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HETMAN IVAN MAZEPA'S COAT OF ARMS AS THE OBJECT OF PTESTARY IMAGOLGY ¹

The paper studies the biography of prominent historical figure hetman Ivan Mazepa using the methodological framework of potestary imagology. The priority is given to such methods of potestary imagology as studying the image of the power through close examination and structural ties with other images of the same culture: rituals, ceremonies, images, symbols. The subject of the paper is the hetman's coat-of-arms, first of all its stavrographic aspect, going back to Saint Clement's anchored cross symbol.

Key words: coat of arms, engraving, Ivan Mazepa, Stefan Yavorsky, Ivan Shchyrsky, anchor, image of the power, potestary imagology, cross, anchored cross.

The purpose of the study is to establish the spiritual essence of the coat of arms of Hetman Ivan Mazepa as a baroque image of St. Clement's anchor-cross and its identity with the princely sign of the Baptist of Kyivan Rus, St. Volodymyr. The component of the goal is to give priority to such a method of potestary imagology as the study of images of power through

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Fig. 1. Engraving of Ivan Shchyrsky
«Coat of arms in the ship», 1689

the figurative-symbolic component — images, symbols and coats of arms. Imagology highlights the relativity of national imagery, its direct dependence on the images of the nation, reveals ethnic stereotypes and their influence on attitudinal aspects of social life having Ivan Mazepa's biography as an example.

For the study we had chose visual (heraldic) and literature aspects of Ivan Mazepa's biography. The authors consider these aspects to be equated with the images of Jesus Christ and relevant

sacral Christian images: cross, anchor, fish, ship, lamb, grape [1, p. 176–183]. It is remarkable that stavrographic aspect is an integral component of all these images. And it is definitely true in the case of Saint Clement, whose image is identified with the anchored cross symbol.

Hetman Ivan Mazepa started using the so-called «Kurcz» as princely symbol in 1689, following a long tradition rooted in the past. Ivan Mazepa and his advisers being co-authors of hetman's coat-of-arms, were fully aware of the sacral meaning of «Kurcz» as Saint Clement's symbol. They knew about Corsun campaign in 988, as well as about Prince Volodymyr's return with Saint Clement's relics and Christianization of the Kievan Rus. Ivan Mazepa and his advisers were familiar with the tradition of use of Saint Clement's anchored cross symbol as a princely symbol on coins, seals, jewelry, weapons, etc. In Ukraine of the 17th century people knew much more than modern Ukrainians about the presence of the anchored cross symbol in the image of power of kings and princes.

Joseph I, Holy Roman Emperor granted Ivan Mazepa a title of Prince of the Holy Roman Empire in 1707, but princely symbol «Kurcz» was firstly used by Ivan Mazepa 18 years earlier. It could be stated, that having used that symbol Mazepa started his campaign against Russian Imperial power fighting for preservation of Ukrainian autonomy.

The restoration of the historical justice for Ukrainian local church has made relevant the issue of due recognition to prominent Ukrainians whose names were unfairly anathematized and forgotten. Ivan Mazepa's name is inextricably linked to the history of Ukrainian statehood and culture. The paper explores and analyzes hetman's religious beliefs and their influence on semantics of Ivan Mazepa's coat of arms. Stefan Yavorsky and Ivan

Shchyrsky, being hetman's contemporaries, were among the first authors of such researches. Later on a great contribution to exploring Mazepa's biography and facts linked with his coat of arms was made in works by O. Dazhiba, I. Sytyi, Y. Tokarzhevskiy-Karashevych, G. Poliushko, O. Odnorozhenko, T. Liuta, D. Stepovyk, Y. Chernetskyi. Nevertheless, it is difficult to argue with Hryhorii Poliushko's opinion that «None of I. Mazepa's life researchers could explain in detail his coat of arms symbolism» [6, p. 7].

