

ИСТОЧНИКОВЕДЕНИЕ, ИСТОРИОГРАФИЯ И МЕТОДЫ ИСТОРИЧЕСКОГО ИССЛЕДОВАНИЯ

Froben Prints and Polemics on Religion in Early Modern Eastern Europe

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The article explores the Froben prints stored at the Rare Books Department of the Library of the Russian Academy of Science (Biblioteka Akademii Nauk) in Saint Petersburg. For three generations in the 16th century, Basel printers the Frobens influenced European intellectual life like no other publishing establishment, contributing to the spread of early Latin and Greek Christian literature, which determined both the development of theology and the humanities. Some copies of Froben prints are conspicuous for the history of their use which is intrinsically connected with various kinds of religious polemics in 16th and 17th century Eastern Europe. The focus of the article is the copies of Froben's *Opera omnia* of St Augustine which underwent censorship in monastic libraries of the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth in the 16th and 17th century. The article traces the history of a number of Froben copies which belonged to notable Polish Protestants of the 16th and 17th centuries (Andrzej Trzeciecki, Nicholas Radziwill the Black ("Czarny"), Andrzej Dobrzanski). The examination of the connections of Eastern European Protestants, which enabled vigorous exchange of books with Western Europe, bringing, for instance, a book from the library of the great Dutch cartographer Gerhard Mercator to the hands of a provincial Polish pastor, is carried out. Finally, the article addresses the marginalia left by Simeon of Polotsk on one of his books. These marginalia throw some new light on the question of Simeon's genuine theological views. By examining the history of the copies from the Library of the Russian Academy of Science through the marginalia left in the 16th and 17th centuries by people of various religions, the article assesses Froben copies as a source on confessional and intellectual history of the period.

Keywords: Froben press, book history, Russian Academy of Science Library, Reformation, Gerhard Mercator, Simeon of Polotsk.

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Издания фирмы Фробенов и религиозная полемика в Восточной Европе раннего Нового времени

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В статье рассматривается корпус изданий фирмы базельских типографов Фробенов, хранящийся в фондах научно-исследовательского отдела редкой книги Библиотеки Академии наук. Роль трех поколений семьи Фробенов в интеллектуальной истории Европы эпохи Реформации не может быть переоценена: Фробены, как ни один другой издательский дом, способствовали широкому распространению святоотеческой латинской и греческой христианской литературы, определившей развитие как богословия, так и гуманитарных наук. Некоторые экземпляры книг XVI в., вышедшие из-под фробеновского пресса, примечательны своей историей бытования, которая связана с религиозной полемикой в Восточной Европе XVI–XVII вв. В статье рассматривается ряд экземпляров фробеновских изданий Аврелия Августина, которые подверглись цензуре в библиотеках монашеских орденов в Речи Посполитой XVI–XVII вв. Эти экземпляры являют собой пример практического применения указаний «Индексов исправлений книг...» монастырским руководством и монахами. Прослежена история бытования базельских изданий, принадлежавших деятелям польской Реформации XVI–XVII вв. (Анджей Тшецкий, Николай Радзивилл Черный, Анджей Добрянский). Делается заключение о ширококомасштабном книгообмене между протестантами Центральной и Восточной Европы, который, в частности, позволил провинциальному польскому пастору приобрести книгу из библиотеки прославленного голландского картографа Герхарда Меркатора. Анализируются маргиналии богословского характера, выполненные Симеоном Полоцким на полях книги, подаренной ему окольничим Ф. М. Ртищевым. Данные маргиналии позволяют взглянуть под новым углом на волнующий исследователей уже более столетия вопрос о подлинных богословских взглядах Симеона, который всю жизнь, выступая православным пропагандистом перед лицом католицизма и униатства, неоднократно был обвинен в «латинских» симпатиях и мнениях. Экземпляры фробеновских изданий, хранящиеся в Библиотеке Академии наук, характеризуются как источник по конфессиональной и интеллектуальной истории раннего Нового времени.

Ключевые слова: издательство Фробенов, история книги, Библиотека Российской Академии наук, Реформация, Герхард Меркатор, Симеон Полоцкий.

The polemics around religion which took place in early modern Europe was inextricably tied to the production and use of books, so it is no wonder that the history of printing and history of books in general can shed new light on various episodes of the history of Protestant and Catholic Reformation. This article examines how a few copies printed by a single press (the Froben dynasty), which are now stored in a single library collection (in the Rare Books department in the Library of Russian Academy of Science — NIORK BAN, Saint Petersburg), can figure as supplementary sources for the history of religious polemics in Eastern Europe in the 16th and 17th centuries.

The Froben printing house, active during the lifetime of three generations of the family came to the fore of the humanistic movement as early as the 1510s and later produced

very important publications, which greatly contributed to the foundation of modern Classics and Biblical Studies. A number of innovations in trans-Alpine printing were first introduced by the Froben press: the ornate design of the title-page, new fonts, including the popularization of Antiqua, and a special layout for the commentaries to the Classical texts. The history of the Froben enterprise is usually considered to have lasted from 1491, when Johann Froben independently published his first in-octavo Bible¹ until the late sixteenth or early 17th century after the death of Aurelius and Ambrosius Frobens, the grandsons of the dynasty's founder.

The Froben press had most impact on the intellectual life of the whole Europe under Johann and his son Hieronymus in 1514–1540s, when the Basel printers published the standard Greek New Testament; the most prominent Church Fathers, both Latin and Greek; and Hebrew and Aramaic (“Chaldean”) grammars and textbooks by Sebastian Münster. Thus, the Frobens met the demand for the newly discovered classical languages in the Renaissance Europe. The success of the enterprise was largely due to the personal friendship between the printers and Erasmus of Rotterdam, who had worked with the Frobens for more than twenty years and eventually found his last resting place in the Swiss city.

Johann Froben was born around 1460 in Hammelburg in Lower Franconia, and having studied in Basel university, started his apprenticeship under the famous Nürnberg printer Anton Koberger in 1480s. In 1490, Johann returned to Basel and became a proof-reader at the shop of Johann Amerbach. In 1491, his master entrusted Froben with publishing the Bible of his own edition in octavo, which became the first Latin Bible in this format. The edition was largely identical with the Vulgate with commentaries by Nicolas of Lyra, which Amerbach had printed in 1479 in folio. Probably, Amerbach wanted to test whether the new pocket edition would be successful at the market. Froben's Bible had a great success among the readers and became known as “Biblia pauperum”², followed by a reprint which left the printing press in 1495, being the first printed Bible with an engraved frontispiece (prefacing the introductory letter by Jerome of Stridon to Paulinus of Antioch)³.

Beginning in 1502, Johann Amerbach started publishing books in official partnership with Johann Froben and Johann Petri. This trio was an early case of divided labor in a printing shop: Amerbach and Froben engaged themselves with editing and the process of printing, while Petri researched book markets across Europe and decided what titles to publish. The most famous editions of Amerbach — Froben — Petri press reflect the demand of the European market for printed books at the turn of the 16th century: they produced the full corpus of Augustine's works; several Latin Bible editions; Decretals of Gratian, Boniface VIII and Gregory IX; as well as Bible concordances⁴. At the same time,

¹ Heckethorn Ch. W. The Printers of Basel in the 15th and 16th Centuries: Their Biographies, Printed Books and Devices. London, 1897. P. 87.

² Froben 1491 Bible description: GW 04269. See: Gesamtkatalog der Wiegendrucke // Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin. URL: <https://www.gesamtkatalogderwiegendrucke.de> (accessed: 11.05.2022). Description of its NIORK BAN copy see: Katalog inkunabulov / compiled by E. I. Bobrova. Moscow; Leningrad, 1963. No. 150, 151. P. 80.

³ Froben 1495 Bible description: GW 04275. See: Gesamtkatalog der Wiegendrucke // Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin. URL: <https://www.gesamtkatalogderwiegendrucke.de> (accessed: 11.05.2022). Description of its NIORK BAN copy see: Katalog inkunabulov. No. 152. P. 80.

⁴ See: *Sebastiani V. Johann Froben, Printer of Basel: A Biographical Profile and Catalogue of his Editions*. Leiden, Boston, 2018. P. 31–38. — The enterprise of “three Johannes” published 15 editions in 1502–1512.

Johann Froben, who had visited Aldo Manuzio's printing enterprise in Venice, strove to introduce such Italian innovations as the Antiqua font (known at the time as "Aldus font"), deliberate selection of quality paper, and new patterns of book design (engraved frames, printer's marks and engraved title page). In 1507, Froben acquired his own printing office (the so-called house "zum Sessel") where he started working independently, being visited by the humanist Beatus Rhenanus and his patron's son Bruno Amerbach⁵.

The turning point in Froben's career came with the publication of the "Adagia" by Erasmus of Rotterdam in 1513⁶. It was a pirate edition based on the one printed by Aldo Manuzio. But when Erasmus learned about Froben's "Adagia", he promptly started seeking business contact with him, abandoning partnership with the Paris-based publisher Joost Bade. One of the reasons was the will of Froben's master Johann Amerbach, who had died in 1513, to publish the new complete Jerome, Erasmus' favorite Christian writer.

V. Sebastiani suggests that Erasmus knew of the upcoming Froben's edition of his "Adagia" but didn't impede their publication, at the same time ditching Joost Bade, Froben's competitor, because he had long been planning on working with Basel. More than that, Sebastiani claims that the engraved frame on the title page of 1513 "Adagia", designed by Urs Graf, featured symbols described in this volume (Kairos, the appropriate chance; Nemesis, the inevitable consequence; and Humanitas, the humanistic learning), which should have signaled to the author that his publisher understood him better than anybody else and was ready for cooperation⁷.

