

A WANDERING HELL: THE PATH OF *INFERNUS*,
DAMNATORUM CARCER ET ROGUS FROM BAVARIA TO RUS'

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Hieremias Drexel (1581-1638) was a German Jesuit who has now been completely forgotten, but in his time was renowned all over Europe. His books were best-sellers and circulated both in the original Latin and in translations into various vulgar tongues. His works became popular among believers of different confessions because they were scant of polemic attacks¹ and contained very little controversial material. Although conceived as devotional treatises for personal meditation, they could just as well be a source of inspiration for preachers. They were written in plain Latin and a lively style, contained *exempla* illustrating the main theses, and made use of unexpected metaphors.

This paper focuses on the treatise *Infernus, Damnatorum carcer et rogas*, first published in 1631 in Munich in Latin. The treatise was intended as the second part of a very popular book about eternity which appeared in 1621,² and indeed, the eternal duration of infernal punishment is its main theme.

The book describes a *locus horridus*: a cramped, dark, and overcrowded place, filled with moans, hunger, stench, fire, worms devouring the conscience, and despair. There is nothing new in this inventory for Christian texts about Hell. However, this description of the place is intended to convey the sensations perceived by all five senses. The involvement of all senses was recommended by Ignatius of Loyola in the part of his *Exercitia* devoted to Hell (the fifth exercise, or *Quintum exercitium*) and in his fifth contemplation (*Quinta contemplatio*). The recreation of images through visualisation, which was part of the Ignatian method, was at that time very popular.

¹ W. Pawlak, *Drexel w Polsce (XVII-XVIII wiek). Rekonesans*, "Roczniki Humanistyczne", LXX (2022), 1, p. 15.

² [Jeremias Drexel], *De Aeternitate considerationes, coram Ser[enissi]mis vtriusq[ue] Bavariae Principibus Maximiliano Et Elisabetha explicatae ab Hieremia Drexelio, Monachii, Sadeler, 1621.*

Among the educated, emblem books became a highly appreciated genre.³ We should not forget that Drexel was also the author of a very popular emblem book, *Orbis Phaëthon* (1629), and therefore paid due attention to the relationship between words and images as one of the devices apt to engage the readers' imagination.

These features are well preserved in the Polish translation of *Infernus*. In 1640 the Jesuit Jan Chomętowski published his *Wieczność piekielna* ("Infernal eternity") in Cracow.⁴ This translation was investigated by Jan Janów, who published a lengthy article on it in 1929.⁵ Janów singled out the main features of Chomętowski's work. The Polish Jesuit omitted some quotations, but in general he transformed the source text into a longer one by adding *exempla*, personal comments, and details relevant to his own local context. The translator widely exploited the rhetorical trope of *amplificatio*, thus adapting the treatise to the emphatic and redundant conventions of Baroque prose. As Janów rightly points out, the translator added emphasis by making abundant use of question and exclamation marks. The text underwent a shift towards a homiletic style.⁶

It was only in this form that the text became very attractive in the Ruthenian context. Of course, Ruthenian intellectuals could read the Latin version, and the Polish translation was also accessible. We should not therefore assess the popularity of a work merely on the basis of the number of translations of it. This work did not appear in print in Ruthenian, but someone found it useful to translate it into this language. Janów presents two handwritten Ruthenian versions of *Infernal eternity* in his aforementioned 1929 article. He states that these two handwritten texts are related to each other, either because one was copied from the other, or because they are both derived from an older unknown translation.⁷

³ M. Korzo, *Vizualizacja nrawstvennyx predpisaniy: opyt rannego Novogo vremeni*, "Problemy ètiki: Filosofsko-ètičeskij al'manax", X (2021), p. 114.

