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“Hettman von Klein Reussen”: the image of Kyrylo Rozumovsky in the mid-eighteenth-century early printed books and engravings from the Razumovskys’ family collection¹

Abstract: The article examines the early printed panegyric *Philosophia Aristotelica* by Mykhail Kozachynsky (1745) and the engraved portraits of the Ukrainian hetman Kyrylo Rozumovsky by Johann Christian Gottfried Fritzsche (1750) and Georg Friedrich Schmidt (1762). These items belong to the collection of books and memorabilia owned by the Razumovsky noble family, specifically their *Razumovskiana*. The narrative and visual sources are treated through the prism of their commemorative significance and relevance for studying the early modern history of Ukraine.

Keywords: Kyrylo Rozumovsky, Mykhail Kozachynsky, Johann Christian Gottfried Fritzsche, Georg Friedrich Schmidt, engraving, panegyric, family library, hetman, the Hetmanate, the Russian Empire

Słowa kluczowe: Kyryło Rozumowski, Mykhail Kozachyński, Johann Christian Gottfried Fritzsche, Georg Friedrich Schmidt, rycina, panegiryk, bibliotheca rodzinna, hetman, Hetmanat, Imperium Rosyjskie

1 I presented the first draft of this paper at the 16th International Congress for Eighteenth-Century Studies “Antiquity and the Shaping of the Future in the Age of Enlightenment” in Rome on July 3, 2023. The preparatory search was carried out in Ukrainian, Austrian, and Czech archives, museums, and libraries in 2018–2022, thanks to the grant support of the Austrian Academy of Sciences (the program “Joint Excellence in Science and Humanities” for Ukraine, 2022) and the Gerda Henkel Foundation (the joint fellowship with the New Europe College 2019–2020 and the project F33/FI/22 “The Axis Kyiv-Lviv and Beyond: Community of Interaction of Ukrainian Ecclesiastic Elites in the Mid-Eighteenth Century”, 2022). The text was finalized during my stay at the Goethe University Frankfurt am Main in 2022–2024 in the framework of the project “Polycentricity and Plurality of Premodern Christianities” supported by the German Research Foundation (Deutsche Forschungsgemeinschaft).

Introduction

What is a library? Modern publications point to a myriad of peculiarities that make a library not merely a collection of books gathered here and now, but a cultural phenomenon that has played a critical role in the accumulation and transmission of knowledge since antiquity² – a true “seat of knowledge” in Peter Burke’s words³. If so, then what is a family library? Another classical approach might be helpful here, i.e., Pierre Nora’s concept of the *lieu de mémoire*, which deals with places, artefacts, events, and the like which bear a commemorative significance for a community or an individual⁴. If this is the case, then books, manuscripts, portraits, photographs, and other memorabilia, which usually constitute family heirlooms, are in line with both descriptions because they provide knowledge of the past and evoke a sense of belonging among family members. Relying on these considerations, in this paper I address the hereditary collection of the Ukrainian and Austrian aristocratic family Rozumovskys/Razumovskys⁵, namely their *Razumovskiana* – the assemblage of books, manuscripts, pictures, and other memorabilia about their family history.

The dynasty has the Ukrainian Cossack ancestry. The rank-and-file Cossack Hryhorii Rozum (d. 1730), who lived with his family in the village of Lemeshi of the Kyiv regiment of the Hetmanate, is considered its first documented representative⁶. His sons Oleksii (1709–1771) and Kyrylo (1728–1803) rose to the highest social and political positions: Oleksii was a secret husband of Empress Elizabeth of Russia (1709–1761) and Kyrylo ruled Ukraine as the hetman (1750–1764). The elder brother had no official offspring, although there were rumours about their illegitimate children with Elizabeth. Kyrylo had twelve children in his marriage to the empress’s third cousin, Ekaterina Naryshkina (1729–1771). One of his sons, the scholar Hryhorii Rozumovsky (1759–1837), left the Russian Empire in the early 19th century due to his sharp rejection of the political and social reality of the country. He settled in the Czech lands under Habsburg rule and founded the Austrian branch of the family known as the Counts of Razumovsky – the only family branch that exists today. H. Rozumovsky’s grandson, Camillo Razumovsky (1852–1917), catalogued

2 See for instance: A. Pettegree, A. Weduwen, *The Library. A Fragile History*, London 2021.

3 P. Burke, *A Social History of Knowledge. From Gutenberg to Diderot*, Cambridge 2000.

4 P. Nora, *Between Memory and History. Les Lieux de Mémoire*, “Representations”, special issue “Memory and Counter-Memory” spring 1989, vol. 26, pp. 7–24.

5 The family’s original Ukrainian surname is “Rozum”, but from the mid-18th century on it became known in two dominant forms, “Rozumovsky” and “Razumovsky”. Here and throughout the paper, I use both variants together to refer to the whole dynasty.

6 For the detailed genealogy of the family, see С. Потіпенко, *Віденський архів гетьманського роду Розумовських*. Vol. 1, Київ 2018, pp. 212–239; M. Razumovsky, *Die Rasumovskys. Eine Familie am Zarenhof*, Köln-Weimar-Wien 1998.

the *Razumovskiana* on the eve of World War I. His great-grandson, Gregor Razumovsky, is now the head of the Razumovsky noble House.

Thanks to the kind support of G. Razumovsky, I have examined the modern-day family library of the Razumovskys, including the *Razumovskiana*, several times in recent years. It is preserved in the family palace built in Vienna in 1902 through the efforts of C. Razumovsky. I have also observed those family memorabilia which after World War II ended up in the Czech state museums Slezské zemské muzeum (Silesian Museum) and Státní zámek Hradec nad Moravicí (State chateau Hradec nad Moravicí), located in Opava and its surrounding area⁷. Based on these findings, as well as the results of the heuristic carried out in the Ukrainian and Austrian archives, libraries, and museums, in one of my recent papers⁸, I attempted to reconstruct the repertoire of the Rozumovskys / Razumovskys’ family library from the mid-18th century (the collection of K. Rozumovsky) until the contemporary period (the collection of G. Razumovsky). I argued that the members of the Austrian branch of the dynasty, especially C. Razumovsky, purposefully collected books and artefacts that were important for the family’s past, furnishing in this way their assemblage with a strong commemorative value.

The same idea of the commemorative significance of the *Razumovskiana* and the entire family collection underpins this paper. Here, I want to focus on the engravings portraying K. Rozumovsky after he obtained the hetman’s post (1750). Since there is no specific work of his images in modern Ukrainian historiography⁹, the paper aims to “unlock” this research problem and contribute to studying the iconography of the Ukrainian Cossack elite. However, these engravings can be only understood in a parallel reading of that time’s trilingual panegyric *Philosophia Aristotelica*, which the hieromonk and poet Mykhail Kozachynsky (ca. 1699–1755) penned in honour of Oleksii and Kyrylo Rozumovkys¹⁰. The book came out in 1745 as a publishing project of the

7 I express my sincere gratitude to Dr Ondřej Haničák and Mgr Denisa Hradilová, who helped me a lot during my search in the collection of Slezské zemské muzeum/Silesian Museum and also provided advice during the work on this paper.

8 S. Potapenko, *Family Library as a Site of Memory: the Rozumovskys /Razumovskys’ Book Collection from the Mid-Eighteenth to the Early Twenty-First Century*, “Kyiv-Mohyla Humanities Journal” 2023, vol. 10, pp. 146–168.

9 О. Ковалевська, *Зображення крізь віки: іконографія козацької старшини XVII–XVIII ст.* Р. 1, Київ 2014, р. 83.

10 I was much inspired to conduct this research, simultaneously focusing on the narrative and visual sources, by a thought of a renowned Ukrainian historian Dmytro Stepovyk which he shared in his monograph on Ukrainian baroque engraving: “The visual arts—icons, engravings, carving of iconostases, and Gospel settings—provide rich material for the use of tropes similar to those used in the art of words. This is no coincidence since the visual image is perhaps the closest to the verbal image (both spoken and written). Moreover, the visual arts served the art of words in their way (as illustrations to the literary texts), and for this reason the system of tropes in art appears to be very sim-

Kyivan Caves Press, where the volumes were illustrated and bound, while the text itself was printed in the Lviv Assumption Confraternity Press (in Cyrillic) and the Lviv Jesuit Press (fragments that generally reproduced the same text in Latin and Polish). In total, two codices of the panegyric and three engravings depicting K. Rozumovsky, all of which belong to the *Razumovskiana*, can be found in the present-day Razumovskys' Viennese collection and the Czech museums. By studying them, I want to find out what poetic and artistic tools were utilized to create and disseminate the image of K. Rozumovsky as the Ukrainian ruler in the political and ideological circumstances from the 1740s to the 1760s.

