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Series Byzantina 4, 71-82

2006

Artykuł został opracowany do udostępnienia w internecie przez Muzeum Historii Polski w ramach prac podejmowanych na rzecz zapewnienia otwartego, powszechnego i trwałego dostępu do polskiego dorobku naukowego i kulturalnego. Artykuł jest umieszczony w kolekcji cyfrowej bazhum.muzhp.pl, gromadzącej zawartość polskich czasopism humanistycznych i społecznych.

Tekst jest udostępniony do wykorzystania w ramach dozwolonego użytku.

*'His foundation is in the Holy Mountains.' Some Remarks
on the New Jerusalem Symbolism in the Age of Mazepa**

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The quotation in the title of this article is taken from the Book of Psalms, and symbolizes the glory of the Heavenly City of Jerusalem and the joys of the spiritual Zion.¹ This passage was inscribed on several engravings depicting Kyiv and its monuments at the end of the 17th and beginning of the 18th century. Predominantly, that implied a parallel drawn between Kyiv and the Heavenly Jerusalem. The aim of this study is to trace the main structural components of this myth as visualized in the form of engravings.

The very idea has deep historic roots. According to established scholarly opinion, the concept of 'Kyiv – the New Jerusalem', born during the Princely era, survived the periods of its renaissance and decline.² Yet historians debate over the reasons which caused the fluctuations of attention

* This research was possible due to the generous support of the Fritz Thyssen and Gerda Henkel Foundations.

¹ 'His foundation is in the holy mountains. The Lord loveth the gates of Zion more than all the dwellings of Jacob. Glorious things are spoken of thee, O City of God, Selah' (Psalm 87:1-3).

² R. Stupperich, 'Kiev – das zweite Jerusalem. Ein Beitrag zum Geschichte des ukrainisch-russischen Nationalbewußseins', *Zeitschrift für slavische Philologie* 12 (1935), pp. 332-354; I. Danilevski, 'Mog li Kyiv byt Novym Ierusalimom?', *Odissei. Chelovek v istorii*, 'Nauka', Moscow 1999, pp. 135-150; O. Pritsak, 'Kiev and all of Rus: The Fate of a Sacral Idea', *Harvard Ukrainian Studies* 10 (1986), pp. 279-300; V. Rychka, 'Idea Kyiva – drugogo Ierusalima v polityko-ideologichnykh kontseptsiiakh seredniovichnoi Rusi', *Archeologia* 2 (1998), pp. 72-81; idem, 'Kyivski propilei (pro semiotychny status Zolotych Vorit)', *Kyiv's'ka starovyna* 2, Kyiv 2002, pp. 51-55; idem, 'Kyiv-drugyi Ierusalym' (z istorii politychoi dumky ta idelogii seredniovichoi Rusi), Kyiv 2005; L. Lebedev, 'Bogosloviie 'Russkoi zemli' kak obraza 'Obetovannoi zemli Tsarstva Nebesnogo'', in: *Tysiachelettie krescheniia Rusi: Mezhdunarodnaia tserkovno-nauchnaia konferentsiia 'Bogosloviie i duchovnost'*, Moskva, 11-18 maia 1987, Moscow 1989, pp. 150-175.

to this idea, and are also looking at the major forms in which the concept was expressed.³

The period of the 17th and beginning of the 18th centuries marked a remarkable rise of interest in this topic in the Ruthenian lands which coincided mainly with the times of Peter Mohyla and Ivan Mazepa.⁴ The association of Kiev with Jerusalem bore at least two major meanings: it was regarded in its connotation with its spiritual significance for Christianity, and as an ideological-political construction. The first aspect was connected with the contrast of Rome with Jerusalem as a center of ecclesiastical power. It encompassed different theological meanings: appeals to the leading role of the East in Christian history in contrast to the Latin West, and apocalyptic associations. The second aspect concerned the political implications of the New Jerusalem myth in the Kievan tradition and related mainly to the role of a secular ruler.

Both these aspects constituted the core of the myth which found its reflection in polemical literature about the legacies of the Brest Union, sermons, liturgical books, and popular spiritual songs. It was also implemented in visual sources which till now have remained a certain 'terra incognita' for students of early modern Ukrainian intellectual and cultural history.