Erasmus made a trip to Basel from Louvain in 1514, and when he reached Froben's house, which now hosted a full-fledged printing office of his own, befriended the Basel printer. Froben became a special printer for Erasmus' works and the humanists' most beloved writing and publishing projects. Before Johann Froben died in 1527, Erasmus published at his press complete works of Jerome, Cyprian, Arnobius, Hilarius of Poitiers, John Chrysostom, Irenaeus, Ambrose, and Athanasius. Another major direction of Froben's activity was publishing the Latin and Greek classics, including works of Lucian, Seneca, Plutarch, Euripides, and Libanius. Erasmus' own writings, revised in edition after edition, were also released by Froben, among which there were the "Adagia"; "Colloquies"⁸; "Paraphrases of New Testament"; works on rhetoric; moralistic and linguistic treatises; and, of course, the "Praise of Folly". In 1516, the Greek New Testament edited by Erasmus, with his translation and commentaries, was printed in Froben's office, bringing Erasmus the glory of the foremost "Christian philosopher". At the same time, Erasmus warned Froben not to publish any of Martin Luther's works, in high demand in Germany, the biggest market for Froben's prints⁹.

⁵ Ibid. P. 43.

⁶ Erasmi Roterodami Germaniae decoris, Adagiorum chiliades tres, ac centuriae fere totidem. Basileae, 1513.

⁷ Sebastiani V. Johann Froben, Printer of Basel. P. 39–42; 45.

⁸ In 1518–1527 this work by Erasmus alone was reprinted by Froben 11 times. The "Adagia" underwent 5 Froben editions in 1515–1526 (Ibid. P. 48).

⁹ There is a large body of research dealing with cooperation between Erasmus and Johann Froben. See, e.g.: Reber B., *Stockmeyer I. Beiträge zur Basler Buchdruckergeschichte*. Basel, 1840. S. 87–95; Sebastiani V. Johann Froben, Printer of Basel. P. 45–66 et passim; Bloch E. Erasmus and the Froben Press: The Making of an Editor // *The Library Quarterly*. Vol. 35, no. 2. 1965. P. 109–120; Shaw D. S. A Study of the Collaboration between Erasmus of Rotterdam and His Printer Johann Froben at Basel during the Years 1514–1527 // *Erasmus of Rotterdam Society Yearbook*. 1986. No. 6. P. 31–124; Crousaz K. Érasme et le pou-

Johann Froben also worked with such renowned humanists as the pioneer Hebraist Sebastian Münster and Classicists Fabricius Capito and Beatus Rhenanus. The visual beauty of Froben prints, which honoured Johann with the fame of a “German Aldus” was largely due to his collaboration with great artists of his time, the painter Hans Holbein Junior and the engraver Urs Graf. The book design of early Froben prints follow the early sixteenth-century Renaissance style with a readable and handsome font as the main decoration. Initials and printer marks engraved on wood add to the design of Froben prints, with the famous Froben caduceus serving as the printer’s mark to the end of the 16th century. This mark was designed by Holbein, and appeared in an especially lavish engraving at the back of the first Basel edition of “Utopia” by Thomas More (1518)¹⁰.

After Johann Froben’s death in 1527, his printing office was inherited by his elder son Hieronymus, who since 1525 had worked in partnership with Johann Hervagen. The Froben — Hervagen tandem operated until 1531, with Nicolas Episcopus joining in 1529.

Officina Frobeniana, the Froben Office, as the printing house was now called, started off where Johann Froben had left his work, finishing the ten-volume complete Augustine, edited by Erasmus. Augustine’s *Opera omnia* saw the light in 1528–1529 and were reprinted more than ten times in the 16th century (three of them produced by the Froben office itself). This edition played a crucial part in the reception of Froben prints, especially in Catholic lands because Erasmus was considered by the church authorities a suspicious author, and his texts were allowed only with expurgations and corrections, as specified in the official *Indices Expurgatorii*.

The history of the Froben dynasty is reflected in the dynamics of its printing activity during the 16th century. Johann Froben is credited with producing 256 editions in 1491–1527, alone or in collaboration with Johann Amerbach and Johann Petri¹¹. Hieronymus Froben, who mostly worked together with Nicolas Episcopus, printed 208 editions in 1528–1564¹², and his sons Ambrosius and Aurelius, who started printing while their father was still alive, produced around 30 titles. The second half of the 16th century saw the decline of this printing enterprise, although Frobens continued to print as late as 1603.

The collection of Rare Book Department of the Library of the Russian Academy of Science (*Nauchno-Issledovatel’skii Otdel Redkoy Knigi Biblioteki Akademii Nauk*) includes 6 Froben incunabula (mostly co-produced with Amerbach and Petri); 47 volumes of Johann Froben’s prints after 1500; 159 volumes produced by Hieronymus Froben (mostly co-produced with Nicolas Episcopus); 13 tomes by Ambrosius and Aurelius Frobens; and two items printed by Erasmus Froben (Johann’s son) together with Johann Hervagen.

Most of NIORK BAN Froben books were previously stored in the Roman Catholic Spiritual Academy (*Rimsko-Katolicheskaia Dukhovnaia Akademia*) in Saint Petersburg, founded in the 19th century. The Spiritual Academy’s library, in its turn, was built up of smaller book collections of the Catholic colleges, monasteries and schools which came

voir de l’imprimerie. Lausanne, 2005; Das bessere Bild Christi: das Neue Testament in der Ausgabe des Erasmus von Rotterdam / hrsg. U. Dill; P. Schierl. Basel, 2016.

¹⁰ *More Th., Erasmus Roterodamus. De optimo reip[ublicae] statu, deque nova insula Utopia, libellus vere aureus... Epigrammata...* Basileae, [1518].

¹¹ *Reber B., Stockmeyer I.* Beiträge zur Basler Buchdruckergeschichte. S.95–115; *Heckethorn Ch. W.* The Printers of Basel in the 15th and 16th Centuries. P.91–111. — Besides 256 editions published during Johann Froben’s life, the list of his publication also includes the 10-volume complete Augustine which was published only in 1529.

¹² Throughout the years Hieronymus Froben also published together with Eusebius Episcopus.

under the jurisdiction of Mogilev archbishopric. One of the most prominent of these collections was the *Bibliotheca magna* of Vilnius — itself a complex mix of books from various Jesuit organizations, which had been forming since the late 16th century. The foundation of *Bibliotheca magna* was laid by king Sigismund II Augustus, who owned 11 Froben prints, the works of Jerome, Basil the Great, Plutarch, Juvenal, Tacitus, and Aristophanes.

Copies of Froben editions stored at NIORK BAN which descend from the libraries of Catholic monasteries in Vilnius, Slutsk, and Grodno bear traces of censorship according to *Indices Expurgatorii*, implemented by monastic authorities and the monks who read these books. Due to the *Indices*, or only to Erasmus himself, but his printers also acquired the reputation as “pessimi heretici” (“worst heretics”) among the Catholic enthusiasts. A vivid example is a tome of Froben’s 1543 complete ten-volume Augustine from a Carthusian monastery of the Holy Cross in Beryozy¹³ in Belorussian Poles’e. The monastery was founded by the powerful nobles Sapiieha in 1648 and during the 17th century remained the largest residence of the Carthusian order in East Europe¹⁴. The BAN copy is a printer’s convolute, comprised of two independents, an index to all 10 volumes of the collection and the first volume. The printed text bears numerous handwritten blot-outs and cross-outs as well as pastedowns of censorial nature. The first *Index Expurgatorius* was compiled by a college of Catholic theologians as a supplement to *Index Librorum Prohibitorum* in 1571 and first published in 1586. In the first edition it contained a number of corrections to Froben productions, edited or written by Erasmus. As specified in the introduction to the *Index*, “though in Erasmus, in his study and edition of the [Holy] Writ there is a lot which is good and elegant, there is also a lot which is contrary to the papal authority, because he tried rather to defend his own opinion than reach the truth”¹⁵. In various recensions of the *Indices Expurgatorii* whole fragments could be prohibited from editions¹⁶. The earliest *Indices* (1586, 1601) prohibited a number of positions from the indices to Froben’s 1543 Augustine in the first volume of the collection¹⁷. Later, such prohibitions only increased in number. Some of the positions could have been blotted out, crossed out or pasted down at the behest of the local monastic or church authorities. In our Carthusian copy, a large number of blotted out lines related in its content to the religious polemics of the Reformation can be seen. At the opening of the index, there is a handwritten premoni-

¹³ *Augustinus Aurelius*. Independent 1. In omnia D. Aurelii Augustini Scripta Indices duo... Basileae, 1543. [134] p.; Independent 2. Omnium operum D. Aurelii Augustini Hipponensis episcopi primus tomus... T. 1. Basileae, 1543. [14] p., 844 col. (NIORK BAN call number 877.f.m/5774-R; 18361-R). — The title page of Independent 1 of the BAN copy bears handwritten notes: “Cartusiae sanctae Crucis prope Berezam” and “Pro Libraria Vil. F[rat]rum Minorum”. The crossed-out owners’ note shows that the book made its way to the Carthusian monastery of Beryozy from a Franciscan library in Vilnius.

¹⁴ *Паўлоўскаіа G*. Gistoryi kliashtara kartuziiantsaŭ u Biaroze // Belarus’ praz pryzmu regiianal’nai gistoryi: Biaroza i Biarozaŭski regien. Minsk, 2014. P. 120–121.

¹⁵ *Junius F*. Ad Lectorem Praefatio // *Index Expurgatorius librorum qui hoc seculo prodierunt, vel doctrinae non sanae erroribus inspersis, vel inutilis & offensivae maledicentiae fvlilibus permixtis, iuxta sacri Concilii Tridentini decretum: Philippi II Regis Catholici iussu & auctoritate, atque Albani Ducis consilio ac ministerio in Belgia concinnatus; anno MDLCCI...* [Lugduni Batavorum]: Apud Ioannem Marechallum Lugdunensem, 1586. Fol. A4, 2.