Thus, the objective of the paper is to study the collective biography of Mazepa's lineage whose great contribution to the establishment of the Ukrainian State and Ukrainian nation is evident. Although a tremendous amount of information is available electronically, the research of that kind faces a considerable lack of reliable historical sources.

The authors apply the methodological framework of potestary imagology «studying political symbolism, ideal images of rulers and political leaders... from the point of their emergence, adaptation in different cultures, translation from one era to another, etc.» [2, p. 5]. The novelty of the approach is in denying outmoded explanation of political processes on the sole ground of «solid facts and biographies of well-known personalities» [10, p. 220].

Great attention has been given to the semantics of the coat of arms of Ivan Mazepa, one of the most prominent hetmans. From our viewpoint, obvious reason was politically motivated scarcity of biographical, heraldic, historical sources. An exceptional example was sacking and razing of Baturyn, hetman's capital, in November 1708. After notable events of 1709 all possible sources of information were being systematically and purposefully destroyed by Imperial Russia.

The authors of the paper have been exploring the origin of modern coat of arms of Ukraine more than thirty years. The studies have been based on the principles of potestary imagology with systematic analysis of fragmentary archeological, numismatic, sphragistic, heraldic, ethnographical sources. The authors have traced the evolution of the heraldic symbol of Prince Volodymyr from early Christian anchored cross symbol. The symbol has been indissoluble related to Saint Clement of Rome, also known as Pope Clement I whose papacy began 88AD and ended 99 AD. In 101 AD Clement was martyred by being tied to an anchor and thrown into the Black Sea [3].

The symbol became widely common in the whole Christian world, when Saints Cyril and Methodius found Saint Clement's relics and anchor in 861 in Chersonesus. After conquering Korsun (Chersonesus) in 988, Prince Volodymyr underwent baptism and got engaged to Bizantine princess Anna. On the way back to Kyiv the prince took «...Saint Clément's relics» as a trophy. The Ruthenian Annals of 1147 contained a critical piece

of information: «...because we possess Saint Clement's head» [8, p. 65, p. 209]. The mentioned annalistic information permits the assumption that while staying in Korsun and attending the temple with Saint Clement's relics, prince Volodymyr was personally involved in the saint's spiritual act of faith. Having being baptized with Saint Clement's relics and the miraculous anchored cross blessed by martyrdom, Volodymyr chose much more than religion for the state and personally for himself. The prince chose the combination of two sacral Christian symbols: the cross symbolizing the crucifixion of Jesus Christ, together with the anchor as a symbol of Saint Clement martyrdom. Volodymyr placed the anchored cross symbol embodying such basic Christian virtues as Faith and Hope on minted coins. Later his sons Sviatopolk and Yaroslav did the same.

In their early papers the authors have clearly proved the image of Saint Clement's anchored cross symbol was an integral part of Kievan Rus princely coats-of-arms. Saint Clement's anchored cross symbol was also presented on coats of arms in Grand Duchy of Lithuania, principality of Galicia-Volhynia, as well as hetmans' and cossaks' coats of arms [1, p. 205–239].

Explicit testimony by Ivan Mazepa's contemporaries concerning the meaning of the symbol depicted on the coat of arms are of vital importance to establish its spiritual essence. Stefan Yavorsky's works are particularly valuable for our research, although many Baroque heraldic works of art are dedicated to the hetman and his coat of arms. The well-known theologian and philosopher, writer and poet, prophet and cultural figure, Stefan Yavorsky was not just the person within Mazepa's circle, but his intimate friend. This fact allows us to interpret information from his works as highly reliable, though represented in artistic and poetic form.