This article aims at partly bridging this gap by trying to discover the symbolic meaning of four engravings from the end of the 17th and beginning

³ N. Iakovenko, 'Simvol 'Bogohranimogo grada' u pamjatkach kyivs'koho kola (1620–1640–vi roky)', in: eadem, *Parallelny svit. Doslidzhennia z istorii uiaвлен' ta idei v Ukraini XVI–XVII st.*, 'Krytyka', Kyiv 2002, pp. 296–332; S. Plokhly, 'Two Capitals', in: idem, *The Cossacks and Religion in Early Modern Ukraine*, Oxford University Press, Oxford 2001, pp. 261–273; N. Nikitenko, *Rus i Vizantiia v monumentalnom kompleksie Sofii Kievskoi. Istoricheskaia problematika*, Kyiv 1999, pp. 185–198; eadem, 'Petro Mogyla – ktitor Sofii Kyivs'koi', in: L. Dovga, N. Iakovenko (eds.), *Ukraina XVII stolittia. Suspilstvo, filozofia, kultura*, 'Krytyka', Kyiv 2005, pp. 387–394; A. Brüning, 'Peter Mohyla's Orthodox and Byzantine heritage. Religion and politics in the Kievan Church reconsidered', in: H.-J. Torke (ed.), *Von Moskau nach St. Petersburg. Das russische Reich im 17. Jahrhundert*, Harassowitz Verlag, Wiesbaden 2000, p. 83; I. Ševčenko, *The Many Worlds of Peter Mohyla*, Harvard University Press, Cambridge, Mass. 1985; N. Pugacheva, 'Ideino-polemicheskaia mysl' restavratsionnoi deiatelnosti Petra Mogily', in: *Chelovek i istoriia v srednieviekovoi filozofskoi mysli russkogo, ukrainskogo i belorusskogo narodov*, Kyiv 1987, pp. 132–139; S. Golubev, 'Kievski metropolit Petr Mogila kak vozobnovitel kievskikh khramov', *Kievskie ieparkhialnyie vedomosti* 18 (1898), pp. 261–281.

⁴ This problem has already been the object of scholarly interest in the 1930s when Robert Stupperich published an article on the ideology of imperial and national building in Muscovy and Ruthenian lands in connection with the 'Second Jerusalem' myth; R. Stupperich, *op. cit.*

of the 18th century. The major object is to analyze the context in which such images circulated, namely, how they were interpreted and perceived by contemporaries, and what changes they underwent. Moreover, I will argue that the main structural elements of the 'Ruthenian Zion' myth, which were formed at the beginning of the 17th century, survived till Mazepa's times and were enriched by new connotations.

* * *

The idea of the 'second Jerusalem' in the Kyivan lands enjoyed a particular popularity among the circles close to hetman Mazepa.⁵ It was an important component of official ideology and popular beliefs. Deriving from the general perception of the Kyivan sanctuaries as holy places, it also encompassed the Mohylian concept of the spiritual and mystical 'Ruthenian Zion'. Yet at the end of the 17th and beginning of the 18th century the old metaphor was enriched with new, mainly secular symbols and connotations. The age of Mazepa witnessed the political use of the Mohylian concept in attempt to underline the role of the secular ruler in church history.

It is mostly visible in the example of Feofan Prokopovych's sermons and his drama *Volodymyr*. The Kyivan Academy professor drew a parallel between Kyiv and the 'New Zion' involving both the Orthodox Church and the Russian state:

It is clear to everyone, that this God-saved city of Kyiv, mother of all cities, and the glory and ornament of all our lands, is unanimously called the second Jerusalem and the new Zion by all Christians [...] it can be called Zion in Zion, Jerusalem in Jerusalem [...] Our bliss is redoubled, since we are twice the sons of Zion, as the people of Zion and as the Russian people.⁶

⁵ O. Ohloblyn, *Hetman Ivan Mazepa ta ioho doba*, I. Wynar (ed.), 2nd updated edition, New York-Kyiv-L'viv-Paris-Toronto 2001, pp. 158-160.

