

Burgher Heraldry of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania in the Late Fourteenth–Mid-Seventeenth Centuries¹

OLEG ODNOROZHENKO

Lithuanian Institute of History, Tilto St. 17, 01101 Vilnius

Email: rus-ruthenia@ukr.net

The complex of burgher coats of arms of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania, which dates back to the end of the fourteenth century, is distinguished by the geography of its distribution, variety of heraldic subjects and constituent elements of the coat of arms, dynamism, and complex practices of their use. In addition to the burghers of such large cities as the capital Vilnius, Kaunas, Polotsk, Vitebsk, Kyiv, Pinsk, Grodno, and Novogrudok, the use of coats of arms is also recorded in small urban communities, which indicates the prestige of heraldic signs as universal means of individual, family, and social identification. In terms of their functional purpose and content, burgher coats of arms were similar to the heraldic signs of the nobility. In particular, the main subjects in the coats of arms for both burghers and gentry were various symbols based on geometric, arrow-, cross-, circle- and letter-like figures. They also feature a wide repertoire of armorial figures, such as celestial bodies, animals, plants, defensive structures, weapons, and military equipment. There were many examples of the use of non-protective elements in burgher coats of arms, such as helmets with mantlings, noble crowns, and various crests. For the most of the burgher coats of arms, their hereditary character is evident: for generations, they were used unchanged or with only minor modifications. Besides the custom of using mostly paternal coats of arms, there are examples of inheritance of coats of arms through female lines. In some cases, the use of coats of arms with genealogical programmes is observed. The presence of all these characteristic features allows for considering the complex of burgher coats of arms as an organic component of the heraldic space of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania.

Keywords: coat of arms, seal, sign, heraldry, crest, burghers, nobility, inheritance, Grand Duchy of Lithuania

1 We would like to thank Rūta Čapaitė, Raimonda Ragauskienė, Natalia Bilous, Anastasia Skep'ian, Igor Teslenko, Andriy Kravtsov, Volodymyr Polischuk, Herman Breger, Mykola Volkav, Aliaksei Shalanda and Andrei Radaman for their advice and assistance in writing this article.

The earliest burgher coats of arms appeared in the middle of the thirteenth century [193, 51]. Initially, heraldic signs were used primarily by the representatives of city patricians and merchants. However, in the fourteenth century these practices spread to the entire burgher class of European countries. Despite such an early origin and extensive spread, burgher heraldry is still on the margins of heraldic studies, the vast majority of which are concerned with the study into the heraldry of state dynasties and nobility.

The reason for this state of affairs lies not only in the much smaller number of burgher heraldry artefacts compared to the coats of arms of the nobility, but also in the persistent view of the legal and iconographic 'inferiority' of burgher coats of arms, which became widespread against the background of regulatory measures of state governments regarding the use of coats of arms. The first attempts to make the right to use coats of arms an exclusive privilege for the gentry were recorded as early as the fifteenth century. However, the laws adopted by Duke of Savoy (1417–1434) Amadeus VIII in 1430 and King Afonso V of Portugal (1438–1481) in 1466, which were supposed to secure the right to use coats of arms exclusively for the nobility, never came into force in practice [263, 145–150].

The legislative restrictions of the early modern period on the use of coats of arms by the representatives of non-privileged classes in various European countries did not have the desired effect either [193, 60]. These measures were primarily related to the creation of central institutions that kept records, approved coats of arms, and, accordingly, allowed their use only to those persons who had the authorisation of state authorities. This kind of activity resulted in monumental collections of family coats of arms in the respective state-wide armorial books. Burgher coats of arms, although largely ignored by the central government, retained a wide scope of practical application, nonetheless.

The view of coats of arms as exclusive signs of noble dignity was most clearly expressed in the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth. This vision is reflected in the armorial books and heraldic treatises of the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth intellectuals of the sixteenth–eighteenth centuries, royal privileges, and, finally, in later historiography, in which burgher coats of arms are interpreted as *gmerki* 'a house mark', that is, as identifying and ownership signs that have only a certain external resemblance to 'real' coats of arms [177, 349; 213, I–VI; 208, 671; 164, 339].

However, this interpretation is not confirmed in the sources. In particular, the external design of burgher coats of arms, both in the late Middle Ages and early modern times, is no different from the works of the nobility heraldry. Burgher coat of arms usually feature the same structure of heraldic composition as the coats of arms of the nobility [181, 16–18]. Along with the main components of the coat of arms such as the shield and the armorial figure, burgher coats of arms often contain non-shield elements [182]. The complex of burgher coats of arms is also distinctly similar to nobility heraldry [240, 232–248].

The situation is similar from the legal point of view: medieval lawyers did not distinguish between nobility and burgher coats of arms. This, in particular, is indicated by the provision of the treatise *De Insigniis et Armis* by Bartolo di Sasoferato, one of the most prominent Italian jurists of the Middle Ages [262, 307–322]:

Some assume coats of arms and insignia on their own initiative, and we should consider whether they are permitted to do it. I think that they are permitted. Just as names are created to identify persons, so insignia and coats of arms are devised for this purpose. Anyone is permitted

to use such names for himself, and thus anyone can bear these insignia and depict them on his own belongings, but not on another's' [163, 6].

The choice of a coat of arms, either by a representative of the nobility or a person of ignoble origin, was an act of the expression of personal will that for a long time was not limited by any legal restrictions. The only exceptions to this practice in the Middle Ages were the coats of arms that denoted the dignity or position of a certain person and could be used only by those ones who possessed this dignity or held the relevant position; as also, the coats of arms granted by the supreme power. In this case, however, the prohibition extended only on the use of specific coats of arms but not the idea of unrestricted use of coats of arms as such.

Obviously, during the Middle Ages, the coat of arms performed a socially identifying function, but the relatively easy way in which one could acquire one's own coat of arms made it the attribute not only of the privileged classes but also of those groups that claimed a similar status. Accordingly, the urban patricians, merchants, craftspeople, etc. used coats of arms in the same way and for the same purpose as the medieval knighthood and titled aristocracy.

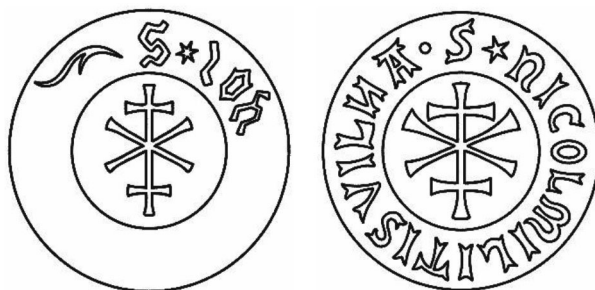
The representatives of urban communities in the Grand Duchy of Lithuania, whose heraldic signs, despite their number, have so far only sporadically come to the attention of scholars, were no exception. The earliest attempt to present some monuments of burgher heraldry from the territory of the Grand Duchy was Victor Wittig's work in which, along with hundreds of the inhabitants' seals from the cities of the Crown of Poland, six impressions of the citizens of Lithuanian cities, primarily from Pidliashshia, were reproduced [213, 3-4, 30, 35, 72, 96, 119].

The seals of Lithuanian burghers are occasionally described in publications of various documents, in particular, of Vilnius [169, 112-113, 505-506, 564-565] and Polotsk [180, 893-903; 256, 114-115; 248, 413-415, 716-717]. The seal of Hanul, a governor of Vilnius, was published in an article by Władysław Semkowicz [206, 1-20]. Sphragises of Polotsk burghers of the late fifteenth century are described in Anna Khoroshkevich's study [255, 128-146]. The seals of advocate-mayors of the cities of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania are presented in Edmundas Rimša's work [203; 204, 476-478, 565-566, 743-744, 863-864, 876-877, 1087-1089, 1091-1094, 1097-1098, 1132-1135]. The seals of Grodno burghers were reproduced in Aliaksei Shalanda articles [264, 236-241; 265, 54-63].

Tetyana Liuta's work is devoted to the seals of Kyiv burghers [234, 159-166]; regrettably, almost all seals are described and reproduced incorrectly. The same topic, but based on much wider source material, is the subject of a study by Natalia Bilous and the author of this article; it deals with the heraldry of Kyivites, both during the times when the city was part of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania and the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth period [223, 283-296]. Some of the sphragises of these Kyivites were reproduced in the catalogue of personal seals based on materials from Kyiv archives [217].

A significant number of burgher heraldry monuments in the state of Lithuania, with introductory remarks on their content, are presented in Anatoliy Tsitov's works [260, 44, 61, 63, 78, 87-89, 97-99, 100-103; 261, 79, 118-119]. The first attempt at a generalised understanding of burgher coats of arms was Aliaksei Shalanda's article, in which he discusses the main problems related to the study of this heraldic complex, although without studying the monuments of burgher heraldry as such [269, 229-235]. Instead, his monograph on heraldic images in the prints of Francysk Skoryna provides a general overview of the heraldry of townspeople of the Grand Duchy, using a wide range of sources, both already published and newly discovered [268, 24-58].

The oldest monument of burgher coats of arms in the Grand Duchy of Lithuania is the image on the seal of the Vilnius governor Hanul (1382–1387), who is also mentioned in the sources as Hanul from Nakiena or Hans from Riga, indicating his German origin from Riga ('nobilis Hanul de Wilna', 'miles Hanul de Wilna', 'dominus Hanulo de Wilna', 'Hans von Rige', 'Hennike von Rige', 'Hanul heres in Nakyenny') (Fig. 1). The impression, which certified a document from the time of his governorship, shows a sign in the form of a two-barred cross with a slanting cross in the middle [32; 206, 10–11; 227, 153; 268, 30, *in*. 7]. The same sign is engraved in the seal field of his brother Nikolay, a burgher of Vilnius, dated 1400 and accompanied by a legend: • S * NICOL MILITIS VILNA (Fig. 2). Already in this period, this indicates the hereditary and stable nature of the burgher coats of arms.



Figs 1–2. Seals of Hanul from Vilnius 1382/1387 [206, 4–6, 14–16], and Nikolay from Vilnius 1400 [102]

The oldest heraldic monument belonging to a Vilnius burgher was the image on the seal of Matias Volokh 1422 (Fig. 2). It features a centaur with a branch in his right hand (Fig. 3). The image of the centaur is one of the most honourable in Lithuanian heraldry. It was used by the Golshansky princes and their branches – the princes of Dubrovitsky and Stepansky [239, 165–178], and later the princes of Svirsky and Gedroicy [243, 157, 173, 299, 309]. At the same time, the iconography of the centaur on the seal of Mathias Volokh differs significantly from the princely coats of arms – instead of a bow and arrow, there is a branch in his hands.



Figs 3–4. Seals of Mathias Volokh 1422 [42; 169, 112–113, n. 82], and the burgomaster Mathey 1493 [8, st. 35]

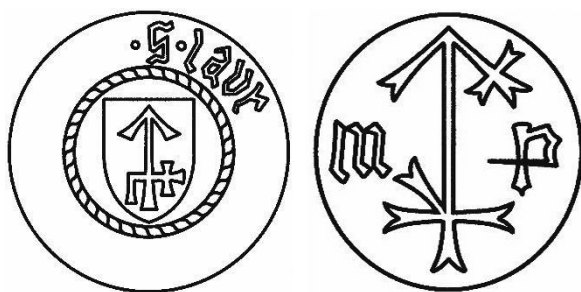
This seal is one of a few examples of the use of a coat of arms rather than a family sign in the medieval burgher heraldry in the Grand Duchy of Lithuania. In addition to this, only two similar monuments with non-familiar subjects are known today. The first of them is the image on the seal of Vilnius burgomaster Mathey from 1493. A long cross crossing a hunting horn, accompanied by the inscription ПЕЧАТЪ МАТӨЄЄБА is in its field (Fig. 4).

Another example is the image on the copper signet of Hanko Mykhailovych Onkovych, an advocate-mayor of Kyiv (before 1500–1514). Its field features an Iberian shield with a cross and carved ends. Judging by its stylistic features, the monument dates from the late fifteenth century. Its impression certifies Soltan Albievych's letter of sale of the land of Polukniazevskia to Kyiv-Pustyn Monastery of St Nicholas dated 13 August 1508 (Figs 5–7).



Figs 5–7. Seals of Hanko Mykhailovych Onkovych, the late fifteenth century [114], [110, series B, n. 22; 238, 194–212]

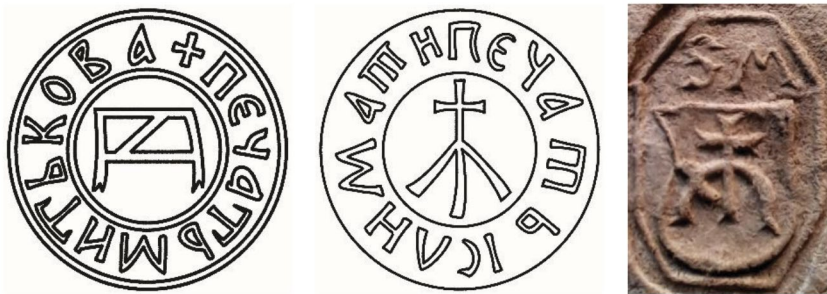
All other medieval seals of the burghers of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania depict coats of arms with familiar symbols that were widespread in the burgher heraldry of Central and Eastern Europe [176, 385; 205]. In particular, the seal of the Vilnius advocate-mayor Yakhno Lavrynovych dated 1495–1496 contains a sign in the form of a crossed arrow with the point upwards, the right end of the cross bent down, and the left end crossed on a Gothic shield (Fig. 8).



Figs 8–9. Seals of Yakhno Lavrynovych 1495 [8, 5, 11; 169, 505–506, n. 433; 204, 1087–1090, n. 420; 268, 55, ил. 21; 168, 83, pav. 8], and Yan Pylypovych 1496 [8, st. 5, 9, 11; 168, p. 64, pav. 7]

And on the sphragis of Yan Pylypovych, a burgomaster of Vilnius, dated 1496, the sign has the form of a crossed arrow with the point upwards with a cross on the left half of the arrow and with a slanting branch on the right, accompanied by the letters: mp, drawn in Gothic minuscule (Fig. 9).

In 1498, Vilnius burgher Mytko Hryhorevych used a seal with a figure in the form of the letter П with oblique and posed bars in the middle, surrounded by the legend: + ПЕЧАТЬ МИТЪКОВА (Fig. 10). The seal of another Vilnius burgher, Klym Vaskovych, dated 1503, bears a sign in the form of a cross with a triple branching at the bottom, accompanied by the inscription + ПЕЧАТЬ КЛИМАТИ (Fig. 11); on Stanislav Medvynovych's sphragis dated 1501, a sign in the form of a long cross crossing a semicircle with its ends downward and with a slanting cross at the right end is engraved in the tournament shield (Fig. 12).



Figs 10–12. Seals of Mytko Hryhorevych 1498 [110, серія В, н. 9], Klym Vaskovych 1503 [41; 169, 564–565, n. 480], and Stanislav Medvynovych 1501 [49, l. 651]

Sign-like subjects entirely dominate the medieval coats of arms of Polotsk burghers. Phoma Vasylevych's seal dated 1487 shows a shield with a sign in the form of the letter W under a cross (Fig. 13); Hryshan Zenoviev's sphragis dated the same year shows a sign in the form of the letter M under a cross (Fig. 14); on Mykyta Mokievych's seal, there is a symbol in the form of a crossed letter Z without a bottom frame under a cross, in the legend: + ПЕЧАТЬ МОКЕЄВА (Fig. 15).



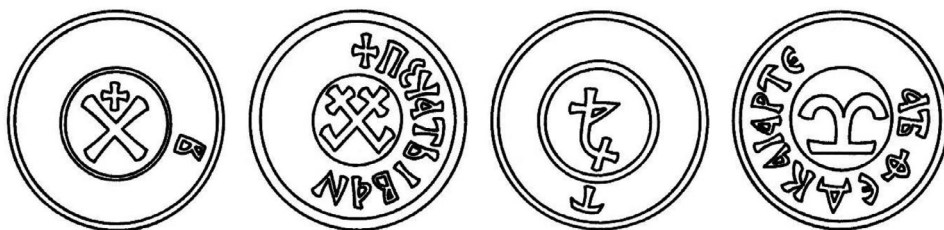
Figs 13–15. Seals of Phoma Vasylevych [78, l. 4; 180, 900; 255, 135, 144, илл. 22,7; 256, 115, n. 196; 248, 413–415, 717, n. 266], Hryshan Zenoviev [78, l. 4; 180, 899–900; 255, 135, 144, илл. 22,2; 256, 114, n. 196; 248, 13–415, 716, n. 266], and Mykyta Mokievych [78, l. 4; 180, 899–900; 255, 135, 144, илл. 22,5; 256, 115, n. 196; 248, 413–415, 717, n. 266], all 1487

The seal matrix of the fifteenth-century Polotsk burgher Martyn bears a sign in the form of a crossed half-arrow surrounded by the legend ПЕЧАТЬ МАРТНО (Fig. 16). The contemporaneous matrix of Vasyl Ivanovych bears a sign in the form of a half-arrow with a triple branching at the bottom, in opposition to the circle lettering: + ПЕЧАТЬ ВАСИЛЕВА ИВАНОВИЧ (Fig. 17).



Figs 16–17. Seals of Martyn [116] and Vasyl Ivanovych [117], the fifteenth century

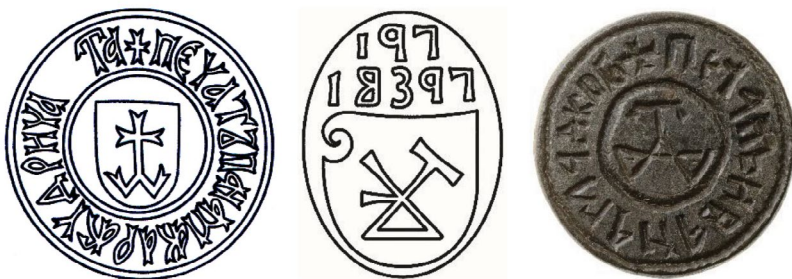
The seal of Artem Tuluby Butskov from Polotsk, dated 1487, is decorated with a sign in the form of an oblique cross under a cross (Fig. 18). The same year, Ivan Solok used a sign in the form of the letter X with crossed upper and bent lower ends on his seal (Fig. 19). Nestor Onanych used a symbol in the form of a cross with a rounded and crossed bottom end and a triangle in the bottom left part (Fig. 20). Fedko and Artem Panteleyevych used a sign in the form of a bar with a double rounded branch at the top (Fig. 21).



Figs 18–21. Seals of Artem Tuluby Butskov [78, l. 4; 180, 899–900; 255, 135, 144, илл. 22,1; 256, 114, n. 196; 248, 413–415, 716, n. 266], Ivan Solok [78, l. 4; 180, 899–900; 255, 135, 144, илл. 22,4; 256, 115, n. 196; 248, 413–415, 716–717, n. 266], Nestor Onanych [78, l. 4; 180, 899–900; 255, 135, 144, илл. 22,6; 256, 115, n. 196; 248, 413–415, 717, n. 266], Fedko and Artem Panteleyevych 1487 [78, l. 4; 180, 899–900; 255, 135, 144, илл. 22,3; 256, 115, n. 196; 248, 413–415, 716, n. 266]

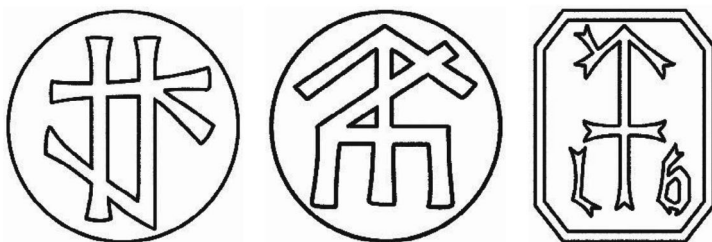
Dated 1481, the seal of Makar Kudrych, an advocate-mayor of Novogrudok, contains a sign in the form of the letter W under a cross on an Iberian shield, which is surrounded by

the legend: + ПЕЧАТЪ ПАНА МАКАРА КУДРИЧА [ВОИ]ТА (Fig. 22). The sphragis of Hryhor Krupych, a nobleman and burgher of Vitebsk, from the end of the fifteenth century that was also used in 1517 by his son Fedir Hryhorovych Krupich, an advocate-mayor of Vitebsk, depicts a symbol in the form of a triangle with its top up, with a branch on the right, a double branch on top, a T-shaped ending in a tournament shield on the left, with a mirror inscription ГРІГРЄВІ above it (Fig. 23). On the matrix of the seal of the Grodno burgher Ivan Hladky [173, 79, n. 23.2; 174, 99, n. 33], the sign looks like three triangles connected by vertices under the letter T, which is surrounded by a legend: + ПЕЧАТЪ ИВАНА ГЛАДКОГО (Fig. 24).



Figs 22–24. Seals of Makar Kudrych 1481 [15; 204, 743–744, n. 243; 235, 267, n. 1; 268, 55, in. 20], Hryhor Krupych [97; 98; 204, 1132–1133, n. 444] and Ivan Hladky [115; 242, 40–41], the late fifteenth century

Similarly, familiar symbols are presented on six seals of German merchants from Kaunas, which attest a report to Gdańsk City Council in the late fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries. Three of them have the symbols directly in the seal field. Thus, the seal of an unknown merchant dated 1479 bears a sign in the form of a two-barred cross with a half-arrow and an oblique branch (Fig. 25). A merchant's sphragis of 1481 contains a sign in the form of an obliquely crossed arrow with the point upwards above the three-legged letter T in its field (Fig. 26). The seal of 1488 bears a symbol in the form of a crossed arrow with its point upwards with an oblique branch at the top right, accompanied by the initials of the maker: lb (Fig. 27).



Figs 25–27. Seals of merchants from Kaunas. 1479 [31, sygn. 38, st. 2; sygn. 40, st. 2; 201, 29], 1481 [31, sygn. 46, st. 2; 201, 30], and 1488 [31, sygn. 73, st. 2; sygn. 74, st. 2; 201, 30–31]

The signs are located on the shields in the other three seals of the merchants of Kaunas. The sphragis dated 1484 is decorated with a tournament shield with a symbol in the form of a crossed long cross with a half-arrow at the bottom (Fig. 28). The seal of 1492 is decorated with an Iberian shield with a sign in the form of two crossed crosses, one of which is laid obliquely (Fig. 29). The impression of 1512 bears a sign in the form of an arrow with its point upwards with an oblique branch to the right and a six-rayed star on a tournament shield, with the letters • H • R • above it (Fig. 30).



