Abstract: The church of St. George built and painted in 1548/49, is located in the village of Banjani near Skopje. The appearance of the single-aisle church was altered during the 19th century when the narthex was added. The inscription above the western entrance leading to the nave indicates that the renovation of the church was a merit of the donor Petar Kaovche and the local villagers. In addition it is stated that the paintings are work of the painter Dimitar Krstev(ich) - Dicho from Debar, completed in 1846. On the entire surface of the eastern wall of the narthex, Dicho Zograf depicted the impressive and complex composition of the Last Judgement, characterized by rich illustrative qualities, a narrative approach, and an extraordinary sense of detail, accompanied by numerous explanatory inscriptions. In this composition he incorporated many new themes with a moralizing-didactic character, motifs with Russian and Bulgarian provenance, and apocalyptic components.

The small church dedicated to the victorious saint and the great martyr George, built and painted in 1548/49, is located in the village of Banjani near Skopje. The appearance of the single-aisle church was altered during the 19th century when new windows were opened and the narthex was added. The iconostasis was completed in 1845 according to the inscription on one of the royal icons (The Virgin Hodegetria) signed by the famous painter Dimitar Krstev(ich) - Dicho from Tresonche, near Debar, who at that time had painted prolifically in the Skopje region, especially in Banjani.

The inscription above the western entrance leading to the nave indicates that the renovation of the church was a merit of the donor Petar Kaovche and the local villagers.

Key words: Banjani, narthex, Last Judgement, Dicho Zograf, hermeneia

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villagers. In addition it is stated that the paintings are the work of the painter Dimitar Krstev(i)ch - Dicho from Debar, completed on December 5, 1846:

On the entire surface of the eastern wall of the narthex, Dicho Zograf depicted the impressive and complex composition of the Last Judgement, characterized by rich illustrative qualities, a narrative approach, and an extraordinary sense of detail, accompanied by numerous explanatory inscriptions (ill. 1).

At the same time, it is important to note that the Last Judgement in Banjani is the only known example of this composition in his work.

According to recent research, it is considered that some of the earliest works of Dicho Zograf are four royal icons painted in 1844 from the church of St.Nedelya, in the village of Debrene, in the vicinity of the town Sandanski in Bulgaria. Probably created after his visit of the Rila Monastery, they would be his earliest works on Bulgarian territory. Besides being such a productive artist, Dicho Zograf is also known as an editor of two painter’s manuals, the First Hermeneia (prior to 1844) and the Second Hermeneia (1851), compiled from various sources and paper icons, which among other themes contain descriptions of the Last Judgement. It is also well known that Dicho Zograf for the most part has formed his painterly style thanks to the tuition received in the workshop of the painter Mihail from Samarina, and his son Dimitar/Danil. This is especially notewor...

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4 For the revision of the year of completion of the paintings in the Banjani narthex, see Грозданова Коцевски В., Op.cit., 3.

5 In the transcription of the inscriptions and texts, the symbols [ ] are used for lost/damaged letters, while other words are transmitted as they are written without reading the ligatures.

6 We presented the church of St. George, including the Last Judgement, and also the Monastery of St. Elijah in Banjani in the article: Александар Велики може да се види на Скопска Црна Гора by Stojanovska В., published in the daily newspaper “Nova Makedonija”, No. 23.7010, Year LXXI, Tuesday, March 15th, 2016, 14-15, followed by a short promotional video #RaskaziNiZaMakedonija on YouTube: https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=pwX2YX-ud5lg&feature=youtu.be (accessed February 24, 2018).

7 Гергова И., Най-ранните икони на Дичо Зограф в България, Патримониум.МК 14, Скопје 2016, 203-212.

8 Ibidem, 208-209.

9 Мутафов Е., Поглед врз двете ерминии на Дичо Зограф, Зборник за средновековна уметност на Музејот на Македонија 3 (2001), 268-280; Иванова Т., Страшния съд според Ерминиите на Българските възрожденски зографи, Богословска мисъл. Докторантиски изследвания, кн. 1-2, 2012, 50-86 (in the further references the pagination of the text is quoted according to the article available on the author’s profile on Academia.edu: https://uni-sofia.academia.edu/TatyanaIvanova). A. Kuyumdzhiev notes many coincidences and similarities between the paintings of the main Rila church and the descriptions in Dicho Zograf’s Hermeneia, see Куюмджиев А., Стенописите в Главната църква на Рилския манастир, София 2015, 567.

10 Грозданов Ц., Почетоците на Дичо Зограф, 63-
thy in the similarities of the Last Judgement in Banjani with the same composition from the church of St. George in Lazaropole (1836), the work of Mihail from Samarina. However, in addition to the obvious similarities and influences from him, Dicho Zograf in Banjani created a composition in which he incorporated many new themes with a moralizing-didactic character, motifs with Russian and Bulgarian provenance, and apocalyptic components. It is from this work that his disciples and followers would draw inspiration, especially his sons Avram and Spiridon (Spire), although Dicho’s variant would not be repeated.

On the entire wall surface is the composition of the Last Judgement, while the depictions of the Deesis and the Apostles today are not visible due to the flat wooden ceiling added later. Under the ceiling are the depictions of the Prepared Throne, Adam and Eve, the group of poor people, the righteous, Heaven, the Four Rivers, the Weighing of Souls (Psychostasia), the General resurrection, Hell/the Fiery River and the Aerial Tollbooths, Moses and the group of Jews, and the Four Kingdoms. Within the Last Judgement additional themes are incorporated such as three scenes related to the prophet Elijah, the righteous Enoch and the Antichrist, the Wheel of Life and the Sacred Confession. On both sides of the entrance to the nave there are five so-called pseudo-icons of Jesus Christ Pantocrator, the Holy Mother of God with Christ, St. John the Forerunner, the patron St. George slaying the Dragon, and St. Demetrios conquering the beast.

The Magnificent Prepared Throne

On the highest visible surface is the lavishly decorated Prepared Throne depicted above clouds, where a pillow is set, on which the Christ’s blue cloak is placed. Above them are the Gospel and the Dove (the Holy Ghost), while on the background a part of the Holy Cross which probably had large dimensions can be seen. On the four sides of the Throne were the symbols of the Evangelists from which only the lion-Mark (ΜΑΡΚ) is visible on the left side and the calf – Luke (ΛΟΥΚ) on the right side. Besides the Throne are Adam (ΑΔΑΜ) and Eve (ΕΥΑ) with nimbi, kneeling in a proskynetic attitude with crossed arms on their chest. Behind them, according to the remains, the archangels Gabriel and Michael were presented, also with their hands crossed (ill. 2).

The Prepared Throne is mentioned many times in the Psalms 9:7-8 and 89, 14, and in Psalm 103:19 as a “throne in heaven”, while according to the Revelation of St. John 4:2 “the throne was set in heaven”. The throne is an indispensable part of this composition since the earliest examples, with some differences and variations in its form and components. Although the instruments of crucifixion are not visible in our example, together with the cross they determine the soteriological message of this motif with-
in the Last Judgement. Adam and Eve, usually represented with nimbi, are almost always present in the proximity of the Throne, which emphasize the symbolism of the redeemed sin thanks to Christ’s sacrifice.

