

Hetman Ivan Mazepa in Life and Literature

Мазепа був реалістом, бачив тяжку дійсність і
мусив з нею рахуватися, чекати кращого часу.
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The more one studies the relevant historical material, the more obvious it becomes that Hetman Ivan Mazepa was an extraordinary man, an epoch-making political leader of Ukraine. Endowed with a charismatic personality and an astute mind, Mazepa was better educated, better trained in political and diplomatic affairs than any other hetman of Ukraine. Indeed, no other hetman managed to accomplish as much as Mazepa had. But in spite of this Mazepa remains in many respects both an enigmatic and a controversial figure in Ukrainian history. The most contentious issue by far is whether Mazepa should be beheld as a liberator of Ukraine or as a traitor. But to an extent, the diverse historical sources also generate various disagreements. For example, for some time historians did not agree on the date of Mazepa's birth or where he had studied. And similarly, there are more portraits of Mazepa than any other hetman, but even the specialists of art history are not able to ascertain with certainty which portraits present an accurate representation of the Hetman. As a result, not only the portraiture of Mazepa, but many historical documents are equally ambiguous and contradictory. This applies to Mazepa's biography, as well as the recurring depictions of him in literary works. To date, Mazepa's biography is incomplete, but, nevertheless, it provides us with at least a partial insight into the enigmatic legacy of the Hetman.

Ivan Mazepa was born on 20 March 1639 in the village Mazepyntsi, situated near the town Bila Tserkva. Both of his parents were descendants of prominent Ukrainian noble families. Mazepa received his primary education at home, mainly thanks to his mother Maryna. Being a devout person, she instilled in Mazepa a high esteem for the Orthodox faith, taught him to read the Gospels, and copy them for his exercises in writing. Mazepa received further education at the Kyiv-Mohyla College (в Києво-Могилянській Колегії). After that he studied at the Jesuit college in Warsaw. With his father's assistance, Mazepa became a page at the court of the Polish King Jan Kasimierz. On recognizing Mazepa's abilities, the King sent him to further his education in Western Europe. From 1656 to 1659 Mazepa studied in Germany, Italy, France and Holland where he gained knowledge of new manufacturing methods, mathematics and artillery skills. At the conclusion of his studies, Mazepa was well versed with Western culture and several languages: he was fluent in Latin and had a speaking knowledge of German, French and Italian.¹

¹Олександр Оглоблін, *Гетьман Іван Мазепа та його доба*, (Нью Йорк, Париж, Торонто, 1960), pp. 12-13. See also Clarence A. Manning, *Hetman of Ukraine: Ivan Mazepa* (New York 1957), pp. 33-36. See also Тарас Чухліб, "Дитинство та молоді роки Івана Мазепи на тлі епохи," at the site <http://www.mazepa.name/biograph/mazepa12.html>

On returning to the court of Jan Kasimierz, Mazepa continued to serve as a royal courtier, and between 1659–63 he was sent by the King on various diplomatic missions to Ukrainian Hetmans. In 1663 Mazepa left the Polish court in order to look after his ailing father.

When his father died, Mazepa succeeded him in 1665 as the hereditary cupbearer of Chernihiv. In 1668 Mazepa married Hanna, the widow of Colonel Frydrykevych and the daughter of Colonel Semen Polovets. This was a marriage of convenience, inasmuch as she brought her second husband vast properties and a substantial income from the estates. Although the marriage lasted over thirty years, Hanna did not have any children from Mazepa and kept herself in seclusion. A year after his marriage, Mazepa entered the service of Petro Doroshenko, the Hetman of the Right-bank Ukraine whom he had met previously during the missions for King Jan Kasimierz. At first Mazepa served as a Commander of Hetman's Guard, and then advanced to the rank of the General Chancellor (оцаул). In the latter capacity, Mazepa was often sent on various diplomatic missions. In 1674, while he was on a mission to the Khan of Crimea, Mazepa was captured by Ivan Sirko, the leader (кошовий) of the Zaporozhian kozaks. Sirko recognized Mazepa and decided to send him to Ivan Samoilovych, the Hetman of the Left-bank Ukraine. Strictly speaking, Mazepa was a political opponent of Hetman Samoilovych. Nevertheless, being aware of Mazepa's education and diplomatic expertise, Samoilovych invited Mazepa to enter his service. As he had no other options, Mazepa accepted the proposal.

Mazepa became quickly accustomed to the new circumstances, won the confidence of Hetman Samoilovych, took part in military campaigns, and was sent on numerous diplomatic missions to Russia. In 1682 Mazepa "was appointed to the rank of General Chancellor (оцаул) and became the openly recognized right hand of Samoilovych."² After the unsuccessful campaign against the Turks, the Russians, led by Prince Golitsyn, decided to blame Samoilovych for the failure of the military operations and urged the senior kozaks to remove him from office. As a result, on 25 July 1687, Mazepa was elected Hetman by the very "Kozak Council" that deposed Samoilovych. Mazepa assumed power under difficult circumstances. The Russians compelled him to sign a previously prepared document, known as "Kolomak Articles," which limited the boundary of the Kozak State, entrenched Russia's military and political supremacy by prohibiting the Hetman from establishing diplomatic relations with other countries, and by allowing the stationing of Russian troops in Baturyn, the capital of the hetmans of the Left Bank. Further, the articles revoked the right of the kozaks to elect their leader; thereafter new Hetmans were to be appointed by Russian tsars. Although these articles led to further erosions of Ukraine's independence, Mazepa believed that Ukraine could coexist with Russia on the basis of the Pereiaslav Treaty of 1654, and that it would be possible to unite all Ukrainian territories into a Ukrainian Hetmanate domain, modelled on existing European states.

In spite of serious opposition from several kozak officers and even an open rebellion, Mazepa reined as hetman for twenty-two years. He succeeded in uniting the Hetmanate of the Left and the Right Bank of Ukraine and fostered the development of economy and industry, and especially the manufacturing of weapons and other implements of war in Baturyn. Among Mazepa's other achievements was the building and restoration of many churches. He funded the churches that were built in Kyiv, Chernihiv, Pereiaslav, Baturyn, Pryluky, and in other places. Recently, Ukrainian scholars have ascertained that in all, Mazepa had built and renovated 220 churches, and forty-four of them at his personal expense. The above-mentioned churches and

²Clarence A. Manning, *Hetman of Ukraine: Ivan Mazepa*, p.64.

other institutions are now listed on the web together with colourful pictures of them.³ Mazepa also supported Ukrainian scholarship and education by transforming the Kyivan Mohyla College into the Kyivan Mohyla Academy and also by establishing the Chernihiv College. Further, Mazepa was a generous patron of the liberal arts. During his reign, literature flourished and gave rise to such prominent Ukrainian men of letters as Dmytro Tuptalo, Stefan Yavorsky, Ioan Maksymovych, Teofan Prokopovych, and Yosef Krokovsky. Mazepa himself wrote verses and some of them have survived, as have also a number of his love letters. As he was a passionate bibliophile, Mazepa had a sizeable library which included many rare books. Moreover, he managed to obtain a copy of a unique publication, namely, the *Peresopnytsia Gospel* (translated into vernacular Ukrainian, 1556-1561 by the monk Hryhory), which he donated to Voznesenks monastery, and this Gospel has not only survived, but is used now for the inauguration of the newly-elected Presidents of Ukraine. Mazepa also “funded the publication of the New Testament in Arabic in Aleppo, and in 1708 he donated an Easter shroud and a pure gold chalice for the Tomb of the Lord in Jerusalem.”⁴ In his *універсали* (decrees), Mazepa also strove to secure the rights of the Cossacks, the burghers and especially the rights of the peasants, limiting the unpaid labour to their vassals to two days per week.