Figs 28–30. Seals of merchants from Kaunas, 1484 [31, sygn. 53, st. 2], 1492 [31, sygn. 88, st. 2; sygn. 91, st. 2; 201, 31], and 1512 [31, sygn. 165, st. 2; 201, 32]

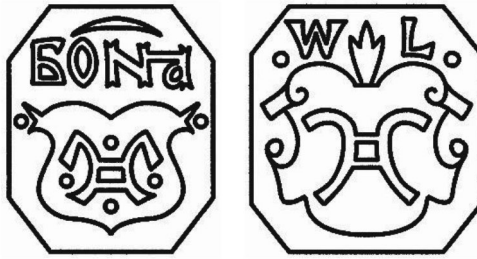
The main features of the burgher heraldry in the Grand Duchy of Lithuania, which developed during the late Middle Ages, remained important in the early modern period. Since then, a much larger number of relevant monuments have survived, which allows for making significant clarifications regarding the practices of burgher coat of arms. In particular, the sources at our disposal point to the hereditary nature of burgher coats of arms, some of which were used in a completely unchanged form for generations.

One of such examples is the coat of arms of the Malykovych family of Kyiv burghers. The impression of Bohdan Nefedy Malykovych's seal dated 1553 shows a Renaissance shield with a sign in the form of the letter W under a cross which is accompanied by an inscription above: НЄФЄД (Fig. 31). The sphragis of his son Ignaty Bohdanovych Malykovych, dated 1572, has the same symbol in the shield, with the inscription ИГНАТ above it (Fig. 32).



Figs 31–32. Seals of Bohdan Nefedy Malykovych 1553 [156, apk. 22] and Ignaty Bohdanovych Malykovych 1572 [147, л. 2]

A similar continuity can be observed on the sphragis of the Volzyns, burghers of Vitebsk. In 1560, Bonia Yakovlevych Volzyn used a seal with a sign in the form of two semicircles connected by two belts with their ends pointing in different directions and their upper ends bent down on a Renaissance shield, with the inscription BOHIA above it (Fig. 33). The same symbol is present on the seal of his grandson Vasyl Levonovych Bonych, dated 1604 (Fig. 34).



Figs 33–34. Seals of Bonia Yakovlevych Volzyn 1560 [87, l. 1v] and Vasyl Levonovych Bonych 1604 [86, l. 24]

Another example is the heraldry of the Koshkoldy Basansky family, burghers of Kyiv. The seals of Andry Koshkoldievych Basansky, a Kyiv burgomaster, dated 1566 (Fig. 35) and 1579–1580 (Fig. 36), bear a Renaissance shield with a sign in the form of two letters Π connected by a pale, the upper one is inverted. The coat of arms is reproduced in a similar way on the later seal of his granddaughter, Apolonia Cherevchyivna, the wife of the Kyiv keykeeper and castellan Stanislav Vyhura, dated 1621 (Fig. 37).



Figs 35–37. Seals of Andry Koshkoldievych Basansky 1566 [150] and 1579 [129, л. 2v; 130, л. 1v] and Apolonia Cherevchyivna 1621 [107]

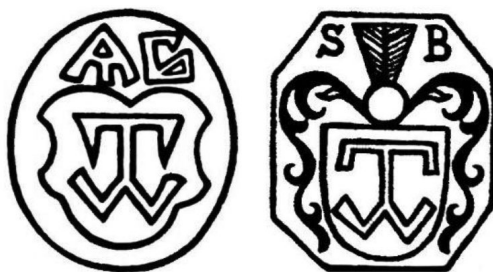
The familial coat of arms on the seals of another Kyiv family, the Balyka, remained unchanged. In 1572, the councilor Khotsko Balyka used a seal with a Renaissance shield depicting a sign in the form of the letter W under the letter T (Fig. 38). The same sign is

minted on the seals of Yatsko (Dyonisy) Balyka, a councilor and later an advocate-mayor (1593–1612), dated 1583 (Fig. 39) and 1597–1605 (Fig. 40).



Figs 38–40. Seals of Khotsko Balyka 1572 [131, л. 4], and Yatsko (Dyonisy) Balyka, 1583 [134, л. 3] and 1597 [110, серия Б, н. 110; серия Ж, н. 2; 144, л. 1v; 146, л. 1v; 195, 142–144, il. 746]

The next generation continued to use this coat of arms. However, while the seal of the burgomaster and councilor Yatsko Yatskovych Balyka dated 1612–1623 (Fig. 41) depicts the family sign on the shield, the sphragis of his brother, the burgomaster Sozon Yatskovych Balyka, dated 1619–1622, contains a helmet with a mantling and a peacock feather in the crest (Fig. 42).



Figs 41–42. Seals of Yatsko Yatskovych Balyka 1612 [105, арк. 44v; 108, арк. 212v; 160, арк. 1v; 220, 153–154] and Sozon Yatskovych Balyka 1619 [9, ст. 7, 31, 35; 220, 153–155]

A sign in the form of a two-barred cross with a triangle in the right lower bar was used on the seals of the Kyiv burgomaster Semen Konashkovych in 1574–1575 (Fig. 43) and his son Artem Semenovych Konashko, a Kyiv councilor, in 1606 (Fig. 44) and 1610 (Fig. 45).



Figs 43–45. Seals of Semen Konashkovych 1574 [112, арк. 11; 141, л. 1] and Artem Semenovych Konashko 1606 [105, арк. 47] and 1610 [108, арк. 235]

Between 1571 and 1577, Pinsk juror burgher Fedir Ivanovych Dem'ianovych used a seal with a Renaissance shield depicting a symbol in the form of a two-barred cross accompanied by two crescents with their horns in different directions (Fig. 46). The same sign is reproduced on the seals of the Pinsk councilor Yuhno Dem'ianovych, dated 1587–1600 (Fig. 47) and the Pinsk burgomaster Lavryn Dem'ianovych, dated 1622 (Fig. 48). The earlier seal of the latter, dated 1613–1616, features a helmet with a mantling, with a crescent moon with its horns up in the crest (Fig. 49).



Figs 46–49. Seals of Fedir Ivanovych Dem'ianovych 1571 [59, л. 1v; 79, л. 47v], Yuhno Dem'ianovych 1587 [120, арк. 25v; 94, л. 2; 260, 44], and Lavryn Dem'ianovych 1613 [120, арк. 41v] and 1622 [120, арк. 29v, 33v; 260, 97, мал. 245]

Between 1587 and 1597, Mykhno Zhdanovych Lyskovych, a lay judge in Pinsk, used a seal with a sign in the form of a cross with bent ends on a Renaissance shield (Fig. 50). Similarly, this coat of arms, dated 1635, appears on a later sphragis of the Pinsk burgher Esman Lyskovych (Fig. 51). The sign in the form of a cross above an oblique cross with a double tooth is present on the seals of the Kyiv councilor Okula Ivanovych Bekh, dated 1598 [143, л. 1v], and his son Artem Okulych Bekh, a Kyiv councilor, dated 1614 (Fig. 52).



Figs 50–52. Seals of Mykhno Zhdanovych Lyskovych 1587 [120, арк. 13v, 15v; 94, л. 2; 261, 119], Esman Lyskovych 1635 [121, арк. 21v; 260, с. 103, мал. 281], and Artem Okulych Bekh 1614 [108, арк. 232v]

An equally common practice in burgher coat of arms was to make certain modifications to the family coat of arms by adding or removing minor elements. As a rule, in the late medieval period, such changes made by younger family members became a common custom in the family heraldry of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania, including princely [237, с. 45–85] and nobility [241, с. 4–20; 245, с. 170–256] heraldry.

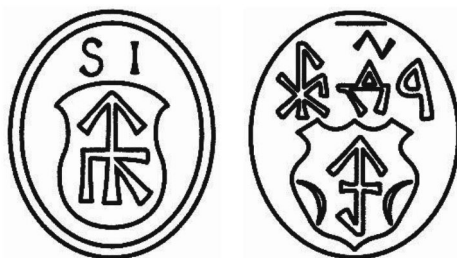
One of such examples is the modification of the coat of arms of the Vilnius burgher Onkovych. One of the engravings in the Prague edition of Numbers in the ‘Ruthenian Bible’ (*Бивлія Руска*) by Francysk Skoryna dated 1519 shows a banner with the coat of arms of the Vilnius councilor Bohdan Onkovych, which looks like a six-rayed star (Fig. 53). A later seal of one of his descendants, Vilnius burgher Kostiantyn Semenovych Onkovych, dated 1551, bears a sign in the form of the same six-rayed star, but with an arrowhead, on a semicircular shield [119, арк. 22; 260, 63, мал. 38; 268, 147–148, ил. 113].



Fig. 53. A banner with the coat of arms of Bohdan Onkovych in an engraving in ‘Ruthenian Bible’ 1519 [218, ил. 13; 246, 52; 266, 127; 268, 143–145, 147–148, ил. 108, 112]

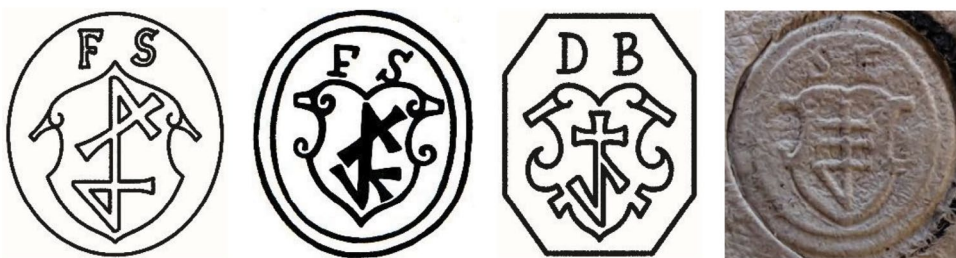
Yan Savych, a tailor and a lay judge from Vilnius, certified a bill of sale dated 28 September 1529 with a seal depicting a complex sign on a Renaissance shield in the form of a crossed arrow with its point upward, with the right end of the cross bent downward,

and a slanting branch to the left (Fig. 54). The document was also stamped by his relative Zhdan Bohdanovych Savych, a burgher of Vilnius. Significantly different, an arrow-shaped sign in the form of a crossed double arrow with the half-arrow at the bottom, accompanied by two crescents lying with their horns facing different directions is engraved in its field (Fig. 55).



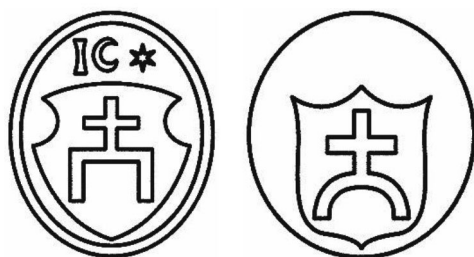
Figs 54–55. Seals of Yan Savych [36] and Zhdan Bohdanovych Savych 1529 [36]

The seal of the Vilnius burgher Frontsko Stanislavovych dated 1550 depicts a Renaissance shield with a sign in the form of a double half-arrow on a vertical bar, with an oblique crossing on the top and a crossing on the bottom (Fig. 56). On his later seal, which he used between 1567 and 1571, the sign is slightly modified: instead of the crossing on the bottom, a double branch is added to the left (Fig. 57). This is one of a few examples, albeit a minor one, of a person changing his own sign. In 1583, Frontsko's niece Dorota Yanivna Stanislavivna, the daughter of the Vilnius councilor Yan Stanislavovych and the wife of the Vilnius councilor Stanislav Shpachevsky, used a seal with a sign significantly different from her uncle's, in the form of a half-arrow downward under a cross with a slanting branch to the left in a Renaissance shield (Fig. 58). A significantly different sign was also used by Frontsko's son, Stanislav, a Vilnius burgher. His seal of 1587 bears a sign in the form of the three-barred cross with a triangle on the lower right (Fig. 59).



Figs 56–59. Seals of Frontsko Stanislavovych 1550 [43] and 1567 [2, st. 2, 178], Dorota Yanivna Stanislavivna 1583 [91, l. 1v], and Stanislav Frontskovych 1587 [76, l. 111v]

The coat of arms of the Turiysk advocate-mayor Kuzma was the image of a sign in the form of the letter Π under a cross, which is engraved on a Renaissance shield in the seal of 1548 (Fig. 60). His son, the clerk of Zaslavsk pantry Bohdan Kuzmynych, used in 1554 a seal with a sign in which the letter Π was replaced by a semicircle with the ends down (Fig. 61).



Figs 60–61. Seals of the advocate-mayor Kuzma 1548 [19, Plik 19] and Bohdan Kuzmynych 1554 [21, Plik 25]

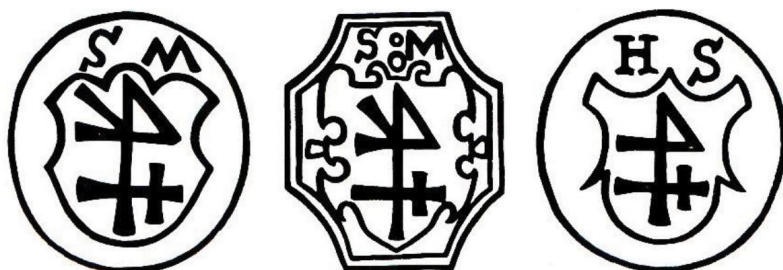
On the seal of Semen Meleshkovych, the advocate-mayor of Kyiv from 1548 to 1550 and from 1556 to 1563, dated 1551, the sign looks like a crossed arrow with the point upwards and triple branching at the bottom. It is reproduced on a Renaissance shield with an inscription СЕМЕ above it (Fig. 62). On a later seal of the Kyiv councilor Stepan Meleshkovych dated 1578, the sign was modified: the crossing has bends downward and a base on the bottom. The sign is located on a Renaissance shield, under a shortened inscription of the owner's name: СТІІ (Fig. 63).



Figs 62–63. Seals of Semen Meleshkovych 1551 [156, арк. 21] and Stepan Meleshkovych 1578 [136, л. 4]

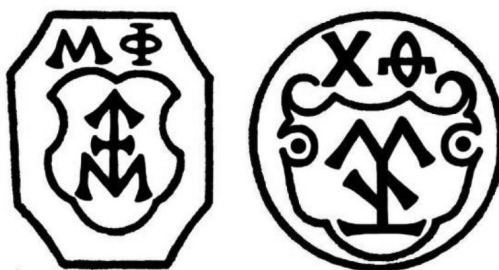
A sign in the form of a two-barred cross with a triangle in the upper left part, a slanting branch in the upper right, and a cross at the left end of the lower arm is present on

the seals of Vilnius burgomester and royal customs officer Sebastian Michnovych dated 1567 (Fig. 64) and 1571–1579 (Fig. 65). The seal of his daughter Halshka Sebastianivna Mykhnovychivna, the wife of the Vilnius burgher Andrys Fonderfliut, dated 1581, bears a similar sign, but without a branch in the upper right part of the sign (Fig. 66).



Figs 64–66. Seals of Sebastian Michnovych 1567 [2, st. 2] and 1571 [2, st. 207; 100, Plik 117; 213, s. 72] and of Halshka Sebastianivna Mykhnovychivna 1581 [2, st. 270]

In 1571, the Kyiv burgher and nobleman Mykhailo Fedorovych used a seal with a sign in the form of the letter M under a crossed arrow on a Renaissance shield (Fig. 67). On the 1598–1600 sphragis of the Kyiv burgomester Malko Fedorovych, the sign looks like the letter M above a double half-arrow and base (Fig. 68).



Figs 67–68. Seals of Mykhailo Fedorovych 1571 [155, арк. 523v] and Malko Fedorovych 1598 [144, л. 1v; 156, арк. 25v]

The representatives of another Kyiv burgher-noble family, the Cherevchy, used a sign in the form of a vertical bar crossed by a wavy bend as their coat of arms. It appears, in particular, on the seals of the Kyiv councilor Mathey Cherevchy dated 1572 (Fig. 69) and the Kyiv advocate-mayor (1576–1581) Fedir Cherevchy dated 1578–1579 (Fig. 70).



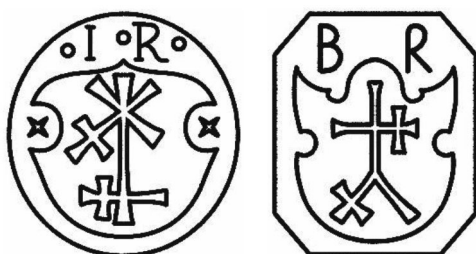
Figs 69–70. Seals of Mathey Cherevchy 1572 [132, л. 2] and Fedir Cherevchy 1578 [129, л. 2v; 136, л. 4]

Various modifications of the family sign appear on the later seals of the representatives of this family. For example, on the sphragis of Mathey Cherevchy, dated 1598, it looks like an arrow crossed by a wavy bend with the point in the upper left corner (Fig. 71). On the seal of his son, Hryhory Matheyevych Cherevchy, the sign is presented as a half-arrow crossed by a bend with curved ends and a rounded bottom end (Fig. 72), and on the impressions of Yatsko Cherevchy's seal dated 1598–1600, we see a sign in the form of an arrow crossed by a bend with bent ends with the point in the upper left corner (Fig. 73).



Figs 71–73. Seals of Mathey Cherevchy [156, apk. 24v], Hryhory Cherevchy [156, apk. 24v], and Yatsko Cherevchy [156, apk. 24v, 25v], all 1598

In 1590–1591, the Kaunas burgher Yan Rawa used a seal with a Renaissance shield depicting a sign in the form of a vertical rod under a six-rayed star with a cross on the right side of the ray and a frame with a cross on the right side (Fig. 74). Another representative of the family, Bartholomey Rawa, used a significantly different sign in the form of a vertical rod with a double branching at the bottom with a cross on the right branch and a frame on top with a cross on the left (Fig. 75).



Figs 74–75. Seals of Yan Rawa [92, l. 1, 6] and Bartholomey Rawa [92, l. 1], 1590

On the seals of the Pinsk councilor Ivan Yatskovych Solenykovych dated 1586–1587 (Fig. 76) and 1596 (Fig. 77), a Renaissance shield depicts a sign in the form of a cross with a triangle in the upper left corner and a cross at the right end of a ground frame. The same sign but with the addition of a six-rayed star on the left appears on Ivan Solenykovych's sphragis dated 1622–1623 (Fig. 78). The use of such an additional element resembles the practice of using cadencies (secondary armorial figures, next to the main one, which were supposed to indicate the younger representatives of a respective family), which were widespread in the Grand Duchy of Lithuania, in particular from the late Middle Ages [236, 257–274].



Figs 76–78. Seals of Ivan Yatskovych Solenykovych 1586 [120, арк. 6; 194, s. 330, il. 650; 260, c. 88, мал. 187] and 1596 [120, арк. 15v], and Ivan Solenykovych 1622 [120, арк. 41v, 47v; 260, c. 99, мал. 252, 253; 268, c. 55, ил. 27]

The family of the Mytkovych (Mytkovych Bohdanovych), Kyiv burghers, had similarly declined coats of arms. Thus, the seal of the Kyiv councilor Fedir Mytkovych Bohdanovych, dated 1583, shows a sign in the form of the letter X with the ends bent to the side on a Renaissance shield (Fig. 79). However, on his later seal, dated 1597, a six-pointed star was added to the sign (Fig. 80).



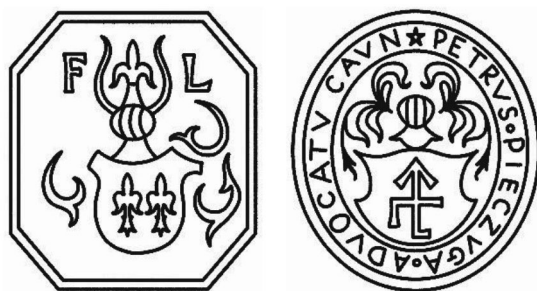
Figs 79–80. Seals of Fedir Mytkovych Bohdanovych, 1583 [134, л. 3] and 1597 [110, серія Б, н. 110]

The same sign is present in the sphragis of the early seventeenth century, which was used by Poloheia Liudmyla Vasylivna Khodychanka Krenytska, the daughter of Yefrosynia Mytkovychivna and Vasyl Fedorovych Khodyka Krenytsky, the wife of the Kyiv citizen Yakiv Kyrdeevych Lemesh (Fig. 81). It is noteworthy that Poloheia Liudmyla chose the sign of her mother and not her father for her coat of arms. In 1624, another representative of the family, Lucia Mytkovychivna, Mykolay Yanytsky's wife, used a seal with a similar sign on a Renaissance shield, with a helmet under a helmet crown and a mantling above it (Fig. 82). Finally, the sphragis of Yefrosynia Mytkovychivna, the wife of Vasyl Fedorovych Khodyka Krenytsky, dated 1605, had the sign in the form of the letter X with curved upper ends and was supplemented by the figure of a slanting bar from above (Fig. 83).



Figs 81–83. Seals of Poloheia Liudmyla Vasylivna Khodychanka Krenytska, the early seventeenth century [145, л. 2], Lucia Mytkovychivna 1624 [110, серія Д, н. 41], and Yefrosynia Mytkovychivna 1605 [111, серія В, н. 58]

The above examples of the use of some sub-ordinaries in burgher coat of arms (on the seals of Sozon Yatskovych Balyka, Lavryn Demianovych, and Lucia Mytkovychivna in particular) were not uncommon during the sixteenth and the first half of the seventeenth centuries. One of the earliest examples of the use of a full coat of arms in the Grand Duchy of Lithuania was the image on the seal of the Vilnius advocate-mayor Feliks Langurga dated 1527–1547. Its field comprises two lilies on a tournament shield, with a helmet with a mantling above it and a lily between two ox horns in the crest (Fig. 84).



Figs 84–85. Seals of Feliks Langurga 1527 [69, l. 30, 55; 204, s. 1089–1090, n. 421; 168, p. 87, pav. 9] and Petr Pichuga 1589 [82, l. 31v, 32v; 202, p. 63–64; 204, s. 565–566, n. 142; 201, p. 14–15]

The seal of 1568–1569 of Yov Praytfus, a senior builder and castellan of Vilnius, holder of Volkinitsey, Lepun and Vasytkov, depicts an eagle on a Renaissance shield, with a helmet with a mantling and two eagle wings in the crest above it [100, Pl. 145, 146; 213, s. 89–90; 268, c. 51, ill. 17]. Between 1589 and 1596, the Kaunas advocate-mayor Petr Pichuga used a seal with a sign in the form of a crossed arrow with the point upwards with the left end bent to the left and the right end bent to the bottom on a Renaissance shield, with a helmet with a mantling depicted above it (Fig. 85).

