?
- (2) What was the relationship between literary and visual images in the case of book illustrations?
- (3) How was the “enemy” image related to that of the “stranger,” the “other,” or the “self”?
- (4) What artistic means were used to reflect the “enmity” of an image?

Owing to a certain research gap in the field, this paper focuses mostly on Ruthenian materials. Only the last part of the article is devoted to Russian

engravings during the Petrine period, focusing on Ruthenian influences and post-Poltava political imagery.

*

According to Nataliia Iakovenko, the image of the “other” in fifteenth- and sixteenth-century Ruthenian literary sources refers mostly to the “confessional other”: Poles, Turks, Tatars, as well as Gypsies and Jews. She quotes a passage from the writings of the famous Ruthenian Orthodox polemicist Ivan Vyshens’kyi, who in 1588 compared the “land of the Liakhs” [Poles] to the kingdom of evil and unbelief.¹⁰

Such allegories survived until the early seventeenth century. Social turmoil and military confrontations added fresh nuances to the image of the “other.” According to Iakovenko, ethnic criteria now determined the face of a foreigner (and sometimes an enemy). One of the most revealing examples comes from the Khmel’nyts’kyi Uprising of 1648, which was waged under the slogan: “Do not leave a single Liakh alive, because sooner human tongues will turn upside down than the Liakhs will rule over us ever again.”¹¹

At the beginning of the seventeenth century Kyivan Orthodox hierarchs used similar phraseology to describe relations with the Turks and Tatars. But in contrast to anti-Polish rhetoric, the anti-Turkish variant gained particular importance after 1621, when Theophanes, the patriarch of Jerusalem, consecrated new Orthodox hierarchy. The ceremony took place with the active support of the Zaporozhian Cossacks led by Hetman Petro Konashevych Sahaidachnyi. Theophanes also blessed the Cossacks for their war against the Ottoman Turks. Thereafter, some Kyivan Orthodox hierarchs came to regard the Ukrainian Cossacks as warriors for the faith and protectors against Tatar and Turkish raids.¹² Iov Borets’kyi wrote, for example, that “God has given us the Cossacks..., like lightning and thunder, to threaten and destroy the heathen Turks and Tatars.”¹³

The changes in the Kyivan Orthodox hierarchs’ rhetoric found their reflection in engravings of the time. In the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries non-Orthodox ethnic groups were mostly portrayed in the context of biblical history. They did not bear any specific features that could attest to negation or biased attribution. The only characteristic that allowed for ethnic or religious attribution of these groups in woodcuts was clothing. Jews are clearly identified by this criterion¹⁴ (fig. 1; all figures are found at the end of this article), whereas Poles were not a clear-cut case, as they could be easily mistaken for Orthodox Ruthenians.¹⁵

This period also marked the development of the iconographic tradition that glorified the Cossacks’ heroic deeds, particularly their campaigns against the Turks. In the only known portrait of Sahaidachnyi, the Cossack hetman

is depicted as a knight, a defender of Christians.¹⁶ Another engraving shows a groups of Cossacks attacking the Turkish port of Kefe (Caffa; current name: Feodosiia) on the Black Sea (fig. 2).¹⁷ However, both of these engravings lack enemy images.

By the end of the seventeenth century the situation had changed. Ruthenian printmaking now visually represented enemies, most often the Turks and Tatars. Ruthenian engravings depicting “others”—not only enemies, but also strangers, foreigners, and allies—fall into four categories:

- (1) scenes depicting a battle between heavenly forces and evil powers (represented as devils, sectarians, or personified sins in general);
- (2) battle scenes, in which Christian warriors defeat Muslims;
- (3) images of other peoples, without any negative or biased connotations;
- (4) images of enemies of the common Ruthenian-Muscovite front.

ENEMIES AS DEMONS AND SINNERS

The first group is comprised of images that illustrate the idea of the struggle for the human soul between the forces of good and evil. The purpose of these images is to show the apocalyptic character of this battle, with God and the devil as the main actors. The enemies of God (and humans) are portrayed as demonic figures, serpents, or dragons. Defeat is inevitable, as their forces are weak. This is clearly evident in one of the illustrations to the 1674 Kyiv edition of *Akafisty i...mol'by...* (The Book of Akathists and Prayers), which depicts the victory of the Synaxis of the Archangel Michael over the seven-headed dragon. The engraving is accompanied by an inscription, a prayer to “defeat all our fierce enemies (*lutya vragi*).”¹⁸

Perhaps the fullest reflection of this duel may be found in images of the Last Judgment. Engravings illustrating this theme were not as widespread in Ruthenian culture as they were in the icons, frescoes, and murals that were prevalent in the Carpathian basin.¹⁹ Several Last Judgment woodcuts portray demons, the original enemies of humanity, battling with angels in reduced (compared to icons) form. One engraving, from the *Triod' postnaia* (1664), was executed by Vasył' Ushakevych, who was associated with the Lviv Dormition Brotherhood. His woodcut depicts devils as small figures pushing sinners in a fiery stream toward the jaws of hell (fig. 3). One devil is playing infernal music on a trumpet. The sinners are clearly coupled with the devils, thus forming the group opposing the heavenly forces. In the sinners' group a bishop and a rich nobleman are identifiable by their costumes. Greeting them at the mouth of hell is Satan, who holds the soul of Judas.²⁰

The idea of devils and sinners united in a battle with the righteous has a long tradition in Ruthenian book illustration. Some of the earliest images are the

miniatures embellishing the Kyivan Psalter (1397). One shows an angel slicing off the “horns of sinners” with a sword.²¹ Several late seventeenth- and early eighteenth-century editions of the Kyivan Cave Monastery *Paterik* contain illustrations picturing demons standing in front of the monastery’s Theotokos icon, urging Sergius to hide money. At the same time an angel is plunging a spear into Sergius (Master Illia, Kyiv, 1661). In Leontii Tarasevych’s version (1702) an angel brandishes a sword above Sergius’s head.²² The enemy has the face of an awful demon or a frightened sinner (figs. 4, 5).

The same imagery dominates an earlier work by Tarasevych entitled *Teza Olekhnovycha* (Olekhnovych’s Thesis), which was published in Vilnius (1688–89).²³ Rafael Olekhnovych submitted a dissertation on the Marian cult to be defended at the Vilnius Academy. Tarasevych created an etching aimed at demonstrating the inconsistency of all anti-Marian theological arguments. In the center of the composition is the Virgin Mary surrounded by angels’ shields, on which are inscribed the names of the Church Fathers. Below the Virgin’s feet is the figure of Archangel Michael, who is using a sword to push a devil (represented as a dragon) out of the clouds. There are two other groups of enemies attacking the heavenly host from all sides. Various heretics and sectarians, identified by their inscriptions, shoot arrows into the sky. Their weapons, transformed in flight into theological phrases, are being crushed by the angel’s shields. The heretics and sectarians are portrayed as terrible chimerical monsters, some of which have animal heads (fig. 6). There are no nationalities pictured here; the issue is all about faith.

In like manner, the Kyivan etching *Napad hrishnykiv na kovcheh pravednykiv* (Sinners Attacking the Ark of the Covenant, 1760s)²⁴ (as well as *Tserkov voiovychnya* [Ecclesia militans])²⁵ illustrates the idea of the confrontation between good and evil in world history (fig. 7). In this etching the enemies, throwing spears at the ship of the righteous led by Christ, are identified by various types of clothing and facial features. On the left side of the composition is the Whore of Babylon sitting on a many-headed dragon; also pictured are images of hostile knights aiming their weapons at the ship. Their ethnic and religious affiliation is difficult to ascertain. The sinners grouped in the foreground are marked with inscriptions and are clearly denoted by their clothing. These are the figures of Luther, Calvin, Arius, Muslims, Jews, a Catholic bishop and a Catholic monk (possibly a Uniate), and an unknown schismatic in the center of the composition.

In their recent study of the devil and sinner semiotic in Old Rus’ iconography, Dmitri Antonov and Mikhail Maizulis define several major visual “markers” that signified the enemy image. These could be the grey color of faces, sharp helmets, angelic-like creatures without nimbus, but mostly fiery hairs. The last feature, sometimes in a form of a hair tuft or helmet, is presented as the most characteristic demonic attribution.²⁶

Such depictions are also found in Ruthenian engravings, with some demons portrayed with their hair standing on end. Also typical are figures of winged devils-eidolons, which are known also in the Byzantine tradition.²⁷ But more often, apparently under the influence of Catholic iconography, one finds the images of zoomorphic demons, with bat wings, animal heads, chicken-like pads, horns, and so on. The same characteristics were also often applied to the figures of sinners and heretics, and such figures are marked either with inscriptions and typical cloths or presented as zoomorphic figures. Interestingly, in the Russian tradition zoomorphic images of sinners are encountered rather late and found mostly in hell scenes from the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries.²⁸ In Ruthenian engravings sinners are grouped according to their religious affiliation. This feature, together with the association of enemies with demons, constitutes the main visualization principle in the first category of engravings.²⁹

TURKS AND TATARS AS ENEMIES

The second group of pictures consists of battle-scene engravings from the late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries, in which the Turks are unmistakably depicted as the foes of Christian warriors (either Orthodox Zaporozhian Cossacks or Christians in general).³⁰ These include *Osada Chyhyryna* (The Siege of Chyhyryn) from the *Chronicle of Samiilo Velychko*;³¹ *Vziattia turets'kykh fortets' 1695–1696 rokiv* (The Conquest of the Turkish Fortresses in 1695–1696), Leontii Tarasevych's illustration to Petro Terlets'kyi's panegyric, *Slava Sheremeti* (Sheremet's Glory, 1695);³² and the engraving *Khotyns'ka bytva* (The Battle of Khotyn) by Lavrentii Krshchonovych (Laurent Krzczonowicz; 1673).³³ In most of these images the Christian host, protected by divine might, attains a glorious victory over the Turkish armies. Thus, state and Christian symbols, found on the military flags or in the heavens, the upper tier of the universe, are prominently featured in these engravings.