After the death of his wife in 1702 Mazepa had an unusual romantic relationship. He fell in love with the youngest daughter of Vasyl Kochubei, who was one of Mazepa’s oldest friends and the “Chief Judge” of the Left-bank Hetmanate. In the spring of 1704 Mazepa decided to marry again and quite suddenly approached Kochubei and asked for the hand of his daughter Motria. There were two major obstacles to this marriage: there was more than 50 years difference in age between Mazepa and Motria, and Mazepa was also the godfather of Motria, and, under the Orthodox canon law, the marriage to one’s godchild was strictly prohibited. For obvious reasons, Kochubei and his wife did not accept Mazepa’s proposal. Being infatuated with Mazepa, one night Motria succeeded in escaping from her parents’ house and fled to the palace of the Hetman. When he heard about this, Mazepa immediately found Motria and “to quiet the suspicion, he sent for the representatives of the Tsar and asked them to take Motria back home.”⁵

³“Церковні споруди, що були збудовані, реставровані або оздоблені коштом І. Мазепи”, за матеріалами О. Ковалевської та С. Павленка; see the web site below:
<http://www.mazepa.name/biograph/mazepa14.html>

⁴See the online *Encyclopedia of Ukraine*:
<http://www.encyclopediaofukraine.com/display.asp?AddButton=pages\M\A\MazepaIvan.htm>

⁵Clarence A. Manning, *Hetman of Ukraine: Ivan Mazepa*, p.126.

During their astonishing love-affair Mazepa and Motria exchanged letters, and they attest that he loved her very much, but came to his senses after her escape to the palace and wrote her the following: “I am so sad to learn from your servant that you are vexed with me, because I did not keep your Grace in my house and sent you back to your parents. But think a little yourself what would have been the result. First of all, your parents would have spread the story through the whole world that I had kidnaped their daughter by force during the night and they would have claimed that I was keeping you as a mistress.... We would have been obliged to live as a newly married couple, while the blows of the Church and its curses would have forced us to separate.”⁶ In all, there are twelve extant letters that Mazepa wrote to Motria, and they attest that he continued to have strong affections for her even after the hopeless marriage proposal.

As the military leader of Ukrainian kozaks, Mazepa participated in Russia’s wars with Turkey and the Crimean Khanate in 1690, 1693 and again in 1694. Further, in 1695 Mazepa’s kozak army seized the Turkish town of Kizikerman, and in the following year it also took part in the capture of the town of Azov. From Mazepa’s report to Tsar Peter I, it is plain that Ukraine paid a heavy toll for these victories: “During the last twelve years since the beginning of my Hetmanate, I have made 11 summer and 12 winter campaigns and it is not hard for anyone to appreciate the difficulties, losses and ruins from these unceasing raids which the Zaporozhian Army and all Ukraine have suffered.”⁷ In view of this, on 8 February 1700, the Tsar formally recognized Mazepa’s military exploits by honouring him with the Order of St. Andrew, the highest award bestowed by the Russian Empire. Furthermore, in 1707 Mazepa received The Order of the White Eagle, the highest decoration of Poland that was bestowed on him by King Augustus II. And in the same year, Emperor Joseph I conferred on Mazepa the title of “Prince of the Holy Roman Empire.”⁸

At first Mazepa also supported Peter I in the Northern War with Sweden, (1700-1721) by providing him with troops, munitions, money, and supplies. By participating in the war, Mazepa was able to take control of Right-Bank of Ukraine in 1704. But as the war continued, it brought a heavy toll on the kozak army and the general population of Ukraine. Moreover, Peter I told many people of his intention to break apart the Hetmanate state, and in April 1707 the Tsar personally informed Mazepa about his plans to restructure the kozak army, placing it under direct command of Russian generals. To Mazepa and his senior officers it was quite obvious that the Tsar’s intrusion into the internal affairs of Ukraine would culminate in a complete subjugation of the Ukrainian state.⁹ Supported by most of his senior officers, Mazepa began secret negotiations with King Stanislaus Leszczynski of Poland and with Charles XII of Sweden which culminated in 1708 in a secret anti-Russian coalition. The exact terms of the alliance are not known, but, according to Pylyp Orlyk, Mazepa’s general chancellor and closest aide, the Swedish King

⁶Ibid., p. 127.

⁷Ibid., p. 93. Cited by Manning.

⁸Theodore Mackiw, *Prince Mazepa Hetman of Ukraine in Contemporary English Publications, 1687–1709* (Chicago: Ukrainian Research and Information Institute, 1967), p. 31.

⁹Олександр Оглоблин, *Гетьман Іван Мазепа та його доба*, pp. 259-64.

pledged to guarantee Ukraine's freedom from Russian rule.¹⁰ Not all of Mazepa's senior officers were willing to support the coalition. Two of them, Chief Judge Vasyl Kochubei and Colonel Ivan Iskra of the Poltava regiment, went to Tsar Peter I with a long list of charges against Mazepa. The Tsar did not believe any of their accusations and had them punished. Under torture, they confessed that the charges were false, and on orders from the Tsar both men were sentenced to death.¹¹

The coalition with Charles XII of Sweden did not turn out as anticipated by Mazepa. At first, the Russo-Swedish War of 1708–9 was waged on Russian territory. With the coming of winter the Swedish forces were devastated by the frigid weather and Peter's use of scorched-earth tactics. To avert further losses from cold and hunger, the Swedish King moved his army to Ukraine. Both surprised and displeased by the turn of events, Mazepa told his officers: "It is the devil who sends him [King Charles] here. He is going to ruin all my plans and bring to us in his wake the Russian forces. Now our Ukraine is devastated and lost."¹² Regrettably, the prognostication of the Hetman proved accurate. The defeat of the allied armies at the Battle of Poltava on 8 July 1709 culminated in a catastrophe for both Ukrainians and Swedes. Mazepa and King Charles XII managed to escape with the remnants of their armies to Bender, Moldova, which was then part of the Ottoman Empire. Broken by the defeat, Mazepa died on 22 September 1709 in Varnytsia, a village near Bender. He was buried at Saint George's Monastery in the town of Galati. Two years later, Mazepa's grave was desecrated by Turkish soldiers looking for booty. A detachment of kozaks under the command of Pylyp Orlyk found Mazepa's remains and restored them to the grave. More than a hundred years later the relatives of a deceased Moldavian boyar wanted to place him in the very vault where Mazepa was buried, but then changed their mind. In the process, the slab with the Hetman's name was removed, and now it is not known where Mazepa's remains are resting.

