

ULLA BIRGEGÅRD and
MONICA HEDLUND (Eds)

Nicolaus Bergius

*A Historico-Theological Exercise on the Status
of the Muscovite Church and Religion*



SLAVICA
SUECANA



KUNGL. VITTERHETS HISTORIE
OCH ANTIKVITETS AKADEMIEN
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Edited by

Ulla Birgegård and Monica Hedlund



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This work is an edition of the first part of Nicolaus Bergius's dissertation *Exercitatio Historico-Theologica de statu ecclesiae et religionis Moscoviticae*, printed at Stockholm in 1704. The book secured Bergius a licenciate's degree at Uppsala University. The first part of his work consists of two sections: the first historical, comprising 20 chapters, the second dogmatic, comprising 33 chapters, in essence a comparison between the Lutheran catechism and the first part of Peter Mogila's *Orthodox Confession*. The historical section of Bergius's dissertation contains most of what was known about Russia in the West in terms of the people, language, alphabets, faith, Bible translations, printed books, printing houses, churches and monasteries, clergy, liturgy, feast days, schools, sects etc. Bergius shows a particular interest in the Old Believers, providing a broad survey of them. He has read almost everything, and constantly refers to what his different sources tell him about the matter under discussion, often choosing the version he finds most trustworthy. A separate listing of Bergius's 'reference library', comprising the books he cites, is given in the edition.

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Acknowledgements

We were meant to write this together, my dear friend and co-editor Monica Hedlund and I. We had also decided to go together to Narva to celebrate the happy completion of this major undertaking. But fate decided otherwise: Monica passed away on 26 September 2016, after a short and aggressive illness. So now I am in the situation where I must express my sincere gratitude, first of all, to her. We had worked side by side since the 1960s, she with her Latin themes, I with my Slavic ones. Then, when we had both retired from our duties at the university, I proposed that we combine our accumulated knowledge and experience to edit Nicolaus Bergius's impressive work on the Russian church and religion and present it to new readers. The basis, and necessary condition, for the project was Monica's translation into English of Bergius's Latin text, a real trial of strength with a magnificent result. As we worked on our joint commentary, theological and Latin questions fell to her lot, and Slavic history and philology to mine. We sometimes stepped into each other's domains and, in any case, discussed everything together.

A key individual for Monica when it came to problems with Latin was Hans Helander, a close friend and colleague at the Department of Linguistics and Philology, Uppsala University with whom, for decades and to the end, she shared a room at Uppsala University. When she had difficulty interpreting unclear places in Bergius's text, Hans was there with his immense knowledge of the Latin of the period and – in general – as a man of extensive reading. He has been there for me as well, earlier in life and also in the present situation, with remaining question marks that Monica did not have time to resolve. For that I am sincerely grateful.

As Bergius, an extremely learned man, treats themes that we felt we did not always have a sufficient knowledge of, we decided – with the support of the Royal Swedish Academy of Letters, History and Antiquities – to organise a symposium and invite specialists from different fields who, after reading Bergius's text in English translation, had the opportunity to comment on aspects of particular interest to them. The symposium took place on 20–21 November 2014 with presentations of papers and lively discussions. It turned out extremely well and gave us new insights of great value. The planned publication of the papers – alas – was never realised, owing to a lack of time and energy on our part, which is most regrettable. The participants however, mentioned below, deserve our sincere thanks for their time and commitment (most of them are to be found in the Bibliography, including one or two with papers published after the symposium): Per-Arne Bodin (Stockholm), Hans Helander (Uppsala), Torkel Jansson (Uppsala), Torsten Kälvmark (Söder-tälje), Elisabeth Löfstrand (Stockholm), Ingrid Maier (Uppsala), Larisa Mokro-

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A fortunate circumstance was that, for her broad scholarship in the field of Swedish medieval theology, Monica received an honorary doctorate from the Faculty of Theology at Lund University. There she later held a working seminar on our Bergius edition, and it provided her with an opportunity to consult the participants about specific theological questions on which we ourselves lacked expert knowledge. She was very happy about this seminar and all the factual help, support and inspiration she received there. The names of those who were of particular assistance should be mentioned here, but I am – alas – not in a position to do so.

Uppsala University Library has been absolutely central to our work, not only because so many of the books Bergius writes about are found there, but also because of the generosity and expertise of the library staff. I want to express my special thanks to Åsa Henningsson at the Collection of Maps and Pictures for her valuable help with the illustrations to the edition.

The publication of this work has been financed by the Royal Swedish Academy of Letters, History and Antiquities. In putting the finishing touches to the manuscript, Jenni Hjohlman has played a very valuable part. Petra Pakkanen has also assisted in going through the demanding manuscript. The graphic designer Bitte Granlund, with her expertise, has transformed Bergius's dissertation into a beautiful book. Last, but not least, the indispensable Martin Naylor has given our texts a more genuinely English feel than they had before he took up our cause. To all the above, and to those not mentioned who have lived with us during this industrious and inspiring period, I am sincerely grateful.

Ulla Birgegård

Introduction

On 14 May 1704, a dissertation was defended at Uppsala University. The theme of the work was the Russian church and religion, the title *Exercitatio historico-theologica de statu ecclesiae et religionis Moscovitiae*. The author was Nicolaus Bergius, a Swedish Pastor and church official (Fig. 1). In the introduction to the book, Bergius explains why he chose this possibly unexpected theme. So much had been written on the subject earlier, would it not be like rewriting an *Iliad* after Homer? On the other hand, says Bergius, what had been written before was rather scattered and difficult to find, especially for people of limited means, like students, so it could still make sense to provide a more comprehensive picture. He makes clear that the work he is presenting is primarily intended for people with no special knowledge in the field, including young persons. His aim is also to show that a non-Orthodox can write with knowledge and objectivity about things Russian. And in addition, says Bergius – given that Sweden, as a neighbouring country, has considerable knowledge of the Muscovites and their faith, especially as there are within its borders many subjects of the Russian Orthodox faith (a reference to the situation after the Treaty of Stolbova in 1617 when Ingria became part of Sweden) – our country has a responsibility to secure their salvation (by converting them to the Lutheran faith). He declares further that, when that responsibility was given to him (as a high church official in Ingria), he felt an urge to learn the Russian language so that he could dispel the darkness in which they were living with the help of the Evangelical truth. But, he continues, the Ingrians are but a small proportion of all Russian Orthodox believers: the majority live in the vast realm of the Tsar. The same concern should be extended to them as well. The means to be employed in such an undertaking, according to Bergius, are education and books, starting from their own books, and books which show that the difference between the Lutheran and the Russian Orthodox faith is not that great. We should also set up our own Russian printing press to supply them with books, he says. So, besides the very real war being fought at this time (he is referring to the Great Northern War between Sweden and Russia), Bergius wants to declare yet another war, against the ‘monstrous errors’ of the Russians.

In writing this book, Bergius hoped to inform the surrounding world about the Russian religion and to show that the Russians were indeed Christians, but also, and perhaps above all, he wanted to persuade people of the Russian Orthodox faith in Ingria and Russia to convert to the Lutheran faith.

The first section of Bergius’s work presented here deals with the history of Russia and its church, often seen through the eyes of foreign travellers and ‘experts’. The

I. N. D.

Exercitatio Historico-Theologica

DE STATU

ECCLESIAE
ET
RELIGIONIS
MOSCOVITICÆ,

Consentiente

*VENERANDA FACULTATE
THEOLOGICA UPSALIENSI,*

Pro summis in Theologia
Honoribus,

*Placidae Eruditorum Ventilationi
proposita,*

P R A E S I D E

M. NICOLAO BERGIO,
Per Livoniam Generali Superinten-
dente & Academiæ Pernaviensis
Procancellario,

R E S P O N D E N T E

M. GUDMUNDO KROOK,
d. 14. Maji in Auditorio Gustaviano ma-
jori, horis solitis.

HOLMIAE, Excudit OLAUS ENÆUS,
Reg. Antiq. Arch. Typogr. 1704.

Fig. 1. The title page of Nicolaus Bergius's dissertation from 1704.

second section is a comparison of the Orthodox faith and the Lutheran, with Mogila's *Confession* as the point of departure. For further information about the edition, see under that heading.

The author

The author of the work, Nicolaus Bergius, was born in 1658 in Reval (Tallinn). His father was the pastor of the Swedish Church on Cathedral Hill. He continually stressed to his son the importance of learning. Bergius's parents died when he was in his teens. He obtained a higher school certificate in Åbo in 1676 and in Uppsala in 1677. Then, thanks to influential benefactors, he received a royal scholarship enabling him to spend four years studying abroad. He left Sweden in October 1682. Among other places, he stayed for almost a year in Frankfurt am Main, where he spent a good deal of time with Pietists around Philipp Jacob Spener. In 1684 Bergius studied at the University of Giessen, where he defended a master's thesis. He also spent more than a year in Paris, as well as visiting many other cities in Europe. By the time he returned home at the end of 1686, he was a learned man and proficient in many foreign languages. From 1687, he served for several years in the French Lutheran congregation in Stockholm as its first Swedish pastor. With considerable zeal he worked for the conversion to Lutheranism of Reformed and Catholic believers among the French community in the Swedish capital. After a year-long personal crisis in 1689 Bergius decided to embark on a career in the Church. His family situation was complicated and beset with tragedy. In December 1691 he married Christiana Juliana Oxenstierna, a woman of noble descent; it was a marriage to which her relatives were opposed. The couple, notwithstanding the circumstances, were happy together, but lost all three of their children, and on the birth of the fourth (in February 1701) both the mother and, eventually, the child died.

Bergius was appointed Superintendent of Ingria in July 1700, stationed at Narva, and the following year Superintendent-General of Livonia and Vice-Chancellor of the University of Pernau (moved from Dorpat). He was professor of theology at the same university, stationed in Pernau (Pärnu) (Fig. 2). According to Bergius's dedication of his book to the King, he was allowed to stay longer at Narva than intended because of his work on it. During this time Bergius studied Russian and had many contacts with Russian Orthodox priests and Old Believers in Ingria, as his duties required. He was a very ambitious superintendent and put considerable effort into the conversion of the Russian Orthodox population to the Lutheran faith. The Swedish authorities even had to restrain his zeal and reiterate that conversion was to be achieved by persuasion, not coercion.