The seal of the Pinsk councilor Yakov Andriyovych Kozlovych, dated 1600, features a sign in the form of a vertical rod with a double branching on the top and an oblique cross on top with crosses at the lower ends, which is enclosed in an oval baroque shield, above which there is a helmet with a mantling and a crescent moon with horns up in the crest (Fig. 86). On the sphragis of the Kaunas burgher Martyn Wolfvych, dated 1654, a sign in the form of the letter W under a cross is depicted both in a semicircular shield and in the crest, which is located above a helmet with a mantling and a helmet crown (Fig. 87).



Figs 86–87. Seals of Yakov Andriyovych Kozlovych 1600 [120, ap. 25v] and Martyn Wolfvych 1654 [83, l. 17v, 18v]

Dated 1598–1600 (Fig. 88) and 1604 (Fig. 89), the seals of the Kyiv councilor Onysym Khodkovych contain an image of a baroque shield with a sign in the form of a ground ramen with a triple branching at the top. In contrast, his later sphragises, dated 1610 (Fig. 90) and 1616–1622, show a helmet with a mantling above the shield and a peacock feather in the crest (Fig. 91).



Figs 88–91. Seals of Onysym Khodkovych 1598 [144, л. 1v; 156, арк. 24v, 25v], 1604 [146, л. 1v], 1610 [108, арк. 235], and 1616 [108, арк. 215v; 161, арк. 2]

The sphragis of the Kaunas advocate-mayor Hryhory Yurgevych Knebel, dated 1612–1625, contains an image of a sign in the form of the letter X with the upper ends bent downward and the right end bent inward and crossed to the left on a Renaissance shield, with a helmet with a mantling above it (Fig. 92). In 1619, Tikhon Lukianovych, a burgher from Novogrudok, used a seal with a symbol in the form of an arrow pointing upwards, piercing a circle, in a semicircular baroque shield, above which there is a helmet with a tent under a helmet crown and three peacock feathers in the helmet crest (Fig. 93). A helmet under a helmet crown with a mantling is located above the shield of Tomash Bildiuk, a Vilnius councilor (1616) and an advocate-mayor (1620–1649), dated 1619–1622. The shield party per pale, in the first part of which there is a fox pierced by an arrow pointing to the left, in the second part – three hunting horns (Fig. 94). On the 1599 seal of the Kaunas burgher Reinold Plat, a shield party per pale is present too. A deer head is depicted in its first part and two pallets in the second part. Above the shield, there is a helmet with a mantling and two deer antlers in the crest (Fig. 95).



Figs 92–95. Seals of Hryhory Yurgevych Knebel 1612 [152, л. 2; 153, л. 1v; 154, л. 1; 48, л. 41v; F 38-3, л. 10v, 25; 202, 64–65; 204, 566–567, n. 143; 201, 16–17], Tikhon Lukianovych 1619 [62, л. 2], Tomash Bildiuk 1619 [7, st. 54; 72, л. 51v; f. 1178, ap. 1, b. 318, л. 46v; 204, 1097–1098, n. 426], and Reinold Plat 1599 [75, л. 3; 201, 23–24]

The seal of the Slutsk advocate-mayor Vasyl Tyshevych, dated 1657–1658, depicts an oblique cross in a semicircular shield, above which there is a helmet with a mantling and crest in the form of three ostrich feathers with a circle on them [3; 204, 876–877, n. 314]. Only three ostrich feathers are depicted on the seal of 1629 of Ivan Deomydovych, an advocate-mayor of the Bykhiv volost, whose coat of arms shows a tower under a pointed roof (Fig. 96). The original crest with the figure of a bird with a ring in its beak is reproduced on the seal of Yeronim Opakhovsky, Vilnius burgomesters' clerk, dated 1583. It is placed above a helmet with a mantling and a helmet crown and a Renaissance shield depicting a wall under three towers (Fig. 97).

The seal of 1620 of the Novogrudok lay judge Rainholt Baltserovych depicts an oval baroque shield with a cross in a circle accompanied by two six-pointed stars in the upper part, and at the bottom, a sign in the form of a fork-shaped cross with a six-pointed star at the top and a cross on the lower right bar, also accompanied by two six-pointed stars. Above the shield, there is a helmet with a roll and a tent, and the crest features the same cross in a circle as in the upper half of the shield (Fig. 98). In 1613, Andris fon Enden, a Vilnius burgher and merchant, used a seal depicting a four-part semicircular shield, with two crescents in the first and the fourth parts of the shield, horns up, and two crosses in the second and third parts. Above the shield, there is a helmet with a mantling and crest with two hunting horns, with a falcon between them (Fig. 99).



Figs 96–99. Seals of Ivan Deomydovych 1629 [56, l. 2v], Yeronim Opakhovsky 1583 [91, l. 1v], Rainholt Baltserovych 1620 [62, l. 9], and Andris fon Enden 1613 [93, l. 88]

In the family heraldry of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania, the four-part division of the shield which was applied in Andris fon Enden's coat of arms was used mainly to reproduce the genealogical programme, that is, to depict the coats of arms of the father, mother, and both grandmothers in different parts of the multi-part shield [244, 395–426; 200, 233–238]. In burgher coat of arms, this practice is only found in rare cases. For example, the Pinsk burgher Onysyph Sportsevych used a quartered Renaissance shield on his seal of 1623. There is a sign in the form of a crossed arrow bifurcated with the point up in the first part, a sign in the form of a cross with bent ends in the second one, a sign in the form of a crossed arrow with the point up in the third one, and a sign in the form of a cross over a semicircle lying with its ends down in the fourth one. Above the shield, there is a helmet with a mantling under the helmet crown and crest with peacock feathers (Fig. 100).

On the sphragis of the Kyiv burgher Kyrylo Andriyovych Pyndiurovych, dated 1644, the quartered semicircular baroque shield features the image of a sword with the point down over a horseshoe with the ends up in the top left quarter, a sign in the form of an arrow with an oblique branch to the right and a double branch to the left in the top right part, a sign in the form of an anchor with points at the ends and a cross above a crescent lying horns up in the bottom left part, and a horseshoe with the ends down accompanied by two knightly crosses in the bottom right quarter (Fig. 101).



Figs 100–101. Seals of Onysyph Sportsevych 1623 [120, apk. 45v] and Kyrylo Andriyovych Pyndiurovych 1644 [105, apk. 42]

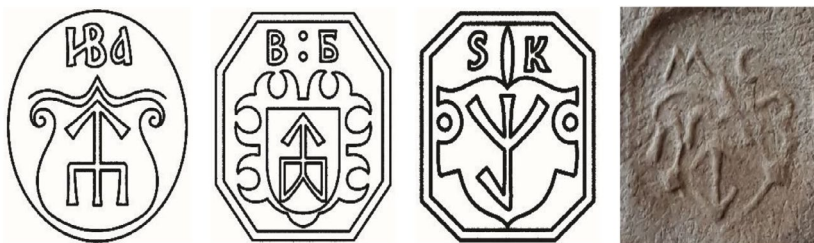
The coats of arms of the late medieval period and the early modern burgher heraldry of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania were clearly dominated by family signs formed from various geometric, arrow-, cross-, and letter-like figures and their complex combinations. One of the most popular themes in burgher coat of arms was the depiction of symbols with the main component in the form of an arrow, which has significant parallels in the nobility heraldry of the time.

In particular, the sign in the form of an arrow with two angular branches on either side is present in the seal of the Vilnius burgomester Lukash Dashkovych, dated 1550 (Fig. 102). The Kyiv burgher Lukian Bulyevych used a seal with a Renaissance shield depicting an arrow above a semicircle with its ends bent down and to the side and a six-rayed star between 1546 and 1553 (Fig. 103). On the sphragis of the Vilnius burgher Yan Krova, dated 1560, a sign in the form of an arrow with its point downward, crossing a semicircle with its ends to the right, is engraved in a Renaissance shield (Fig. 104).



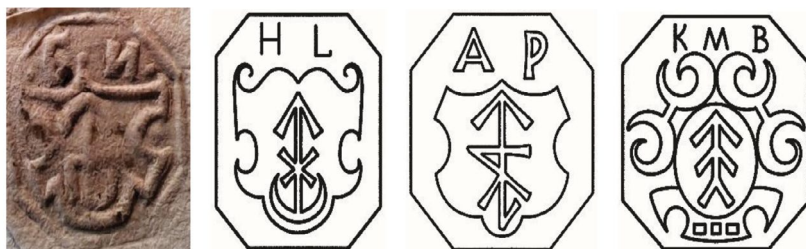
Figs 102–104. Seals Lukash Dashkovych 1550 [43], Lukian Bulyevych 1546 [137, л. 1; 156, apk. 22], and Yan Krova 1560 [6, st. 112]

A sign in the form of an arrow above a three-legged letter T appears in a Renaissance shield on the seal of the Minsk burgher Ivan Shyshka dated 1570 (Fig. 105). On the sphragis of the Kyiv councilor Vasyl Bykhavsky, dated 1572, the sign looks like an arrow above two triangles (Fig. 106). The sign on the seal of Symon Karpovych Klyga, dated 1589, is a half-arrow with a triple branching turned downward (Fig. 107). The seal of the Kyiv burgher Myron Skraga, dated 1598, is decorated with a sign in the form of a double arrow with points in different directions (Fig. 108).



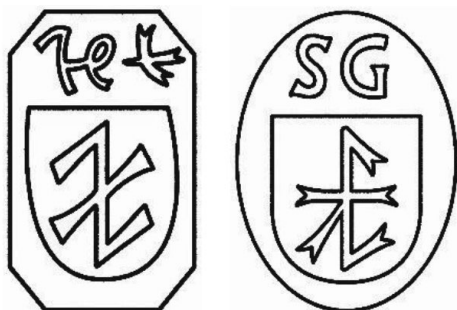
Figs 105–108. Seals of Ivan Shyshka 1570 [139, л. 1], Vasyl Bykhavsky 1572 [105, арк. 46], Symon Karpovych Klyga 1589 [88, л. 2v], and Myron Skraga 1598 [143, л. 1v]

On the 1604 seal of the Pinsk burgher and customs officer Bohdan Ryzhkovych, the Renaissance shield depicts a sign in the form of an arrow pointing upwards with an angular branch on the right and a semicircle on the left (Fig. 109). The coat of arms of a burgher from Nesvizh, Hryhory Lukashevych, is a sign in the form of an arrow above a star and a crescent moon, which is engraved on a Renaissance shield in a seal dated 1608 (Fig. 110). In 1616, the Grodno burgomaster Stanislav Neapolita used a seal with a sign in the form of an arrow with the point upwards with a half-arrow on the bottom and a cross on the left on a Renaissance shield [265, 55–56, ил. 2; 268, 125, ил. 91; 122, арк. 4]. Adam Patz, a burgher of Kėdainiai, had a sign in the form of an arrow with an angular cross and two half-arrows on both sides in his seal of 1621 (Fig. 111). The seal of the Vilnius merchant Kazimir Balashko dated 1631 is decorated with a sign in the form of a triple arrow with its points up on an oval baroque shield (Fig. 112). In 1635, the Pinsk shopkeeper Petro Sutliyevsky used a seal with an arrow-shaped sign above a rounded binding [121, арк. 21v; 260, 103, мал. 279].



Figs 109–112. Seals of Bohdan Ryzhkovych 1604 [60, л. 1], Hryhory Lukashevych 1608 [48, л. 29v], Adam Patz 1621 [66, л. 1], and Kazimir Balashko 1631 [72, л. 64]

Crosses, i.e., various combinations of crosses with arrows or half-arrows, were no less common in the burgher heraldry of the time. The sign in the form of an obliquely crossed double half-arrow is present on the seal of the Zhosli advocate-mayor Yury Yanovych, dated 1524 (Fig. 113). The sphragis of the Vilnius burgomaster Yarmola Slotovych, dated 1535, bears a sign in the form of a crossed double half-arrow on a vertical rod with an oblique branch on the right side of the pillar (Fig. 114).



Figs 113–114. Seals of Yury Yanovych 1524 [64, l. 1] and Yarmola Slotovych 1535 [77, l. 1; 197, 291; 168, 44, pav. 6]

The seal of the Grodno burgher and nobleman Mykolay Pavlovych Kurnytsky, dated 1557, bears a sign in the form of a crossed arrow with the point upwards on a Renaissance shield [268, c. 44, ил. 9; 103, арк. 1v]. In 1560, the Vitebsk burgher Vasyl Oleksiyovych Kurovych used a seal with a sign in the form of a double half-arrow on a vertical rod with an oblique cross in the middle of a tournament shield, above which there is the inscription: BACKA ЛЕКЦЕ (Fig. 115). A similar symbol also appears on the 1633 seal of the Slutsk burgher Khoma Yakubovych [55, l. 213v] (Fig. 116).

On the sphragis of the Vilnius burgomaster Maksym Martynovych, dated 1550, the half-arrow is supplemented with a slanting cross in the middle and an oblique cross at the bottom (Fig. 117). In 1563, Yakub Kurnytsk's wife Hanna Shpyngutivna used a seal with an arrow-shaped sign with an oblique cross in the middle and a double rounded branching at the bottom (Fig. 118).



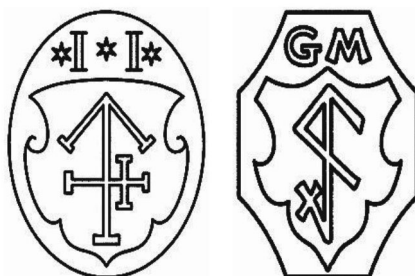
Figs 115–118. Seals of Vasyl Oleksiyovych Kurovych 1560 [87, l. 1v], Khoma Yakubovych 1633, Maksym Martynovych 1550 [43], and Hanna Shpyngutivna 1563 [47, l. 21]

A complex sign in the form of a double half-arrow with an oblique cross in the middle appears on the seal of the Vilnius burgher Wolter Zebner, dated 1563 (Fig. 119). The burgo-master of Vilnius Fedir Stanislavovych Durnyk certified the act of the Lublin Union with his own seal on 1 August 1569. In its field on the Renaissance shield there is a sign in the form of a cross with two half-arrows (Fig. 120). On the sphragis of the Vilnius burgher Tomash Shashkovych, dated 1576, a sign in the form of a crossed arrow with a triple branching at the bottom is placed on an oval Baroque shield (Fig. 121).



Figs 119–121. Seals of Wolter Zebner 1563 [47, l. 22], Fedir Durnyk 1569 [11; 171, 352, n. 149 a, poz. 71], and Tomash Shashkovych 1576 [7, st. 9]

The document dated 21 December 1598 is certified with the seals of Kaunas burghers, two of which bear signs with a cross at the base. On the sphragis of Yan Yankun, the sign looked like a crossed arrow with the point upwards and the left end of a posed frame crossed (Fig. 122). On the seal of Hryhory Martynovych, it is an arrow with its point upwards and a slanting cross in the middle and its lower end bent to the right with a cross (Fig. 123).



Figs 122–123. Seals of Yan Yankun [75, l. 1v; 201, 19–20] and Hryhory Martynovych [75, l. 1v; 201, 21] 1598

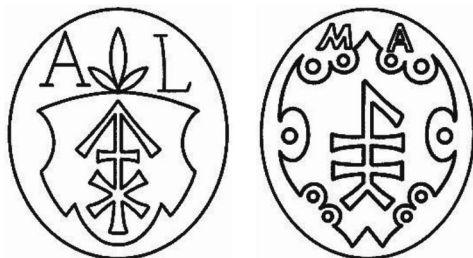
Between 1600 and 1604, Ivan Brovsha, a Pinsk councilor, used a seal depicting a sign in the form of a crossed half-arrow crossing a long cross obliquely in the middle on

a Renaissance shield (Fig. 124). In the sphragis of another Pinsk councilor, Parkhom Sulychych, dated 1613–1623, there is a sign in the form of a crossed arrow accompanied by two crescents lying with their horns in different directions and two balls (Fig. 125). The seal of yet another Pinsk councilor, Ilia Oleksiyevych, dated 1613, is decorated with a sign in the form of a crossed arrow with the point upwards, which looks like a triangle (Fig. 126).



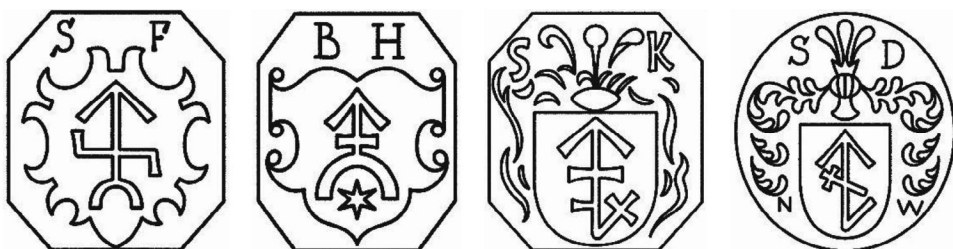
Figs 124–126. Seals of Ivan Brovsha 1600 [60, l. 1; 120, apк. 25v; 261, c. 119], Parkhom Sulychych [120 apк. 29v, 47v; 260, c. 98, мал. 246], and Ilia Oleksiyevych [120, apк. 29v], both 1613

The sign in the form of a crossed arrow with a six-pointed star at the bottom is engraved on a Renaissance shield in the seal of the Kėdainiai burgher Abram Lukan, dated 1621 (Fig. 127). In 1623, the Pinsk shopkeeper Bohdan Ivanovych Synetsky used a seal with a sign in the form of a crossed arrow bifurcated at the bottom in a semicircular shield [121, apк. 17v; 260, c. 101, мал. 265]. The sphragis of the Kėdainiai burgher Martyn Andriyovych Yandzevych, dated 1630, depicts a sign in the form of a twice crossed half-arrow with a double branching at the bottom end (Fig. 128).



Figs 127–128. Seals of Abram Lukan 1621 [66, l. 1] and Martyn Andriyovych Yandzevych 1630 [67, l. 1v]

Dated 1621, the seal of the Vilnius burgher Philon Kulakovsky had a Renaissance shield with a sign in the form of a crossed arrow above a semicircle with the ends down (Fig. 129). A similar sign with the addition of a six-rayed star at the bottom, dated 1640, appears on the seal of the Kopyl burgher Bohdan Hrychynych (Fig. 130). In 1646, the advocate-mayor Samuel Koprovsky from Slonim used a seal with a full coat of arms, which consisted of an arrow with a one-and-a-half-ramen cross and a left-bent and crossed bottom end in a semi-circular shield, with a helmet with a mantling and three ostrich feathers in the crest above it (Fig. 131). Similar elements outside the shield are also present on the sphragis of the Vilnius burgher Stepan Dubovych, dated 1655, whose sign looked like an arrow with a half-arrow at the bottom and an oblique cross in the middle with a crossed right end (Fig. 132).



Figs 129–132. Seals of Philon Kulakovsky 1621 [71, l. 605v], Bohdan Hrychynych 1640 [72, l. 139], Samuel Koprovsky 1646 [81, l. 2; 204, 863–864, n. 308], and Stepan Dubovych 1655 [73, l. 552]

Vitebsk burghers Ivan Romanovych, who is mentioned in the ‘Census of the army of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania of 1528’, and his brother Maksym (*‘Максимъ а Иван Романовичи мѣщане витебъський’*) [175, 142] used a seal with a sign in the form of a cross above a circle on a Renaissance shield in 1532, already as a nobleman (Fig. 133). The seal of the Volodymyr burgher Rubrekht Bukhnart Yazva, dated 1540, shows a complex sign in the form of a long cross accompanied by two crosses on a tournament shield (Fig. 134). The sign on the seal of the Novogrudok advocate-mayor Bohdan Ozarych, dated 1540, looked like a cross with a triangle on the right and an angular branch on the left on a semi-circular shield, with an inscription БОГДАН above (Fig. 135).



Figs 133–135. Seals of Ivan Romanovych 1532 [4, st. 3], Rubrekht Bukhnart Yazva [18, Plik 9], and Bohdan Ozarych [12], both 1540

The seal of the Vilnius burgomaster Hryn Onofriyevych, dated 1530, shows a sign in the form of a long cross crossing the letter X with the upper ends bent down in a semi-circular shield (Fig. 136). In the same document, in the sphragis of the Vilnius barber ('*postryhach*') Hryn Hryhorevych, the sign looks like a long cross crossing a semicircle with the ends down on a tournament shield (Fig. 137).



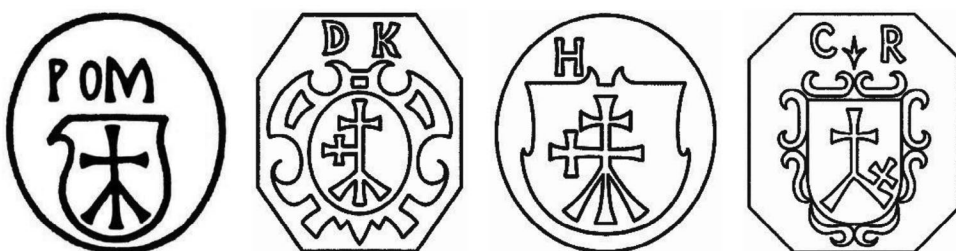
Figs 136–137. Seals of Hryn Onofriyevych [95, l. 47; 268, 49, ил. 10] and Hryn Hryhorevych [95, l. 47; 268, с. 49, ил. 11], 1530

In 1545, the Pinsk advocate-mayor Bohdan Kynylovych used a seal with a sign in the form of a long cross with a crossing with a curved right end on a Renaissance shield, under the inscription БОГДІ (Fig. 138). The representatives of Vitebsk burghers and nobles of the Luskin (Luskin Zaranovski) family originally used a sign in the form of a two-barred T-shaped cross above a semicircle as their coat of arms. This is how it is depicted on the seals of Vitebsk advocate-mayor Stepan Tymophiyovych Luskyna dated 1559 (Fig. 139) and 1560 (Fig. 140). From the middle of the seventeenth century, another family coat of arms was recorded in the armorial books: a silver sign in the form of a crossed arrow with the point upwards with a double branching at the bottom on a gules [170, s. 186; 186, s. 45].