During his lifetime Mazepa was mentioned honourably by several Ukrainian authors. The first reference occurred in 1688 in the poem by Ivan Ornovsky: "About the Triumphant Fame and Fortune of Hetman Mazepa." A year later, Stefan Yavorsky praised the accomplishments of Mazepa in the book *Echo of a Voice Crying in the Wilderness*. Similarly, in 1695 Pylyp Orlyk praised Mazepa's seizure of the fortress of Azov in the poem "The Russian Alcides." And in 1705 Feofan Prokopovych published a tragicomedy entitled *Vladimir*. The play was about Prince Volodymyr, but in its prologue and epilogue Prokopovych praised Mazepa as a great leader and a religious man.

Reports on Mazepa's activities began to appear in European newspapers which started to come out in the seventeenth century. Using the information from German papers, *The London Gazette* reported on 3 October 1687 that Hetman Samoilovych had been deposed and Mazepa was elected as his replacement.¹³ And the same paper reported briefly on the Russo-Turkish war

¹⁰Clarence A. Manning, *Hetman of Ukraine: Ivan Mazepa*, pp. 165-66; see also Олександр Оглоблин, *Гетьман Іван Мазепа та його доба*, p. 268.

¹¹*Ibid.*, p. 297.

¹²Clarence A. Manning, *Hetman of Ukraine: Ivan Mazepa*, p.170. Cited by Manning.

¹³Theodore Mackiw, *Prince Mazepa Hetman of Ukraine in Contemporary English Publications, 1687–1709*, pp. 76, 105.

stating that “the Cossacks ‘have made use of this opportunity to possess themselves of several Castles belonging to the Tartars.’”¹⁴ With the coming of the Northern Wars European papers gave greater coverage to Mazepa and the kozak armies. The reports about Mazepa’s activities contained many errors in respect to factual information and the rendition of personal and geographical names, but this was not uncommon for that era. On 22 January 1704 the German magazine, *Historische Remarques*, published a detailed biography of Mazepa and even a picture of him. But on the whole, the reports about Mazepa and Ukrainian kozaks were infrequent and sporadic. However, by the end of 1708 there was much coverage, mainly because of Mazepa’s alliance with King Charles XII came as a great surprise to all. Much was written about Mazepa’s alliance with the Swedish King in German and English newspapers. In his detailed study of the European news reports about Mazepa, Theodore Mackiw has ascertained that “English papers reported in an unbiased fashion about Mazepa and his joining the Swedish King; they reported the details without comments...,” whereas in the contemporary German press Mazepa was called a “super-rebel” and “a traitor who did not fear God.” This was in complete contrast to the reports by Johann Wendel Bardili, a German eyewitness and historian, who considered Mazepa a “Ukrainian patriot and hero.”¹⁵ From this it would follow that German newspapers were much more susceptible to the massive propaganda that Russia waged against Hetman Mazepa.

As a result of the Swedish-Russian war, much new information about Ukraine and Mazepa became available to readers in Europe, and the “book that contributed most to putting Mazepa’s story before the Western public was Voltaire’s *Histoire de Charles XII*, first published in 1731.”¹⁶ Obviously, the main focus of this history is on the Swedish King, but it contains also explicit references to Ukraine and Mazepa on ten pages. Whereas it is quite apparent that Voltaire is sympathetic towards Mazepa and Ukraine, on asserting that “Ukrania [sic] has always aspired to freedom; but being hedged in by Russia, the dominions of the Grand-Seignior [the Sultan of Turkey], and Poland, it has been obliged to seek for a protector ... in one of those States. First it put itself under the protection of Poland, who treated it too much as a subject-state; then they appealed to the Russians, who did their best to reduce them to serfdom.”¹⁷ Voltaire goes on to say that “at first the Ukrainians [sic] had the privilege of choosing a prince, called general, but soon they were deprived of this privilege, and their general [Hetman] was nominated by the Russian Court.”¹⁸ These astute observations about Ukraine are followed by a baseless assertion that Mazepa was “a Pole” and that the Russian Tsar “was forced to make him Prince of Ukrania” [sic] because of “the superiority of his intelligence,” and because

¹⁴Ibid., p. 77.

¹⁵Ibid., p. 104. Cited by Mackiw.

¹⁶Hubert F. Babinski, *The Mazepa Legend in European Romanticism* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1974), p. 7.

¹⁷*Voltaire’s History of Charles XII*. Translated by Winifred Todhunter (London: J. M. Dent & Sons, 1912), p.156.

¹⁸Ibid., p. 157.

Mazepa's reputation increased "in the eyes of the Cossacks."¹⁹ This strange admixture of facts and fiction about Ukraine culminates in Voltaire's attempt to outline the reasons for Mazepa's shift of allegiance to the Swedish King. According to Voltaire, when the Russian Tsar "proposed to him [Mazepa] to drill the Cossacks and make them more independent, Mazeppa pointed out the situation of Ukrania [sic] and the nature of the people as insurmountable obstacles. The Czar, who was over-heated with wine, and had not always sufficient self-control, called him a traitor, and threatened to have him impaled. On his return into Ukrania [sic] Mazeppa planned a revolt."²⁰

In his *Histoire de Charles XII* Voltaire included a short anecdote about Mazepa's illicit romantic episode. Voltaire stated that Mazepa fell in love with the wife of a Polish nobleman while serving as a page to King Jan Kasimierz. "On the discovery of an intrigue with the wife of a Polish nobleman, the latter had him tied, stark naked, to a wild horse, and set him free in that state. The horse, which had been brought from Ukrania,[sic] returned to its own country, carrying Mazeppa with him half dead from hunger and fatigue. Some of the peasants gave him relief, and he stayed a long time among them...."²¹ Short as it is, this alleged episode from Mazepa's youth made a strong impression on several European writers and painters.

In Western Europe, Andre Constant Dorville was the first author to dwell on the theme of Mazepa's early love. His novel, *Memoires de'Azema*, was published in French in 1764. As observed by Hubert F. Babinski, "the author states in his introduction that the account was found among the papers of Stephanine, the child of Azema and Mazeppa. Since there was no Azema in Mazeppa's life and no Stephanine, the book is fiction from the outset."²² By alluding to a fictitious discovery of a "memoir" Dorville merely employs a literary device in order to suggest that the discovered manuscript confirms that the book is a "true" account in the life of Mazepa. But being unaware of the literary device, the readers in the eighteenth century believed that the events and characters were real, and hence the novel proved very popular among contemporary readers, and was translated into German, Danish and Russian.