One of the best known examples in this group, which is nonetheless set apart from the rest, is Nykodym Zubryts'kyi's copperplate *Obloha Pochaïvs'koï Lavry 1675 r.* (The Siege of the Pochaïv Lavra in 1675; executed in 1704) (fig. 8).³⁴ This image, reproduced several times throughout the eighteenth century, depicts the miraculous liberation of the famous Orthodox monastery from the Turkish siege. According to legend, the appearance of the Theotokos and Saint Hiob of Pochaïv in the skies directly above the Lavra frightened the Turks so much that they instantly retreated. The Turks, who are identified by their clothing, are depicted as a demoralized army annihilated by the heavenly host (angels and archangels). These scenes are located in the foreground, thus highlighting the opposition between the Turkish aggressors and heavenly

protectors. No Orthodox warriors are pictured (historically correct), while the Pochaiv monks are depicted schematically in the background.

ENEMIES AS STRANGERS

This type of battle picture, which enjoyed popularity during periods of the Ottoman threat in early modern European culture,³⁵ was marked by particular overtones in the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth. The seventeenth-century Ukrainian Cossack wars found little reflection in contemporary Ruthenian printmaking. Instead, early modern Ruthenian Orthodox iconography features a variety of *Pokrova* icons (the Orthodox version of the Roman Catholic *Mater Misericordiae*), in which one can find either the Russian tsar, the Polish Catholic king, or even the Zaporozhian Cossacks under the mantle of the Theotokos.³⁶ Thus, it is not at all strange that there are only a few seventeenth- and eighteenth-century Ruthenian engravings in which Polish Catholics are visualized as enemies.³⁷

One such image is the famous frontispiece to *Mech dukhovnyi* (The Spiritual Sword, 1666) by Lazar Baranovych, who dedicated his collection of sermons to Tsar Aleksei Mikhailovich. The illustration depicts a battle between the forces of Orthodoxy and the serpent, Satan. The lower part of the engraving shows two ships at sea, one filled with the righteous led by Jesus; the other ship, filled with sinners, is carried by the horned Antichrist. The “hostile ship” is defeated, breaking under the weight of the Psalm quotations (fig. 9). Baranovych identifies the Polish king, Jan II Kazimierz Vasa, as the main enemy of the Orthodox and compares him to the apocalyptic serpent. The identification of the enemy as the Polish Catholic king is not obvious in this engraving. But the visual reference to the tsar as the righteous ruler, and Prince Volodimer as his forefather (the theme of the second illustration in the book), may be considered as a complement to Baranovych’s argument about the king being the persecutor of the Orthodox.³⁸

If one accepts the “Polishness” of the enemy image on the frontispiece of *Mech dukhovnyi*, then this may be one of the most striking examples of how blurred the borders were between the friends-allies-enemies categories in Ruthenian printmaking of the time.

In order to picture the complexity of the views of enemies and friends it is enough to recall the many Ruthenian panegyric depictions of the Polish Catholic nobility, most of which glorify the heroes of the anti-Turkish campaigns. In the engraving tradition, the most notable work, besides the works of Lavrentii Krshchonovych, is a Lviv copperplate from 1676, in which the Polish king, Jan III Sobieski, is presented as a liberator from the Turkish and Tatar threat. The figure of the king is accompanied by the image of a lion, the

symbol of Lviv, and the Polish eagle, the royal coat of arms.³⁹ It is true that the panegyric imagery of the glorious Polish Catholic nobility was popular among artists in Right-Bank Ukraine during the second half of the seventeenth century, a fact that may indicate a cultural borderline in the Ruthenian lands. At the same time, the same engravers of panegyric images were commissioned by both the Polish Catholic and Muscovite Orthodox nobilities.⁴⁰

Other Ruthenian engravings seem to question established stereotypes. Some late seventeenth-century copperplates originating in the eastern borderlands of the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth present Turks in an unusual manner. They are clearly more than just enemies: they are also strangers, representatives of an exotic and foreign culture. These images belong to the third above-mentioned category. In a way, these engravings continue the sixteenth- and seventeenth-century iconographic tradition of depicting “others” not as enemies, but as foreigners, who are defined by their clothing and customs; provoking curiosity rather than fear.

The best example of such a perception is the artistic heritage of the Vilnius- and Mahilioŭ-based engraver Maksim Voshchanka (also known as Voschanko and Maximus Woszcanka),⁴¹ who illustrated the first Polish edition of Paul Ricault’s (Rycaut) famous work, *The History of the Present State of the Ottoman Empire* (*Monarchia turecka opisana przez Ricota sekretarza posła angielskiego u Partu Ottomańskiej rezydującego*; 1673–1678). Written by the private secretary of the British ambassador to the Ottoman sultan in Istanbul, the book was first presented to England’s secretary of state in 1665, but not published until 1668.⁴² Although the picture of Ottoman despotism in Ricault’s book is uncompromisingly negative, it is still an “accurate and an up-to-date report on Ottoman political, military, and religious organization.”⁴³ Ricault’s preoccupation was not with the Ottoman Empire per se, but rather with offering “veiled advice to the English monarch. The Ottoman rule was...an extreme form of absolutism that England should strive *not* to emulate.”⁴⁴ Seen from this perspective, *The Present State* is more than a composite of prejudices against Islam, “fear of a powerful enemy, and a fair amount of ignorance and hearsay,” which, before Ricault, were the traditional components of the British image of the Ottomans. For Ricault, the negative ideal of the Turks also served as an image of an enemy, from whose experience one should be able to learn.⁴⁵

The four Polish editions of Ricault’s work contained an introduction written by the translator and editor, Kazimierz Krzysztof Kłokocki, who recognized the novelty of Ricault’s description of the Turkish state as a hostile yet exotic and colorful land.⁴⁶ The Voshchanka copperplate illustrations published in Słuck fully corresponded to this idea. The artist depicted various members of the Turkish elite—for example, an imam in front of a mosque, an aga, and a vizier; a janissary and a group of noble Turkish women; and the sultan himself (figs. 10, 11). Voshchanka obviously had access to Ricault’s original

work, as several of his sixteen illustrations were borrowed from the English edition. Voshchanka either combined several images in one plate or altered them slightly, for example, by providing a new background. Some of these images are an imam and dervishes.⁴⁷ Other images bear Voshchanka's unique stamp, such as the presence of female figures. However, none of the depicted military figures and clerics possesses features of enmity or threat. There are also no battle scenes or any sign of dehumanizing or biased attribution. Significantly, in Voshchanka's illustrations the image of the Turks lacks one of the key features of enemy imagery: male characteristics. The introduction of female faces introduces an additional human attribute to the depiction of the other culture, softening and "humanizing" it. This innovation clearly indicates that both the English engraver and Voshchanka were aware of and sensitive to foreign traditions.

ENEMIES OF RUTHENIAN-MUSCOVITE UNITY

Parallel to these three main trends of the late seventeenth century, Ruthenian printing elaborated a fourth motive in depicting foreigners and enemies, which was determined by the changing political orientations of the Kyivan church elite. From approximately the mid-seventeenth century, Orthodox hierarchs no longer cherished great hopes in the effectiveness of the Zaporozhian Cossacks' "Christian bastion."⁴⁸ The military conflicts, in which the Cossacks did not disdain to use Tatar or Turkish assistance, contributed much to these changes. Thus, the Kyivan Orthodox hierarchs demonstrated loyalty to the tsar's throne, and the model of glorifying the Cossacks as those who rendered great service in the struggle against the Muslims was transferred to the Muscovite ruler. The idea of the Muscovite tsar's protection over the Kyivan church and the Muscovite church's priority rights to the Kyivan heritage received its fullest implementation in the text of the *Synopsis* (1674).⁴⁹

This period also saw the appearance of the first engravings depicting the Muscovite coat of arms, Kyivan churches, and images of defeated Muslims. These are, first and foremost, the illustrations to Innokentii Gizel's *Myr s Bohom choloviku* (Man's Peace with God; 1669)⁵⁰ and *Mineia Prazdnichnaia* (Festal Menology; 1680) (fig. 12).⁵¹ The general import of these pictures becomes even clearer after reading Gizel's introduction to the *Mineia*, in which the Kyivan archimandrite appeals to Tsar Fedor III for his protection and mercy in these "difficult times" and even calls his book "Feodomil" (the one who loves Feodor).

Whether these engravings were designed to illustrate what Zenon Kohut has called the *Synopsis's* idea of the "combination of history, dynasty, religion, and even a vague sense of ethnicity (the Slavo-Russian people)" is not quite clear.

Without doubt, these engravings do not elaborate much on the issues of Slavia Orthodoxa and ethnic affiliation. Its main appeal rests on the questions of the Orthodox tsar's protection over the Kyivan sanctuaries as well as on accentuating the role of Kyivan Rus' saints, who were venerated both in Ruthenia and Muscovy as the direct forefathers of the ruling dynasty. Another important aspect of this ideology was the depiction of the Turks and Tatars as the main foes of Orthodox unity. This changing focus may be traced both in literary and visual sources. At precisely this time Ioanikii Galiatovs'kyi published the first anti-Muslim polemical treatise in the Kyivan Orthodox tradition.⁵²

Under the influence of literary works and parallel to the tradition of depicting Muslims as "exotic strangers" and "others," a new offshoot of enemy imagery gradually developed in Ruthenian printmaking in the late seventeenth century. In the mainstream printing culture Muslims were now not only the enemies of the Zaporozhian Cossacks but of the Russian tsar as well; the foes of Ruthenian-Muscovite unity and thus the enemies of God.