⁶ F. Prokopovych, 'Slovo v den sviatago ravnoapostolnago kniazia Vladimira', in: F. Prokopovych, *Slova i rechi, pouchitelnyia, pochvalnyia i pozdravitelnyia*, part 3, St. Petersburg 1765, p. 336. See also: R. Stupperich, *op. cit.*, pp. 335-336. On the historiographical debate over the meaning of the Prokopovych's parallel between Prince Volodymyr and Mazepa, see: G. Giraud, 'Vtoroi Ierusalim protiv Tretiego Rima (k postanovke voprosa)', in: W. Moskovich, O. Luthar, S. Schwarzband (eds.), *Jerusalem in Slavic Cultures*, Jews and Slavs, vol. 6, Jerusalem-Ljubljana 1999, pp. 267-269. On the notion of Russia in Prokopovych's writings, see: S. Ploky, 'The Two Russias of Teofan Prokopovych', in: G. Siedlina (ed.), *Mazepa e il suo tempo. Storia, cultura, societ . Mazepa and his time. History, culture, society*, Alessandria 2004, pp. 333-366.

The famous Apostle Andrew's monologue from the drama *Volodymyr* extolled the sanctity of the Kyivan hills and connected its further blossoming with Mazepa's hetmancy: 'And upon all these Cathedrals is the glorious Ioann the Constructor'.⁷

Ivan Mazepa's patronage of culture and Church in the reference to 'Kyiv – the New Jerusalem' was also the subject of the Zaporozhian Cossack ataman Vasyl' Kuzmenko's letter written to the hetman in 1693: 'you tell the truth, it is exactly in the second Jerusalem, in the God-saved city of Kyiv'.⁸ To support this argument, O. Ohloblyn brought also evidence from the *Chronicle* of L. Boblyns'kyi (1699) which contained I. Kopyns'kyi's letter to Prince Michał Korybut-Wišniowiecki (1631) alluding to the idea of the 'Ruthenian Zion'.⁹ What is more, in the panegyrics Mazepa was often declared to be a figure from biblical history. Kyivan and Chernyhiw poets compared the hetman with Gideon, Joshua the son of Nun, Solomon, or King David himself.¹⁰

Besides the clear panegyricallusions, these fragments provide evidence for the continuity between the early 17th century writings and later interpretations of the 'New Jerusalem' concept. Before and during Mohyla's incumbency, the 'Ruthenian Zion' formula mainly served the purposes of mystical confrontation with Rome, against the Catholic and Uniate Churches. It was also filled with eschatological allusions and connotations. Although in the post-Mohylian period the idea of the 'Ruthenian Zion' was somewhat reduced to a simpler and less mystical formula, its spiritual context remained valid till the times of F. Prokopovych and I. Mazepa. Historians tend to emphasize the rhetorical side of the metaphor in the writings and imagery of the late-17th century Orthodox clerics. For instance, Ihor Ševčenko differentiates between the motif of the 'Ruthenian Zion' emphasising the

⁷ F. Prokopovich, *Sochineniia*, ed. I.P. Ieremin, Moscow-Leningrad 1961, p. 206.

⁸ Cf. M. Andrusiak, 'Hetman Ivan Mazepa iak kulturny diiach', in: R. Smal'-Stockyi (ed.), *Mazepa, zbirnyk*, vol. 2, Warsaw 1938, p. 75; F. Stupak, 'Dobrochynna diialnist' het'mana I. Mazepy', *Ukraiinskyi istorychnyi zhurnal* 3 (2003), p. 141. For the popularity of the 'New Jerusalem' concept among the Zaporozhian Cossacks is also shown by the number of round wooden Cossack churches appearing at the second half of the 17th century. The form refers to the Church of the Holy Sepulcher in Jerusalem; O. Olijniuk, J. Chodorkowski, 'Jerzolima w architekturze i urbanistyce dawnej Rusi i na Ukrainie. Refleksje atchitektów', in: P. Paszkiewicz, T. Zadrozny (eds.), *Jerzolima w kulturze europejskiej*, Warsaw 1997, p. 269.

⁹ Ohloblyn, *op. cit.*, p. 158. The text of the letter is reprinted in W. Lipiński (ed.), *Z dziejów Ukrainy. Księga pamiątkowa ku czci Włodzimierza Antonowicza, Paulina Świącickiego i Tadeusza Ryłskiego*, Kyiv 1912, pp. 120–125.