In line with his conviction that education and books were a prerequisite of success in the work of conversion, Bergius in 1701 instigated the printing, at Köhler's printing house in Narva, of a small catechism (an abbreviated version of the Stock-



Fig. 2. Joan Blaeu's map of Livonia, showing Reval, Narva, Pernau and Dorpat, from vol. II of his *Geographiae Blaviana*, Amsterdam 1662. Uppsala University Library.

holm catechism of 1628) in Russian and Swedish, with the following title: *Lutheri Cathechismus/ medh Affion och Morgen-Bönen samt Bordlexor på Ryska och Svenska* (Luther's Catechism, with Evening and Morning Prayers and Graces in Russian and Swedish). The Russian text is printed in the Latin alphabet and the Swedish text is arranged in such a way that it follows the Russian word for word, which made it possible for someone, such as a Swedish-speaking Lutheran pastor, to dictate or explain to his Russian converts the meaning of each word.¹ Bergius also compiled a booklet (*Freundliches Ansinnen an die Herren Liebhaber der Russischen Sprache*, April 1702) in which he urged the surrounding world to study the Russian language and help him find books printed in Russian. In the same month he finally left Narva for Pernau. The war drew closer and made his work more and more complicated. In the process Bergius lost access to his rich library. Thanks to the generosity of his friends, he nevertheless succeeded in finishing his thesis on the Russian church and religion, which secured him a licenciate's degree at Uppsala University in 1704 and a doctorate in 1705. Nicolaus Bergius died in Pernau in April 1706, at the age of just

48. His book (both parts, see The Edition) was republished in Lübeck in 1709, in Leipzig in 1722 and in Frankfurt in 1723.²

Bergius's dissertation met with considerable interest after its publication. It attracted the attention of the very influential *Journal des savans*, the first academic journal in Europe, which carried a detailed account of his *Exercitatio* in August 1710 (pp. 210–220). His book also became known in Russia. For instance, the well-known poet Vasilij Trediakovskij (1703–1768) refers to him in his *Trirassuzdenija* [...], 1773, p. 138. This is how the historian of religion L.P. Ruščinskij expressed himself in 1871, in a book entitled *The Religious Life of the Russians according to Information from Foreign Authors of the 16th and 17th Centuries* (see Bibliography):

'Quite outstanding among the writers of the 16th and 17th centuries is Nicolaus Bergius. [...] When compiling his book, Bergius used the works of all his predecessors writing about Russia, in which it was possible to find any information whatsoever on that subject [the Muscovite church and religion]. Moreover, he was personally acquainted with our church and our theological literature of the second half of the 17th century. [...] He was very familiar with the ways of life of our Old Believers and knew many of them personally. This circumstance caused him to learn Slavonic. He read our books on the liturgy and the creed and, what is particularly noteworthy, he tried to find out the truth, and corrected the mistakes and harsh judgements of his predecessors. So enlightened and humane was he that, regardless of his being a Lutheran, he expresses himself in very guarded terms about questions of dogma and rite not in accordance with the teaching and church practice of the Lutherans. [...] No one was as familiar with the original sources of our theological literature as Bergius. [...] He attempted to collect information on that subject not only from earlier writers, but also from scholars and government officials of his time who could provide the information he needed [...] At the end of the 17th century this [his work] was the best and most complete work in the whole of Europe about our church and religion [...]' (Ruščinskij 1871, 33–35, transl. UB).³

The political setting

Under the Treaty of Stolbova of 1617 Ingria (*Fig. 3*), the province of Kexholm and Nöteborg, became part of Sweden. As a result, the new Swedish great power became culturally and religiously more heterogeneous than before. The Lutheran faith formed the foundation of Swedish identity, and it was seen as crucial to incorporate the newly conquered areas with the help of religion. The original population of Ingria consisted of Finno-Ugric tribes, among them the Ingrians and the Votes. The area was conquered by the Russians in the 12th century and the Russian Orthodox faith was adopted by the population. The Treaty of Stolbova gave guarantees of free-



Fig. 3. Joan Blaeu's map of Ingria, from vol. II of his *Geographiae Blaviana*, Amsterdam 1662. Uppsala University Library.

dom of religion to the population of rural areas (to make them stay) and to the parish priests, while permitting the nobility, monks and townspeople to move to Russia within a stipulated time. With varying intensity, however, the Swedish authorities attempted to convert the Finnish-speaking Ingrians and Votes to the Lutheran faith. The Russian-speaking population was not left entirely in peace, either. The authorities tried to ensure that the Lutheran faith was preached in both Russian and Finnish and endeavoured to introduce education in the new religion. But the success of this missionary drive was limited. In connection with the Swedish-Russian war of 1656–1658, many of the original inhabitants of the territory emigrated to Russia, allegedly because they felt that their religious freedom was threatened. A number of the emigrants returned after the peace treaty of Kardis in 1661, in which their freedom of religion was once more guaranteed. Russian Old Believers immigrated to this area after 1666, as a result of the great schism within the Russian

Church. The missionary ambitions of the Swedish authorities shifted as a consequence of more or less outspoken criticism from the Russian side. In the 1680s, for example, there was a change of policy to one of “segregation”. The idea was that the Russian-speaking population of Ingria would be left in peace to practise their faith. Efforts to bring about conversions would instead be concentrated on the Finnish-speaking members of the Russian Church, the Ingrians and the Votes, who, it was argued, could not possibly understand the faith they confessed. They should therefore be segregated from the Russian-Orthodox Church and, in one way or another, affiliated to the Lutheran Church.

The key individuals in the missionary efforts of the Swedish authorities were the superintendents of Ingria (of whom Bergius was one), stationed at Narva. Their main responsibilities were the organisation of the church, the development of schools and the conversion of the Russian Orthodox part of the population of Ingria to the Lutheran faith. The superintendents collaborated more or less successfully with the governors of Ingria. For a church-historical outline, see Inguna Montgomery's 'Ingermanland och svenska Baltikum' in *Sveriges kyrkohistoria*.⁴

Bergius's library

Concerning his library, Bergius writes in his preface to the reader (p. 34):

'But if we had had our own library at hand, we would have been able to explain quite a few things more clearly. We gratefully acknowledge, however, that libraries belonging to our friends have been available to us, especially that of the Most Noble and Honourable Sparwenfeld, which had much to tell. [...] The same is true of my host and true friend of long standing, the Most Reverend and Distinguished Erik Holmen. But I have always hesitated to use my friends' resources every time I needed to do so, and all would have been perfect and free from any uneasiness if we could have searched our own library.'

How are we to understand this? Was Bergius completely cut off from his library? What do we know about this library? According to *Svenska bok-cataloger 1664–1789*, no. 18: 'Catalogi librorum viri reverendissimi celeberrimique. NICOLAI BERGII S. Theol. Doctoris, & per Livoniam Generalis Superintendentis, Academiæque Pernaviensis Pro-Cancellarii', he had an extensive 'general' library (the catalogue comprises pp. 435–460, with some 50 titles on each page). This library was to be sold at auction in Stockholm in 1708. Here, however, we will deal mainly with Bergius's Slavic library, which, after his death, was sold to Uppsala University Library. Valuable information about it is found in Carin Davidsson's paper from 1956, based on a study of material concerning the library among internal documents of Uppsala University Library. In December 1707–January 1708 the University Library was offered the chance to buy Bergius's library. Lists of the Slavic

books offered, both printed and in manuscript, comprise 175 items. Many of the books owned by Bergius were erroneously thought to have belonged to Sparwenfeld. The latter's biographer, C.V. Jacobowsky, made that mistake, for example, as did Jensen. Davidsson shows that of Bergius's 26 manuscripts as many as 23 were ascribed to Sparwenfeld. The major part of Bergius's collection consisted of printed works in Church Slavonic. It is uncertain whether all the books bought by the library are still there, but Davidsson succeeded in identifying more than a hundred from his collection. The new online catalogue *Digitalised Descriptions of Slavic Cyrillic Manuscripts and Early Printed Books in Swedish Libraries and Archives*, which is about to be completed, contains 98 items ascribed to Bergius's collection.

In his book Bergius occasionally mentions that he has seen one book or another at Narva, shown to him by Spiridon, the 'spokesman' of the Old Believers, or by a priest in an Orthodox church. As one of his duties as superintendent was to visit all the Russian Orthodox churches in Ingria, Bergius naturally also looked at the books belonging to those churches. No doubt, in this way he became acquainted with a number of books of the Russian Orthodox Church.

Peter Mogila's *Orthodox Confession*

The basis for Nicolaus Bergius's work on the Russian church and religion was Peter Mogila's catechism, the *Orthodox Confession* (Lat. *Expositio fidei*, Russ. *Pravoslavnoe ispovedanie very*), which for centuries was a key source of knowledge of the Eastern Orthodox faith. Its author Peter Mogila (Ru. Pëtr Mogila, Ukr. Petro Mohyla, Rum. Petro Mohylă) (1596–1646), born into a Moldavian boyar family, was raised and educated in the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth during the decades after the Union of Brest-Litovsk in 1595–1596. The outcome of that union was that the Ruthenian Church (the Metropolis of Kiev-Galicia [Halych] and all Rus') broke off relations with the Eastern Orthodox Church with its centre in Constantinople, and entered into communion with Rome. The Ruthenian Church retained its own rites, but placed itself under the authority of the Pope. The followers of the union were called 'Uniates'. Practically all Orthodox bishops in the region submitted to the union with Rome, whereas Moscow and the Cossacks strongly opposed it.

In 1625 Mogila joined the Monastery of the Caves in Kiev, becoming its archimandrite in 1627. He wanted the Eastern Orthodox Church in Kiev and Galicia to survive and believed that this could be achieved only through the education of its priesthood, enabling its representatives to defend their faith in debates with Catholics, Uniates and Protestants alike. In 1632 Mogila was able to secure the legalisation of the Orthodox Church, outlawed by the Polish state since 1596, and in the same year he founded the Kievan Mogila Academy (Kievo-Mogiljanskaja Akademija), built on the Jesuit model, with Latin as the main language – alongside Greek and Church Slavonic – and with a curriculum extending over eleven years. This academy

was to be the centre of higher learning within the Orthodox Church until the beginning of the 19th century. From 1633 Mogila was the Metropolitan of Kiev and Galicia and the Exarch of the Patriarch of Constantinople. In 1640 he presented, with co-authors, his great catechism in Latin. It was discussed extensively for several weeks at a provincial synod in Kiev. The catechism was, it seems, aimed mainly against the Protestant Church and the Calvinists, following the activities of the 'Calvinist Patriarch' Cyril Lucaris in Constantinople, but the surrounding Catholic and Uniate Churches also needed to be taken into account. Mogila's *Expositio fidei* was further discussed in Constantinople and reviewed and amended at the Synod of Jassy in Moldavia in 1642, which was attended by Orthodox scholars of theology and the synod of bishops. The new text was translated into Greek by Meletius Syrigus, Metropolitan of Nicaea and Exarch of the Patriarch of Constantinople. The text (in Greek and Latin) was sent to Constantinople for approval, and on 11 March 1643 it was approved (the Greek part of it) and signed by the four eastern patriarchs and 22 other theologians. The major contribution of the synod was to restore unity in the Orthodox Church. A Synod of Jerusalem, under the Patriarch Dositheus, reaffirmed the text in 1672. It thus became the Confession of the entire Greek and Russian Church and served as the basis for several later catechisms.⁵