Panegyric *Philosophia Aristotelica*

Two catalogues give an idea of the volume and content of the *Razumovskiana* gathered by C. Razumovsky before World War I. The first of them *Katalog der Familien-Bibliothek und Familien-Kunst und Denkwürdigkeiten-Sammlung des Camillo Graf Razumovsky* (1907) covers 609 items (Photo. 1)¹¹, while the second of 935 items under the main heading *Familienbesitz der Razumovsky* has an additional *Verzeichnis Meiner Razumovskiana (Zum größten Teil in Wien, dann in den Schlössern Schönstein, Wigstein und im Troppauer Familienhaus befindlich)* (1914; Photo. 1)¹². The latter refers to three Czech estates which Counts Razumovsky lost in 1945–1946, namely the castles Schönstein (now Dolní Životice), Wigstein (Vikštejn), and the central palace in Troppau (Opava), from which their heirloom was taken to the aforementioned Czech state museums¹³.

Katalog der Familien-Bibliothek und Familien-Kunst und Denkwürdigkeiten-Sammlung des Camillo Graf Razumovsky names the panegyric of my interest “Wappenbuch des Gf. Alexej Grig. Razoumowsky vom Jahre [/] 1745 (höchst seltene russ. Ausgabe des von Hieromanach [/] Kozacynecki in 3 Sprachen, russ., lateinisch und polnisch [/] herausgegebenen Werkchens)”¹⁴. The account given

ilar to the system of tropes in literature“; see Д. Степовик, *Українська гравюра бароко. Майстер Ілля, Олександр Тарасевич, Леонтій Тарасевич, Іван Щирський*, Київ 2022, p. 15. However, I do not touch upon the artistic value of the samples analysed, because my perspective only reaches their significance as bearers of certain historical information.

11 C. Razumovsky, *Katalog der Familien-Bibliothek und Familien-Kunst und Denkwürdigkeiten-Sammlung des Camillo Graf Razumovsky*, Wien 1907.

12 C. Razumovsky, *Familienbesitz der Razumovsky*, Wien 1914.

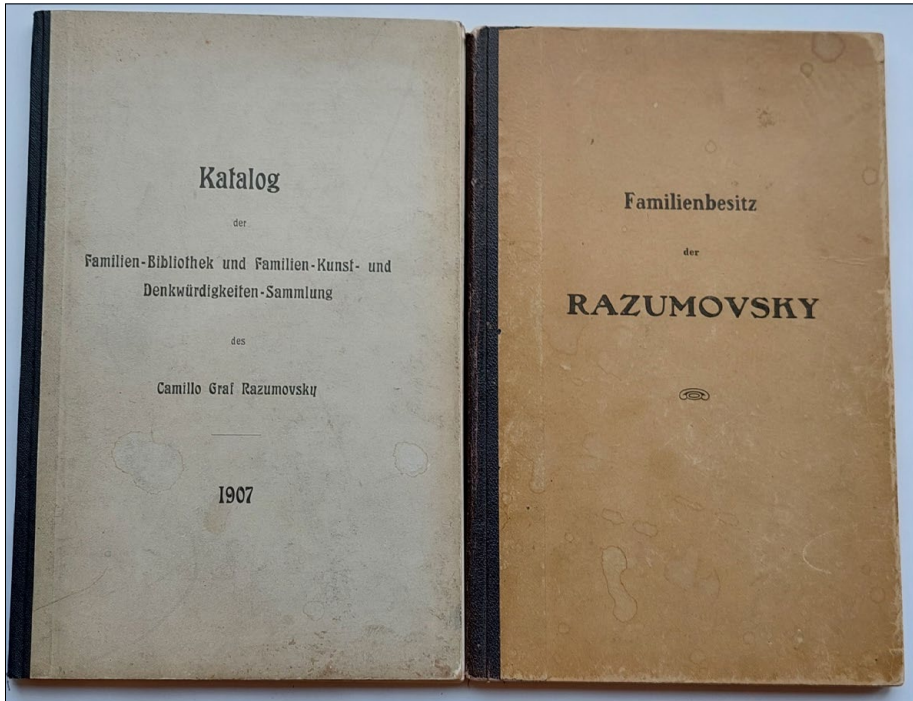
13 About the books and related things which are kept in the Razumovskys' present-day library and concern the family's former Czech estates, see O. Haničák, I. Maloušková, *Vídeňská knihovna rodiny Razumovských*, “Slezský Sborník” 2023, vol. 121, no. 2, pp. 221–226.

14 “Armorial of the Count Oleksii Hryhorovych Rozumovsky from the year [/] 1745 (extremely rare Russ[ian] edition of the work published by the hieromonk [/] Kozacynecki in 3 languages, Russ[ian], Latin and Polish)”, C. Razumovsky, *Katalog der Familien-Bibliothek...*, p. 31.

in *Familienbesitz der Razumovsky* repeats the same, with an extension “mit Stammbaum”¹⁵. Both accounts in all likelihood concern a codex of *Philosophia Aristotelica* with a bookplate on the upper endpaper that identically informs about the “Wappenbuch”. This codex remains in the Viennese family library now (Photo. 2). Another codex from this collection has imprints “Bibliothek Schönstein” and “3855” on the first page, attesting to its previous presence in the Schönstein castle (Photo. 3). What is more, the lines written in Cyrillic on its bottom endpaper, which can be attributed to the late 18th century, recall “the Count Razumovsky” and therefore give grounds to assert the Ukrainian provenance of this copy.

Photo. 1. S. Potapenko. The catalogues of the *Razumovskiana* of Count C. Razumovsky published in Vienna in 1907 and 1914.

Source: The Razumovsky family collection, Vienna



15 “with family tree”, C. Razumovsky, *Familienbesitz...*, p. 35.

Photo. 2. For S. Potapenko from G. Razumovsky.
The title page of the codex of *Philosophia Aristotelica*, 1745.
Source: The Razumovsky family collection, Vienna

