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Patriarchs' and Bishops' Emblems in Printed Books. The Journey of Prototypes from the West to the East

This chapter examines the transfer of models of patriarchs' and bishops' coats of arms, stemmata and emblems from the West to the East in the early modern age. The main focus is on heraldic signs of church hierarchs and images of an emblematic nature that were placed in printed books. We clearly state from the start that we are primarily interested in emblems found in books of an ecclesiastical nature and content, or emblems containing pictorial elements of church paraphernalia.

To fully cover this topic, we have considered different types of heraldic and emblematic compositions and defined their features. We also believe it is important to demonstrate the interaction and mutual influence of these two spheres – emblematics and heraldry in European culture. In the context of the general topic, we would like to emphasize the important role of early modern Kyiv and the printing press of the Kyiv Pechersk Lavra in transferring models from the West to the East.

There are two main challenges before us: studying the iconography of church books printed in the Kyiv Pechersk Lavra in the 17th–18th centuries and tracing the circulation of models and patterns between the Ukrainian and South-Eastern European regions. This essay presents our preliminary observations on these issues.

It should be noted that the printing activity of the Kyiv Pechersk Lavra has been studied quite well.¹ The question of the artistic design of the early modern books of the Lavra press has also been studied in depth.² The bibliography on these

1 The first fundamental work on the subject appeared already at the beginning of the 20th century: F. Titov, *Типография Киево-Печерской Лавры: Исторический очерк (1606–1616–1916 г.г.)*, vol. I, Kyiv, 1916. See also: G. E. Varvarich, *Славянские книги кирилловской печати XVII–XX вв. Каталог: книги, изданные в типографии Киево-Печерской лавры*, ed. N. P. Rud', N. P. Vizir', Kyiv, 1981. A comprehensive list of literature and sources on the subject can be found in O. I. Marchenko, *Матеріали до бібліографії Києво-Печерської лаври. Науково-допоміжний бібліографічний показник*, ed. S. Krolevets, V. Kolpakova, Kyiv, 2006, p. 46–51.

2 See, e.g.: IA. P. Zapasko, "Видання друкарні Києво-Печерської лаври", *Мистецтво книги на Україні в XVI–XVIII ст.*, ed. P. Zholtovs'kyi, Lviv, 1971; T. N. Kameneva, A. A. Guseva, *Украинские*

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issues is quite extensive. Nevertheless, the aspect we wish to draw attention to here – heraldic and emblematic images in the books of the Lavra press – has not been studied comprehensively. This topic is important in the context of the research of the TYPARABIC project, since some emblematic images in the corpus list, which includes ca. fifty 18th-century Arabic books surveyed by the project team, may indicate an iconographic connection with Kyiv.

Coats of arms have most often been considered in the context of the issues of special historical disciplines, while emblems have largely been the field of study of literary scholars. This statement fully applies to the study of coats of arms of Ukrainian church hierarchs and emblems placed in printed books of the Kyiv Pechersk Lavra press. We can only mention selected studies on this subject.

Among the current significant publications on the subject, the works of the Ukrainian scholars Khrystyna Zavaryns'ka³ and Oksana Zhmurko⁴ should be mentioned, as well as those of European researchers who have touched on the subject of the design of the publications of the Kyiv Pechersk Lavra. The latter group of scholars includes Waldemar Deluga, Ioana Feodorov, Anca Elisabeta Tatay, and Cornel Tatai-Baltă.⁵ Martin Erdmann's monograph *Heraldische Funeralpanegyrik*

книги кирилловской печати XVI–XVIII веков: Каталог изданий, хранящихся в Гос. б-ке СССР им. В.И. Ленина: В 3-х вып., vol. I. 1574 – 1 половина XVII в., ed. A. Sidorov, I. Polonskaia, Moscow, 1976 [1977]; T. N. Kameneva, A. A. Guseva, Украинские книги кирилловской печати XVI–XVIII веков: Каталог изданий, хранящихся в Гос. б-ке СССР им. В.И. Ленина, vol. II, Part 1: Киевские издания 2-й половины XVII в., ed. A. Sidorov, I. Polonskaia, Moscow, 1981; IA. P. Zapasko, IA. D. Isaievych, Пам'ятки книжкового мистецтва. Каталог стародруків, виданих на Україні, vol. 1. 1574–1700, Lviv, 1981; IA. P. Zapasko, IA. D. Isaievych, Пам'ятки книжкового мистецтва [Текст]. Каталог стародруків, виданих на Україні, vol. II, Part 1. 1701–1746, Lviv, 1984; IA. P. Zapasko, IA. D. Isaievych, Пам'ятки книжкового мистецтва [Текст]. Каталог стародруків, виданих на Україні, vol. II, Part 2. 1765–1800, Lviv, 1984; Marchenko, Матеріали до бібліографії Києво-Печерської лаври, p. 48–50.

3 Kh. Zavaryns'ka, “Панегіричні топоси в гравюрах київських геральдично-емблемних стародруків першої половини XVII ст.”, Вісник Львівської національної академії мистецтв, 22, 2011, p. 236–248; Kh. Zavaryns'ka, “Гравюри київських геральдично-емблемних панегіриків першої половини XVII ст.”, Матеріали Міжнародної наукової конференції ‘Мистецька культура: історія, теорія, методологія’ (Львів, 28.11.2014), Lviv, 2014, p. 5–6; Kh. Zavaryns'ka, “Емблеми у гравюрах другої половини XVII ст. на честь православного українського духовенства”, Матеріали Міжнародної наукової конференції ‘Мистецька культура: історія, теорія, методологія’ (Львів, 25.11.2016), Lviv, 2016, p. 11–13; Kh. Zavaryns'ka, “Епщедей ‘Zal ropowionu’ (1647): проблема взаємодії тексту й ілюстрацій у панегіричному творі”, Вісник Харківської державної академії дизайну і мистецтв, 1, 2017, p. 85–93.

4 O. Zhmurko, “Герби духовних осіб у кириличних стародруках Галичини XVII століття: художні особливості зображення”, Вісник Львівської національної академії мистецтв, 28, 2016, p. 205–222.

5 W. Deluga, “Kijowskie druki emblematyczne XVII i XVIII-wiecznych wydań polsko- i łacińskojęzycznych”, in O. Tolochko, N. Iakovenko (eds.), *Medievalia Ucrainica: ментальність та*

*des ukrainischen Barock*⁶ deserves special attention. This work presents an in-depth analysis of the well-known panegyric work of the Kyiv Pechersk Lavra Press, *Столп цнот знаменитых в Богу зешлому яснепревелебного его милости господина отца и пастыра Сильвестра Коссова...* (*The Pillar of Virtues of His Grace Reverend Father and Pastor Sylvester Kossov, Who Has Gone to God...*), an epitaph in prose and verse on the virtues of the Metropolitan of Kyiv Sylvester (Kossov).⁷ The *Pillar of Virtues* was addressed and presented to Sylvester's successor on the Metropolitan See, Dionisy Balaban-Tukalsky.

An example of this separate panegyric work by an unknown 17th-century Ukrainian preacher clearly shows the process of Western influences on Ukrainian panegyric literature both in terms of content and design. The famous 19th-early 20th-century Kyivan scholar Sergei Golubev was the first local researcher to address this topic.⁸ He examined some of the coats of arms of secular and clerical élites placed in ecclesiastical publications. He also indicated the difference between the heraldry of the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth and Southern Rus' (present-day Ukraine), on the one hand, and Western Europe, on the other. However, he looked at the subject from a historical perspective. The images of the coats of arms themselves were not the subject of his research.

Despite the valuable remarks and conclusions drawn by all these scholars, we believe that this subject has not been sufficiently researched. In our work, we plan to emphasize precisely the art-historical aspect of the issue, using an interdisciplinary approach.

At the turn of the 16th and 17th centuries, printing activity began to develop in Ukraine. In 1616, through the efforts of Archimandrite Ielysei Pletenets'kyi, a

istoriia ideï, vol. 2, Kyiv, 1993, p. 69–97; A. E. Tatay, C. Tatai-Baltă, *Xilografura din cartea românească veche tipărită la București (1582–1830)*, Cluj-Napoca, 2015; I. Feodorov, "Peter Movilă's Portraits Preserved in Museums and Collections of Kyiv", *RESEE*, 54, 2016, 1–4, p. 171–188; I. Feodorov, "La Kiev, pe urmele portretelor Mitropolitului Petru Movilă", in C. Manolache (ed.), *Istorie și cultură. In honorem acad. Andrei Eșanu*, Chișinău, 2018, p. 712–728; I. Feodorov, *Arabic Printing for the Christians in Ottoman Lands. The East-European Connection*, Berlin/Boston, 2023.

6 M. Erdmann, *Heraldische Funeralpanegyrik des ukrainischen Barock. Am Beispiel des Stolp Cnot Sylvestra Kossova*, Munich, 1999.

7 [*Stolp tsnot... Sylvestra Kossova*]: *Столп цнот знаменитых в Богу зешлому яснепревелебного его милости господина отца и пастыра Сильвестра Коссова, архієпископа митрополита Кієвского, галицкого и всея Росси, екзархи святѢйшого апостол[с]кого Константинопольского трону, з свѢтом раздѢленнаго, на подѢление жалю, през музы коллегіум Кієво-Могилянського раздѢленые. На раздѢление Косовіанських гербов*, Kyiv, 1658.