The Grateful righteous

Behind Adam and Eve are two groups of poor people consisted of beggars, lame and blind (ill. 2). The group of poor people (ΠΝΗΜΑΤΟΝ) behind Adam is led by an old man leaning on a crutch on whose saddle part his cut leg is set, and with his left raised hand holds a scroll containing the gratitude of the righteous: Богородица ΠΡΑВΕΝНІЯ. On his shoulder there is a large bag, and the other figures also carry full bags, canes and (shepherd’s) crooks, while some of them have characteristic caps in the form of klobuks on their heads. The poor people are shown in modest folk costumes consisted of dark shirts, white underwear with long trousers, socks and peasant shoes (opinci). The last participant of the group, presented as a blind man, holds a string instrument that looks like a kemene or a gusle. The group of three poor people behind Eve today is not visible in the upper part due to the added pillar. One of them is leaning on a crutch where his leg is set. All three are barefoot, with short trousers or shirts, while in their hands they hold crooks and empty bags with openings turned downwards.

The representations of the poor people who are treated as a post-Byzantine inno-

14 Џимревски Б., Претставите на музичките инструменти на фреските и дрворезите во Македонија, Македонски фолклор, Година IX, бр. 17 (1976), 160-161. It is known that gusle singers were blind persons or with physical disability, cf. Stevenson B. L., The Gusle Singer and His Songs, American Anthropologist, New Series, Vol. 17, No. 1 (Jan. - Mar., 1915), 58, 60.

15 For the motif of the poor people, the oldest known illustration, the inscriptions, as well as numerous examples and variants, see: Simić-Lazar D., Le Jugement dernier de l’église des Saints Pierre et – Paul de Tutin en Yougoslavie, Cahiers balkaniques 6 (1864), 239-241; Eadem, Иконографија Страшног суда у цркви св. Петра и Павла у Тутину, Саопштења XVII (1985), 171-172; Eadem, La signification de la représentation des pauvres dans les Jugements derniers post-byzantins, ZLU 23, (1987), 175-182; Пенкова Б., „Тия мои наималки братя” в по-
viation in the iconography of the Last Judgement,\textsuperscript{15} will remain its constant even during the 19\textsuperscript{th} century. The textual model for their visualization is in the Gospel of Matthew 25:34-41, and the quotations from his gospel that often convey the motif of the poor,\textsuperscript{16} in this case are not visible or were left out. In this example, a clear distinction is made between the two groups, separated as grateful righteous who receive protection from Christ, and beggars-sinners who will be condemned for their ruthlessness and greed. Although the group on the right-hand side of the composition is not fully visible, the determining elements for their classification are the inscriptions, as well as their full or empty bags.\textsuperscript{17} We note a similar depiction of the distinction of the poor people as righteous and sinners, including the text on the scroll, in the church of St. George in Lazaropole.\textsuperscript{18}

Behind the group of the poor on the left side is the Archangel (Gabriel) in royal dalmatica who, with one hand, points at the Judge, and with the other hand holds a scroll on which the words according to the Gospel of John 5:29, and taken from Daniel 12:2 are written: \textit{СОТЕРФИШН ЕЛГА, ЕКБ ВОСКРШЕНЕ ЖИБОТ} (“And shall come forth; they that have done good, unto the resurrection of life…”). The Archangel is the leader of the group of the righteous led by monks with the explanatory inscription: \textit{ПРАВИДНИ ЖИВЕТЪ}.

\textsuperscript{15} The textual model for their visualization is in the Gospel of Matthew 25:34-41, and the quotations from his gospel that often convey the motif of the poor, in this case are not visible or were left out. In this example, a clear distinction is made between the two groups, separated as grateful righteous who receive protection from Christ, and beggars-sinners who will be condemned for their ruthlessness and greed. Although the group on the right-hand side of the composition is not fully visible, the determining elements for their classification are the inscriptions, as well as their full or empty bags. We note a similar depiction of the distinction of the poor people as righteous and sinners, including the text on the scroll, in the church of St. George in Lazaropole.

\textsuperscript{16} The various variants of the accompanying texts in our examples, including the most complete among them, are presented by: Грозданов Ц., Страшният съд в църквата Свети Климент, 53-54.

\textsuperscript{17} The various variants of the accompanying texts in our examples, including the most complete among them, are presented by: Грозданов Ц., Страшният съд в църквата Свети Климент, 53-54.
Behind the monks there is a group of figures of different ages with rich outfits consisted of long shirts and fur lined coats, and turbans or hats on their heads, some of them also decorated with fur (ill. 2).

The Archangels as God’s messengers of the judgement that is to be brought into the deeds of man, are also related to the inclusion of individual groups of the poor and the righteous, but also the sinners. Besides the figures of monks, the righteous, who according to the rich clothes were obviously members of a higher social rank, are included.19 The inclusion of the quotation according to the Gospel of John on the archangel’s scroll is previously recorded in the Last Judgement from Lazaropole.20

The Garden of Eden

On the northern part of the wall surface, Heaven (Δῆμος) is depicted as a delightful garden with flowers and cypresses surrounded by a wall and towers, where the common representations are arranged in two zones. In the upper part on a honorary place, the Holy Mother of God (ΜΗΡ ΘΥ) is seated on a lavishly decorated throne flanked by the two archangels, standing on a suppedaneum. The Mother of God in her right hand holds a flower/blossoming branch, while her left palm is opened forwards. In the second zone, under her representation, the three forefathers Abraham, Isaac and Jacob are depicted.21 Right next to them are three figures with smaller dimensions than the others, apparently of children, signified as virgins (DΣVX), and further on is the figure of the Righteous Thief with the cross on his shoulders (ΡΑΣΒΟΝΙ) (ill. 3a). At the foot of Heavens wall from arched openings four rivers Phison, Gihon, Euphrates and Tigris flow (ΡΕΚΑ ΦΙΣΟΝ, ΓΕΟΝ, ΕΥΦΡΑΤ, ΤΙΓΡ) (ill. 3b).

On the arched part of the Gate of Heaven is written: ΣΙΑ ΒΡΝΤΛ ΑΓΓΛΝ ΠΡΩΝΙΝ ΕΙΝΔΤΤΓ ΕΘΜ (ill. 3c). Towards Heaven approach the righteous led by St. Peter, who with his right hand unlocks the gate, and in his left hand holds a half-open scroll that identifies him as Christ’s Apostle (ΠΕΤΡΑ ΑΠΣΛ ΙΝΣ ΧΡΣΤ). Beside him are St. Paul (ΠΑ) with scrolls in his left hand, St. Jacob (ΙΚΟΒ), St. John the Theologian (ΙΟ ΘΕΟΛ), and then St. Matthew (ΜΤΘ) behind whom are St. Bartholomew (ΘΡΜΘ) and St. Simon (ΣΜ). In the continuation of the procession on the foreground are St. Luke (ΛΕ) and St. Mark (ΜΑΡ). All four Evangelists, apart from the physiognomic characteristics and

19 For the various groups of the righteous within the composition of the Last Judgement in many examples, see: Millet G., La Dalmatique du Vatican. Les élus. Images et croyances, Paris 1945, 82-91. In earlier examples, the separation of the righteous of a higher social status is noted in Tutin (Симић-Лазар Д., Иконографија Страшног суда, 173, сл. 1) and in Vitkuk, thus as a separate group behind the poor are included in Lazaropole (Тричковска Ј., Страшното суд во цр. Св. Ѓорѓи, 224, п. 74).

20 Сф. Тричковска Ј., Страшното суд во цр. Св. Ѓорѓи, 220, 224, ill. 3-4.