⁴ [Jan Chomętowski], *Wieczność piekielna, abo O ogniu, więzieniu y mękach, które w piekle cierpią ludzie potępieni. Obrazu wieczności część wtóra*, wydana [...] przez Hierem. Drexeliusza [...] łacińskim językiem, a teraz na polski przełożona, Kraków, Schedel, 1640 (we use the digitalized copy made available on the website of the project Polona.pl. Since its frontispiece is lacking, we indicate the title as in the bibliographical description). Link to the digital version: <<https://polona.pl/item/wiecznosc-piekielna-abo-o-ogniu-wiezieniu-y-mekach-ktore-w-piekle-cierpia-ludzie,MTA3NDcxOTc2/18/#info:metadata>> (last accessed: 16.10.2022).

⁵ J. Janów, *O przekładzie „Wieczności piekielnej” na język polski i ruski* (Hierem. Drexelii: *Infernus, damnatorum carcer et rogas*), "Prace Filologiczne", 14 (1929), p. 414-475.

⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 418-424, 431.

⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 437-438.

The best preserved translation is that in the codex *Sokol'skyj* (hereafter *S*), belonging to the Library of the Taras Shevchenko Institute for Literature of the National Academy of Sciences in Kyiv. Unfortunately, we were unable to access the codex.

We did gain access to the second manuscript cited by Janów, which was possibly copied from *S*. It is preserved in the Polish National Library in Warsaw, which kindly made it available online at our request. It belonged to the Greek-Catholic Capitular Church in Przemyśl. Very little is known about it: where it was written, by whom, or why. Nonetheless, if the codex named *S* by Janów was written, either totally or in part, in 1721, the scroll in Warsaw may have been copied from it after 1721.⁸ However, Janów also considers it possible that the two manuscripts arose independently from a single, now lost, translation (Janów 438).⁹

In general, we are ignorant of whether the translation arose in an Orthodox or Greek-Catholic environment. The avoidance of controversial material and polemics allowed Drexel's works to be read and accepted not only by Catholics, but also by Protestants (as is the case with the English translations) and the Orthodox. In this particular case, the fear of eternal punishment was shared by different confessions. Janów does state that the translator was certainly a member of the clergy, most probably the Orthodox clergy because mentions of the Pope are avoided (Janów 440).¹⁰ The treatise on Hell is followed in the manuscript by some short texts which also have a moralizing character. These are *exempla*, which could serve didactic purposes well in a homily.

When assessing the translation itself, Jan Janów relied mainly — though not only — on the version preserved in manuscript *S*. Let us summarise some of his conclusions: first, that the Ruthenian translator generally shortened the text, notably by cutting narrative parts, such as the *exempla*, and speculative parts, allegedly because simple people would have not understood such subtleties. He also smoothed down the lively references to everyday life and foreign *realia* so that the text fit into the conventions of ascetic literature;¹¹ and he omitted verses from classical poetry or translated them very clumsily.¹² The Ruthenian translator sometimes added some text, but these additions are of little relevance.¹³

⁸ Ibid., p. 436.

⁹ Ibid., p. 438.

¹⁰ Ibid., p. 440.

¹¹ Ibid., p. 442-443.

¹² Ibid., p. 447.

¹³ Ibid., p. 448.

Let us now take a closer look at the Przemyśl manuscript preserved in Warsaw. Unfortunately, conspicuous mechanical damage affects paragraphs five and six of the sixth chapter and the entirety of chapters seven to nine. These are the chapters devoted to the worm devouring the conscience, the place and the people, and to despair. The rest, however, is well preserved. The manuscript has been dated to the 18th century on the basis of the calligraphy used.¹⁴ Of course, the year of the publication of the Polish version is the *terminus post quem*. If Janów's two hypotheses regarding 1) the dating of manuscript *S* to the year 1721 and 2) the dependence of Warsaw's scroll upon manuscript *S* are accepted, then the *terminus post quem* can be postponed. The text was written in several hands (Janów counts eight, but he is himself unsure).¹⁵ According to Janów's assessment, it is a *codex deterior* compared to *S*, not only because of the missing parts but also because it was written very inaccurately, quite hastily, and with numerous mistakes.¹⁶ As for its language, the scholar points out three differences between this codex and the version in *S*: 1) the use of <cia> instead of <ce>; 2) the usage of <и> instead of <ѣ> and <e>, and vice versa; and 3) the dispalatisation of [r'].¹⁷

Janów devotes the last part of his article to a linguistic analysis of the translation,¹⁸ mainly on the basis of manuscript *S*, the language of which dates it to sometime around the end of the 17th century and the beginning of the 18th century.¹⁹

After Janów's article, the translation of *Wieczność piekielna* into Ruthenian was neglected by scholars. Indeed, it has sometimes been mentioned in the context of the *Wirkung* of German and/or Polish works eastwards, but no thorough analysis comparable to Janów's has been accomplished over 90 years after his article's publication in 1929.