It took a long time for the *Orthodox Confession* to be printed and distributed to its readers. Scholars have extensively discussed the question as to how many translations there were, how many editions etc., but it seems that the picture is now clear. After the approval of the text in Constantinople in March 1643, more than twenty years passed before it was published, and the *editio princeps* was very limited in number and thus extremely difficult to get hold of. A person who did much to enable it to be printed was the Greek Panaiotis Nicusios, first dragoman at the Ottoman Court in Constantinople. In 1662 (or possibly earlier) he took the initiative and started planning the publication of a Greek–Latin version of the *Confession*. To that end he turned to the diplomatic representatives of the Netherlands in Constantinople who sympathised the project, and in 1665 he sent a manuscript with the text of the catechism to the Netherlands. He may have offered to pay for the printing himself, but it seems that the local state authorities gave their financial support to the project. The Greek text of Mogila's *Confession* (without the Latin version) was printed by the famous Joan Blaeu in Amsterdam in 1666, but the book itself gives no indication of the place, the year or the printer. The reason for this may have been that it was highly controversial to print a central text about a faith opposed to the Protestant (Reformed) faith of the country in Amsterdam. The decision to leave out the Latin version of the catechism, too accessible to the Dutch people, could possibly have the same explanation. The majority of the printed copies, perhaps around two hundred, reached Constantinople with great difficulty (an earthquake in Ragusa [Dubrovnik] almost stopped them getting through), and only a small minority ended up in the West, of which fewer than ten copies are now extant.⁶

Of these copies, one is found at Uppsala University Library. It is not so easily

identified, however, as it is kept among Slavic *manuscripts*, not printed books. The reason for this is that the Uppsala copy has an interfoliated handwritten translation of the Greek text into Russian-Church Slavonic, thus being catalogued as a manuscript (*Slav 57*). This rare book was brought to Sweden from Moscow by Johan Gabriel Sparwenfeld. According to a note in it by Sparwenfeld, the handwritten translation was the origin of the subsequent Russian-Church Slavonic version of the work printed in Moscow in 1696. That book, with the identifier UUB *Ksl F 29*, was in Sparwenfeld's possession and was donated by him to the library.

In 1695 a Greek–Latin version of Mogila's *Orthodox Confession* was printed in Leipzig. The translator into Latin was the Swedish professor of Greek, Laurentius Normannus from Uppsala. In the book containing the Greek version of Mogila's catechism (UUB *Slav 57*, see above), Sparwenfeld has written that after his return from Moscow he contacted Normannus right away and urged him to translate the work into Latin, which he did. There are three copies of Normannus's translation in Uppsala University Library.

Another Latin version of Mogila's catechism was printed by Malvy and Viller in 1927. This manuscript, probably the version closest to Mogila's own Latin text and including a Greek text as well, is kept at the Bibliothèque Nationale in Paris (*Parisinus 1265*). Sparwenfeld was aware of its existence and mentions it in a note in UUB *Slav 57*. He says that it was a gift to the French king from Constantinople and that it was difficult to get permission to see it (he had probably tried).

All of these themes will be touched on in the comments on Bergius's text.

Notes

- 1 Isberg 1973, 138; Nyholm 1996, 24ff.
- 2 See article by E. Lundström with contributions by B. Boëthius and S.E. Bring in SBL 3, 1922, 548–557 (s.v. 'Bergius, Nicolaus'); von Rauch 1952, 200–206; Isberg 1973, 133–139; Väänänen 1987, 156–157.
- 3 See also Brokgauz & Efron 1891, t. 6, 486 (with some inaccuracies); Nemirovskij 2007, 168.
- 4 Montgomery 2002, 221–229.
- 5 EEOC I, s.v. 'Confession', 389–390; Runciman 1968, 340ff.; Florovskij 1937 (2000), 290ff.; Korzo 2007, 361ff.
- 6 Rozemond 1964; Mîrşanu 2006.

The Edition

The material published here is the first part (Pars I) of Nicolaus Bergius's *Exercitatio Historico-Theologica de statu ecclesiae et religionis Moscoviticae*, printed at Stockholm in 1704. This part of his work, comprising 272 pages, consists of two sections: the first historical, comprising 20 chapters, the second dogmatic, comprising 33 chapters, in essence a comparison between the Lutheran catechism and the first part of Peter Mogila's *Orthodox Confession*. This book secured Bergius a licenciate's degree at Uppsala University (Fig. 4). There is also a second part (Pars II), comprising Bergius's discussion of the second and third parts of the *Confession*, which deal mostly with moral theology. Part II (pp. 273–352), for which Bergius was awarded a doctorate, was printed at Stockholm in 1705. It is not included in the present edition.

There are constant references in Bergius's work to previous authors and the texts they wrote about Russia and its religion. To avoid frequent references and cross-references to these works in the notes, we decided to compile a reference library (Ref. Libr.). This library contains around 160 authors and texts that were constantly

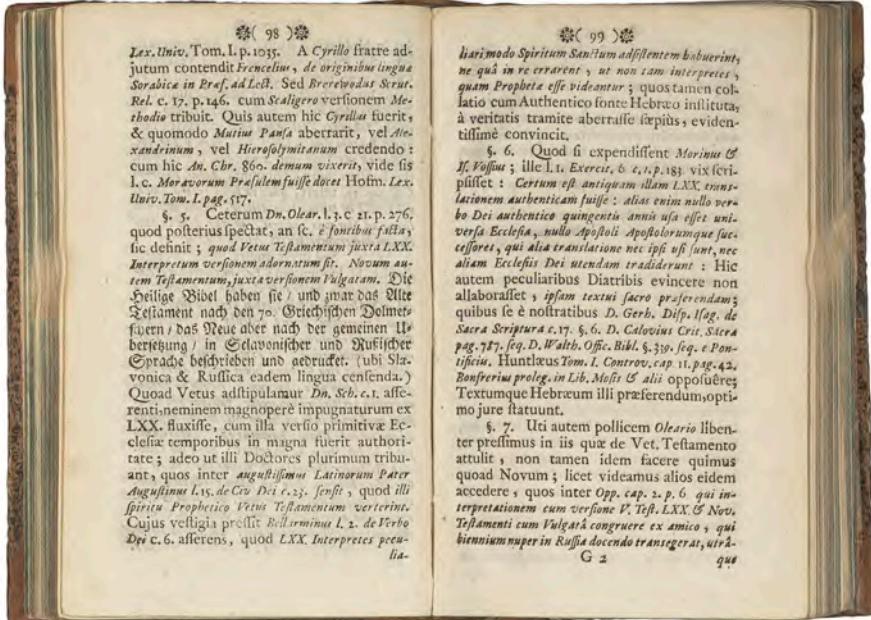


Fig. 4. Two pages from the historical section (Chapter X) of Nicolaus Bergius's *Exercitatio*.

used by Bergius; they are indicated by an asterisk (*) in the main body of the text. The asterisk is not repeated if the same author is mentioned more than once within a subchapter. Concerning Bergius's personal library, see the Introduction.

We will use the semi-Russian version 'Peter Mogila' when writing the name of the author of the *Orthodox Confession (OC)*. Other possibilities would have been the Moldavian form of his name (Petro Movilă) or the Ukrainian/Ruthenian form (Petro Mohyla). But as the texts Bergius uses – Normannus's translation from Greek into Latin of the *Orthodox Confession* and the Russian-Church Slavonic translation from 1696 – employ the name-form Peter (Petr) Mogila, we too have chosen that form.

The symbol ☉ is used to denote portions of text added by Bergius on pp. 262–272 under the heading 'Appendix eorum quae ADDENDA', with references to the pages where they belong. These portions have been moved to their correct places in accordance with the references given by Bergius.

Bergius's text includes the names of hundreds of individuals: scholars in the broad sense, men of the church, travellers, historical figures etc., often recorded in varying forms. To avoid the need to choose one standard form in all cases, we use Bergius's form, where necessary with an 'explanation' in square brackets (mostly referring to Russian/Slavic names). When an 'explanation' has been given a few times, we regard it as a standard form and use that form instead.

Bergius makes considerable use of italics, both for emphasis and to indicate book titles and quotations. We have chosen to be quite restrictive in our use of italics, especially as an indication of emphasis. When it comes to book titles, in particular if they are cited verbatim we use italics. But Bergius often gives titles in paraphrase or considerably abbreviated. In such instances we choose a similar wording, for example: 'his book about so-and-so' etc. Titles in modern languages Bergius generally translates into Latin. In those cases we do not use italics.

Bergius's references to his sources are mostly correct: the author and the work in question are generally correctly cited, and where it has been possible to establish which edition he has used and to check it, the page references are for the most part also accurate. But when quoting his sources, he is not as scrupulous as is required today. Sometimes he joins two quotations, with his connecting words also in italics, sometimes he changes the word order etc. But he never manipulates; his quotations are honest. We have decided to use double citation marks (rather than italics) in passages which he regards as quotations even if we know that there are minor discrepancies. This seems to work well in the first, historical, section. When it comes to the second, dogmatic, section, which has its point of departure in the *Orthodox Confession*, this approach does not work, as Bergius often changes direct speech into indirect, not always with a reporting verb. At the same time, it is very important to really see what comes from the *OC* and what is a comment by Bergius. For that reason we have chosen to use italics for all passages which have, in principle, been quoted from the *OC*, even if Bergius has in places changed them into indirect speech.

When Bergius summarises, we try to make it clear that the passage derives from the *OC*, albeit in a compressed form. In such cases the quotations are not marked, either by italics or by double citation marks. Other authors quoted by Bergius in his discussions of the *OC* are marked with double citation marks as usual. When there are *both* italics and double quotation marks in the text, this means that the quotation has been taken over directly from the *OC*, such as word-for-word quotations from the Bible or the Fathers.

Bergius's Text

In the Name of the Lord

A Historico-Theological Exercise

ON THE STATUS OF THE MUSCOVITE CHURCH AND RELIGION

Proposed
With the Consent of
The Venerable Faculty of Theology at Uppsala
For the Highest Degree in Theology
To be benevolently examined by Scholars
With, as Praeses, Master Nicolaus Bergius
Superintendent-General of Livonia
and Vice-Chancellor of the Academy of Pernau
And, as Respondent, Master Gudmund Krook

On the 14th of May, in the Auditorium Majus of
Gustavianum, at the usual hour.¹

Printed in Stockholm by Olaus Enaeus
Printer to the Royal Archive of Antiquities, 1704

To the Highest and Mightiest King and Lord

Charles XII

King of Sweden, Gothia and Vandalia

Grand Prince of Finland, Duke of Scania, Estonia, Livonia, Karelia, Bremen, Verden, Stettin, Pomerania, Cassubia and Vandalia, Prince of Rügen, Lord of Ingria and Wismar

And also

Count Palatine of the Rhine, Duke of Bavaria, Jülich, Cleves and Berg etc.