21 Their inscriptions in Banjani are damaged and unreadable.
inscriptions, are also recognized by the closed gospels in their hands. Behind them are the Apostles St. Thomas ( Thrones) and St. Philip (Kill). Next to the Evangelists is the forefather Adam (Ad), while behind him is the hermit St. Onuphrius (Onuphrius). The last in the line on the front row is another hermit with a damaged inscription, but judging by his garment woven with palm leaves and the broad straw cap on his head, he is St. Paul of Thebes. In the second row behind the Apostles St. Paul and St. John the Theologian are the holy fathers St. John Chrysostom (Chrysostom) and St. Spyridon (Spyridon), while behind them is St. Nicholas (Nicholas) from whom only part of the face and the crown are visible. Near the walls of Heaven, there is a figure of a monk with a damaged inscription, and the rest are marked only with nimbuses (ill. 4).

The Holy Mother of God since the earliest examples is almost always present and dominant in Heaven. Also, the figure of the Righteous Thief is almost constant, which is derived from Christ’s words: “Truly I tell you, today you will be with me in paradise” (Luke 23:43). As for the representations of the three forefathers who are sporadically represented in different ages from an older to a younger man, in our example, all three are depicted as elders. Certain fading of the figures make it difficult to identify the personification of the souls of the righteous who are usually portrayed as babies in swaddling clothes or only their heads are visible. Nevertheless, despite the fading, they were presented on the lap of one of the figures or were left out, and were replaced by a separate group of children beside the forefathers. The representations of children as a separate group are often depicted on paper icons.

The four rivers flowing from Heaven have their literary source in Genesis 1:10-14. According to St. Epiphanius, a bishop of Salamis in Cyprus (4th century), St. Ephrem the Syrian (4th century), the Map of the World from “Christian Topography” by the sixth century geographer Cosmas Indicopleustes, and also according to other authors and texts, their springs

22 On the iconography of one of the first Christian hermits, St. Paul of Thebes, see Спахиу Ј., Сликарството во наосот на северниот параклис на Топличкиот манастир, Патримониум.МК 10 (2012), 235-236, n. 107-111 (with bibliography and examples).


24 Such is the example with their representations in the church of St. George in Lazaropole, cf. Тричковска Ј., Страшниот суд во цр. Св. Ѓорѓи, 226, ill. 6.

25 Dicho Zograf in his Hermeneia writes that next to Abraham small children should be presented which should be inscribed as “virgins”, see Василиев А., Ерминии. Технология и иконография, 118.


27 The Christian Topography of Cosmas, an Egyptian Monk. Translated from the Greek, and Edited with Notes and Introduction (ed. J. W. McCrindle), London 1897, 41;
are in the Garden of Eden. Although known from early Christian art before the complete formation of the image of the Last Judgment, their absence in the Byzantine representations of the theme is noted. The inclusion of the four rivers within the Last Judgement is considered to be a post-Byzantine innovation, and the iconographic scheme will remain unchanged even in the later examples. The inscription on the Gate of Heaven which allows only the righteous is considered to be an author’s addition in his Hermeneia, but we note a similar inscription earlier in the Monastery of Slivnitsa (1613/14). St. Peter, the leader of the righteous who will enter the Garden of Eden, is depicted with the Keys of the Kingdom of Heaven according to Matthew 16:19. Right next to him is St. Paul, while behind them is the group of apostles, bishops, forefathers, monks and hermits.

The Weighing of Souls (Psychostasia)

Underneath the Prepared Throne is the Weighing of Souls with the Scales of Justice (Двое мерить Правосъдие) (ill. 5). The Hand of God (Рука Господня) holds the scales with two pans, with an object of a circular shape on the left pan, while on the right pan there are open scrolls on which the deeds of man are written. Among the scales a figure is shown with larger dimensions with a perizoma around the thighs and crossed arms on the chest as a personification of the Soul. Beside her is a group of kneeling people in colorful clothes with the same gesture, as a personification of the souls of the righteous who will be in the hands of God, and the unjust who will suffer (Праведни Двѣ Брѫщѧ Бѫщѧ, Неправедны Свєйтѧ Нѫ Мякѧ). Nearby two birds with human legs and hands in their beaks are depicted, above which is written:

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29 Грозданов Ц., Страшният суд во црквата Свети Климент, 56.
30 Грозданов Ц., Страшният суд во црквата Свети Климент, 56; Серафимова А., Семиотична анализа и поствизантийски паралели, 184.
31 Иванова Т., Страшния съд според Ерминиите, 12.
32 Поповска-Коробар, В., Сликарството на западната фасада, 155, n. 53.
Under the birds there are open graves from which the dead resurrect (МЕРТВИ ВОСТАТ ИЗ ГРОБОВ), and the years of death are written on the crosses, although not all are legible: 184(?), 1842, 1845 and 1846.

On the left side of the scale, an angel is depicted carrying the souls for valuation of their deeds on the scales of justice (АГГЛ ДИЯ[СИ НА СИД И ПРАВОЕ МЕРЮ)). To the left are the Archangels Michael (М) and Gabriel (Г) stabbing the devils on the opposite side with spears. The Archangel Michael is depicted as an archistratege with a short tunic, armor and a red cloak, while of Archangel Gabriel only the head, wings and a long dark blue cloak are visible. One of the devils in his arms and around his waist carries scrolls, while the other two pull the right pan of the scales toward them with a hook. A devil is shown dragging a harlot’s hair (БЛЯДНИЩ О АКИ ДИЕВО) and piercing her with a rake beneath the chest, while another devil rides a figure of a miller with a millstone tied to its neck (ВОДЕНЯР ГО ХА ДИЕВО). The third devil torments and leads to hell (БАКѢ ДИЕВО НОСИТЬ БО ЯДЬ) a group of grieving and anxious sinners bound in chains (ГРЕШНИ БО ЯДЬ ХОДИТЬ) (ill. 6).

The righteous weighing of souls of the living is according to Job (31:6) and Daniel (5:27), while the books/lists and the judgement of the dead by what was written in them, according to their deeds, is mentioned in the Revelation (20:12). The motif of the weighing of souls that has a long tradition derived from Egyptian mythology and art, with certain modifications and adaptations becomes an inseparable part of the Last Judgment. The scales of justice have a dominant central place, usually underneath the Prepared Throne, and in most of the examples, Archangel Michael holds them. Although the Bible does not mention his role as a weigher of souls, the Archangel is depicted even in the earliest representations of this composition. The other variant, as in


Давидов-Темерински А., Циклус Страшног суда, 204.
this case, shows the hand of God holding the scales, which emphasizes the symbolism of the righteous judgement equal to every person according to their deeds, as confirmed by the inscriptions.

The textual models for the resurrection of the dead from the graves are found in John 5:28-29; Epistle to the Philippians 3:11, and Revelation 20:13. It is interesting that on the graves are written the years of the death of the deceased (1842-1846), in a time close to the painting of the narthex. In the struggle between good and evil, the most striking are the representations of the devils that are shown anthropomorphically with black bodies with wings, horns, tails, claws and flaming tongues. From the sinners tormented by the devils are depicted the harlot and the miller who has stolen flour, while the larger group is only labeled as sinners without identifying/determining their sins.

The General resurrection

Nearby are elements of the General resurrection where two angels with trumpets enliven the dead. The first angel blows a trumpet waking the dead from the earth (ανάγκα ζωής ανάμισθα). Under the angel’s figure, the personification of the Earth/Gaia (ζεμλά) is depicted sitting on the top of a building. Dressed in a blue dress with a red cloak, and a crown on her head, she holds a rock and a sickle in her hands. The second angel blows a trumpet into the sea (ανάγκα ζωής ανάμισθα), while the Personification of the Sea (μόρις) rides a fish. The half-naked female figure is wrapped in a red cloak, with a crown on her head, and holds a sailboat in her left hand. On the sea surface between the various species of fish that return the dead, at the corners four small heads puffing and blowing symbolize the four winds Boreas (βορεας) – the cold northern wind, Eurus (ευρος) – the eastern wind, Zephyrus (ζεφύρος) – the western wind, and Notus (νότος) - the warm southern wind (ill. 7).