8 S. T. Golubev, "Описание и истолкование дворянских гербов южнорусских фамилий в произведениях духовных писателей XVII в.", *Труды Киевской духовной академии*, 10, 1872, p. 295–382.

printing press was founded in the Kyiv Pechersk Lavra.⁹ The printing activity was supported by his successor, Metropolitan Peter Mohyla (Movilă), who was engaged in book printing not only in Kyiv. He helped the ruler of Wallachia, Matei Basarab (1632–1654), to achieve the publication of books in Slavonic and Romanian in the Principality of Wallachia, and then sent printing equipment and craftsmen to Iași, the capital of the Principality of Moldavia.¹⁰ In 1632, he united the Lavra gymnasium (established in 1631) with the Kyiv Brotherhood school, laying the foundation for the celebrated Kyiv Mohyla Collegium.¹¹ Active development of printing, the establishment of the Kyiv Collegium, educational activities of the archimandrites of the Lavra and the Ukrainian clergy in general, and personal and printers' libraries – these were the factors that contributed to the penetration of various Western European ideas and imagery into the Ukrainian culture.

We can imagine the collection of Peter Mohyla's library¹² as well as those of some other hierarchs of the epoch – Antonii Tarasevych,¹³ Stefan IAvors'kyi¹⁴ and others. The descriptions testify to the presence of many Western European printed books, including illustrated ones. Grigorii Koliada presented information about the library of one of the first printing presses in Ukraine, the Striatyn press house of Gideon and Fedir Balaban: the library was needed for proofreading purposes, to check the books that were intended for publication. It contained not only South Slavic Venetian editions (*Trebnyk*, Psalter of 1519 by Bozhydar Vukovic, etc.), but

9 S. T. Golubev, "О начале книгопечатания в Киеве", *Киевская старина*, vol. II/6, 1882, p. 382–400; V. M. Goncharuk, "Начало книгопечатания в Киеве", in L. Eremina, N. Alekseeva (eds.), *Памятные книжные даты*, Moscow, 1991, p. 236–239.

10 D. Bădără, "The Beginning of Printing and Print Culture in the Romanian Principalities", in R. Dîpratu, S. Noble (eds.), *Arabic-Type Books Printed in Wallachia, Istanbul, and Beyond. First Volume of Collected Works of the TYPARABIC Project*, Berlin/Boston, 2024, p. 125.

11 M. Bulgakov, *История Киевской академии. Сочинение воспитанника ее иером. Макария Булгакова*, St. Petersburg, 1843, p. 38; I. Shevchenko, "The Many Worlds of Peter Mohyla", *Harvard Ukrainian Studies*, 8, 1984, 1–2, p. 13; M. V. IAremento, "Киево-Могилянська академія, Київська братська школа, Київський колегіум, Київська академія, Київська духовна академія, Національний університет 'Киево-Могилянська академія'", in V. Smolii (ed.), *Енциклопедія історії України*, vol. IV, Kyiv, 2007, p. 183.

12 S. T. Golubev, "О составе библиотеки Петра Могилы", *Труды III Археологического съезда в России, бывшего в Киеве в августе 1874 года*, vol. II, Kyiv, 1878, p. 257–268.

13 M. P. Istomin, "Обучение живописи в Киево-Печерской лавре в 18 в.", *Искусство и художественная промышленность*, 10, 1901, p. 293, p. 2.

14 S. I. Maslov, "Библиотека Стефана Яворского", *Чтения в Историческом обществе Нестора Летописца*, 24, 1914, 1, Part 2, p. 99–162; Part 3, p. 17–102.

also an eight-volume edition of the Plantin Bible published at Antwerp. There were also other Western European editions.¹⁵

The ornamentation of Balabaniv's prints already stands out among the East Slavic books of the time. They contain many Western European elements. Most of them were included in the Service Book of 1604 (*Божествѣныя Літургія Иже въ святыхъ отцѣхъ нашихъ...*): "Its ornamentation is dominated by book decorations that have a pronounced Renaissance character: cupids, newts, harpies, sirens, centaurs, and other motifs derived from Greco-Roman mythology".¹⁶

Renaissance elements can be found not only in the headpieces but also in the initial letters of this publication. The latter also introduced a "pictorial element": creatures of Greco-Roman mythology, scenes from the Bible, birds and animals were presented in the foreground. Many of these images were based on the initials of Plantin's Bible.¹⁷ Later, copies of the initials from the Plantin Bible are found in the publications of the Kyiv Pechersk Monastery, which acquired the equipment of the Striatyn printing press,¹⁸ in particular, in the Anthologion of 1619, the Service Book of 1620, the Discourses on the Acts of the Apostles of 1623, etc.¹⁹ According to Liudmyla S. Miliaeva, in the early 17th century, Ukrainian masters joined the pan-European practice of "using engravings from different countries in book printing".²⁰

Another typical example is a series of biblical illustrations by the engraver Ilia, whose images come from a Dutch album of engravings published by Piscator. The Ukrainian master freely copied the large sheets of the copperplates in a reduced "book" format and gave a "translation of the translation".²¹

This treatment of European patterns was typical for Ukrainian engravers. Such a rapid acquaintance of Ukrainian artists with the latest "novelties" of Western European graphic art is simply amazing. The fact that the biblical illustrations of Ilia appeared in 1645–1649, i.e., immediately after the publication of Piscator's album, is surprising and revealing.

15 G. I. Koliada, "Балабановские друкарни", in A. Sidorov (ed.), *Книга и графика. Сборник статей*, Moscow, 1972, p. 155–156.

16 Koliada, "Балабановские друкарни", p. 158.

17 Koliada, "Балабановские друкарни", p. 159.

18 F. Titov claimed that the Lavra archimandrite IElisei Pletenets'kyi bought the Striatyn printing press in 1606. See Titov, *Типография Киево-Печерской Лавры*, p. 72–77.

19 Koliada, "Балабановские друкарни", p. 160.

20 L. S. Miliaeva, "Переддень бароко", *Мистецтвознавство України: збірник наукових праць Академії мистецтв України*, t. 1, Kyiv, 2000, p. 41–42.

21 Kameneva, Guseva, *Украинские книги кирилловской печати*, vol. II, Part 1, p. 9. See also O. Yurchyshyn-Smith, *The Monk Ilia (fl. 1637-1663). Catalogue. Ukrainian and Romanian Baroque Engraving*, Kyiv, 2021 (2nd ed.).

Iliia's biblical illustrations have become as popular in Ukraine as their patterns. Some of his woodcuts were used by various Ukrainian presses for many decades. This contributed to the entry of new themes and images into the "mass consciousness". The Ukrainian reader also became accustomed to new types of compositions, including emblematic ones.

Other types of early modern Ukrainian visual art also reveal a good acquaintance with Western European emblematic collections. In this context, the monumental ensembles of the Kyiv Pechersk painting workshop should be mentioned first. Unfortunately, most of these paintings are not preserved today.²² The murals of the Trinity Gate Church of the Lavra dating from the early 18th century are the only complete ensemble that has survived.²³ This ensemble gives grounds to assert that Ukrainian icon painters were well acquainted with Western European illustrative engravings. Among the prototypes of the compositions depicted in this church are illustrations of European Bibles printed by Piscator, Weigel, Merian, and Dankertz.²⁴ There are several emblematic images that allow us to identify the Western European pattern very accurately.²⁵ We could argue that Western models reached other Central and Eastern European countries too but were first adapted in the Kyiv Pechersk Lavra. This applies to different types of art.²⁶

22 V. D. Èrtel', "О стенописи великой церкви Киево-Печерской Лавры", *Труды Киевской духовной академии*, 4, 1887, p. 521–522; N. I. Petrov, "Об упраздненной стенописи великой церкви Киево-Печерской Лавры", *Труды Киевской духовной академии*, 4, 1900, p. 579–610.

23 A. IU. Kondratiuk, *Монументальний живопис Троїцької надбрамної церкви Києво-Печерської лаври. Семантика. Стилїстика* [Monograph], in V. Kolpakova (ed.), *Лаврський альманах*, 13/ Special Issue 5, Kyiv, 2004, p. 5.

24 Kondratiuk, *Монументальний живопис Троїцької надбрамної церкви*, p. 95–118; A. IU. Kondratiuk, *Монументальний живопис Троїцької надбрамної церкви Києво-Печерської лаври: Каталог*, Kyiv, 2005, p. 41–42, 88–89, 94–96, 100–101, 107–109, 116, 119–121, 122–124, 192–195, 230–231, 233–238; A. IU. Kondratiuk, "Європейські лицеві Біблії як іконографічне джерело розписів лаврської живописної школи барокової доби", *Музеї та реставрація у контексті збереження культурної спадщини: актуальні виклики сучасності. Матеріали VI Міжнародної науково-практичної конференції 23–24 вересня 2021*, Kyiv, 2021, p. 198–200.