My Pious, Righteous, Magnanimous, Fortunate

And Most Gracious Lord

All good wishes proper to a Christian Prince!

(2r)

Most venerable King

Since, among the many benefits Your Royal Grace has bestowed upon me, not the least memorable is the permission to stay longer at Narva – a town that has recently (2v) become renowned by Your Majesty's victorious arms and the defeat of the Muscovites² – in order to diligently inquire into the status of the Muscovite Church and Religion, I have now decided to place, in all humility, this fruit of my short stay, such as it is, at Your Royal Majesty's feet as a slight monument of my deepest gratitude. I now humbly pray that Your Royal Majesty will receive my work benevolently, and I feel confident that I will be granted this. For this purpose the mass of duties lie upon Your Royal Majesty, duties on which the rescue of both the North and the whole of Europe depends, would have prevented me, had I not been fully convinced (3r) that Your Royal Majesty had already surpassed the zeal of the greatest Emperors and Princes in saving the souls not only of Your own subjects, but also of those of other peoples who are struggling with darkness. If I assign a place among these to the neighbouring Muscovite people, those who have well understood their miserable situation will acknowledge with me that I have done nothing too far from reason. Since these pages are intended to illustrate this situation, to whom could they be offered with greater hope of success and from whom could they expect more distinguished patronage than from a King whose heroic deeds, to the amazement (3v) of the present times and the admiration of the future, say that He has in fact achieved what ARCADIUS,³ not the least among excellent Emperors, said of himself: "Nothing is more important to me than the care of the holy Churches and the firm foundations of the Christian Faith, through which we are saved and barbarous peo-

plies are brought under our rule?" And Your Royal Majesty is of no other opinion than was that Emperor's brother HONORIUS, who said of himself: "Among the most important issues of our government, reverence for the Catholic law is always the foremost or the only one. For in the labours of war we seek nothing else, nor do we in the councils of peace aim for anything else, than that (4r) the devout people of our reign shall observe the true worship of GOD."

No wonder, therefore, that GOD, the Highest and Mightiest, has crowned the arms of Your Royal Majesty, arms radiant with justice, with a fortunate series of victories, unheard of for many centuries! For Your Royal Majesty acknowledges, with the aforementioned pious ARCADIUS, that all this must be taken as a divine blessing, as you make his words, worthy of a Christian Prince, your own: "We do not obtain this by our own efforts, nor by the strength of our horses or war chariots, but for those who are strengthened by GOD's virtue, all things turn out well." What more acceptable thank-offering from a grateful heart could Your Majesty bring unto GOD (4v) than to win, with Your royal solicitude and generosity, more souls, by supplying those things that seem to contribute most to the achievement of that goal?

And although this present time, turbulent with military operations by which Your Royal Majesty is almost overwhelmed, seems to restrict that solicitude, many Royal Ordinances teach us that it is kept in mind in the midst of preparations for war, Ordinances that testify that Your Royal Majesty has not forgotten the Lord's war. May others extol Your Royal Majesty's fortune in dealing with these matters and Your incredible (5r) swiftness in crushing the enemy, by which swiftness the words Caesar once said of himself are brought to bear on Your Royal Majesty: *Veni, Vidi, Vici*. May they proclaim the heroic contempt of danger that made Your Royal Majesty rush straight into the midst of the enemy, through swords and fire, break their spirit, scatter their lines, rout their squadrons, and so many times stand victorious in the field over an enemy much superior in strength! May they engrave on the tablets of eternity Piety and Justice, by which, according to the words of the most venerable Emperor Augustus, princes become gods; may they honour with due praise Your incomparable Clemency towards the defeated as well as towards your subjects (5v); may they depict in vivid colours the gems of other Virtues that adorn Your Majesty's crown. For me, it will be enough to have presented the distant future with an example worthy of imitation in all times, and to have emphasised that Zeal that shuts out heresies, keeps the peace of the Church, and has promoted and will incessantly promote religion even more than promised. Sweden, and the Church that gathers in Christ's name in Sweden, certainly has reason to congratulate itself, since from the reign of Gustavus I, supporter of the true Religion in these lands and Founder of the Royal Family, it has enjoyed Kings who were distinguished in a miraculous way (6r) by their Zeal for that Religion, who also thwarted the schemes of the Catholics and

Calvinists, and who let all sorts of heretics learn that they knocked on our doors without success; and yet I feel able to assert, without any suspicion that I have taken to flattery, that they are all surpassed by Your Royal Majesty, and that if GOD, as we wish, grants Your Royal Majesty a long and prosperous life, there will be so many testimonies to this that none of Your Predecessors will ever be able to be compared to Your Royal Majesty. The years to come will see so many sweet fruits of this divine Zeal, fruits by which GOD's glory will be enhanced, the freedom of the repressed Church (6v) will be reclaimed, and a field will be opened up for Truth combined with Piety, a field so wide that one could not wish for more. In order that a most desirable result will one day follow, it is our duty to utter ardent prayers, from the depths of our hearts, for Your Royal Majesty's safety, for the happiness of the Royal Family, for the stability of the Throne and for the Peace of the Realm, as we imitate the voice of the Royal Poet: *The king finds joy in your strength, Jehovah; and in your salvation how greatly he rejoices! May you give him his heart's desire! May you go before him with the blessings of goodness! May you deliver him from his enemies! Grant him length of days for ever and ever! May his glory be great in your salvation; lay honour and majesty upon him. Make him blessed for ever, give him a great deliverance and show mercy to your anointed one, CHARLES, and towards his house and reign for ever! For the king himself trusts in Jehovah, and through the mercy of the most High he shall not be moved.*⁴

In this prayer stands fast
Your Holy Royal Majesty's
most humble subject and servant
Nicolaus Bergius.

To the Benevolent Reader

All good wishes!

What has especially moved me, well aware as I am of my feebleness, to dare to stand here, in the most celebrated Athenaeum of the Northern world, in order to expose to public light this inaugural dissertation *on the status of the Muscovite Church and Religion*, would need no further explanation, if it were not that this endeavour might strike many as a superfluous exercise. Since so many excellent writers have written on this theme, what use is it to write an *Iliad* after Homer?

But I would like them to remind themselves that these authors are known to very few of our young students, and even if they have heard something about them, their books are not easy to get hold of. The more comprehensive ones that are available cannot be bought by those who lack money, and those that present the matter in concise form are not for sale everywhere. Although, at most, one or two copies could be found, they would not suffice for everyone who is concerned to acquire a knowledge of this religion.

Among such we occupy the foremost place, both because we are neighbours of that people and because a not inconsiderable share of the inhabitants of Ingria, who were conquered by the most venerable King GUSTAVUS ADOLPHUS THE GREAT, belong to the Muscovite religion. Since by the grace of that Prince the use of their forefathers' rites was allowed to them, (8r) who could deny that it is in our interests to learn what should be determined concerning those rites? So, when the charge of that province, in which many Muscovite Churches still flourish, was given to me – who had not even dreamt of such a position – then a desire was born in me to learn the Slavonic language⁶ and to find out whether, with the help of the Most High, the compact darkness in which they dwell could not be happily dispelled by the splendour of the brighter Evangelical truth.

It would take far too long to explain what my most reverend predecessors have tried to do to this end. But that they were unable to achieve the goal they had set themselves is shown by the miserable condition of these people; and it is all the more deplorable that not even those Kings who spared no labour or expense could make the situation more fortunate. Most prominent was the zeal of GUSTAVUS ADOLPHUS THE GREAT, since he not only gave orders to establish here in Stockholm a Russian press,⁷ as witnessed by a royal charter of the 14th of April 1625, but also had Luther's Catechism printed in Russian-Swedish editions in 12^{mo} and 4^{to}, as well as a Finnish edition printed in the Russian alphabet in 8^{vo}, and finally a Muscovite Chronology in parallel Russian-Swedish print, in folio.

Nor did Queen CHRISTINA fail to promote this task, whose most distinguished guardians and councillors, the excellent and valiant Per Brahe,⁸ Jacob de la Gardie,⁹ Erik Rynning,¹⁰ Axel Oxenstierna¹¹ and Gabriel Oxenstierna,¹² made more stringent the 20th article of the instructions given to the Superintendent of Narva, the Most Reverend Master Henricus (8v) Stahlius,¹³ on the 16th of June 1642, requiring that “those who are to be ordained priests should know both Finnish and Russian, so that they can preach sermons in those languages without difficulty even before their ordination;” and they also confirmed the 21st article, which states that “every year in March and September local visitations should be made by both the Finnish pastors and the Russian ecclesiastics,” in that they prescribed that “during these visitations [knowledge of] the catechism should be examined, offences [against Church Law] recorded, and piety zealously inculcated.” Not to mention other things, her rescripts, as well as those of the greatest Kings, CHARLES GUSTAV [Charles X] and CHARLES XI, of most glorious memory, which were repeated over and over again and which most urgently commend the conversion of the people, give ample testimony to this. Indeed, we have reliable information that, under the last-mentioned of these monarchs too, measures were taken to organise Russian schools in the border areas of our part of Livonia.¹⁴

Nor can we, without earning reproach for ingratitude, fail to mention that the most victorious King CHARLES XII, who today celebrates his triumph over his enemies and ours, has given thought, among all his other grave concerns, to the fight against their ignorance, and in order to triumph all the more over this ignorance has remitted part of the tributes to all those who show diligence in learning the articles of the true faith and enter the precincts of our Church. Many were influenced by this truly royal munificence and began to take the salvation of their souls to heart and to accept instruction. But to make Curtius’s¹⁵ words my own: (9r) “these salutary plans were destroyed by Fate, who is stronger than all reason.” And the invading enemy that overwhelmed the whole province checked the advance of the Gospel.

This should be the right place to say how faithful were those presidents of the province, all men of the best families, who took on this arduous task. For we owe it to them to save their heroic virtues and their zeal for the salvation of their neighbour from oblivion. It is worthwhile to mention at least some of them, as memory brings them to mind.

The first of them was the Illustrious and Excellent Count Bengt Oxenstierna,¹⁶ Royal Councillor and Governor-General of Livonia and Ingria, who around the year 1631 was the first to introduce order, through reasonable statutes, into both ecclesiastical and political affairs in Ingria; these statutes provided the Queen with material for some very useful laws.

His successor was the Illustrious and Excellent Baron Erik Gyllenstierna,¹⁷ who for many years gave many excellent proofs of his zeal for the true faith, a zeal long demonstrated by his noble family (now appointed Counts).