The subsequent treatment of Mazepa's early love was by a German playwright, Heinrich Bertuch. In his play *Alexis Petrowitch: ein romantische-historische Trauerspiel in funf Akten* (Alexis Petrovich: a Romantic-Historical Tragedy in Five Acts), published in 1812, Bertuch states that he is utilizing "some historical material in his play but informs the reader that he does not feel bound by history...." Consequently, "Bertuch makes Mazeppa a close friend of Alexis, Peter's son... in order not to give himself away, Mazeppa is forced to stab Alexis in the last scene. The life of a friend must be sacrificed for the greater cause: the freeing of Ukrainians from the Russian yoke."²³ This is not just fiction, it's sheer nonsense, because it was not Mazepa, but Tsar Peter I himself who had put his son Alexis to death in 1718, long after Mazepa's demise.

¹⁹Ibid.

²⁰Ibid.

²¹Ibid.

²²Hubert F. Babinski, *The Mazeppa legend in European romanticism* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1974), p. 10.

²³Ibid., pp. 15-16.

The most acclaimed and influential Romantic poem about Mazepa was published by Lord Byron in 1819. In the “Advertisement” to his narrative poem *Mazeppa*, Byron not only acknowledged that Voltaire’s *Histoire de Charles XII* was his source of information about Mazepa, but also cited the passages and even the page numbers from this work. Byron chose not to develop any details of Mazepa’s love affair with the wife of a Polish nobleman, and concentrate instead on the punishment administered by the cuckolded husband. In Byron’s poem Mazepa himself narrates the details of the horrendous experience that he had while being strapped naked to a horse that galloped nonstop from Poland to Ukraine. Mazepa nearly died, but was revived when the horse swims through a river; in the end he managed to survive and was restored to life by a “Cossack Maid” who tended his wounds. Byron’s *Mazeppa* was well-received by contemporary readers who were impressed by the intense feelings, suffering and endurance of the protagonist. The popularity of Byron’s poem gave rise to a “Mazepa cult” among several European painters who strove to depict Mazepa’s “wild ride.” Taras Chukhlib, the Director of the Cossack Research Centre in Ukraine, has compiled an impressive list of European paintings of Mazepa: “One of the first images of Mazepa was painted in oil by the Frenchman Theodore Gericault in 1823. Then came over a dozen canvases... The old Mazepa tells Carl XII his story (Deveria, 1839; Kossak, 1860), Teresa’s declaration of love for Mazepa (Richter; Jacolin, 1850), The capture of Mazepa (Baugean, Kossak), The punishment of Mazepa (Boulanger, 1827; Guesnet, 1872), Wolves chasing Mazepa’s horse (Vernet, 1826; Boulanger, 1839; Wentzel; Gierymski), Swimming across the Dnipro (Gericault, 1823; Delacroix, 1824), Mazepa and a herd of wild horses (Vernet, 1825; Gierymski), The death of Mazepa’s horse (Boulanger, 1830; Leray, 1849; Morot, 1882; Kossak), Cossacks finding Mazepa (Charpentier; Gierymski; Levy, 1875), Mazepa in a Cossack house (Deveria, 1839), and Mazepa’s revenge (Baugean, Jacolin).”²⁴ And in turn, the paintings stimulated the rise of further poems about Mazepa. Thus, for example, in his poem “Mazeppa” Victor Hugo endeavoured to recapitulate the range of emotions generated by both Byron’s work and the painting of his friend, Louis Boulanger’s.²⁵

Taras Chukhlib also points out quite appropriately that for Ukrainians Mazepa is a symbol of freedom and righteous rebellion. Whereas if one were to utter Mazepa’s name in West European countries, “an educated person immediately conjures up the picture of a Casanova who enamoured almost all the women in far-off Poland and Ukraine...” From where, asks Chukhlib, “came the legend (or a true story?) about Hetman Ivan Mazepa as a Cossack Don Juan?” And Chukhlib goes on to provide a credible answer to the puzzling question: “The tradition to describe the Ukrainian hetman’s ‘amorous and romantic adventures’ emerged... during Mazepa’s lifetime, in the late seventeenth century. What sparked it was a conflict between young Mazepa and Polish nobleman Jan Pasek, a court page of King Jan Kazimierz. In 1661 Pasek maintained secret relations with the confederates who opposed his patron. As a loyal servant, Mazepa had to report this to the king, his suzerain. As a result, Pasek was arrested but managed to convince the judges of his innocence.... Having a literary talent, Pasek decided to take revenge on this ‘all too haughty Cossack boy.’” And Chukhlib submits that in this vengeance “the Polish man of letters

²⁴In all, there are sixteen works by West European painters. See Taras Chukhlib, “Did Ivan Mazepa Pose For European Artists?” *Den*, 13 January 2004; <http://www.day.kiev.ua/34>

²⁵Hubert F. Babinski, *The Mazeppa legend in European romanticism*, pp. 66-67.

succeeded completely” by depicting a “fictitious affair with the wife of nobleman Stanislaw Falbowski.”²⁶ Moreover, Chukhlib has ascertained that Pasek did not invent the plot, but appropriated it “from Greek mythology,” namely, from the story about Hippolytus, who spurned the love of his stepmother Phaedra, and she falsely accused him of raping her. In punishment, he was bound to a chariot. Scared by a sea monster, the horses galloped forth, soon breaking the chariot and killing the innocent Hippolytus. This legend was used in a tragedy by Euripides (484-404 BC) and later in the oeuvre of the Roman author Seneca. In short, Pasek “offered the reader his own updated version of the tragic love of a man punished [by] using a horse.”²⁷

Jan Pasek inserted the fictitious episode about Mazepa into his autobiographical diary, written between 1690-1695. The diary was not published till 1836, but copies of it circulated widely in Poland. Pasek’s yarn was appropriated by another Polish memoirist, Erazm Otwinowski, who added to it a number of ghastly details. Evidently, the fictitious tale was also passed by word of mouth by Polish emigrants in France. It would seem that Voltaire heard about Mazepa’s fictional love affair from the Polish King in exile, Stanislaw Leszcynski, and subsequently, Voltaire succeeded in spreading it expansively among Europeans.²⁸