25 A. IU. Kondratiuk, "До питання європейських зразків барокових розписів лаврської школи (за матеріалами колекції Національного заповідника 'Києво-Печерська лавра')", *Церква – наука – суспільство: питання взаємодії. Матеріали Дев'ятнадцятої Міжнар. наук. конф., м. Київ, 26–28 травня 2021*, Kyiv, 2021, p. 191–205.

26 In particular, several compositions from the iconographic program of the Trinity Gate Church of the Kyiv Pechersk Lavra of the 20s and 30s of the 18th century, which were based on emblematic engravings, became models for the paintings of the Krušedol Monastery in Serbia in the 1760s. See, e.g., Kondratiuk, *Монументальний живопис Троїцької надбрамної церкви*, p. 99–102; Kondratiuk, "До питання європейських зразків", p. 191–205; D. Dinko, "Українські утицаї на српску уметност средине XVIII века и сликар Василије Романович", in *Зборник*

In the field of book decoration, we notice similar processes. Various examples of church panegyric literature, built according to the same scheme as European secular etiquette poetry, appeared in Ukraine. Researchers point to several varieties of panegyric compositions in Ukrainian printed books of that time: traditional drawings of coats of arms, combined heraldic compositions, coats of arms, heraldic symbols and elements incorporated into graphic illustrations, and some other forms.²⁷ In the 1630s and 1640s, these congratulatory cycles had already reached their full extent, combining a rather long poetic eulogy with a series of engraved images of an emblematic nature and the use of coat of arms elements. These were works that glorified the majestic and admirable deeds of the ecclesiastical nobility, such as the *Eucharisterion* (1632) by Sofronii Pochas'kyi²⁸ in honor of Metropolitan Peter Mohyla.²⁹ There are also mournful eulogies, such as *Żal ponowiony* (1647) by Józef Kalimon, on the death of Peter Mohyla,³⁰ or the above-mentioned *Pillar of Virtue*, on the death of Metropolitan Sylvester Kossov. They combined the art of words with the art of images.

Certain scholars believe that emblematic and heraldic poems have much in common in their writing and character, especially the similar three-part structure, and refer to poems on coats of arms as an emblematic genre of Baroque poetry.³¹ It has also been argued that heraldry preceded, and to some extent contributed to, the development of emblems.³² Some aspects of the relationship between emblematic art and heraldry were addressed by Alan R. Young.³³ However, this is a question that needs to remain open to further exploration.

за ликовне уметности Матице српске, 5. Споменица Радослава Грујића, Novi Sad, 1969, p. 119–137; D. Medaković, “Зидно сликарство манастира Крушедола”, in *Путеви српскога барока*, Belgrade, 1971, p. 126–127.

27 Zavaryns'ka, “Панегіричні топоси в гравюрах”, p. 237.

28 Sofronii, whose secular name was Stefan S. Pochas'kyi (ca. 1600 – after 1642, Kyiv), was a Ukrainian writer and church leader, a major writer of ancient Ukrainian literature, and head of the Kyiv-Mohyla Academy (1638–1640).

29 S. Pochas'kyi, *Евхарістиріон, албо вдячність... Петру Могилі: од спудеов Гимназіум его милости з школы реторіки*, Kyiv, 1632.

30 J. Kalimon, *Żal ponowiony po pogrzebie J. Przewielebności Jem. O. Piotra Mohiły Archiep. Metrop. Kiow. Halic. u wszystkich Rossiey Archimandryty Pieczar. a Jem. Panu Adamowi Borissowi z Woroniec Markiewiczowi. Przez Mon. Ord. S. Bas. Josepha Kalimona, Aud. Phis. dedikowany* 1647. April 9, Kyiv, 1647.

31 IU. V. Mynenko, “Емблематичний та панегіричний струмені української геральдичної поезії”, *Вісник Житомирського державного університету імені Івана Франка*, 51, 2010, p. 207.

32 Deluga, “Kijowskie druki emblematiczne”, p. 69–97.

33 A. R. Young, “The Emblem and Flags”, in P. M. Daly (ed.), *Companion to Emblem Studies*, New York, 2008, p. 469–473.

In any case, by the beginning of the 17th century, such concepts as the coat of arms, *stemma*, emblem and *impresa* had become embodied in Ukrainian culture. But before we deal with this issue, let us outline the most popular collections of Western European emblems with which the Ukrainian reader of the early modern period would likely have been familiar.

It is thought that Andrea Alciati's collection of emblems was very popular in Ukraine.³⁴ Researchers often credit Alciati's *Book of Emblems* (Augsburg, 1531) with creating emblems as a genre in its own right.³⁵ This book quickly gained popularity and underwent epigonal and creative modifications. It was to have an enormous impact on the culture of the Mannerist and Baroque periods. Alciati's book was first published in Latin and went on to be reprinted and translated into Italian, French, Spanish, German, and English. It consists of allegories and symbols reproduced in woodcuts and explained by short texts written in Latin verse, intended to introduce moral lessons. Other emblematic books that preceded Alciati's collection, and those that followed it, quickly spread in Poland, Czechia, and Ukraine.³⁶

The library of the famous poet, hieromonk, philologist, orator, and theologian of Ukrainian origin Ієпифаній Славинетський contained an edition of *The Egyptian Symbolism* by Giovanni Pietro dalle Fosse.³⁷ The libraries of the church hierarchs Stefan Jaworski and Feofan Prokopovych included emblematic collections by Diego de Saavedra Fajardo, Hermann Hugo and others. One of the most popular collections of emblems, which had a significant impact on Ukrainian culture, was *Symbolorum et emblematum* by Joachim Camerarius (1590).³⁸

Some authors of emblematic books, like Alciati, presented their collections as guides for different craftsmen.³⁹ This contributed to the fact that, over time, the content and structure of emblematic books became more and more ordered. In contrast to similar editions from earlier periods, Western European emblematic collections of the second half of the 16th and the first half of the 17th centuries

34 Муненко, "Емблематичний та панегіричний струмені", р. 206.

35 D. A. Zelenin, "Quid sit emblema": эволюция семантики эмблемы от античности до Андреа Альчиато", *Новый филологический вестник*, 3 (34), 2015, р. 34, 41; E. S. Danilov, "Антиклизированные эмблемы Альчиато", *Ученые записки Казанского университета. Серия "Гуманитарные науки"*, 2020, 162, Part 1, р. 186.

36 Муненко, "Емблематичний та панегіричний струмені", р. 207.

37 Муненко, "Емблематичний та панегіричний струмені", р. 206. Pierio Valeriano (1477–1558), born Giovanni Pietro dalle Fosse, an Italian Renaissance humanist, was an expert in Egyptian hieroglyphs, most famous for his work *Hieroglyphica, sive, De sacris Aegyptiorvm literis commentarii*.

38 Муненко, "Емблематичний та панегіричний струмені", р. 206.

39 Zelenin, "Quid sit emblema": эволюция семантики эмблемы от античности до Андреа Альчиато", р. 38.

already have a clear structure and thematic division, because here the emblems are systematized.

A very good example of a systematic publication of this kind is Cesare Ripa's *Iconologia overo descrizione dell'Imagini universali cavate dall'Antichità* (Rome, 1593). This book is considered as one of the greatest publications to influence early modern European culture and art. The first illustrated edition of the book was published in Rome in 1603.⁴⁰ *Iconologia* was reprinted dozens of times in most European languages. The collection consists of hundreds of allegorical representations of abstract concepts, virtues, vices, arts, sciences and other subjects, using human figures, animals, plants, objects and symbols. Ripa's work was a popular source of inspiration and guidance for artists and writers, both in Western and Eastern Europe. Its illustrations and texts often served as models in choosing the iconography of personifications over the next two centuries.

Emblemata Sacra, Das ist: Fünfftzig Geistliche in Kupffer gestochene Emblemata, oder Deutungsbilder, aus der Heiligen Schrift, von dem süßen Namen und Creutz Jesu Christi (Frankfurt am Main, 1622) by Daniel Cramer, a German theologian and emblem writer, is another publication worth mentioning in the context of our topic. This collection consists of dozens of emblems that illustrate various aspects of Christian doctrine and morality, using biblical verses, allegorical images, and Latin mottoes. They circulated widely and were influential in Protestant Europe, and some of them were spread and adopted in Eastern Europe as well. The engravings in this collection were popular in the early modern period as models for artisans and craftsmen.⁴¹ That this work was also popular in Ukraine is revealed by artistic practice. We will come back to this later.

We also believe that *Symbola divina & humana pontificum, imperatorum, regum* by Jacobus Typotius (1st ed., Prague, 3 vols., 1601) was popular in early modern

⁴⁰ The 3rd edition, printed in 1603 in Rome in the press of Lepido Facio, contains numerous additions. Ripa corrected certain errors in the first edition and added an illustrative apparatus of woodcuts, which tradition attributes to Cavalier d'Arpino. The *Iconology* was later re-published with significant expansions and modifications in numerous editions and translations as late as the 19th century. The most recent translation is L. C. Pastor's 1866 Mexican edition. On the influence of this work on European art, see E. Mâle, *L'art religieux après le Concile de Trente: étude sur l'iconographie de la fin du XVI^e siècle, du XVII^e et du XVIII^e siècle: Italie, France, Espagne, Flandres*, Paris, 1932, p. 387–390; E. W. Kleinbauer, Th. P. Slavens, *Research Guide to the History of Western Art*, Chicago, 1982, p. 60.