¹⁶ “The commentaries to St Augustine by Erasmus and Ludovicus Vives, and also various *Indices*, if they be not corrected, [are prohibited]” (*Index librorum prohibitorum et expurgatorum...* D. Bernardi de Sandoval et Roxas... Madriti: Apud Ludovicum Sanchez, 1612. P. 15).

¹⁷ *Index Expurgatorius librorum qui hoc seculo prodierunt...* P. 8–10; *Index librorum expurgatorum...* P. 15; *De Consilio Supremi Senatus S. Generali Inquisit. Juxta exemplar, quod typis mandatum est Madriti, apud Alphonsum Gomezium Regium Typographum. Anno MLXXXIII. Salmuri, 1601. F. 6v.*

tion: “this index is prohibited, [but] allowed with expurgation” (Index hic prohibitus, cum expurgatione permittitur)¹⁸ (Fig. 1).

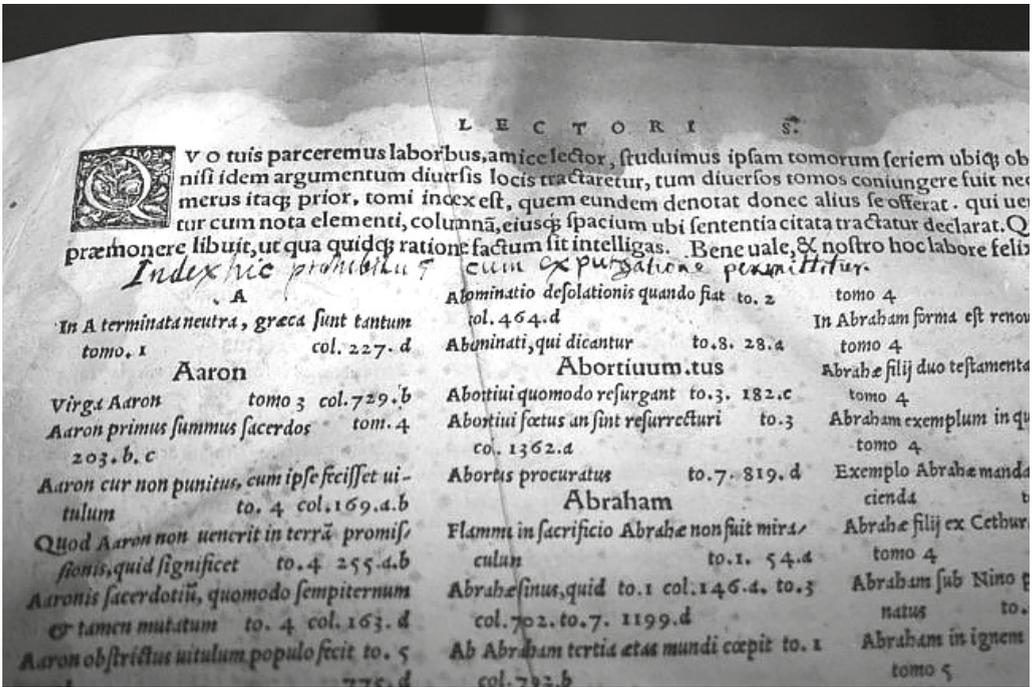


Fig. 1. Censorial note in: Augustinus Aurelius. Independent. 1. In omnia D. Aurelii Augustini Scripta Indices duo... Basileae: [In officina Frobeniana], 1543 [NIORK BAN 877.f.m/5774-R; 18361-R. f.[2]]. Photo by the author

Another independent of the same convolute also contains a censorial handwritten mark in the margins of the introduction authored by Erasmus and Bruno Amerbach: “the author is damned, [but] the work allowed with expurgation” (Author damnatus, opus cum expurgatione permisum)¹⁹ (Fig. 2).

A large number of positions in the index were blotted out in ink, and some parts of the first volume — pasted down. The most outrageous for the church authorities were the positions which resembled Protestant tenets, such as “we are justified by faith alone” (per solam fidem iustificamur) (Fig. 3); “faith, and not deeds discerns the just and the unjust” (fides, non opera, iustos & iniustos discernit); “against those who assert that the will is free” (contra eos qui liberum asserunt arbitrium); “we are not saved, but [only] damned according to our merits” (meritis no[n] saluamur, sed meritis damnamur)²⁰.

¹⁸ Augustinus Aurelius. Independent 1. In omnia D. Aurelii Augustini Scripta Indices duo... (NIORK BAN 877.f.m/5774-R; 18361-R. f.[2]).

¹⁹ Augustinus Aurelius. Independent 2. Omnium operum D. Aurelii Augustini Hipponensis episcopi primus tomus... T. 1. Basileae, 1543 (NIORK BAN 877.f.m/5774-R; 18361-R. f.A2).

²⁰ Augustinus Aurelius. Independent. 1. In omnia D. Aurelii Augustini Scripta Indices duo... (NIORK BAN 877.f.m/5774-R; 18361-R. ff. [45]; [45]v; [63]v; [70]v.).

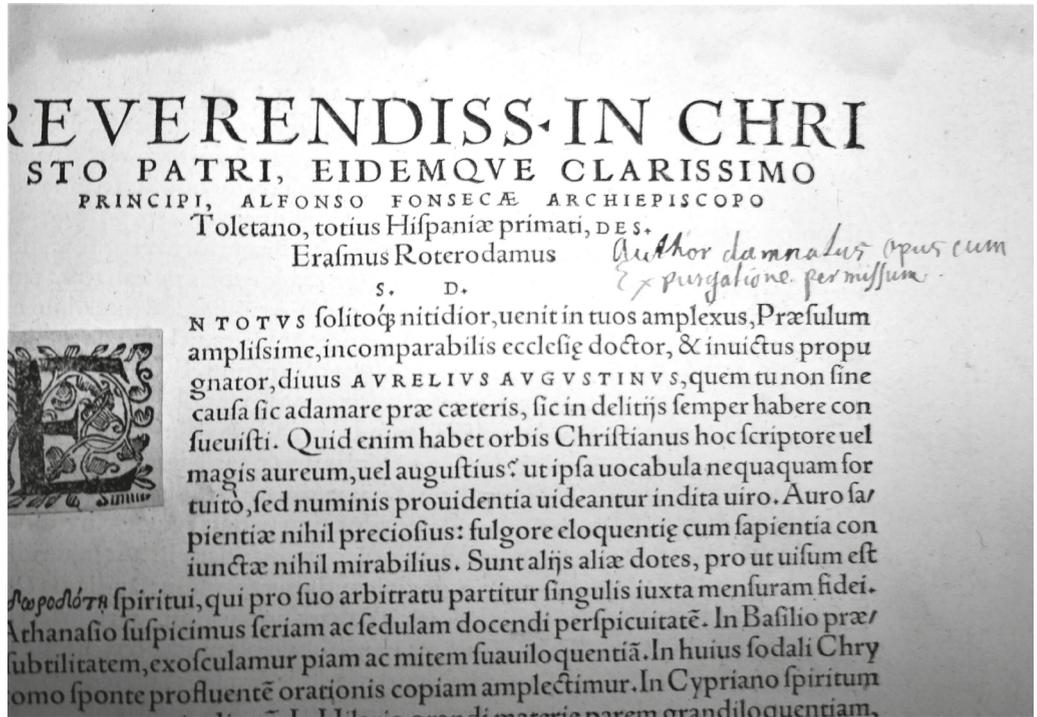


Fig. 2. Censorial note in: Augustinus Aurelius. Omnium operum D. Aurelii Augustini Hipponensis episcopi primus tomus... T. 1. Basileae: [In officina Frobeniana, per Hieronymum Frobenium et Nicolaum Episcopium], 1543 [NIORK BAN 877.f.m/5774-R; 18361-R. f.A2]. Photo by the author

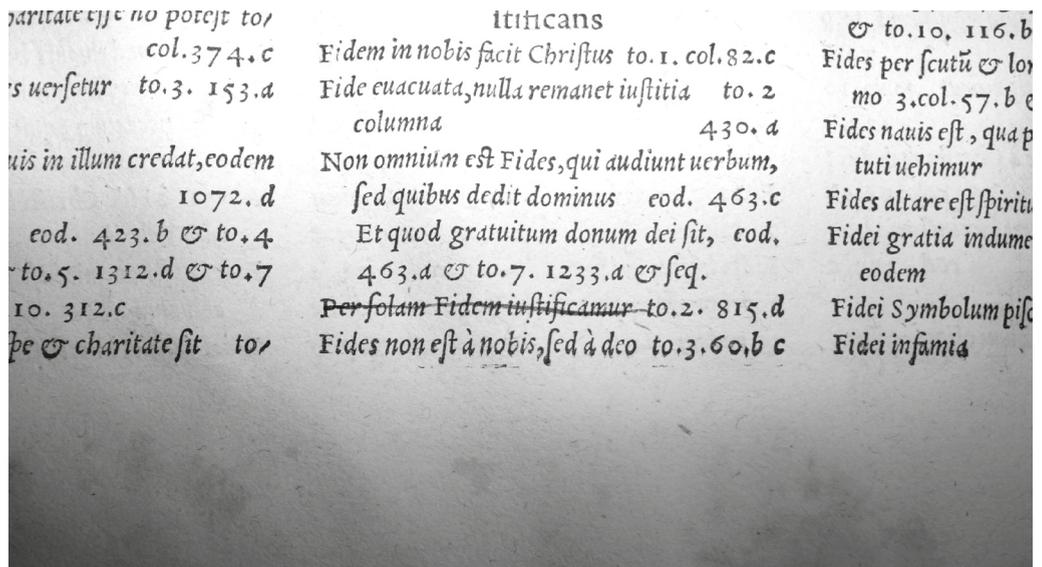


Fig. 3. Censorial crossing out in: Augustinus Aurelius. Independent 1. In omnia D. Aurelii Augustini Scripta Indices duo... [NIORK BAN 877.f.m/5774-R; 18361-R. ff. [45]]. Photo by the author