One of his successors was the Illustrious and Excellent Count Erik Stenbock,¹⁸ under whose prudent care Christina's Church¹⁹ enjoyed enviable growth; Stenbock also had the church consecrated and on the 19th of September 1652 gave her wardens a rule whereby her profit was to be furthered.

How industriously the Illustrious and Excellent Count and Royal Councillor Göran Sperling²⁰ worked in order to drive away the barbaric ignorance cannot be sketched in a few words; nor is it necessary, for his work is still in everybody's memory.(9v) Part of the matter is also the well-meaning wish of the Illustrious and Excellent General, Baron Otto Wellingk,²¹ present Governor of Ingria and Kexholm, that our Russians should be better informed, a wish that he expressed in repeated letters to the Royal Consistory of Narva, while I was its president, and which I considered it safer to pass over in silence than to strictly recommend.²² The great efforts made on behalf of the Church by the other illustrious Governors,²³ Mannerschöld, Mörner, Helmfeld, Schulz, Fersen, Taube and perhaps others too, as well as by the Most Reverend Bishops²⁴ Stahlius, Rudbeckius, Matthiae, Thauvonius, Albogius, Bangius, Gezelius, Langius and many others who have held that office, we shall deal with another time, if Fate allows us.

As we are not only obliged to engage in procuring the salvation of the Ingrians, as a very small part of the Muscovite Church, but also to extend our concern to that great Church which is under the rule of the Tsar, it would undoubtedly be an act of Christian charity and vigilance to discover and apply means suited to the illumination of that Church. But I find that very few have described such means. The matter has been touched upon only very briefly by the Most Reverend Archbishop Eric Benzelius,²⁵ Doctor of Theology and Vice-Chancellor of Uppsala University, my own highly respected Patron, to whom I owe so much that it would take too long to describe, for since 1677 he has constantly embraced me with his generous and paternal benevolence; nor would the man's modesty allow it. First of all, I owe it to him that CHARLES XII, most fortunate of Kings, (10r) wanted me, too, to be involved, under the direction of the eminent Archbishop,²⁶ in the work on the new edition of the Swedish Church Law.²⁷ When he understood that I had taken on some work on the Muscovite Church, he, zealous as he is for the promotion of good literature, saw fit to assign to me the continuation of an unpublished work that his late father-in-law, the Most Reverend Doctor Erik Odhelius,²⁸ a most famous Professor of Theology of Uppsala University, had begun by royal order and filled with diverse knowledge of a kind that is not everywhere to be had; he had given it the title *Palmae Pacificae* or 'How to reconcile different religions'. In it he treated com-

prehensively of *The Greek Church*, in ch. 9, and *The Muscovite Church*, in ch. 8, and he shows briefly, in § 16, how a medicine can be prepared against the evils that press upon the latter. The sum of it is as follows: one must observe, firstly, how young people can be taught in a better way and how their literary education, which they are beginning to hold in high esteem, can be promoted, see Olearius*,²⁹ Book 3, ch. 22; secondly, that we strive to win them over by living prudently in private as well as in commercial matters; experience teaches us that this can be achieved. Thirdly, we would add that they should not be crushed by taxes and burdens so that they have neither the time nor the eagerness to learn anything. This education, however, would be made much easier by a supply of good teachers, but above all of books. If we could give them such a supply by starting our own Russian printing works, we would do something to please GOD, to save the Russians and to benefit ourselves.³⁰

At this point I expect the objection that theological books (10v) printed by us would not be accepted among the Russians, since the Tsar in his privilege, which is mentioned in Section 1, ch. 16, § 9, p. 156, totally banishes such books.³¹ But if we begin with such books of theirs as we, too, can accept, there is no reason to doubt that the others will also be accepted. We should not be warned off from this enterprise by the people's innate obstinacy in defending their own inherited ways, of which they are accused in Section 1, ch. 5, § 6, p. 63, nor will the lack of interest in saving souls, which is a problem with most people, make such efforts useless. For there exists a remedy that can remove both these problems, if applied with a knowledgeable and brotherly hand. For neither the obstinacy nor the lack of interest has such deep roots that they cannot be eradicated, nor are they rooted in every man's soul.

I will make the matter quite clear by referring to the authority of Regenvolscius*. He has reported the following, in Book 4 of his Slavonic Church History, ch. 3, p. 485: "It used to be said in Vilnius by Nicolaus Zienowicz, Evangelical under-chamberlain³² of Osmiana [Ashmyany], concerning the Muscovites, that their minds tend towards the Gospel, that in Vitebsk and in hundreds of other neighbouring churches they come together in multitudes to hear holy sermons, that they eagerly buy and read the Polish Bible in the Brest edition,³³ and that they had bought and brought to Moscow several hundred copies of the New Testament, which he [Zienowicz] had had printed in Vilnius at his own expense. There, too, a rich harvest for GOD would begin, if only there were enough labourers."

But even if things had been very different, all such obstacles should be removed by faithful prayers and diligent labour.

(11r) Indisputably, the Papists do everything they can to lure the Muscovites into the bosom of the Roman Church, which the Imperial Legate Pernister*, who was

sent to Moscow in 1579, thought could be brought about in his own time; he left the following written document about this question: *Quei popoli si potrebbono brevemente & facilmente condurre nel grembo della Santa Chiesa, tanto piu, che mai non ne sono usciti, ma hanno ricevuta & imparata quella fede, che dalla Chiesa Greca vien data, & quella hanno servata sino à quest' hora, con tanto Zelo & fervore, che è meraviglia*, which means: “These peoples could within a short time be drawn into the bosom of the Holy Church, all the more as they have never left her but have accepted and learnt the faith that the Greeks have given them and that they have preserved until this very hour, with such zeal and fervour that it must be admired.”³⁴ I pass over the mission that Antonius Possevinus* undertook on behalf of the Pope; to him was assigned the task of enticing the minds of the Muscovites. But is it not reported in Monsieur de Neuville’s* account, p. 9, that Tsar Alexius Michailowitz [Aleksej Michajlovič], in the year 1672, sent a legate to Rome who was to offer the Pope a union? “That Prince”, he says, “nominated the legate in 1672 to go to Rome on his behalf and offer Pope Clement a reunion of the Russian Church with the Roman Church, on certain conditions.” At whose instigation this was done is not difficult to guess. For the Jesuits, the praetorian guard of the Pope, are always keeping watch and suggesting such measures as are believed to amplify (11v) the glory of the Pope.

The legate, however, returned empty-handed. But what is to stop us from suspecting that similar measures are being planned today? If we for our part, though, take pains to make them go up in smoke, would we not then be able to rejoice that we had done a deed most agreeable to GOD and most advantageous to the Church? And those two churches will not grow together as easily as the author Pernisten believed when he said: *Spero que V. Excel. comprenderà chiaramente d' esser cosa facilmente [ed. facilissima] d' ottenerе in tam prossimi simbolizantibus il sopra da me detto transito*, “I hope that Your Excellency will understand perfectly that it will be an easy matter to effect this above-mentioned change between parts whose opinions are so close to one another.” For the obstacles are as follows: (1) The dictatorial power that the Pope claims in holy matters. (2) The partaking of both bread and wine in Holy Communion. (3) Matrimony among priests. (4) The doctrine of Purgatory. (5) The Procession of the Holy Spirit, and other impediments that they [the Eastern Church] pose in the way of such a union.

The aforementioned Pernisten, for sure, was of the view that “The most important error of the Muscovites was the fact that they claim that no one has the right to hold any other Councils than the first seven General Councils” (*Il loro magior errore à mio giuditio è che affermano, non esser stato lecito ad huomo alcuno celebrare altri Concilii che i primi 7*). But as they themselves have called together such Councils, as we have demonstrated in Section I, ch. 19, p. 179, they can no longer be accused of that. Even if they were guilty of that error, it would be counted among the less im-

portant ones. If they would only renounce (1) the idolatrous cult of images, (2) the invocation of saints, (3) their confidence in the merits (12r) of their own works, which makes them unworthy of absolution by grace alone, (4) their fictitious good works, and (5) their heedless ignorance of the mysteries of the Faith, then their own Church could look very different and more acceptable to GOD, as the Most Distinguished Rudbeckius and Palma* already remarked in their Exposition of the Faith, p. 32 et seq.

For all these reasons, we have decided to choose this subject, especially as this deadly war that rages between us tells us that this is a good time to declare war on their false opinions, although with a different purpose. For that war is fought to the death, of bodies and sometimes even of souls; our war is fought to defeat their monstrous errors, and eternal salvation and peace remain for body and soul. If one adds to this fact that practically nothing of this has, if I may say so, been made public in a competent manner in this Academy, with the exception of the 50 theses that were put forward for disputation by Doctor Botvidi* in 1620, then my decision is justified, especially if it is remembered that I have not written for men of the highest learning, but for younger and less experienced readers.

Further, in Section I, on History, I have followed an arbitrary method: whenever an issue worth mentioning came to my eye, I dealt with it. In Section II, on Dogmatics, I closely follow the *Confession*. When the first part of it diverges from the truth, I have pointed it out and, in a few words, examined it according to the truth. The second and third parts of the *Confession*, which deal mostly with Moral Theology, I reserve, GOD willing, for another time, as I also do with quite a few things concerned with the history, (12v) which would take too long to relate. These matters include things that ought to be said about purifying water, indulgences and the like. Nor do we assert that what we have related is free from all error, since we have ourselves discovered that we have been too credulous; in Section I, ch. 9, § 4, p. 89, we wrote that Masses are said even in smaller churches, although they cannot be celebrated there because they lack consecrated altars. But if we had had our own library at hand, we would have been able to explain quite a few things more clearly. We gratefully acknowledge, however, that libraries belonging to our friends have been available to us, especially that of the Most Noble and Honourable Sparwenfeld,³⁵ which had much to tell. Its owner, who for many years has been joined to us in an old and deep-rooted friendship, has spared no pains in extending a helping hand, he who excels above all others, even the Muscovites, in his knowledge both of the Slavonic language and of the status of the Muscovite reign; he thus deserves our sincerest thanks (*Fig. 5*). The same is true of my host and true friend of long standing, the Most Reverend and Distinguished Erik Holmen.³⁶ But I have always hesitated to use my friends' resources every time I needed to do so, and all would have been perfect and free from any uneasiness if we could have searched our own library.



Fig. 5. Portrait of J. G. Sparwenfeld. Oil painting by Lukas von Breda, Uppsala University Library.

I am so far from trusting myself to have satisfied others that I willingly admit that I have not satisfied myself in any way. Nor would it have been possible to do so, since my heart is broken by anxiety and sorrow, lamenting as I am these last three years the sad and premature fate of my beloved wife, Christiana Juliana Oxenstierna, and four children,³⁷ and thus living a life full of sighs and lamentation. The unfavourable opinion of some (13r) would have made my life intolerable, had I not been protected by the support of many good men.