⁴¹ P. J. Götz, "Rätselhafte Bilder und altertümliche Zitate. Barocke Malereien in den evangelischen Kirchen zu Dorla und Werkel nach den 'Emblemata sacra' des Daniel Cramer", *Schwäbmer Jahrbuch*, 2023, p. 118–123. Daniel Cramer's *Emblemata Sacra* was the most frequently used emblem book in Protestant churches.

Ukraine. There is also evidence of this in the practice of art and in some of the analogies that will be mentioned later. This collection contains dozens of emblems illustrating various aspects of Christian spirituality and devotion. The emblems were intended to inspire and instruct the members of the Society of Jesus and other religious orders.

These are just a few examples, although the list could continue. It should be noted that the editions I mentioned have certain common features. Their authors were often concerned with similar subjects. These themes and motifs would also become popular in Ukrainian art.

It was not until 1712 that the Kyiv Pechersk Lavra press published its own collection of emblems.⁴² The book resembled the European collections mentioned above. Its title is *Iphika Hieropolitica or Moralizing Philosophy....*⁴³ The name comes from two Greek words: ἠθικός, which means “concerning morality”, and ἱερός – “great, sacred”. There is a hypothesis that the author of *Iphika* was Athanasios (Myslavs’kyi), the archimandrite of the Kyiv Pechersk Lavra.⁴⁴

The text contains 67 allegorical illustrations on copper drawn by Nikodim Zubritskii.⁴⁵ The subjects of the engravings are allegorical. They are taken from ancient history and mythology, biblical books and popular fables – that is, from all the sources used by scholars of the time.⁴⁶ This collection of moralistic sermons testifies to its Kyivan authors’ close acquaintance with Western European emblematic editions. Famous European prototypes are featured here in several images.

For example, the illustration of *The False Hope of Life* in the *Iphika* shows a well-known story about the absurd death of the famous playwright Aeschylus (Fig. 1).⁴⁷ One of the earliest prototypes of this composition is the 15th-century drawing of the *Florentine Picture-Chronicle* (*Cronaca pittorica fiorentina*), attributed to Maso Finiguerra.⁴⁸ However, the theme reappears in other works over the next few cen-

42 [A. Myslavs’kyi] (?), *Ифика иерополитика или Философия нравоучительная символами и приспособлении изъяснена к наставлению и пользе юным*, Kyiv, 1712.

43 Т. А. Выкова, М. М. Гуревич, *Описание изданий, напечатанных кириллицей. 1689 – январь 1725 г.*, ed. P. Berkova, Moscow/Leningrad, 1958, p. 184–185, no. 91; P. M. Zholtovs’kyi, *Художне життя на Україні в XVI–XVIII ст.*, Kyiv, 1983, p. 24–25.

44 Выкова, Гуревич, *Описание изданий, напечатанных кириллицей*, p. 184; Zholtovs’kyi, *Художне життя на Україні в XVI–XVIII ст.*, p. 24–25.

45 Выкова, Гуревич, *Описание изданий, напечатанных кириллицей*, p. 185.

46 Zholtovs’kyi, *Художне життя на Україні в XVI–XVIII ст.*, p. 24.

47 Zholtovs’kyi, *Художне життя на Україні в XVI–XVIII ст.*, p. 18.

48 This album of drawings made in black chalk, then ink and brush with blurring, is an unusual and ambitious attempt to create a “pictorial history of the world”. See S. Colvin, *A Florentine picture-chronicle; being a series of ninety-nine drawings representing scenes and personages of ancient history, sacred and profane*, by Maso Finiguerra. Reproduced from the originals in the British

turies. This plot would appear in further editions with very close compositional solutions. Finally, it appears in the Kyiv book in a version that is quite recognizable. The source of the image itself is quite revealing. This is also characteristic of similar works in Western Europe.

Iphika became one of the most popular emblematic collections in the Slavic world. The book was republished three times in St. Petersburg (1718, 1728, 1729), Lviv (1760), Moscow (1796), and Vienna (1774).⁴⁹ The engravings for the St. Petersburg editions were copied from the Kyivan one, although some are mirrored.⁵⁰ They were made in the workshop of Peter Pikart (1668–1737), a Dutch master who worked in the press of St. Petersburg.⁵¹ Various editions of *Iphika* contain between 64 and 70 engravings with accompanying poems.⁵²

The iconography of the *Iphika* was widely used for frescoes painted in houses and churches. A typical example is the painting of the parish priest's house in the village of Kurashivtsi (Ukraine).⁵³ This mural survived until the beginning of the 20th century, when it was lost.

In early modern Ukraine, as in Western Europe, fascination with emblems was pervasive. The use of emblems reflected the intellectual and aesthetic needs of the period, a love of puzzles, and symbolic representations of states and events. Alongside emblems, heraldic compositions were an integral part of early modern European (including Ukrainian) ecclesiastical publications. These compositions consisted of a coat of arms and an epigram, and their structure resembled that of emblems.

Since the Renaissance, their creation has been influenced by heraldry. During the Late Renaissance and Baroque, with the growing role of the emblem in art, this influence was reversed, and it was the emblem that began to influence heraldry. *Stemmata* and emblems were used to construct panegyric concepts based on heraldic signs. The coats of arms of church hierarchs and their elements were

Museum by the Imperial Press, Berlin. With many minor illustrations drawn from contemporary sources and a critical and descriptive text by Sidney Colvin, M.A., keeper of the prints and drawings in the British Museum, London, 1898; H. Chapman, M. Faietti, Fra Angelico to Leonardo: Italian Renaissance Drawings, London, 2010, p. 166–171.

49 Вукоча, Гуревич, *Описание изданий, напечатанных кириллицей*, p. 185; Zholtovs'kyi, *Художнє життя на Україні в XVI–XVIII ст.*, p. 24.

50 Вукоча, Гуревич, *Описание изданий, напечатанных кириллицей*, p. 203–204, no. 115, and p. 267, no. 204.

51 Вукоча, Гуревич, *Описание изданий, напечатанных кириллицей*, p. 203.

52 Zholtovs'kyi, *Художнє життя на Україні в XVI–XVIII ст.*, p. 24.

53 Zholtovs'kyi, *Художнє життя на Україні в XVI–XVIII ст.*, p. 29, 32–33.

incorporated into complex compositions of so-called “occasional works,” combining images and texts.⁵⁴

The role of coats of arms in late medieval and early modern society cannot be overestimated. It is thus no coincidence that we come across them very often in the design of printed publications. Coats of arms could be placed in different parts of the book: on the title page, on its verso, with illustrations and other variations possible. The widespread use of coats of arms was a sign of the times. “No one of rank or prestige could remain without a coat of arms. Coats of arms were assigned to ancient kings and emperors, such as Alexander the Great or Julius Caesar, as well as to the heroes of medieval romances. Even Jesus Christ and God Himself were given their own heraldic bearings.”⁵⁵

Since the Ukrainian context is important for us in this case, it will not be superfluous to recall the image of the coat of arms of Jesus Christ in the book of the famous Ukrainian preacher Іоанкїї Налїатовс'кї *Messiah the True* (*Месїя правдивий, Ісус Христос, Сын Божїй, от початку свѣта през всѣ вѣки людем от Бога обѣцанный*), printed in the Lavra press in 1669.⁵⁶ On the back of the title page, there is a picture of “the most radiant, the world’s brightest coat of arms of Messiah the True, in a round shield whose field is studded with stars, and a central cross”.⁵⁷

Another famous Ukrainian theologian and preacher, Archbishop Lazar Baranovych, in his book *Lutnia Apollinowa Kożdey Sprawie Gotowa* (*Apollo’s Lute, Ready for Every Deed*, Kyiv, Lavra press, 1671),⁵⁸ attributed to Jesus Christ the following coat of arms: three letters in a heart-shaped shield – I. H. S. – and a cross with two nails on each side.⁵⁹

This is where the question of terminology and the characteristics of the different types of emblematic and heraldic compositions come in. In this chapter, we have repeatedly used such expressions and terms as coat of arms, emblem,

54 Zavyrns'ka, “Панегіричні топоси в гравюрах”, p. 236–237.

55 H. Torsten, “Research Project: Coats of arms in practice. The history of heraldic communication in late medieval culture and society (12th to 15th centuries)”, *Heraldica Nova*, published 12/06/2013; updated 05/10/2017. Access at: <https://heraldica.hypotheses.org/149> (accessed March 20, 2024).

56 I. Haliatovs'kyi, *Месїя правдивий, Ісус Христос, Сын Божїй, от початку свѣта през всѣ вѣки людем от Бога обѣцанный и от людей очекиванный и в остатныи часы для збавеня людского на свѣт посланный*, Kyiv, 1669.