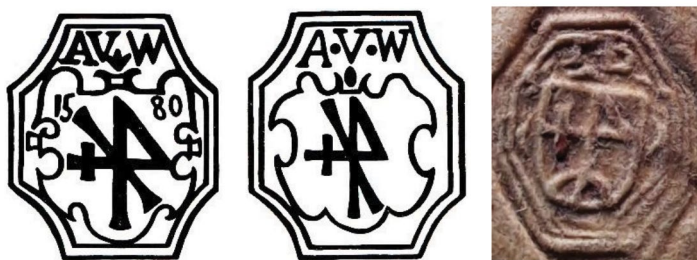
Figs 138–140. Seals of Bohdan Kynylovych 1545 [120, арк. 1; 260, с. 61, мал. 27] and Stepan Tymophiyovych Luskyna, 1559 [99, l. 144; 204, 1133–1134, n. 445] and 1560 [87, l. 1v; 204, 1134–1135, n. 446]

The Kyiv burgher Roman Harvolytyn depicted a sign in the form of a cross with a triple branching at the bottom on a tournament shield, under the inscription POM on his 1551 seal (Fig. 141). In 1610, Dorota Hanusovna Katerlianka, a Vilnius burgher and the wife of Kaunas district clerk (1580–1599) and judge (1599–1603) Mykhailo Konstantynovych Sumorok, used a similar sign with a cross on the right (Fig. 142), while on the 1616 sphragis of Polonia Isaikovna, the wife of Sebastian Kosynsky, the same sign has a long cross across the sign in the middle instead of an arm (Fig. 143). The sign in the form of a cross with a double branching below with a cross on the left arm is placed on a semicircular baroque shield in the seal of Kaunas councilor and royal secretary Kristian Ryngwalt, which is dated 1654–1655 (Fig. 144).



Figs 141–144. Seals of Roman Harvolytyn 1551 [156, apk. 21], Dorota Hanusovna Katerlianka 1610 [85, l. 1], Polonia Isaikovna 1616 [7, st. 49], and Kristian Ryngwalt 1654 [83, l. 15, 16, 22, 23; 201, 26]

A complex cross-shaped sign is present on the seals of the Vilnius burgher Andrys Fonderfliut, dated 1580–1581 (Fig. 145) and 1588 (Fig. 146). They contain a sign in the form of a cross with a triangle in the upper left part, a bend to the left, and a cross at the right end of the posed frame on a Renaissance shield. In 1619, Tykhon Batkelevych, a burgher from Novogrudok, used a seal with a symbol in the form of a cross with a crossbar on the right, a triangle on the left above, and a semicircle with its ends pointing downwards on the lower arm (Fig. 147).



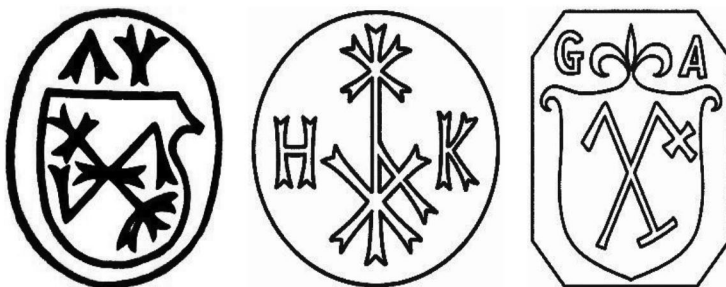
Figs 145–147. Seals of Andrys Fonderfliut, 1580 [2, st. 252, 270] and 1588 [2, st. 319], and Tykhon Batkelevych 1619 [62, l. 5v]

The sign in the form of an obliquely crossed two-barred cross with oblique arms from the intersections of the posed frames is engraved on a Renaissance shield on the seal of the Kaunas burgher Mykolay Popynigis, dated 1559 (Fig. 148). The sketch of the sign from this seal is placed in a book of records when recording a document dated 9 May 1555 (Fig. 149).



Figs 148–149. Seals of Mykolay Popynigis, 1559 [90, l. 1; 201, 24–25] and 1555 [74, l. 335v; 201, 25]

An equally recurring theme of the burgher coats of arms in the Grand Duchy of Lithuania was the familiar coat of arms based on the figure of an oblique cross. Complex designs were repeatedly formed on this basis, as, for example, on the sphragis of 1520 of the Vilnius councilor Lukash Isaievyc. It contains the image of a sign in the form of a crossed oblique cross with half-arrows and crosses at the ends on a tournament shield, with the letters ЛУ above (Fig. 150). On the 1554 seal of the Kaunas burgher Hanus Kopf, the sign looks like a vertical rod with two oblique crosses and a slanting cross directed downward and to the left (Fig. 151). Another burgher of Kaunas, Yury Olert, used a seal in 1623 with a sign in the form of an oblique cross with crosses and a half-arrow at the ends (Fig. 152).



Figs 150–152. Seals of Lukash Isaievych 1520 [ANK, Archiwum Aktów Dawnych Miasta Krakowa, Perg. 915], Hanus Kopf 1554 [45, l. 11], and Yury Olert 1623 [151, л. 2; 201, 18–19]

The sign on the 1572 seal of the Kyiv councilor Mykyta Andriyovych Shklo is somewhat simpler. This time, however, a simple oblique cross is accompanied by additional elements: a point on top and two bars (Fig. 153). Borys Fedorovych Koptevych, a Pinsk burgher, placed a sign in the form of an oblique cross with curved ends on a Renaissance shield with the inscription БОПН above it on his seal of 1568–1569 (Fig. 154). The 1598 seal of the Kaunas burgher Yan Norkun depicts a sign in the form of an oblique cross with the upper ends bent downward and with a branch below (Fig. 155).



Figs 153–155. Seals of Mykyta Andriyovych Shklo 1572 [132, л. 2], Borys Fedorovych Koptevych 1568 [120, арк. 4, 5; 260, 78, мал. 126], and Yan Norkun 1598 [75, л. 1v; 201, 22]

A sign in the form of a cross over an oblique cross with bent ends is reproduced on the Renaissance shield in the seals of the Kyiv burgomaster and councilor Kuzma Ivanovych, dated 1572 (Fig. 156) and 1583 (Fig. 157), as well as on the sphragis of the Kyiv burgher Tomylo Svynysia, dated 1583 (Fig. 158). In the monuments presented, we can see images of crosses with ends bent in pairs toward each other, but it was no less common to depict crosses bent to one side.



Figs 156–158. Seals of Kuzma Ivanovych, 1572 [131, л. 4; 147, л. 2] and 1583 [134, л. 3], and Tomylo Svynysia 1583 [134, л. 3]

For example, the seal of Yuri Klymovych, an advocate-mayor of Kyiv (1565–1566, 1575), dated 1566–1575, depicts a sign in the form of an oblique cross with curved ends on a Renaissance shield, which is accompanied by the inscription ЮРЕ on top (Fig. 159). The sign in the form of a straight cross with curved ends is reproduced on the 1583 seals of the Vilnius burgher Ivan Biliay [261, c. 119], the Slonim burgher Dmytro Stepanovych Deshka dated 1592 [261, c. 118], and the Kyiv burgher Ivan Sydorenko dated 1583 (Fig. 160). On the sphragis of another Kyiv inhabitant, Danylo Hnylocherev, the cross has bends only on the ground ramen (Fig. 161).



Figs 159–161. Seals of Yuri Klymovych 1566 [133, л. 1; 150], Ivan Sydorenko [105, апк. 8v] and Danylo Hnylocherev [105, апк. 8v], both 1583

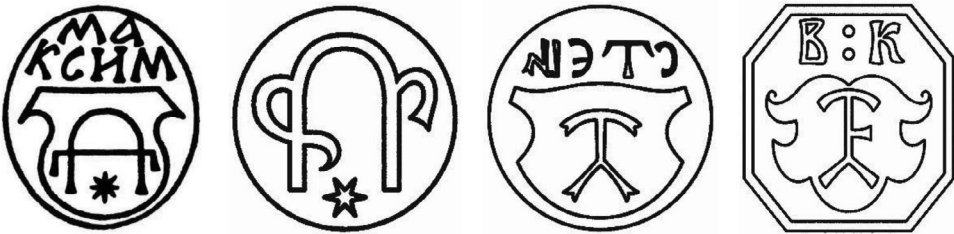
In several cases, we find star-shaped signs in burghers' coats of arms. For example, the seal of the Kyiv burgher Fedir Artemovych, dated 1546–1549, shows a sign in the form of a six-pointed star on a Renaissance shield, with the inscription ΘЄД above (Fig. 162). The sign in the form of a five-pointed star is present in the 1578 sphragis of Kyiv councilor Onopry Vlasovych (Fig. 163) and of the Vitebsk burgher and cannoneer Baltromey Miklashevych dated 1589 (Fig. 164).



Figs 162–164. Seals of Fedir Artemovych 1546 [135, л. 1; 137, л. 1], Onopry Vlasovych 1578 [136, л. 4], and Baltromey Miklashevych 1589 [88, л. 2v]

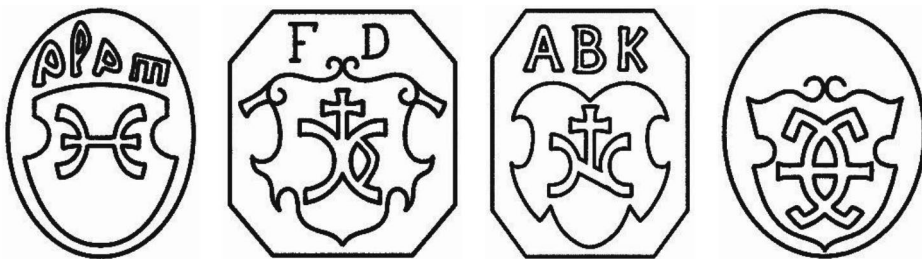
Signs with semicircles at the base are much more common in burgher coats of arms. For example, the 1551 seal of Maksym Khonych, an advocate-mayor of Kyiv (1550–1555) shows a sign in the form of a semicircle with its ends down, which crosses a belt with its ends

bent down over an eight-rayed star on a Renaissance shield, with the inscription МАКСИМ above (Fig. 165). In 1565, the Kamianets burgher Hryhory Kostnyshchyn used a seal with a sign in the form of a semicircle with the ends bent down, with a wavy cross on the right and a wavy branch on the left, above a six-rayed star (Fig. 166). On his seal dated 1554, the Lutsk burgomaster Stetsko Lenkovych Byrkoz [232, 481, n. 355] had the image of a sign in the form of a semicircle with the ends downwards above a forked cross on a Renaissance shield, above which there is a mirror inscription СТЕЦІ (Fig. 167). On the 1601 sphragis of the Kyiv burgher Vasyl Kryvkovych, the sign has a similar appearance, but with a branch to the left (Fig. 168).



Figs 165–168. Seals of Maksym Khonych 1551 [156, арк. 21], Hryhory Kostnyshchyn 1565 [100, Plik 77; 213, 56; 268, 55, ил. 23], Stetsko Lenkovych Byrkoz 1554 [21, Plik 25], and Vasyl Kryvkovych 1601 [111, серия В, n. 48]

The plot with two semicircles was especially popular in the heraldry of Vitebsk burghers. For example, a sign with two semicircles with ends in different directions crossing a belt is engraved on the 1560 seal of Vitebsk burgher Taras Vasyliovych Polsky (Fig. 169). On the sphragis of 1593 of the Vitebsk horse-riding burgher Fedir Hryhorovych Dyakonsky, the sign looks like a cross above two semicircles with ends in different directions, with a smaller semicircle on the left and ends to the right (Fig. 170). The sign on the 1604 seal of Vitebsk shopkeeper Kuzma Ivanovych Komosynsky looks like two semicircles with their ends obliquely connected in different directions under a cross (Fig. 171). Finally, on the sphragis of 1604 of the Vitebsk burgher Fedir Sofonovych Spysia, a sign in the form of two crossed semicircles with their ends in different directions and with bent ends crossed by a belt is carved in a Renaissance shield (Fig. 172).



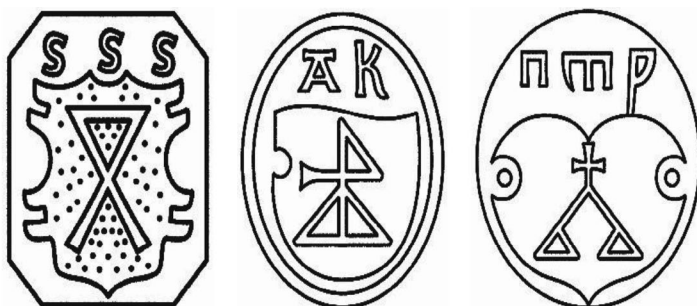
Figs 169–172. Seals of Taras Vasyliovych Polsky 1560 [87, l. 1v], Fedir Hryhorovych Dyakonsky 1593 [88, l. 5], Kuzma Ivanovych Komosynsky [86, l. 24], and Fedir Sofonovych Spysia [86, l. 24], both 1604

Other geometric shapes are also abundantly represented in the heraldry of the burgher families in the Grand Duchy of Lithuania. In particular, the seal of 1550 of Yan Katylevsky, an advocate-mayor of Bilozero and the holder of Lepesov, bears a sign in the form of a cross in a square on a Renaissance shield, under which there is a small figure of an unidentified animal with an elongated body (Fig. 173). The sign in the form of a rectangle with an oblique cross in the middle appears on the 1589 seal of the Vitebsk burgher Danylo Hryhorovych Cholka (Fig. 174). A symbol in the form of a pillar under a six-pointed star with two triangles on either side is engraved on a tournament shield on the 1524 seal of the Borysiv burgher Artem Buzych [84]. The seals of Kyiv councilor Dmytro Ivanovych, with which he certified documents dated 7 (Fig. 175) and 12 July 1572 (Fig. 176), depict a sign in the form of a triangle under a bar and a circle.



Figs 173–176. Seals of Yan Katylevsky 1550 [20, Plik 4], Danylo Hryhorovych Cholka 1589 [88, l. 2v], and Dmytro Ivanovych 1572 [131, л. 4; 147, л. 2]

In the 1589 seal of the Vitebsk advocate-mayor Semen Semenovych Savluk, on a Renaissance shield the field of which is speckled with dots, there is a sign in the form of a triangle with the top down with a double branching (Fig. 177). In 1599, Andry Klepper, a burgher of Kaunas, used a seal with a triangle sign crossing a cross with a triangle in the upper left part (Fig. 178). On the 1597 seal of the Kyiv councilor Petro Khmel, the sign looks like a point under a cross with two triangles at the bottom (Fig. 179).



Figs 177–179. Seals of Semen Semenovych Savluk 1589 [88, l. 2v], Andry Klepper 1599 [75, l. 3; 201, 20–21], and Petro Khmel 1597 [110, серія Б, н. 110]

On the tombstone of the Vilnius burgomaster Ofanasy Fedorovych Braga († 1576) and his son Antony († 1580) in the Church of the Holy Trinity in Vilnius, a sign in the form of a triangle above two horizontal bars crossed by a vertical one is reproduced on an oval Baroque shield with a tree behind it (Fig. 180).



Fig. 180. The coat of arms of the Vilnius burgomaster Ofanasy Fedorovych Braga and his son Antony on their tombstone in the Church of the Holy Trinity in Vilnius, after 1580 [199, 59; 210, 209, pav. 56]

The 1525 seal of Levko Markovych, a burgher of Brest, features a sign consisting of four triangles connected by a pillar in a semicircular shield [96, l. 1]. A complex sign on a rectangular base is reproduced on the 1522 seal of Stanislav Redko, a burgher, clerk, and governor of Bilska. The main figure is surrounded by three crosses, a lily, a triangle, and two flags (Fig. 181). Equally complicated is the sign on the 1622–1623 seal of Yermogen Poliukh, a Pinsk burgher and the administrator of Pinsk bishopric. In its field, a Renaissance shield is engraved with a sign in the form of a cross above the letter H with two triangles on top and half-arrow at the bottom, with a six-rayed star above a crescent moon with horns up (Fig. 182).



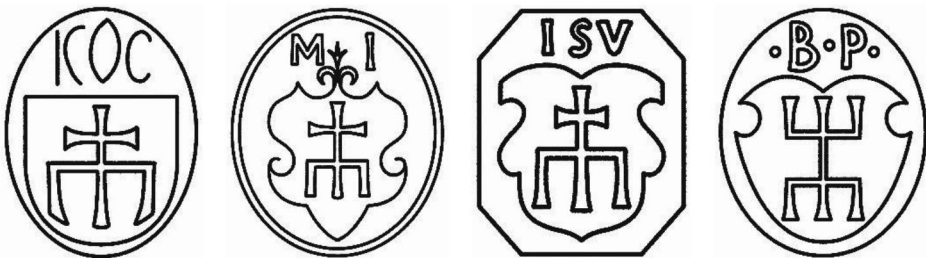
Figs 181–182. Seals of Stanislav Redko 1522 [50, l. 3] and Yermogen Poliukh 1622 [120, apk. 41v; 260, 101, мал. 264]

One of the most numerous groups of burgher coats of arms were signs resembling various letters. Among them is a sign in the form of the letter T above a crescent with its horns up on a tournament shield on the seal of the Bilsk advocate-mayor Rusyn dated 1522 (Fig. 183). A T-shaped sign with a double rounded branching at the bottom was placed on the 1563 seal of the Kyiv vice-advocatus Stepan Klymovych (Fig. 184). On the 1583 sphragis of Fedir Prokopovych Telepna, a burgher of Kyiv, the sign looks like the letter T with a triple branching at the bottom (Fig. 185). The 1616 seal of the Pinsk councilor Vasyl Fedorovych Ivatsevych features letters T with a cross on the right and a six-rayed star on the left (Fig. 186).



Figs 183–186. Seals of the advocate-mayor Rusyn 1522 [50, l. 3], Stepan Klymovych 1563 [110, Серія Г, н. 97], Fedir Prokopovych Telepna 1583 [134, л. 3], and Vasyl Fedorovych Ivatsevych 1616 [120, апк. 33v]

A sign in the form of a three-legged letter T under a cross appears on the seals of three burghers: the seal of the Mstybohiv advocate-mayor and governor Kostiuszko Fedorovych dated 1553 (Fig. 187), the 1575 seal of the Grodno burgomaster Martyn Yatskovych (Fig. 188), and the seal of the Vitebsk burgher Yesyp Symonovych Velyzhanyn dated 1593 (Fig. 189). A three-legged letter T under a pale and the letter III form the sign on the 1568 seal of Vitebsk burgher Bohdan Pashkovych (Fig. 190).



Figs 187–190. Seals of Kostiuszko Fedorovych 1553 [44, l. 34v], Martyn Yatskovych 1575 [34, dok. 28; 265, 60, ил. 7], Yesyp Symonovych Velyzhanyn 1593 [88, l. 5], and Bohdan Pashkovych 1568 [86, l. 6v]

On the 1598 seal of the Kyiv councilor Bohdan Yushkovych, the sign looks like intertwined letters V and T with double branching from the bottom on a Renaissance shield (Fig. 191). On the 1546 sphragis of the Kyiv burgher Vlas Sergiyevych, the sign consists of the letters V and X located one above the other, also on a Renaissance shield (Fig. 192). The 1535 sphragis of the Vitebsk burgher Oleksy Kunychnykov contains a sign in the form of the letter N under a bar and a semicircle to its left (Fig. 193). The sign in the form of the letter N with a cross on the left mast was used on the 1553 seal of the Kyiv burgher Kalenyk Romanovsky dated (Fig. 194).



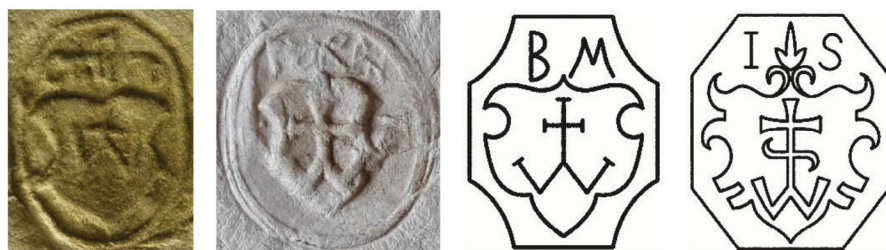
Figs 191–194. Seals of Bohdan Yushkovych 1598 [143, л. 1v], Vlas Sergiyevych 1546 [137, л. 1], Oleksy Kunychnykov 1535 [88, л. 10], and Kalenyk Romanovsky 1553 [156, арк. 22]

The 1542 seal of Nester Nekrashevych, the burgomaster and councilor of Brest, bears a sign in the form of the letter *А* with a cross inside a Renaissance shield, accompanied by the inscription *НЕСТЕРЪ* (Fig. 195). In 1558, Hryhory Posoleiko, a Lutsk councilor, used a seal with the letter *М* under a cross on a Renaissance shield with the inscription *ГРИКОП* above it (Fig. 196). The 1572 sphragis of the Kyiv burgher Mykyta Bohdanovych bears a sign in the form of the letter *М* above a cross, accompanied by three balls and two bars (Fig. 197). Ivan Fedorovych Hrytskovych, a Pinsk shopkeeper, had a sign in the form of the letter *М* crossed on both sides on his 1613 seal [121, арк. 9v; 260, 98, мал. 249]. The sign on the 1619 seal of another Pinsk shopkeeper, also Ivan Fedorovych Hrytskovych, was the image of a sign in the form of the letter *М* under a crescent with horns down [121, арк. 13; 260, 100, мал. 260]. The seal of the Grodno burgomester Adam Poplavsky dated 1620 shows a sign in the form of the letter *М* under a half-arrow with a cross on the right [265, 56–57, ил. 3; 123, арк. 1v].



Figs 195–197. Seals of Nester Nekrashevych 1542 [1, st. 8], Hryhory Posoleiko 1558 [158, арк. 2v], and Mykyta Bohdanovych 1572 [132, л. 2]

A sign in the form of the letter W under a cross, dated 1564, was used on the seals of the Turiv burgher Stepan Liutkovych (Fig. 198) the Kyiv advocatus (1570–1575) Havrylo Roy dated 1575 (Fig. 199), and the Pinsk burgher and royal customs officer Vasko Ivanovych Medianka dated 1577 (Fig. 200). On the 1600 sphragis of the Novogradok burgher Yan Mynakovsky, the sign looks like the letter W under a crossed half-arrow with a cross on the left [268, c. 55, ил. 26]. The seal of 1621 of the Kėdainiai burgher Yan Srogis is decorated with a sign in the form of the letter W under a two-barred cross, the lower frame of which has pointed curved ends (Fig. 201).