Even more indignation of the censorship was caused by the sentences which cast doubt on the cult of the saints, Virgin Mary, and the angels, as well as on devotion to images: “the angels can’t be our intercessors” (Angelos non posse esse mediatores nostros); “angels are not to be adored” (Angelos non esse adorandos); “Mary [both] did and didn’t give birth to the Son of God” (Maria genuit, & non genuit filium dei); “those who are praying to an apostle and the devil, the devil hears, but not the apostle” (Orantibus apostolo & diabolo exauditus est diabolus & non apostolus); “the saints are to be honored by emulation and not adoration” (Sancti honorandi imitatione non adoratione); “we do not honor the saints with oblations” (Sanctos non honoramus oblationibus); “the dead saints after this life can’t assist” (Sancti mortui post hanc uita[m] subuenire non [possunt]), “the saints are not mediators between God and man” (Sancti non sunt mediatores inter deu[m] & hominem); “it is impious for Christians to place an image of God in [their] temples” (Simulachrum dei in templis ponere nefas est Christianis); “there is no utility in images” (In Simulachris nulla utilitas); “errors of image-worshippers” (Simulachra colentium errores); “against those who say, I don’t worship the images, but through them am adhorted to that which is to be worshipped” (Contra eos qui dicunt, Simulachra non colo, sed per ea ad id quod colere debeo adhortor); “it is not allowed to build temples for saints” (Sanctis aedificare Te[m]pla non licet)²¹ (see also: Fig. 4).

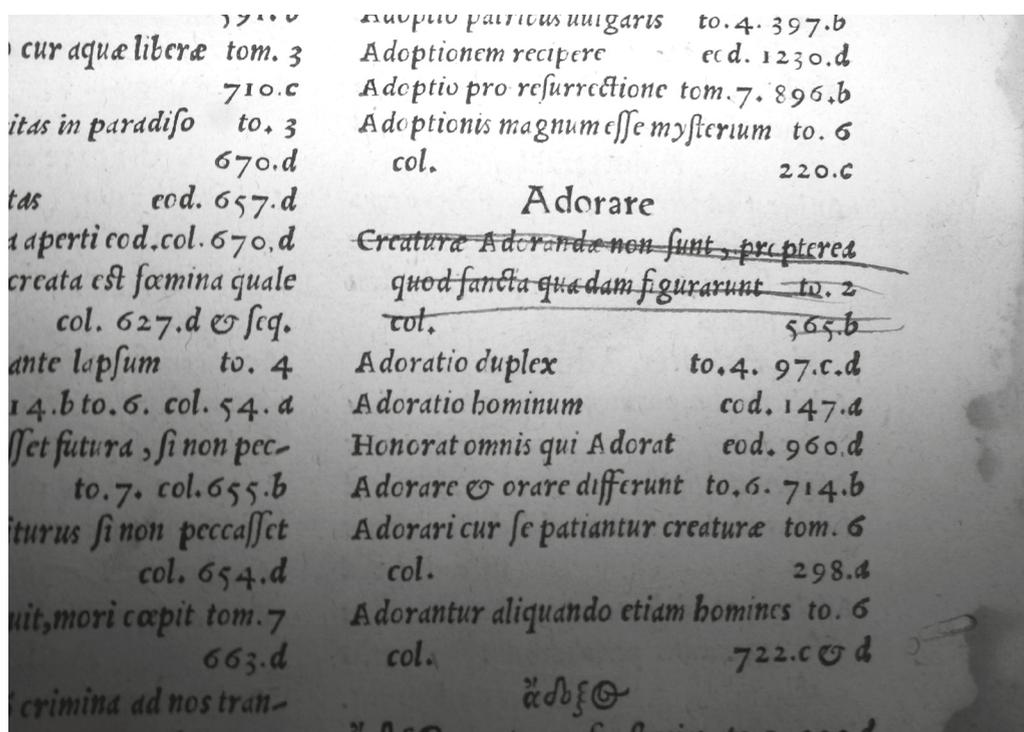


Fig. 4. Censorial crossing out of the position “Creatures are not to be worshipped under pretense that they signify something holy”. Photo by the author

²¹ Augustinus Aurelius. Independent. 1... Ff. [6]v; [68]; [79]; [97]v; [102]; [106]v.

Finally, the expurgations concern the topic of church mysteries, church politics and clergy, as well as the tenet of purgatory. Among the blotted out positions, there are the following: “the authority of scriptures, not councils is to be obeyed” (Non Conciliorum sed scripturarum auctoritati innitendum est); “episcopal authority is less than that of a presbyter in ecclesiastical use” (Episcopatus minor presbyterio ex usu ecclesiae); “Christ and not the priest baptizes with the Holy Ghost” (Christus, non Minister, spiritu sancto bapti[zat]); “against idle and vagabond monks” (In Monachos ociosos & uagos); “many turn monks in hope of idleness” (Ad Monachatum pleriq[ue] spe ocij ueniunt); “Augustine doubts whether there is a purgatory fire after this life” (Purgatorius ignis post hanc uitam an sit, dubitat Augustinus); “Christians have [but] two mysteries — baptism and communion” (Sacramenta duo Christianorum, Baptismus & Eucharistia)²². It is noteworthy that while most “theological” positions are simply crossed out with one stroke of the pen, apparently, in a rather indifferent manner, those which deal with angels are blotted out to the point of near illegibility and the anti-monastic sentences were apparently blotted out in anger (Fig. 5).

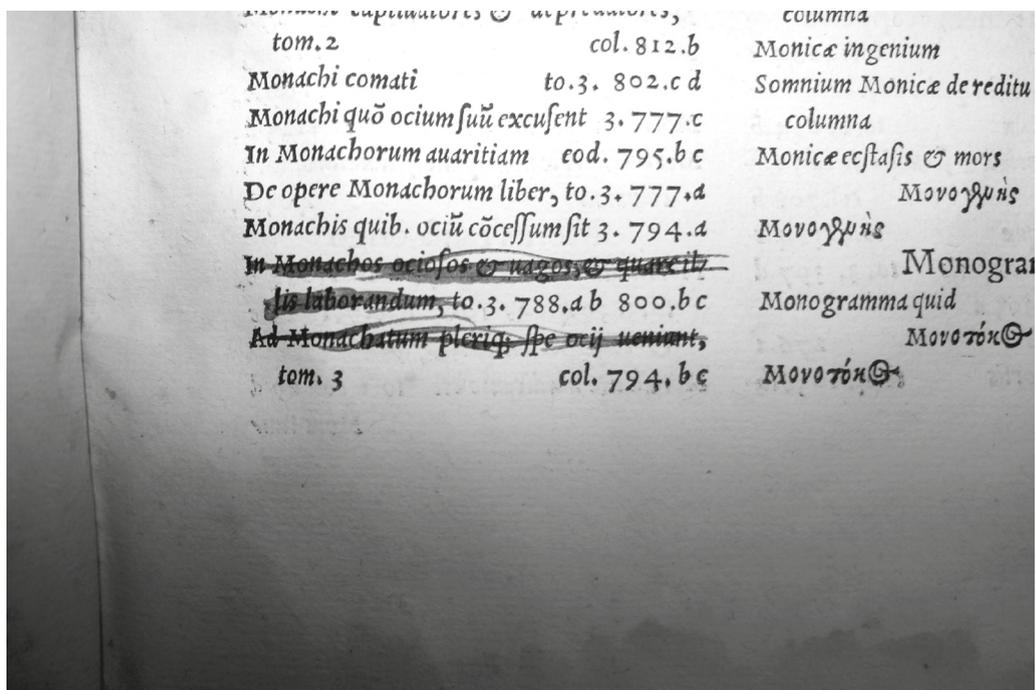


Fig. 5. Dense blotting out of anti-monastic positions in the index. Photo by the author

The colophon of volume one (second independent of the convolute) bears the handwritten note against the names of the printers, Nicolas Episcopius and Hieronymus Froben: “[printed by] the damned authors” (Autores damnatos) (Fig. 6).

In another copy of the same 1543 edition of Augustine, which had initially been stored in the Jesuit college in Vilnius and later joined the library of Vilnius academy, all

²² Ibid. Ff. [26]; [71], [72]; [92]; [95]v.

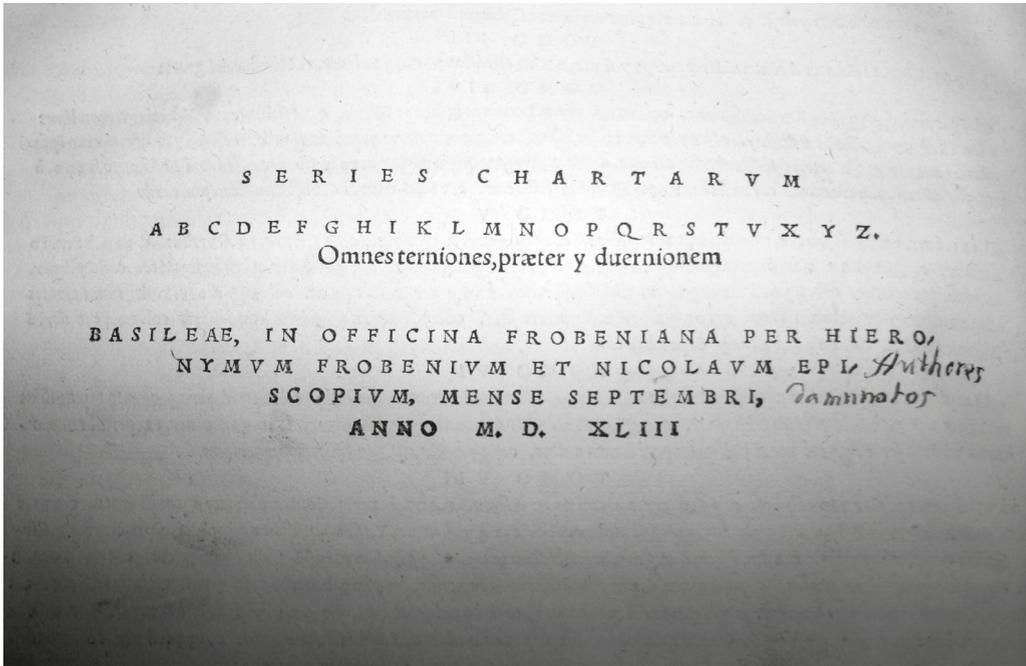


Fig. 6. Censorial handwritten note: Hieronymus Froben and Nicolas Episcopus as “damned authors” in the colophon of a volume of Augustine’s works. Photo by the author

mentions of Erasmus in the introduction and even the name of the city of Basel on the title page are blotted out²³. On the first page of the index to the Bible translated by Erasmus (1538), the BAN copy of which had been stored in the Jesuit college of Slutsk since 1724, there is a warning handwritten note: “prohibited — by the worst heretic was this bible translated” (Prohibitus ab haeretico pessimo versa sunt ista biblia)²⁴. However, it should be added that most BAN copies show minimal censorial interference with the printed text, which are mostly confined to the warnings on title pages or the introductions to certain sections. The pastedowns and cutouts are somewhat rare.