As far as we know, *Infernus* was one of the few works by Drexel to be translated into Ruthenian, although several other treatises of his had already been translated into Polish. This could have been just a matter of chance, and could have depended on the physical presence of Chomętowski's book in the translator's library, but we are rather prone to the hypothesis that it was a conscious choice.

¹⁴ Ibid. p. 436.

¹⁵ Ibid., p. 436.

¹⁶ Ibid., p. 437, 439.

¹⁷ Ibid., p. 450-451.

¹⁸ Ibid., p. 450-475.

¹⁹ Ibid., p. 450.

The vividness of the description of Hell must have intrigued Ruthenian readers. The very inventory of plagues given in *Infernus* stems from the Holy Writ, where references to Gehenna occur. There were descriptions of Hell in Old Rus'ian literature, especially in hagiography and apocrypha, but they focused on the infernal inhabitants and on their actions — that is, on how they tortured the departed.²⁰ The struggle between angels and devils for the soul, and the *mytarstva* (the temporary punishment for the sins, as a matter of the so-called 'little eschatology', as in *The Life of St. Basil the Younger*²¹) were also of major interest for the Orthodox.²² In the *Book of Enoch*²³ the unfaithful angels are placed in the second sky, where they are imprisoned (оужники – prisoners, acc. plur.); the real “tremendous place” (“мѣсто страшно зело”) is located in the northern part of the third sky. There Enoch finds darkness, a fire that does not shed light, a fiery river, ice, and prisons; sinners are tortured with a variety of tools.²⁴

An important source of knowledge about the Afterworld was the Sermon of Ephraim Syrus on the Second Advent of Jesus Christ, which played a major role in the formation of the iconography of the Last Judgement.²⁵ Signifi-

²⁰ I. V. Dergačeva, *Posmertnaja sud'ba i "inoj mir" v drevnerusskoj knižnosti*, Moskva, Krug", 2004, p. 83; N. Jakovenko, *U pošukach novoho neba. Žittja i teksty Joanykija Galjats'koho*, Kyiv, Laurus – Krytyka, 2017, p. 338.

²¹ See *ibid.*, p. 76 ff. In the polemics after the Union of Brest (1595-1956) a disputed point was the thesis of a possible analogy between the *mytarstva* and Purgatory. For the Orthodox, the distinction between *iudicium particulare* and *ultimum iudicium*, born in the context of the Roman Church, was not so theoretically elaborated as in the Catholic theology; the terminology used in specialist studies is rather “little eschatology” and “great eschatology”.

²² Jakovenko, *U pošukach novoho neba*, p. 338-339.

²³ This is the denomination used by academics for the Slavic version of a popular Old Testament apocrypha, see: L. M. Navtanovič, *Vstuplenie*, in *Biblioteka literatury Drevnej Rusi* [=BLDR], T. 3: *XI-XII veka*, Sankt-Peterburg, Nauka, 1999, online version: <<http://lib.pushkinskijdom.ru/Default.aspx?tabid=4921>> (last accessed: 22.09.2022).

²⁴ We refer to the text as published in *BLDR 3*, online version: <<http://lib.pushkinskijdom.ru/Default.aspx?tabid=4921>> (last accessed: 22.09.2022).