The presence of the Christian anchored cross symbol in the hetman's coat of arms was repeatedly and clearly indicated by Stefan Yavorsky. In 1689 he published in Polish and Latin a brilliant panegyric «Echo głosu...» («The voice echo...») on occasion of Ivan Mazepa's fiftieth anniversary. The work was a greeting to the hetman from the Kyiv-Pechersk Lavra and the Kyiv-Mohyla Academy. Ivan Shchyrysky, one of the most famous artists of the time, decorated the greeting with seven engravings depicting some pieces of Stefan Yavorsky's poetry, thus greatly enriching the reader's perception. That great Yavorsky's work was characterized by Valeriy Shevchuk as «one of the most valuable Ukrainian literature works of the late seventeenth century». It was published in Ukrainian in «Siveryansky Chronicle» only in 2018 [12, p. 197–234].

Comparing Ivan Mazepa's lineage, and possibly Ukraine as a whole, headed by the hetman, with a ship successfully overcoming the sea element, Stefan Yavorsky wrote:

«Судну Твоєму дають раду злоту
ТЕОЛОГІЧНІ тямуще ЧЕСНОТИ.
ВІРА Христову Щоглу тримає,
НАДІЯ якір там само виймає,
А МИЛІСТЬ Божа Герба Твого ясно
Глянь, осяває факели незгасні.
ДІМ Твій — це СУДНО, що не заблукає,
Бо ним Чесноти ці три управляють» [12, p. 214].

Illustrating the poetic image of Ivan Mazepa's lineage Ivan Shchyrsky depicted it as the ship having a mast in the shape of Mazepa's coat of arms (Fig. 1) [12, p. 213]. The engraving known as «The Coat of Arms in the Ship» contains many inscriptions in Latin. The main one «Ancora Spei Fidei Crux his Amor ignibus ardet», meaning «The Anchor of Hope, the Cross of Hope, Love of God Shining Through» is placed on the ribbon that crosses the entire engraving left-to-right and bottom upwards behind the coat of arms. Here and below are the translations and notes by Olga Tsyganok [12, p. 213].

The Latin-titled engraving «Spiritus tuus bonus deducat me in terram rectam» («Thy kind spirit guides us to the haven») is framed by Baroque vignettes. The author placed the title on the upper horizontal frame of the engraving. The holy spirit represented as a dove in divine light is placed in the left upper part of the engraving. This iconographic image does create a powerful impression both of action and movement: the sea wind blows the ship's sails overcoming the waves, the ribbon with the inscription flies in the air, the holy hope raises the anchor, and the holy faith shows the destination.

At the bottom part of the engraving Ivan Shchyrsky depicted the sea as the water surface with waves up to the horizon. The vessel is placed in the central part of the engraving, being simultaneously between the sky and the sea and in the sky and the sea. Easy to guess the vessel goes to the right taking into account two prompts: first, bigger space in front of the prow of the ship than behind its stern, and, secondly, the direction of the sails swelling.

The hetman's coat of arms is in the composition center. At first glance, it is a common, a bit elongated image. Computer zooming of the engraving allows us to scrutinize the details extremely important for our study. It turns out Mazepa's coat of arms is divided into two separate parts: the mast and the anchor. The ship's board upper part, the gunwale, is the partition line of the coat of arms. Due to the gunwale placement the engraver gives the impression that a vertical cruciform mast with a split top is inside the ship. Latin «Hoc Syrenes tutamen Ulyssis» made in the cross shape in the meaning «The Sirens keep Ulysses» is placed on the mast.

A seated female figure illustrating a phrase from panegyric «The Faith keeps the mast of Christ» is depicted in the prow of the ship. The Holy Faith holds the mast with the right hand, pointing upwards to crescent and six-pointed star symbols with the left hand. Below we can see an inscription «Huc Cynosura regit» («There Cynosure (Polaris) shines) across the engraving» [12, p. 213].

The engraver placed the lower horizontal part of the coat of arms, the anchor, below the gunwale, so the anchor is outside the ship, unlike the mast. To enhance the impression of apartness of the anchor its vertical lines are slightly displaced in comparison with those of the mast. However, it does not spoil the general impression of the unity of the anchored cross, or the so-called «Kurcz» symbol.