57 Golubev, “Описание и истолкование дворянских гербов”, p. 319–320, n. 1.

58 Ł. Baranowicz, *Lutnia Apollinowa Kożdey [sic] Sprawie Gotowa: Na Błogosławiącę Rękę Iako Na Takt Iaki Patrząc [...] Oycy Łazarza Baranowicza [...]*, Kyiv, 1671; accessible on the website of the Jagiellonian University Library: <https://jbc.bj.uj.edu.pl/dlibra/publication/175825/edition/167347/content?ref=desc> (accessed March 25, 2024).

59 Golubev, “Описание и истолкование дворянских гербов”, p. 319–320, n. 1.

impresa and *stemma*, which became an integral part of early modern European and Ukrainian culture. We used them without prior interpretation. And there are objective reasons for this. They are all connected to the emblem, and they are inter-related. Often one term is defined by another, leading to terminological confusion.

Moreover, when we speak of heraldic compositions, we could consider the following possibilities: traditional drawings of arms, composite heraldic compositions, and symbols and elements of arms in graphic illustrations, etc. The same thing happens when we try to define the concept of an emblem. This tends to become vague. To avoid inaccuracies, we will try to clarify some aspects of this problem.

According to the *Merriam-Webster's Dictionary*, the definitions of “emblem” are as follows: 1) an image with a motto or set of verses intended as a moral lesson; 2) an object or the figure of an object that symbolizes and suggests another object or idea; 3) a symbolic object used as a heraldic device; 4) a device, symbol, or figure adopted and used as an identifying mark.⁶⁰

The variety of these meanings means that the term itself is not clearly defined. To be clear, the emblem is a combination of symbolic visual images and text that was widely in use in early modern Europe for a diversity of purposes. It is a type of heraldic badge indicating the allegiance or ownership of an individual, family, or corporate body. In the 17th century, an emblem was also a literary genre, consisting of a symbolic image accompanied by a motto and a verse.⁶¹ These emblems were intended to convey moral lessons or allegorical meanings. Having explained above the role of emblems in the early modern Ukrainian culture and the popular collections of emblems, we will now pay more attention to the coats of arms.

The term “coat of arms” refers to distinctive heraldic elements.⁶² Coats of arms are permanent emblems of persons, families, offices or companies, whose design follows certain formal rules. Their function is generally considered to be that of a visual aid that refers to or identifies their owner.⁶³ There are a great many other definitions as well.

Those who are familiar with Ukrainian publications of the 17th century are aware of the important role played by coats of arms, their description, and interpretation. According to Sergei T. Golubev, engraved coats of arms and explanatory

⁶⁰ <https://www.merriam-webster.com/dictionary/emblem> (accessed March 20, 2024).

⁶¹ A. Fowler, *Remembered Words: Essays on Genre, Realism, and Emblems*, Oxford, 2021, p. 146–163.

⁶² M. Clarke, *The Concise Dictionary of Art Terms*, Oxford, 2010 (2nd ed.), online at: <https://www.oxfordreference.com/display/10.1093/acref/9780199569922.001.0001/acref-9780199569922> (accessed March 20, 2024).

⁶³ D. Hey (ed.), *The Oxford Companion to Family and Local History*, Oxford, 2009, online at: <https://www.oxfordreference.com/display/10.1093/acref/9780199532988.001.0001/acref-9780199532988> (accessed March 20, 2024).

epigrams were placed on the back, and sometimes front title pages of almost every book published during that period, regardless of its content. The interpretation of the coat of arms as one of the essential elements was included in eulogies, sometimes in dedicatory prefaces honoring magnates in books, as well as in epitaphs and some other small works. Preachers often referred to the coat of arms of the deceased and interpreted the symbolic meaning of its elements and attributes in the sermons given at the nobles' funerals. A characteristic example of this is the *Pillar of Virtues*, an epicedium on the death of Sylvester Kossov, the metropolitan of Kyiv.⁶⁴

The Ukrainian heraldry of the early modern period developed in connection with the heraldic tradition of the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth and held significant differences from Western European heraldry. The researcher Sergeĭ Golubev, cited above, has carefully studied this issue. However, several general principles need to be set out. This applies, among other things, to the arms of Ukrainian ecclesiastical hierarchs. They mostly belonged to aristocratic families, whose members did not change their coat of arms after gaining rank, only adding to the shield a staff, a cross, or a miter.

One of the most famous and recognizable coats of arms is undoubtedly that of Peter Mohyla, Metropolitan of Kyiv and Galicia, who was also the archimandrite of the Kyiv Pechersk Lavra (Fig. 2). Various modifications of his coat of arms can be seen in different Kyiv and Lviv editions of the first half of the 17th century. Ioana Feodorov provided a comprehensive description of these variants in the above-mentioned articles, pointing out that Peter Mohyla's coat of arms is personal. Its composition varies from edition to edition. Nevertheless, the emblems of Moldavia and Wallachia, as well as the ancestral coat of arms of the Mohyla family and the families to whom they were related can be found everywhere.⁶⁵

It is believed that Mohyla's coat of arms influenced the composition of the personal coat of arms of the Patriarch Nikon of Moscow. Nikon came from the lower classes and had no family coat of arms. This one was made especially for him. Nikon's coat of arms is depicted on the back of the title page of the book *Паї́ мысленный* (*The Mind's Paradise*), published in 1659 by the private printing press of Patriarch Nikon in the monastery in Valdai (Novgorod region), dedicated to the Icon of the Mother of God in Ivron. In the first quarter of the shield there is a Gospel book, in the second, a blessing hand, in the third, a key, in the fourth, a five-branch candlestick. The outer decoration of the coat of arms consists of objects of

⁶⁴ Golubev, "Описание и истолкование дворянских гербов", p. 295.

⁶⁵ Feodorov, "Peter Movilă's portraits preserved in museums and collections of Kiev", p. 179; Feodorov, "La Kiev, pe urmele portretelor Mitropolitului Petru Movilă", p. 719.

religious character: a miter, a cross, a staff, etc. However, such an example is the only one of its kind in Muscovy, as far as we know.⁶⁶

There is also little doubt that there are compositional similarities between the personal coat of arms of Peter Mohyla and the ecclesiastical arms of the Romanian Principalities. This issue deserves a detailed study, also from an art historian's point of view. But for now, we shall limit ourselves to the following remarks.

We can see borrowed elements from Western heraldry in the coat of arms of Peter Mohyla. In particular, the hat-galero is of a characteristic shape with ribbons, typical of the coats of arms of Catholic clergy. This is also characteristic of the arms of some other Ukrainian leaders of the Church of that period. Despite the originality of Ukrainian heraldry, several features brought it closer to that of Western Europe. In a similar manner, the coats of arms of Ukrainian metropolitans and bishops were characterized by the division of the shield. There are attributes of ecclesiastical power – an archbishop's staff and miter, which in heraldic compositions indicate the corporate affiliation of the armiger. Ecclesiastical headgear was placed in the obverse part of the coat of arms of church officials. Often, both in Ukraine and in Western Europe, a reduced formula of the armiger's titles was placed on both sides of the shield. It should also be noted that there was no difference in the composition of the arms of Ukrainian Orthodox and Greek Catholic church officials. As examples, we can present the coats of arms of Arsenii Zheliborskiĭ, the bishop of Galicia (published by Mykhailo Slozka in the 1654 edition of the *Apostolos*, or *Epistolarion*) and the coats of arms of Iosyf Tryzna, archimandrite of the Kyiv Pechersk Lavra (published in the Triodion by the Lavra press in 1648) (Fig. 3).

The next term that needs to be clarified is *impresa*. The *Merriam-Webster Dictionary* contains a brief definition: it is a device with a motto used in the 16th and 17th centuries.⁶⁷ The *Concise Dictionary of Art Terms* has the following definition: "*Impresa* is an emblem used in Italy during the Renaissance as a personal badge by princes, scholars, and other prominent persons".⁶⁸ The *Oxford Dictionary of the Renaissance* notes that *impresa* differed from other emblems in being controlled by academies. The idea of the *impresa* was originally French and was brought to Italy during the French occupation of Milan in the early 16th century.⁶⁹ However, the difference between emblem and *impresa* is not entirely clear.

66 Golubev, "Описание и истолкование дворянских гербов", p. 318, n. 2.

67 <https://www.merriam-webster.com/dictionary/impresa> (accessed March 20, 2024).

68 M. Clarke, *The Concise Dictionary of Art Terms*, Oxford, 2010 (2nd ed.), online at <https://www.oxfordreference.com/display/10.1093/acref/9780199569922.001.0001/acref-9780199569922> (accessed March 20, 2024).

69 G. Campbell, *The Oxford Dictionary of Renaissance*, Oxford, 2005, online at <https://www.oxfordreference.com/display/10.1093/acref/9780198601753.001.0001/acref-9780198601753> (accessed March 20, 2024).

In early modern Europe, *impresa* collections were as popular as emblem collections. One of the most popular was Paolo Giovio's *Dialogo dell'impresa militari et amoroze* (published posthumously in Rome in 1555 and later reprinted). In his book, Giovio formulated five rules of an *impresa*. This book was known and used in Kyiv in the 17th and 18th centuries, as revealed by some analogies between Giovio's editions and images in Ukrainian panegyric engravings.