With this the announcement of the resurrection through the angelic trumpets is literally illustrated, as well as the four winds in the Gospel of Matthew 24:31: “And he shall send his angels with a great sound of a trumpet, and they shall gather together his elect from the four winds, from one end of heaven to the other.” The textual models for the resurrection of the dead with angelic trumpets are also found in 1 Corinthians 15:52, and 1 Thessalonians 4:16.

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38 Dicho Zograf in his Hermeneia points the names of the four winds, but does not give a recommendation on how to paint them, see Василиев А., Ермии. Технологии и иконография, 119.

39 Ср. Давидов-Темерински А., Циклус Страшног суда, 195.

40 For the presentations of the Personification of the Sea, see Тодић Б., Грачаница. Сликарство, Београд-Приштина 1988, 162.

41 Давидов-Темерински А., Циклус Страшног суда, 199; Серафимова А., Семиотичка анализа и постизантийски паралели, 177 (with bibliography and examples).

42 Dicho Zograf in his Hermeneia suggests that the personification of the Earth should ride an animal, and from the attributes he only mentions the sickle, see Василиев А., Ермии. Технологии и иконография, 119.
is illustrated. This motif will be further used by Avram Dichov, as can be seen in the Last Judgement from the church of St. Elijah in Melnica, Mariovo (1881).

The inclusion of the personification of the winds begins during the 14th century shown as (half)figures with trumpets and the literary source is found in the passage from Daniel’s vision of the four beasts (Daniel 7:2), but also in Matthew 24:31. The four winds in the same manner as in Banjani are depicted in several monuments from the post-Byzantine period.

As for the inscriptions, in the Last Judgement from the church of St. Holy Mother of God Peribleptos in Ohrid (last quarter of the 16th century) only one representation of the wind with the inscription Livas (Λίοβας) is preserved, which is equal to the Mediterranean southwestern warm wind blowing from Libya. In the church of Panagia tou arhonta Apostolaki (1605/06), some of the inscriptions of the four winds are legible. In the second wall-painting layer from the Church of the Nativity in Arbanassi (1649), the inscription Notus (Νότος) is preserved, while in the exonarthex of the Vatopedi monastery only the name Zephyrus (Ζέφυρος). From the available examples, we note the complete names of all four winds previously in Lazaropole.

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43 Цветковски С., Живописот на Дичо Зограф, 221, ill. 28 on p. 249.
44 The oldest example of the four winds are preserved in the Snetogorsky Monastery near Pskov – 1313 (Сарабьянов В.Д., Смирнова Э.С., История древнерусской живописи, Москва 2007, ill. 290), and after that in Dragalevci – 1476/77 (Суботић Г., Охридската сликарска школа од XV век, Охрид 1980, sk. 94-96, sk. 104) and in Kremikovci - 1493 (Паскалева-Кабадаиева К., Църквата „Св. Георги“ в Кремиковския манастир, София 1980, ill. 67-68).
45 Cf. Симић-Лазар Д., Иконографија Страшног суда, 177.
46 Their representations are identical in Peribleptos (Βασιλεσκи А., Βιζιγάτα πάντως στην προκοπές Δανίλι, Σερβία, Χριστιανική καταδίκη του Προκοπά, Τοπογραφία Αδωνίος Καστοριάς, Θεσσαλονίκη 1953, πιν. 261Β), Panagia tou arhonta Apostolaki and also Panagia in the Agios Anargyros district, both in Kostinci (Василески А., Визијата на пророкот Даниил, 93, сл. 8).
47 The inscription is noted by: Василески А., Визијата на пророкот Даниил, 92-93.
49 Notus is referred to as the name of the personification of the Sea in: Пенкова Б., „Арбанашкият Страшен суд от XVIII век от Националния исторически музей в София“, in: Любен Прашков, реставратор и изкуствовед, София 2006, 87.
51 We noted the four winds and their inscriptions on a illustration in the article about the Last Judgement in Lazaropole (Тричковска Ј., Страшниот суд во цр. Св. Горија, ill. 11).
The Fiery River

The Fiery River on the right side of the composition is one of the most picturesque and most characteristic depictions of the Last Judgement in Banjani (Река Огнена Еса Грешните Помъртвее) (ill. 8a, b, c). Due to the flat ceiling, we are not able to accurately determine its source, but it probably came out of Christ’s feet. Painted as a red mass with flames and waves, there are various sinners depicted in a monochrome manner, tied in chains and pushed by the devils with rakes. On the upper part a figure with larger dimensions than the others was represented, from which only the legs are visible. Further on are the murderers (Убици) and the magicians (Магарти), shown as a family with a woman in folk costume, and then Caiaphas with a crown (Киади) and a devil dragging him by his beard.52 Among the damned are other historical figures such as Constantine V/Copronymus (Константин Копроним), the kings Ahab (Ааз) and Jeroboam (Яродом), and high-ranking representatives of the clergy (Мандрят, Иерема, Иерие, Димонь). Next to them there is a naked male figure with a slightly raised arm, but without an inscription.

The Fiery River, which is an integral part of all compositions of the Last Judgement, has its literary source in the books of prophets Isaiah 66:2 and Daniel 7:10, while in Revelation 21:8 is described as “a fiery lake of burning sulfur”. In contrast to the simpler appearance of the Fiery River in medieval examples, certain changes have been noted in the course of the 18th century,53 while more realistic presentations are particularly dominant in 19th century compositions.54 With regard to the various categories of sinners in the whirlpool of the Fiery River, in our example the wrongful ones are consigned, some of them as representatives of the clergy (Мандрят, Иерема, Иерие, Димонь) and the wrong ones consigned, some of them as representatives of the clergy (Мандрят, Иерема, Иерие, Димонь). Next to them there is a naked male figure with a slightly raised arm, but without an inscription.

The Fiery River ends with open jaws of Hades depicted as a beast (Δαί Εσε Νади), where Satan (Сатана Н Диваль) stands holding a rake and Judas (Иуда) with a bag of coins on one hand, while with the other raised hand holds a cup of flames and the chains with the damned. From the mouth of Satan comes out a text written in a reversed manner: Пгпнте Дрхти во Огнме Смне (ill. 8a, c).

The Fiery River, which is an integral part of all compositions of the Last Judgement, has its literary source in the books of prophets Isaiah 66:2 and Daniel 7:10, while in Revelation 21:8 is described as “a fiery lake of burning sulfur”. In contrast to the simpler appearance of the Fiery River in medieval examples, certain changes have been noted in the course of the 18th century,53 while more realistic presentations are particularly dominant in 19th century compositions.54 With regard to the various categories of sinners in the whirlpool of the Fiery River, in our example the wrongful ones are consigned, some of them as mentioned in the texts of St. Cyril of Alexandria, St. Ephrem the Syrian, the Life of St. Basil the New,55 and the Revelation 21:8. Further on, our attention is drawn by the family, followed by the inscription magicians which, unlike the other Slavic inscriptions, is a Greek word, but in this case transliterated in Cyrillic. The same word that is not encountered in the monuments of Greek language provenance, is written beside one of the figures in the Fiery River from the church of St. George in Lazaropole.56 At the same time, the woman in folk costume resembles the women depicted in the scenes Visiting a Fortune teller, Witchcraft and the Woman Magician, often included within the composition of the Last Judgement. Dicho Zograf could have been introduced to this theme during his early stay in Bulgaria,57 which was very popular there by the beginning of the nineteenth century.