¹⁰ L. Sazonova, 'Getman Mazepa kak obraz panegiricheski', in: Siedlina (ed.), *op. cit.*, pp. 471–473.

Orthodox Church of Ruthenia with Kyiv in her center as a spiritual daughter of Jerusalem; and the motif of Kyiv as the second Jerusalem which is later and an outgrowth of the first, being used more for political benefits.¹¹ N. Iakovenko found one exception from this rule. A woodcut from 1658 illustrating the funeral poem on the death of the metropolitan Syl'vestr Kosov provides an example of how the idea of the mystical 'Ruthenian Zion' was interpreted visually in post-Mohylian times.¹² Perhaps this was not just a single exception which confirms the rule, since there were other instances demonstrating that the tradition of glorifying the spiritual 'Ruthenian Zion' was not forgotten after the death of its major apologist, Peter Mohyla.

Mostly, it is visible in the art of engraving which reached its fullest flower in the age of Mazepa.¹³ One of such instances is the engraving *Christ in Jordan* (collection of the Warsaw National Library) (il. 1). It is probably by I. Shchyr's'kyi.¹⁴ The engraving was made during the artist's visit to Kyiv or Lubech on the occasion of the consecration of the Brotherhood Church in Kyiv founded by Ivan Mazepa.¹⁵ The engraving depicts Jesus accompanied by John the Baptist and St. Andrew. On the waters of Jordan one can see a boat with the icon of the Mother of God.¹⁶ On the upper tier Shchyr's'kyi has depicted a group of secular rulers and church figures, among whom are St. Boris and St. Gleb standing on the Kyivan hills. Beyond there are several cathedrals with the inscription 'his foundation is in the holy hills'.¹⁷ In the forefront is the figure of St. Volodymyr with the mace symbolizing the power of the secular ruler and the baptism of Kyivan Rus'. Above are the figures of the Lord Sabaoth and the Holy Spirit as a dove. Finally on the lower tier there is Mazepa's coat of arms.

¹¹ Ševčenko, *op. cit.*, p. 38 (footnote 41).

¹² Iakovenko, *op. cit.*, pp. 328–329.

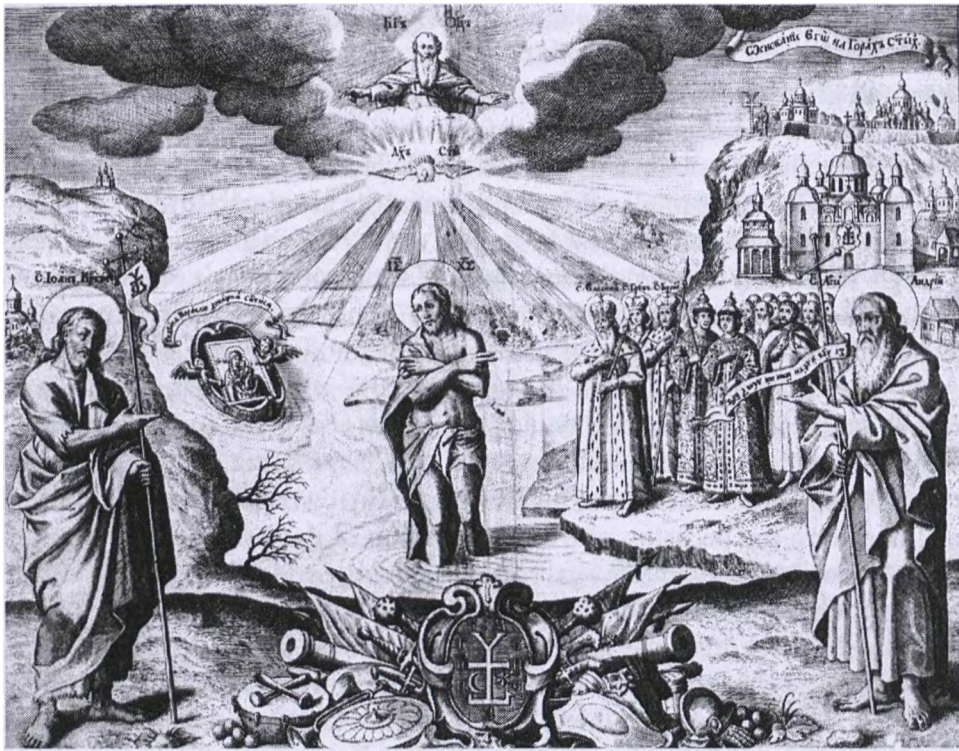
¹³ D. Stepovyk, *Ukraiins'ka hrafika XVI–XVIII stolit. Evolutsiia obraznoi systemy*, Kyiv 1982.