These ideas resonate most prominently in the illustrations to the books of Archbishop Lazar Baranovych of Chernihiv. Ivan Shchyr's'kyi's illustration to *Blahodat' i istyna* (Grace and Truth; 1683)⁵³ depicts a victory over the Turks (fig. 13). In the center is a double-headed eagle placed within a seven-columned arch. The defeated Muslims do not possess individual features; we see only the backs of the soldiers, a crowd of people whose enmity is symbolically represented by the figures of a lion and a serpent (a reference to Psalm 91). Both creatures are shown dying beneath the hooves of the Orthodox cavalrymen. When one of the enemy's faces is turned to the viewer, it is full of terror and the fear of death. Again, the victorious host receives support both from the Chernihiv clergy, depicted above the battle scene, as well as from heavenly forces. However, no Zaporozhian Cossacks are depicted in this copperplate.

Cossacks are presented in a similar composition by Shchyr's'kyi entitled *Teza Obydovs'koho* (Obydovs'kyi's Thesis; 1691), which the artist dedicated to Tsarina Sophia.⁵⁴ The picture consists of three tiers: the upper part features the Russian double-headed eagle and a group of saints holding three crowns. The lower part shows the figures of Sophia's brothers, Ivan and Peter, seated on thrones. Behind them are the figures of the Byzantine emperors, Basil, Arcadius, Honorius, and Constantine. All the thrones are arranged in the shape of a pyramid whose edge ends in an empty cartouche (Dmytro Stepovyk suggests that it was reserved for Sophia's portrait).⁵⁵ The middle tier is of particular importance to the present discussion. Here, Shchyr's'kyi depicted several views of the Kyivan landscape in the background behind the tsars' thrones. Also shown is a rider (a Cossack?) who repels Tatars from a fortress (presumably the Novobohorodyts'ka Fortress, built in 1688). On the opposite side a group of people build a fort. Very likely, this image illustrates the process of demarcating the borderline between the Russian state and the Crimean khanate in 1687–88.

Although the Cossack troops depicted in the copperplate play an auxiliary role in the general composition, it is clear that the Tatars are considered the major threat to the union between the tsars and the Cossacks.

This idea is echoed in Leontii Tarasevych's later illustration to the Kyivan *Paterik* (1702). In all these compositions the Orthodox army is led by the Russian tsar, and the Turks and Tatars are always portrayed as the defeated. Tarasevych's illustration is also remarkable for depicting the Zaporozhian Cossacks standing behind the Russian tsar. Jelena Pogosjan suggests that Tarasevych portrayed Hetman Ivan Mazepa here.⁵⁶ Such statements require further substantiation.

Still, Mazepa, the heroic Cossack leader fighting together with the Muscovite tsar against the Turks, was undoubtedly an important theme in Ruthenian printmaking of the time. In 1689 Shchyr's'kyi produced several illustrations for Stefan Iavors'kyi's panegyric, *Echo głosu wołającego na puszczy* (Echo of a Voice Crying in the Wilderness).⁵⁷ This poem, dedicated to Hetman Ivan Mazepa, glorifies the imminent success of the second Ruthenian-Muscovite Crimean raid. Giovanna Brogi Bercoff notes that its leitmotif is the need to wage war against the treacherous Turks and Tatars.⁵⁸ The allegories of the moon, stars, lion, and laurel were designed to attest to the "identification of Mazepa with Virgil, of the Peace in Ukraine with the Pax Augusta, of Ukraine (Ruthenia) with Rome and of Mazepa with August."⁵⁹ Ruthenian Rome fighting the Turkish lion existed, however, only in union with the Muscovite eagle. This idea, according to Brogi-Bercoff, was a perpetual theme not only for Iavors'kyi, but also for his patron, Varlaam Iasyn's'kyi, and, most importantly, for Hetman Mazepa as well.⁶⁰

In his illustrations to *Echo głosu*, Shchyr's'kyi followed the set of allegories and symbols suggested by Iavors'kyi. His copperplates depict the moon (representing the Turks) as opposed to stars, combined with the *Kurcz*, Mazepa's coat of arms. A lion, another symbol of the Turkish monarchy, is also speared (fig. 14). Finally, the Russian double-headed eagle is shown gripping Mazepa's coat of arms with both claws (fig. 15).⁶¹

A symbolic representation of the Cossack host defeating the Tatars is also found in another copperplate executed by Shchyr's'kyi. This one was used as an illustration to Pylp Orlyk's panegyric, *Prognostik szczęśliwy* (Fortunate Foresight; 1698),⁶² glorifying the military successes of the Zaporozhian Cossack forces led by Danylo Apostol, the future hetman of Ukraine. Although the title of the panegyric contained Apostol's full title of colonel of "His Majesty, the Russian Tsar's Zaporozhian Army," the copperplate does not depict any Muscovite heraldic symbols. Instead, the central motif is Apostol's coat of arms, the Maltese cross, flanked on the left side by a symbolic battle scene (Hercules beating a crescent-topped dragon) and the image of the enemies (Tatars fleeing from divine arrows) on the right (fig. 16). The anti-Christian forces are clearly

identified as Muslims by their turbans and flags. The copperplate does not promote the idea of Zaporozhian Cossack-Muscovite unity in the struggle against the hostile Muslims, but the image of the fleeing Tatars is borrowed directly from Shchyr's 'kyi's illustration to Baranovych's *Blahodat' i istyna*. The iconographic programs of both copperplates are similar.

The major trend in depicting Ruthenian-Muscovite unity in the struggle against the hostile Turks in the late seventeenth century did not evolve, however, in the direction of combining images of the Cossack hetmans with Muscovite heraldic symbols. At the behest of the Kyivan hierarchs, Ruthenian engravers preferred to depict the Russian coat of arms set against a background of Kyivan churches. The defeated Turks, as depicted in Tarasevych's illustration to the *Paterik*, appear in the lower part of the composition. This model was so powerful that it also influenced Russian imperial iconography. The most revealing example of such a transfer is, of course, the Azov Mother of God icon. Although this eighteenth-century Russian icon repeats the program of the Kyivan copperplate, it lacks the figures of bearded Cossacks pictured on the right side.⁶³ However, the figures of a lion and a dragon, the symbols of Muslims as the foes of Christians, remained unchanged.

The history of the Russian adoption of the Azov Theotokos iconography brings us back to the question of Ruthenian-Muscovite mutual influences in seventeenth- and eighteenth-century printmaking. Two methodological problems should be mentioned at this point. The culture of engraving in Muscovy was a late phenomenon. Maria Alekseeva dates the first "flourishing period" in Muscovite woodcut production to the second half of the seventeenth century.⁶⁴ The art of etching arrived in Muscovy even later and was connected with the activity of the *Oruzheinaia Palata* (Armory Chamber).⁶⁵ Often, there are too few patterns to be compared between the Ruthenian and Muscovite engraving traditions.

The second difficulty concerns the attribution of artistic production as Ruthenian (Ukrainian and (Belarusian) or Muscovite (Russian). It is generally known that from the mid-seventeenth century many artistic influences came to Muscovy via the Ruthenian lands. Several masters were constantly traveling between the cities and various iconographic centers. They brought their works with them, but also filled the orders of Muscovite patrons, who commissioned new engravings. Alekseeva mentions at least three cases from the late seventeenth century in which Ruthenian engravers stayed in Moscow for longer periods of time. Besides Shchyr's 'kyi, whose *Teza Obydovs' koho* was commissioned by the tsarina's court, Oleksander Tarasevych and Mykhailo Karnovs'kyi also spent time in Muscovy. The latter remained in Moscow until his death, leaving "a considerable trace in the history of Russian engraving."⁶⁶ This means that even before Peter I's reign, Muscovite printmaking was under considerable Ruthenian influence. It is therefore difficult to separate the two

traditions, and an adequate comparison is made more complicated. Peter's reforms then introduced new agents into these processes.