A fluke on the right crown and a shortened shank having a ring and a lifting eye at the tip make the image of the anchor complete. The anchor has Latin inscription «Contemnit tuta procellas», which can be translated as «Intact, paying no regard to severe storms». At the stern of the ship we can see a female figure hoisting an anchor. It is an illustration for a poetic line by Stefan Yavorsky «The Hope hoists the anchor» [12, p. 214].

Thus, panegyric «Echo głosu...» by Stefan Yavorsky, illustrated with Ivan Shchyrsky's engravings, has been a unique source for understanding the Christian sacral nature of hetman Ivan Mazepa's coat of arms.

In summer 1695 a milestone event happened in Ivan Mazepa's life. Ukrainian and Russian army headed by the hetman himself and boyar Borys Sheremetiev, triumphantly conquered Turkish fortress Kyzykermen on the Dnipro, an essential fortified strongpoint of Turkish domination in North Circum-Pontic area. Inokentii Monastyrsky, hegumen of the Cyrillic Monastery, and Stefan Yavorsky, prefect of Kyiv Brotherhood collegium, wrote a letter congratulating the hetman on his military victory. The letter was dated 29 August 1695. In Valeriy Shevchuk's opinion, the letter was probably written by Stefan Yavorsky and was then signed by Inokentii Monastyrsky [8, p. 484].

The letter said: «Let the powerful knightly mace of Your High Nobleness, winning the enemies, bravely defeat the insatiable hydra on the battlefield! For this reason, the boat of the beloved fatherland borne down by numerous misfortunes could have happily reached a safe port, having thrown Your High Nobleness' heraldic flower reinforced by the cross in the enemies' blood waves...» [8, p. 484].

In January 1698 Stefan Yavorsky delivered a sermon in the Trinity Church of Baturyn «Christ's Vineyard has triunique branches: an honest marriage of three statuses: maiden, widow and marital». The sermon was delivered on the occasion of the wedding of Ivan Obydovsky, Ivan Maze-

pa's nephew. Ivan Mazepa attended the ceremony and was greatly impressed by the famous speaker's sermon.

The hetman expressed his willingness to have the sermon published. Later that year the sermon «Christ's Vineyard» was issued by Stefan Yavorsky in the Kyiv Pechersk Lavra's publishing house. In the preamble to the poem the author informed readers that it was published by Ivan Mazepa's order. The sermon began from the following excellent heraldic poem dedicated to the hetman:

«Зри коль крѣпко в Россіи вѣра стоит с(вя)та,
ей же не одолѣють и адова врата,
кр(ес)т на ко(т)вѣ оутвержден, при двою свѣтилу,
сію вѣры с(вя)той изявляють силу;
всуе оустремляются злочестивыхъ рѣки,
кр(ес)тъ на котвѣ недвижим пребудет вовѣки;
и сама ношъ князя тмы ничтоже оуспѣть,
заря свѣтиль н(е)б(ес)ны(х) при кр(ес)тѣ яснѣть»
[11, с. 113–114].

In Valeriy Shevchuk's excellent translation into Ukrainian Stefan Yavorsky's poem is as follows:

«Глянь, як в Русії міцно святу віру знають
Що пекельні ворота її не здолають.
Хрест на кітві ствердився при обох світилах —
Виявляється віри пресвята сила.
Марно тож витікають злочестивих ріки,
Хрест незрушний на кітві буде навек-віки,
Сама тьма князя ночі нічого не вдіє —
При хресті світил Зірка небесна ясніє» [7, с. 102].

It is worth mentioning that in Old Ukrainian of 16th – 18th centuries the words «kotva», «kotvytsa», «kitva», «kitvytsia» have the meaning of anchor. It is available in numerous dictionaries and explanations of words [13].

Our abovementioned research results have much in common with the prominent Ukrainian armorist Antin Kushchynsky's prognoses. In his work «State coat of arms of Christian Ukraine: to the Millennium of the Baptism of Rus-Ukraine» he wrote: «In Ukrainian periodicals we came across voices speaking that the trident sign was used by Great Hetmans Bohdan Khmelnytsky and Ivan Mazepa. Unfortunately, in the sources we had analyzed, we failed to find any documentary evidence of such infor-

mation, although they expressed the idea of historical continuity of our prominent Volodymyr's trident» [4, p. 36–37].