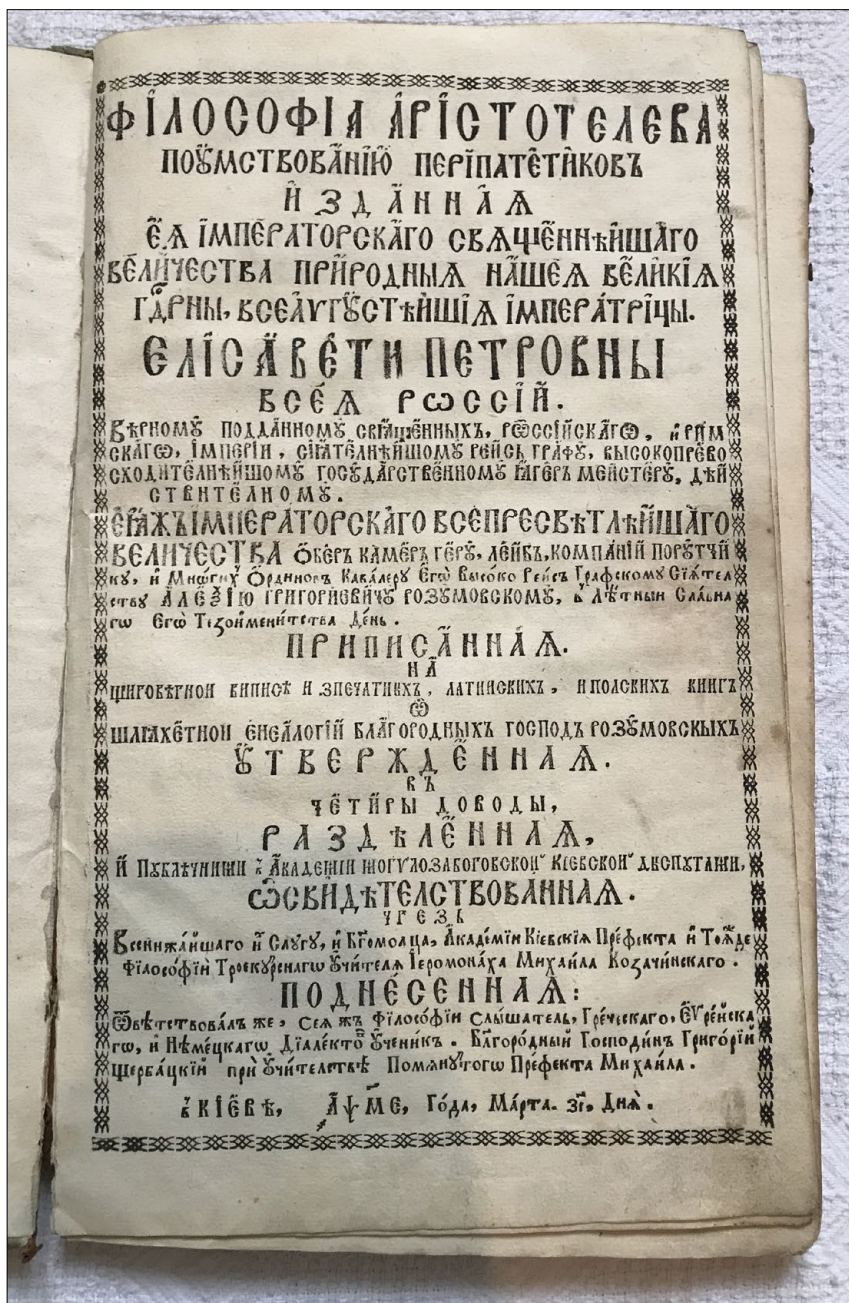


Photo. 3. For S. Potapenko from G. Razumovsky.
The title page of the codex of *Philosophia Aristotelica*, 1745.
Source: The Razumovsky family collection, Vienna

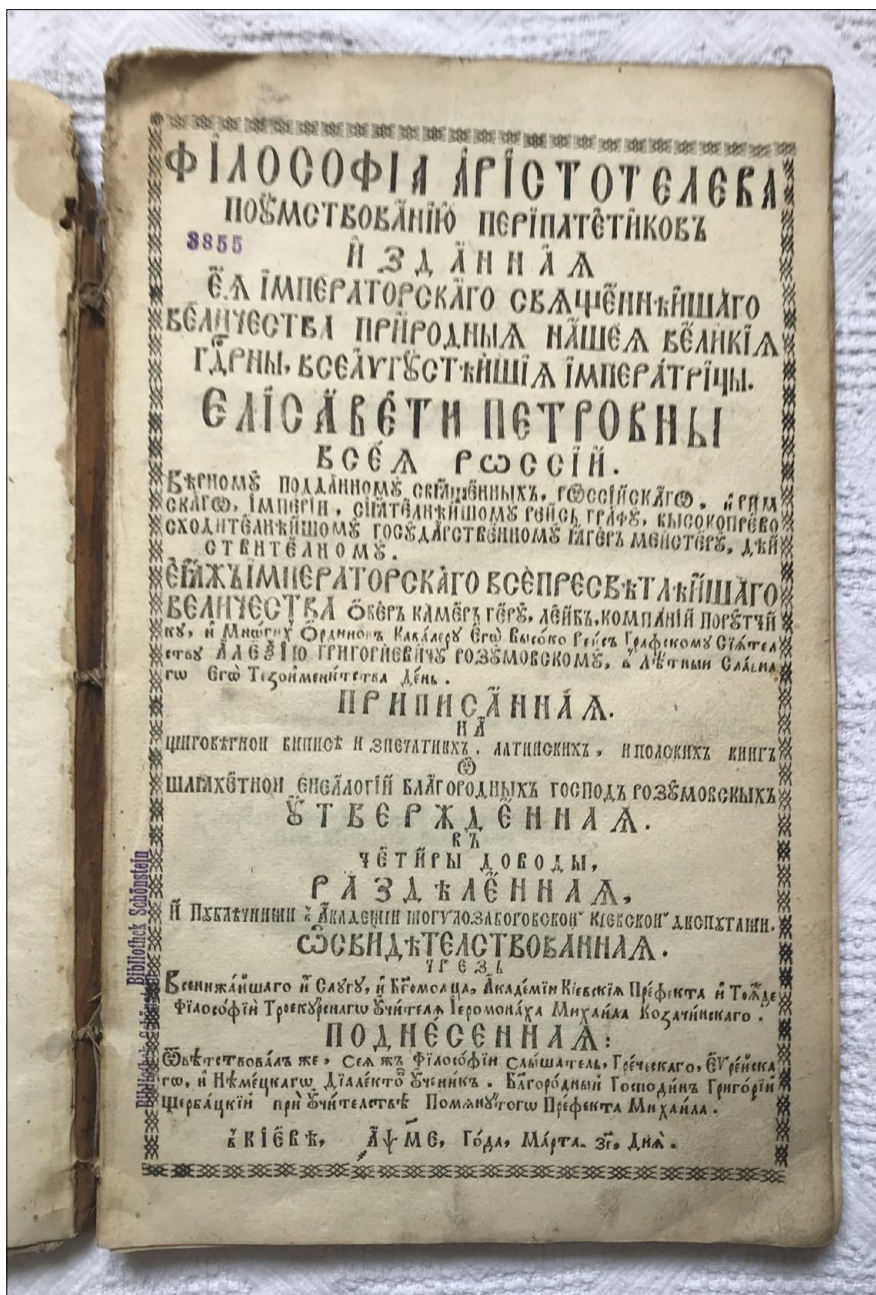


Photo. 4. For S. Potapenko from G. Razumovsky.
The Rozumovskys' family tree engraved by Hryhorii Levytsky,
Philosophia Aristotelica, 1745, paste-in.
Source: The Razumovsky family collection, Vienna



Hence, Counts Razumovsky have owned two codices of *Philosophia Aristotelica* at least from the beginning of the 20th century (as the catalogues witness), but, apparently, much longer (as the inscriptions on the codices certify). These samples of *Philosophia Aristotelica* slightly differ in content and decoration. The codex with the bookplate is the most typical one because it contains 60 leaves and the following decorative elements: two initials, three title frames, a paste-in, two prints of heraldic panel, three prints of allegoric panels, a print of each

of three other panels and twelve endings (with two prints of two of them)¹⁶. The other codex, with a provenance inscription in Cyrillic, has only 47 leaves and, respectively, a reduced number of decorative elements¹⁷.

The ornament and the text of *Philosophia Aristotelica* are closely intertwined since they actualized the book's main objective – to prove the noble pedigree of Oleksii and Kyrylo Rozumovskys. The engraved paste-in “Родоваѡ СѦпись Егѡ Высокѡ Рейсь Графскаѡ СѦятелства Алеѡѡ Григоріевича Розумовскоѡ” occupies the central place in the book (Photo. 4)¹⁸. It displays a marvellous allegoric rose bush rooted in the grand Lithuanian princely House of Gediminids and bloomed with the Rozumovskys. The artist, Hryhorii Levyt-sky (ca. 1697–1769)¹⁹, drew the composition with great mastery and detail,

16 The Razumovsky family collection, Vienna, *Філософія Арістотелева по умствованію періпатетиковъ, изданная ея імператорскаго священнѣйшаго величества, природныя нашея великія з[о]с[у]д[а]р[ы]ны, всеавгустѣйшійя імператрицы Елісавети Петровны, всяя Россіи, вѣрному подданому Священныхъ Россійскаго и Римскаго імперіи, сіятелнѣйшому рейсь-графу, высокопревосходителнѣйшому государственному ягеръ-мейстеру, дѣйствителному ея жь імператорскаго всепресвѣтлѣйшаго величества оберъ-камеръгеру, лейбъ-компаніи порутчику и многихъ ординовъ кавалеру, его высококорейсь-графскому сіятелству Алексію Григориевичу Розумовскому въ лѣтныи славнаго его тезоименитства день, приписанная на щировѣрною випись из печатныхъ латинскихъ и полскихъ книгъ о шляхетной енеалогіи благородныхъ господъ Розумовскихъ, утвержденная въ четиры доводы, раздѣленная и публѣчными въ академіи моголо-заборовской кіевской дыспутами освидѣтелствованная, чрезъ всенижайшаго ихъ слугу и бгомолца, Академіи Кіевскія префекта и тоя ж де філософіи трокурснаго учителя, іеромонаха Михаила Козачинскаго поднесенная. Отвѣтствовалъ же сея жь філософіи слышатель, греческаго, еврейскаго и нѣмецкаго діалектов ученикъ, бл[а]городный господинъ Григорій Щербацкій при учителствѣ помянутого префекта Михаила. Въ Кіевѣ #АУМС года марта 31 дня. Here and throughout the article, I will refer to this copy when quoting.*