Among the sinners in the Fiery River historical figures such as Herod (with Herodias and Salome), Pontius Pilate, Diocletian, Maximian, Julian the Apostate, Constantine V and others are often included.58 In the Fiery River in Banjani the infamous Byzantine emperor Constantine V, and the kings Ahab and Jeroboam are portrayed.59 The figure with larger dimensions or

52 Dicho Zograf in his Hermeneia has stated that Caiaphas with a devil pulling his beard, should lead the Jews behind Moses (Василиев А., Ермияни. Технология и иконография, 119), but in our example he is depicted in the Fiery River.
54 For more examples, see Василиев А., Социални и патриотични теми в старото българско изкуство, София 1973, 19, 21, 25, 27, 31, 43.
55 Василиев А., Социални и патриотични теми,
the one with a slightly raised arm, on the other hand, may have represented the rich man who during his agony in hellfire, demanded from Abraham a water to cool his tongue, derived from the Parable of the Rich Man and Lazarus (Luke 16:19-25).60

The most striking part of the Fiery River is the personification of Hades depicted as the head of a monster with open jaws, which had it earliest appearance in the Monastery of Great Lavra (c. 1535).61 From it arises the ruler of the underworld accompanied by the inscription Satan and Devil, derived from Revelation 12:9. The winged representation of Satan resembles the other devils, but differs by his much larger dimensions.62 The text written in a reversed manner, inviting the sinners to join him in the infernal fire, is exceptional and so far we have not noticed it on other examples.

The Serpent and the Aerial Tollbooths

Within the Fiery River from the jaws of the beast comes out a long tongue that ends with a serpent’s head, accompanied with the inscription Tollbooths or Mytarstvo (ordeals) (илл. 8c). Along the serpents body where the devils ride, there is a long

[ILLUSTRATION: The Wheel of Life; The Sacred Confession; Individual punishments and dark torments of the sinners]

60 For the rich man condemned to hell, see Давидов-Темерински А., Циклус Страшног суда, 204-205. In Lazaropole this figure is accompanied by the inscription “ruthless rich man”, cf. Тричковска Ј., Страшниот суд во цр. Св. Ѓорѓи, 229.


62 For the various representations of Satan, see: Антонов Д.И., Майзульс М.Р., Демоны и грешники в древнерусской иконографии: Семиотика образа, Москва 2011, 35-43, 57-66; Idem, *Анатомия ада*, 144-150.
On the territory of the Republic of Macedonia, Dicho Zograf introduced the Russian variant of the Tollbooths for the first time in Banjani, although he does not mention it at all in his hermeneutics. Following his example, this version of the Tollbooths will be depicted in the church of the Holy Mother of God in Drsäljica, Struga (1875) painted by his sons Avram and Spiridon (Spire), in the church of St. Elijah in Selci, in the church of St. Elijah in Melnica, Mariovo (1881) painted by Avram Dichov, in the church of St. Joachim Osogovski (1884) painted by Avram Dichov, Miron Iliev and Gregory Petrov, and also in the church of St. Paraskevi in Velgoshti (1890), although the list can be expanded with more examples.

In the last decades of the 19th century, the serpent began to be represented in a different and simplified variant with smaller dimensions, without the wrapped scroll, but with an apple in its jaws. The serpent is turned towards Eve, which can be associated with the Original sin, derived from Genesis 3:1-6. We note the so-called “Serpent of Eve” in the Fiery River of the Last Judgement in the church of St. Nicholas in Nebregovo, near Prilep (1882), in the church of St. John the Baptist in the Monastery of Slepche (1889), and in the church of St. Nicholas/The Prophet Jeremiah in Gorni Disan, near Negotino (19th century).

On the other hand, the separate cycle of the Tollbooths, which is still within the reduced variant of the Last Judgement, is recorded on our territory in the porch of the old church of the Holy Mother of God in the Monastery of St. Panteleymon in the village Panteley, near Kochani (1872), painted by Zachary Dospevski and in the church of St. Nicholas (St. (15), 2011, 441-459; Иванова Т., Митрополитата на душата, 25 (with examples and literature).

64 Цветковски С., Живопис на Дичо Зограф, 77, 216, 221.
65 Ibid., 222-223, ill. 24 on p. 246.
66 Ibid., 221, ill. 28 on p. 249.
67 I express my deep gratitude to my dear colleague Ivona Pandzak-Pineva, MA who pointed out this example.
69 On this occasion, I express my deep gratitude to my dear colleague Mirjana M. Mashnich who informed me about these two examples, as well as for the provided photo documentation.
70 Василев А., Български възрожденски майстори, 426, ill. 239; Idem, Социални и патриотични теми, 78. Only fourteen scenes have been preserved in the separate cycle of the Tollbooths in Panteley, while the rest have been damaged. In addition to the reduced variant of the Last Judgement, in the porch are also depicted the scenes Visit-
Unto the resurrection of damnation

On the right side of the composition, the archangel Michael is shown, who points towards the Judge, while holding a scroll with the inscription: ΜΟΗΣ ΕΙΣΤΙ ΑΧΟΣΙΑ ΒΟΣΚΡΕΝΕΙ ΣΧΑΔ. Behind him is Moses with a nimbus and a prophetic hat, leading the group of Jews (ЕВРЕЙ). While the explanatory text is hidden from the ceiling, only few letters are legible... ΤΑΓΩ ΓΣΔΑ. The prophet with one hand points towards Christ, while with the other hand holds the Stone tablets with the Decalogue and an inscribed scroll which indicates the rebuking of the group: ΣΩΤΕΡΙ ΡΗΧΙΠΑΤΑΙ ΝΟΘΑΣ ΥΠΑΣΟΝΓΙΟΝ (ill. 9a). The group is consisted of numerous figures of old and young men dressed as Jewish elders, with characteristic hats and veils on their heads. Some of them are plucking their hair and mustache, and by their facial expression most of them are frightened, while three devils stab them with rakes (ill. 9b).

The Archangel is the second God’s messenger depicted as a leader of the group of sinners on the left side of the Judge, while the rest of the quote after John 5:29 is inscribed on his scroll (“...and they that have done evil, unto the resurrection of damnation”). The representation of Moses with the Jews is another addition which appears earliest in the Sne-nogorsky Monastery near Pskov (1313), then becomes a favorite episode in the post-Byzantine painting, while prevailing its popularity even during 19th century. Otherwise, in the vision of Gregory about the Last Judgement contained in the text of his teacher St. Basil the New, it is stated that Jews who did not have faith in Christ will be condemned to eternal torment along with other unbelievers.