Another BAN book is especially conspicuous due to its provenance and history — a copy of “*Commentariorum urbanorum...*” by Rafael Volterrano published by Hieronymus Froben and Nicolas Episcopus in 1530. Judging by the owner’s inscription on the title page, the volume descends from the library of the most prominent cartographer of the Renaissance Gerhard Mercator (the inscription reads: “of the books of the most renowned cosmographer Gerard Mercator”²⁵). The same title page contains two more owners’ in-

²³ *Augustinus Aurelius*. Independent 1. *Omnium operum D. Aurelii Augustini Hipponensis episcopi primus tomus...* T. 1; Independent 2. *Secundus tomus operum Aurelii Augustini episcopi Hipponensis...* Basileae, 1541. T. 1 (NIORK BAN 45.f.m/4783–4784).

²⁴ *Biblia*. Independent 1. *Biblia utriusque Testamenti iuxta Vulgatam translationem...cui in novo apposuius Des. Erasmi Rot. versionem...* Basileae, 1538. [12], 818 p. (NIORK BAN 209.f.m/6391. Title page).

²⁵ “Ex Bibliotheca Cosmographi clariss: Gerardi Mercatoris”. *Volterrano R. Commentariorum urbanorum...octo & triginta libri... Item Oeconomicus Xenophontis...* Basileae, 1530 (NIORK BAN 507.f/5851. Title page).

scriptions in Latin: “Andreas Dobrzanski, church pastor of Silva-Buczacz, bought [this book] in Leyden in 1606” and “[The book belongs to the] Slutsk college of the Society of Jesus”²⁶ (Fig. 7).

In 2015, Jan de Graeve, director of the International Institute for History of Surveying and Measurement in Brussels, published his own revised reconstruction of Mercator’s library (the first reconstruction was published by him in 2012)²⁷. Ten years after Mercator’s death, in 1604, the cartographer’s family sold his library at the auction, having its catalogue printed. The printed catalogue has not survived²⁸, but, according to the handwritten copy, published by de Graeve, Mercator’s collection comprised about 1000 editions in about 800 volumes²⁹.

There is nothing implausible in the possibility that a book once owned by Gerhard Mercator turned up in the library of the Jesuit college in Slutsk. Andrzej Dobrzański (died 1640/1641), who made the inscription, was a poet, an educator, and a Calvinist priest in the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth (Rzeczpospolita). At the start of his career, he served as a pastor of a Protestant community in the city of Buchach in East Halychyna/Galicia. Later he became the first superintendent of the Reformed church in Lithuania (elected in 1636)³⁰. Dobrzański took the surname he is known under today only in 1623 when he moved from the Polish lands to the Russian church district of the Great Duchy of Lithuania (before he was known as Wandłowski or Vandlovius). Dobrzański studied in Europe in 1601–1605 with the sons of his patron Jan Potocki, chatelain (kasztelan) of Kamenets Podol’skii. He was a student of Heidelberg and Basel universities, and started his career as a poet while studying³¹. The date mentioned in the inscription (1606) is close to 1604 when the auction of Mercator’s books in Leyden occurred. The inscription may point to the fact that Dobrzański came back to the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth via the Protestant Low Countries, which is plausible considering his previous stays in the Reformed Heidelberg and Basel. The fact that the book later turned up in the Jesuit college in Slutsk could mean that Dobrzański took it there after he was made pastor and scholar of a newly established Protestant gymnasium in 1625. The book could have been donated by him to the school when he left the city for new places of his service: Novogrudok in 1626 and later — Vilnius in 1630³². The inscription is most probably a memorial note which he made years after the real acquisition of the book; that’s from where the anachronistic use of his surname and church office comes.

²⁶ “Andreas Dobrzanski Eccl[esi]ae Syluae — Büczacen[sis] Pastor Lugduni Battavor[um] Comp. A[nn]o 1606”; “Collegii Slucensis Soc: JESU” (Ibid). The toponym “Sylvae-Buczacz” in the name of Dobrzanski’s office cf. with: *Vengerscius A. Libri quatuor Slavoniae reformatae continens historiam ecclesiasticam ecclesiarum Slavonicarum...* Amstelodami, 1679. P. 428.

²⁷ *De Graeve J. The Scientific Library of Gerhard Mercator // A World of Innovation: Cartography in the Time of Gerhard Mercator. Newcastle upon Tyne, 2015. P. 180–191.*

²⁸ *Catalogus librorum bibliothecae clarissimi doctissimique viri, piae memoriae, Gerardi Mercatoris... Lugduni Batavorum: Ex officina Thomae Basson, 1604.* — On the 400th anniversary of Mercator’s death, a facsimile of the surviving manuscript of the catalog was published: *Catalogus librorum bibliothecae clarissimi doctissimique viri, piae memoriae, Gerardi Mercatoris... = Catalogue vande Boucken des gheleerden ende wijtberoemden wereldt-beschijver, Gerardi Mercatoris. [Antwerp], 1994.*

²⁹ *De Graeve J. The Scientific Library of Gerhard Mercator. P. 182.*

³⁰ *Bem K. Calvinism in the Polish Lithuanian Commonwealth 1548–1648: The Churches and the Faithful. Leiden; Boston, 2020. P. 42; Petkunas D. Holy Communion Rites in the Polish and Lithuanian Reformed Agendas of the 16th and Early 17th Centuries. Klaipeda, 2007. P. 175–177.*

³¹ *Szcotka S. Dobrzański, Andrzej // Polski Słownik Biograficzny. T. V. Cz. 3. Kraków, 1939. S. 264.*

³² *Ibid. S. 265.*

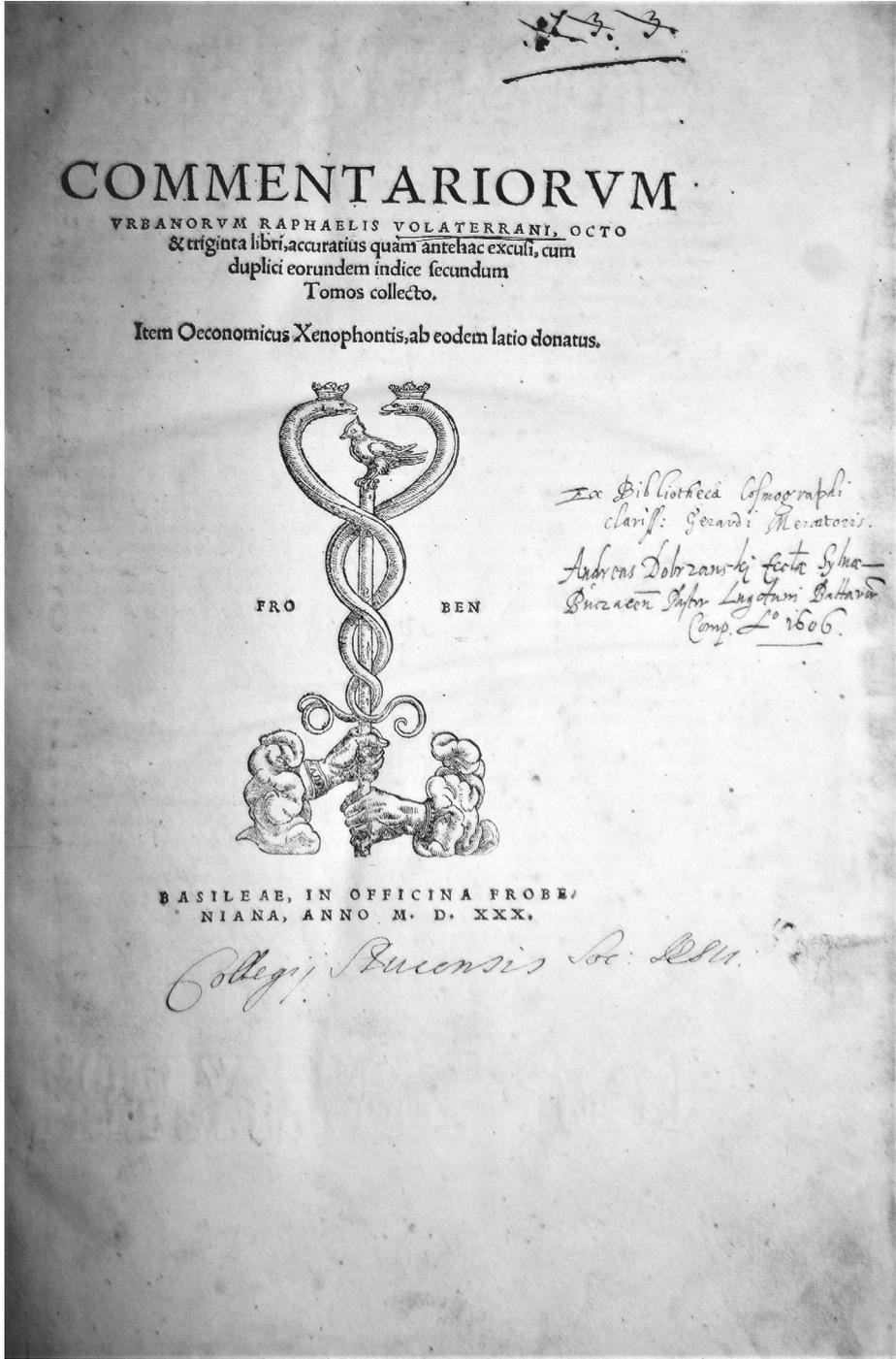


Fig. 7. Owners' inscriptions (Gerhard Mercator, Andrzej Dobrzanski, Slutsk Jesuit college) in: *Volterrano R. Commentariorum urbanorum... octo & triginta libri... Item Oeconomicus Xenophontis...* Basileae: In officina Frobeniana, 1530 [NIORK BAN 507.f/5851. Title page]. Photo by the author