IMAGERY IN PETRINE ENGRAVING: MAZEPA AND THE ZAPOROZHIAN
COSSACKS AS ENEMIES OF THE RUSSIAN EMPIRE

From the reign of Peter I the imagery propagated through printing was also strongly influenced by Western European engraving schools. These were mostly Dutch masters, who came to Russia and passed their knowledge to local students. Ruthenian, Western European, and eventually local Russian engravers contributed to the development of the new image of the emperor, his allies, and enemies. The wars—especially victories—on the southern and northern borders of the new Russian state during the reign of Peter I always served as an inspiration for such imagery. Another source was the radical expansion of the Russian Empire at the beginning of the eighteenth century and its emergence as a great European power.⁶⁷ Thus, since the Petrine era the number of engravings exploring the issue of “us” versus “the other” in Russian culture was considerably expanded. To the traditional theological theses, panegyrics, and battle scenes were now added map cartouches and images of triumphal processions, gates, and fireworks.⁶⁸

What did the enemy of the new Russia look like? In addition to demonic characteristics,⁶⁹ it unquestionably bore “Oriental” or “Muslim” features inherited both from the Ruthenian and Western European iconographic traditions.⁷⁰ Literary and visual elaborations on the issue of Islamic enemies (also called *agariane*, i.e., Hagarenes) were connected with Russian military successes on the southern borders in the late seventeenth century.⁷¹

Peter I not only ordered several engravings to celebrate his victories in the Azov campaigns, he also tried his own hand at etching. His engraving, *Allegoriia pobedy nad turkami* (Allegory of the Russian Victory over the Turks; 1698) shows an angel-like figure holding a Latin cross while standing on a crescent moon, under and around which lie four Turkish banners with crescent-shaped finials topping the poles.⁷² Peter's teacher (and the engraver who corrected his etching) was Adriaan Schoonebeek, who set up the first real printing shop in Russia and executed several etchings devoted to the victorious siege of Azov. His etching entitled *Feierverk pod Moskvoi po sluchai vziatiia Azova, 1697–1698* (Fireworks near Moscow in Celebration of the Conquest of Azov, 1697–1698; dated 1697), and the battle scene in *Vziatiie Azova v 1696* (Conquest of Azov in 1696; dated 1699–1700) depict the Turks as the main enemies of the new Russian monarch. The latter etching depicts the Muslim soldiers rather schematically; they are placed in the background, and their faces are hardly recognizable, in contrast to the group of Christian riders led by Peter himself.

The images of the tsar have more distinctive features.⁷³ The *Fireworks* etching exemplifies the opposition between the Russian and Muslim worlds in symbolic form: a double-headed eagle spears the crescent with bolts of lightning.⁷⁴

Remarkably, there is not a single image illustrating the Zaporozhian Cossacks' participation in anti-Tatar and anti-Turkish military campaigns. Neither is there any allusion to the symbolic linkage between Russian royal power and Kyivan sanctuaries as the sole opposition to the Muslim threat, which resonated in the *Synopsis* and several Ruthenian engravings from the late seventeenth century. This absence may be explained by the earlier competition for the Kyivan Rus' heritage between Ruthenian and Muscovy, as well as by the Muscovites' disregard of contemporary Kyiv in favor of the ancient city.⁷⁵

The wars that were fought in the early part of the eighteenth century introduced new elements into the image of the enemy in the Russian Empire. Russia's military campaigns in the north expanded the list of enemies to include the Swedes, in addition to the Turks and Tatars. Under the tsar's creative guidance the old images, which frequently had a religious coloring (the Turks—"Hagarians"; the Protestant Swedes—"the enemies of the Holy Cross," or "heretics") were newly interpreted. In approximately 1702 Peter I introduced a new ideology justifying the war against the Swedes, which was now promoted as a struggle to reclaim lost Russian lands, the return of the "ancestral heritage." In panegyric literature and also in the decorations embellishing triumphal gates the Swedes were presented as "usurpers of foreign lands."⁷⁶

The image of a lion symbolizing the Swedish enemy was a staple of Russian political imagery from the beginning of the eighteenth century. One revealing example appears in the first Dutch publication of *Symvoly i emblemata* (*Symbols and Emblems*; Amsterdam, 1705). This handbook included a portrait of Peter I after Godfrey Kneller, as well as 840 standard European symbols with short explanations in various languages, including Russian.⁷⁷

Mazepa's decision to break with Peter and side with Charles XII was the turning point in creating the image of Cossacks as enemies of the Russian state and the Orthodox Church. Already in November 1708 Peter I ordered a symbolic execution of Mazepa's effigy and stripped Mazepa's Order of St. Andrew from it. The same month, shortly after Ivan Skoropads'kyi was elected the new Cossack hetman, the Custodian of the Patriarchal See Stefan Iavors'kyi pronounced anathema upon Mazepa and his counterparts. In fact, anathema was declared twice, first in Hlukhiv, by Metropolitan Iosaf (Krokovs'kyi), and then in Moscow by Iavors'kyi himself. These events all happened before the Poltava battle. The defeat of Charles and Mazepa in 1709 contributed to the ultimate image of Cossacks as traitors who were punished for their untruth not only from the tsar but also from God.⁷⁸

Swedes, Turks, and Tatars were often presented in post-Poltava symbolism in connection with images of a prisoner or traitor, personifying Mazepa

and his Cossacks. The “enmification” of Mazepa in the post-Poltava Russian official tradition has been described in detail by Jelena Pogosjan.⁷⁹ According to Pogosjan, the image of Mazepa as a serpent (or dragon) of the Apocalypse—that is, a disgraceful traitor, enemy of the Orthodox, a Judas—was already present in Peter’s correspondence in 1708, and introduced into the famous anathema ceremony in Moscow. After the Battle of Poltava the main initiative behind branding Mazepa and his Cossacks as the foes of Orthodoxy and Satan’s collaborators, traitors, and criminals passed to the church hierarchs, many of whom were of Ruthenian origin (e.g., Feofan Prokopovych, Ioan Maksymovych, Stefan Iavors’kyi, and Feofilakt Lopatyns’kyi).

The enmification of Mazepa in Russian etchings was also partly the result of the work of Ruthenian engravers, such as Tarasevych’s illustration to the Kyivan *Paterik* of 1702 (fig. 17). In 1709, the year of the Poltava battle, Mykhailo Karnovs’kyi executed the frontispiece to Iosif Turoboiskii’s *Politikolepnaia apofeosis*.⁸⁰ Karnovs’kyi copied the left part of Tarasevych’s engraving: the lion is turned in such a way that both the dragon and the lion are being trampled under the horse’s hooves (fig. 18). Whereas Tarasevych portrayed the Turks and Tatars as a lion and a dragon, Karnovs’kyi meant Charles XII and Mazepa here. Tarasevych depicted Azov and Kizikermen as conquered cities, while the cities of Narva and Ivanhorod were portrayed in Karnovs’kyi’s work.⁸¹

A set of etchings devoted to the Russian army’s triumphant entry into Moscow on 21 December 1709, after the Battle of Poltava, explores the theme of Mazepa as a state enemy in a new manner. The most notable examples were created by Alexei Zubov and Peter Picard. Two etchings (in fact, three, because Zubov made two versions of the same plate)⁸² depict a column of marching soldiers with the images of triumphal gates in the background (fig. 19).⁸³ In the lower part of both compositions, which, according to Andrei Karev, should represent the “sinful earth” in opposition to the “triumphant heaven,”⁸⁴ the engravers depicted a stone plinth, to which captives are chained.

Captives (“antiheroes”) were a staple motif of numerous engravings in the Petrine age. Schoonebeek’s allegorical composition from 1700 pictures three chained prisoners with recognizable “steppe people’s” haircuts.⁸⁵ Christoph Riegel’s map of the Sea of Azov, engraved by Schoonebeek in 1701, also contains several images of bound captives in the cartouche. Other slaves are bringing the Turkish banners to the feet of the Mars figure, while others are pleading for mercy (fig. 20).⁸⁶ Finally, the upper part of the cartouche of the Zubov-Picard map of Europe from the 1720s also shows the figures of three bound prisoners. Their images are combined with a portrait of Peter I in front of torn Turkish banners and a pile of severed heads (fig. 21).⁸⁷

In the decorations of triumphal gates captives were usually opposed to the figure of Peter, and were designed to personify four categories of defeated enemies: a Swede, a Turk, a Tatar, and a Traitor. The fourth category was associ-

ated with “Mazepa and the 20,000 Zaporozhian turncoats.”⁸⁸ The composition of the “triumphal entry” etchings by Zubov and Picard may be interpreted in this manner. Karev suggests an additional explanation: the figures of the prisoners may also personify different sins, whose interpretation is found in the text of the *Politikolepnaia apofeosis*. The four figures are symbols of “bad advice” (a reference to Charles XII’s ministers), “false truth” (his secretaries), “wrath” (the Swedish generals and officers), and “murder” (Swedish soldiers).⁸⁹ The four dogs depicted in Zubov’s composition also have a symbolic meaning. Two of them are barking at each other, the third is slinking away with its tail between its legs, and the fourth stands apart from them in a triumphant pose.⁹⁰ Whether the defeated dog is meant to symbolize Mazepa is not entirely clear; it is likely, though, that he is symbolized in the etchings, given his place on the list of state enemies.

After the Poltava celebrations little mention was made of Mazepa and his defeated Zaporozhians. This silence served the general policy of “erasing Mazepa’s traces” from cultural memory in imperial Russia. This shift is also observable in printmaking. Late Petrine-era etchings feature several images of enemies. Tsar Peter ordered the cartographer Ivan Kirilov to include a map of Ingria (the Swedish frontier) in his famous *Atlas Rossiiskoi Imperii* (Atlas of the Russian Empire), the first Russian-language atlas of the Russian Empire (1734, 1737). Its cartouche contains an image of a defeated Swede bound in chains (fig. 22).⁹¹ But neither Turks, Tatars, nor Zaporozhian Cossacks appear on this or other maps in Kirilov’s atlas.

They are also absent in the second known *Atlas Rossiiskoi Imperii* (1745), published under the auspices of the Russian Academy of Sciences.⁹² In this work the development of Russian imperial imagery reached a new stage. In contrast to the Kirilov etchings, there is not a single figure of an enemy or defeated individual in this atlas. The maps of the southern and northern borders of the empire present its people as peaceful and joyful subjects, not enemies. The cartouche of the Black Sea region contains military motifs, but these are Russian imperial insignia, not symbols of the conquered Turkish or Cossack worlds (fig. 23). The goal of “putting Russia on the European map” rapidly gained acceptance,⁹³ simultaneously marking the visual transformation of former enemies into imperial subjects.