How was Mazepa portrayed posthumously by East European authors? First of all, the depiction of Mazepa began much earlier than in Western Europe. Not long after the Battle of Poltava there appeared some anti-Mazepa songs in Ukraine. There Mazepa is either condemned for his stance against the Russian Tsar: “Ah, treacherous John, Hetman Mazepa! / Why did you betray the Czar, his Majesty the Czar?” or blamed for the prevailing miseries in Ukraine in the aftermath of the defeat at Poltava: “the Czar is still alive, the army is sad, Baturyn has been burned, etc.”²⁹ It is noteworthy that some of these political songs were collected in Ukraine by Mykhailo Drahomanov, an eminent Ukrainian historian who also beheld Mazepa as a traitor. Furthermore, several “Kozak Chronicles” began to circulate in Ukraine at the end of the seventeenth and the beginning of the eighteenth century. One of them, written by an anonymous eyewitness (самовидець) expresses a sympathetic view of Mazepa, whereas others, written by Samiilo Velychko, the Secretary General of Vasyl Kochubei, as well as the chronicle by the former “kozak” who was elevated to nobility after the war, convey an unambiguous condemnation of Mazepa. But apart from these works, there appeared no paintings and no literary treatments of Mazepa’s legacy in Ukraine throughout the eighteenth century. In his comprehensive study of the Mazepa legend, Hubert Babinski points out “The general silence of the Mazepa theme in art in the eighteenth century is not difficult to understand in the light of the official Russian position toward the Hetman..., [and] when the theme does make its

²⁶Taras Chukhlib, “Did Ivan Mazepa Pose For European Artists?” *Den*, 13 January 2004; <http://www.day.kiev.ua/34>

²⁷Ibid. See also Taras Chukhlib, “Службова кар’єра козака Мазепи”, in <http://www.mazepa.name/history/chuhlib3.html>

²⁸“Легенда й правда про Мазепу”, in <http://litopys.org.ua/coss4/mazk13.htm>

²⁹Hubert F. Babinski, *The Mazepa legend in European romanticism*, p. 86.

appearance again in the early nineteenth century, the image of Mazepa as a traitor is given a new face.”³⁰

The first depiction of Mazepa occurred in Poland in an epic poem by Nicodemus Musnicki, *Pultawa: poemmat epiczny* (Poltava: An Epic Poem, 1803). In both the preface and in the text of the poem, Musnicki condemns Mazepa as a traitor and “picks up an old accusation by the Poles that the Ukrainians were barbarians.... Musnicki not only excoriates Mazepa, he also enhances the image of Peter I, which was his point in the first place.”³¹ Quite the contrary” was the treatment of Mazepa’s legacy by Bohdan Zaleski, who became known in Poland as the “Ukrainian Nightingale,” because he wrote almost exclusively about Ukraine. In the notes to his poem *Dumka Mazepy* (Dumka about Mazepa), published in 1824, Zaleski alludes to many historical sources that he utilized, and also mentions Jan Pasek’s *Memoirs* which he evidently read in manuscript form. However, Zaleski deviates from Pasek’s legend, and instead of depicting “the tortuous ride, Zaleski uses a meditative one that evokes Mazepa’s patriotism.” As Babinski points out, “Zaleski’s poem is the first Eastern European Romantic work about Mazepa to use historical sources to try to change the treacherous image of the Hetman.”³²

The next positive depiction of Mazepa was penned by Kondratii Ryleev, a young Russian poet who was a member of the liberal intelligentsia which championed the abolition of Russian autocracy. Ryleev also took part in the insurrection which became known as the Decembrist Revolt, because it took place on 14 December 1825. The revolt was immediately suppressed, the Decembrists were interrogated, tried, and convicted. On 13 July 1826, five Decembrists, including Ryleev, were executed by hanging, while others were exiled to Siberia. Ryleev’s last important work before the execution was the narrative poem *Voinarovskii* which appeared in 1825 and contained the culmination of the poet’s reception of Mazepa. Being Mazepa’s nephew, *Voinarovskii* is cast in Ryleev’s poem as a spokesman of Mazepa’s ideas and political views. Previously, Ryleev depicted Mazepa in his poems and intended to write a play about him. From the notes that Ryleev made, it is obvious that at that time he regarded Mazepa as had many Russians: “Hetman of Little Russia [is] a sly and ambitious man; a great hypocrite, concealing his evil nature under the wishful good nature towards his country.”³³ But after reading Dmytro Bantysh-Kamensky’s *Istoriia Maloi Rosii* (A History of Little Russia, 1822) and after a trip to Ukraine in 1822, Ryleev changed his mind. Within a year, Ryleev began to regard Mazepa as a liberator and Peter I as a ruthless and a tyrannical ruler. In spite of the severe restraints of Russian censorship, Ryleev managed to portray Mazepa “as a revolutionary leader against Russian oppression.”³⁴

Quite the contrary was the depiction of Mazepa by Alexander Pushkin, the acclaimed national poet of Russia. A descendant of an aristocratic family that traced its lineage to the reign

³⁰Ibid., p. 87.

³¹Ibid., pp. 87-88.

³²Ibid., pp. 92-94.

³³Ibid., p. 97. Text is cited by Babinski.

³⁴Ibid., p. 96.

of Peter I, Pushkin remained loyal to the Tsar and the aristocracy throughout his life. And in view of this, Pushkin's portrayal of Mazepa is predicated on the established Russian reception of the Hetman. Moreover, in his poem *Poltava* (composed in 1828) Pushkin strives to repudiate Byron's depiction of Mazepa in the role of an amorous young man. Therefore, Pushkin endeavours to convince the reader that his poem is based on accurate events in Mazepa's life and the Battle of Poltava by citing historical sources in the footnotes to his poem. But it is not difficult to discern that Pushkin is resorting to a poetic licence, and hence he distorts many historical and biographical details from Mazepa's life. For example, in Pushkin's *Poltava* the love affair between Mazepa and Motria takes place shortly before the Battle of Poltava, whereas it occurred in 1704. What is more, Pushkin changes Motria's name to Maria and alleges that after fleeing from her home she became Mazepa's mistress. By the same token, according to Pushkin, Mazepa demanded that Vasyl Kochubei be sentenced to death and was even present at the execution. Obviously, this is a distortion of historical events, because Mazepa returned Motria to her parents, and Kochubei was beheaded on direct orders from Peter I. Pushkin's claim that Motria went insane after hearing about the execution of her father is also not predicated on historical evidence. As a matter of fact, in 1707 Motria married Colonel Semen Chuikevych, the son a General Judge Vasyl Chuikevych.³⁵

In his *Poltava*, Pushkin strives to glorify Peter I, to cast Kochubei as a tragic figure and to demonize Mazepa. Hence Pushkin repeatedly denigrates Mazepa with such epithets as cunning, malicious, sly, secretive and calls him a false Hetman, a criminal Hetman, an insolent beast, an arrogant old man, a traitor of the Tsar and so forth. The poet underscores Mazepa's deceitful nature, by having him announce to Maria (Motria) that "the time has come for Ukraine to be an independent state" and by revealing later that Mazepa joined the Swedes in order to avenge himself against the Tsar, who had pulled his grey mustache and threatened him, because Mazepa had "uttered an audacious word." Further, according to the narrator of Pushkin's poem, Mazepa pretended to be mortally ill, called for priests and doctors, but on the day before the battle he got out of bed and was apparently quite healthy.