²⁵ J.-P. Himka, *Last Judgment Iconography in the Carpathians*, Toronto, University of Toronto Press, 2018, p. 54. Adalberto Mainardi points out the importance of Ephraim's eschatological works for old Rus'ian spiritual poetry, thus showing another way of propagation of the Hell-motif; A. Mainardi, *Slavjanskije i drevnerusskie perevody trudov prp. Efrema Sirina i ich vlijanie na rusSKUju asketičeskuju pis'mennost'*, in *Prepodobnyj Efrem Sirin i ego duhovnoe nasledie. Materialy Četvertoj meždunarodnoj patrističeskoj konferencii Obščecerkovnoj aspirantury i doktorantury im. svv. Ravnoap. Kirilla i Mefodija. Moskva, 27-29 apreļa 2017 g.*, Moskva, Poznanie, 2019, p. 94.

cantly enough, it was in the 17th century that images of the Last Judgement and of the Afterworld became popular in East Slavic culture.

The Hell-motif could spread very effectively thanks to predication, which grew in importance in Ruthenia after the Reformation and the Council of Trent. This motif, however, was nothing new in the tradition of East Slavic homilies: it appeared in the Liturgies of Meatfare Sunday,²⁶ of Lazar's Saturday, of Holy Saturday, and on the Sunday of Lazar and the Rich, when a pericope from the Gospel of Luke would be read (on the twenty-second Sunday after Pentecost). In the Ruthenian context, we find exemplary homiletic texts in the Didactic Gospels, an ancient kind of book which was revived in 16th century Ruthenia because it was a tool comparable to Protestant postils.²⁷ The Didactic Gospels were written as collections of moralizing sermons, generally attributed to Patriarch Callistus I (1350-1353, 1355-1363) and originally indented for individual meditation, but with time turned out to be useful for preaching — especially in the Kyivan Metropoly in the 17th century, when preaching during the Liturgy became a well-established and common practice.²⁸

The Didactic Gospels circulated in manuscript form, but printed versions also began to appear. The first was printed in Zabłudów in 1569 in Church Slavonic. One of the most famous and influential printed versions was Meletij Smotryc'kyj's Didactic Gospel, published in Vievis, near Vilnius, in 1616, then partially reissued by Metropolitan Petro Mohyla in 1637.²⁹ It was written in simple Ruthenian language, which made it extremely popular.

In Meletij's Didactic Gospel, Hell first appears in the *Teaching for Meatfare Sunday* (“Наука в неделю масопустную”),³⁰ in the commentary on the pericope about the Last Judgement in Matthew. The author lists a fairly traditional repertoire of infernal features: cruel tortures, impenetrable darkness,

²⁶ *Mjasopustnaja Nedelja*, the penultimate Sunday before Lent, when part of chapter 25 of the Gospel of Matthew is read. It is also called the Sunday of the Last Judgement, because the *passus* from Matthew describes the second advent of Lord Jesus and the judgement of the souls.

²⁷ M. Kuczyńska, *Ruska homiletyka XVII wieku w Rzeczypospolitej. Ewolucja gatunku – specyfika funkcjonalna*, Szczecin, Wyd. Nauk. Uniwersytetu Szczecińskiego, 2004, p. 12.

²⁸ M. Korzo, *Pravoslavnaja propoved' v Reči Pospolitoj XVII v.: nekotorye nabljudenija*, “Slověne”, 2 (2017), p. 581-583.

²⁹ D. A. Frick, *Introduction*, in *The Jevanhelije učytelnoje of Meletij smotryc'kyj*, Cambridge (Massachusetts), Harvard University Press, 1987, p. IX (from now on we will refer to this edition as follows: JeU 1616/1987).

³⁰ JeU 1616/1987, p. 46-54 (page numbers as in the modern edition).

gnashing of teeth, unquenchable fire, worms that never die, sadness, bitterness, pain, and constant sighing.³¹ The description in the sermon about the Last Judgement is therefore quite conventional.