Figs 198–201. Seals of Stepan Liutkovych 1564 [124], Havrylo Roy 1575 [141, л. 1], Vasko Ivanovych Medianka 1577 [79, л. 47v], and Yan Srogis 1621 [66, л. 1]

An H-shaped sign with the upper ends bent to the side is engraved on a Renaissance shield on the 1568 seal of Vitebsk burgher Orishko Ivanovych Kulakovych (Fig. 202). The sign in the form of the letter H with a triangle at the top right is found on the 1575 sphragis of the Grodno city clerk Andry Stanislavovych (Fig. 203) and Pinsk lay judge Hryhory Lemeshovych from 1586 (Fig. 204). A similar sign, but with branches at the top and left ends is presented on the seal of Vilnius burgher Petro Tomashevsky dated 1633 (Fig. 205). A complex sign in the form of the letter H, with a three-barred end to the right mast and a rounded left mast, was used on the 1619 seal of Pinsk court clerk Andry Chofachych [121, арк. 13; 260, c. 98, мал. 251]. It is worth noting that his earlier sphragis, dated 1613, had a different coat of arms: a cross over a crescent with horns up [121, арк. 9v; 260, c. 98, мал. 250].



Figs 202–205. Seals of Orishko Ivanovych Kulakovych 1568 [86, л. 6v], Andry Stanislavovych 1575 [34, док. 28; 265, 61, ил. 8; 268, 55, ил. 25], Hryhory Lemeshovych 1586 [120, арк. 6; 260, 88, мал. 186], and Petro Tomashevsky 1633 [72, л. 70]

In 1572, the Kyiv councilor Vasyl Matpheevoch Lytvynkovych used a seal with a sign in the form of the letter A with its ends bent to the side above an eight-pointed star (Fig. 206). Another Kyiv councilor, Ivan Litogost, placed the image of a sign in the form of a bar above the letter A with the ends bent to the side on his seal of 1572 (Fig. 207). The sign in the form of the letter A under a cross and two bars above it is reproduced on the 1598 sphragis of Kyiv burgher Andry Hrydkovych (Fig. 208). The seal of Rayhorod burgher Mariia Topychevska dated 1581 shows a sign in the form of the letter R under a cross [213, s. 119]. Finally, unidentified signs with letter-like subjects are present on damaged impressions of the seals of Mozyr burgher Yelhym dated 1514 [157], Brest burgher Senko Lavrinevych dated 1525 [96, l. 1], Vitebsk burgher Radko Shchurov dated 1535 [88, l. 10] and Brest councilor Olipher dated 1542 [1, st. 8].



Figs 206–208. Seals of Vasyl Matpheevoch Lytvynkovych [132, л. 2; 147, л. 2] and Ivan Litogost [105, апк. 46], both 1572, and Andry Hrydkovych 1598 [144, л. 1v]

The seal of 1574 of the Brest burgomaster Mikhailo Rap features a Renaissance shield with a symbol in the form of the letter Д above a six-pointed star (Fig. 209). In 1575, the advocate-mayor of Slutsk, Kypriyan Chyshevych, used a seal with a sign in the form of the letter X with curved ends under a notch in the shield, with the inscription КИПРИАН above it (Fig. 210).



Figs 209–210. Seals of Mikhail Rap 1574 [57, l. 1] and Kipriyan Chishevich 1575 [51, l. 4v]

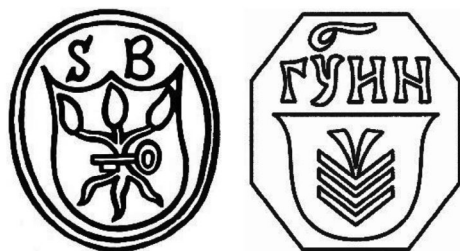
Despite the significant predominance of familiar subjects in the burgher heraldry of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania, various armorial figures were not uncommon for this heraldic complex. First of all, mention should be made of the images of human figures, animals and plants, weapons and military equipment, defensive structures, celestial bodies, etc. Such a repertoire, as well as the numerical ratio in the coats of arms between the figures of arms and tribal signs, clearly resembles the content of both nobility and princely coats of arms, which indicates the distinct influence of the nobility heraldry on the creation of the burgher coat of arms, both in the late Middle Ages and in the early modern period.

The image of a man is presented on the 1550 seal of Vilnius burgher and subject of Vilnius bishop Yan Myshkovsky. A Renaissance shield with a contour drawing of a bust of a man in profile is engraved in its field (Fig. 211). In 1544, Lukash Oleksiyevych, a furrier from Vilnius, used a seal depicting a falcon turned to the left on a Renaissance shield, above which there is an inscription with the owner's abbreviated name: ЛВК (Fig. 212). An original plot is presented on the 1563 seal of the Vilnius burgher Frantsysk Dynys Loiko: two dolphins are facing each other on an oval baroque shield, with a trefoil cross above (Fig. 213).



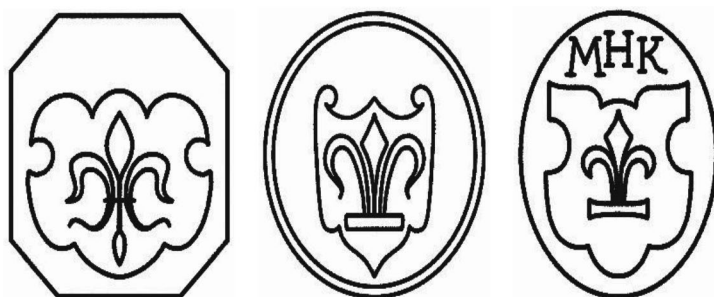
Figs 211–213. Seals of Yan Myshkovsky 1550 [37], Lukash Oleksiyevych 1544 [40], and Frantsysk Dynys Loiko 1563 [47, l. 23]

In 1560, the Vilnius burgher Stanislav Bokovsky used a seal depicting uprooted tree roots with three branches and a key placed on it on a Renaissance shield (Fig. 214). The coat of arms of Huryn Chernyshevych, a burgher of Stepan, displays a less expressive floral motif. His seal dated 1569 shows an eight-pointed branching in a semicircular shield under the inscription ГУНН (Fig. 215).



Figs 214–215. Seals of Stanislav Bokovsky 1560 [6, st. 112] and Huryn Chernyshevych 1569 [24, Plik 126]

A heraldic lily is present on the 1550 seal of the son of the organist Yan Tykhy, a subject of the Vilnius bishop Yan Yanovych (Fig. 216). The upper half of the lily above a bar was the coat of arms of the Brest councilor Stanislav Zelensky (on the seal of 1542) (Fig. 217) and the Vitebsk councilor Mykhailo Havrylovych (on the seal of 1604) (Fig. 218).



Figs 216–218. Seals of Yan Yanovych Tykhy 1569 [37], Stanislav Zelensky 1542 [1, st. 8], and Mykhailo Havrylovych 1604 [86, l. 24]

The Keydan burgher George Bennet, who was of Scottish descent, depicted a heart under three five-petaled flowers on stems on an oval baroque shield, with the inscription GEORGE BENNET around it on his seal of 1655 (Fig. 219). The same coat of arms is reproduced on the seal of 1619 of the Novogrudok burgher Malkher Litsyny Namyslovsky (Fig. 220).



Figs 219–220. Seals of George Bennet 1655 [68, l. 2v] and Malkher Litsyny Namyslovsky 1619 [62, l. 2]

A complicated heraldic plot is displayed in the coat of arms of Simon Kazimir Petrowych, a clerk of lay judges of Vilnius. It is drawn in pen in Vilnius register of deeds dated 1665. The coat of arms consists of an almond-shaped Baroque shield depicting a palm tree on

the ground, with three four-petaled roses on its bend, and letters I: J: J: F around it; there is a crown above the shield, and letters SPPŁMW on its margins (Fig. 221).

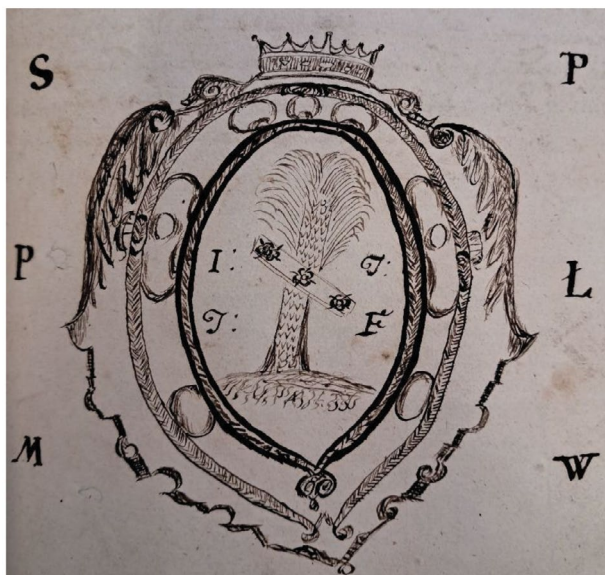
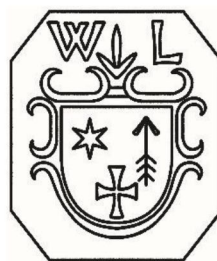


Fig. 221. Coat of arms of Simon Kazimir Petrowych in Vilnius register of deeds. 1665 [70, l. 559]

As in the coats of arms of the nobility, burgher heraldry displays images of weapons and military equipment more than once. For example, in 1548, the Kovel burgher Vanko Hodevytsky used a seal depicting a bow with an arrow pointing down (Fig. 222). The seal of 1578 of the Brest burgomaster Andriy Khmynytsky features an arrow piercing a rose (Fig. 223). The 1621 sphragis of the Kėdainiai advocatus Voytekh Lumashevsky depicts a semicircular baroque shield with a six-rayed star on the right, an arrow pointing upwards on the left, and a cross at the bottom (Fig. 224).



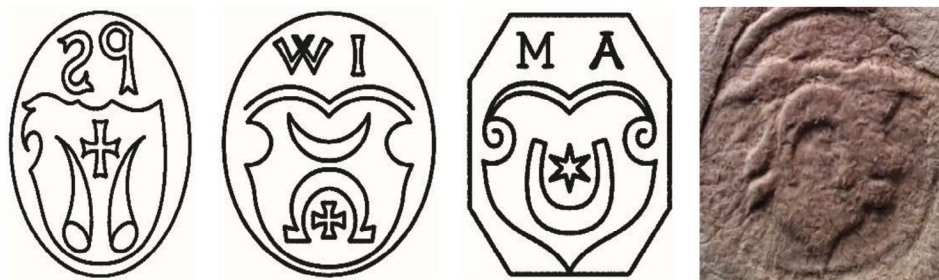
Figs 222–224. Seals of Vanko Hodevytsky 1548 [19, Plik 25], Andriy Khmynytsky 1578 [58, l. 2], and Woytekh Lumashevsky 1621 [66, l. 1; 204, 477–478, n. 100]

In 1598, the Kyiv councilor Demko Matviyovych Skazka used a seal with a familiar plot in the form of an arrow with its point down between two semicircles lying with their ends in different directions (Fig. 225). On the seal of his son Ivan Danylovych Skazka, a Kyiv burgo-master, dated 1620–1635, one can already see a naturalised reinterpretation of the figures in the family coat of arms: an arrow with its point down, accompanied by two crescents with horns pointing in different directions, is placed in an oval Baroque shield (Fig. 226).



Figs 225–226. Seals of Demko Matviyovych Skazka 1598 [143, л. 1v] and Ivan Danylovych Skazka 1620 [108, арк. 220; 156, арк. 29v]

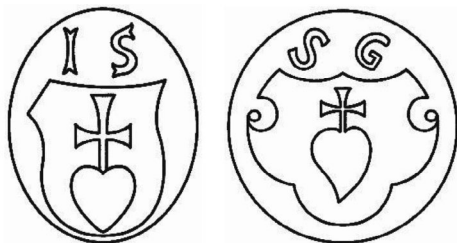
In 1522, Petrok, a burgher and vice-advocatus from Bilska, used a seal depicting two hunting horns under a cross pattée on a tournament shield (Fig. 227). On the 1554 sphragis of the Lutsk burgomaster Voytek Tys'ky, there is a horseshoe with its ends down, in the circle of which there is a cross and a crescent lying with its horns up on top of it (Fig. 228). A horseshoe with its ends up, in the circle of which there is a six-rayed star, is present on the 1576 seal of the Novogrudok burgher Martyn Andriyevych (Fig. 229). A horseshoe with a five-pointed star is reproduced on the 1578 seal of the Brest councilor Beniash Tkhorevsky (Fig. 230).



Figs 227–230. Seals of the viceadvocatus Petrok 1522 [50, л. 3], Voytek Tys'ky 1554 [21, Plik 25], Martyn Andriyevych 1576 [100, Plik 3; 213, 3–4; 268, 29, ил. 6], and Beniash Tkhorevsky 1578 [58, л. 2]

Defensive structures in the form of a wall under three towers are depicted on a Renaissance shield in the seal of the Vilnius burgomasters' clerk Yeronim Opakhovsky dated 1569 [11; 171, 352, n. 149 a, poz. 74]. In 1610, Hryhory Vorobievych, a Grodno city clerk, used a seal with a semicircular baroque shield depicting a gate with a sign in the form of a crossed arrow with its point upwards [265, 54–55, ил. 1; 104, арк. 1]. An indistinct image of a barred wall is probably present on the 1613 sphragises of Pinsk court clerk Fedir Shyshkevych [121, арк. 9v; 260, 98, мал. 247] and 1619 [121, арк. 13; 260, 98, мал. 248].

A heraldic plot depicting a cross pattée over a heart, which could symbolise courage, bravery, and other military virtues, probably has some relation to military symbolism. These figures are present in the 1537 seal of the Nemokshty advocatus Yanko Hryhorevych (on a tournament shield) (Fig. 231) and the 1575 seal of Simon Granda, a burgomaster of Grodno (on a Renaissance shield) (Fig. 232).



Figs 231–232. Seals of Yanko Hryhorevych 1537 [53, l. 1] and Simon Granda 1575 [34, dok. 28; 265, 59–60, ил. 6; 268, 55, ил. 24]

The figure of a five-pointed star on a Renaissance shield served as the coat of arms for the Vepry burgher Ivan on his seal dated 1539 (Fig. 233). An eight-pointed star is reproduced on the coat of arms on the 1571 seal of the Pinsk burgher Ivan Petrovych (Fig. 234). A six-pointed star in two brackets appears on the seal of an unknown Novogrudok burgher; it was used to certify a document dated 2 March 1620 by another Novogrudok resident, Tykhon Lukianovych (Fig. 235). A five-pointed star above a crescent moon is depicted on the 1620 seal of Kyrylo Pershkovych, also a Novogrudok burgher (Fig. 236).



Figs 233–236. Seals of Ivan 1539 [39], Ivan Petrovych 1571 [59, l. 1v], a Novogrudok burgher [62, l. 9], and Kyrylo Pershkovych [62, l. 9], both 1620

A six-rayed star above a crescent with its horns up is present on the seals of Pinsk councilor and the royal customs officer Fedir Klyshevych dated 1577 (Fig. 237), 1586–1587

(Fig. 238), and 1596 (Fig. 239). Despite the popularity of the star and the crescent in the familial heraldry of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania in general and the burgher heraldry in particular, it cannot be ruled out that in this case Fedir Klyshevych could have used Leliwa coat of arms rather than his own heraldic sign. Similarly, the Novogrudok burgomaster Sebastian Martynovych had a star above a crescent moon engraved on a semicircular Baroque shield in his seal of 1619 (Fig. 240).



Figs 237–240. Seals of Fedir Klyshevych of 1577 [79, l. 47v], 1586 [120, апк. 6; 94, l. 2; 260, 87, мал. 184], and 1596 [120, апк. 13v; 260, 87, мал. 185] and of Sebastian Martynovych 1619 [62, l. 2]

Although not very often, nobility coats of arms are found in the burgher arms of the sixteenth–seventeenth centuries. In particular, Zhdan Hrynkiewych, a burgher of Wepreve, used the Prus coat of arms in his seal dated 1539: a cross and a half on a Renaissance shield (Fig. 241). The same cross, but this time accompanied by a six-pointed star on the left, is present on the 1604 seal of Pinsk councilor Kyrylo Danylovych (Fig. 242).



Figs 241–242. Seals of Zhdan Hrynkiewych 1539 [39] and Kyrylo Danylovych 1604 [60, l. 1]

In 1560, the Kamianets burgher Yakub Gagatek used a seal with a scarf on a Renaissance shield (the Nałęcz coat of arms) (Fig. 243). In 1578, Mykhaylo Kalykhovych Brezovsky, a burgomaster of Brest, used a seal with the coat of arms of Jastrzębiec (a horseshoe with its ends pointing upwards, with a cross inside it) (Fig. 244). Kosciesza coat of arms, i.e., a sign in the form of a crossed arrow bifurcated from the bottom with the point up, is present on the seal of Rayhorod burgomaster Adam Lubitsky dated 1581 [213, s. 67]. And the Tykotyn burgher and Bilsk nobleman Stanislav Ergart depicted the coat of arms of the Vulture on his seal dated 1581 [196, s. 6, n. I, 48; 213, s. 30].



Figs 243–245. Seals of Yakub Gagatek 1560 [100, Plik 42; 213, 35; 268, c. 51, ил. 14], Mykhaylo Kalykhovych Brezovsky 1578 [58, l. 2], and Lukash Ivanovych Mamonych 1601 [52, l. 2]

The most famous noble coat of arms used by a burgher family was the Lys coat of arms of the Mamonych family, printers from Vilnius: a sign in the form of a twice crossed arrow with its point upwards on a shield, above which there is a helmet with a mantling under the helmet crown and five peacock feathers in the crest. It is in this form that Lukash Ivanovych Mamonych's coat of arms is presented on his seal dated 1601 (Fig. 245), as well as on an engraving in Vilnius editions of 'Apostle' in 1591 and 'Psalms of David the King and Prophet' in 1593 (Fig. 246). The latter also included a poem by Leonty Mamonych: *'На гербъ зацного д му его милости пана Лукаша Ивановича Мамонича старосты дисненъского и скарбного Великого Кн зства Литовъского і проца '* (On the coat of arms of the famous house of his grace Pan Lukash Ivanovich Mamonich, the elder of Disna and treasurer of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania and others), with an explanation of the symbolism of the coat of arms [254, 146; 250, 212, 216; 225, 268; 267, 35].



Fig. 246. The coat of arms of Lukash Ivanovych Mamonych in the Vilnius editions of 'Apostle'. 1591 [261, 79; 225, 268]

The Lys coat of arms was also used by the representatives of the Letetsky family, who were Vitebsk burghers and nobles: in the 1598 seal of the Vitebsk advocatus Yury Letetsky, the coat of arms is depicted on a Renaissance shield (Fig. 247); on the seal of the Vitebsk nobleman Mykolay Letetsky, in the same document, the coat of arms with a shield is supplemented by a shield with a mantling and three ostrich feathers in the crest (Fig. 248). Between 1616 and 1923, Mykolay Pankevych, a Pinsk court clerk, used a seal bearing the Gozdawa coat of arms with the symbol of a double lily (Fig. 249). The Myreevsky family of Grodno burghers, of noble descent from Podolia, used the Szeliga coat of arms: a golden cross over a golden crescent with its horns upwards in a red field under a helmet with a red helmet crown and a golden mantling and five ostrich feathers [185, s. 401]. The same coat of arms dated 1620, but with peacock feathers in the crest, appears on the seal of the Grodno burgomaster Stanislav Myreevsky [265, c. 57–58, ил. 4; 123, арк. 1v].



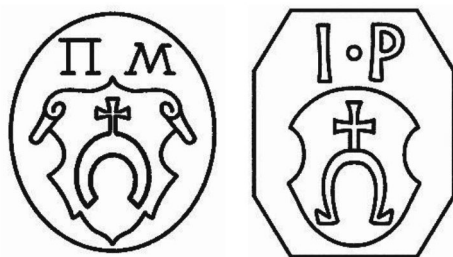
Figs 247–249. Seals of Yury [86, l. 85] and Mykolay [86, l. 85] Letetsky, both 1598, and Mykolay Pankevych 1616 [120, арк. 33v; 260, 100, мал. 258]

The most frequent subject of noble heraldry in burgher coat of arms was the image of the Poboh coat of arms: a silver horseshoe on a blue field, with a silver cross patée surmounting the horseshoe. In particular, it is present on the 1572 seal of the Kyiv councilor Andry Havrylovych (Fig. 250), the 1581 seal of the Bilsk burgher Stepan Romashko [196, 19, n. I, 574; 213, 96; 268, 51, ил. 16], the 1583 seal of the Vilnius councilor Stanislav Shpachevsky (Fig. 251), and that of the Kaunas burgher Yury Petrovych Sotkun dated 1598 (Fig. 252).



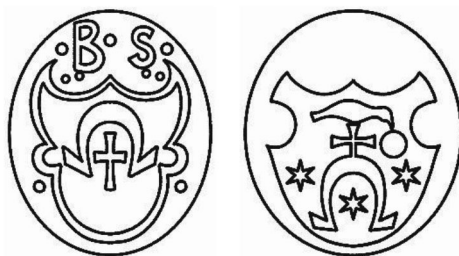
Figs 250–252. Seals of Andry Havrylovych 1572 [105, арк. 46], Stanislav Shpachevsky 1583 [91, l. 1v], and Yury Petrovych Sotkun 1598 [75, l. 1v; 201, 27]

The use of a modification of the Poboh coat of arms (a golden/yellow horseshoe with the ends down under a golden cross on a sanguine field) by the family of Ostroh burghers and nobles Novoseletsky [253, 132] is recorded in later armorial books of the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth [184, s. 240]. The same coat of arms, dated 1594, appears on the seal of the Ostroh advocatus Pavlo Novoseletsky [17] (Fig. 253). Finally, the Poboh coat of arms was used by the Kėdainiai burgher Yan Penkovsky on the seal dated 1621 (Fig. 254).



Figs 253–254. Seals of Pavlo Novoseletsky 1594 [17] and Yan Penkovsky 1621 [66, l. 1]

The coat of arms depicting a horseshoe with its ends down, in the circle of which there is a cross, similar to the Tępa Podkowa (Dull Horseshoe) coat of arms, was used on the seal of the Kėdainiai advocatus Bartholomey Solomyn in 1596 (Fig. 255). A modification of the noble Ślepowron coat of arms is engraved on the 1616 seal of the Vilnius burgher Mykhailo Yarmolych: a horseshoe with its ends down under a cross pattée, above which is a raven with a ring in its beak to the left, and three six-rayed stars – on both sides and below (Fig. 256).