As Pushkin's poem was not received favourable by Russian readers, the poet felt obliged to respond to his critics by claiming that his work was an original creation and that Mazepa's character was historically accurate. But in spite of "his insistence on historicity, Pushkin had slanted the facts..." and consequently, "the image of Mazepa that emerges from *Poltava* is almost a caricature of a petty villain."³⁶ In sum, Pushkin's poem is hardly a historically accurate rendition of Mazepa's legacy, but it is a politically correct work, reflecting the official Russian attitude towards the Hetman.

A surprising antithesis to the established Russian views of Mazepa emerged from the pen of Faddei Bulgarin, the most detested man of letters in nineteenth century Russia. Bulgarin was a Polish-born Russian author, journalist and editor of periodicals which printed the official government announcements, disseminating authoritarian policies and the ultraconservative views

³⁵Олександр Оглоблин, *Гетьман Іван Мазепа та його доба*, p. 297; see also David Saunders, *The Ukrainian impact on Russian culture, 1750-1850* (Edmonton: Canadian Institute of Ukrainian Studies, 1985), p. 101; see also Сергій Павленко, "За кого 300 років тому Мотря Кочубей вийшла заміж", <http://val.ua/culture/literature/189005.html>

³⁶Hubert F. Babinski, *The Mazepa legend in European romanticism*, p.122.

of Russian tsars in the nineteenth century. Moreover, being influenced by Walter Scott, Bulgarin also published a series of historical romances. Bulgarin's novel *Ivan Vyzhigin* (1828) was so well received that it became the first Russian best-seller, with a printing of over ten thousand copies.

The favourable reception of *Ivan Vyzhigin* encouraged Bulgarin to compose other novels on Russian historical figures, and to delve also into Ukrainian history. As a result, in 1834 he published a historical novel, entitled *Mazepa*. It would seem that the work represents Bulgarin's response to Pushkin's *Poltawa*. However, in the preface to his novel, Bulgarin asserts that he did not want to follow in the footsteps of Byron and Pushkin by depicting a love episode from Mazepa's life. Instead, he chose to concentrate on the depiction of the "political character" of Mazepa who "was one of the most intelligent and most learned magnates of his times."³⁷ Bulgarin's novel begins with the election of Mazepa as Hetman and then shifts the setting to the events occurring in 1708 and in 1709. On the whole, the author does not depict Mazepa's "political character" favourably. This is quite plain from the attributes that Bulgarin employs in the description of him. On depicting Mazepa's character traits the author employs such adjectives as ferocious, vengeful, selfish, vain, insidious, wild, covetous and lustful. The reader is also told that Mazepa is a man without any ennobling traits, because he was a deceitful man who continually pretended to be ill in order to avoid military action, and a man who would do anything to win a woman's love. In short, Mazepa is cast by Bulgarin as an egoistic, a lecherous, a hypocritical and an evil old man.

According to Bulgarin, Mazepa had but one redeeming trait, namely his keen intelligence. It enabled the Hetman to discern fully that Ukraine would lose its autonomy within the new Russian state that Peter I strove to establish. Therefore, Mazepa sought new alliances with Sweden and Poland in order to enable Ukraine to defend itself against both the Russian and the Turkish empire. Thanks to his keen intellect, Mazepa succeeded in persuading not only his senior officers (старшина), but also the Zaporozhian kozaks to oppose the amalgamation of Ukraine with Russia. At the same time, the Hetman was well aware of the inherent dangers of this venture, because he stated that "if Peter were to be the victor of this war, he would turn Russia into a very powerful state, and then Ukraine would disappear like a grain of sand in the steppe."³⁸ But at the same time, Bulgarin felt obliged to qualify Mazepa's quest for an independent Ukraine by having him disclose the following: "Peter had hinted about this [unification with Russia] and when I, in my capacity of Hetman of Ukraine, raised a fervent objection, he shut me up by slapping my face. I shall avenge myself, avenge myself not as an insulted slave, but as an angry sovereign."³⁹ By shifting Mazepa's motivation from a national liberation and patriotic notions to a personal desire to avenge himself for the insult received from the Russian Tsar, Bulgarin resorts to the official and well-established Russian explanation of Mazepa's secession from Russia and his alliance with the King of Sweden. This was part and parcel of the Russian propaganda that was disseminated on the order of Peter I. But in reality, both the Russian Tsar and Aleksei Menshikov, who had been sent to destroy Baturyn, were well-

³⁷Фаддей Булгарин, *Мазепа: Исторический роман* (Москва: Современник, 1990), http://az.lib.ru/b/bulgarin_f_w/text_0070.shtml.

³⁸Ibid.

³⁹Ibid.

aware of Mazepa's unselfish desires and aspirations. In his personal report to Peter I, Menshikov wrote: "if he [Mazepa] did this, it was not for the sake of his person alone, but for the whole of Ukraine" (понеже когда он (Мазепа) сее учынил, то не для одной своей особы, но и всей рады Украины...").⁴⁰

Quite different in its message was the play *Mazepa* that was composed by the Polish emigre, Juliusz Slowacki, and published in France in 1840. Slowacki's *Mazepa* is not a Ukrainian, but a Pole, and, consequently, "there is no question in his mind about Ukrainian independence."⁴¹ Moreover, the playwright did not embrace the legend of Mazepa's wild horse ride, nor the notion of political treachery. Instead, Slowacki endeavoured to show how Mazepa's underwent a moral regeneration. At the beginning of the play, not only Mazepa and Zbigniew, the son the Polish nobleman, but also Jan Kazimierz, the reigning King of Poland, all fall in love with Amelia, the young wife of an elderly aristocrat. As the three men vie for the heart of Amelia, the play unfolds as a comedy of manners due to the ongoing episodes of love and intrigue. To gain Amelia's undivided attention, Mazepa sneaks into her bedroom. Unexpectedly, Amelia and Zbigniew enter the room, and Mazepa decides to hide in an alcove. Next Amelia's husband enters and accuses her of infidelity. Suspecting that she is hiding Mazepa, he orders the alcove to be bricked up. Shortly afterwards, the husband changes his mind and the wall is torn down. Mazepa comes out of the alcove, and he is changed man. Previously, Mazepa was a cheerful and an amorous courtier, but the near death experience changed his character, and by the end of the play he becomes a pious, almost a saintly persona. As Hubert Babinski points out, among the authors of both Western and Eastern Europe "only Slowacki conceived of Mazepa in the messianic-mystical way..."⁴²

Did the recurring depictions of Mazepa by Polish and Russian authors encourage the Ukrainian writers to deal with Mazepa's legacy? Not at all. Ukrainian authors lagged far behind in the depiction of Mazepa. There were many reasons for this. In time Russia acquired more and more territory, and by the nineteenth century it controlled most of Ukraine and Poland. The publication of a work on Mazepa in Ukraine would have been blocked by tsarist censors. Moreover, the decree prohibiting publications in Ukrainian (*The Ems Ukaz*, issued in 1876), banned the use of the Ukrainian language both in print and on the stage. The western regions of Ukraine which were in the domain of the Austro Hungarian Empire were not prohibited from using Ukrainian, but even there no author ventured to deal with the theme of Mazepa. In view of the above, a Ukrainian literary work on Mazepa did not appear till the twentieth century.