To summarize, I will first address the question of the development of enemy imagery in Ruthenian printmaking at the turn of the seventeenth century. Generally speaking, the image of the enemy had predominantly Turkish or Tatar features in the late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries; it is futile to look for figures of Poles, Russians, Jews, or Gypsies in these engravings. Muslims were clearly marked by their clothing, flags, and banners. They were also often personified as a lion, dragon, or a serpent, all apocalyptic symbols of the enemies of Christians.

Such artistic preferences were the results of changing political orientations

of the high-ranking Ruthenian Orthodox churchmen who ordered engravings. These images were the products of the elite culture, and were also aimed at educated circles. The idea of anti-Muslim Christian unity was dominant both in the writings of the Kyivan Church hierarchs and in the visual imagery of engravers. At times, this alliance assumed the Cossacks as a leading force; at others, the Russian tsar was presented as the guarantor of this unity.

There were, however, several other modes of presenting enemies in Ruthenian printmaking. All of them were rooted in the earlier iconographic tradition. The depiction of Christianity's foes as devils, sinners, heretics, or sectarians is found in both icons and earlier Ruthenian engravings.

This tradition coexisted with the mode of presenting other peoples and religious groups as foreigners or strangers, but not necessarily as enemies. Their "otherness" was defined by clothing or surroundings, but it did not bear any biased or negative connotations in and of itself.

How did the transformation of the enemy image in Ruthenian engravings influence Muscovite printing at the turn of the seventeenth century? In fact, only two visual categories of enemies in the Ruthenian tradition were reflected in the new imperial culture: namely, sinners/demons and Muslims. At the beginning of the eighteenth century the list of imperial foes was expanded to include Swedes and Mazepa's Cossacks, who, after their defeat at Poltava were often depicted as captives or slaves.

The successes of Russia's eastern and northern policies and the gradual diminishing of the Turkish-Tatar threat also contributed to the transformation of the enemy image in Russian printmaking. Over the next several decades the official iconography adopted a new mode of representing the populations on Russia's northern and southern borders. Muslims, Ruthenians, and other religious and ethnic groups were presented as peoples who did not demonstrate any hostility. From enemies they had been turned into ordinary subjects of the multiethnic and multiconfessional Russian Empire. Scholars would do well to study the further transformation of the enemy image in Russian political culture.

NOTES

1. Robert Rieber and Robert Kelly, "Substance and Shadow: Images of the Enemy," chap. 1 in *The Psychology of War and Peace: The Image of the Enemy*, ed. Robert W. Rieber (New York, 1991), 3–38.
2. Brett Silverstein and Catherine Flamenbaum, "Biases in the Perception and Cognition of the Actions of Enemies," *Journal of Social Issues* 45, no. 2 (1989): 51–72.
3. Urie Bronfenbrenner, "The Mirror Image in Soviet-American Relations: A Social Psychologist's Report," *Journal of Social Issues* 17 (1961): 45–56.
4. Stuart Oskamp, "Attitudes toward U.S. and Russian Actions—A Double Standard,"

- Psychological Reports* 16 (1965): 43–46; G. N. Sande et al., “Value-Guided Attributions: Maintaining the Moral Self-Image and the Diabolical Enemy Image,” *Journal of Social Issues* 45, no. 2 (1989): 91–118.
5. Sam Keen, *Faces of the Enemy: Reflections of the Hostile Imagination* (San Francisco, 1986); Rieber, *Psychology of War and Peace*. For a comparative analysis of the images of “others” and “enemies,” see Kristin Platt, “Unter dem Zeichen des Skorpions: Feindmuster, Kriegsmuster und das Profil des Fremden,” in *Feindschaft*, ed. Medardus Brehl and Kristin Platt (Munich, 2003), 13–52.
 6. For the most recent detailed summary of the categories of “friends,” “foreigners,” and “enemies” in the Muscovite literary tradition of the sixteenth century, see Aleksandr Filiushkin, “Religioznyi faktor v russkoi vneshnei politike XVI veka: ksenofobiia, tolerantnost’ ili pragmatizm?” in *Religion und Integration im Moskauer Russland: Konzepte und Praktiken, Potentiale und Grenzen 14.–17. Jahrhundert*, ed. Ludwig Steindorff (Wiesbaden, 2010), 145–80.
 7. The definitive works on this question are: Konstantin Kharlampovich, *Malorossiiskoe vliianie na velikorusskuiu tserkovnuiu zhizn’* (Kazan, 1914); David Saunders, *The Ukrainian Impact on Russian Culture, 1750–1850* (Edmonton, 1985).
 8. David Frick, “Misinterpretations, Misunderstandings, and Silences: Problems of Seventeenth-Century Ruthenian and Muscovite Cultural History,” in *Religion and Culture in Early Modern Russia and Ukraine*, ed. Samuel H. Baron and Nancy Shields Kollmann (DeKalb, Ill., 1997), 149–68; idem, “Zyzanij and Smotryc’kyj (Moscow, Constantinople, Kiev): Episodes in Cross-Cultural Misunderstanding,” *Journal of Ukrainian Studies* 17, nos. 1–2 (1992): 67–93; Tatiana Oparina, “Da v liudi tu knigu kazat’ nie dla chego’: Biblioteka Simona Azar’ina i otnoshenie k ukrainsko-beloruskoi knizhnosti v Rossii v pervoi polovine XVII veka,” in *Mediaevalia Ucrainica: Mental’nist’ ta istoriia idei* (Kyiv, 1992–1998), 4:86–102.
 9. On Peter I’s influence on Russian printing, see James Cracraft, *The Petrine Revolution in Russian Imagery* (Chicago, 1997); idem, *The Petrine Revolution in Russian Culture* (Cambridge, Mass., 2004).
 10. Nataliia Iakovenko, “Braty/vorohy abo poliaky ochyma ukraïntsiiv XVII–XVIII stolittia,” *Ĭ 10* (1997): 157.
 11. Ibid.
 12. Serhii Plokyh, *The Cossacks and Religion in Early Modern Ukraine* (Oxford; New York, 2001), 118–45.
 13. Iov [Ivan] Borets’kyi, “*Protetatsiia*: Pam’iatky brats’kykh shkil na Ukraini; kinets’ XVI–pochatok XVII st., teksty i doslidzhennia (Kyiv, 1988), 321.
 14. See, e.g., Master Illia’s woodcut entitled *Pritcha o mytarie i fariseie* (The Parable of the Pharisee and the Publican) in *Triod’ pisna* (Kyiv, 1640). The woodcut is reproduced in Iakym Zapasko and Iaroslav Isaievych, *Pam’iatky knyzhkovoho mystetstva: katalog starodrukiv, vydanykh na Ukraini* (Lviv, 1981–1984), 1:62, plate 282.

15. See, e.g., the woodcut by a master identified only as TP: *Propovid' apostola Pavla* (The Sermon of the Apostle Paul) from *Ioann Zlatoust. Besidy na diiannia apostoliv* (Kyiv, 1624), reproduced in Hryhorii Lohvyn, *Z hlybyn: hraviury ukrains'kykh starodrukiv XVI–XVIII st.* (Kyiv, 1990), 51, plate 42.
16. This portrait (Kyiv, 1622) is reproduced in *Mystetstvo XIV–pershoi polovyny XVII stolittia*, vol. 2 of *Istoriia ukrains'koho mystetstva*, 6 vols. (Kyiv, 1964–1968), 353.
17. *The Conquest of Caffa* (Kyiv, 1622). Dmytro Stepovyk, *Ukrains'ka hrafika XVI–XVII stolit'* (Kyiv, 1982), 258.
18. Reproduced in Zapasko and Isaievych, *Pam'iatky knyzhkovoho mystetstva*, 1:88, plate 514.
19. On Ruthenian Last Judgment imagery, see especially John-Paul Himka, *Last Judgment Iconography in the Carpathians* (Toronto, 2009). See also Lilya Berezhnaya and John-Paul Himka, *Ukrainian Iconography of the Last Judgment: a Catalogue* (Cambridge, Mass., forthcoming).
20. Iakym Zapasko, *Mystetstvo knyhy na Ukraini v XVI–XVIII st.* (Lviv, 1971), 187–88, 192. The image is reproduced in T. N. Kameneva and A. A. Guseva, comp., *Lvovskie, novgorod-severskie, chernigovskie, unekskie izdaniia 2-i poloviny XVII veka*, vol. 2, pt. 2 of *Ukrainskie knigi kirillovskoi pechati XVI–XVIII vv.: katalog izdani, khranikhshchikhsia v Gos. biblioteke SSSR im. V. I. Lenina* (Moscow, 1990), 122, plate 1925. A similar composition is found in a later Ukrainian Last Judgment illustration by Averkii Kozachkovs'kyi, which appeared in *Akafisty i kanony* (1754). See John-Paul Himka, *Last Judgment Iconography in the Carpathians* (Toronto, 2009), 159.
21. Gerol'd Vzdornov, *Issledovanie o Kievskoi Psaltiri* (Moscow, 1978); *Kievskaiia psaltir' 1397 goda iz Gosudarstvennoi publichnoi biblioteki imeni M. E. Saltykova-Shchedrina v Leningrade (OLDP F 6)* (Moscow, 1978). This image is reproduced in Stepovyk, *Ukrains'ka hrafika*, 105.
22. Both illustrations are reproduced in Stepovyk's book. *Ibid.*, 255.
23. Dmytro Stepovyk, *Leontii Tarasevych i ukrains'ke mystetstvo barokko* (Kyiv, 1986), 105–10.
24. Stepovyk, *Ukrains'ka hrafika*, 129, 133. Also reproduced in Roksoliana Kosiv, *Ukrains'ki khoruhvy* (Kyiv, 2009), 130, fig. 3.38.
25. The Ukrainian scholar, Pavlo Zholtovs'kyi, found the copperplate in the Ukrainian Academy of Sciences' Manuscript Collection, among the so-called *kozhbushky* (engraving specimens). See P. M. Zholtovs'kyi, *Khudozhnie zhyttia na Ukraini v XVI–XVIII st.* (Kyiv, 1983), 31, 36. Roksoliana Kosiv also attributes this image to the "Ecclesia militans" type, placing it in the context of several other analogues of Ruthenian engravings that influenced local mural and gonfalon iconography. Kosiv, *Ukrains'ki khoruhvy*, 126–32, fig. 3.40.
26. Dmitri Antonov and Mikhail Maizulis, *Demony i greshniki v drevnerusskoi ikonografii: semiotika obraza* (Moscow, 2011), 35–47, 55–121.