17 The Razumovsky family collection, Vienna, *Філософія Арістотелева по умствованію періпатетиковъ, изданная ея імператорскаго священнѣйшаго величества, природныя нашея великія з[о]с[у]д[а]р[ы]ны, всеавгустѣйшійя імператрицы Елісавети Петровны, всяя Россіи, вѣрному подданому Священныхъ Россійскаго и Римскаго імперіи, сіятелнѣйшому рейсь-графу, высокопревосходителнѣйшому государственному ягеръ-мейстеру, дѣйствителному ея жь імператорскаго всепресвѣтлѣйшаго величества оберъ-камеръгеру, лейбъ-компаніи порутчику и многихъ ординовъ кавалеру, его высококорейсь-графскому сіятелству Алексію Григориевичу Розумовскому въ лѣтныи славнаго его тезоименитства день, приписанная на щировѣрною випись из печатныхъ латинскихъ и полскихъ книгъ о шляхетной енеалогіи благородныхъ господъ Розумовскихъ, утвержденная въ четиры доводы, раздѣленная и публѣчными въ академіи моголо-заборовской кіевской дыспутами освидѣтелствованная, чрезъ всенижайшаго ихъ слугу и бгомолца, Академіи Кіевскія префекта и тоя ж де філософіи трокурснаго учителя, іеромонаха Михаила Козачинскаго поднесенная. Отвѣтствовалъ же сея жь філософіи слышатель, греческаго, еврейскаго и нѣмецкаго діалектов ученикъ, бл[а]городный господинъ Григорій Щербацкій при учителствѣ помянутого префекта Михаила. Въ Кіевѣ #АУМС года марта 31 дня. The detailed description of both early printed books and the modern publication of the entire text of the panegyric can be found in: С. Потапенко, *Віденський архів...* Vol. 2, pp. 3–190.*

18 “The Family Tree of His High Count Excellency Oleksii Hryhorovych Rozumovsky”, The Razumovsky family collection, Vienna, *Філософія Арістотелева*, paste-in.

19 Some heraldic elements of *Philosophia Aristotelica* were also produced by the Lviv artist Jan Filipowicz (d. 1766), see С. Потапенко, *Віденський архів...* Vol. 2, p. 7.

making the genealogical legend visible. He put the name of the grand Lithuanian prince Narymund (d. 1348) in the bottom plate, then a little higher inserted the names of the princes Ruzhynskys (Rohovytskys), and in the upper part of the bush depicted the flowers holding the names of Oleksii and Kyrylo Rozumovskys and their kindred. The Ruzhynskys (Rohovytskys) occurred to be in this scheme not accidentally: the author of the panegyric, M. Kozachynsky, referred in his genealogical reconstruction to Szymon Okolski's armorial *Orbis Polonus* (Kraków 1645), where he earlier found a record about the Ruzhynskys (Rohovytskys) as the Gediminids and connected this information with the Rozumovskys. Needless to say, this genealogical legend had nothing to do with reality: the last member of the Ruzhynskys (Rohovytskys) passed away nearly 1640 and no documental evidence about their successors has been found yet. Moreover, the sources are equally silent about the Rozumovskys until the first third of the 18th century, when Oleksii and Kyrylo suddenly burst onto the historical scene.

However, the panegyric conveyed a clear idea of the brothers' high-born ancestry and their topmost status. M. Kozachynsky also poetically praised them, for in April 1744 Oleksii was honoured with the title of the Count of the Holy Roman Empire (*Reichsgraf*) and three months later, together with his younger brother, obtained the title of the Count of the Russian Empire²⁰. In particular, the second part of *Philosophia Aristotelica*, titled "Dowod drugi o cnotach iaśnie oświeconego graffa Alexago Hryhoriewicza Rozumowskiego", in the Polish version of the text stated that

Zaczyn teraz iuż każdy z cesarskiey dyplomy
Rozumowskich szlachetne może poznać domy,
Kiedy w przeszłym czterdzierstym czwartym niżej roku
Kwietnia dnia dwudziestego siodmego, od boku
Przybywszy cesarskiego, poseł narzeczony
Jan graff von Kennysfeld Christian z swey strony
W Jmperium Rossiyskim iawnie perorował,
Od cesarza za wierność ten w dar presentował
Tytuł, że iest do graffów, szlachetnie wrodzony,
Alexi Rozumowski godnie przyłączony.

Więc komu go przyrównać, z tego iasno wiemy,
Ale zadość wychwalić zgoła nie umiemy,
Czym więcęcy kto z mądrego weźnie wiersz warsztatu,
Tym naywiększym cnot iego nie wyliczy swiatu,

20 Österreichisches Staatarchiv, AT-OeStA/AVA Adel RAA 336.19, 17 p. Also, А. Васильчиков, *Семейство Разумовских*. Vol. 1, Санкт-Петербург 1880, pp. iii–x.

Jedno to się ostaie, by Rossyia Mała
Na chwałę y cześć Bogu te pieśni spiewała:
Znać, że Mała Rossyia, iestes Bogu miła,
Ześ męża pod te czasy takiego zrodziła,
Zyw iest Bog twoy naywyższy, co z twego korzenia
Dał tę tobie latorosl iasności promenia.

Niechay będzie ta matka wszędzie uwielbiona,
Z ktorey syna staie się w oyczyźnie obrona,
Ktory wszystkie swe cnoty, wiarę y nadzieie,
Miłość wielkie ku Bogu dobre razem dzieie,
Zachowuie y wierność swoiey monachyni,
Ku Elzbiecie Piotrownie łask wszystkich mistrzyni,
Ten w większe y nieczwiedle niech zakwita cnoty,
A Duch Święty do tego by dodał ochoty,
Lustrow swoich przydaiąc, niebieskich splendorow
By zawsze szedł do wyższych pochwał y honorow,
Alexi Rozumowski niech wiek długi żyie,
Niech mu sława wiek złoty w dyamencie ryie,
Wiekopomnie przy szczęściu Rozumowskich cały
Dom w miłości monarszey niech stoi wspaniały²¹.

The third part “Dowod trzeci o peregrynacyi dla nabycia nauk iasnie oswieconego graffa, jey nayiasniejszego cesarskiego majestatu kamerr jungera szlachentego pana pana Cyrillego Hruhoriewicza Rozumowskiego” celebrated Kyrylo’s Grand Tour, which was coming to the end in 1745:

Y tak zwycięży žal ciężki niemały
Dom zostawuiąc familij cały,
Miłych rodziców, braci y siostr ligi
Dla tey fatygi.
Lub iako kupiec chciwy nieomylnie,
O skarb mądrości stara się usilnie,
Szuka z kleynotow drogiego kamienia
Nauk imienia.
Iazona w swoiey nasladiue sławie,
Złote, mądrości, na fortunney nawie
Chcąc dostać runo, puszcza się za morże
Przy swym splendorze.

21 The Razumovsky family collection, Vienna, *Філософія Арістотелева*, p. 50v.

Hoynie z radością w cudze idzie kraie,
Tak całym sercem żądać nie przestaie,
Chocby dla nauk lustrować swiat cały,
W czym zysk niemały.
Rowney (lecz nie w tey) komparuie mierze,
Więszby w takiej pochwały ofierze
Dać należało, niech wstąpią prywatne
Za pracy znatne.
Y swoje rządy ochotnie w tym sprawi,
Dla cney Minerwy wszystkich pozostawi,
Ktora się w swiecie drogo estymuie,
Na cześć promuie.
Hydaspy złote tracą walor w stymie,
Nauka wszędzie bierze pierwsze imie,
Brźmi sławą swoią w czterech swiata stronach,
W krolewskich tronach.
Odbiera honor w swym rzędzie lokuie,
Mitry, hetmanskic buławy daruie,
Ktory się uczy od mądrey Pallady,
Daie porady.
Rozszerża imie przy panskiey powadze,
Tytuły miewa służąc wielkiey władze,
Szacunkiem inne naydroższym przenosi
W cały swiat głosi.
Iedzie dla nauk młodych lat poloru,
Toruiąc prostę drogę do honoru,
Prowadzi dukt swey po żądaney drogi
Za morskie progi.
Element swiata żaden nie przeszkodzi,
Ani bruźliwy flukt morskiey powodzi,
Mężnym umysłem idzie na podroźne
Przypadki różne.
Wesołą podroź sobie ominuie,
Gdy mu przeswietna trakty opisuie,
Pallas mądrości prowadząc w Ateny
Dla nauk ceny²².