The passage most relevant to Hell in Meletij Smotryc'kyj's Didactic Gospel is in the homily on Lazar and the rich. The author stresses the distance between Heaven and Hell, insisting on the opposition 'high' vs 'low'. Curiously enough, he finds it important to say that the rich had to shout when talking to Abraham, owing to the enormous distance between them. Lazar, in Heaven, cannot see the Rich in Hell because the latter are in darkness.³² These details aim to emphasise the separation between the two afterlives. The list of infernal plagues is a traditional one (flames, hunger, thirst, tortures, laments, darkness, and worms). Meletij Smotryc'kyj uses concrete expressions: 'a dry tongue' instead of 'hunger', 'thirst for a drop of water' instead of the generic 'thirst'. He constantly compares the plagues with the luxuries the rich enjoyed in life. This creates emphasis and makes these plagues more perceivable for the reader. The author also insists on the motif of the eternal duration of the condition of souls: he repeatedly uses adjectives to emphasize the duration of the plagues and devotes some lines to this motif.³³

The destiny of another Didactic Gospel was very different, because its author was condemned by the Moscow clergy. Kyrylo Trankvillion-Stavrovec'kyj's Didactic Gospel was printed in Rochmanovo in 1619. Hell is mentioned in the paragraph devoted to Meatfare Sunday, in the context of the Last Judgement. After the end of the present world, Trankvillion-Stavrovec'kyj asserts, all bodies and souls will unite again to stand before the Judge. The sinners' souls will be released from "адовы темницѣ" ("Hell's prison"), "спропасти смраднои, змѣста темного" ("from the stinking abyss, from the dark place").³⁴ The core of the description of the afterlife is in the passage in which the souls have just been judged and are sent to their final destination. The sinners' souls make their way into Hell. Kyrylo Stavrovec'kyj describes the place at which they land: it is the dark abyss of Gehenna, where the sinners will be tortured. The author stresses the exclusion and rejection of the damned souls, the *poena damni*. Hell is noisy: the tortured sinners

³¹ JeU 1616/1987, p. 48.

³² JeU 1616/1987, p. 331.

³³ JeU 1616/1987, p. 333.

³⁴ [Кирило Транквиліон Ставровецький] *Евліе учител'ное албо казаня на н^оля през рокъ и на празники г^одкіе [...]* съставлена трудолюбіемъ Иеромонаха Кири^ила Транквиліона [...] В маестности [...] в Рохмановѣ [...] ꙗх^ои, [hereafter: JeU St.], f. 31r.

scream and cry, and the devils howl horribly. The personified Sky and Earth are so scared that the Earth falls apart, and the sinners precipitate into a fiery sea and into the jaws of a frightful beast, which is denominated in various ways to evoke the most intense fear: a dragon, a Leviathan, a whale.³⁵ Kyrylo Stavrovec'kyj seems to have amplified all the most frightening ways of visually representing Hell in the images of the Last Judgement so as to shock the readers/listeners.

In the second teaching for Meatfare Sunday, Kyrylo Stavrovec'kyj writes specifically about the infernal plagues. The author reprehends people who do not care about the destiny of their soul and tries to induce them to change their life. The following description of Hell's plagues should be of great help for this purpose. The writer starts his description by drawing the listeners' attention to his words: "Сего ради молю брате и сестро, постой мало, и услыши что се за страна, юже нарицають писаніе геєною, и пеклом" ("Therefore, I beg you, brother and sister, stand for a while and hear what kind of country is the one that the Holy Writ calls Gehenna, and Hell").³⁶ Then Kyrylo Trakvillion-Stavrovec'kyj gathers the information associated with Hell scattered throughout the Bible. It is a horrific and sad region, located in a deep underground ravine, replete with darkness and unquenchable fire. The mountains melt like wax in the sun (Psalm 97(96),5). There is a fiery sea with waves as high as hills, fiery rivers, high winds, and storms of fiery hail drumming down on the damned like a hammer. The air is fetid and toxic.³⁷

After describing the place, the author focuses on its inhabitants: he repeats and expands the inventory of monsters living in Hell that he has already mentioned in the previous teaching. Beelzebub is among the chief devils and is the most horrible being in Hell. Enormous monsters populate the fiery sea. Stinking smoke emanates from their ears and wind blows from their nostrils.