27. Cyril Mango, "Diabolus Byzantinus," *Dumbarton Oaks Papers* 46, special issue, *Homo Byzantinus: Papers in Honor of Alexander Kazhdan* (1992): 215–23.
28. I am grateful to Dmitrii Antonov for this suggestion and other valuable comments regarding this part of the article.
29. On the depictions of devils and sinners in Ukrainian icons from the sixteenth to the eighteenth centuries, see Kateryna Dysa, *Istoriia y vid'mamy: Sudy pro chary v ukraïnskykh voievodstvakh Rechi Pospolytoi XVII–XVIII stolittia* (Kyiv, 2008), 73–78.
30. Pavlo Zholtovs'kyi, *Ukrains'kyi zhyvopys XVII–XVIII st.* (Kyiv, 1978), 229–30, 239.
31. Samiilo Velychko, *Litopys*, vol. 2 (Kyiv, 1991), 216, 229.
32. Stepovyk, *Leontii Tarasevych*, 161–64.
33. Mieczysław Gębarowicz, "Wawrzyniec-Laurenty Krzczonowicz, nieznany sztycharz drugiej połowy XVII wieku," *Folia Historiae Artium* 17 (1981): 49–117; *Chwała i sława Jana III w sztuce i literaturze XVII–XX w.: katalog wystawy jubileuszowej z okazji trzzechsetlecia odsieczy wiedeńskiej, wrzesień-grudzień, 1983*, ed. Włodzimierz Bałdowski et al. (Warsaw, 1983), 108.
34. Lohvyn, *Z hlybyn*, 74.
35. Alain Grosrichard, *The Sultan's Court: European Fantasies of the East*, trans. Liz Heron (London; New York, 1998).
36. Serhii Plokhly, *Tsars and Cossacks: A Study in Iconography*, Harvard Papers in Ukrainian Studies (Cambridge, Mass., 2002).
37. Hryhorii Lohvyn includes among such rare depictions some illustrations from the above-mentioned 1661 *Paterik* of the Kyivan Cave Monastery. One of them is the engraving *Joshua Hangs the Defeated Ai Kings from a Tree*, which Lohvyn interprets as an appeal to the Zaporozhian Cossacks to fight "the hateful Polish szlachta." Lohvyn, *Z hlybyn*, 61.
38. Jelena Pogosjan made the identification of Jan Kazimierz in the engraving as the "hostile enemy." See her article, "I. S. Mazepa v russkoi oftsial'noi kulture," in *Mazepa e il suo tempo: storia, società, cultura = Mazepa and His Time: History, Society, Culture*, ed. Giovanna Siedina (Alessandria, 2004), 315–32. On the originality of the Prince Volodymyr tree motif in Orthodox iconography, see V. G. Chubinskaia, "Ikona Simona Ushakova 'Bogomater' Vladimirskaia, Drevo Moskovskogo gosudarstva," in *Trudy Otdela drevnerusskoi literatury*, vol. 38 (Leningrad, 1985), 304.
39. This illustration to Marcin Nikanor Anczowski's book, *Campus intra et supra Campum seu ex praesagio armorum Janina intra dictam a Campo Poloniam ad regalem inauguratus Coronam, civis, et Pater Patriae sereniss. ac potentiss. D. D. Joannes III* (Lviv, 1676) is reproduced in Zapasko and Isaievych, *Pam'iatky knyzhkovoho mystetstva*, 1:91, plate 541.
40. A good example is the artistic heritage of Leontii Tarasevych. See Stepovyk, *Leontii Tarasevych*.

41. Dmitrii Rovinskii lists sixteen of Voshchanka's illustrations to *Turecka monarchia*. See his *Podrobnyi slovar' russkikh graverov XVI–XIX vv.*, vol. 1 (St. Petersburg, 1895), 181; Mikola Shchakatsikhin, *Vasil' Vashchanka—magileŭski graver kantasa XVII–pach. XVIII staletz 'tzya* (Minsk, 1925); Dmytro Stepovyk, *Ivan Shchyr's'kyi: poetychnyi obraz v ukraïns'kii barokkovii hraviuri* (Kyiv, 1988), 14, 21–23. Other reproductions may be found in Ahatanhel Kryms'kyi, *Istoriia Turechchyny* (Kyiv; Lviv, 1996), 17, 33, 50.
42. For detailed discussion of Ricault's text, see Linda T. Darling, "Ottoman Politics through British Eyes: Paul Ricault's 'The Present State of the Ottoman Empire,'" *Journal of World History* 5, no. 1 (1994): 71–97.
43. *Ibid.*, 74.
44. *Ibid.*, 91. Darling quotes C. J. Heywood, who noted that Ricault had England in mind. See C. J. Heywood, "Sir Paul Ricault: A Seventeenth-Century Observer of the Ottoman State: Notes for a Study," in Ezel Kural Shaw and C. J. Heywood, *English and Continental Views of the Ottoman Empire, 1500–1800: Papers Read at a Clark Library Seminar January 24, 1970* (Los Angeles, 1972), 54; *ibid.*, n. 51, [p.] 91.
45. For detailed discussion of the cultural transference of enemy imagery in modern Europe, see Martin Aust and Daniel Schönplflug, *Vom Gegner lernen: Feindschaften und Kulturtransfers im Europa des 19. und 20. Jahrhunderts* (Frankfurt; New York, 2007), especially, 8–35.
46. Marek Prejs, *Egzotyzm w literaturze polskiej: wybrane problemy* (Warsaw, 1999), 193–95.
47. Compare the illustrations in the English edition: Paul Ricault, *The History of the Present State of the Ottoman Empire: Containing the Maxims of the Turkish Polity, the Most Material Points of the Mahometan Religion, Their Sects and Heresies, Their Convents and Religious Votaries, Their Military Discipline, with an Exact Computation of Their Forces Both by Sea and Land* (London, 1686), 46, 212.
48. On the idea of the "Cossack bastion" in the seventeenth-century Ruthenian, Polish, and Muscovite cultures, see Liliia Berezhnaia, "Kozatskii bastion 17 veka: vzgliad snaruzhi i iznutri," in *Religion und Integration*, 269–97.
49. Hans Rothe, *Sinopsis, Kiev 1681: Facsimile* (Cologne, 1983).
50. Kameneva and Guseva, *Lvovskie...izdaniia*, 178, plate 1285.
51. *Ibid.*, 253, 24,, plate 1564. Other examples of the visual implementation of the idea of Ruthenian-Russian unity under the scepter of the Muscovite tsar are mentioned in Natalia Iakovenko, *Narys istorii seredn'ovichnoi ta modernoi Ukraïny*, 2nd ed. (Kyiv, 2005), 434–37. On the double-headed eagle symbol in Ruthenian seventeenth-century iconography, see Pavlo Zholtovs'kyi, *Vyzvol'na borot'ba ukraïns'koho narodu v pam'iatkakh mystetstva XVI–XVIII st.* (Kyiv, 1958), 53; *Ukraïns'ke barokko: Materialy 1-ho konhresu Mizhnarodnoi asotsiatsii ukraïnistiv, Kyiv, 27 serpnia–3 veresnia 1990 r.* (Kyiv, 1993), 144–53.
52. Ioanikii Galiatovs'kyi, *Alkoran machometow* (Chernihiv, 1683), and his *Łabędź z*