Daniel’s vision of the Four Kingdoms

Under the representation of the Jews are the four beasts; a white bird resembling a four-legged eagle with a crown on its head (РНСКЕЦ ЩЕСТБ), a fantastic bird with four heads with crowns and four legs with leopard strips (БЕНЯЛСКОЦ ЩЕСТБ), a bear (ПЕРСКОЦ ЩЕСТБ), and a lion (МАКЕДУНСКОЦ ЩЕСТБ). At the end of the composition are depicted the Four Pagan kings, at different age, all in richly decorated imperial clothes and closed crowns. The first one is Poros (ΠΟΡΩΣ) portrayed as a stern old man with a long pointed beard, next to him is Darius (ΔΑΡΙΟΣ), then is Cyrus (ΚИРЮС), and at the end is...
the beardless Alexander the Great (ΠΡΩΤΟ ΑΛΕΞΑΝΔΡΟ), with their bodies and hands tied in chains (ill. 9b).\textsuperscript{83}

The visualisation of the Four Kingdoms is based on Daniel’s vision (7:1-28) where they are symbolized by the appearance of four beasts: a lion with eagle’s wings, a bear with three ribs in its mouth between its teeth, a leopard with four wings of a fowl and four heads, and also a dreadful, terrible and exceedingly strong beast with large iron teeth and ten horns. The earliest representation of the four beasts as a symbol of the Four Kingdoms of the ancient nations that will disappear with the coming of Christ is in the Snetogorsky Monastery near Pskov (1313),\textsuperscript{84} and then in Andrei Rublev’s paintings in the church of the Assumption Cathedral in Vladimir (1408).\textsuperscript{85} In the post-Byzantine iconography of the Last Judgment, the parallel presentation of the four beasts together with the four emperors, will begin in the Refectory of the Great Lavra Monastery (c. 1535),\textsuperscript{86} and after that will appear in different variants with or without the beasts.\textsuperscript{87} In our earlier examples of the composition, their joint presentation is recorded in the church of Holy Mother of God Peribleptos in Ohrid (last quarter of the 16\textsuperscript{th}century),\textsuperscript{88} the Monastery of Slinitsa (1613/14)\textsuperscript{89} and the Monastery of Kuchevishte (1630/31).\textsuperscript{90}

\textbf{Apocalyptic motifs}

Under the representations of Moses and the Jews, three scenes related to the prophet Elijah, the righteous Enoch and the Antichrist are depicted. The first scene represents \textit{the prophet Elijah and the righteous Enoch as two witnesses of the Antichrist (ΠΡΩΤΟ ΝΑΙ, Ν ΠΡΕΔΙΝ ΕΝΟΧ ΕΚΔΗΝΤΗΣΤΑΥΣΕΥΤ ΣΑ}}\textsuperscript{91}

\textsuperscript{83} The four pagan emperors are depicted in the same order and description as Dicho Zograf himself recommends in his own Hermeneia, see Василев А., \textit{Ерминии. Технология и иконография}, 119.

\textsuperscript{84} Сарабьянов В.Д., «\textit{Сстрашный Суд}», 25-27.

\textsuperscript{85} Лазарев В. Н., \textit{Андрей Рублев и его школа}, Москва 1966, 25, 119, pl. 45; Алпатов М. В., Андрей Рублев, Москва 1972, 52, pl. 34.


\textsuperscript{88} Грозданов Ц., \textit{Страшното съд в църквата Свети Климент}, 51.

\textsuperscript{89} Поилоус-Коробар В., \textit{Сликарството на западната фасада}, 153-154.

\textsuperscript{90} Серафимова А., \textit{Семиотична анализа и постизиантически паралели}, 178-179.

\textsuperscript{91} The inscription differs from the one stated in Dicho Zograf’s Hermeneia, see Василев А., \textit{Ерминии. Технология и иконография}, 119.

\textsuperscript{92} For the image of the Antichrist and especially the balance on the verge of human and demonic in his depictions, see: Антонов Д.И., Майзульс М.Р., \textit{Демоны и грешники}, 169-172.

\textsuperscript{93} Сф. Иванова Т., \textit{Страшният съд според Ерминии}, 16, п. 72.

mon called “On the Last Times, the Antichrist, and the End of the World”.\footnote{For the texts of Pseudo Ephrem the Syrian, see Henderson-Ilidou D., \textit{Les données archéologiques dans la version grecque des sermons de saint Éphrem le Syrien}, Cahiers archéologiques, No. 13 (1962), 29-37. For other sources in which the two witnesses are identified as Elijah and Enoch, see Culleton G., \textit{The Reign of Antichrist}, London, 1974, 7, 11, 17, 65-66, 69, 71, 93, 97, 110-111, 124-126.} In the recommendations for depiction of the Apocalypse in the \textit{painter’s manual} of the Zogratis family and the one by Dionysius of Fournia, the chapter 11 briefly states that “Enoch and Elijah are ascending to heaven in clouds”.\footnote{I express my special gratitude to the respected colleague Dr Maria Kolusheva, who pointed out this example and provided me with an insight into her doctoral dissertation: Kolusheva M., \textit{Църквата “Св. Георги” във Велико Търново и нейните стенописи}, Дисертация за изкуствознание и културна антропология в чест на ХI-XII в. Съпътстващи теми”, in: От Честния към идейния и художествените процеси в Самоковската митрополия през първата половина на XIX в., Проблеми на изкуството 4 (2010), 36-39, ill. p. 38.}

Dicho Zograf introduced these apocalyptic scenes for the first time in the Last Judgement on the territory of Republic of Macedonia, for which he gave a detailed description in his Hermeneia.\footnote{Such is the example with the paper icon from Constantinople, dated in 1807, the work of the engravers Parthenios and Gerasimos Karavias of Ithaca, and also the paper icon from Mount Athos, dated in 1840, the work of Kiriazis Konstantinu, cf. Papastratos D., op.cit, 86-87, 89, ill. 51, 53.} The depiction of the Antichrist in royal clothes within the Last Judgement, but among the representations of the sinners in Hell, is previously encountered in the Athonite refectories of the monasteries Great Lavra (c. 1535) and Dionysiu (after 1553), and the narthexes of the monasteries Roussanou (1560) and Docheiarion (1567/68).\footnote{Ivanova T., \textit{Митрополитата на душата}, ill. on p. 31.} The earliest side by side representation of the prophet Elijah and the righteous Enoch is on the south wall of the narthex of the church of St. George in Veliko Tarnovo (early 17th century). Their figures are in the immediate proximity and in relation to the conceptual context of the Last Judgement, depicted on the eastern wall of the narthex.\footnote{For the episode from Lazaropole is stated that it presents an “angel piercing a figure of an unknown ruler (in emperors clothes with a crown on his head) ...”, cf. Trichkovska J., \textit{Страниците суд во цр. Св. Ѓорѓи}, 229, ill. 10.}

As far as the apocalyptic scenes from Banjani are concerned, we find similar depictions on two paper icons from the first decades of the 19th century,\footnote{For the episode in Lazaropole is stated that it presents an “angel piercing a figure of an unknown ruler (in emperors clothes with a crown on his head) ...”, cf. Trichkovska J., \textit{Страниците суд во цр. Св. Ѓорѓи}, 229, ill. 10.} then in the church of St. Nicholas in Rayovo near Samokov (1837), the work of Kiriazis Konstantinu,\footnote{For the episode in Lazaropole is stated that it presents an “angel piercing a figure of an unknown ruler (in emperors clothes with a crown on his head) ...”, cf. Trichkovska J., \textit{Страниците суд во цр. Св. Ѓорѓи}, 229, ill. 10.} and also on a 19th century icon from the Regional Museum of History in Veliko Tarnovo.\footnote{For the episode in Lazaropole is stated that it presents an “angel piercing a figure of an unknown ruler (in emperors clothes with a crown on his head) ...”, cf. Trichkovska J., \textit{Страниците суд во цр. Св. Ѓорѓи}, 229, ill. 10.} Unlike Banjani, we note the depiction of the Archangel slaying the Antichrist as an episode included within the Fiery River in the church of St. George in Lazaropole.\footnote{For the episode in Lazaropole is stated that it presents an “angel piercing a figure of an unknown ruler (in emperors clothes with a crown on his head) ...”, cf. Trichkovska J., \textit{Страниците суд во цр. Св. Ѓорѓи}, 229, ill. 10.} According to our research, the apocalyptic motifs developed through three scenes would not be repeated in other examples in the Republic of Macedonia.
of life, marked with the letter Щ, with his head towards the open grave (ГРОБ) and underneath is written: КОГА БНАДУЙЋЬ ЋАБЕЪ НА : 80 ЛЕЋЬ ОУЕЉАЊЬ ЋО ГРОБЪ. Close to the wheel there is another open grave (ГРОБЪ) where the skeleton stands as the personification of Death (СМЕРТ). The Grim Reaper has a winged head with a closed book between the wings, holding a scythe in his hands. Next to the skeleton’s head is written: ЋИА СМЕРТЬ ЋАБЕЪ ХИМНАЋЬ, and beside his feet there is an ax, a hammer, a saw, a spear and a hook, marked as tools of death (ХИМНАЋЪ Ћ СМЕРТ).