¹⁴ The engraving is reproduced in: W. Deluga, *Grafika z kręgu Ławry Pieczarskiej i Akademii Mohylańskiej XVI i XVII wieku*, Kraków 2003, p. XXXI, Ill. 51. More on Ivan (Innokentii) Shchyr's'kyi (unknown date – 1714) see in: D. Stepovyk, *Ivan Shchyr's'kyi. Poetychny obraz v ukraiński barokovii graviuri*, Kyiv 1988). I. Stepovyk does not, however, include this engraving in the list of Shchyr's'kyi's works.

¹⁵ Deluga, *op. cit.*, p. 81.

¹⁶ Most probably, it is the patronal Theotokos icon belonging to the Kyivan Epiphany Brotherhood. It is believed to have been found in 1662 in the Dnieper. Its celebration on 10 May coincides with the Day of Kyiv; L. Milaieva, 'Chudotvorni ikony Bohorodytsi v Kyivi 17 st. ta obraz lubetskoï Bohomateri penzlia Ivana Schurs'koho', *Zapysky Naukovoho Tovarystva imeni Shevchenka*, vol. 227, L'viv 1994, p. 132.

¹⁷ 'Osnovaniie iego na gorakh sviatykh'.



1. Innocent Shchyr's'kyi, *Christ in Jordan*, engraving, National Library, Warsaw

I intend to show that this engraving contains all the constituent elements of the 'Kyiv – the New Jerusalem' topos, visualizing the idea of the spiritual continuity between Ukrainian Orthodoxy and biblical history. Of course, the very transposition of the Gospel history to the vicinity of the Dnieper was not an innovation in the history of art.¹⁸ Still in this case it constituted one of the elements of the myth's visual interpretation. The Kyivan landscape with the recognizable silhouettes of well-known churches and cathedrals as well as the abovementioned Psalm reference to the New Zion had a single and clear meaning which could not be misinterpreted.

Another essential part of this symbolic construction was the figure of the Apostle Andrew, who according to the legend has shown the place where Kyiv was to be founded and has blessed these lands. Already at the end of the 16th and beginning of the 17th century, while describing the event, Orthodox polemicists built a link between the Jerusalem apostolic tradition and the Ruthenian Orthodox Church. The legend of St. Andrew and refer-

¹⁸ D. Stepovyk argues that such a method was characteristic of all 17th–18th-century Ukrainian engravings starting from 1620s; Stepovyk, *Ukrains'ka hrafika*, pp. 264–265.

ences to Prince Volodymyr worked in favor of the idea of Kyiv as the 'Zion of Rus'.¹⁹

The turn of the 17th and 18th centuries brought new nuances to this mythological construction. On Shchyr's'kyi's engraving the figure of St. Andrew was undoubtedly associated with Mazepa. In 1700 Peter I granted Mazepa the Order of St. Andrew, which gave a new spur for the revival of the old legend. For example, Ioann Maksimovych praised the Ukrainian lands, where 'the Cross was raised by the Apostle Andrew, hetman Ioann is seen flourishing'.²⁰

A similar equation relates to the figure of John the Baptist who was Mazepa's heavenly patron. The resemblance of names determined the 'mirror doubling of the prototype' (L. Sazonova), and Mazepa was often equated with this saint.²¹ Finally, Mazepa's coat of arms, which appeared three times on this engraving, was designed to symbolize the combination of the hetman's worldly power with the idea of 'Kyiv – the second Jerusalem'. The biggest image is depicted below, while two others are placed above, namely, one on the Lavra Assumption Cathedral, another in the form of the Cross symbolizing the baptism of Rus' on the top of the Kyivan hill.