In particular, we believe that the figure of Mucius Scevola, the legendary ancestor of Peter Mohyla presented in the above-mentioned Kyiv Pechersk Lavra edition of the *Eucharisterion* by Sofroniï Pochas'kyi (1632), was inspired by an engraving in Paolo Giovio's book.⁷⁰

In the Lavra edition, Mucius Scevola is depicted as a knight, wearing an armor and a helmet. He is placing his right hand on the burning altar. In Giovio's book of 1574, the Roman god Mercury is shown in knightly attire. He holds a rod-caduceus in his outstretched right hand. The Kyivan engraving shows a cloud in the upper right corner. Two hands emerge from the cloud, holding a scepter, a crown and a cross. The engraving in Giovio's book also shows a cloud at the top, covering Mercury's head, and the knight's helmet is depicted in the lower right.

Although there is no literal borrowing here, the postures, gestures and elements of clothing of the two figures are very similar. We know that the Lavra engravers were good compilers and may have used only the details of another master's engraving that suited their intention.

There is also some confusion regarding the term "*stemma*". In Italian, the word *stemma* means "coat of arms". It is also the name of one of the most popular genres of eulogies in the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth. Therefore, it also became popular in Ukrainian lands. Some researchers note that the term *stemma* usually refers to epigrams built around an allusion to a motif visible in the coat of arms of a particular person or family.⁷¹

In our opinion, the most clear-cut analysis of this concept was proposed by Bartłomiej Czarski.⁷² He notes that stemmata similar to emblems consisted of an illustration depicting a coat of arms and an epigram, which often appeared on the back of the title page of texts printed in the Old Polish period. Sometimes, under the influence of emblems, devices (mottos or lemmas) were incorporated into the structure of *stemmata*.⁷³ Czarski also points out that they had an important

⁷⁰ See the title before the section "Imprese Heroiche et Morali..." on p. 168 in the Lyon edition of 1574.

⁷¹ J. Pelc, *Słowo i obraz na pograniczu literatury i sztuk plastycznych*, Kraków, 2002, p. 15.

⁷² B. Czarski, "Lemmas in the Old-Polish Armorial Poetry", *Terminus*, 21, Special Issue 1, 2019, p. 53–80.

⁷³ Czarski, "Lemmas in the Old-Polish Armorial Poetry", p. 56.

panegyric function in the literary and publishing life of the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth. It should be noted that stemmata did not usually constitute independent works but functioned as one of the elements of a larger whole. They could, for example, be part of a collection of panegyrics of various forms.

According to certain researchers,⁷⁴ one of the most illustrative works of this type in the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth was *Leopardus* (1624), composed by students at the Jesuit College in Kalisz in honor of the Metropolitan of Gniezno Henryk Firley.⁷⁵ The illustrations of the book were made up of some elements of a coat of arms and a structurally simple emblem. These elements can be compared with the *impresa* from *Dialogo dell'impresie militari et amorose* by Paolo Giovio and simple emblems from *Symbola divina et humana pontificum, imperatorum, rerum* by Jacobus Typotius.⁷⁶

If we consider examples of *stemmata* in Ukraine, the most representative work is the *Pillar of Virtues* by Sylvester Kossov. This epicedium includes a cycle of graphic illustrations that contain the elements of Metropolitan Kossov's coat of arms. These elements were used in allegorical compositions of complex content. The extended text of the epicedium also interprets the meaning of metropolitans' coats of arms. That is, the same principle is used here as in the above-mentioned *Leopardus*. The *Pillar of Virtues*, however, is a funeral hymn, while *Leopardus* is an ode to a living bishop.

The most representative panegyrics, which can be compared to their Western European counterparts, were created to honor Metropolitan Peter Mohyla and his collaborators. We have already mentioned the Kyiv Pechersk Lavra edition of the *Eucharisterion* (1632) by Sofronii Pochas'kyi. The visual part of this eulogy is a variation on the theme of the coat of arms of Peter Mohyla. Many of the elements used in Mohyla's coat of arms allowed other components to come to the fore, depending on the intended purpose. The main part of the text is the glorification of Helikon and Parnassus with the garden of the "seven liberal arts" and theology. Mohyla is portrayed as the shepherd who revived these arts. The main purpose is to subordinate the secular principle to the religious one.

74 Czarski, in the above-mentioned passage; Pelc, *Slowo i obraz na pograniczu literatury i sztuk plastycznych*, p. 310; Zavyrnyns'ka, "Панегіричні топоси в гравюрах", p. 237–238.

75 *Leopardus Illvstrissimi Ac Reverendissimi Domini D. Henrici Firley Archiepiscopi Gnesnensis [...] Gnesnensem primum Archidiaecesim ingredientis Ab Animantibus Salvatvs: Qvæ Gnesnensium Archiepiscoporum stemmatibus incisa claruerunt, Hic Mvsarvm Alvmni In Collegio Karnkouiano Calissiensis Societatis Iesv Accessere Salvatandi Svffragatores. M. DC. XXIV*, [Kalisz], 1624.

76 J. Bednarska, *Z dziejów polskiej ilustracji panegirycznej pierwszej połowy XVII wieku. Cz. 2: Problematyka stylistyczno-formalna polskiej panegirycznej ilustracji książkowej*, Katowice, 2005, p. 158; Zavyrnyns'ka, "Панегіричні топоси в гравюрах", p. 237–238.

The archimandrite is depicted with a staff (signifying his “pastoral mission”), cross (“faith”), tree branch (“wisdom”), mantle, crown, and scepter, throwing them at the foot of the mountain. It is a visual cliché: a man of noble birth chooses a spiritual rank. In particular, this idea is present in the engravings of the *Kyiv Pechersk Paterikon* (*Патерикъ или отечникъ Печерскій*, both the 1661 and the 1702 Kyiv Pechersk Lavra editions). One of the engravings shows the prince of Lutsk, Nikola Sviatosha, who renounced power and became a monk of the Kyiv Pechersk Lavra. The depiction of the hustle and bustle of power (both ecclesiastical and secular) is a common theme in the engravings found in Western European collections of emblems and *impresa*.

The engravings in Gabriel Rollenhagen’s book *Nucleus emblematum selectissimorum...* (Cologne, 1611) are possible models for this type of representation. Several illustrations in this edition depict the abandoned attributes of secular and ecclesiastical power: crown, scepter, sword, papal tiara, bishop’s miter, etc. Paolo Giovio’s *Dialogo dell’imprese militari et amorose...* contains similar images. Comparable depictions of the attributes of secular and ecclesiastical power are also found in the above-mentioned book *Symbola divina et humana...* by Jacobus Typotius.

It is not always possible to find a specific prototype for a given composition. The issue is aggravated by the fact that the composition of the model was not always transmitted unchanged. In several cases, Ukrainian masters created new compositions based on the motifs of European engravings. Moreover, several patterns could be used at the same time. Various emblematic editions contained a set of favorite subjects, and compositions for individual subjects often shared common characteristics. Ukrainian engravers joined the pan-European practice of borrowing artistic ideas. They often created compositions by combining the necessary elements.

Chorea bini solis et lunae by Filip Bajewski, printed in the Kyiv Pechersk Lavra press in 1645,⁷⁷ is also a revealing example. The eulogy in prose and verse (in Latin and Polish) was written by a student of the Kyiv Mohyla Collegium on Janusz Radziwiłł’s marriage to Maria, daughter of the ruler of Moldavia, Vasile Lupu (1634–1653). Here, the insignia of secular and ecclesiastical power are combined as a testimony to the glory and greatness of the *fratry* (“brotherhood”) house, the family.⁷⁸ Glorifying the clan and the family is a central theme of panegyrics

77 F. Bajewski, *Choreae bini solis et lunae aulae et ecclesiae in serenis nuptiis illustrissimorum sponsorum principis Janussii Radivil archicamerarii M. D. L. et Mariae illustrissimae Jo. Basilii palatini et despotae Moldaviae filiae applaudente Collegio Mohiliano Kioviensi*, Kyiv, 1645; available on the website of the National Library of Poland, online at: https://www.europeana.eu/item/0940435/_nhXSfXc (accessed March 25, 2024).

78 Zavaryns’ka, “Панегіричні топоси в гравюрах”, p. 239.

during this period. Such works allow us to understand why representative heraldic elements were introduced into graphic compositions. They were essential for the acquisition and conservation of power.

We have given above an outline of the main types of emblematic composition and the literary genres in which they are present. However, in addition to the main types mentioned, there were intermediate forms. Several other elements of book design were widely used at this time, following similar compositional principles to emblems and often incorporating elements of heraldry. These were vignettes and stamps. The question of the influence of the West and of borrowing in the area of book design has yet to be clarified.

In this context, we shall present the case of an emblem from one of the Arabic books in the TYPARABIC corpus. This is the so-called emblem of Patriarch Sylvester placed in an Arabic Akathistos possibly published in Bucharest in 1747 (Fig. 4). This attribution belongs to Archim. Policarp Chițulescu, who kindly allowed me to read the manuscript of his article before publication.⁷⁹ This composition is identified as the emblem of Patriarch Sylvester of Antioch because in the central part there are Greek letters quite clearly placed so as to suggest the name “Sylvester”.⁸⁰

Researchers have not come to a clear opinion as to what this image is: an emblem, a coat of arms, a vignette, or whether the best definition for this decorative element is simply a “composition.” The history of the book itself, as well as the main hypotheses concerning the iconographic patterns of the image mentioned, are presented by Ioana Feodorov and Archim. Policarp Chițulescu in their above-mentioned publications.