In these lines, M. Kozachynsky mentioned the hetman's mace ("hetmanskic buławy"), that is the panegyric not only supplied the Rozumovskys with

22 Ibidem, pp. 57–57v.

an appropriate, i.e., noble, lineage but also treated the younger brother as a candidate for the hetman's post. This interpretation relied on the symbolic meaning of a mace (*bulava*) as a sign of the highest Cossack rank²³. In 1750, five years after the publication of the panegyric, on 22 February the Cossack council, convened in Hlukhiv, indeed elected K. Rozumovsky as the new hetman, and on 4 June Empress Elizabeth appointed him to this post²⁴. In the following years, K. Rozumovsky tried to ensure the further stable existence of the Hetmanate through the implementation of important reforms²⁵ and attempts to establish the heredity of the hetman's post in his family²⁶.

Engraved Portraits of Kyrylo Rozumovsky

The *Katalog der Familien-Bibliothek und Familien-Kunst und Denkwürdigkeiten-Sammlung des Camillo Graf Razumovsky* includes two specific accounts of the engravings:

2. Graf Kirill Razumovsky als Hetman der Kosaken, gest. von [/] Schmidt nach Tocqué, in einigen älteren und einem neuen Ab[/]druck. [/] Dasselbe Blatt vor der Veränderung der Unterschrift mit [/] dem Stepmel des Stechers (äußerst selten). [/]
3. Derselbe in Rüstung von Fritsche²⁷.

23 More about a mace as the “symbol of authority”, see N. Iakovenko, “Rulers of the Fatherland”. *The Hetmanate's Cossack and Church Elite's Concepts of the Nature, Representation, and Obligation of Authority (Up to the Beginning of the Eighteenth Century)*, [in:] *Eighteenth-Century Ukraine. New Perspectives on Social, Cultural, and Intellectual History*, ed. by Z.E. Kohut, V. Sklokin, F.E. Sysyn, with L. Bilous, Monreal-Edmonton 2023, p. 506.

24 О. Путьро, *Гетьман Кирило Розумовський та його доба (з історії українського державотворення XVIII ст.)*. Vol. 1, Київ 2008, pp. 37–43.

25 Ibidem, pp. 43–129; В. Кононенко, *Модернізація Гетьманщини. Проекти козацької адміністрації 1687–1764 рр.*, Київ 2017, pp. 141–184; О. Сокирко, *Гетьман у перуці. Зовнішні форми репрезентації гетьманської влади часів Кирила Розумовського*, “Text and Image: Essential Problems in Art History” 2019, vol. 2, no. 8, pp. 15–85; idem, *Устроєві реформи гетьмана Кирила Розумовського та початок кінця Козацького Гетьманату*, [in:] *Studia i materiały z historii nowożytnej i najnowszej Europy Środkowo-Wschodniej*. Vol. 1: *Na styku epok. Ziemię południowo-wschodniej Rzeczypospolitej od XVII do początku XIX wieku*, ed. T. Kargol, W. Michałowski, Kraków-Kijów 2020, pp. 113–132.

26 *Прошение малороссийского шляхетства и старшин вместе с гетманом о восстановлении разных старинных прав Малороссии, поданное Екатерине II в 1764 году*, “Киевская Старина” 1883, no. 6, pp. 317–345.

27 “2. The Count Kyrylo Rozumovsky as the Cossack hetman created by [/] Schmidt after Tocqué, in some older and new im[/]prints. [/] The same leaf before the signature was changed with [/] the stamp of the engraver (extremely rare). [/] 3. The same in the armour by Fritsch“, C. Razumovsky, *Katalog der Familien-Bibliothek...*, p. 85.

The catalogue *Familienbesitz der Razumovsky* adds with regard to item no. 2 “(In Schönschtein gerahmt)” after “(äußerst selten)”²⁸. In this way, the catalogues inform about two different engravings. Since item no. 3 represents a rare earlier portrait of K. Rozumovsky, I will first deal with this image and then continue with item no. 2, keeping with the numbers indicated in the catalogues.

At the moment, I know three copies of engraving no. 3. The first one is almost certainly the one described in the catalogues. It belonged to the Schönschtein collection until the end of World War II, and then was taken to the State Chateau Hradec nad Moravicí, where I examined it in 2020 (Photo. 5)²⁹. I came across the second copy only recently, exploring the web page of the State Hermitage Museum, and its provenance remains unknown so far³⁰. The digital copy of the third one is available on the web page *Die Porträtsammlung der Herzog August Bibliothek Wolfenbüttel*³¹. The provenance divulges that this imprint was a frontispiece of the periodical “Die Neue Europäische Fama, welche den gegenwärtigen Zustand der vornehmsten Höfe entdeckt”, part 176 of 1750³².

The engraver whom the catalogues recall concerning the engraving no. 3 is Johann Christian Gottfried Fritzsch (ca. 1720–1802). He was born in Hamburg into an artistic family: his father Christian Fritzsch (1695–1769) since 1718 served as a court engraver at the Holstein-Gottorp Court and created more than 200 portraits, working also a lot for publishers. Both sons took over their father’s artistic skills. The younger, Johann Christian Gottfried, throughout 1751–1757 lived and worked as an engraver in Leipzig and Amsterdam but spent his final years in poverty³³. He produced book illustrations and portraits, e.g., images of King George III and Queen Charlotte of England, King Gustav III of Sweden, and other notable figures of the time. There were also images of persons related to the Russian Empire, for instance, the engraved portrait of the grand prince Paul I and the pastor of the Lutheran church in St Petersburg Nicolaus

28 “(In Schönschtein framed)”, C. Razumovsky, *Familienbesitz...*, p. 97.

29 National Heritage Institute, Regional Historic sites Management in Kroměříž, State chateau Hradec nad Moravicí, inventory number HM 1292.

30 Государственный Эрмитаж, ЭРГ-15507, Фритц Иоганн Христиан Готтлиб (Fritzsch Johann Christian Gottfried), Портрет графа К. Г. Разумовского, гетмана Малороссии, президента Императорской Академии Наук. Вторая половина XVIII в., [online] <https://www.ras.ru/presidents/2f3f2bcc-dfeb-4632-be0e-9c7e61b6cf09.aspx?hidetoc=1> [accessed 14.05.2024].

31 *Die Porträtsammlung der Herzog August Bibliothek Wolfenbüttel*, bearb. von P. Mortyfeld, A 17242, Inv.-no. I 10785, Rasumowskij, Kyryll Grigorjewitsch (1744 Reichsgraf), Fritzsch, Johann Christian Gottfried (Stecher), [online] <http://portraits.hab.de/werk/19884/> [accessed 14.05.2024].

32 Ibidem. K. Rozumovsky was not the first Ukrainian hetman whose portrait appeared in “Fama”. The images of Ivan Mazepa (1706, 1708, and 1712) and Danylo Apostol (1728) were published in this periodical earlier, see O. Ковалевська, op. cit., pp. 41–42.

33 *Allgemeines Lexikon der Bildenden Künstler von der Antike bis zur Gegenwart*. Vol. 12, begründ. von U. Thieme, F. Becker, Leipzig 1916, pp. 500–503.

Bützow (1754, Leipzig)³⁴. Both latter engravings appeared after the portraits, that is J.C.G. Fritzsch drew them viewing on the earlier oil paintings. Given this background information and the close ties that were maintained between the Court in St Petersburg and the Duchy of Holstein-Gottorp in the mid-18th century, I assume that in 1750 J.C.G. Fritzsch created the engraving of K. Rozumovsky and soon it was published in “Die Neue Europäische Fama”.