Another example of such a combination is the famous copperplate of Ivan Myhura, a *Panegyric in honor of Mazepa* (1706) (il. 2).²² The hetman is depicted in the center surrounded by personifications of Faith, Hope, Love, Peace, Justice, and Science, which should symbolize his virtues. Above is the figure of John the Baptist²³ (or Jesus²⁴) and several saints among

¹⁹ On the pre-Mohylian interpretations of the New Jerusalem concept in Ruthenian polemics see: L. Berezhnaya, 'Topography of Salvation. "The New Jerusalem" in the Ruthenian Polemical Literature (end of the 16th – beginning of the 17th centuries)', *Forschungen zur osteuropäischen Geschichte* (Berlin, forthcoming).

²⁰ Cf. Sazonova, *op. cit.*, pp. 468–469.

²¹ See several examples in *ibid.*, pp. 469–471. L. Sazonova quotes also the fragments from A. Stakhanov's'kyi's panegyric *Zertsalo ot pisaniia Bozhestvennogo* ('A Mirror from the Divine Script'), where the city of Chernihiv was compared to the apocalyptic Heavenly Jerusalem. I. Mazepa sponsored the construction and restoration of churches in Chernihiv; *ibid.*, pp. 472–473.

²² On hegumen Ivan (Illarion) Myhura see: D. Rovinski, *Podrobny slovar' russkikh graverov*, St. Petersburg 1895, pp. 284–285; V. Fomenko, 'Ivan (Illarion) Myhura ta ukraiïns'ka panehrychna hraviura', in: *Ukraiïns'ke barokko ta ievropeïskiy kontekst*, Kyiv 1991, pp. 122–128.

²³ Identified by Deluga, *op. cit.*, p. 89.

²⁴ Identified by D. Rovinski, *Podrobny slovar' russkikh gravirovannykh portretov*, vol. 2, St. Petersburg 1887, p. 1213. This opinion is shared by V. Sichyn's'kyi, 'Hraviury Mazepy. Hraviury na chest' Mazepy i hravirovalni portrety hetmana', in: Smal'-Stockyi (ed.), *op. cit.*, vol. 1, p. 143.



2. Ivan Myhura, *Panegyric in honor of Mazepa*, engraving, National Library, Warsaw

whom are Theodosius and Anthony of the Caves, John Climacus, St. Anthony, and the Apostle John. On the upper tier there is Mazepa's coat of arms with a rotunda symbolizing the Kyivan St. Sophia Cathedral as a temple of the Divine Wisdom. It is flanked by six Kyivan churches founded by Mazepa.²⁵ Each contains Mazepa's coat of arms. Beyond the churches is a scroll

²⁵ These are the Kyivan St. Nicholas Cathedral in Pechersk (1690–1694); Holy Trinity Church of the Kyivan Caves Lavra (reconstructed in 1696); the Lavra Assumption Cathedral (reconstructed in 1695–1696), Kyivan Epiphany Brotherhood Church (1693–1695);

with the quotation 'His foundation is in the holy mountains'. In contrast to Shchyrsky's engraving, Muhyra's image also contains the scroll with the passage from the 1st Book of Kings (9:3): 'To put there my name for ever; and mine eyes and mine heart should be there perpetually'.²⁶ Both quotations had to appeal to the God's patronage upon Jerusalem and Kyiv and the role of Mazepa in keeping this idea alive. The picture is completed by the hetman's coat of arms in the lower tier.

There are several other visual representations of the 'Kyiv – the second Jerusalem' concept in the history of late 17th- and early 18th-century Ukrainian art. There are, for instance, two images created by I. Schyrsky's burin. One is an icon of the Lubech Theotokos (1698) (collection of the Kyivan Historical Museum) (il. 3),²⁷ another is a copperplate engraving illustrating Andrii Khmarnyi's poem *Domus Sapientiae* ('The House of Wisdom', 1708). The former is organized in a multilevel structure, which includes, besides the Theotokos and Jesus, the figures of St. Anna, St. John Chrysostom, St. Theodosius and St. Anthony of the Caves. Significantly, the traditional image of the miraculous Lubech Theotokos is supplemented by a depiction of the Kyivan landscape in the center of the icon which should represent the Heavenly Jerusalem.²⁸