For a long period of time Slutsk was preponderantly the city of religious dissenters. In the 17th century, due to the city's defense against the Muscovites, it was granted the privilege of religious tolerance and was dominated by Calvinist and Orthodox communities. The situation started to change only in late 17th century, when the Jesuits secured their positions in the city thanks to private donations of land. The Jesuit college of Slutsk was founded in 1714³³ to establish a stronghold of Catholic education in a religiously heterogeneous environment. Throughout the 18th century a struggle ensued between the Jesuits on one side, and the Orthodox and Calvinist on the other. The library of the Jesuit college was most probably stacked with books confiscated from the abolished Calvinist schools. After the disbandment of the Order of Jesus in 1773, all the Jesuit schools were under surveillance of secular authorities and partly given to the Calvinists who also appropriated part of the Jesuit library in Slutsk. The 2200 books of the Slutsk collection, which remained in Catholic hands, were sent to the university in Vilnius in 1816³⁴, whence they made their way to Saint Petersburg Roman Catholic Spiritual Academy.

Another Froben volume from the BAN collection is linked to the history of Reformation in the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth. It is *De rebus gestis Alexandri Magni* by Curtius Rufus³⁵. As follows from the donation inscription on the title page ("To the most illustrious Prince and my most merciful Lord Nicolas Radziwill, most worthy palatine of Vilnius, in [the sign of] eternal and devoted service. For good fortune, Andreas Tricesius brought as a gift in 1556, October, 28")³⁶, this book was presented by a Protestant poet and translator of the "Radziwill Bible" Andrzej Trzecieski (c. 1530–1580) to his patron, Prince and Chancellor of Lithuania Nicholas Radziwill the Black ("Czarny") in 1556, a year before the prince openly adopted Protestantism (Fig. 8a, 8b).

In the 1550s, Nicholas Radziwill the Black ("Czarny") kept in his castle in Nesvizh, alongside the state archive, his private library which laid the foundation of the library of Nesvizh ordination — the richest book collection of Poland-Lithuania. In the second half of the 17th century, the volume acquired an engraved ex-libris badge with the inscription "Ex Bibliotheca Ducali Radivilliana Nesvisiensis". The volume of Curtius Rufus was sent to the Imperial Academy of Science in August 1772 alongside other books of the Nesvizh collection when the possessions of the Radziwill were confiscated by the Russian government during the scramble for Poland³⁷.

A copy of the fourth volume of the works of Athanasius of Alexandria printed by Hieronymus Froben and Nicolas Episcopius in 1556³⁸ bears the owner's inscription: "This

³³ *Blinova T.B.* Z gistoryi Slutskai ezuitskai kalgii // Belaruski gistorychny chasopis. 1996. No. 1. P. 67. — S. Zaleski points to 1715 as the year of foundation (when the church of the Holy Ghost was consecrated in the new Slutsk Jesuit residence): *Zaleski S.* Jesuici w Polsce. T. IV. Cz. 4. Kraków, 1905. S. 1616.

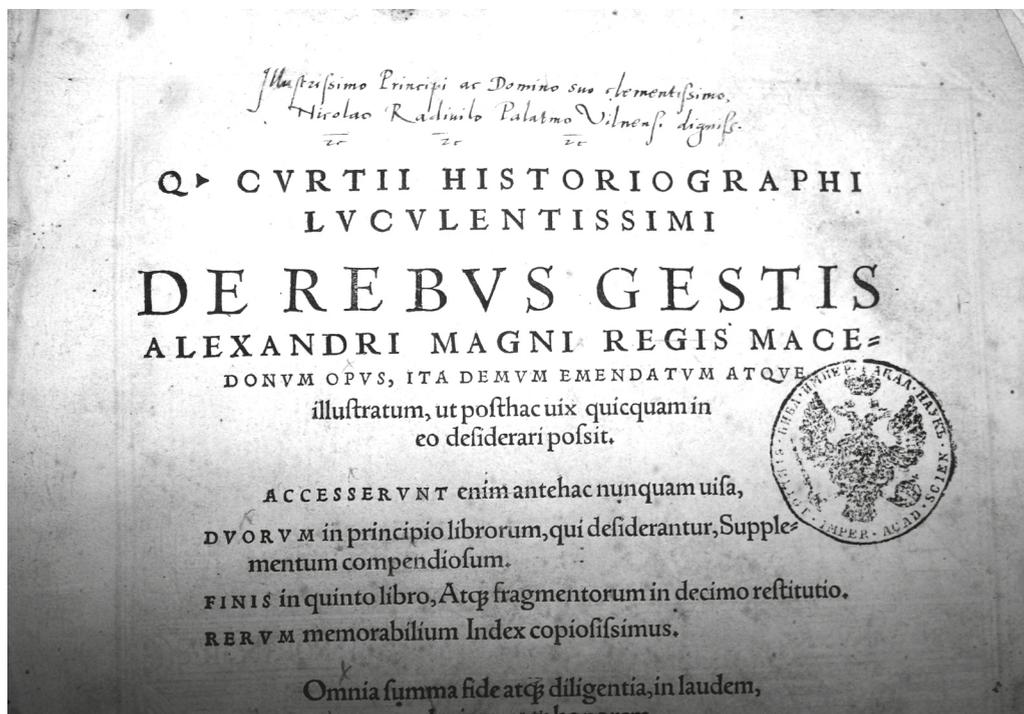
³⁴ *Ibid.* S. 1622.

³⁵ *Curtius Rufus.* ...De rebus gestis Alexandri Magni regis Macedonum opus...Basileae, 1545. [8], 171 p. (NIORK BAN 3985.f/1693R).

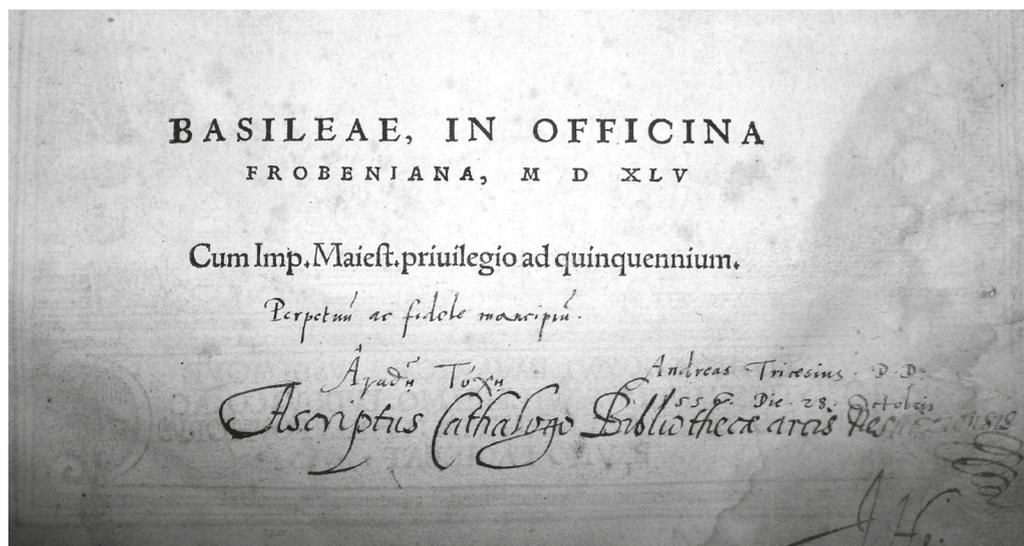
³⁶ "Illustrissimo Principi ac Domino suo clementissimo, Nicolao Radiulo Palatino Vilenensi digniss. Perpetuu[m] ac fidele mancipiu[m]. Ἀγαθῆ Τύχη Andreas Tricesius. D.D. 1556. Die 28. Octobris" (*Ibid.* Title page).

³⁷ Biblioteka Radzivillov Nesvizhskoi ordinatsii: Katalog izdanij iz fonda Tsentral'noi nauchnoi biblioteki imeni Yakuba Kolasa Natsional'noi Akademii nauk Belarusi, XV–XVI veka / compiled by A. V. Stefanovich, M. M. Lis. Minsk, 2010. S. 11–12; 20.