On the recommendation of those men I have formed the plan to put this work forward for the degree of Doctor of Theology, in order to follow in the footsteps of my predecessors, but also and above all in order better to avoid the shafts of envy by being fortified by public testimony. When I doubted my decision, I was confirmed by the benevolent opinion of my studies given by the Reverend Faculty of Theology of the University of Giessen, which I have included at the end of this preface, in grateful memory of the generous friendship shown to me by the most celebrated professors of theology of the time, the doctors of theology Hannekenius, Clodius and Christianus,³⁸ and the whole Academic Senate. And my idea was promoted not least by the voice of my late father, Master Olaus Bergius,³⁹ Pastor of the Swedish Church on Cathedral Hill at Reval and Assessor of the Consistory, who, when I was a boy, encouraged me to be diligent in my studies using, among others, this argument: he would easily have attained the degree of Doctor of Theology if he had approached the camp of the Muses provided with the same resources as Providence had given me. But I had hardly passed my twelfth year when he met his destiny, and my kind mother Wendula Rylander, daughter of the Swedish Pastor of the city of Reval, Sven Rylander, died of sorrow within two years in the flower of her youth, so that my hope of continuing my studies barely survived.

It revived, however, as soon as I got to meet the Muses at Uppsala and experienced the singular favour of my teachers, (13v) who should never be mentioned without an honorary epithet: the Most Reverend Doctors and Professors of Theology,⁴⁰ Petrus Rudbeckius, Martin Brunnerus, Samuel Skunck and Petrus Holm, who have now all passed away in the Lord, but above all Doctor Eric Benzelius, Archbishop of Sweden even today and, we hope, yet long to live. Through their good instruction and the award of a Royal Scholarship in the Faculty of Theology, they restored my afflicted affairs so that, after five years of studies at Uppsala and another five years of peregrinations to the most important parts of Europe, I was called upon in the year 1687, on the command of King CHARLES XI, most renowned for his zeal, and by the Most Illustrious and Excellent Count Christopher Gyllenstierna,⁴¹ Royal Counsellor and Governor of the City, a Patron to look up to and the highest Magistrate of Stockholm, to be the first French Pastor of Stockholm; shortly afterwards I received confirmation by Royal letter. But by CHARLES XII, my Most Gentle Lord, I was first, in the year 1700, appointed Superintendent of Narva and Swedish Pastor, and

then, in 1701, Superintendent-General of all Livonia, which exceeded all my merits and expectations. I was received by the civil and military leaders of both provinces, above all by the Most Illustrious and Honourable Carl Gustaf Frölich,⁴² Baron, General and Governor of Riga, and Henning Rudolf Horn,⁴³ Baron, Major-General and Commander and Vice-Governor of Riga, and by the Royal Administrators of the Estonian District, the Honourable General Gustaf Adolf Strömfeldt,⁴⁴ and the Latvian District, the Honourable Michael von Strokirch,⁴⁵ and (14r) by the Secretaries of these Provinces, Segebad and Teppati,⁴⁶ as well as by the Highest Magistrates of both cities, with such benevolence and friendship that I feel myself very much obliged to all of them. From the ranks of Royal Councillors, my undertaking has received most support from the Most Noble Thomas Vegenack,⁴⁷ Royal Burgrave and Consul of Riga, Christopher von Koch,⁴⁸ Burgrave of Narva, Johan Stiernstedt,⁴⁹ Consul Justitiae, Hermann Ditmer,⁵⁰ Consul Politiae, Mathias Porten, Alexander Eckholm, Herman Porten and Johannes Folckern, all Councillors of Narva,⁵¹ who by giving me Russian books and by other kind deeds have deserved that I should not hesitate to gratefully mention them here.

The Law of gratitude forbids that I should fail to mention the brotherly attitude shown to me by the Church Leaders and Pastors of the Churches in Livonia and Ingria;⁵² I must especially mention the Most Reverend and Honourable Royal Superintendent of the City of Riga, Master Liborius Depkin, likewise Liborius Depkin, Pastor of St John's Church and Assessor of the Consistory, Master Reinerus Brochman, Dean and Pastor of Lais, Master Willebrand, Pastor of the German Church at Dorpat, Johannes Dauth, Pastor of Roop; from the Diocese of Narva I must especially mention the Most Reverend and Honourable Master Johannes Andreas Helwig, First Pastor of the German Church, Ericus Quist, Chaplain to the Garrison, Ericus Bure, the Finnish Pastor, Henricus Bruningk, Assistant Pastor of the German Church, all of them Assessors of the Royal Consistory; among the Deans, Master Zacharias Lithovius of Nyen, Johannes Sarcovius (14v) of Novabura, Johannes Schutz of Koporje, Johannes Elianus of Koporje, and Andreas Ahlgren of Lembala; and among the Pastors, Levin Andreas Schwartz of Gubanits and Ericus Holmenius of Moloskovits, who have, in many ways, generously demonstrated their friendship.

I am most obliged, and by more than a single debt, to the Academy and City Council of Pernau,⁵³ the former for shouldering the burden which I could not otherwise have managed, and also to the Most Reverend and Honourable Men Olaus Moberg, Doctor of Theology and First Professor, Laurentius Molin, Licentiate in Theology and Professor, now Doctor of Theology and Highest Councillor of her Royal Majesty the Queen,⁵⁴ and Johannes Folcher, Licentiate in Theology and Professor, all of them Assessors of the Royal Consistory and most faithful colleagues, the last-mentioned for offering me the post of Pastor of the German Church, which I was later

also granted by Royal Authority, in 1703. They have all deserved to live in my most grateful memory.

Lastly (which I should have done first of all), I am obliged to praise the fatherly interest of the Most Illustrious and Excellent Count and Royal Councillor Nicolaus Lillierot⁵⁵ in the Pernavian Muses and in my feeble efforts; because of this interest, he kindly agreed to let the post of Chancellor fall upon him so as to be able to further my work. I am so happy to enjoy his patronage that what I pray most ardently of GOD is that Divine Providence will support the Count in his precarious health and protect him and his illustrious family for many years to come.

You will not, dear reader, be irritated at me because I have perhaps been sorrowful in telling you what my fate (15r) has been like and by whom it has been mitigated. In your fairness, you will ascribe this to the tender love with which a husband loves a wife, a son his parents, and a disciple his excellent masters; since there was no opportunity to testify to my gratitude towards them when they were still alive, I wanted and was obliged to show, at least on this occasion, that I preserve and will continue to preserve their memory.

I foresee, however, that I have provided abundant new material for criticism and that slanderers will not be lacking. But they should remind themselves that I am prepared to intercept their blows with a cheerful mind, since I enjoy the approval both of the Greatest of Kings and of the Most Illustrious and Excellent intimate Royal Councillor and Magnificent Chancellor of Uppsala University, Count Carl Piper,⁵⁶ my most favourable Patron, on whom and on the whole of whose Most Noble Family I wish with all my heart all kinds of heavenly blessing to be generously bestowed. To this must be added the white stone of the Most Eminent Vice-Chancellor⁵⁷ and the consent of the Venerable Faculty of Theology, whose authority has always been my shield and my wall of copper.

I could stop speaking here, if the agreeable memory that my misfortunes are over and the manifest testimony of Divine Providence did not force me to add, with the Reader's good favour, some reflections on my extremely hard fate, to which *Nemesis Divina*, a just punishment as if administered by parents as a sign of their care, had brought me in the year 1688, so that I did not even have a hope left of a better future. But when everything seemed to be hopeless, a helper was sent, all of a sudden, from heaven, which put me to rights again and, in the twinkling of an eye, overthrew everything that threatened my raft with shipwreck and brought it into port unscathed. By how many (15v) storms it was shaken shortly afterwards must be told elsewhere; now the divine goodness must be celebrated, through which my raft has so far eluded all the threats of dangerous waves and kept its course with minimal interruptions, so that I can say, with veneration, like the Patriarch Jacob: *I am un-*

worthy, O Lord, of all these benefactions and of all this faithfulness that you have shown your servant,⁵⁸ and like Samuel: *Until now, Jehovah has helped us.*⁵⁹ What fate awaits it hence, when the further it sails out onto the open sea, the more it will be exposed to the roaring north-easterly wind, only he knows, who knows everything; to him I commend myself and all that is mine, trusting in his compassion, for, just as he sat at the rudder from my early boyhood, so he shall hold it until I am brought into the much longed-for haven of eternity, when I shall be allowed to sing his praise for ever and ever for all the gifts that he has bestowed on me. But as long as we have to fight our way in this turbulent and violent sea, let us flee to our mildest Lord and commend to him the Peace of the Church.⁶⁰

O LORD of hosts, return now, and look down from heaven and visit this vine, which you have planted with your own hand. Do not allow the wild boar to uproot it or the animal of the fields to feed on it or foxes to pass through it freely. Under the shade of your wings may it flourish, thrive and last for many years! May there bloom good spiritual workshops, destined to propagate and defend heavenly truth, so that in them, at all times, the reviving Truth may triumph over the lie. Peace to our country! Restore us, GOD of our salvation, and bring to naught (16r) your wrath against us. Will you for ever be in a rage against us? Should you not return and restore us to life, so that your people can rejoice in you? Show us, Jehovah, your benevolence and give us your salvation. O GOD, restore us, and make your face shine: thus we shall be saved. Thus benevolence and faith will meet, justice and peace will kiss each other. Faith will grow from the earth, and justice will look down from heaven. We will say together with one mouth and one spirit: Blessed be the name of the Lord, from now and for ever, from sunrise to sunset may the name of Jehovah be praised! Hallelujah!

But you, Reader and friend, farewell and look kindly upon the efforts of myself and our Honourable Respondent, since we will always have this in mind: *May honey flow for you, and the rough bramble bush produce spices!*⁶¹

The Dean, Senior and other Professors of the Faculty of Theology at Giessen in Hassia (Hessen) wish the Christian reader prosperity from the Lord.

Testimonials to those who well deserve them we both rightly give and humbly wish for.

But their weight lies in truth, not in many words. Even if the truth can be elucidated by copiousness, (16v) the concise truth pleases more than the expanded. When we now say a few words on the many merits of the Reverend and Excellent Master Nicolaus Bergius, from Sweden, you must, dear Reader, accept this short testimony as perfectly in accordance with the truth and believe that it could have been said elsewhere in a much more copious speech. We have in fact seen him diligently devote himself to his Academic studies. We have seen him frequently do work of solid piety and erudition, which, with the approval of our whole Senate, has given him the first place among many Candidates of Philosophy and left us an excellent memory of his name.

Even if this man does not want to personally undergo the usual examinations according to our statutes, we consider that he truly deserves that the highest honours in Theology be bestowed on him. This is our testimony, this is our verdict, and we call down all heavenly blessing upon his intention, plan and holy mission.