Photo. 5. For S. Potapenko from the National Heritage Institute, Regional Historic sites Management in Kroměříž. The engraved portrait of K. Rozumovsky by J.C.G. Fritzsch, 1750. Source: National Heritage Institute, Regional Historic sites Management in Kroměříž, State chateau Hradec nad Moravicí, inventory number HM 1292, graphic, Kiril Grigorjevič Razumovský, 2nd half of the 18th century, h. 31,5 cm w. 21 cm³⁵



34 *Die Porträtsammlung der Herzog August Bibliothek Wolfenbüttel*, bearb. von P. Mortyfeld, A 3105, Inv.-no. II 759, Bützow, Nicolaus, Pfandzeit, Lucas Conrad (Maler), Fritzsch, Johann Christian Gottfried (Stecher), [online] <http://portraits.hab.de/werk/5172/> [accessed 14.05.2024].

35 Published in this paper according to the consent issued to the author by the National Heritage Institute, Regional Historic sites Management in Kroměříž on 26 October 2023.

What is special about this image is the appearance of K. Rozumovsky, who is styled as an outstanding European aristocrat: he wears knightly armour and the beautiful portico frames the image. His monogram, also known as an element of the decoration of *Philosophia Aristotelica*³⁶ and the uniform of K. Rozumovsky's guard³⁷, crowns the antique frame. The inscription in German beneath the portrait indicates:

Graf Kirila Grigorjewitsch Razumowski [/] Russ: Kayserl: Camer Herr President der [/] Acad: der Wissenschaften, Obrist Lieut von [/] der Jsmajlewischen Leib Garde, Feld Herr [/] der Cosacken und Hettman von Klein Reussen³⁸.

Thus, the very first thing that one learns from these lines is that K. Rozumovsky possessed the title of “Graf” (Count) bestowed to the Rozumovsky brothers in 1744. After that, the rest of the Russian imperial ranks which K. Rozumovsky had at that time become known, i.e., the honourable Court rank of imperial chamberlain (*Kamerrherr*), the no less impressive presidential position of the Imperial Academy of Sciences (on which he was appointed being an eighteen-year-old youth) and the high officer rank (*Oberleutenant*) of the Izmailovsky lifeguard regiment. Only at the very end of this list, one would discover that K. Rozumovsky held simultaneously the highest Ukrainian state and military post or, in the inscription's saying, was the “hetman of Little Russians” (“Hettman von Klein Reussen”). A minor but telling detail of the portrait catches the eye: K. Rozumovsky has no *bulava* in his hands, neglecting the fundamental and the only possible pattern of portraying the Ukrainian Cossack rulers.

Although the absence of the mace may come as a surprise at first glance, the “mystery” has a simple solution: this engraved image, except for K. Rozumovsky's face, the portico, a tiny portrait of J.C.G. Fritzsich himself installed as an element of the outfit, and, of course, the inscription, seems to have been borrowed from another engraving – the portrait of the German-born French Marshal Ulrich Frédéric Woldemar, Comte de Lowendal (1700–1755), created by the French master Nicolas de Larmessin IV (d. 1755)³⁹. I did not manage

36 The Razumovsky family collection, Vienna, *Філософія Арістотелева*, p. 19, 52, 55, 57.

37 О. Сокирко, *На варті булави. Надвірні війська українських гетьманів середини XVII – другої половини XVIII ст.*, Київ 2018, p. 141 and the corresponding illustration by Serhii Shamenkov.

38 “Count Kyrylo Hryhorovych Rozumovsky, [/] the Russ[ian] imperi[al] chamberlain, the President of the [/] Academy of Sciences, the upper lieutenant of [/] the Izmailovsky lifeguard regiment, the field commander of the Cossacks [/] and the hetman of Little Russians“, National Heritage Institute, Regional Historic sites Management in Kroměříž, State chateau Hradec nad Moravicí, inventory number HM 1292. This inscription without the image reproduction was included in the catalogue: Д. Ровинский, *Подробный словарь русских гравированных портретов*. Vol. 3 Санкт-Петербург 1888, p. 1859.

39 [Online], <https://www.meisterdrucke.uk/fine-art-prints/Nicolas-de-Larmessin/848276/Portrait-of-Mar%C3%A9chal-de-Lowendal%2C-18th-century> [accessed 14.05.2024]. Dr Vera Tchentso-

to find out the exact year of its production, but it must have been before 1750. Interestingly enough, Marshal de Lowendal had a connection with the Russian Empire because he participated in the Russo-Turkish War of 1735–1739 as a lieutenant general of the Russian imperial army⁴⁰. In the portrait of de Larmessin’s authorship, he holds a French marshal’s baton, which was originally a blue stick with embossed gold heraldic lilies⁴¹, in his right hand, wearing a glove. J.C.G. Fritsch interpreted this initial image, created by the French master in his own way: he drew a baton with thin horizontal stripes, instead of the Bourbon lilies, in K. Rozumovsky’s right hand. However, the change in the decoration of the baton did not alter its symbolic meaning: K. Rozumovsky was depicted as a field commander (“Feld Herr der Cosacken”), i.e., the highest officer commanding the Cossacks. In other words, J. C. G. Fritsch “read” and thus visualised K. Rozumovsky’s position as the hetman following the established European artistic models⁴².

The inscription also requires an additional context, thus I would like to provide some examples of the hetman’s title from the imperial decrees, charters, and K. Rozumovsky’s universals of the same period. For instance, Empress Elizabeth’s decree from August 2 1750 directly ordered to honour K. Rozumovsky:

Ея императорскаго величества гетман всея Малыя Россіи обоих сторон Днепра и Войскъ Запорожских, действительной камеръгеръ, Академіи наукъ президентъ, лейб-гвардіи Измайловскаго полку подполковникъ і орденов с[вя]таго Александра, Бълаго орла и с[вя]тыя Анны ковалеръ, графъ Кирила Григорьевичъ Разумовскій⁴³.

va drew my attention to this artwork by Nicolas de Larmessin at the Third Annual Conference of the Research Network Pre-Modern East Slavic Europe (Leipzig, 12 April 2024), for which I am most grateful to her. I also benefited from the discussion that developed around my paper during this scholarly event.

40 J.-J. Boucher, *Le comte de Lowendal: Ulrich Frédéric Woldemar, Maréchal de France 1700–1755*, Paris 2012.

41 According to the picture available in Wiki, [online] https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Marshal_of_France [accessed 14.05.2024].

42 To support this assumption, the Stockholm newspaper reported on 26 April 1750 the appointment of Count Rozumovsky as the “Atteman eller Fältherre för Kosackerna”, [online] *Stockholms Post Tidningar*, 26 April 1750, <https://tidningar.kb.se/2979645/1750-04-26/edition/145134/part/1/page/1/?q=F%C3%A4ltherre&sort=asc> [accessed 14.05.2024]. I am thankful to my Swedish colleague Marina Trattner for sharing this finding on her Facebook page and for helping me to transcribe and interpret the original Swedish text.

43 “Her Imperial Majesty the hetman of Little Russia of both Dnipro banks and the Zaporozhian Hosts, the acting chamberlain, the President of the Academy of Sciences, the lieutenant colonel of the Izmailovsky lifeguard regiment and the cavalier of the Orders of St Alexander, the White Eagle, and St Anna, Count Kyrylo Hryhorovych Rozumovsky“, see Российская академия наук, Указ императрицы Елизаветы Петровны о новом титуловании К. Г. Разумовского, Писарская копия, 2 августа 1750 г., [online] <https://www.ras.ru/presidents/54f82c28-572e-4b47-8497-dce5a7b23748.aspx?hidetoc=0> [accessed 14.05.2024].

35 charters issued by the Empress in 1757–1760, the originals of which are also kept in the Razumovskys' Viennese library, address the hetman as follows:

Высоко і благоурожденному, намъ любезновѣрному нашему подданному, малороссійскому Войска Запорожского обоихъ сторонъ Днепра гетману, дѣйствителному камеръгеру, Академіи наукъ президенту, нашей гвардіи Измайловскаго полку подполковнику і кавалеру графу Кирилу Григорьевичю Разумовскому і всему Войску Запорожскому наше імператорское м[и]л[ос]тивное слово⁴⁴.