The first major Ukrainian work on Mazepa was published by Bohdan Lepkyi in the 1920s. Born in 1872, Lepkyi was man of many talents. He was an outstanding author, critic, translator, publicist and a literary scholar. In recognition of his scholarship, Lepkyi was appointed in 1899 to the Chair of Ukrainian Studies at the Jagiellonian University in Cracow. And this city become Lepkyi's second homeland for many decades until his demise on 21 July

⁴⁰Theodore Mackiw, *Prince Mazepa Hetman of Ukraine in Contemporary English Publications, 1687–1709*, p.103. Cited by Mackiw from *Pisma i bumagi imperatora Petra Velikogo*, vol. VIII, part 2, pp. 864-65.

⁴¹Hubert F. Babinski, *The Mazepa legend in European romanticism*, p.130.

⁴²*Ibid.*, p. 145.

1941. The academic appointment did not impede Lypkyi's literary output, and he became a prolific author. In the realm of Ukrainian literature only Ivan Franko published more than Lypkyi.

Lepkyi's novel about Hetman Mazepa is a monumental work. He conceived it as a trilogy, a trilogy in nine volumes. Although he did not manage to complete the trilogy as planned, it is still a sizeable novel. The component volumes of the trilogy were entitled: *Мотря*, (том I і II) [Motria], *Не вбивай*, [Do not Kill] *Батурын*, [Baturyn] and *Полтава* (том I том II), and published in Ukraine and Germany between 1926 and 1929. A sequel to these volumes was the novel *Знід Полтави до Бендер* which was completed on the basis of Lepky's notes by his brother Levko and published in New York in 1955. Thanks to the efforts of Mykola Desyniuk, all volumes of the trilogy were reprinted in Chicago in 1959. Lepkyi's Mazepa trilogy was not published in Ukraine until its newly-won independence in 1991.

On the whole, Lepkyi's trilogy is based on real historical events and characters. On depicting them the author employs a realistic mode of writing, by providing many details from life in order to render an impression of true, life-like events and characters. But frequently, Lepkyi provides so many details that his style acquires the semblance of naturalism, the mode of writing employed by Emil Zola and other authors who provided so many intricate details from everyday life that their novels seemed to be endless, as for example, Emil Zola's novel *Les Rougon-Macquart* which is a work of twenty volumes. Lepkyi's utilization of both the realistic and naturalistic modes of writing culminated in the voluminous work about Hetman Mazepa. But is Lepkyi's trilogy a convincing depiction of Mazepa's legacy? Not necessarily so, especially for such dedicated scholars of Mazepa's legacy as Metropolitan Ilarion. Quite judiciously the Metropolitan states that "such over-exaggerated idealization of Mazepa as provided by Bohdan Lepkyi in his trilogy has nothing in common with history."⁴³ An average reader may not be able to discern the lack of historical accuracy in Lepkyi's trilogy, but he/she may very well be discouraged from reading the work because of its sheer volume.

As a literary theme, Mazepa's legacy did not fare well in Soviet Ukrainian literature. Ludmila Starytska-Cherniakhivska's five-act play *Іван Мазена* (Ivan Mazepa) was published in 1927, but was subsequently suppressed by the regime. As positive views of Mazepa were taboo in the Soviet Union, even such dedicated communists as Volodymyr Sosiura encountered harsh censures for composing a narrative poem *Мазена* (Mazepa, 1929). Only some fragments of it were published in Ukraine and the entire poem did not appear in print till 1988. And this is not surprising, in view of the fact that in the 1930s, Stalin ordered that the Russian Orthodox Church "resume the anathematizing of Ivan Mazepa during church services (whose anathematizing had ceased in 1918)."⁴⁴

After perusing the depictions of Mazepa's legacy by Western and Eastern European authors, one may wonder whether some North American writers also dwelled on this subject. Without much toil, I was able to surmise that in the nineteenth century a novel as well as a play on Mazepa appeared in the United States. On 17 June 1870, a play by Albert W. Aiken was staged in New York, and its title was *The Red Mazeppa or, The Wild Horse of Tartary*. Thus far I

⁴³Іван Огієнко,(Митрополит Іларіон), *Розп'ятий Мазена* (Київ: Наша культура, 2003), p. 50.

⁴⁴See artukraine.com, <http://www.artukraine.com/famineart/vitvitsky.htm>.

have not been able to obtain the text of the play, but evidently “The Grand Romantic Drama” was well received, because the author decided to remould it as a novel that was published in 1878 under title *The Indian Mazeppa or, The Madman of the Plains*<http://www.artukraine.com/famineart/vitvitsky.htm>. The short novel is set in the American West and Mazeppa has become a woman, a young Indian maiden. The plot of the novel entails also a wild gallop through the country with the young woman strapped on her back. *The Red Mazeppa* was not only reprinted several times, but also imitated by other writers. Thus in 1882 Dangerfield Burr published *The Phantom Mazeppa or, The Hyena of the Chaparrals: A Romance of Love and Adventure on the Nebraska Plains*.

At this point one may query whether there are any Canadian versions of Mazeppa’s legacy. There do not seem to be any works based on the horse-ride legend, but a historical drama on Mazeppa was composed by Metropolitan Ilarion (Ivan Ohienko) and published in 1961 under the title *Розп’ятий Мазена* (Crucified Mazeppa). Subsequently, the play was reprinted in Ukraine in 2003. Written in verse, this five-act play is set in the town of Bender where Mazeppa and the King of Sweden had fled after their defeat at Poltava. The main dramatis personae are the senior officers who together with the Hetman escaped to the domain of the Ottoman Empire: Pylyp Orlyk, Kost Hordienko, Andrii Voinarovskiy, Ivan Lomokovskiy, Dmytro Horlenko, Ivan Myronych, Hryhorii Hertsyk, Ivan Maksymovych and other officers and kozaks. Metropolitan Ilarion not only lists the names of the so-called “Мазепинці” (the followers of Mazeppa), but also provides brief biographies of these historical personages.