³⁸ *Athanasius Alexandrinus.* Athanasii Magni Alexandrini episcopi... opera in quatuor tomos distributa... Basileae, 1556. T. 4 (NIORK BAN 497.f/5838).



a



b

Fig. 8. Donation inscription to Chancellor Nicolas Radzivil from the poet Andrzej Trzcieski (1556): Curtius Rufus. ...De rebus gestis Alexandri Magni regis Macedoniae opus...Basileae: In officina Frobeniana, 1545. [8], 171 p. [NIORK BAN 3985.f/1693R]. Title page: a) upper part of the inscription; b) lower part of the inscription, ex-libris of Nesvizh library. Photo by the author

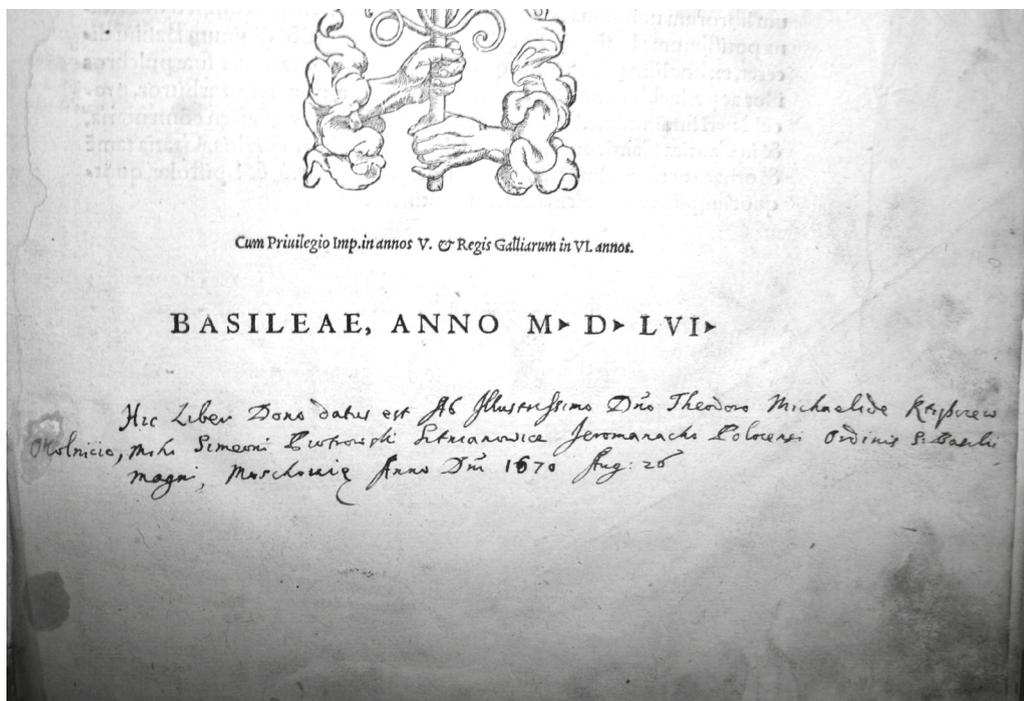


Fig. 9. The owner's inscription by Simeon of Polotsk in: *Athanasius Alexandrinus*. Athanasii Magni Alexandrini episcopi... opera in quatuor tomos distributa... Basileae: Ex officina Frobeniana, per Hieronymum Frobenium et Nicolaum Episcopium, 1556. T. 4 [NIORK BAN 497.f/5838]. Title page. Photo by the author

book was granted to me by the most illustrious lord Fedor Mikhailovich Rtishchev, the Okol'nichii, to me, Simeon Piotrovskii Sitnianovich, a priest-monk of Polotsk, of the order of Saint Basil the Great, in Moscow. Anno Domini 1670, 26 of August"³⁹ (Fig. 9).

It is most probable that this very volume in the register of Simeon's library (which was later incorporated into the collection of his student Silvester Medvedev) dated 1689 is mentioned under the number 44 as "a book by Athanasius the Great" (Книга Афанасия Великого)⁴⁰. August, 26, 1670, is the date which features in many handwritten notes in the volumes of Simeon's collection⁴¹. M. A. Yusim suggests that it could have been the

³⁹ "Hic Liber Dono datus est Ab Illustrissimo D[omi]no Theodoro Michaelide Rtiŝczew Okolnicio, mihi Simeoni Piotrowski Sitnianowice Ieromonacho Polocensi Ordinis S: Basili Magni, Muschoviae Anno D[omi]ni 1670 Aug: 26".

⁴⁰ Книги perepisyne, kotorye po ukazu Sviateishego Patriarkha v nyneshnem vo 198 godu sentiabria v den' perepisyani i v Spasskom monastyre za ikonnyim riadom... // Vremennik imperatorskogo Moskovskogo obschestva istorii i drevnostei rossiiskih. Kn. 16. Moscow, 1853. P. 54.

⁴¹ Korzo M. A. Vneshniaia traditsia kak istochnik vdohnoveniia. K voprosu ob avtorstve kievskih i moskovskih pravoslavnykh tekstov XVII v. Dva primera // Studi Slavistici. 2009. Vol. VI. P. 72–73; Yusim M. A. Knigi iz biblioteki Simeona Polotskogo — Silvestra Medvedeva // Trudy Otdela Drevnerusskoi Literatury. Leningrad, 1993. T. 47. P. 319; Robinson A. N. Bor'ba idei v russkoi literature XVII veka. Moscow, 1974. P. 49; Biblioteka Feofilakta Lopatinskogo (ok. 1680–1741): Katalog / compiled by D. D. Galtsin, G. N. Pitul'ko. St Petersburg, 2016. No. 473. P. 363.

date when Simeon arranged his library after “the fire in the Church of Holy Savior of 1669 which damaged his belongings”⁴².

The printed text of the book contains handwritten marginalia and underlined words and phrases made by Simeon. Two of Simeon’s notes relate to the question of the procession of the Holy Spirit from the Son⁴³. It is, first, the tellingly underlining of words “& Filio” (“and from the Son”) in the printed Athanasian Creed⁴⁴. Second, it is the note on page 96: “When Father sends (mittendo) the Son, and the Son [sends] the Holy Ghost, he sends not his parts, nor his motions, nor in the least creations”⁴⁵. The fragment from Athanasius, which is being commented by Simeon here, is from the “Word upon the eternal substance of the Son and Holy Ghost, [one] with God, against the followers of Sabellius” (De aeterna substantia Filii & Spiritus Sancti cum Deo, contra gregales Sabellii): “In the opposite case, by what means does the Father emit his part into the world, or his movement, when he emits (emittit) the Son? Or the Son, [when he emits] into the world the Holy Ghost? Or [is it thus], because Son is not emitted from the Father? But this is a contradiction, for it is corroborated by evidence: the Son himself promised, that he shall send [to the disciples] the Paraclete, and, having sent him, fulfilled the promise”⁴⁶.

Simeon closely engaged with triadological problems and the polemics around the procession of the Holy Ghost, which went on between the Catholics, the Uniates, and the Orthodox in the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth. He had a number of latest books devoted to the topic in his library⁴⁷. At the very start of his career in 1664, Simeon functioned as an expert theologian on Catholic pneumatology, as it was in this year that the bishop of Chernigov Lazar’ Baranovich in a letter to Paisios Ligarides, the metropolitan of Gaza, introduced Simeon as a prospective author of a future Orthodox treatise against a Catholic book on the proceeding of the Holy Ghost and the papal authority⁴⁸. Such a

⁴² *Yusim M. A.* Knigi iz biblioteki Simeona Polotskogo. P. 327.

⁴³ Cf.: *Ibid.* S. 317.

⁴⁴ *Athanasius Alexandrinus.* Athanasii Magni Alexandrini episcopi... opera. f. α4.

⁴⁵ “P[ate]r mittendo Filium[m], et Fili[us] mittendo Sp[irit]um S[anctum] n[on] partes sui, nec motiones [et] multo min[us] creat[ur]as [com]mittit” (*Ibid.* P. 96).

⁴⁶ *Ibid.*

⁴⁷ «167. Книга о происхождении Святого Духа от Отца и Сына» (“167. The book on the proceeding of the Holy Spirit from the Father and Son”); «184. Книга Восточных и западных Отцев об исхождении Святого Духа глаголемая Трибунал» (“184. The book of the Eastern and Western Fathers of the proceeding of the Holy Ghost, entitled the Tribunal”); «257. Книга, старой костел о Исхождении Святого Духа, творение Лазаря Барановича» (“257. The book [entitled] The Old Church on the proceeding of the Holy Ghost, written by Lazar’ Baranovich”). See: *Knigi perezpesnye, kotorye po ukazu Sviatishnego Patriarkha...* P. 58; 60.

⁴⁸ *Maykov L. N.* Ocherki iz istorii russkoi literatury XVII i XVIII stoletii. St Petersburg, 1889. S. 14. — L. N. Maikov claims that Baranovich sent to Paisios “the newly published book by Boym the Jesuit on the proceeding of the Holy Spirit and papal supremacy”, having in mind the treatise by Benedict Paul Boym (*Boym B. P.* Stara wiara abo jasne pokazanie, iz ci co w dizuniey trwaią starey wiary ne maią, na dwie części rozłożona. To iest, o władzy S. Piotra y pąpieżów rzymskich: y o pochodzeniu Duchą S. y od Syná... Vilnae, 1668). The year of the first edition of this treatise (1668) shows that the letter speaks about a different book — it is “Tribunal of the Holiest Fathers of the East and West” by Nicolas Ciechowski (*Cichovius N.* Tribunal SS. Patrum orientalium et occidentalium ab orientalibus summe laudatorum: ad quod, duas, de processione Spiritus Sancti a Patre & Filio, et de praeminentia Romanorum Pontificum supra Orientales patriarchas, controversias expendendas... [1658]). In a post scriptum to his letter to Ligarides of August 14, 1664 Baranovich writes: “I send to an Eastern father the judgement of the Eastern Fathers, the book on the proceeding of the Holy Ghost and papal supremacy... O, Shepherd, who guardest thy flock by thy learning! Protect and expel by the power of thy mind, be the comforter to the whole church... I solicit this book be

treatise by Simeon was never published or actually completed. The problematic question of Simeon's actual theological views is further complicated by these marginalia. Undoubtedly, they give no sufficient evidence to surmise that Simeon was a secret adherent to the tenet of *filioque*. Considering Simeon's writings, first of all, of catechetical nature⁴⁹, one may conclude that the question of the proceeding of the Holy Ghost was seen by the scholar of Polotsk, first and foremost, as an intricate intellectual problem. It is notable that Simeon changes the word "emittit" in the printed text to "mittit" in his marginalia. Here he writes more bluntly and closer to the text of the Gospel implied by Athanasius than his Latin translator for the Gospel fragment dealt with here is about the sending (missio) of the Son by the Father into the world for the sake of redemption and the sending of the Holy Ghost by Jesus Christ into the world to his disciples, after his death. However, the verb "emittere" can also be understood as "proceeding" in a triadological sense (the proceeding of the faces of the Trinity). I take the liberty to suggest that Simeon could have implied here that the tenet of *filioque* was the result of vague terminology and inappropriate analogy⁵⁰.