The damned are plagued by fire, but their bodies are not incinerated because they are doomed to eternal punishment is doomed. The sinners are tortured according to their sins: gluttons starve, drunkards thirst, and so on. The afterlife is the reverse of earthly existence.³⁸

³⁵ JeU St., ff. к̄ār-к̄вr.

³⁶ JeU St., f. к̄гr.

³⁷ Ibid.

³⁸ JeU St, f. кдv.

Besides the description of the plagues, this teaching contains a notable passage on how the tortures affect various parts of the body and faculties of the 'soul' (thought, reason, intellect, memory, and conscience).³⁹ We find this text particularly interesting. First, it is organised in a fairly systematic way, according to thematic principles; it aims for an exhaustive treatment of each single part of the physical or spiritual body. In other words, the passage already has the characteristics of a treatise. Secondly, in each fragment the part of the physical or spiritual body appears as an active subject, lamenting its desperate condition and blaming its own actions for leading it to punishment. This is one of the most detailed and systematic written descriptions of Hell in 17th century Ruthenian literature. Interestingly enough, this passage provoked criticism when representatives of the Muscovite clergy evaluated Stavrovec'kyj's Didactic gospel.⁴⁰

The Hell-motif appears also in the second teaching on Lazar Saturday,⁴¹ but in this case it is limited to the Old Testament patriarchs, according to a Latin conception of *infernus quadruplex*.⁴² Lazar can testify to the existence of the afterlife.

The lesson for Holy Saturday⁴³ contains a long dialogue between God and the Devil. The announcement that God is coming to free the souls of the faithful people from Hades frightens Hades itself. The personification of Hell is a well-known motif in icons of the Last Judgement.⁴⁴

The last relevant passage to be considered in our analysis of the Hell-motif is the lesson for the 22nd Sunday after Whitsunday, when the parable of Lazar and the Rich is read. In his lesson Stavrovec'kyj writes about the plagues which the Rich is suffering. Again, Hell is a reverse of the sinner's comfortable life: a long fragment is constructed as a series of oppositions (e.g.: "instead of the sound of trumpets and music, he hears the scream of frightening devils").⁴⁵ In the second lesson for the same Sunday, the writer deals with a motif typical for that day: the distance between the saved and the damned, or between Heaven and Hell.⁴⁶

³⁹ JeU St, ff. kĕv-kĕsv.

⁴⁰ D. Antonov, M. Majzul's, *Anatomija ada. Putevoditel' po drevnerusskoj vizual'noj demonologii*, Moskva, Forum - Neolit, 2014, p. 19-20.

⁴¹ JeU St, ff. žĕsv-žĕir.

⁴² Jakovenko, *U pošukach novoho neba*, p. 342.

⁴³ JeU St, f. pĕār.

⁴⁴ Antonov, Majzul's, *Anatomija ada*, p. 139-143.

⁴⁵ "вмѣсто труб'ного шуму и музыки, слышитъ крикъ страшных' шатанввъ", JeU St, f. tĕĕir.

⁴⁶ JeU St, ff. tĕĕiv.

Stravrovec'kyj had already written about Hell in his *Zercalo bohoslovija* (1618), which is a very unusual and significant work. Kyrylo Stavrovec'kyj offered a systematic explanation of the doctrine of the Orthodox Church. In his *Teaching about the repentance of sinners* (“*Гд покааніи грѣшныхъ правоученіе*”) he urges his readers to avoid sin if they wish to escape eternal condemnation. He does not describe Hell in detail, merely recalling some generic torments and stressing separation from God, the saints, and eternal life.⁴⁷ The interesting passage here is the long list of categories of sinners, with a special mention of the Jews. All these sinners, asserts the writer, will burn in a fiery lake.⁴⁸

A similar list of sinner categories appears in *Перло многоцѣнное*,⁴⁹ in the Fifth sermon, on the torments in the Gehenna, to which the Lord will send all sinners from God's judgement (“Казана є, в мукахъ геенскихъ, до которыхъ Г(с)дь втошлетъ всѣ(х) грѣшниквъ съ суду своего Бо(з)кого”). Kyrylo Trankvillion-Stavrovec'kyj reuses material from previous works, in particular from the Didactic Gospel. The sermon resembles the homily for Meatfare Sunday: the construction of the plagues suffered by the parts of the physical and “spiritual” body is repeated and enlarged.