This composition belongs to the themes with moralizing-didactic character which reflects the medieval idea of transience of the earthly life and the perception of time as an unstoppable circle. The description of death as a skeleton along with its tools can be found in the vision of Gregory for the death of Theodor,105 and its personification in art can be found in various creative variants.106 In the Balkans, the Wheel of Life emerged during the 17th century, and became especially favorite in the 19th century, often included within the Last Judgement.107 The developed type of the composition is described in details in the Zagrebacki Family’s Hermeneia,107 and also in the painters manual by Dionysius of Founra.108 Although Dicho Zograf does not give directions in his Hermeneia for painting the theme, he introduced it for the first time in Banjani. After him, on our territory, the composition will be depicted by his sons Avram and Spiridon (Spire) in the church in Drslajca.109

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104 Поповић Ј., Житија светих за март, 508.
106 For the emergence, the earliest examples, influences, iconographic formulas, literary sources, parallels, semantic elements and the spreading of the theme, see Bakalova E., The Wheel of Life in 17th Century Painting – Iconographic Sources, ZMSLU 32-33 (2002), 9-19.
107 Медић М., Стари сликарски приручници II, 668-671.
108 Idem, Стари сликарски приручници III, 521-525.
109 For the composition Wheel of Life from Banjani, and also in Drslajca, see Цветковски С., Житија на Дико Зограф, 76-89.
110 The appearance, sources, distribution, iconography and variants of the theme, as well as numerous examples, among which is the one from Banjani, see Чокревска-Филип Ј., „Праведно и грешно исповедување” во црквата Св. Гориѓ во Струга”, в: Зубилен зборник - 25 години митрополит Тимотеј, Охрид, 2006, 298, ill. 6; Eadem, Пробивот на темата „Праведно и грешно исповедавање”, 219-230, ill. 12.
111 A thorough description of the detailed variant of the Sacred Confession is given in the Dicho Zograf’s Hermeneia (Василиев А., Ерминии. Технология и иконография 120-121), whose great influence is equally important for the development and spreading of both editions (сф. Чокревска-Филип Ј., Пробивот на темата „Праведно и грешно исповедавање”, 221-222, 227-228).

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Underneath the Wheel of Life the Sacred Confession (ИСПОВЕДАНЕ СПИСТНАТНЕ) is illustrated (ill. 11b). The priest is sitted on a throne under an arch where there is a censer and a Christ’s icon. In front of him is a kneeling young man dressed in red clothes in a moment of confession, while snakes come out of his mouth according to the number of sins. Behind the young man is the devil (ДИВОБЉ) who encourages him not to tell his sins and points to the scroll with the inscription: ПОСТРИЈЕСКА ПОСТРИЈЕСКА НЕКЗАЊ ГРЕЋ ГРЕЋ ТЕДА. In the background, the guardian angel is grieving because of the unconfessed sins: ТОН ЋАБЕЪ ДОШЕЉА ДА СЕ ИСПОВЕДА НИ НЕКЗАЊ СИТЕ ГРЕЊОБ ЗАТОВА НИХ НЕЗЛАЋ ЗИНАТИ НЗЪСТИ КОЛКУ ГРЕЊОБ КАЊА ТОЉЕ ЗИЊИ НЗЪЛАЊЪ, ЋЕЋАЉ ХИМНАЋЕЛА ПЛАЊЕ ЗА НГОЋ ЗАСИ НЕКА СЕ ИСПОВЕД.

This is one of the themes that finds a significant place in the painted ensembles on the territory of Republic of Macedonia during the 19th century. In it, the act of sacrament of confession is conveyed, or more precisely the act of confessing and admittance of sins to God in the presence of a priest, known as Just and Wrongful Confession. The theme is illustrated as a detailed variant with two episodes, or as a concise version, which is more widespread and usually part of the Last Judgement, as in our case.

The Eternal Torments of the Damned

Further on in the lower part of the composition, in a rectangularly shaped space bounded by a frame, are the individual punishments and dark torments of the damned as symbols of particular types of sin, that burn in the eternal fire (ill. 11 c, d). Seven figures of the sinners are depicted wearing waistbands, except for the first figure of the harlot who is completely
naked. The harlot with chained legs hangs upside down (Темни мајка Бахањките), while from the mouth of the slanderer comes out its tongue, and worms eat his flesh (Темни мајка Лакеоскитките). The next figure of the usurer is wrapped with snakes (Темни мајка Ростошничките), while beside him the female figure of the harlot is tied to the neck and legs, with a snake around her neck (Темни женна Бахањка). Further on is a witchcraft and idolatry woman (Темни чародеења и нудосакажателките), accompanied by a murderer (Темни душерези), while the last two figures are of a drunkard with a snake around his neck (Темни пиначките) and a lustful woman tied up by her arms and legs (Темни прелоеобедерки).

The complex image of the individual punishments that evolves during the 12th century and continues until the 14th-century, becomes a constant within the post-Byzantine depictions of the Last Judgement, and has its continuity during the 19th-century. The visual representation of the eternal torments has a moralizing-didactic character. Its main role is to warn, discipline, and to keep the believers from sinning and straying away from the God’s path. Dicho Zograf in the chapter “The dark torment of the unconfessed – devils devour them” in his Hermeneia, listed and described several categories of sinners and their torments. In the individual punishments from Banjani few sin(ner)s are missing, such as thieves, liars, traitors, and the couple who sleeps on Sundays and does not go to church, for example an episode included within the Fiery River in the church of St. George in Lazaropole.

Pseudo-icons

On both sides of the entrance to the nave are the five so-called pseudo-icons painted above the base with flower vases (ил. 12). To the south of the door is the half-length figure of Jesus Christ Pantocrator (Крсто възкръснал), dressed in a cinnabar chiton and a blue-green himation. Christ makes the gesture of blessing with his right hand and in his left hand holds an open book with the inscription: ΑΓΘ ΕΣΙΝ ΣΕΒΕΤЬ ΜΙΝΟΥ ΧΩΔΗΝ ΠΟΜΝΕΝ ΝΕ ΜΗ ΧΩΔΕΤΙ ΒΟΥΜΕ Ν ΝΗΜΤΕ ΣΕΒΕΤΙΛΙΝΕΟΤΙΣ (John 8:12). Next to him is the half-length winged figure of St. John the Forerunner (Свет Јован Прадечъ), who also makes the gesture of blessing with his right hand, while in his left hand holds his severed head and a scroll with a damaged inscription: [ΠΟМЕН]ΤΕ[СА]... Further on is St. Demetrios conquering the beast (Свет Димитър Победник Зебра), shown as a full-length figure dressed in a long white shirt and a red tunic, decorated with floral motifs, as well as blue chlamys. Depicted with a martyr’s wreath on his head, the saint holds a cross with his right hand, and a spear with his left hand, while stamping upon a scorpion. The scorpion, as a symbol of Satan, in the scenes from the hagiographical cycle of this saint, appears in most of the Athonite wall-paintings from 18th-century, but this characteristic detail is usually present in the depictions of St. Demetrios enthroned and in the scene of the saint in prison. The full-length figure of St. Demetrios as a warrior saint and a cross in his hand, with the scorpion being crushed under his feet, is previously represented in the Refectory of the Monastery of St. John Forerunner at Bigor (c. 1833), attributed to the painter Mihail from Samarina and his son Dimitar/Daniil.