The study of this image has just begun, and the question of the creator of the emblem is very important. Initially, there was a suggestion that Patriarch Sylvester's emblem might have been influenced by Ukrainian heraldic art.⁸¹ The most probable hypothesis, however, seems to be the one put forward by Archim. Policarp Chițulescu. In his opinion, the creator of the design was the Greek publisher and engraver Duca Sotiriovici, who worked in Iași and Bucharest in the first half of the 18th century.⁸²

This image itself is very interesting, if only because it allows us to raise the question of familiarity with Kyivan engravings in the Arab-Christian East. It

79 Archim. P. Chițulescu, “Noutăți despre întâia tipografie arabă din Moldova și despre activitatea tipografului Duca Sotiriovici din Thassos”, *Apulum, S. Historia & Patromonium, Supplementum*, LXI, 2024, p. 79–116.

80 I. Feodorov, “New Data on the Early Arabic Printing in the Levant and its Connections to the Romanian Presses”, *RESEE*, 56, 2018, 1–4, p. 219.

81 Feodorov, “New Data on the Early Arabic Printing in the Levant”, p. 219.

82 Chițulescu, “Noutăți despre întâia tipografie arabă din Moldova”, p. 96.

is precisely this image that we mentioned at the beginning of this contribution. Waldemar Deluga, a well-known researcher of the arts of Central and Eastern Europe, expressed his opinion that the inscription and the image itself could have been printed with two different woodblocks. Be that as it may, we believe that this image is of a composite nature. Perhaps the configuration went through several stages before it acquired its current appearance.

First, let's describe this engraving. It cannot be fully called either a coat of arms or an emblem, although it has attributes of both. It interestingly combines an inscription with the general character of the emblem. It does not, however, fully correspond to the emblematic engravings in Western European collections of the 16th–18th centuries. Nor is it a coat of arms, of course, since there is no shield. However, at the top of the composition, there are signs of distinction of power – an archbishop's miter, a staff, and a cross.

The cartouche with the patriarch's name is surrounded by two crowned anthropomorphic creatures. These are female half-figures in full clothing of the classic type. They resemble shield bearers. The lower parts of the figures resemble a cornucopia, narrowing down towards the bottom. The characters are placed against a background of stylized floral and geometric elements that play the role of a mantle.

The master who executed it in the first half of the 18th century certainly knew both Western and Eastern European book ornamentation and compiled this composition from several disparate elements. This is a combination of motifs of Western European ornament, features of ancient art, and attributes of the Orthodox clergy. For early modern times, this combination was not unusual; rather, it was typical. But in this case, the heterogeneous elements do not combine very organically. It seems like they were hurriedly chosen for a specific order. Perhaps the master was limited in time and could not make the composition more harmonious. Patriarch Sylvester (if he was the client) may have commissioned this emblem from the engraver, which was to appear in his later editions. But the death of the patriarch prevented this, and the use of the emblem with his name anywhere else lost its relevance.

We believe that this image belongs to a series of intermediate compositions that were placed everywhere in the context of the general fascination with emblems in early modern times. In the field of book design, the influence of emblems also touched other elements of book decor. Ioana Fedorov arrived at the conclusion that the emblem was created in a press in Moldavia or Wallachia,⁸³ which is in line with Archim. Policarp Chițulescu's hypothesis. We agree too, since no contacts between

83 Fedorov, "New Data on the Early Arabic Printing in the Levant", p. 218–219.

Patriarch Sylvester and the Orthodox Church of Kyiv, or Ukrainian printers, are documented.

As already mentioned, in the upper part of Sylvester's emblem there is an Orthodox crozier and an X-shaped cross under the Orthodox miter. This resembles the upper part of some coats of arms of the rulers of the Romanian Principalities (secular rulers, not church leaders). The Book of Divine Liturgies in Arabic and Greek printed by Antim the Iberian in Snagov (1701) is one of the best examples. Here we can see a prince's crown that looks exactly like the bishop's miter in Sylvester's emblem. The cruciform arrangement of the attributes of princely power corresponds to the same composition of episcopal insignia. The coats of arms of metropolitans and bishops in Ukrainian books of the 17th and 18th centuries resemble much less the placement of episcopal attributes in this composition. This can be seen by comparing Sylvester's emblem with the coat of arms of Varlaam IAsyns'kyi in the Kyiv Pechersk Lavra edition of *Arctos et antarctos caeli Rossiaci in Gentilitijs Syderibus* (1690) (Fig. 5).

We also asked for the opinion of the Romanian expert heraldist Dr Tudor-Radu Tiron, who remarked that the composition gives the idea of a coat of arms, but it is not a coat of arms, as there is no shield.⁸⁴ Dr Tiron doubted that we can use the term "emblem" in this case. He stated that an emblem implied the acceptance of a particular graphic symbol for identification. However, it was not clear to him whether the image was being used in terms of identification (i.e., in the first person) or respect (i.e., for someone who was a contributor to the printing of the text). Based on this, Tiron suggested using the term "composition" to refer to this image.

One argument in favor of this is the image itself. If we look at it layer by layer, we can see that it is a cartouche vignette. It contains some architectural and botanical details. Following a tradition dating back to the Renaissance, this vignette was supplemented with two side panels but adapted to Eastern tastes. Similarly, if the author had intended to create a coat of arms or an emblem, the central part of the picture would not have been loaded with all these curves and strokes. Therefore, according to Dr Tiron, the origin of the image should be sought in a decorative vignette that was copied, filled with ecclesiastical symbols, personalized with an inscription, and then carved in wood, to be printed.

Regarding the actual heraldic elements, the expert noted that in this case there could be correspondences with the official heraldry of Moldavia and Wallachia. On the other hand, when there are two long objects (i.e., a staff and a cross), they are crossed, and this arrangement logically culminates at the top with an object

⁸⁴ We are deeply grateful to Dr Tudor-Radu Tiron for his expert comments on this visual composition and his approval for their publication here.

resting on the head (i.e., a miter). This is traditional for heraldry. He concluded that this composition was designed to give the impression of individual decoration. However, the artist's knowledge was limited and the result falls into an ambiguous category: somewhere between a sign and a decorative model.

Dr Tiron's analysis is certainly a worthy contribution to the study of this complex engraving. Nevertheless, we believe that the use of the term "emblem" is entirely appropriate in this case. In the early modern period, the emblems influenced the other elements of book decoration. Different types of vignettes could also have a similar compositional structure (Fig. 6). European stamps could in many cases contain coats of arms, or certain elements in them. Like emblems, they often contained various inscriptions.

We believe that the origin of the anthropomorphic figures placed on the sides of Sylvester's emblem are also related to typographical stamps. They appeared on the stamps of various publishers in several European cities. Images of this kind are particularly common in Italian printed works of the 16th and 17th centuries (Fig. 7, 8). Sometimes these figures are dressed, other times they are naked. Compositions are of very different content: a religious scene, a mythological scene, etc. could be placed in the center of the cartouche.

Sometimes heraldic compositions were placed on the title page instead of the typographic stamp. An illustrative example is found on the title page of the book *Emblemata anniversaria Academiae Noribergensis* by Abraham Wagenman (Nuremberg, 1617). Such an image is presented at the bottom of the title page (Fig. 9). There are some elements here that remind us of Sylvester's emblem: female half-figures are flanking the coat of arms, and stylized plant elements surround the figures. As in the emblem of the Patriarch of Antioch, a crown was placed above the composition. This example may have been one of the sources of inspiration for the artist who created Sylvester's emblem.

We do not know the reason for the creation of this emblem, possibly for Patriarch Sylvester. But the fact itself is not surprising. The patriarch may have needed such a sign to assert his influence and authority, or his book-printing works.

We could assume that the presentation of this emblem was to boost sales. We know that Ukrainian printers of the 17th and 18th centuries, especially those in Lviv, used episcopal coats of arms on their books to increase sales. Archival evidence suggests that they tried in this way to make their publications more attractive to potential clients.⁸⁵ However, Patriarch Sylvester did not sell the books he printed in

⁸⁵ V. Vuitysk, "Нові документальні відомості про українського гравера і друкаря століття Івана Филиповича", in *Записки НТШ. Праці комісії образотворчого та ужиткового мистецтва*, vol. CCXXXVI, Lviv, 1998, p. 460.

Moldavia and Wallachia, so this is not a valid reason for the presence of his emblem in the Akathistos.

Summing up the preliminary results, we take note that the transfer of models of emblematic and heraldic images from the West to the East is a topic that requires further research. The digitization of many library and museum collections, as well as private book collections, makes it possible to bring many unknown early printed books into scholarly use. This is a great widening of the research horizon, but at the same time a challenge of many hypotheses, each of them requiring support. Patriarch Sylvester of Antioch's emblem, if confirmed as such, is very instructive in this regard. Undoubtedly, discoveries lie ahead in the study of the first Arabic edition of the Akathistos of the Mother of God.