- piórami swemi* (Novhorod-Siverskyi, 1679). Galiatovs'kyi was also the author of the anti-Jewish polemical treatise *Messiia pravdyvyi* (The True Messiah; 1669), but theological anti-Jewish rhetoric did not spill out into Ruthenian printing. On the image of Jews in early modern Ukrainian culture and politics, see Zenon E. Kohut, "The Khmelnytsky Uprising, the Image of Jews, and the Shaping of Ukrainian Historical Memory," *Jewish History* 17, no. 2 (2003): 141–63.
53. Stepovyk, *Ivan Shchyr's'kyi*, 55–58.
 54. *Ibid.*, 76–80.
 55. *Ibid.*, 78.
 56. Jelena Pogosjan and Maria Smorzhevskih, "Ia Devu v solntse zriu stoiashchu... (apokalipticheskiu suzhet i formy istoricheskoi refleksii: 1695–1742 gg.)," *Studia Russica Helsingiensia et Tartuensia VIII: Istoriia i istoriosofia v literaturnom prelomlenii* (Tartu, 2002): 9–36.
 57. Stefan Iavors'kyi (1658–1722) was summoned by Peter from Kyiv to Moscow in 1700 to become eventually the Metropolitan of Riazan and Murom, the locum tenens of the Patriarchal see, and the first president of the Holy Synod. The full text of Iavors'kyi's poem in Ukrainian translation is reprinted in *Ostannia chvert' XVII–pochatok XVIII st.*, vol. 3, pt. 2 of *Tysiacha rokiv ukrains'koï suspil'no-politychnoi dumky* (Kyiv, 2001), 323–24.
 58. Giovanna Brogi Bercoff, "The Hetman and the Metropolitan: Cooperation between State and Church in the Time of Varlaam Jasyn's'kyj," in *Mazepa e il suo tempo*, 422–23.
 59. *Ibid.*, 424.
 60. *Ibid.*, 428–30.
 61. Stepovyk, *Ivan Shchyr's'kyi*, 81–84. Stepovyk, however, does not recognize any Mazepist regalia in Shchyr's'kyi's copperplates.
 62. *Ibid.*, 88–91, reproduction: 89. For the Ukrainian translation of Pylyp Orlyk's panegyric, see *Tysiacha rokiv*, 385–86.
 63. Vera Briusova attributes this icon to the Moscow painting school and dates it to the beginning of the eighteenth century. See V. Briusova, *Russkaia zhivopis' 17 veka* (Moscow, 1984), 181, plate 39. Another interesting variation on this topic is the miraculous icon of the Chernihiv Mother of God (1658). This icon features an allegorical landscape and a map of Azov. The Russian heraldic double-headed eagle is depicted in various forms. There is no image of a triumphant army, and defeated Turkey is symbolized by a dragon. The icon is reproduced in Oleg Tarasov, *Ikona i blagochestie: ocherki ikonogo dela v imperatorskoi Rossii* (Moscow, 1995), 360. See also Elena Boeck's article in this volume.

The fate of the iconographic programs of the Kyivan and Chernihiv engravings on Russian imperial soil is symptomatic of the rise of the Russian Empire and the introduction of reforms in the church-state sphere during the Petrine era that were destructive to Ruthenian printing. The introduction of the Synod, in particular, led to the gradual decline of the Kyivan and Chernihiv printing houses in the early

- eighteenth century; the Lviv and Mahilioŭ printing schools survived for a while longer. See Dmitrii Rovinskii, *Russkie gravery i ikh proizvedeniia s 1564 goda do osnovaniia Akademii khudozhestv* (Moscow, 1870), 22–23.
64. Maria Alekseeva, *Graviura petrovskogo vremeni* (Leningrad, 1990), 7.
 65. *Ibid.*, 8.
 66. *Ibid.*, 12. The Ukrainian art scholar Volodymyr Sichyns'kyi acclaimed Karnovs'kyi as the “finest engraver in Moscow at the beginning of the eighteenth century.” See his *Istoriia ukrains'koho hraverstva XVI–XVIII st.* (Lviv, 1937), 29.
 67. Willard Sunderland, “Imperial Space: Territorial Thought and Practice in the Eighteenth Century,” in *Russian Empire: Space, People, Power, 1700–1930*, ed. Jane Burbank, Mark von Hagen, and Anatolyi Remnev (Bloomington, Ind., 2007), 36–37; Cracraft, *Petrine Revolution*, 271–81.
 68. On the art of triumphal gates and fireworks in Petrine Russia, see E. A. Tiukhmeneva, *Isskustvo triumfal'nykh vrat v Rossii pervoi poloviny XVIII veka: problemy panegiricheskogo napravleniia* (Moscow, 2005).
 69. See, e.g., the etching entitled *The Fall of the Antichrist*, which illustrates Stefan Iavors'kyi's *Znameniiia prishestviia Antikhristova i konchiny veka* (Songs of the Antichrist's Coming and the Last Days; Moscow, 1703). The last reprint of the etching is dated 1794. See Larisa Vasil'eva, “Knizhnaia graviura v izdaniakh kirillicheskoï pečhati Moskovskoi sinodal'noi tipografii XVIII–XIX vekov” (Candidate of Sciences diss., St. Petersburg State University, 2004), 22, plates 51 and 52.
 70. The Ruthenian- and Western European–influenced “enmification” of the Muslim population in Russian political imagery at the turn of the seventeenth century contrasts with the relative absence of negative connotations in the Muscovite literary tradition. See Paul Bushkovitch, “Orthodoxy and Islam in Russia 988–1725,” in *Religion and Integration*, 117–44.
 71. Elena Pogosian [Jelena Pogosjan], *Petr I—arkhitektor rossiiskoi istorii* (St. Petersburg, 2001), chap. 1, pt. 1, § 1 “Syny adskie ne odoleiut nas': vziatie Azova.”
 72. Cracraft, *The Petrine Revolution in Russian Imagery*, 135–36, fig. 24.
 73. Maria Alekseeva writes that F. Golovin, A. Shein, F. Lefort, and P. Gordon were part of this group pictured. Alekseeva, *Graviura*, 24.
 74. *Ibid.*, 15, 17.
 75. Charles J. Halperin, “Kiev and Moscow: An Aspect of Early Muscovite Thought,” *Russian History/Histoire russe* 7, no. 3 (1980): 312–21; see also Zenon E. Kohut, “Origins of the Unity Paradigm: Ukraine and the Construction of Russian National History (1620–1860),” *Eighteenth-Century Studies* 35, no. 1 (Fall 2001): 70.
 76. Elena Pogosian, “Zavoevanie Baltiiskikh zemel' v ofitsial'noi ideologii Petra I (1703–1705 gg.),” in *Na perekrestke kul'tur: russkie v Baltiiskom regione*, vol. 1 (Kaliningrad, 2004–), 144–53.
 77. Cracraft, *Petrine Revolution*, 177.
 78. Ernest A. Zitser, *The Transfigured Kingdom: Sacred Parody and Charismatic Authority at the Court of Peter the Great* (Ithaca 2004), 94–100.

79. Pogosjan, "I. S. Mazepa," 315–32.
80. *Opisanie izdaniĭ grazhdanskoi pečati 1708–ianvar' 1725 goda*, ed. P. N. Berkov (Moscow, 1955), 95–96; Gary Marker, "Casting Mazepa's Legacy: Pylyp Orlyk and Feofan Prokopovich," in *Personality and Place in Russian Culture: Essays in Memory of Lindsey Hughes*, ed. Simon Dixon (London, 2010), 118–19.
81. Pogosjan and Smorzhevskiih, "Ia Devu v solntse zriu"; Alekseeva, *Graviura*, 67.
82. Andrei Karev notes that Zubov's etchings depict the same event from two opposite perspectives, and together they form a single ensemble. See his article, "Kompleks graviur, posviaschennykh triumfal'nomu vstupleniiu russkikh voisk v Moskvu posle Poltavskoi pobedy: emblematika prazdnika i simvolika izobrazheniia," in *Poltava: k 300-letiiu Poltavskogo srazheniia: sbornik statei*, ed. O. G. Ageeva et al. (Moscow, 2009), 277.
83. Alekseeva, *Graviura*, 74–77, 117–19. On the design of the triumphal gates during the Poltava celebrations, see V. K. Makarov, comp., *Russkaia svetskaia graviura pervoi chetverti XVIII veka: annotirovannyi svodnyi katalog* (Leningrad, 1973), 37, 40, 136.
84. Karev, "Kompleks graviur," 277.
85. Alekseeva, *Graviura*, 22.
86. Leo Bagrow, *A History of the Cartography of Russia up to 1800*, vol. 2 (Wolfe Island, Ont., 1975), 101, fig. 42.
87. Alekseeva, *Graviura*, 146–47. Makarov identifies the figures as "the state's enemies from Southern Russia—a Tatar, a Cossack, and a Strelets." He dates this map to 1708; Makarov, *Russkaia svetskaia graviura*, 36. Paradoxically, Johann Baptist Homann's famous map *Ukrania quae et Terra Cosaccorum* (published in two editions in Nuremberg: 1720 and 1729) was also published during this period; Homann's map is based on Beauplan's general map of Ukraine and features a portrait of Hetman Mazepa and his followers living in exile in Tekin Bender. See Bohdan S. Kordan, *Land of the Cossacks: Antiquarian Maps of Ukraine: An Exhibition = Zemlia kozakiv: starovynni karty: vystavka* (Winnipeg, Man., 1987), 38–9, plate 16.
88. Makarov, *Russkaia svetskaia graviura*, 279n32.
89. Karev, "Kompleks graviur," 279–80.
90. *Ibid.*, 280.
91. Bagrow, *History of the Cartography of Russia*, 139–45, 147, fig. 56.
92. *Ibid.*, 190–95.
93. Cracraft, *Petrine Revolution* 278.



Figure 1. Master Illia, "The Parable of the Pharisee and the Publican," *Lenten Triodion* (Kyiv, 1640). Fragment.



Figure 2. "The Conquest of Caffa," (Kyiv, 1622).



Figure 3. Vasyl' Ushakevych, "Last Judgment," *Lenten Triodion* (Kyiv, 1664). Fragment.



Figure 4. Master Illia, "The Punishment of Sergii," *Kyivan Cave Paterik* (Kyiv, 1661).



Figure 5. Leontii Tarasevych, "The Punishment of Sergii,"
Kyivan Cave Paterik (Kyiv, 1702).



Figure 6. Leontii Tarasevych, *Olekhnovych's Thesis* (Vilnius, 1688–89). Fragment.



Figure 7. *The Attack of the Heretics on the Righteous' Arch, or Ecclesia militans* (Kyiv, 1760s).