Giessen, in the year 1690 of the World's Redemption, on the 13th of June.

Under the seal of the Faculty of Theology.

(There follows an errata list which is of some interest for the translation, but which need not be reproduced here.)

magis tamen compendiosa placet veritas, quam diducta. Dum de meritis plur. Reverendi & Clarissimi Dn. M. Nicolai Bergii, Succi, pauca dicemus, ea pius Lector in compendio dicta ita extimabit, ut veritatem examulsum consona, & quæ alibi uberiori sermonis apparatu poterant commendari. Vidimus certe apud nos Eum Academicis studiis enixi incumbentem, vidimus exercitii cerebra & solidae Pietatis & eruditio[n]is, quorum meritis applaudente toto Senatu nostro, a primis inter multos philosophiæ Candidos evectus partes famam clarissimam nodus sui nobis reliquit. Hunc porro sine consuetis de more statutorum nostrorum examinibus praesentem susterre se discipulat, dignissimum existimamus esse, cui & supremi in Theologia honores possint decerni. Ita testamur, ita judicamus, ipsiusque instituto & proposito, & muneri sancto omnem benedictionem eccelestem appreca[m]ur! Gifsa A. O. R. MDCXC. Id. Junii. Sub Sigillo Facultatis Theologicae.

As bo wan uſta dawat, i Mndroſt iſi
wiſchniſch poſlati.
Budu, dawamsche nikto, nje Mngby
prøtim għlaġħolati.

BEs wytschitáňia ótzew wuſtotschnych,
Jbes wysnáňia Práwil tol Mótschnych,
Aschtsche Sláwjeni. Rosslikuju wjéru.
Chótschet wysnáti Kto, tojas'chie Mjéru;
Sđje w'sei besédy obriásch-tscher Ko-
nëtschno,

Jés'che dostójno Chwaliti jest wjétschno:
Mnóghich Naródow twortsi bo Pisáchu,
Jás che toi wjérye Protivnaja bjáchu:
Glúpo, Njewjés'chdo, Bes-flduno, i los' ch'io,
Chót by im byllo Moltscháti wosmós'chmo.
Sdje S' sámých jásnych istorischnikow
S' skátschét
Práwy woda, chešin pánváni k'.

Prawdy woda, chotja nénawist plátschet.
Nynje pridís'che ty drjáchlogho wjéka,
Ghórde Prewódnitsche, Pjén tsche-
lowicki.

lowjeka!
Ti samomu treba Práwdje utschítsja,
Jéus'ch' tak mir wes naštawít ti mnitsjá.
Sljépa kak Chótschet sljep pút Pokásati,
Drúgh drugha búdet Propáft prowoš'ch-
dáti.

Tjæ's'che, wladiko dostoino Blas'chíti,
Wsém nales'chít Blaghodárnyms'che
S'chíti

)()()() Trud

Fig. 6. The beginning of J. G. Sparwenfeld's Russian poem and dedication to Nicolaus Bergius.

(17r-17v)

(Sparwenfeld's Russian poem and dedication printed in the Latin alphabet, *Fig. 6*)⁶²

Luke 21, verse 15.

As bo wam usta dawat, i Mudrost is
wischnijch poslati
Budu, dawams'che nikto, nje Mogby
protiw ghlagholati.

Bes wytschitánija ótzew wostótschnych,
Jbes wysnánijsa Práwil tol Mótschnych,
Aschtsche Slawjáno Rossiiskuju wjéru

Chótschet wysnáti Kto, tójas'chie Mjéru;
Sdjè w'sei besédje obrjásch-tschet Ko-
nétschno,
Jés'che dostoíno Chwalíti jest wjétschno:
Mnóghich Naródow twortsì bo Pisáchu,
Jás'che toi wjérje Protíwnaja bjáchu:
Glúpo, Njewjés'chdo, Bes-stúdno, i los'chno,
Chót by im byllo Moltscháti wosmós'chno.
Sdjè S'sámych jásnych istótschnikow
S'skátschet
Práwdy wodà, chotja nénawist plátschet.
Nynje pridís'che ty drjáchlogho wjéka,
Gorde Preodnitsche, Pjén tsche-
lowjeka!
Ti samomù treba Práwdje utschítsjae,
Jéju'sch'tak mir wes nastáwit ti mnítsjá.
Sljépa kak Chótschet sljep pút Pokásati,
Drúgh drúgha búdet Propást prowos'ch-
dáti.
Tjaes'che, wladiko dostoíno Blas'chíti,
Wsém nales'chít Blagodárnyms'che
S'chíti
Trúd sa sei twój, Saž'schíl ti žs'chbójù
Mus'chei rasúmnich saplátu drus-chbóju.
Tschtós'che jest drùs'chba, mirskája saplátá?
Tschtó nam welmos'chnago jásna paláta?
Odna bes-smértna sebjè Dobrodjétel
Sámoi saplátá jest í Blaghodjétel.
Nénawist chót nas Grisét slo subámi,
Táks'che slonráwen poklépljet gubámi;
Náms'che utjécha da sówjest bywájet,
Jús'che newínnost ott Bógha Dawájet.

Preoswjasch-tschennomu, imjenitomu, Do-
stochwalnomu, welmi utschennomu, Prepotsch-
tennomu, o Christje duchownomu ottzu, i wla-
ditsje, Gospodinu Nicolje Bergiusu, Jegho Koro-
lewskogho welitschestwa wjernomu mušchu, i
gheneralnomu Superintendentu Liwonskomu, do-
stoinomu; Prijatelju i blaghodjetelju swojemu
prisnomu i wsegda potschtennomu, o wjerje

Slawjano-Rostsyskoi[!], K'wosprijatiju obytschnyja
Wo swjatoi Boghoslowij stepeni docktorskija,
mudrenno besjedujusch-tschemu, sija wo swoje
wospominanije, so wsjakim blaghopolutschenija
blagho-priwjetzowaniem pisal jego Milosti.

Prijatel i rab

Ioann Ghawriil Iwanowitsch
Sparwenfeldt.

(18r-18v)

(English translation of the Latin version
of Sparwenfeld's poem and dedication)

Luke 31:15 (*sc. 21:15*)⁶³

*Os nam ego sapientiamque vobis
Invictum dabo, nemo cui resistet.*

(I will give you a mouth and wisdom that no one shall be able to resist)

It is not necessary for learned men
To waste their time reading the Fathers
Of the East and their decrees and
Hard ecclesiastical rules. For
Those who want to know the inmost meaning of
The Slavonic-Russian Confession should read this book
Worth everlasting praise, a complete
Compendium of the whole matter.
Learned men of many peoples have
Touched upon it. But most of them imprudently add
Little of value and quite a lot of nonsense,
People whom nothing compels to write.
But, while envy sheds tears, truth now flows
From the purest sources.
Come hither, you despiser of all
Fragile history, you untrustworthy interpreter:
Learn here the harmonious truth that you,
Bold teacher, want to teach others.
When a blind man leads another blind man, both will
Fall into the pit.
But rightly we shall call you blessed,

Holy bishop, and we owe you thanks,
Grateful for your effort, which will ensure you
As a reward the friendship of learned people.
But what is human friendship and what is reward?
What is the use of high palaces?
Virtue alone is the never perishing prize for herself.
Envy bites us: with tongues and lips
Obstinate people accuse us.
Our joy will be our good conscience,
The kind daughter of divine innocence.

For the celebrated, praiseworthy, highly learned and most honoured Spiritual Father in Christ and Bishop of the Church, Master NICOLAUS BERGIUS, loyal servant of his Holy Royal Majesty and renowned Superintendent-General of Livonia, his perpetual friend, ever to be honoured, who is to defend his thesis on THE SLAVENO-RUSSIAN RELIGION for the illustrious degree of Doctor of Theology, in remembrance of himself and with all good wishes,
This was written, in deepest respect, by
His friend Sparwenfeld.

Section I: History

Chapter I

When we were to describe, with an unlearned pen, the character of the Muscovite Church and Religion, it was necessary to find out from where the colours suitable for this painting could be sought with the least effort. Since, however, they could not be better found anywhere but in the works of those authors who have taken that task in their learned hands, we had to go to them. And in order not to deprive them of the honour that is due to their labours and pains, we shall indicate them without regard for the dignity that marked each of them, but adding a judgement of our own and of others as to where they should be applied and how much they are to be trusted.

The first place we give to *Sigismundus*, Baron of *Herberstein*⁶⁴ Imperial Legate in Moscow, whose *Commentarii rerum Moscoviticarum* (Commentaries on Muscovite conditions) were printed in Antwerp by Stelsius, in the year 1557, in 8^{vo}, where the author is called *Sigismundus Liber*,⁶⁵ and later among the *Scriptores rerum Moscoviticarum*^{*} published in Frankfurt in the year 1600. This man is called the *princeps* of Muscovite history by the editors, the Marnes,⁶⁶ and he describes Muscovite conditions very fairly.

After him came *Paulus Jovius*^{*}, who in a slim volume summarised the history of the delegation of Basilius [Vasilij Ivanovič], Grand Prince of Moscow, to Pope Clement VII; he acquired his knowledge from the report of the Muscovite legate Demetrius, as he himself acknowledges in the quarto edition.⁶⁷

§ 2. *Joannes Faber*^{*}, once confessor to Ferdinand I, Roman emperor, and later Bishop of Vienna, published a dissertation on the Muscovite religion at Tübingen in 1525. There is no doubt that he often falsely claims concordance in religion between the Papists and the Russians; indeed, according to *Siricius*^{*}, ch. 3, p. 10, he openly mixes in false statements. *Schwabe*^{*}, in his foreword, therefore leaves it open to the reader how much he wants to trust it. The text is extant in *Scriptores rerum Moscoviticarum*, printed in the year 1600, p. 130 in the edition.

Clemens Adamus^{*}, in a description of a journey from England to Moscow, treats the theme not without elegance, yet briefly. The text is printed in *Scriptores rerum Moscoviticarum*, p. 143.

*Paulus Oderbornius** describes, in three books, the life of Johannes Basilides [Ivan Vasil'evič], and says of himself that he has personally studied their ceremonies, prayers, rite and pious worship. The books were published in the year 1586 and printed again on p. 241 of *Scriptores rerum Moscoviticarum*, in the year 1600.

§ 3. *Antonius Possevinus**, a Jesuit, who was sent by Pope Gregory XIII in 1581 to settle the war between Stephen, King of Poland, and the Grand Prince Ivan Vasil'evič,⁶⁸ wrote (1) a book about conditions in Moscow for Pope Gregory XIII, consisting of two commentaries; (2) three public discourses with Ivan Vasil'evič in his court, in the presence of boyars and a hundred other leading men; (3) chapters on which the Greeks disagree with the Latins; (4) a treatise presented to the Grand Prince of Moscow, when the English merchants had handed over to him a book in which a certain heretic tried to prove that the Pope was the Antichrist;⁶⁹ (6) questions and answers about the Procession of the Holy Spirit from the Father and the Son, extracted and put in a shorter and clearer form from a book by Gennadius Scholarius, Patriarch of Constantinople,⁷⁰ for the help and benefit of the Ruthenians. All these writings were published in folio in Cologne in 1595.⁷¹ Schwabe*, in his preface, suspects that Possevinus was influenced by his bias, and thus he does not use him much according to his own testimony.