The universals of 1751–1763, three of which are known from the family collection, begin in this way:

Ея императорскаго величества Малія Россіи обоихъ сторонъ Днепра и Войскъ Запорожскихъ гетманъ, сенаторъ, генераль-фелдмаршалъ, генераль-адютантъ, дѣйствителный камергеръ, Императорской Санктъ-Пѣтербургской академіи наукъ президентъ, лейбъ-гвардіи Измайловскаго полку подполковникъ и обоихъ россійскихъ императорскихъ ординовъ святыхъ апостола Андрея и Александра Невскаго, також полскаго Бѣлого орла и голстинскаго святія Анны кавалеръ, Россійской имперіи графъ Кирилль Разумовскій⁴⁵.

It is easy to confirm that all three extracts mention the hetman's post in the first place, referring to both Dnipro banks, the Hetmanate, and, in the first and last case, the Lower Zaporozhian Host. The Court and Russian military ranks are listed thereafter, together with the orders of St Andrew the Apostol, St Alexander Nevsky, the White Eagle, and St Anna.

As for engraving no. 2, its background is known much better. The German master Georg Friedrich Schmidt (1712–1775) created it in St Petersburg in 1762, viewing the earlier oil portrait of K. Rozumovsky by Louis Tocqué (1758)⁴⁶. The inscriptions in the lower corners below the portrait evidence this properly: “L. Tocque, pinx. 1758” and “G. F. Schmidt. Sculps. Petropol: 1762”⁴⁷. In 1758, Empress Elizabeth invited the court engraver of Friedrich II

44 “[To] the high-born and noble, our kindly loyal subject, the Little Russian of the Zaporozhian Host hetman of both Dnipro banks, the acting chamberlain, the President of the Academy of Sciences, and the cavalier, Count Kyrylo Hryhorovych Rozumovsky, and [to] the whole Cossack Host our imperial gracious word”, published in: С. Потепенко, *Віденський архів...* Vol. 1, pp. 58–59 and the others.

45 “Her Imperial Majesty of Little Russia of both Dnipro banks and the Zaporozhian Hosts hetman, the senator, the field marshal general, the adjutant general, the acting chamberlain, the President of the Imperial St Petersburg Academy of Sciences, the lieutenant colonel of the Izmailovsky lifeguard regiment and the cavalier of both Russian imperial Orders of Sts Andrew the Apostol and Alexander Nevsky, also of the Polish White Eagle and the Holstein of St Anna, Count of the Russian Empire Kyrylo Rozumovsky”, *ibidem*, p. 15; for more universals, see: І. Ситий, *Гетьманські універсали з колекції Чернігівського історичного музею ім. В.В. Тарновського*, “Сіверянський літопис” 1998, no. 6, pp. 62–85.

46 О. Kovalevska analyses this portrait in detail in *Зображення крізь віки...*, p. 41.

47 Д. Ровинский, *Русские граверы и их произведения с 1654 года до основания Академии художеств*, Москва 1870, pp. 326–327. Rovinskij thought this engraving to be one of the best

of Prussia, G.F. Schmidt, to the Russian Empire to run the engraving school and to make her own engraved image after Tocqué’s painting⁴⁸. As a result, the artist produced several celebrated images, such as those of Empress Elizabeth herself (1758), Count Michael Morozov (1758) and Count Peter Shuvalov (1760). The portrait of K. Rozumovsky belongs to this cohort too. This engraving cost the customer 1,000 rubles, three times less than the engraved portrait of Empress Elizabeth and six times more than that of P. Shuvalov⁴⁹.

Photo. 6. S. Potapenko. The engraved portrait of K. Rozumovsky by G.F. Schmidt, 1762.
Source: The Razumovsky family collection, Vienna



If we juxtapose the work by G.F. Schmidt with the earlier one by J.C.G. Fritzsch, the most striking element would probably be the *bulava* that K. Rozumovsky holds in his right hand in the image produced by G.F. Schmidt. It can be ascribed

of Schmidt’s works. The engraving is also mentioned in: А. Грабовець, *Граверні зображення К. Розумовського*, ‘Слово Гетьманської Столиці’ 2014, no. 5(44), p. 3. This image without the inscription illustrates a recent monograph on the military history of the Hetmanate by Oleksii Sokyrko: *Козацький Марс. Держава і військо Козацького Гетьманату в добу Мілітарної революції*, Київ 2023, p. 758.

48 Д. Ровинский, *Русские граверы...*, pp. 40–43; idem, *Подробный словарь...*, pp. 1857–1860.

49 Idem, *Русские граверы...*, p. 324.

to the original portrait of Tocqué's authorship. Nonetheless, the Latin inscription accompanying this latter engraving follows the list of K. Rozumovsky's ranks as we meet it in the above-mentioned documents. It appears in two variations, of which the first is the most frequent:

Cyrellus Comes Rasumowsky [/] S. I. Maj. Parvae Russiae ad utramque Ripam Borysthenis Copiarumque trans Cataractas [/] Dux, Camerarius, Milit. Prætorianor. Ismailoviensium Praefectus, Imp. Acad. Scient. Petropolit. Præses, [/] Ordinum Sti Andreae Sti Alexandri, Aquilæ albæ, et Stæ Annæ Eques⁵⁰.

The second, and less common one, is:

Cyrellus Comes de Rasumowsky [/] S. Imp. Maj. omnium Russiar. minoris Hetmannus, milit. Prætorian. [/] Ismailov Protribunus, [/] Imperial. acad. Scient. Præses, ordinum Sti Andreae, aquilæ albæ, Si Alexandri et Sæ Annae Eques⁵¹.

As a consequence, from the very beginning and before the listing of the imperial ranks, this inscription reveals the designation of K. Rozumovsky as the hetman ("dux") of the Hetmanate and the Lower Zaporozhian Host⁵², in one version, or as the hetman ("Hetmannus") of all Little Russians ("omnium Russiar. Minoris"), in the other version⁵³. Importantly, the title "dux" corresponds to that of the hetman Bohdan Khmelnytsky on the copies of the well-known engraving by Willem Hondius (1651) and on the 17th-century engraving by an unknown artist⁵⁴. The hetman Ivan Mazepa similarly bore the

50 "Count Kyrylo Hryhorovych Rozumovsky, [/] [of the] M[ost Sacred] I[mperial] M[ajesty] Little Russia of both Dnipro banks and Zaporozhian Hosts [/] hetman, the chamberlain, the commander of the Izmailovsky lifeguard regiment, the President of the St Petersburg Imperial Academy of Sciences [/] [and] the cavalier of the Orders of St Andrew, St Alexander, the White Eagle and St Anna", see The Razumovsky family collection, Vienna, G.F. Schmidt, Engraved portrait of Kyrylo Rozumovsky, 1762; Collection of Slezské Zemské museum/Silesian Museum, G.F. Schmidt, Kyrylo Razumovsky (1728–1803), 1762, Inv. Nr. U 555 G.

51 "Count Kyrylo Hryhorovych Rozumovsky, [/] [of the] M[ost Sacred] Imp[erial] Maj[esty] of all Little Russia[ns] hetman, [/] the commander of the Izmailovsky lifeguard regiment, [/] the President of the Imperial Academy of Sciences [and] the cavalier of the Orders of St Andrew, the White Eagle, St Alexander, and St Anna", see T. Just, *Georg Friedrich Schmidt Chronologisches Verzeichniss seiner Kupferstiche und Radierungen*, p. 240, Arthistoricum.net, Art-Dok, [online] <https://doi.org/10.11588/artdok.00007398> [accessed 14.05.2024]. D. Rovinskij gave both inscriptions in: *Подробный словарь...*, pp. 1859–1860.

52 The Razumovsky family collection, Vienna, G.F. Schmidt, Engraved portrait of Kyrylo Rozumovsky, 1762; Slezské Zemské museum / Silesian Museum, Schmidt, G.F., Razumovskij Kirill Grigorjevič, Inv. Nr. U 555 G, 1762.