Figs 255–256. Seals of Bartholomey Solomyn 1596 [65, l. 2; 204, 476–477, n. 99] and Mykhailo Yarmolych 1616 [7, st. 49]

Augustin Rotondus Melesky, an advocatus in Vilnius, doctor of both laws, a royal secretary and the holder of Stoklishki, used the Rola coat of arms: a silver rose with green leaves in the middle encircled by three silver coulters on a red field, as evidenced by both

the information of the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth armorial books (Fig. 257) and the images on his seals – the smaller one dated 1568 and the larger one dated 1568–1580: * AVGVS * ROTVN * I * D * SECRE * R * A * D * V * [7, st. 14; 61; 63; 69, l. 75, 80, 81; 80, l. 1v; 101; 204, 1091–1092, n. 422; 210, 191, pav. 53] (Fig. 258).

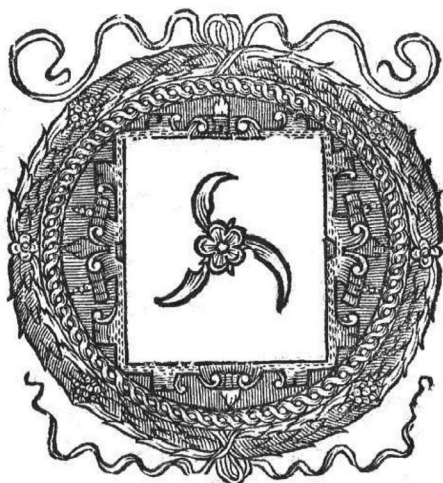


Fig. 257. The coat of arms of Augustin Rotondus Melesky in the armorial of Bartosz Paprocki Gniazdo cnoty. 1578 [189, 1177; 170, 265; 185, 398]

Stanislav Sabina, another advocatus of Vilnius (1582–1589), used the Glaubicz coat of arms – a golden/yellow fish on a blue field. In particular, it is depicted on a 1582 seal, which, in addition to the coat of arms, contains a helmet with a helmet crown and a mantling and three crosses in the crest. On Stanislav Sabina's another seal, dated 1586–1589, a Renaissance shield with a fish is accompanied by letters on top: • I • H • S •, and an inscription in a circle: + : DOCTORIS • S • SABINI • ADVO : WILN : (Fig. 259). His portrait dated 1590, in addition to the father coat of arms, also depicts the Gryf coat of arms, which belonged to his mother, Dorota Liatoshynska [204, 1094; 268, 53, il. 18].



Figs 258–259. Seals of Augustin Rotondus Melesky 1568 [38] and Stanislav Sabina 1586 [7, st. 20; 167, 245; 166, 109; 165, 65; 204, 1092–1093, n. 423]

It is possible that the noble coats of arms of Rotondus and Sabina appeared in the possession of the representatives of these families after their ennoblement, and before that

they could use burgher coats of arms with other subjects. One such example of the right to use a nobility coat of arms being granted as a privilege of ennoblement was the case of Vasyl Hrydkovych, a Polotsk burgher. He was granted it by a commercial privilege on 22 November 1551, to use a modification of the Zarembo coat of arms (the shield divided horizontally, upper half golden/yellow, the lower half red, embattled, from which a black rampant demi-lion with a circle in its paws appears), which was accepted by the Polotsk voivode (1542–1573) Stanislav Stanislavovych Dovoyna. In an entry in the Lithuanian Metrica it is described as *‘гербу своего льва зъ муру въ червономъ полю’* (coat of arms of a lion with a wall on a red field) [125, л. 82; 233, 462; 209, 116–117, n. 213–214], and in a later regest of the privilege as *‘гербъ левъ зъ правдой’* (coat of arms of a lion with a plate stand) [13, 164; 211, 55; 178, 86; 209, 116–117, n. 213–214].

Similarly, by the privilege of 17 March 1552, a modification of the Dołęga noble coat of arms (on a blue field, a silver horseshoe with its ends down under a silver cross, in the circle of which a silver arrow with its point downward) was granted to the burgher Martyn Andriyevych from Bilsk, who was accepted by the Plotsk voivode Feliks Srensky from Sokolov: *‘insigne babatum sagittam habens intermediam, desuper vero crucem in campo rubeo, qui Dolangowie appellantur’* [10, k. 180v; 179, 74, n. 1172; 211, 18; 178, 21; 207, 56, 64; 209, 121, n. 225].

By an ennoblement privilege dated 6 August 1561, the household storekeeper and Grodno burgher Zenyts Fedir Martynovych Mylensky was granted the modification of Duboroh coat of arms on deer antlers gules on an oak tree – *‘даємъ имъ ку вживанью, печатанню гербъ олени роги в дубе’* (we give them for use and printing the coat of arms of deer antlers on an oak tree) (Fig. 260). The full version of Duboroh coat of arms (vert, deer antlers on an oak tree, with a helmet and an ostrich feather in the crest above it) was granted by a privilege of 24 February 1562 to another household storekeeper and Grodno burgher Pylip Ofanasovych and his children, brother Klym Nestorovych, nephews Ivan, Mykhailo, and Symon Fedorovych, stepsons Davyd and Hryhory – *‘гербъ олени рога в дереве дубовомъ врослые в зеленомъ поли з гелмомъ трыо струсово ... гербъ Дуборогъ’* (the coat of arms is a deer antler in an oak tree on a green field, and on the helmet is an ostrich feather... the Duborog coat of arms) [126, л. 301v; 211, s. 55; 209, s. 142–143, n. 282–288; 199, p. 98].



Fig. 260. The coat of arms of Zenyts Fedir Martynovych Mylensky 1561 [35; 126, л. 278v–279v; 249, 74–75, n. 14; 211, 55; 209, 141, n. 279; 199, 97–98, 130]

In some cases, it is possible to determine the content of the coats of arms for the representatives of burgher families, both before and after their ennoblement. One of these early examples is the heraldic heritage of Francysk Skoryna, the Lithuanian-Rus first printer, who came from a family of Polotsk burghers. Numerous engravings of his publications between 1517 and 1522 reproduce burgher coats of arms of his father and mother. The first of them was a sign in the form of the letter T on a triangle with the top up. The second one is a sign in the form of a trapezoid under a cross with two branches at the upper ends. Based on geometric figures, their designs are generally characteristic for the burgher arms of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania, as can be seen from the numerous examples cited above.

Attempts to explain the meaning of Francysk Skoryna's parental coats of arms solely through religious symbolism, in particular, as images of 'human-made' and 'not-made-by-hands' tabernacles [215, 125–126, 186–187; 216, 114] or the Calvary cross above the tabernacle [252, 160–165; 251, 233–250] do not stand up to criticism, as they consistently ignore the very fact of the existence of developed heraldic culture in the Grand Duchy of Lithuania, vividly represented, in particular, in numerous engravings in *Ruthenian Bible* [268, 96–97].



Fig. 261. The coat of arms of Francysk Skoryna on his engraved portrait in the Book of Sirach in 'Ruthenian Bible' 1517 [226, 49; 214, 8; 229, 23; 259, 34–36; 218, il. 33–35; 257, 25–26; 261, 98; 266, 123–124; 231, 138; 258, 56–57; 270, 58–80, рис. 11, 15; 268, 95–98, il. 64]

The coats of arms of the printer's father and mother are presented on his engraved portrait from the Book of Sirach in 'Ruthenian Bible' of 1517 (Fig. 261). Next to them is also Francysk Skoryna's own coat of arms, which he probably received as a result of his ennoblement, the time and place of which is currently unknown.



Fig. 262. The coat of arms of Francysk Skoryna on the title page of 'Ruthenian Bible'. 1517 [247, табл. XL, илл. 2; 214, 91; 229, 25; 259, 34–36; 218, ил. 48; 246, 41–42; 215, 44–59; 266, 124; 216, 106–107; 224, 143; 231, 135, 138; 270, 72–75; 268, 132–133, ил. 96]

The printer's personal coat of arms included the figures of a crescent moon with a human face facing right, from behind which the sun with a human face emerges. It is reproduced on numerous engraved initials [219, 242, 265, n. 91, 95; 218; 246, 68; 268, 88–89, 91, ил. 58, 61], headpieces [172, таб. XI; 214, 108; 229, 24; 218, ил. 18, 19, 24, 51; 246, 69–70; 266, 124; 268, 85–86, 105–106, 134–135, ил. 56, 75, 97, 98], and engravings [172, таб. XI; 218, ил. 2–7, 12, 50; 246, 66–70; 268, 125–127, 129–131, ил. 92, 94, 95]. In other engravings, Francysk Skoryna's personal coat of arms is combined with that one of his father's, Luka Skoryna, as, for example, on the title page of the 'Ruthenian Bible' dated 1517 (Fig. 262) as well as on numerous engravings from Exodus [172, таб. XI; 214, 191; 218, ил. 22, 36–41; 261, 98; 266, 123–124; 231, 136; 268, 140–141, ил. 105] and Numbers [218, ил. 13; 246, 43–45; 261, 98; 266, 123–124; 268, 154, ил. 123] in 'Ruthenian Bible' of 1519. Both coats of arms are represented on an engraved headpiece from the later Vilnius edition of the 'Small Travel Book' (*Малая падарожная кніжыца*) 1522 (Fig. 263).



Fig. 263. The coat of arms of Francysk Skoryna on engraved headpieces of the 'Small Travel Book'. 1522 [172, таб. XI; 218, ил. IV–V, VIII, XX, XLV; 266, 124; 268, 160, ил. 134]

Finally, one of the engraved headpiece from the Book of Songs in 'Ruthenian Bible' of 1518 reproduces Francysk Skoryna's full coat of arms: a crescent moon horns and a human face facing right, from behind which the sun with a human face emerges, on a tournament shield, a helmet with a mantling on the left above it; the plot of the crest is the same as that on the shield, the shield is held by two putti, the right one with the hetman's mace and the left one with a royal scepter (Fig. 264).



Fig. 264. The coat of arms Francysk Skoryna on an engraved headpiece from the Book of Songs in 'Ruthenian Bible'. 1518 [218, il. 49; 266, 122–123; 268, 106–107, il. 76]

In a similar manner, a coat of arms was similarly changed by the representatives of the Borzobohaty family (Borzobohaty Krasensky), who descended from Krasnostav burghers from the Kholm land [233, c. 364] and later moved to Lutsk. Their burgher coat of arms is known from the image on the 1548–1552 seal of Olekhno Yatskovych Borzobohatovych Krasensky, the keykeeper (1557–1562), castellan (1557–1562), and bridgeman (1557–1562) of Lutsk and a customs officer of Volhynia. The Renaissance shield depicts a sign in the form of a twice crossed letter A with the right end of the lower bar bent down (Fig. 265).



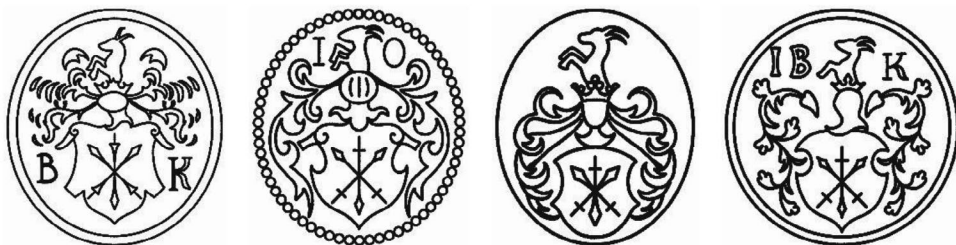
Fig. 265. Seal of Olekhno Yatskovych Borzobohatovych Krasensky 1548 [19, Plik 25; 20, Plik 71, 81]

From 1555, the family members used the Jelita coat of arms: three lances of gold (or yellow) in the design of a star on a red field, on the helmet is a demi goat leaping with its forepaws upward, facing right, with horns on its head [191, 271; 187, 351; 33, st. 99/107; 170, 80; 183, 257]. It was adopted by Stanislav Medved Zalisky in accordance with the ennoblement privilege of King Zygyмонт Augustus – *‘Pržigati gsau do toho Erbu, neyprwé Brzobohatij, kteréž gt přigal Zálezský řečený Nedwěd z Sserdské Země’* (The first to be accepted before that coat of arms were the Borzobogaty, who were accepted by Medved Zaleski from the Land of Sieradz) (Fig. 266).



Fig. 266. Coat of arms Borzobohaty in the armorial of Bartosz Paprocki *Zrcadlo slavného Markrabství Moravského*. 1593 [192, l. 339–339v]

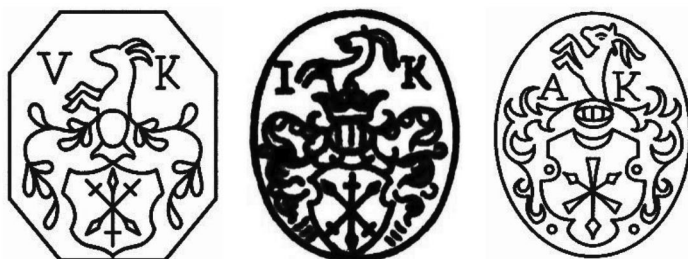
In its full form, the Jelita coat of arms is presented on the seals of Ivan Yatskovych Borzobohatovych Krasensky, a Lutsk advocatus (1548–1566), keykeeper (1558–1562), castellan (1558–1562) and bridgeman (1558–1562), a customs officer of Volhynia (1561–1562), the coadjutor of the bishop of Volodymyr and Brest (1562–1563), Bishop of Volodymyr and Brest (1564–1565), Bishop of Turiv and Pinsk (1566–1568), Bishop of Lutsk and Ostroh (1569–1585), and archimandrite of Zhydychn (1569–1582) dated 1555 (Fig. 267), 1561 (Fig. 268), 1562 (Fig. 269), and 1563–1565 (Fig. 270).



Figs 267–270. Seals of Ivan Yatskovych Borzobohatovych Krasensky 1555 [21, Plik 37], 1561 [22, Plik 23], 1562 [22, Plik 50], and 1563 [22, Plik 92, 93, 95; 23, Plik 1]

The same coat of arms appears on the sphragises of the Volhynia noble Vasyl Ivanovych Borzobohatovych Krasensky dated 1565 (Fig. 271), the Lutsk bridgeman (1563–1602) and castle clerk (1597–1600) Ivan Olekhnovych Borzobohaty Krasensky dated 1582–1595 (Fig. 272) and 1599 [28, Plik 50], and the Volyn nobleman Andry Vasyliovych Borzobohaty Krasensky dated 1603 (Fig. 273).

The original coat of arms of the family of Vilnius burghers Rudomina Dusiatsky was a sign in the form of an oblique cross with a crossed upper right bar and bent upper left and lower right bars, which was engraved on a tournament shield in the seal of Yan Rudomina dated 1551–1552 [181, 18, 22, tabl. I, n. 8; 268, 32, in. 8]. A slightly different symbol in the form of a pillar with two triangles and a double branch on the right appears on the seal



Figs 271–273. Seals of Vasyl Ivanovych Borzobohatovych Krasensky 1565 [23, Plik 1], Ivan Olekhnovych Borzobohaty Krasensky 1582 [109, apk. 69v; 27, Plik 75], and Andry Vasyliovych Borzobohaty Krasensky 1603 [30, Plik 34, st. 7]

of the Vilnius burgher Jan Andriyovych Rudomyna in 1578–1587 (Fig. 274). By the royal privilege of nobility for military service in the wars with Moscow, Vilnius burgomaster Mathey Rudomina and his sons Yan and Tomash were granted a modification of the Trubka coat of arms, which was accepted by the Vilnius voivode (1566–1584) and chancellor (1566–1579) Mykolay Rudy Yuriyovych Radivil, Prince of Biržai and Dubinki (1547–1584) [127, л. 99v–101v; 14, 290; 211, 57; 178, 103; 209, 179, n. 391; 198, 347].

The Rudomyna's coat of arms differed from the Radivils by its colour and crest: three black hunting horns with golden trim and goolden straps in a blue field, with a helmet with a blue and golden mantling above, under a helmet crown and crest with three hunting horns accompanied by two silver eagle wings [170, 314–315]. In particular, it is reproduced in the seal of Tomash Rudomina Dusiatsky, a holder of Dovgialishski, dated 1587 (Fig. 275, and his brothers – Yan and Lavryn, dated 1587 (Figs 276–277).



Figs 274–277. Seals of Jan Andriyovych Rudomyna 1578 [76, l. 111v], Tomash [76, l. 111v; 86, l. 67], Yan, and Lavryn Rudomina Dusiatsky 1587 [76, l. 111v]

The armorial books of the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth also note the use of another modification of nobility coat of arms by the representatives of the Rudomyna Dusiatsky family: three black hunting horns with a golden trim in a star, accompanied by two golden eagle wings on a blue field, with a helmet with blue and golden mantling above, and with a knight in silver armour and three ostrich feathers under the helmet crown and crest [188, p. 231–232].

The burgher coat of arms of Ivan Semenovich Zaritsky, a Vilnius burgomaster and Upita starosta (1570–1584), was the image of a sign in the form of a two-barred cross with bent ends, which is depicted on a semicircular shield in the seal of 1559–1566 (Fig. 278). Later Ivan Zaritsky used the modification of Kościeszka coat of arms on his seals of 1567–1570 (Fig. 279) and 1575–1580 (Fig. 280) – a sign in the form of a crossed bifurcated arrow with the point up in a Renaissance shield, above which a helmet with a mantling under the helmet crown is is, and there are peacock feathers pierced by a crossed bifurcated arrow in the crest.



Figs 278–280. Seals of Ivan Semenovich Zaritsky 1559 [5, st. 5; 22, Plik 22; 45, l. 25; 46, l. 5, 9v, 20, 22; 47, l. 18; 128, л. 325v; 198, 346; 268, 152–153, ил. 121; 197, 287, ил. 35], 1567 [25, Plik 36; 212, 368; 260, 73, мал. 97; 268, 153], and 1575 [159, арк. 17; 26, Plik 38; 197, 285, ил. 34]

From the mid-sixteenth century, the Khodyka Kobzyevych, representatives of Kyiv burghers, used coat of arms containing a sign in the form of a cross above the letter M on the base. In particular, it appears in the seals of Fedir Khodyka Kobzyevych dated 1547–1553 (Fig. 281) and Ustyn Fits Kobzyevych dated 1561–1578 (Fig. 282). The 1574 seal of Vasyl Fedorovich Khodyka Krenytsky, a Kyiv councilor, shows a sign in the form of a cross above the letter M on a Renaissance shield under the inscription BACBK (Fig. 283). A similar image is also engraved on the silver matrix of his seal dated in the 1570s (Fig. 284).

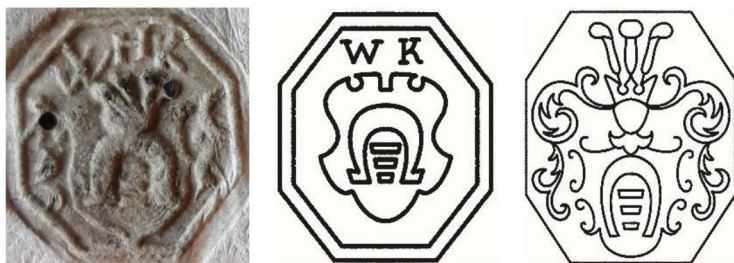


Figs 281–284. Seals of Fedir Khodyka Kobzyevych 1547 [148, л. 1; 156, арк. 22], Ustyn Fits Kobzyevych 1561 [136, л. 4], Vasyl Fedorovich Khodyka Krenytsky 1574 [149, л. 1] and the 1570s [113; 222, 113; 242, 42]

On 27 March 1589, the brothers Khodyka Kobzyevych (Khodyka Krenytsky) were granted a completely different coat of arms by a nomination privilege, depicting a silver

horseshoe with its ends down, in a circle of which there are three silver bars [140, л. 1–2v; 221, 297–302].

This particular coat of arms appears on the later seals of the family members, in particular on the sphragis of the same Kyiv councilor and nobleman Vasyl Fedorovych Khodyka Krenytsky dated 1596 (Fig. 285) and 1609 (Fig. 286). Subsequently, the Kyiv nobleman Yan Khodyka used the image of a horseshoe with its ends down over three bars on a Renaissance shield in his seal of 1630, above which there is a helmet with a mantling under the helmet crown and three ostrich feathers in the crest (Fig. 287).



Figs 285–287. Seals of Vasyl Fedorovych Khodyka Krenytsky 1596 [142, л. 1] and 1609 [29, Plik 73] and Yan Khodyka 1630 [162, apk. 1v]

The set of burgher heraldry sources discovered to date allows for tracing the main patterns of its formation and development. The burgher coats of arms are an important part of the family armorial formation system in the Grand Duchy of Lithuania. Their appearance and main stages of functioning took place in parallel with a similar development of the nobility heraldry. As in the case of the latter, the burgher coats of arms played primarily a social and identification role, emphasising the privilege of their owners.

Burgher coats of arms were mostly of a familial nature: they were inherited and used by different members of the same family, either unchanged or with minor differences that were supposed to indicate the younger branches of the family. Similarly to nobility coats of arms, only in rare cases can examples of purely individual coats of arms be seen. There are also examples of inheritance of burgher coats of arms through female lines, which was one of the characteristic heraldic practices in the Lithuanian state during the second half of the fourteenth–mid-seventeenth centuries. In several cases, burghers used complex coats of arms with genealogical programmes.

The plot content of the burgher coats of arms was also similar to the repertoire of figures in Lithuanian-Rus nobility heraldry. They were clearly dominated by the coats of arms based on familiar figures – various combinations of arrow-, cross-, circle-, letter-like symbols and geometric shapes. At the same time, the use of heraldic and coat of arms figures was not uncommon. The latter include images of celestial bodies, animals, plants, defensive structures, weapons, and military equipment. Only in a small number of cases do we

observe the use of nobility coats of arms by burghers. They were used mostly by the families that received nobility privileges and coat of arms from the nobles.

From the sixteenth century we have examples of the use of non-protective elements in burgher coats of arms: helmets with mantlings, crests, and sometimes helmet crowns. Among the helmet emblems, there is a fairly impressive repertoire of figures, not only ostrich and peacock feathers traditional for nobility coats of arms, but also three crosses, a sun with a crescent, a crescent, eagle wings, a bird with a ring, a falcon between hunting horns, a lily between ox horns, deer antlers, family signs, etc.