However it is not by chance that the Theotokos icon contains the symbol of the City of God. According to A. Lidov, the image of the Heavenly Jerusalem in Eastern Christianity is typified by several features, namely, it is interpreted as a metaphor, a symbolical image, not merely as an illustration of a specific text; it is often conceived of as a church, which in turn is identified with a palace, a city, or the gates of Heaven; it is depicted as a concentration of churches, a sort of a city made up of churches.²⁹ The Theotokos in this scheme is often compared to the temple, which is a constant reference to the temple of Jerusalem and to Zion.³⁰ This mystical attribute of

All Saints Church of the Kyivan Caves Lavra (1696–1698), and the Church in Pereiaslav; V. Sichyns'kyi, *Arkhitektura v starodrukakh*, L'viv 1925), p. 16.

²⁶ 'Da budet imia moie tu voveki, i budut ochi moi i sertse moie tu vo vsia dni'.

²⁷ It was later replicated in an engraving; Deluga, *op. cit.*, pp. 84–85.

²⁸ Ibid.

²⁹ A. Lidov, 'Nebesny Ierusalim v vostochnokhristianskoi ikonografii', in: A. Batalov, A. Lidov (eds.), *Ierusalim v russkoi kulturie*, Moscow 1994, pp. 17–18; A. Lidov, 'Heavenly Jerusalem: Byzantine approach', in: B. Kühnel, B. Narkiss, *The real and ideal Jerusalem in Jewish, Christian and Islamic art. Studies in honor of Bezalel Narkiss on the occasion of his seventieth birthday*, Jewish Art 23/24, Jerusalem 1998, pp. 342–343.

³⁰ H. Paprocki, 'Jeruzolima w myśli teologicznej prawosławia', in: Paszkiewicz, *Zadrożny* (eds.), *op. cit.*, p. 296.



3. Innocenty Shchyr's'kyi, *Lubech Theotokos*, Historical Museum, Kyiv

the Theotokos image derives from the Orthodox liturgy³¹ and was often personified in the figure of the Divine Wisdom (Sophia).³² To put it in other words, the Theotokos was associated both with the Heavenly Jerusalem and the temple of St. Sophia. Hence, Shchyr's'kyi's 'Kyivan Jerusalem'

³¹ The attribute of the Theotokos as the Divine Wisdom is testified in the Annunciation (Luke, 1:31).

³² Paprocki, *op. cit.*, p. 296.

was deeply embedded in the old tradition connected with the cult of 'Hagia Sophia' and the 'Ruthenian Zion'.

This idea is realized even more metaphorically in the other image by I. Shchyr's'kyi which exemplified the linkage between the Theotokos, St. Sophia, and Kyiv. The illustration to *Domus Sapientiae* was realized in the form of a rotunda with the image of the Theotokos on it. The rotunda has seven columns and seven stairs, symbolizing the sacred number of the perfect series. D. Stepovyk claims that *The House of Wisdom* depicted on the Shchyr's'kyi's copperplate embodies not only St. Sophia's temple, but also the idea of Kyiv as an intellectual city.³³ Following this argument I suggest that the metaphor also includes the image of the New Jerusalem. The very form of the stepped rotunda alludes to the Jerusalem Church of the Resurrection. It was also an expression of Ezekiel's words about the seven steps leading to the gate of the heavenly temple (Ezek. 40:22). In early Byzantine times it was already interpreted as a visual image of the Heavenly City.³⁴ More than that, it is in the context of Jerusalem that the first cathedral in Constantinople as well as in Kyiv and many cities of the Byzantine world was dedicated to the Divine Wisdom.³⁵ Shchyr's'kyi's temple of Wisdom also encompassed the meaning of the city of Kyiv – the New Jerusalem with the Theotokos-Oranta as its protectress.³⁶

Another symbolic representation of the metaphor of St. Sophia Oranta as the New Jerusalem is found on the murals of Mazepa's chapel in the St. Sophia Cathedral in Kyiv. This painting was renovated at the beginning of the 18th century thanks to Mazepa's efforts, and depicts the Church as a house of St. Sophia (Wisdom) in the form of a rotunda with seven stairs associated with the Heavenly Jerusalem. It is noteworthy that the image of

³³ *Domus Sapientiae* was dedicated to Ioasaph Krokov's'kyi, one of the Kyivan intellectuals; Stepovyk, *Ivan Shchyr's'kyi*, p. 133; idem, 'Obraz Kyiva v v ukraïnsk'kii hrafitsi XVII-XVIII stolit', *Obrazotvorche mystetstvo* 4 (1980), pp. 19–20.