In the first act, the officers are meeting with Hetman Mazeppa and mulling over the loss of the battle at Poltava. But as the play develops, the officers not only express divergent views about the events, but aim their criticism at the Hetman, blaming him harshly for the mistakes made before and during the battle. As Mazeppa is seriously ill, the arguments, accusations and condemnations that are uttered by the senior officers intensify the Hetman’s suffering to such an extent that he cries out in agony “You have crucified me to death... / But you are leading me to Golgotha / And you are crucifying me.... ” (Мене ви смертно розп’яли... / А ви ведете на Голготу / І розпинаєте мене....).⁴⁵ In spite of the excruciating anguish that he had endured at the previous meetings, the Hetman summons his senior officers once more. On his deathbed, Mazeppa declares his last will and testament. He tells the officers to “love Ukraine to all eternity” and to “compile a Charter for Ukraine.” (Любіть Україну повіки,... / Складіть Уставу Україні). The Hetman goes on to say that “we’re forgetting our Faith and Church, / but they are the foundation of the State... / Our faith, the Holly Orthodoxy, is the cornerstone of everything” (Ми Віру й Церкву забуваєм, / Вони ж Державі – вся основа... Основа всьому – наша Віра, / Те православіє святе....).⁴⁶

By way of his play Metropolitan Ilarion links Mazeppa’s legacy to the so-called “Bender Constitution” which was compiled by Pylyp Orlyk and the senior kozak officers in Bender. Composed in Latin under the title *Pacta et Constitutiones legum libertatumque Exercitus Zaporoviensis* (Pacts and Constitution of the Rights and Freedoms of the Zaporozhian Army), the constitution was endorsed by King Charles XII on 5 April 1710. This is an important document in the history of Ukraine. It embodies the compromise of the three fundamental

⁴⁵Іван Огієнко,(Митрополит Іларіон), *Розп’ятий Мазена*, pp. 258-59.

⁴⁶Ibid., pp. 264, 267.

political orientations in Ukraine: the Hetmanate, the senior officers of the Hetman and the Zaporozhian kozaks. All of them agreed to be governed by the statutes of the constitution and the democratic process, rather than the will of an autocratic ruler. As such, the first Ukrainian constitution is the equivalent of the *Magna Carta*. It outlines the rights and responsibilities of the elected members of the Ukrainian Kozak State. Furthermore, the first article of the Constitution affirms that it is the responsibility of the Hetman to uphold the Orthodox faith in Ukraine and to make certain that no other religion be established on its soil. And after freeing Ukraine “from the Russian yoke, restore the original ties of the metropolitan throne in Kyiv with the Exarchate in the apostolic capital in Constantinople.”⁴⁷ The religious references in the above constitution correspond to Mazepa’s final utterings in Metropolitan Ilarion’s play. Consequently, it is not inappropriate to query whether Mazepa was actively involved in the formulation of the first Ukrainian constitution. Oleksander Ohloblyn believes that this was a likely scenario, because “the Bender constitution was the result of the collective Ukrainian political thinking, the summary of the debates and discussions that took place during the immigration of the winter of 1709 – 1710, and perhaps while Mazepa was still alive.”⁴⁸ But even if Mazepa was not able to take part in these discussions due to his illness, being Mazepa’s most trusted officer and the Secretary of the Hetmanate, Pylyp Orlyk was intimately acquainted with Mazepa’s views on the role of religion in a liberated Ukrainian state. As Ohloblyn puts it, Orlyk “passed Mazepa’s ideas and spirit to the subsequent generations of Ukrainians.”⁴⁹

By means of the Hetman’s deathbed utterings and volitions, Metropolitan Ilarion accentuates Mazepa’s political views, love of his native land, as well as his spirituality and his unwavering faith in the Ukrainian Orthodox Church. In view of this, Metropolitan Ilarion’s play not only elucidates the Hetman’s religious values which had been neglected by previous authors, but also accentuates Mazepa’s Christian Weltanschauung and his firm support of the “notion of harmony of the church and state.”⁵⁰ Further, Metropolitan Ilarion’s depiction of Mazepa’s religiosity is of course also predicated on historical evidence, namely his pious mother who, as a devout Orthodox Christian, became the Abbess Mary Magdalen of the Voznesensk convent in Kyiv and who inculcated her children with a high esteem of religious lifestyle. This is also evident from the fact that Mazepa’s sister Oleksandra became a nun, as well as the Hetman’s ongoing and generous support of the Orthodox clergy and monastic orders, the building of many churches and religious institutions.

With the coming of the independence of Ukraine, Mazepa is receiving unprecedented attention and honours. The government of Ukraine has issued stamps, banknotes and even a Mazepa jubilee medal. What should the future hold for the depiction of Mazepa’s legacy in literary works? To a great extent the answer to this question shall depend on the availability of

⁴⁷ Перша Конституція України гетьмана Пилипа Орлика. <http://www.nbuv.gov.ua/articles/history/1710cnst.htm>. See also Олександр Оглоблін, *Гетьман Іван Мазепа та його доба*, pp. 380-82.

⁴⁸ Олександр Оглоблін, *Гетьман Іван Мазепа та його доба*, p. 381.

⁴⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 380.

⁵⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 131.

new documents. And new archival material on Mazepa is certainly available, but mostly in Russian archives. For a long time Ukrainians were led to believe that all of Mazepa's documents had perished with the deliberate incineration of Baturyn. But that was not the case. In 2004 "a fascinating discovery was made by Dr. Tatiana Yakovleva of St. Petersburg University." The first volume of this material was published in 2007. It contains 352 items from Mazepa's "Baturyn Archive" including letters to the Hetman and summaries of such letters, Mazepa's letters and proclamations (універсали), a letter by Mazepa's mother, written in 1701 when she was the Abbess of the Voznesensk convent in Kyiv, as well as two poems by Mazepa.⁵¹ Moreover, in the preface to the book, Tatiana Yakovleva states that a second volume pertaining to the years 1706- 1709 is scheduled for publication. In view of this, one cannot help but wonder why the rest of the material remains unpublished to date. Is its publication delayed by Russian political decisions? Perhaps, this may not be the end of the story about the Russian Mazepa archives. Dr. Yakovleva "believes that Menshikov, a notoriously greedy man, took not only Mazepa's papers but also his valuable library. Dr. Yakovleva and her students will continue their search for new documents from Mazepa's archive and will be on the lookout for the books from his library."⁵²

If and when such documents shall become available, they shall no doubt culminate in a substantial enhancement of Mazepa's biography and more accurate depictions of his life in belles lettres.

⁵¹Гетман Иван Мазепа: *Документы из архивных собраний Санкт-Петербурга*. Выпуск I 1687-1705 гг. Составитель д-р ист. наук Т. Г. Таирова- Яковлева.(Санкт-Петербург: Издательство С.-Петербургского Университета, 2007) pp. 3-8.

⁵²Serhii Plokhii, "CIUS Press Release, 10 July 2004".