The confusion between two theological topics (the proceeding of Holy Ghost from the Son and the sending of the Holy Ghost by Jesus Christ to the disciples in John 14: 16–17 and Acts 2: 1–18) figured during the damnation of Simeon's writings at the Moscow council in 1690. The zealous partisan of a "Hellenic" turn in Russian church politics Euphemius, a monk of Chudov monastery, who accused Simeon of being "a Uniate [belonging] to the Roman church" (униата суца Римского костела)⁵¹, when criticizing his treatise "The Crown of Faith..." (Венец веры...), focused on Simeon's quotation from a doxology, according to the text of a Catholic treatise "Hortus pastorum...". Euphemius saw here the profession by Simeon of a Catholic *filioque* tenet: "Glory to the Father, who sent the Son, to the Son, who sent the Ghost, to the Holy Ghost, sent from both to the disciples" (Слава о(т)цу, пославшему с(ы)на. С(ы)ну, пославшему д(у)ха. С(вя)тому д(у)ху о(т) обою посланному на ап(ос)т(о)лы)⁵². M. A. Korzo was right in identifying Simeon's source in this quotation, but she didn't mention that in his text Simeon changed this verse of the doxology⁵³. The original reads thus: "Gloria Patri qui misit Filium, Filio qui Spiritum S. [,] Spiritui S. qui amor est ab utroque missus" ("Glory be to the Father, who sent the Son, to the Son, who sent the Holy Ghost, to the Holy Ghost, who is Love, sent

sent to the reverend father Simeon Sitnianovich Pietrovskii, my renowned brother, famous for his learning. Let him test this book with the strength of his mind and render a service to the holy church, using the help of your holiness" (Pis'ma preosviashchennogo Lazaria Baranovicha s primechaniiami. Chernigov, 1865. P. 15–16). By a remarkable coincidence, NIORK BAN collection stores the copy Baranovich was writing about. This volume contains a donation inscription by Lazar' Baranovich, addressed to Paisios Ligarides, an owners' note by Simeon of Polotsk and a signature of Silvester Medvedev, the inheritor of Simeon's library (Biblioteka Feofilakta Lopatinskogo. No. 257. P. 193–194). In the catalogue of Simeon's books this volume figures as no. 184 (see the previous footnote).

⁴⁹ Korzo M. A. Nравstvennoe bogoslovie Simeona Polotskogo: osvoenie katolicheskoi traditsii moskovskimi knizhnikami vtoroi polovini XVII veka. Moscow, 2011. P. 39–40; 96–97.

⁵⁰ M. A. Korzo notes that Simeon himself solved this pneumatological problem in one of his earlier writings by positioning the Holy Ghost as proceeding from the Father *through* (but not *from*) the Son. To corroborate his argument, Simeon refers to the polysemantic Greek preposition δια (Ibid. P. 97).

⁵¹ Yusim M. A. Knigi iz biblioteki Simeona Polotskogo. P. 319.

⁵² Quote in: Korzo M. A. Nравstvennoe bogoslovie Simeona Polotskogo. P. 142.

⁵³ Technically speaking, these doxology verses were taken by Jacques Marchant as propositions for meditation to be used during the liturgical singing of Lesser Doxology (Gloria Patri...).

from both”). It should be remarked that here the same verb as in our marginalia is used (“misit”). It is obvious that by adding “to the disciples” (на ап(ос)т(о)лы) into the quotation, Simeon didn’t have in mind the relations between faces of the Trinity. Moreover, earlier in the text of “Hortus pastorum...” Jacques Marchant quotes a different verse of the doxology, which explicitly proclaims the *filioque* tenet: “Gloria Patri qui est a se, Filio qui est a Patre, Spiritui S. qui ab utroque” (“Glory be to the Father, who is of itself, to the Son, who is of the Father, to the Holy Ghost, who is of both”)⁵⁴.

Simeon quotes Athanasius in the section “Disquisition on the proceeding of the Holy Ghost” in his programmatic “Crown of Faith...” (1670): “May saint Athanasius, the great luminary of the church, come here, who claims in his Creed, that the Holy Ghost is proceeding of the Father, not made, nor created, nor born, and in the most salubrious questions, in the question four he says thus: God and Father is himself one and is cause of the two, and not born, the Son is caused by the Father himself and born, and the Holy Ghost both caused by the one Father himself and proceeding, but sent through the Son into the world; the sun itself does not shine brighter than these words”⁵⁵.

In quoting the Athanasian Creed, Simeon translates the words which follow the underlined words “& Filio” in the BAN copy, while omitting these words: “spiritus sanctus a patre... non factus, nec creatus, nec genitus est, sed procedens”⁵⁶. The quotation from “the most salubrious questions” cannot be identified in the copy in question, but here again the two theological topics are confused — that of the proceeding of the Holy Ghost in the Trinity and the sending of the Holy Ghost by Jesus Christ to the disciples. There is no doubt that by underlining the words “& Filio” in his copy of Athanasius, Simeon thought that he was highlighting the later Catholic insertion into the original Creed, because further in the same section of the “Crown of Faith” devoted to the Holy Ghost we read: “At last, when the Latins in France started to add to the sacred Creed these words “and from the Son”, the Pope Leo the Third, enraged by it, forbade [such practice] in Rome and ordered to make two silver tablets and inscribe upon them, in Greek and Latin, the holy Creed of Constantinople which had no mention of this addition “and from the Son”, and placed these tablets at the doors of the temple of the Supreme Apostles Saint Peter and Paul, so that everyone could read without addition the sacred Creed. Of this... see Baronius, Anno Domini 809”⁵⁷.

⁵⁴ *Marchant J. Hortus pastorum et concionatorum sacrae doctrinae floribus polymitus... Coloniae Agrippinae, 1635. P. 151 (first pagination).*

⁵⁵ «Да приидет убо семо с[вя]тый Афонасий, велие светило ц[е]рковное, иже в своем символе гл[агол]ет Д[у]х С[вя]тый о[т] О[т]ца не содеян, ни создан, ни рожден, но исходящ, и в полезнейших вопросах в четвертом вопросе гл[агол]ет сице Б[о]г и О[те]ц сам и един есть вина двома и нерожден, С[ы]н паки и самого единого О[т]ца виновен и рожден, и Д[у]х С[вя]тый и самого единого О[т]ца виновен и исходящ но чрез С[ы]на в мир послан; сих слов ни С[о]лнце светлее сияет». Venets very Simeona Polotskogo // Russian State Library (RGB). F. 173.I. Ed. khr. 67. Fol. 184–185. URL: <https://azbyka.ru/otechnik/books/original/20267-Венец-веры-Симеона-Полоцкого-рукопись.pdf> (accessed: 11.05.2022).

⁵⁶ *Athanasius Alexandrinus. Athanasii Magni Alexandrini episcopi... opera. F. [α4].*

⁵⁷ «Напоследок, егда начаша латинии в Франции во символ с[вя]тый оное речение “и о[т] С[ы]на” прилагати, вознегодова о сем Лев Третий, папа римский и възбраня тому в Риме быти, повеле же соделати две дсце серебряне и на единой и[з]ваати языком греческим, на другой паки латинским символ с[вя]тый Цареградский кроме приложения онаго речения «и о[т] С[ы]на», и поставити у дверей храма С[вя]тых верховных ап[осто]л Петра и Павла, да всяк тако четет без приложения, символ с[вя]

At the same time, Simeon's marginalia show a comparably calm attitude of the theologian to the problem of *filioque*. He never marks it as heresy in the margins, although in other places of the book he does so in regard to other teachings and tenets⁵⁸. Overall, the handwritten notes left by Simeon in the copy of Froben's Athanasius, both in their character and content are similar to the notes written by him in the volume of Didymus the Blind, studied by M. A. Yusim⁵⁹.

For decades the Froben prints had defined the attitude of various religious groups to the Christian and Classical cultural legacy. In the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth and the Muscovite state the production of the Swiss printers was much in demand among ideological rivals — the Catholics, the Calvinists, and the Orthodox — who sometimes left traces of their disputes on their copies. In other cases, the very history of a copy and its journeys across countries and regions throughout the centuries can illustrate the changing of Europe's religious and political landscape.

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тый чтя — о сем... Борония в лете Г[оспо]днем 809» (Venets very Simeona Polotskogo. F. 186). See also: Korzo M. A. *Nravstvennoe bogoslovie Simeona Polotskogo*. P. 47.

⁵⁸ *Athanasius Alexandrinus*. Athanasii Magni Alexandrini episcopi... opera (NIORK BAN 497.f/5838. F. 92: "Duo Principia Marcionis"; F. 96: "Haeretici: Qu[o]m[o]do pot[est] De[us] mitti?"; F. 97: "Haeretici: Qui mittit[ur], a mittente separat[ur]"; F. 298: "Argumentatio Haeticor[um]").

⁵⁹ Yusim M. A. *Knigi iz biblioteki Simeona Polotskogo*. P. 317–319.

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