The Hell-motif appeared also in works by Joanykij Galjatovs'kyj (?-1688), mainly in his homiletic collection *The Key to Understanding* (“*Ключъ разумнїа*”), which was first published in Kyiv in 1659, then republished there in 1660, and later published in modified versions in Lviv in 1663 and 1665.⁵⁰ As Natalja Jakovenko notes, in the first edition of *A Key to Understanding* Galjatovs'kyj presents Hell as divided into three levels; this stratification of Hell is taken from the tradition of the Latin Church.⁵¹ The description of the infernal plagues encompasses a traditional inventory, that which appears in Drexel/Chomętowski's treatise. The description is placed in an unusual position, as it appears in the homily for the entry of Jesus in Jerusalem, on the verset from the Gospel of John: “Fear not, daughter of Sion: behold, thy

⁴⁷ We have access to the edition printed in 1790 in Počaiv [from now on: ZB]. [Kyrylo Trankvilion-Stavrovec'kyj] *Zercalo bogoslovїu* Трудолобіємъ [...] Кврілла Транквїліона [...] издаса Въ тойже Обители Почаевской Ч.С.В.В. року 1790 [Počaiv, 1790], p. тзї-тїї.

⁴⁸ ZB, p. тѣї-тк.

⁴⁹ [Kyrylo Trankvilion-Stavrovec'kyj] *Сїа книга названна Перло многоцѣнное* съставленна трудолобіємъ презь Кирїла Транквїліона [...] егв власнымъ коштомъ [...] ахмїс [1646].

⁵⁰ Kuczyńska, *Ruska homiletyka XVII wieku*, p. 80.

⁵¹ Jakovenko, *U pošukach novoho neba*, p. 341-342.

King cometh, sitting on an ass's colt".⁵² Galjatovs'kyj writes about the Last Judgement, when sinners will be terrified because they will be sent to Hell. There, they will be punished according to the kind of sin they committed; adulterers and hot-tempered people, for instance, will be burned by an unquenchable fire because in their life they burned with lust and anger.⁵³ The image of Hell is quite funny and original: Hell is compared to a sack stuffed with grain and closed with a string, or to a barrel stuffed with fish and plugged with a peg; so shall God stuff Hell with sinners and close it.⁵⁴

The descriptions of Hell were not meant to throw the believers into despair, so they were always followed by a suggestion on how to avoid sin. Galjatovs'kyj stated overtly in his *Teaching, method for composing a sermon* ("Наука, албо способъ зложена казана") that a way for redemption had to be shown, to keep the hope of salvation alive.⁵⁵ This corresponded to the attitude of the preachers of the Latin Church. Terrorizing the listeners with references to a horrible punishment was not a common practice.⁵⁶ Even when preachers did so, they would add some words on how this punishment could be escaped and a reward gained.⁵⁷ As Wiślicz rightly notes, the description of the punishment was the most vivid, and, as strange as it may sound, the most attractive part of the sermon for the listeners.⁵⁸ Often, the preachers seconded the tastes of the believers. To do so, they derived materials from various sources, including folklore. The Church authorities found such practices reprehensible,⁵⁹ but the very existence of their reprimands testifies to the fact that each preacher, irrespective of the recommendations of the upper grades of the ecclesiastical hierarchy, tried to teach his flock using

⁵² For English translations from the Bible we refer to King James Version: <www.obbible.com/cgi-bin/ob.cgi?version=kjv&book=john&chapter=12> (last accessed: 02.10.2022).

⁵³ [Joanykij Galjatovs'kyj] *Ključ razuměnija sščennikomъ zakonnymъ i svěckimъ naležacij, tipomъ [...]* Lavrě Kievopečerskoj [...] roku [...] 1659 [...] světu podana, in K. Bida, *Ioanikij Galjatovs'kyj i joho "Ključ Razuměnija"*, Rym, Ukraïns'kyj universytet im. Sv. Klymenta Papy, 1975, p. 120-123 (Praci Hreko-Katolyc'koï Bohoslovs'koï Akademiï, XXXVII-XXXIX).