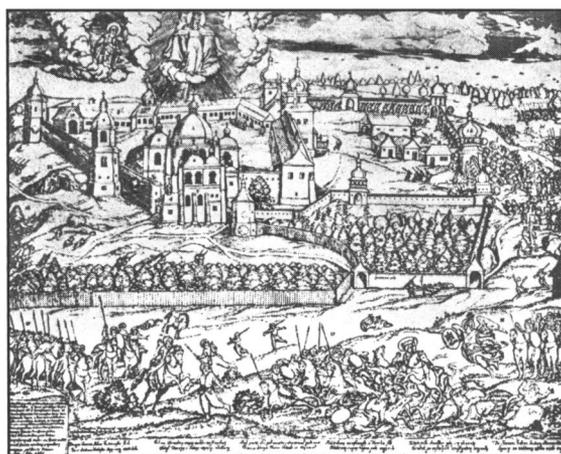


Figure 8. Nykodym Zubryts'kyi, *The Siege of the Pochaiv Lavra in 1675 (1704)*.



Figure 9. Master Illia, frontispiece, in Lazar Baranovych, *The Spiritual Sword* (Kyiv, 1666).



Figure 10. Maksim Voshchanka, "Imam," *Turkish Monarchy* (Stuck, 1673–78).



Figure 11. Maksim Voshchanka, "Women in Sarai," *Turkish Monarchy* (Słuck, 1673–78).



Figure 12. Masters A. K., T. P., Illia, "Panegyric Engraving Devoted to the Tsar Alexei Mikhailovich," Innokentii Gizel', *Festal Menology* (Kyiv, 1680).



Figure 13. Ivan (Innokentii) Shchyr's'kyi, illustration, in Lazar Baranovych, *Grace and Truth* (Chernihiv, 1683). Fragment.



Figure 14. Ivan (Innokentii) Shchyr's'kyi, "Taming of a Monster,"
in Stefan Iavors'kyi, *Echo of the Voice Sounding in the Desert*
(Kyiv, 1689).



Figure 15. Ivan (Innokentii) Shchyr's'kyi, "Eagle," in Stefan Iavors'kyi, *Echo of the Voice Sounding in the Desert* (Kyiv, 1689).



Figure 17. Leontii Tarasevych, illustration, *Kyivan Cave Paterik* (Kyiv, 1702).



Figure 18. Mikhail Karnovs'kyi, frontispiece, in Iosif Turoboiskii, *Politikolepnaia apofoeosis* (Moscow, 1709).

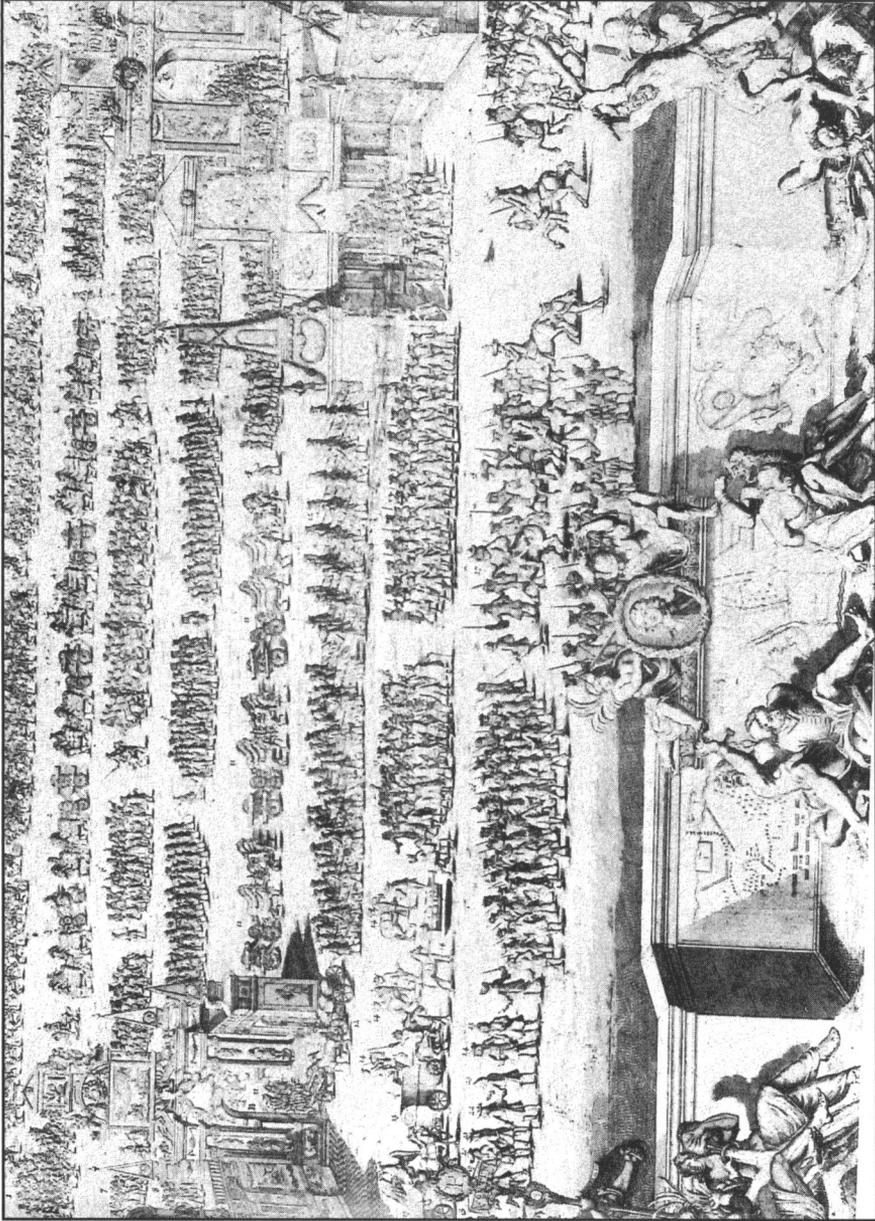


Figure 19. Peter Picard (Picart), *The Solemn Entry of the Russian Army to Moscow after the Poltava Victory on 21 December 1709* (1711).

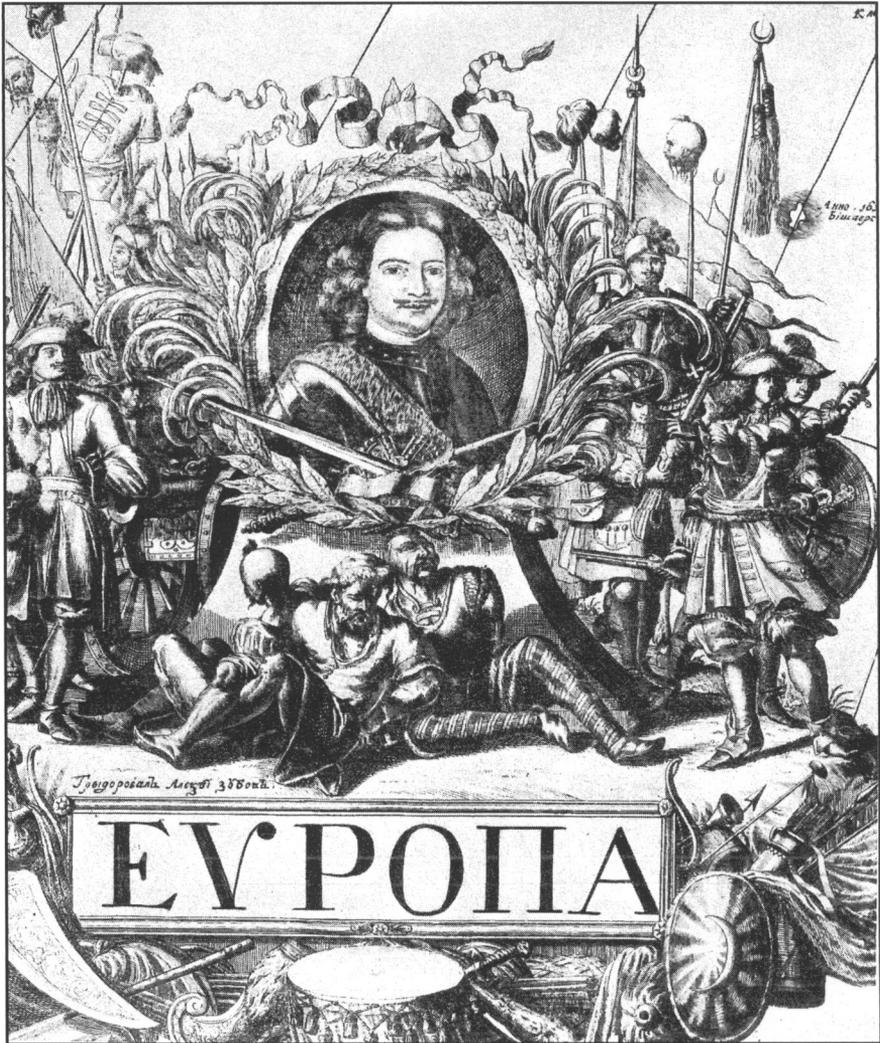


Figure 21. Alexei Zubov and Peter Picard (Picart), *Map of Europe* (1720s). Fragment.



Figure 22. Ivan Kirilov, “Map of the Demarcation of the Eternal Peace between the Russian and Swedish States (Map of Ingria),” *Atlas of the Russian Empire* (1734, 1737). Fragment.



Figure 23. “Little Tataria with the Bordering Kyivan and Belgorod Provinces,” *Atlas of the Russian Empire* (St. Petersburg, 1745). Fragment.