In general, the burgher heraldry of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania is characterised by a variety of heraldic subjects and constituent elements of the coat of arms, dynamism, and complex practices of their application. The geography of distribution of burgher coats of arms is also significant. To date, the seals of citizens of 32 cities of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania have been found, the number of which is given in the table below. This table allows concluding about the dynamics of the numerical growth of burgher coats of arms from the middle of the sixteenth century to the first half of the seventeenth century.

It is natural that the most numerous monuments come from the largest cities, such as the capital city of Vilnius, Kyiv,² Pinsk, Vitebsk, Kaunas, Novogrudok, Polotsk, Grodno, Brest, etc. At the same time, sphragistic monuments represent the burghers and such small urban centres as Vepry, Zhosli, Mstybohiv, Nemokshty, Turiysk, etc. There is no distinct difference in the content and practices of use of the coats of arms between urban patricians (advocati, burgomasters, merchants, lay judges, and councilors) and ordinary burghers (mostly various craftspeople), which indicates the widespread heraldic practices in the burgher environment of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania, as well as the prestige of heraldic signs as universal means of individual, family, and social identification.

Table. The number of burgher seals of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania in the late fourteenth – mid-seventeenth centuries, by cities and smaller urban centres

	The 2nd half of the 14 c.	The 1st half of the 15 c.	The 2nd half of the 15 c.	The 1st third of the 16 c.	The 2nd third of the 16 c.	The 3rd third of the 16 c.	The 1st third of the 17 c.	The 2nd third of the 17 c.	Total
Bilozero					1				1
Bilsk				3		1			4
Borysov				1					1
Brest				2	3	4			9
Bykhov							1		1
Grodno			1		1	3	4		9
Kamianets					2				2
Kaunas			6		2	9	2	2	21
Kėdainiai						1	6	1	8
Kopyl								1	1

2 For Kyiv, as well as Ostroh, we provide in square brackets the number of seals that were in use during the 17th century, i.e., during the period when the burgher heraldry of Kyiv and Volyn voivodeships was already developing under the distinct influence of the nobility heraldry of the Polish Crown.

Table. (continued)

	The 2nd half of the 14 c.	The 1st half of the 15 c.	The 2nd half of the 15 c.	The 1st third of the 16 c.	The 2nd third of the 16 c.	The 3rd third of the 16 c.	The 1st third of the 17 c.	The 2nd third of the 17 c.	Total
Kovel					1				1
Kyiv			1		14	43	[47]	[18]	58 [123]
Lutsk					4				4
Minsk						1			1
Mozyr				1					1
Mstybohiv					1				1
Nemokshty					1				1
Nesvizh							1		1
Novogrudok			1		1	2	7		11
Ostroh						1		[1]	1 [2]
Pereiaslav						1			1
Pinsk					1	14	18	2	35
Polotsk			10						10
Rayhorod						2			2
Slonim						1		1	2
Slutsk						1	1	1	3
Stepan						1			1
Turiv					1				1
Turiysk					2				2
Tykotyn						1			1
Vepry					2				2
Vilnius	2	1	6	7	18	16	9	1	60
Vitebsk			1	3	5	10	4		23
Volodymyr					1				1
Zhosli				1					1
Total	2	1	26	18	61	112	53 [100]	9 [28]	282 [348]

Received 11 June 2025
Accepted 26 September 2025

Sources

[1] Archiwum Główne Akt Dawnych (AGAD), Archiwum Potockich z Radzyna, Sygn. 310: Akta Iwana Hornostaja (1538–1652).
[2] AGAD, Archiwum Potockich z Radzyna, Sygn. 366: Akta Elżbiety z Hornostajów (1536–1654).
[3] AGAD, Archiwum Radziwiłłów, Dz. V, Sygn. 14627: Listy Wasyla Tyszevicza (1657–1658).
[4] AGAD, Archiwum Radziwiłłów, Dz. X, Sygn. 51: Dokumenty szlachty litewskiej (1523–1538).
[5] AGAD, Archiwum Radziwiłłów, Dz. X, Sygn. 111: Dokumenty szlachty litewskiej (1554–1587).

- [6] AGAD, Archiwum Radziwiłłów, Dz. XI, Sygn. 19: Dokumenty ks. Mikołaja Radziwiłła (1554–1587).
- [7] AGAD, Archiwum Radziwiłłów, Dz. XVIII, Sygn. 7: Akta Posiadłości Miejskich Radziwiłłów (1573–1619).
- [8] AGAD, Archiwum Radziwiłłów, Dz. XVIII, Sygn. 38: Akta Posiadłości Miejskich Radziwiłłów (1496–1601).
- [9] AGAD, Archiwum Zamoyskich, Sygn. 337: Listy do Tomasza Zamoyskiego (1619–1628).
- [10] AGAD, Metryka Koronna, Ks. 80: Regestrum secundum ad relationem (1550–1552).
- [11] AGAD, Perg. 5627: Akt Unii Lubelskiej (1.7.1569).
- [12] AGAD, Perg. 5905: List Mikołaja Piotrowicza (1540).
- [13] AGAD, Sumariusz Metryki Litewskiej, Ks. 3: Akta Metryki Litewskiej (1551).
- [14] AGAD, Sumariusz Metryki Litewskiej, Ks. 5: Akta Metryki Litewskiej (1576).
- [15] Archiwum Narodowe w Krakowie (ANK), Archiwum Aktów Dawnych Miasta Krakowa, Perg. 896: List Makara Kudricza (1481).
- [16] ANK, Archiwum Aktów Dawnych Miasta Krakowa, Perg. 915: List Stanisława Plechnowicza (1520).
- [17] ANK, Archiwum Sanguszków, Rkps 42: Inwentarz ks. Janusza Zasławskiego (1594–1596).
- [18] ANK, Archiwum Sanguszków, Teki IV: Akta (1540–1543).
- [19] ANK, Archiwum Sanguszków, Teki VI: Akta (1547–1549).
- [20] ANK, Archiwum Sanguszków, Teki VII: Akta (1550–1552).
- [21] ANK, Archiwum Sanguszków, Teki VIII: Akta (1553–1559).
- [22] ANK, Archiwum Sanguszków, Teki IX: Akta (1560–1564).
- [23] ANK, Archiwum Sanguszków, Teki X: Akta (1565–1567).
- [24] ANK, Archiwum Sanguszków, Teki XI: Akta (1568–1569).
- [25] ANK, Archiwum Sanguszków, Teki XII: Akta (1570–1571).
- [26] ANK, Archiwum Sanguszków, Teki XIV a: Akta (1579–1580).
- [27] ANK, Archiwum Sanguszków, Teki XXI: Akta (1594–1595).
- [28] ANK, Archiwum Sanguszków, Teki XXIII: Akta (1598–1599).
- [29] ANK, Archiwum Sanguszków, Teki XXVII: Akta (1607–1609).
- [30] ANK, Archiwum Sanguszków, Teki 101: Akta (1601–1622).
- [31] Archiwum Państwowe w Gdańsku (APG), Sygn. 300, D/8: Korespondencja z władzami i miastami Litwy (1416–1525).
- [32] Archiwum Państwowe w Toruniu (APT), Archiwum miasta Torunia, Perg. I-276: List Hanuła z Wilna (1382/1387).
- [33] Biblioteka Książąt Czartoryskich w Krakowie (BCz), Rkps 1740: Compendium (1650).
- [34] Biblioteka Uniwersytecka w Warszawie (BUW), Rkps 260: Archiwum ks. Ogińskich (1521–1791).
- [35] Lietuvos mokslų akademijos Vrublevskių biblioteka (LMAB), F 2-14: Didžiojo kunigaikščio Žygimanto Augusto privilegijos (6.8.1561).
- [36] LMAB, F 2-40: Nastasijos Jakubovnos diplomas (28.9.1529).
- [37] LMAB, F 2-46: Jano Janovičiaus Tikhy diplomas (20.4.1550).
- [38] LMAB, F 2-54: Mikolajaus Voitechovičiaus Jasenskio (21.9.1568).
- [39] LMAB, F 4-28: Agneškos Januševnos diplomas (26.8.1539).
- [40] LMAB, F 4-34: Stanislavo Ščepanovočiaus Koncevičiaus diplomas (11.1.1544).
- [41] LMAB, F 5-3: Logvino Savičiaus diplomas (21.2.1501).
- [42] LMAB, F 6-11: Matiso Volocho diplomas (16.7.1422).

- [43] LMAB, F 6-195: Lukašo Daškovičiaus diplomatas (2.6.1550).
- [44] LMAB, F 16-33: Dokumentų kolekcija (1552–1553).
- [45] LMAB, F 16-34: Dokumentų kolekcija (1554–1555).
- [46] LMAB, F 16-37: Dokumentų kolekcija (1559–1560).
- [47] LMAB, F 16-39: Dokumentų kolekcija (1562–1565).
- [48] LMAB, F 17-131: Dokumentų kolekcija (1600–1631).
- [49] LMAB, F 18-206/1/6: Dokumentų kolekcija (1500–1800).
- [50] LMAB, F 20-2: Belsko miestiečių diplomatas (1522).
- [51] LMAB, F 21-1420: Kunigaikščio Georgijaus Sluckio diplomatas (1575).
- [52] LMAB, F 21-1489: Vilniaus miestiečių diplomatas (1601).
- [53] LMAB, F 37-817: seniūno Nemakščiai diplomatas (1537).
- [54] LMAB, F 38-3: Kauno miestiečių diplomatas (1620).
- [55] LMAB, F 40-85: Dokumentų kolekcija (1506–1826).
- [56] LMAB, F 139-1432: seniūno Bychavo diplomatas (1629).
- [57] LMAB, F 264-219: Bresto miestiečių diplomatas (1574).
- [58] LMAB, F 264-222: Bresto miestiečių diplomatas (1578).
- [59] LMAB, F 264-771: Pinsko miestiečių diplomatas (1571).
- [60] LMAB, F 264-779: Pinsko miestiečių diplomatas (1604).
- [61] LMAB, F 264-1039: Vilniaus miestiečių diplomatas (1568).
- [62] LMAB, F 267-3045: Naugarduko miestiečių dokumentai (1619–1620).
- [63] LMAB, F 273-421: Vilniaus miestiečių diplomatas (1568).
- [64] Lietuvos nacionalinė Martyno Mažvydo biblioteka (LNMB), F 93-489: seniūno Žasliai diplomatas (1524).
- [65] LNMB, F 93-546: Keidano miestelėnų diplomatas (1596).
- [66] LNMB, F 93-549: Keidano miestelėnų diplomatas (1621).
- [67] LNMB, F 93-556: Keidano miestelėnų diplomatas (1630).
- [68] LNMB, F 93-558: Keidano miestelėnų diplomatas (1655).
- [69] Lietuvos valstybės istorijos archyvas (LVIA), f. 22, ap. 1, b. 1: Viliaus miesto teismo aktų knyga (1486–1668).
- [70] LVIA, f. 22, ap. 1, b. 2: Viliaus miesto teismo aktų knyga (1663–1665).
- [71] LVIA, f. 22, ap. 1, b. 12: Viliaus miesto teismo aktų knyga (1588–1727).
- [72] LVIA, f. 23, ap. 1, b. 1: Vilnijos magistrato aktų knyga (1511–1654).
- [73] LVIA, f. 23, ap. 1, b. 4: Vilnijos magistrato aktų knyga (1658–1663).
- [74] LVIA, f. 161, ap. 1, b. 1: Kauno kompromisino teismo aktų knyga (1555).
- [75] LVIA, f. 166, ap. 2, b. 3: Kauno magistrato aktų knyga (1598–1599).
- [76] LVIA, f. 447, ap. 24, b. 692: Turto dokumentai (1586–1816).
- [77] LVIA, f. 525, ap. 8, b. 596: Dokumentų kolekcija (1535–1787).
- [78] LVIA, f. 599, ap. 1, b. 43: Polocko žemės dokumentai (1487–1600).
- [79] LVIA, f. 599, ap. 1, b. 266: Godebskio dokumentai (1536–1800).
- [80] LVIA, f. 610, ap. 3, b. 136: Vienuolyno dokumentai (1570–1607).
- [81] LVIA, f. 610, ap. 3, b. 433: Vienuolyno dokumentai (1646–1668).
- [82] LVIA, f. 716, ap. 2, b. 136: Turto dokumentai (1589–1747).
- [83] LVIA, f. 716, ap. 2, b. 138: Turto dokumentai (1621–1711).
- [84] LVIA, f. 1135, ap. 1, b. 5: Borisovo miestiečių diplomatas (1524).
- [85] LVIA, f. 1135, ap. 20, b. 840: Dokumentų kolekcija (1610–1649).
- [86] LVIA, f. 1177, ap. 1, b. 3191: Turto dokumentai (1501–1599).

- [87] LVIA, f. 1177, ap. 1, b. 3273: Turto dokumentai (1560–1580).
- [88] LVIA, f. 1177, ap. 1, b. 3275: Turto dokumentai (1589–1673).
- [89] LVIA, f. 1178, ap. 1, b. 318: Turto dokumentai (1609–1648).
- [90] LVIA, f. 1279, ap. 1, b. 142: Turto dokumentai (1559).
- [91] LVIA, f. 1280, ap. 1, b. 20: Vilniaus miestiečių diplomas (1583).
- [92] LVIA, f. 1280, ap. 1, b. 33: Šembelio kvitai (1590–1591).
- [93] LVIA, f. 1280, ap. 1, b. 315: Radvilo dokumentai (1613–1808).
- [94] LVIA, f. 1280, ap. 1, b. 1432: Pinsko miestiečių dokumentai (1587–1630).
- [95] LVIA, f. 1280, ap. 1, b. 2189: Radvilo dokumentai (1491–1588).
- [96] LVIA, f. 1282, ap. 1, b. 6382: Bogovitino diplomas (1525).
- [97] Latvijas Valsts vēstures arhīvs (LVVA), f. 8, apr. 4, k. 16: Korespondencija (1517).
- [98] LVVA, f. 8, apr. 4, k. 19: Korespondencija (1517).
- [99] LVVA, f. 673, apr. 4, k. 19: Korespondencija (1559).
- [100] Muzeum Narodowe w Krakowie (MNK), Rkps 574: Zbiór pieczęci mieszczan.
- [101] Vilniaus universiteto biblioteka (VUB), F 4-A 323-18406: Vilniaus miestiečių diplomas (1568).
- [102] Zakład Narodowy im. Ossolińskich we Wrocławiu (ZNiO), Gabinet numizmatyczno-sfragistyczny, Teki Gumowskiego, Teka LXXXII: Zbiór pieczęci.
- [103] Гарадзенскі дзяржаўны гісторыка-археалагічны музей (ГДГАМ), КП 8232: Документы гарадзенскіх мяшчан (1557).
- [104] ГДГАМ, КП 9216: Документы гарадзенскіх мяшчан (1610).
- [105] Інститут рукопису Національної бібліотеки України ім. В. І. Вернадського Національної академії наук України (ІР НБУВ), ф. 1, спр. 5449: Документи Києво-Подільської Хресто-Рождественської церкви (1572–1777).
- [106] ІР НБУВ, ф. 2, спр. 6888: Документи Борзобогатих Красенських (1582–1600).
- [107] ІР НБУВ, ф. 2, спр. 20756: Документи міста Києва (1585–1787).
- [108] ІР НБУВ, ф. 301, спр. 517 Л: Документи міста Києва (1568–1813).
- [109] ІР НБУВ, ф. 301, спр. 656 Л: Документи міста Києва (1550–1800).
- [110] ІР НБУВ, ф. 301, спр. 216 П: Документи міста Києва (1508–1776).
- [111] ІР НБУВ, ф. 301, спр. 595 П: Документи міста Києва (1500–1800).
- [112] ІР НБУВ, ф. 307, спр. 536: Документи Києво-Михайлівського монастиря (1540–1770).
- [113] Музей Шереметьєвих (МШ), МС-1246: Матриця печатки Василя Федоровича Ходики Креницького (1570-і).
- [114] МШ, МС-1254: Матриця печатки Ганка Михайловича Онковича (1500).
- [115] МШ, МС-1494: Матриця печатки Івана Гладкого (1480-і).
- [116] МШ, МС-2306: Матриця печатки Мартина (XV).
- [117] МШ, МС-2319: Матриця печатки Василя Івановича (XV).
- [118] Нацыянальны гістарычны архіў Беларусі у Менску (НГАБ), ф. 694, воп. 4, спр. 1476: Збор дакументаў (1582–1600).
- [119] НГАБ, ф. 694, воп. 4, спр. 1556: Збор дакументаў (1546–1750).
- [120] НГАБ, ф. 694, воп. 5, спр. 4: Збор дакументаў (1543–1699).
- [121] НГАБ, ф. 694, воп. 14, спр. 32: Збор дакументаў (1550–1826).
- [122] Нацыянальны гістарычны архіў Беларусі у Горадні (НГАБГ), ф. 1664, воп. 1, спр. 380: Збор дакументаў (1608).
- [123] НГАБГ, ф. 1783, воп. 1, спр. 12: Збор дакументаў (1620).

- [124] Научно-исторический архив Санкт-Петербургского Института истории Российской академии наук (НИА СПбИИ РАН), кол. 52, оп. 2, картон 14, ед. хр. 3/35: Грамота туровского мещанина Степана Лютковича (1564).
- [125] Российский государственный архив древних актов (РГАДА), ф. 389, книга 35: Книга записей (1551–1558).
- [126] РГАДА, ф. 389, книга 41: Книга записей (1558–1566).
- [127] РГАДА, ф. 389, книга 56: Книга записей (1571–1578).
- [128] РГАДА, ф. 389, книга 262: Книга судебных дел (1557–1566).
- [129] РГАДА, ф. 1473, оп. 1, ед. хр. 15: Лист Андрея Кошколдеевича Басанского (1579).
- [130] РГАДА, ф. 1473, оп. 1, ед. хр. 16: Расписка Андрея Кошколдеевича Басанского (1580).
- [131] РГАДА, ф. 1473, оп. 1, ед. хр. 18: Тестамент Татьяны Кругликовой (1572).
- [132] РГАДА, ф. 1473, оп. 1, ед. хр. 19: Тестамент Микиты Богдановича (1572).
- [133] РГАДА, ф. 1473, оп. 1, ед. хр. 20: Купчая Домны Степановны Климович (1575).
- [134] РГАДА, ф. 1473, оп. 1, ед. хр. 22: Лист Фёдора Богдановича (1583).
- [135] РГАДА, ф. 1473, оп. 1, ед. хр. 175: Лист Добрилы Зуборевича (1549).
- [136] РГАДА, ф. 1473, оп. 1, ед. хр. 177: Тестамент Устына Фица Кобызевича (1578).
- [137] РГАДА, ф. 1473, оп. 1, ед. хр. 178: Купчая Степана Галаты (1570-е).
- [139] РГАДА, ф. 1473, оп. 1, ед. хр. 577 А: Запись Зои Семеновны Ходыкиной (1570).
- [140] РГАДА, ф. 1473, оп. 1, ед. хр. 583: Нобилитационный привилей Ходыкам Кобызевичам (1589).
- [141] РГАДА, ф. 1473, оп. 1, ед. хр. 585: Выпись из киевских ратушных книг (1575).
- [142] РГАДА, ф. 1473, оп. 1, ед. хр. 604: Квит Василия Ходьки Креницкого (1596).
- [143] РГАДА, ф. 1473, оп. 1, ед. хр. 611: Расписка Мирона Скраги (1598).
- [144] РГАДА, ф. 1473, оп. 1, ед. хр. 613: Купчая Андрея Гридковича (1598).
- [145] РГАДА, ф. 1473, оп. 1, ед. хр. 616: Лист Якова Лемеша (1590-е).
- [146] РГАДА, ф. 1473, оп. 1, ед. хр. 628: Купчая Ручинских (1604).
- [147] РГАДА, ф. 1473, оп. 1, ед. хр. 962: Тестамент Игнатия Малиновича (1572).
- [148] РГАДА, ф. 1473, оп. 1, ед. хр. 982: Купчая Ивана Никитича Занкова (1547).
- [149] РГАДА, ф. 1473, оп. 1, ед. хр. 986: Купчая Митки Ильина (1574).
- [150] РГАДА, ф. 1603, оп. 3, ед. хр. 1375 Ж: Продажа Вербковичей (1566).
- [151] РГАДА, ф. 1603, оп. 5, ед. хр. 1924: Лист Юрия Олерта (1623).
- [152] РГАДА, ф. 1603, оп. 5, ед. хр. 1925: Выпись из ковенских войтовских книг (1623).
- [153] РГАДА, ф. 1603, оп. 5, ед. хр. 1929: Выпись из ковенских войтовских книг (1624).
- [154] РГАДА, ф. 1603, оп. 5, ед. хр. 1931: Выпись из ковенских войтовских книг (1625).
- [155] Центральний державний історичний архів України у місті Києві (ЦДІАК), ф. 44, оп. 1, спр. 1: Актова книга (1543–1576).
- [156] ЦДІАК, ф. 62, оп. 1, спр. 3: Актова книга (1587–1780).
- [157] ЦДІАК, ф. 220, оп. 1, спр. 652: Лист Щасного Полозовича (1514).
- [158] ЦДІАК, ф. 220, оп. 1, спр. 673: Лист волинської шляхти (1558).
- [159] ЦДІАК, ф. 221, оп. 1, спр. 3: Розписки (1540–1822).
- [160] ЦДІАК, ф. 221, оп. 1, спр. 57: Випис із київських ратушних книг (1612).
- [161] ЦДІАК, ф. 221, оп. 1, спр. 62: Купча Черкашенина (1612).
- [162] ЦДІАК, ф. 221, оп. 1, спр. 570: Контракт київських міщан (1630).