Fig. 1: Nikodim Zubritskii, *The False Hope of Life*, in *Iphika Hieropolitica*, Kyiv, 1712 (Vernadskyi National Library of Ukraine. Photo Olena Derevska. By permission of the Library).



Fig. 2: Peter Mohyla's coat of arms in Abba Dorotheos, *Teachings*, Kyiv, 1628 (Vernadskyi National Library of Ukraine. Photo Alina Kondratiuk. By permission of the Library).



Fig. 3: Joseph Tryzna's coat of arms in the Triodion, Kyiv, 1648 (Vernadskyi National Library of Ukraine. Photo Alina Kondratiuk. By permission of the Library).



Fig. 4: Emblem of Patriarch Sylvester (?) in the Arabic Akathistos, Bucharest (?), 1747 (?) (Private collection. Cf. Ioana Feodorov, *Arabic Printing for the Christians in Ottoman Lands. The East European Connection*, Berlin/Boston, 2023, p. 418).



Fig. 5: Varlaam IAsyns'kyi's coat of arms in Stefan IAvors'kyi, *Arctos and Antarcetos*, Kyiv, 1690 (Vernadskyi National Library of Ukraine. Photo Alina Kondratiuk. By permission of the Library).



Fig. 6: Tailpiece, *Psalter*, Venice, Antonio Bortoli Press, 1755, p. 211 (Biblioteca Nazionale Marciana. Photo Alina Kondratiuk. By permission of the Library).

due Indici, vno de' Capi principan, l'altro delle cole di più m
mento, che si ritrouano in tutta l'Opera.

CON PRIVILEGIO.



IN VENETIA, M D LXXXV.

Presso à Francesco Ziletti.

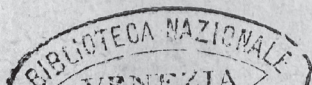


Fig. 7: Francesco Ziletti, typographical stamp, *Trattato di Christoforo Acosta africano medico, & chirurgo...*, Venice, 1585 (Biblioteca Nazionale Marciana. Photo Alina Kondratiuk. By permission of the Library).

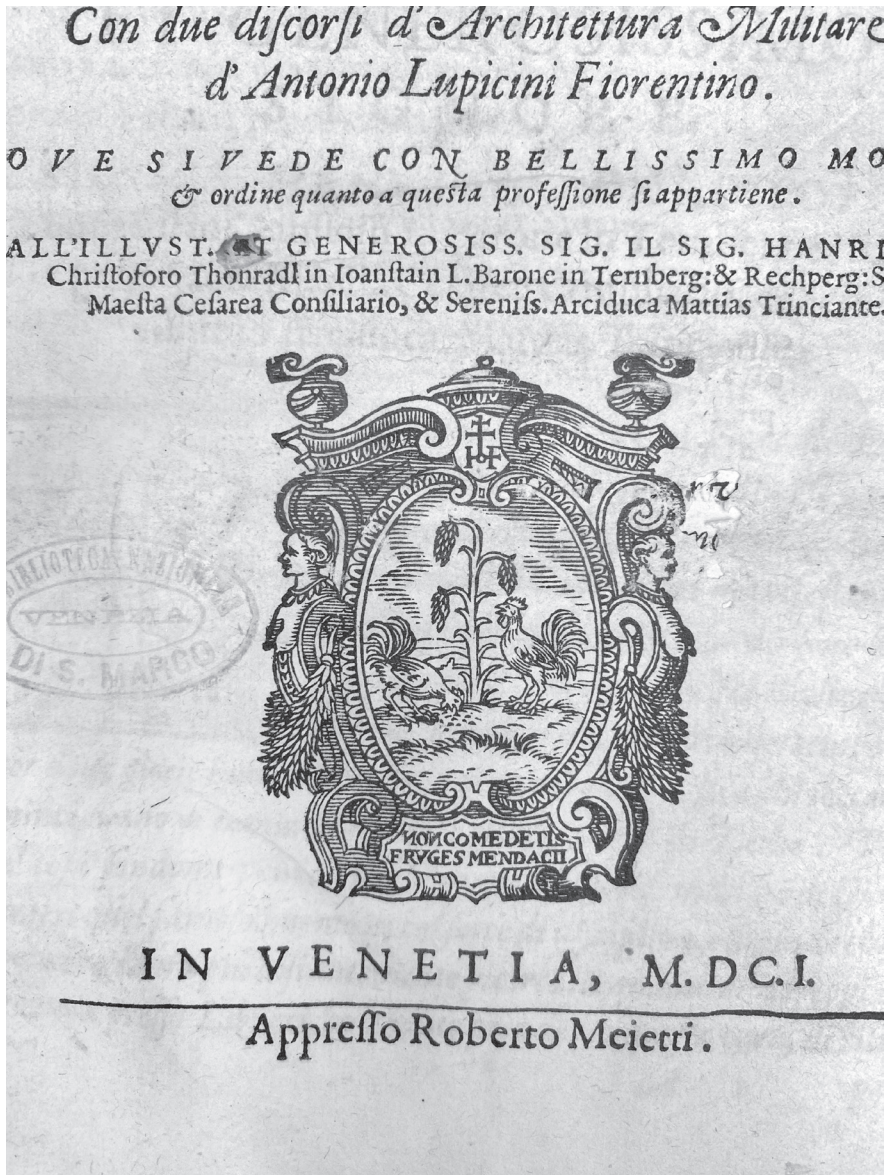


Fig. 8: Roberto Meietti, typographical stamp, *Offese et diffuse delle citta, et fortezze da Giacomo Lanteri Bresciano & Gieronimo Zanco da Pesaro*, Venice, 1601 (Biblioteca Nazionale Marciana. Photo Alina Kondratiuk. By permission of the Library).

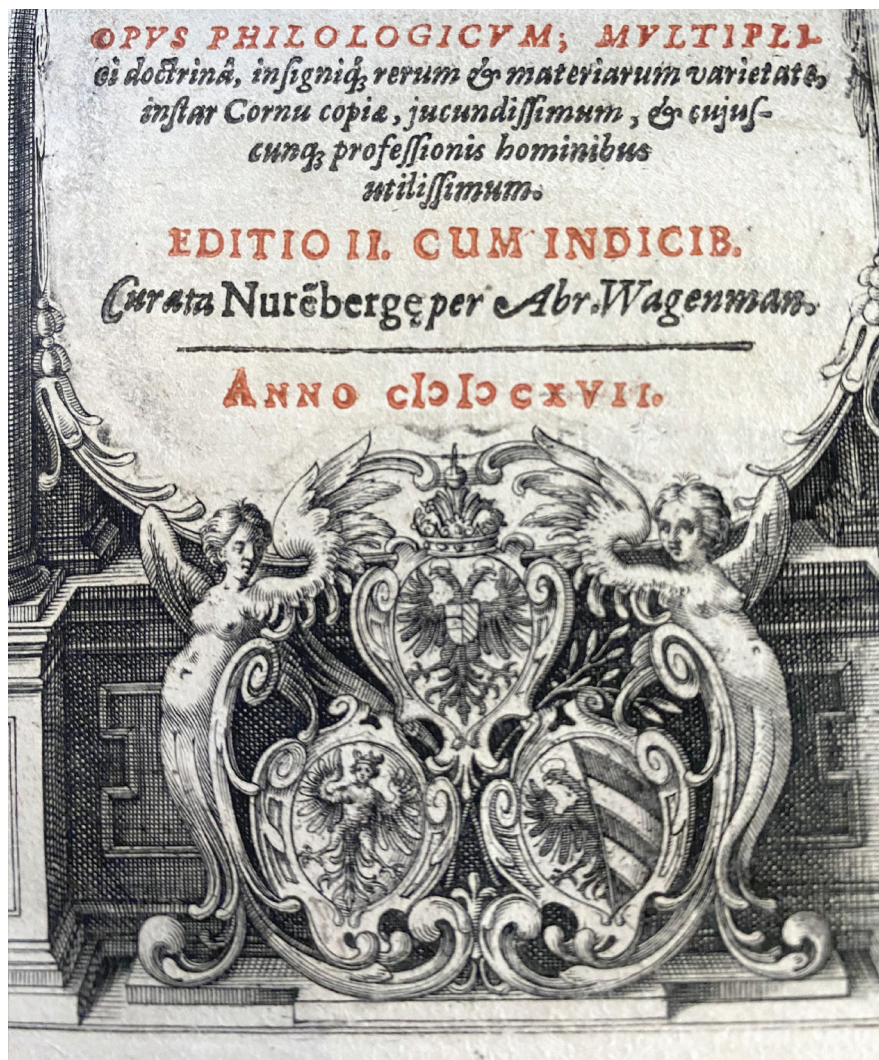


Fig. 9: Heraldic composition in Abraham Wagenman, *Emblemata Anniversaria Academiae Noribergensis...*, Nuremberg, 1617. Detail of the title page. (Public domain, <https://dn790003.ca.archive.org/0/items/emblemataanniver01univ/emblemataanniver01univ.pdf>, accessed March 24, 2024).

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