To the north of the door the Holy Mother of God with Christ is depicted. The Mother of God (Ми Дева) dressed in red maphorion, with her right hand points toward the little Christ (Крсто) wearing a white chiton with floral decoration and a red himation. He makes the gesture of blessing with his right hand, and in his left hand holds an open book with the text: ДАГ ГСАНЬ ЯМН Ѕ ІГЕ МЈРЪ ПОМНЯМА ЕАГОЂ.
The patron of the church is depicted as a horseman piercing a dragon with a spear, thereby rescuing the princess shown at the gates of the castle.

Fresco-icons or the so-called pseudo-icons painted in different places of the churches are known from the Byzantine art, in addition to the medieval tradition their depiction continues in the post-Byzantine period. In the post-Byzantine examples, their place is usually in the narthex by the entrance leading to the nave, or on façades, and very often in combination with the Last Judgement. Although, not a permanent and obligatory part of the Last Judgement, their position and the prominent mediatrix role points to a specific expansion of the eschatological character of this composition. At the same time, the two saints, George and Demetrios, are portrayed as conquerors of the beast, which can also be interpreted as a victory over the beast of the Last Judgement.

The impressive composition of the Last Judgement in the church of St. George in Banjani is also supplemented by the rich color palette consisting of various and intense colors, the most dominant of which is the red. Dicho Zograf skillfully and creatively managed to organize the surface, where he incorporated numerous figures, depictions and scenes, including the explanatory inscriptions. Certain inconsistencies are noticeable in the proportions of some of the figures, especially when depicting the hands and feet. At the same time, some of the figures are with much larger dimensions than the rest, which probably meant that the painter wanted to emphasize the importance of certain scenes.

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Dicho’s Last Judgement in Banjani was created between the compilation of his two Hermeneias, but they do not contain all the scenes and motifs that he depicted. Besides the similarities and influences from the painter Mihail from Samarina and the Last Judgement in the church of St. George in Lazaropole, Dicho Zograf certainly had other sources of inspiration. According to our research, parts of the motifs are with Russian and Bulgarian provenance, and some are similar to elements of the Athonite paper icons circulating in this area during that time. Dicho Zograf created an impressive and unique eschatological composition enriched with numerous episodes, motifs, and especially inscriptions, allowing us to consider it as an important, not only visual or artistic, but also a literary heritage.

123 More on their role and meaning, as well as depiction of the fresco-icons in combination with the Last Judgement from the church of St. George in Lazaropole: Тричковска Ј., Страшниот суд во цр. Св. Горги, 235-236.
* Origin of the illustrations: Jehona Spahiu Janchevska and Vladimir Janchevski. I would like to express my special gratitude to Gordana Ristova (Skopje), Darko Nikolovski (Skopje), Ljuben Domozetski (Sofia), and Vladimir Janchevski (Skopje) for their unselfish help in obtaining a part of the quoted bibliography in this article.
Црквата Св. Ѓорѓи во близина на скопското село Бањани е изградена и живописана во 1548/49 година. Во текот на XIX век изгледот на едноbroдната црква со полуобличест свод бил изменет со отворањето на прозорците и со доградбата на припратата. Во ктиторскиот натпис над западната врата коja води од припратата во наосот е одбележано дека обновата на црквата била заслуга на ктиторот Петар Каовче и жителите на селото. Во продолжение е наведено дека сликањето на храмот е дело на зографот Димитар Крстев(ич) – Дично од казата Дебар, завршено во 1846 година. На целата површина од источниот ѕид на припратата, Дично Зограф ја насликал впечатливата и комплексна композиција на Страшниот суд, со богата илустративност, наративност и извонредно чувство за детални, придружен со голем број објаснувачки текстови. Њуку, Страшниот суд од Бањани е досега единствениот познат пример на оваа композиција во творештвото на зографот.

На целата ѕидна површина е илустрацијата на Страшниот суд каде Девисот и апостолскиот трибунал денес не се видливи од подоцна поставената рама, под таваницата се видливи и подоцна поставената рама дрвена таваница. Под таваницата се прикажани три сцени поврзани со пророкот Илија, праведниот Енох и Антихрист кои припаѓаат на т.н. апокалиптични мотиви инспирирани од Откровението и за првпат воведени во нашиот пример од Дично Зограф.

Во продолжение на композицијата е прикажан Моисеj како предводник на народот Евреи, како и четирите царства со четирите животни. Меѓу четирите пагански цареви произлезени од Визијата на пророкот Даннил каде они чуваат и пренесуваат своите симболи на царствата, кои претставуваат Вавилонското, Персиското, Римското и Македонското царство, е прикажан и Александар Велики. Во рамките на Страшниот суд се наоѓаат три сцени поврзани со пророкот Илија, праведниот Енох и Антихрист кои припаѓаат на т.н. апокалиптични мотиви инспирирани од Откровението и за првпат воведени во нашиот пример од Дично Зограф.
Страшниот суд во Бањани е дополнет со композицијата Тркало на животот која припаѓа на темите со морализаторско-дидактички карактер и во која се рефлектира средновековната идеја за минливоста на земнот живот и сфакњето на времето како незапирлив круг. Композицијата на Страшниот суд е заокружена со илустрирање на скратената верзија на Спасителното исповедување, како и приказ на различни категории и индивидуални маки на грешници. Од двете страни на влезот во наосот, пак, има имитација на иконостас со вази со цвеќиња во цоклето и пет псевдо/сидни икони на Исус Христос Седржител, Богородица со Христос, св. Јован Претеча, св. Димитриј го победи северот и патронот св. Ѓорѓи како ќа убива ламјата. Нивната местоположба и нагласена застапничка улога указува на специфично пронизирање на есхатолошки карактер на композицијата на Страшниот суд.

Покрај долгото и исключително плодно творештво, познато е дека Дичо Зограф бил составувач и на два сликарски прирачници, Првата Ерминија (пред 1844 г.) и Втората Ерминија (1851 г.), коишто претставуваат компилација од различни извори, сликарски прирачници и книжни икони, а во нив се содржани и описи на Страшниот суд. Иако сликањето на бањанската припрата е мегу составувањето на двете ерминии, спак во нив не се содржани сите претстави, сцени и мотиви кои тој ги насликал. Покрај очигледните блискости и влијанија од зографот Михаил од Самарина и особено Страшниот суд во црквата Св. Ѓорѓи во Лазарополе (1836), Дичо Зограф очигледно имал и други извори на инспирација. Според нашите истражувања, голем дел од мотивите се со руска и бугарска провениенција, а некои се слични со елементи од светогорските книжни икони коишто во тој период циркулирале на ова подрачје. Дичо Зограф создал впечатлива и уникатна есхатолошка композиција збогатена со голем број епизоди, мотиви и особено натписи, што може да се смета не само како значаен и исключителен ликовен ансамбл туку и како богато литературно наследство.