Literature

- [163] BARTOLI a Saxoferrato. *Tractatus de Insigniis et Armis*. Bonn, 1883.
- [164] FOLLPRECHT, K. Pieczęcie mieszczan krakowskich, *Pieczęcie w dawnej Rzeczypospolitej. Stan i perspektywy badań*. Warszawa, 2006, 339–354.
- [165] GUMOWSKI, M. *Handbuch der polnischen Heraldik*. Graz, 1969.
- [166] GUMOWSKI, M. *Handbuch der polnischen Siegelkunde*. Graz, 1966.
- [167] GUMOWSKI, M.; HAISIG M.; MIKUCKI S. *Sfragistyka*. Warszawa, 1960.
- [168] KIAUPA, Z. 1522–1526/1536 m. *visuomeniniai susirėmimai Vilniuje: ištakos, eiga, pasekmės*. Vilnius, 2021.
- [169] *Kodex dyplomatyczny katedry i diecezji wileńskiej*. T. I. Kraków, 1932.
- [170] KOJAŁOWICZ, W. *Herbarz rycerstwa Wielkiego Księstwa Litewskiego zwany Compendium*. Kraków, 1897.
- [171] KUTRZEBA, S.; SEMKOWICZ, W. *Akta unji Polski z Litwą. 1385–1791*. Kraków, 1932.
- [172] LELEWEL, J. *Bibliograficznych ksiąg dwije*. T. II. Wilno, 1826.
- [173] *Lietuvos Metrika*. Knyga Nr. 4 (1479–1491). Užrašymų knyga 4. Parengė L. Anužytė. Vilnius, 2004. Vilnius, 2004.
- [174] *Lietuvos Metrika*. Knyga Nr. 25 (1387–1546). Užrašymų knyga 25. Parengė D. Antanavičius ir A. Baliulis. Vilnius, 1998. Vilnius, 1998.
- [175] *Lietuvos Metrika*. Knyga Nr. 523 (1528). Viešųjų reikalų knyga 1. Parengė A. Baliulis, A. Dubonis. Vilnius, 2006.
- [176] ŁOZIŃSKI, W. *Patrycyat i mieszczaństwo lwowskie w XVI i XVII wieku*. Lwów, 1912.
- [177] MAŁECKI, A. *Studia Heraldyczne*. T. II. Lwów, 1890. S. 349.
- [178] *Materiały genealogiczne, nobilitacje, indygenaty w zbiorach Archiwum Głównego Akt Dawnych w Warszawie*. Oprac. A. Wajs. Warszawa, 1995.
- [179] *Matricularum Regni Poloniae summaria*. Vol. V. Varsoviae, 1961.
- [180] MIENICKI, R. Trzy dokumenty z wieku XV dotyczące ziemi połockiej. *Ateneum Wileńskie*. R. VII. Wilno, 1930. Z. III–IV, 893–903.
- [181] NAMYSŁOWSKI, S. Herby mieszczaństwa poznańskiego. *Muzeum Wielkopolskie w Poznaniu*. R. V. Poznań, 1929, 6–55.
- [182] NEUBECKER, O. *Grosses Wappen-Bilder-Lexikon der bürgerlichen Geschlechter Deutschlands, Österreichs und der Schweiz*. Augsburg, 1992.
- [183] NIESIECKI, K. *Herbarz Polski*, powiększony dodatkami późniejszych autorów, rękopismów, dowodów urzędowych i wydany przez Jana Nepomucena Bobrowicza. T. II. Lipsk, 1839.
- [184] NIESIECKI, K. *Herbarz Polski*, powiększony dodatkami późniejszych autorów, rękopismów, dowodów urzędowych i wydany przez Jana Nepomucena Bobrowicza. T. III. Lipsk, 1839.
- [185] NIESIECKI, K. *Herbarz Polski*, powiększony dodatkami późniejszych autorów, rękopismów, dowodów urzędowych i wydany przez Jana Nepomucena Bobrowicza. T. VI. Lipsk, 1841.
- [186] NIESIECKI, K. *Herbarz Polski*, powiększony dodatkami późniejszych autorów, rękopismów, dowodów urzędowych i wydany przez Jana Nepomucena Bobrowicza. T. VII. Lipsk, 1841.
- [187] OKOLSKI, S. *Orbis Polonus*. Vol. I. Cracoviae, 1641.
- [188] OKOLSKI, S. *Orbis Polonus*. Vol. III. Cracoviae, 1645.
- [189] PAPROCKI, B. *Gniazdo cnoty zkąd herby rycerstwa sławnego Królestwa Polskiego, Wielkiego Księstwa Litewskiego, Ruskiego, Pruskiego, Mazowieckiego, Żmudzkiego y inszych Państw do tego Królestwa należących Książąt y Panów początek swoy mają*. Kraków, 1578.
- [190] PAPROCKI, B. *Herby rycerstwa Polskiego*. Kraków, 1584.

- [191] PAPROCKI, B. *Herby rycerstwa polskiego*. Kraków, 1858.
- [192] PAPROCKÝ, B. *Zrcadlo slavného Markrabství Moravského, v kterémž jeden každý Stavdávnost, vzácnost i povinnost svou uhlédá*. Olomouc, 1593.
- [193] PASTOUREAU, M. *Traité d'héraldique*. Paris, 1997.
- [194] PIEKOSIŃSKI, F. *Heraldyka polska wieków średnich*. Kraków, 1899.
- [195] PIEKOSIŃSKI, F. *Herbarz szlachty polskiej wieków średnich*. Kraków, 1905–1906.
- [196] PIEKOSIŃSKI, F. *Wypisy heraldyczne z ksiąg poborowych*. Lwów, 1911.
- [197] RAGAUSKIENĖ, R. *Dingė istorijoje. XVI a. Lietuvos Didžiosios Kunigaikštystės bajorijos privatūs archyvai*. Vilnius, 2015.
- [198] RAGAUSKIENĖ, R. *Tłoki pieczętnie Wielkiego Księstwa Litewskiego w XVI w. (na podstawie Metryki Litewskiej). Materiały do archeologii prawa. Сфрагістичний щорічник. Вип. I. Київ, 2011. 338–358.*
- [199] RAGAUSKIENĖ, R. *Vilniaus „Aukso amžius“, miesto gyventojai ir svečiai XVI a. 6–7-ajame deš. (Vilniaus vietininko teismo knygų duomenimis)*. Vilnius, 2021.
- [200] RAILAITĖ-BARDĖ, A. *Origo et arma. Kilmė ir herbas Lietuvos Didžiojoje Kunigaikštystėje XVI–XVIII amžiuje*. Vilnius, 2020.
- [201] RIMŠA, E. *Kauno miestiečių ir atvykėlių vokiečių antspaudai (1479–1655 m.), Kauno istorijos metraštis*. Kaunas, 2008, 9–34.
- [202] RIMŠA, E. *Kauno miesto herbas XV–XX a.* Vilnius, 1994.
- [203] RIMŠA, E. *Lietuvos Didžiosios Kunigaikštystės miestų antspaudai*. Vilnius, 1999.
- [204] RIMŠA, E. *Pieczęcie miast Wielkiego Księstwa Litewskiego*. Warszawa, 2007.
- [205] RUPPEL, K. K. *Die Hausmarke. Das Symbol der germanischen Sippe*. Berlin, 1939.
- [206] SEMKOWICZ, W. *Hanul, namiestnik wileński (1382–1387) i jego ród. Ateneum Wileńskie. R. VII. Wilno, 1930. Z. I–II, 1–20.*
- [207] SZYMAŃSKI, J. *Herbarz rycerstwa polskiego z XVI-go wieku*. Warszawa, 2001.
- [208] SZYMAŃSKI, J. *Nauki pomocnicze historii*. Warszawa, 1983.
- [209] TRELIŃSKA, B. *Album armorum nobilium Regni Poloniae XV–XVIII saec. Herby nobilitacji i indygenatów XV–XVIII w.* Lublin, 2001.
- [210] *Vilniaus istorija. T. I: XIII a. – 1795 m.* Vilnius, 2025.
- [211] WDOVISZEWSKI, Z. *Regesty nobilitacji w Polsce (1404–1794). Materiały do biografii, genealogii i heraldyki polskiej. T. IX. Buenos Aires, 1987, XI–XV, 1–221, 235–239.*
- [212] WITTYG, W. *Nieznana szlachta polska i jej herby*. Kraków, 1908.
- [213] WITTYG, W. *Znaki pieczętnie (gmerki) mieszczan w Polsce w XVI i zaraniu XVII wieku*. Kraków, 1907.
- [214] *450 год беларускага кнігадрукавання*. Мінск, 1967.
- [215] АПЕВІЧ, У. *Сімволіка гравюры Скарыны*. Мінск, 1999.
- [216] АПЕВІЧ, У. *Імя і справа Скарыны. У чыіх руках спадчына*. Мінск, 2002.
- [217] АЛФЬОРОВ, О.; ОДНОРОЖЕНКО, О. *Українські особові печатки XV–XVII ст. за матеріалами київських архівосховищ*. Харків, 2008.
- [218] БАРАЗНА, Л. *Гравюры Францыска Скарыны*. Мінск, 1990.
- [219] *Белорусский просветитель Франциск Скорина и начало книгопечатания в Белоруссии и Литве*. Москва, 1979.
- [220] БІЛОУС, Н. *Київ наприкінці XV – у першій половині XVII століття. Міська влада і самоврядування*. Київ, 2008.
- [221] БІЛОУС, Н. *Привілей на шляхетство киянам Ходикам-Кобизевичам 1589 р., Сфрагістичний щорічник. Вип. II. Київ, 2012, 297–302.*

- [222] БІЛОУС, Н. *Тестаменти киян середини XVI – першої половини XVII ст.* Київ, 2011.
- [223] БІЛОУС, Н.; ОДНОРОЖЕНКО, О. Геральдика київських міщан другої половини XVI – першої половини XVII століть, *Сфрагістичний щорічник*. Вип. II. Київ, 2012, 283–296.
- [224] Вялікае княства Літоўскае. *Энцыклапедыя*. Т. I. Мінск, 2007.
- [225] Вялікае княства Літоўскае. *Энцыклапедыя*. Т. II. Мінск, 2007.
- [226] ГРУШЕВСЬКИЙ, М. *Культурно-національний рух на Україні в XVI–XVII віці*. Львів, 1912.
- [227] ГУДАВИЧЮС, Э. *История Литвы*. Т. I: С древнейших времён до 1569 года. Москва, 2005.
- [228] *Люстрована історія Києва*. Київ, 2012.
- [229] ІСАЄВИЧ, Я. *Літературна спадщина Івана Федорова*. Львів, 1989.
- [230] *Князі Олельковичі-Слуцькі*. Під науковою редакцією Ігоря Тесленка. Київ, 2017.
- [231] ЛАЗУКА, Б. *Гісторыя беларускага мастацтва*. Мінск, 2007.
- [232] *Луцька замкова книга 1560–1561 рр.* Підготували В. Мойсієнко, В. Поліщук. Луцьк, 2013.
- [233] ЛЮБАВСКИЙ, М. *Литовско-русский сейм. Опыт по истории учреждения в связи с внутренним строем и внешнею жизнью государства*. Москва, 1901.
- [234] ЛЮТА, Т. Печатки київського суспільства XVI ст. як джерело до історії української геральдики, *Міста та містечка в гербах, прапорах і печатках*. Львів, 2003, 159–166.
- [235] МІКУЛЬСЬКІ, Ю. *Miscellanea з архіўних і бібліятэчных сховішчаў (XIV–XVII ст.)*. *Беларуская даўніна*. Вип. II. Мінск, 2015, 131–311.
- [236] ОДНОРОЖЕНКО, О. Бризури в руській (українській) геральдиці середини XII – першої половини XVII ст. *Записки Наукового товариства ім. Шевченка. Том CCLXXV: Праці Комісії спеціальних (допоміжних) історичних дисциплін*. Львів, 2022, 257–274.
- [237] ОДНОРОЖЕНКО, О. До історії української генеалогії та геральдики: Княжі роди XIV–XVII ст. *Генеалогічні записки Українського геральдичного товариства*. Вип. VI. Львів, 2007, 45–85.
- [238] ОДНОРОЖЕНКО, О. Знама землі Полукназевской: геральдично-сфрагістичні аспекти купчого запису Солтана Альбієвича 1508 р. *Сфрагістичний щорічник*. Вип. VII. Київ, 2020, 194–212.
- [239] ОДНОРОЖЕНКО, О. *Князівська геральдика Волині середини XIV–XVIII ст.* Харків, 2008.
- [240] ОДНОРОЖЕНКО, О. *Родова геральдика Руського королівства та Руських земель Корони Польської XIV–XVI ст.* Харків, 2009.
- [241] ОДНОРОЖЕНКО, О. Родова геральдика Сіверської, Смоленської та Мстиславської земель ВКЛ в XIV–XVII ст., *Герольд Litherland*. Горадня – Менск, 2011. № 18, 4–20.
- [242] ОДНОРОЖЕНКО О. Руськая сфрагистика периода позднего Средневековья XIV – середина XVI в., *Антиквар*. Київ, 2010. № 11 (48), 38–44.
- [243] ОДНОРОЖЕНКО, О. *Руські королівські, господарські та князівські печатки XIII–XVI ст.* Харків, 2009.
- [244] ОДНОРОЖЕНКО, О. Руські родові герби XIV–XVI ст. як генеалогічне джерело. *Генеалогія. Збірка наукових праць*. Вип. I. Київ, 2013, 395–426.
- [245] ОДНОРОЖЕНКО, О. Шляхетська геральдика Київської землі XV – першої половини XVII ст. за архівними джерелами та матеріалами сфрагістичної колекції Музею Шереметьєвих, *Сфрагістичний щорічник*. Вип. II. Київ, 2012, 170–256.
- [246] ПІКАРДА, Г. *Алегарычная геральдыка Францішка Скарыны і кароткі дапаможнік па беларускай геральдыцы, Сладчына*. Мінск, 1992. № 5, 60–72; № 6, 39–52; 1993. № 1, 41–52; № 2, 58–74.
- [247] ПОЛОНСКАЯ, Н. *Историко-культурный атлас по русской истории*. Вип. II. Киев, 1913.
- [248] *Полоцкие грамоты XIII – начала XVI вв.* Т. I–II. Москва, 2015.

- [249] *Рукописное отделение Виленской публичной библиотеки. Вып. I: I – Церковно-славянские рукописи. II – Русские пергамены.* Вильна, 1871.
- [250] САВЕРЧАНКА, І. *Старажытная паэзія Беларусі: XVI – першая палова XVII ст.* Мінск, 1992.
- [251] ТЕМЧИН, С. *Издания Франциска Скорины: источники, интерпретации, бытование.* Вильнюс, 2022.
- [252] ТЕМЧИН, С. Голгофский крест над ветхозаветной скинией на гравюрном портрете Франциска Скорины. *Lietuvos Didžiosios Kunigaikštystės kalbos, kultūros ir rašties tradicijos.* Vilnius, 2009, 152–168.
- [253] ТЕСЛЕНКО, І. Хто є хто в імперії ‘старого’ князя. ‘Острозька шляхта’, Соціум. *Альманах соціальної історії.* Вип. VIII. Київ, 2008, 119–133.
- [254] *Українська поезія. Кінець XVI – початок XVII ст.* Київ, 1978.
- [255] ХОРОШКЕВИЧ, А. Печати полоцких грамот XIV–XV веков. *Вспомогательные исторические дисциплины.* Вип. IV. Ленинград, 1972, 128–146.
- [256] ХОРОШКЕВИЧ, А. *Полоцкие грамоты XIII – начала XVI вв.* Вип. II. Москва, 1978.
- [257] ЦІТОЎ, А. Беларуская прыватная геральдыка. *Спадчына.* Мінск, 1995. № 3, 18–26.
- [258] ЦІТОЎ, А. *Геральдыка Беларусі (ад пачаткаў – да канца XX стагоддзя).* Мінск, 2007.
- [259] ЦІТОЎ, А. Пашукаем в гісторыі, *Мастацтва Беларусі.* Мінск, 1989. № 8, 34–36.
- [260] ЦІТОЎ, А. *Пячаткі старажытнай Беларусі.* Мінск, 1993.
- [261] ЦІТОЎ, А. *Сфрагістыка і геральдыка Беларусі.* Мінск, 1999.
- [262] ЧЕРНЫХ, А. Трактат Бартоло ди Сассоферрато ‘О знаках и гербах’, *Средние века.* Вип. 52. Москва, 1989, 307–322.
- [263] ЧЕРНЫХ, А. Установления господина короля Дона Мануэла I. Книга 2. Титул XXXVII (перевод, комментарий А. Черных). *Европейское дворянство XVI–XVII вв.: границы сословия.* Москва, 1997, 145–150.
- [264] ШАЛАНДА, А. Геральдыка гарадзенскіх мяшчанаў у XVII–XVIII ст. *Архіварыус.* Вип. VI. Мінск, 2008, 236–241.
- [265] ШАЛАНДА, А. Геральдыка гарадзенскіх мяшчанаў у XVI–XVII ст.: спроба класіфікацыі, Гарадзенскі соцыум 2013. *Гісторыя і памяць XV–XX ст.* Горадня, 2014, 54–63.
- [266] ШАЛАНДА, А. Гербы і геральдычныя выявы на гравюрах ‘Бібліі Рускай’ Францыска Скарыны, *Герольд Litherland.* Год II. № 3–4 (7–8). Горадня, 2002, 122–132.
- [267] ШАЛАНДА, А. Да пытання класіфікацыі клейнавых гербаў шляхты ВКЛ. *Герольд Litherland.* Год I. № 1. Горадня, 2001, 34–37.
- [268] ШАЛАНДА, А. *Код Францішка Скарыны. Геральдычныя матэрыялы ў пражскіх і віленскіх выданнях беларускага першадрукара.* Мінск, 2017.
- [269] ШАЛАНДА, А. Мяшчанская геральдыка ВКЛ у XV–XVIII ст.: да пастаноўкі праблемы. *Białoruskie zeszyty historyczne.* Z. 19. Białystok, 2003, 229–235.
- [270] ШУТОВА, О. Вновь портрет Скорины, или о необходимости ‘читать’ гравюры, *Крыніцазнаўства і спецыяльныя гістарычныя дысцыпліны: навуковы зборнік.* Вип. X. Мінск, 2015, 58–80.

OLEG ODNOROZHENKO

Lietuvos Didžiosios Kunigaikštystės miestiečių heraldika XIV a. pabaigoje – XVII a. viduryje

Santrauka

Seniausi miestiečių herbai atsiranda XIII a. viduryje. Heraldinius ženklus iš pradžių naudojo miesto patriciato atstovai ir pirkliai, o per XIV a. ši praktika išplito visoje Europos šalių miestiečių aplinkoje. Vėlyvųjų viduramžių laikais miestiečių herbai buvo suvokiami kaip organiška visos heraldinės erdvės dalis, teisiniu požiūriu neišsiskirianti iš didikų herbų. Tik nuo XVI a. paplito požiūris į herbus kaip išskirtinį bajoriškos garbės ženklą. To meto herbųnuose, heraldikos traktatuose ir karaliaus privilegijose miestiečių herbai interpretuojami kaip „gmerki“, tai yra atpažinimo ir nuosavybės ženklai, turintys tik tam tikrą išorinį panašumą į „tikruosius“ herbus. Toks požiūris tapo lemiamas vėlesnėje istoriografijoje, todėl miestiečių herbų tyrimams skirta nedaug dėmesio.

Ir nobiliteto atstovo, ir nekilmingo asmens herbo pasirinkimas buvo asmeninis apsisprendimas, kurio ilgą laiką nevaržė jokie teisiniai apribojimai. Laisvai įsigjami herbai buvo patogi identifikavimo priemonė ne tik privilegijuotų sluoksnių, bet ir tų grupių, kurios pretendavo į panašų statusą, aplinkoje. Miesto patriciatas, pirkliai, amatininkai ir t. t. naudojos herbais taip pat ir tokiems tikslams kaip ir Viduramžių riterija bei tituluota aristokratija.

Panaši heraldinės praktikos plitimo dinamika buvo ir Lietuvos Didžiosios Kunigaikštystės teritorijoje, čia seniausi miestiečių herbai užfiksuoti XIV a. pabaigoje. Be sostinės Vilniaus, XV a. miestiečių herbus naudojo Kauno, Polocko, Vitebsko, Kijevo, Gardino, Naugarduko piliečiai. Šiuo laikotarpiu pagrindiniai miestiečių heraldikos motyvai buvo įvairių ženklų, iškaltų antspauduose, tiesiogiai jų lauke ar skyduose, atvaizdai. Kartais buvo naudojami ir herbai su skirtingomis heraldinėmis figūromis.

Pagrindiniai Lietuvos Didžiosios Kunigaikštystės miestiečių heraldikos požymiai, susiformavę Vėlyvaisiais viduramžiais, išlaikė savo reikšmę ir ankstyvuojau Naujųjų amžių laikotarpiu. Nemažas kiekis išlikusių tų laikų paminklų leidžia nustatyti miestiečių herbų kūrimo praktiką. Visų pirma turimi šaltiniai rodo, kad miestiečių herbai buvo paveldimi, dalį jų, visiškai nepakitusių, naudojo ištisos kartos. Pažymėtina, kad greta papročio naudoti tėvo herbą nustatyti ir pagal moterišką liniją paveldėtų herbų pavyzdžiai. Atskirais atvejais pasitaiko herbų su genealoginėmis programomis. Kaip ir bajorų heraldikoje, miestiečių herbuose nuo XVI a. naudojami užskydiniai (skydo puošybiniai) elementai – šalmai su mantijomis, karūnomis ir figūromis (šalmo puošmenos), tarp kurių ne tik bajorų herbų tradicinės stručio ir povo plunksnos, bet ir kryžiai, pusmėnuliai, erelio sparnai, paukščiai, lelijos, jaučio ir elnio ragai, giminės ženklai ir kt.

Pagrindiniai ankstyvųjų Naujųjų laikų miestiečių herbų motyvai (siužetai) buvo tos pačios figūros kaip ir didikų heraldikoje – tai įvairūs strėlės (-ių), kryžiaus (-ių), apskritimo (-ų), raidės (-ių) pavidalo ir geometrinių figūrų deriniai. Miestiečių herbuose tarp heraldinių figūrų yra dangaus kūnų, gyvūnų, augalų, gynybinių statinių, ginklų ir karinės ekipuotės atvaizdų. Labai retai miestiečiai naudojo bajorų herbus. Dažniausiai juos naudojo ta giminė, kuri gavo nobilizacinę privilegiją ir herbo adoptaciją iš kilmingų asmenų.

Apskritai Lietuvos Didžiosios Kunigaikštystės miestiečių heraldika pasižymi heraldinių motyvų ir herbo elementų įvairove, dinamišku bei sudėtingu jų taikymu, taip pat plačia geografija. Be didžiųjų miestų gyventojų, savo herbus turėjo ir mažų miestų bendruomenių atstovai, o tai rodo heraldinės praktikos paplitimą miestiečių aplinkoje Lietuvos Didžiojoje Kunigaikštystėje, taip pat heraldinių ženklų, kaip universalių individualios, giminės ir socialinės identifikacijos priemonių, prestižiškumą.

Reikšminiai žodžiai: herbas, antspaudas, ženklas, heraldika, skydas, miestiečiai, nobilitetas, paveldėjimas, Lietuvos Didžioji Kunigaikštystė