53 T. Just, *Georg Friedrich...*, p. 240.

54 "BONDANCHMIELNICKI [/] Exercitus Zaporophienorum Praefectus, [/] Cossacorumet Ukranyensium Dux", "Bohdan Chmielnicki Exercitus Zaporouien. [/] Praefectus, Belli Seruillis autor Rebellionis. [/] Cossacorum et Plebis Ukraynen: dux", "Bohdan Chmielnicki Praefectus Cossacorum Dux". Quoted after: О. Ковалевська, *Зображення крізь віки...* P. 2, pp. 63–65.

title “dux” on the engraved portrait by Martin Bernigeroth, which was published in “Die Europäische Fama” trice (1706, 1708, and 1712)⁵⁵, and on its later copies⁵⁶. The documents issued by the Swedish side about the Ukrainian Cossacks named I. Mazepa and his successor the hetman Pylyp Orlyk “dux”⁵⁷. Moreover, the Latin-Slavic dictionary composed by the Ukrainian nobleman and Cossack officer Ivan Maksymovych (1670–1732) in 1718–1724 interpreted the term “dux” as a hetman or leader, also “dux militia” as “battle commander, filed commander, [and] hetman”⁵⁸.

At present, a copy of G.F. Schmidt’s work can be found on the walls of Razumovskys’ palace in Vienna⁵⁹ (Photo. 6), and one more imprint, which stems from the Schönstein manor, is preserved in the Silesian Museum (Photo. 7)⁶⁰. The catalogues most probably mention these samples in the quoted descriptions of item no. 2. Additionally, I came across four other imprints, in particular, in the Central State Historical Archive of Ukraine in Kyiv⁶¹, the Pushkin State Museum of Fine Arts⁶² and the State Hermitage Museum (two samples)⁶³. All of them are inscribed in keeping with the first variation. On the contrary, I am familiar with a sole engraving that represents the second variation of the

55 “Ioannes Mazepa [I] Cassacorum Zaporoviensium [I] Supremus Belli Dux”. Quoted after: *ibidem*, p. 82.

56 Т. Мацьків, *Гравюра Мазепи з 1706 р.*, “Український Історик” 1966, no. 1–2(910), pp. 69–72.

57 *Скарби шведських архівів. Документи з історії України*, упорядн. М. Трагтнер, Одеса 2021, pp. 100–163. Concerning the use of the term “dux” in these documents, Oleksii Kresin emphasizes that “the post of hetman is constantly designating as Dux (duke, prince) what was to indicate an autonomy but not a sovereignty of his authority over the country, the sovereignty in respect of which belonged to the monarch”, *ibidem*, p. 101.

58 J. Maximowicz, *Dictionarium Latino-Slavonum, 1718–1724*. P. 1, ed. by O. Horbatsch, Rome 1991, p. 328.

59 The Razumovsky family collection, Vienna, G.F. Schmidt, Engraved portrait of Kyrylo Rozumovsky, 1762.

60 Collection of Slezské Zemské museum/Silesian Museum, G.F. Schmidt, Kyrylo Razumovsky (1728–1803), 1762, Inv. Nr. U 555 G.

61 Центральний державний історичний архів України, м. Київ, ф. 269, оп. 1, спр. 429, арк. 1. [online] https://cdiak.archives.gov.ua/v_265_rokiv_Hetmanatu.php [accessed 14.05.2024].

62 Государственный музей изобразительных искусств имени А.С. Пушкина, Гравюра в России XVIII – первой половины XIX столетия, инв. ГР-7019, Шмидт Георг-Фридрих (Schmidt Georg-Friedrich), Портрет К. Г. Разумовского, 1762, по оригиналу Л. Токе, [online] http://www.russianprints.ru/printmakers/sh/schmidt_georg/portrait_cyryll_razumovsky.shtml [accessed 14.05.2024]. Interestingly, the specification ‘Parvæ’ in this copy was added by hand in the space left purposefully.

63 Государственный Эрмитаж, ЭРГ-15495, Шмидт Георг Фридрих (Schmidt Georg-Friedrich) с оригинала Л. Токе 1758 г. Портрет графа К.Г. Разумовского, гетмана Малороссии, президента Императорской Академии Наук. Санкт-Петербург. 1762, [online] <https://www.ras.ru/presidents/1b00907b-dd5a-45c5-80a9-68bc3f19e17c.aspx?hidetoc=1>; https://hermitagemuseum.org/wps/portal/hermitage/what-s-on/temp_exh/2017/kingsengraver?lng=ru [accessed 14.05.2024].

inscription, and this is the copy from Rijksmuseum that Tilman Just included in his book on G.F. Schmidt⁶⁴.

Photo. 7. For S. Potapenko from the Silesian Museum. The engraved portrait of K. Rozumovsky by G.F. Schmidt, 1762. Source: Collection of Slezské Zemské museum/ Silesian Museum, G.F. Schmidt, Kyrylo Razumovsky (1728–1803), 1762, Inv. Nr. U 555 G⁶⁵



What determined the use of this title and publication of the engraving in 1762? It seems that in the early 1760s, the hetman's intention to break with the Russian Empire, or at least to reduce the subordination of the Hetmanate to the Russian throne to the nominal one, reached an apogee, and the engraved

64 T. Just, *Georg Friedrich Schmidt...*, p. 240.

65 Published in this paper according to the consent issued to the author by the Silesian Museum on 2 November 2023.

portrait by G.F. Schmidt was meant to support this endeavour. It was created at the time of changes on the Russian throne, when after the death of Empress Elizabeth on 25 December 1761, her nephew and a representative of the Holstein-Gottorp dynasty, Peter III, became the Russian Emperor. K. Rozumovsky maintained friendly relations with the new monarch. Nevertheless, when the emperor's wife, Catherine Alekseevna, attempted a coup d'état in the early morning of 28 June next year, she succeeded in overthrowing her husband, largely thanks to the support of K. Rozumovsky⁶⁶. He could therefore expect a favourable response. Furthermore, he apparently anticipated that Catherine would be a weak ruler, highly dependent on her entourage and him, the powerful Cossack hetman and an influential courtier, above all. The engraved portrait was best suited to disseminate such an image of K. Rozumovsky, especially considering that the Academic Press, where the image could be reproduced, was subordinate to him as the President of the Imperial Academy of Sciences. Nonetheless, Catherine launched her severe reign from the start, and very soon, in November 1764, it came to the abolition of the hetmancy⁶⁷. Neither personal ties nor substantial political experience saved the hetman, and consequently the Hetmanate, from the centralizing policy of the new Russian sovereign.

Conclusions

In this paper, I have attempted to examine the narrative and visual sources on the history of the Rozumovskys/Razumovskys, based on their private collection. As a part of the *Razumovskiana*, these family relics continue to be a significant commemorative tool that thematizes the family's past and sheds light on the political history of Ukraine in the mid-18th century. If we delve into the circumstances that brought them to life, we can discover that in 1745 the Ukrainian poet M. Kozachynsky justified the genealogical legend of Oleksii and Kyrylo Rozumovskys in the heraldic panegyric *Philosophia Aristotelica*. In particular, the author promoted the younger brother as the future Cossack hetman. After obtaining the hetman's post in 1750, K. Rozumovsky ruled Ukraine for fourteen years, apparently undergoing transformation, or development, of his self-positioning and the perception of his hetman's power. The

66 М. Крючкова, *Триумф Мельпомены. Убийство Петра III как политический спектакль*, Москва 2013. In a letter to his son Andrii (at that time, the Russian diplomat at the Habsburg Court) shortly after the death of Catherine II, K. Rozumovsky indirectly admitted his involvement in the “revolution” against Peter III, but did not count himself among its “initiators”, see С. Потапенко, *Віденський архів...* Vol. 1, p. 121.

67 “Сенатский Архив” 1910, vol. 14, pp. 522–525; *Полное собрание законов Российской империи*. Vol. 16, Санкт-Петербург 1830, pp. 961–962; Z. Kohut, *Russian Centralism and Ukrainian Autonomy. Imperial Absorption of the Hetmanate, 1760s–1830s*, Cambridge 1988.

engraving by J. C. G. Fritsch from 1750 portrays K. Rozumovsky mainly as an imperial statesman, even though in the latest place recognises him as the “field commander of the Cossacks” and “hetman of Little Russians”. G.F. Schmidt’s engraving of 1762 represents K. Rozumovsky differently, accentuating his hetman’s post and authority, political weight, and military capabilities first and foremost.

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Otvetstvoval zhe seya zh filosofii slyshatel, grecheskago, evrejskago i n̄meckago dialektov uchenik, bl[a]gorodnyj gospodin Grigorij SHCHerbackij pri uchitelstve pomyanuto-go prefekta Mihaila. V Kiev̄b̄ #AΨMC goda marta 3̄ dnya.

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