Despite the debating nature of the paper, the authors hope it will elevate substantive discussions to a qualitatively different level. Representatives of academic community including historians, church historians, experts on biographical research, specialists in heraldry are welcome to take part in the discussion. Probably, it can result in the appearance of «biographical imagology» as a new branch of science which should be treated on a par with «linguistic imagology» [2, p. 5].

There are strong arguments in favor of this position, such as philosophical roots and continuity of national and social narratives of Christian symbols in the collective biography of the prominent families. Exactly these families have formed Ukrainian state and Ukrainian nation for centuries. Ivan Mazepa's lineage, presumably, may date back to the 12th century instead of the 15th century, as it is commonly considered. No doubt, the collective biographies are to a large extent based on legends. The legend of Saint Clement and the legend of grand Prince Volodymyr have been at the core of the paper. The main attention has been given to the legend of Prince of the Holy Roman Empire hetman Ivan Mazepa, who is considered to be the ancestor of the Ukrainian State and the ideological leader of Ukrainian independence from the point of Ukrainian historian Olexsander Ohloblyn.

We hope that this work could prove the historical heraldic continuity of St. Clement's anchored cross symbol from Kyiv prince Volodymyr's personal symbol to Ukrainian prince and hetman Ivan Mazepa's coat of arms.

Conclusion. We conducted an analysis of heraldic and literary sources and, in particular, the eulogy of the poet of the late 17th century. S. Yavorsky's «Echo głosu...», illustrated with an engraving by I. Shchyrsky «The coat of arms in the ship» with images of the hetman's coat of arms as an image of power allows us to draw a confident conclusion about its staurographic essence, which comes from the early Christian symbol of St. Clement in the form of an anchor-cross. This testifies to the longevity of the coat of arms of Hetman and Prince Ivan Mazepa from the princely symbols of Kyivan Rus.

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Герб гетьмана Івана Мазепи як об'єкт дослідження потестарної імагології.

Робота присвячена застосуванню методів та підходів потестарної імагології до вивчення біографій видатних історичних особистостей в історії України, зокрема гетьмана Івана Мазепи. Новизна її полягає в тому, що пріоритет надається таким методам потестарної імагології, як дослідження образів влади через образно-символічний складник — зображення, символи та герби. Саме тому він надає нове розуміння національних образів та етнічних стереотипів, а також їх впливу на світоглядну складову частину сус-

пільного життя на прикладі Івана Мазепи. Предметом дослідження є гетьманський герб із його ставрографічною сутністю, яка походить від свято-климентівського символу у вигляді хреста-якоря. Метою дослідження є вивчення образно-символічної складової частини життєпису Івана Мазепи — візуальних (геральдичних) та літературних джерел, які свідчать про ототожнення його родового герба із зображеннями сакральних християнських символів хреста, якоря та корабля. Зроблено акцент на панегірику видатного українського поета кінця XVII ст. Стефана Яворського «Еcho głosu...» («Луна голосу...»), ілюстрованому гравюрами Івана Щирського із зображеннями гетьманського герба як образу влади. Аналізом поетичних і прозових творів С. Яворського та гравюри І. Щирського «Герб у кораблі» доведено наявність у родовому гербі ранньохристиянського символу святого Климента у вигляді хреста-якоря. Зроблено висновок щодо тягlosti образу влади гетьмана І. Мазепи від княжих знаків Київської Русі. Символ «хрест-якір» розглядається як складник колективної біографії княжого роду Мазеп.

Ключові слова: герб, гравюра, Іван Мазепа, Стефан Яворський, Іван Щирський, кітва, образ влади, потестарна імагологія, хрест, хрест-якір.