³⁴ A. Lidov, 'Nebesny Ierusalim v vostochnokhristianskoi ikonografii', in: Batalov, Lidov (eds.), *op. cit.*, p. 344. On the symbolism of round churches in the Orthodox tradition, see: O. Ioannisian, 'Khramy-rotundy v Drevniei Rusi', in: Batalov, Lidov (eds.), *op. cit.*, pp. 100–147; R. Ousterhout, 'Flexible geography and transportable topography', in: Kühnel, Narkiss, *op. cit.*, pp. 393–404.

³⁵ G. Florovski, 'O pochitanii Sofii, premudrosti Bozhiiei, v Vizantii i na Rusi', *Alfa i Omega. Uchenyie zapiski Obschestva dlia rasprostraneniia Sviashchennogo pisanija na Rusi* 2, 4 (1995), pp. 146–147; J. Meyendorff, 'Wisdom-Sophia: Contrasting Approaches to a Complex Theme', *Dumbarton Oaks Papers* 41 (1987), p. 391; Paprocki, *op. cit.*, p. 296.

³⁶ On the image of Wisdom in early modern Ukrainian culture, see: N. Pylypiuk, 'The Face of Wisdom in the Age of Mazepa', in: Siedlina (ed.), *op. cit.*, p. 367–400; an Ukrainian version appeared in Dovga, Iakovenko (eds.), *op. cit.*, pp. 281–303.

the New Jerusalem was also used to decorate the walls of the Dormition Cathedral of the Kyiv Caves Lavra. Its portrayal with the inscription 'The Holy Hill of Jerusalem, Ruthenian Zion – the Kyivan Hill, chosen by God...' can be found in the murals designed during Mazepa's time³⁷.

Although such an interpretation of the 'Kyiv – the New Jerusalem' topos seems to be highly 'ciphered' and symbolical, it was still grounded in Orthodox theology in general and the old 'Ruthenian Zion' concept in particular.

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Ukrainian engravings from the end of the 17th and beginning of the 18th centuries provide abundant material for the study of the 'Kyiv – the New Jerusalem' topos. The four pictures analyzed in the article do not settle the problem; neither do they exhaust its sources. Nevertheless, they map the major directions in which the idea of equating Kyiv with the City of God was visually realized.

First of all, these images encompass the major elements of the early 17th century concept of the 'Ruthenian Zion,' namely, the idea of the choice of the Ruthenian lands and God's special protection over its capital; the special role of the Theotokos perceived as Hagia Sophia in Kyivan history; a specific place which was occupied by Prince Volodymyr and the Apostle Andrew in the making of Ruthenian Orthodoxy; and various eschatological allusions.

Secondly, the abovementioned components were enriched and re-interpreted during Mazepa's hetmancy. It applied primarily the attitude to the secular ruler, who was directly associated with biblical and historical personages. This equation had a double meaning, it was aimed at praising Mazepa as a patron of the church, as well as political and secular use of the 'Kyiv – the God-saved City' idea. Yet the mystical and spiritual essence of the topos was also re-considered in visual forms. The image of the New Jerusalem represented in the form of a rotunda alluded to the Kyivan St. Sophia and its leading place in Ukrainian Orthodoxy.

Involving new materials in the study of the Kyiv – the New Jerusalem concept in the 17th–18th century Ukrainian history will shed more light on the problem of how this idea was perceived and expressed.

³⁷ N. Nikitenko, 'Ivan Mazepa i Sv. Sofia Kyivs'ka', in: *Prosemirarii. Medievistyka. Istoriia tserkvy, nauky, i kultury*, vol. 4, Kyiv 2000, pp. 114–116.