⁵⁴ [Joanykij Galjatovs'kyj] *Ključ razuměnija...*, 1659, p. 123.

⁵⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 236; Jakovenko, *U pošukach novoho neba*, p. 343.

⁵⁶ T. Wiślicz, *Pedagogika strachu w Kościele potrydenckim w Polsce*, in *Sic erat in fatis. Studia i szkice historyczne dedykowane Profesorowi Bogdanowi Rokowi*, red. E. Kościk, R. Żerelik, P. Badyňa, F. Wolański, Toruń, Adam Marszałek, 2012, t. I, p. 287.

⁵⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 290.

⁵⁸ *Ibid.*

⁵⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 296.

the most effective means — even if it entailed the use of some ‘tricks’ which were not necessarily endorsed by their superiors.

In this context, Drexel’s treatise could find fertile ground, although, as stated above, it is not a detailed description of Hell but rather a collection of *exempla* and commentaries which illustrate and make tangible the infernal plagues, emphasising their intensity and duration. *Infernus, Damnatorum carcer et rogas* fits well into the general interest in Hell, and this is even true for in Chomętowski’s version, which met the tastes of Ruthenian society in the Baroque epoch. Along with the fashionable Hell-motif, this treatise is a significant example of a text in which the Ignatian recommendation of a holistic involvement of all the five senses is put into practice.

Drexel’s work (in Latin or in translation) appears to have been a versatile tool. In a church or monastery library it would have been a good aid for meditation, but also a useful source of inspiration for preachers. It is also possible that the translation itself was conceived as a duty, the discharge of which would have benefited the soul of the translator.

The existence of Ruthenian versions of Drexel’s treatise, through an intermediary Polish translation, is fully understandable within this frame. Several factors led to its appearance: 1) a wish to make up for the lack of information about Hell in Holy Writ; 2) the potential of this motif for moralising; and 3) the versatility of this text, which suited both the needs of individual readers for meditation and the needs of preachers. The Ruthenian context was ready for such a work: Ruthenian writers and educated readers had become acquainted with this genre, as it emerged from the polemic literature which developed after the Union of Brest. Moreover, treatises and systematisations of the main concepts of the confession of the Byzantine-Slavic doctrine had already begun to appear independently from polemics, as is the case with Kyrylo Stavrovec’kyj’s *Zercalo Bohoslovija*. The popularisation of the practice of preaching also facilitated the spread of works containing materials which could be exploited to compose sermons. The visual representation of Hell within the frescoes and icons of the Last Judgement is another part of the frame which helps us to understand the context of the Ruthenian translation of Drexel’s *Infernus* through Chomętowski’s version.

Abstract

A Wandering Hell: The Path of *Infernus, Damnatorum carcer et rogas* from Bavaria to Rus’.

In 1631 the Bavarian Jesuit Jeremias Drexel wrote a treatise on Hell: *Infernus, Damnatorum carcer et rogas*. The work appeared in Latin and High German and was then translated in various language. In 1640 this treatise

was published in Polish; the translator was Jan Chomętowski. The work was also translated into Ruthenian, but this version was never printed. As far as we know, it is preserved in two manuscripts.

The appearance of a work about Hell was nothing new in the Ruthenian context. In the old Rus'ian literature this motif appeared in apocrypha which tried to make up for the scarcity of information about the afterlife. With time, the Hell-motif also began to appear in homilies. In the 17th century, believers could also admire representations of the Last Judgement in which Hell occupied a good portion of the painting.

Verbal representations of Hell were also present in the 17th century Ruthenian tradition, especially in homiletics. In this article, we review some of these verbal descriptions of Hell in the writings of Ruthenian authors in order to shed light on the context from which the Ruthenian translation of Drexel's treatise emerged.

Keywords: Hell, Jeremias Drexel, Jan Chomętowski, Ruthenian translations from Polish.