§ 4. *Alexander Guagnini**, a Golden Knight of Verona, in his treatise on *Sarmatia*, gave a description of the customs and religion of all the regions that are under the rule of Moscow, and of the tyrannical rule of Ivan Vasil'evič; the book was published in Speyer, in 1581, and later in *Scriptores Rerum Moscoviticarum*, p. 154. He fulfilled his task splendidly and used a good style.

By *Mathias de Miechovia**, some extracts from his work on the history of Poland, published in Basle by H. Petri in 1582, can be read in *Scriptores Rerum Moscoviticarum*, p. 206. He touches briefly on the matter, rather than treats it. But in his treatise on the two *Sarmatiae*, that is the Asian and the European, he does a more thorough job of work. According to *Orichovius**, in his Dedication on the Baptism of the Ruthenians, he was "a very serious man and a trustworthy author, a physician by trade." He must have written his work before 1544,⁷² since *Orichovius*'s little book was printed that year in Cracow.

§ 5. *Albinus* published, in Speyer in 1582, various authors⁷³ on the Russian religion, as well as

1. A discourse on the religion of the Grand Prince of Moscow with Rohita [Rokytá]*, a minister of the Church of the Bohemian Brethren.
2. A confutation of the published version of this discourse by the Grand Prince himself.
3. *Lasicius Polonus*'* defence of the true religion and confutation of the false

one, under the title *Theologia Moscovitica*. Concerning this work, *Boxhornius**, who collected writings under the title *Respublica Moscovitica* that was published by [Johannes] Maire in 1630, in 16^{mo}, says: “I advise everyone who wants to have solid information on and refutation of the Muscovite theology to go to this book” p. 192. It is quite a comprehensive work and worthy of the recommendation given.

4. *Faber*’s* description or laudation of the Muscovite religion; of this book we have spoken earlier.
5. *Sacranus*’s* little book entitled *Elucidarius Errorum ritus Ruthenici* (Clarification of the errors of the Ruthenian rite), in which forty errors of the Muscovites or Russians and twelve deviations of the Greeks from the Roman Church are demonstrated. He was a Canon of Cracow and famous before the Lutheran era. For he wrote in 1500; concerning him, *Orichovius**, in the dedication of the translation of the book on the baptism of the Ruthenians: “He was a man who did not know the Ruthenian language and had no Greek: how could he, without these facilities, either decide about the Greeks or say anything certain about the Ruthenians? To me, nothing seems less possible.” He likewise complains that *Sacranus* had been too harsh in his studies of the Ruthenians, and had held against them things that either should have been left alone or interpreted in a milder way.
6. The Appendix of the Jesuit *Scarga** (from Vilnius) on the very same errors and the reasons why the Greeks repudiated the Roman Church.
7. *Guagnini*’s* description, already mentioned.
8. An account of the Russians’ and the Tartars’ religion, marriage rites, funeral rites, eating habits, clothing and customs, addressed to David *Chytraeus** on the 25th of July 1581. It is well worth reading and commendable for its vigorous brevity; *Schwabe**, in his foreword, attributes it to *Oderborn**.

§ 6. A book by the Danish nobleman *Jacob* [Ulfeldt]*, who was sent as a legate from the Danish King Frederick II to the Grand Prince of Moscow, called *Hodæporicon*, printed in 4^{to} in Frankfurt in the year 1608, is not to be despised.

*Adamus Olearius**, mathematician and librarian to His Highness Frederick, Duke of Holstein and father of our Royal Majesty Queen *Hedwig Eleonora*,⁷⁴ was a most curious man and made the glory of others less sure; since he had a good command of the language, visited the province several times and explored everything with the utmost diligence, his testimony alone would have sufficed, according to *Schwabe** in his foreword. He wrote three books on his journey to Persia; *Oppenbusch**, ch. 2, p. 12, recommends the last edition.

¤ *Olearius*’s Persian Itinerary is quoted by us in its second edition (*Fig. 7*), which is divided into six books, with one or two exceptions. “But of Muscovy no one wrote



Fig. 7. The frontispiece of Adam Olearius's *Offt begehrte Beschreibung der neuen orientalischen Reise*, Schleswig 1647 (the first edition). Uppsala University Library.

better than the German Adam Olearius, whose book is entitled in French: *Relation du Voyage d'Adam Olearius en Muscovie, Tartarie & Perse;*” see Hofmann, *Lexicon universale* I, p. 1054. ⁷⁵

§ 7. *Edoardus Brerevodus**, an Englishman, in his enquiries into religions, ch. 9, gives a very brief but rather good account.

*Alexander Rossaeus**, an Englishman, in his treatise on the religion of all peoples, ch. 14, briefly discusses the matter, and not badly.

*Boxhornius** and his *Miscella Farrago rerum Moscoviticarum* is much recommended by others; in it he presents (1) Clemens Adamus* [Clement Adams]; (2) acts from the meeting of the legates of King Stephen of Poland and Basilius [Ivan Vasil'evič], Grand Prince of Moscow; (3) a letter from the Russian Prince Michael Foederovitz [Michail Fëdorovič]⁷⁶ to the States General of the Netherlands; (4) a letter of the Grand Prince to Livonia on justice; (6) [*sc. (5)*] an appendix from Michael of Lithuania.

*Aegidius Fletcher**, an English legate to Moscow, of whom Beckmann* wrote in part 2, ch. 7, of his *Historia Orbis Terrarum*: “Among the English, Giles or Aegidius Fletcher stands out as an author of great quality on Russian matters. However, I have never seen him, although I have tried hard to find him.”

*Ludovicus Dunte**, a clergyman of Reval, in his work on the Cases of Conscience, in connection with a question ‘Are the Muscovites Christian?’, had a good deal to say about religion in ch. 16, part 2, question 6, and he summarised what Doctor Botvidi* had argued.

*Beckmannus** [J. C. Beckmann] in *Historia Orbis Terrarum*, part 2, ch. 7, p. 661, deals more with political matters and very little with religion.

*Michael Siricius**, Professor of Theology at Giessen, published a historico-theological discourse in Giessen in 1661, with Ludertus Cramerus, a Livonian from Riga, as respondent. He ought to be esteemed. He gave his little work the following title: *Religio Muscovitica per certa lectu digna et utilia capita etc.* [The Muscovite religion through certain chapters, worth reading and useful etc.].

*Johannes Schwabe** [Johann Schwabe] later, in his homeland, pastor of the Estonian Church in Reval, publicly defended, with Doctor Johann Ernst Gerhard* presiding, a dissertation on the religion and ecclesiastical rites of the Muscovites, at Jena in 1665. And although he could not fulfil what he had proposed as to the rites, the rest of the book deserves great praise.

*Michael von Oppenbusch** of Amsterdam published at Strasbourg, under the presidency of the distinguished theologian Doctor Johann Conrad Danhaver*, a historico-theological exercise, which was printed in a booklet of Danhaver's investigations in the year 1687; in it, he presented his subject quite well, although briefly.

*Theophilus Warmund** treated of the Muscovite religion in German, in 8^{vo}. It was printed and corrected in 1698. But with few exceptions, this book is a translation of Oppenbusch's exercise. It is pleasant to read for those who have no Latin.

*Avitus** [*Pierre d'Avity*], in a work entitled *les Empires & les principautez du monde*, also recorded a good deal about the Muscovites.

*Philippus Nicolai**, in his first book on the reign of Christ, sketched the main outlines of the Muscovite religion.

*Neugebauer's** book *Moscovia*, ch. 12, deals with religion and ecclesiastical policy.

*Johan Hornbeck**, the Calvinist theologian from Utrecht, gave a brief account in his *Summa controversiarum*, see book II, p. 955.

*Petrus Petrejus**, from Uppsala, ambassador to the Tsar of Russia from his Holy Royal Majesty King Gustavus Adolphus the Great of Sweden, published in Stockholm in 1615, in 4^{to}, an outline of the Muscovite empire, which he wrote in his native tongue (*Fig. 8*). He finished six books, and the sixth he devoted to a description of the religion. This book should not, by its bulk, deter the reader from reading it. He even includes matters not observed by others, although he tells of some things that either were never accepted practice or have been changed for the better of late.

*Johannes Rudbeckius and Jonas Palma**, by order of Gustavus Adolphus, King of Sweden, published a book in 1614 entitled 'Een kort berättelse och vnderwijsning om vår christeliga Tro och Gudztienst vthi Swerige. Ther vthi och the groweste wilfarelser som äro vthi the Ryßbars Religion warda korteligen förlagde / och tilbaka drefne; scrifwin til the Ryske Präster och gemene församling vthi Iwangrod / såsom och andre af samma Tro och mening / vthaf Kongl. Mayst. Til Swerige etc. Hofpredikanter Joh. Rudb. o Jon. Palma' [A short account and instruction on our Christian faith and worship in Sweden. In which, in addition, the most serious errors of the Russian religion are briefly refuted and rejected; written for the Russian priests and ordinary congregation of Ivangorod and for others of the same faith and opinion, by Joh. Rudb. and Jon. Palma, Chaplains to his Royal Majesty of Sweden etc.]. It was published for the second time in Västerås (*Arosiae*), in 4^{to}, in the year 1640.



Fig. 8. The title page of Petrus Petrejus's *Regni Muschovitici Sciographia*: *Thet är: Een wiss och egenteligh Beskriffning om Rydzland*, Stockholm 1615. Uppsala University Library.

To these authors should be added, or rather preferred, the Baron of *Meiersberg* [Augustin von Mayerberg]*, Emperor Leopold's ambassador to Tsar Alexius Michailowitz [Aleksej Michajlovič] in 1661. His itinerary, described by himself, can contribute a good deal to our theme. But he is accused by someone, in a letter in French, of being too biased against the Muscovites. "This merits all the more credence," he says, "as the account of that ambassador in many places seems to be very biased against the Muscovites."⁷⁷ But in this respect, he is surpassed by the French [who are even more biased]. The book [Mayerberg's book] was published, in folio, but with no indication of the place, year or printer.

§ 10.⁷⁸ Of more recent authors, *Christianus Kühne** took up this task; a student of theology, he translated into German *Oderborn's** three books on the life of Ivan Vasil'evič: not, however, verbatim, but according to their main contents, which he divided into chapters; this was not done in the Latin text. He then added a *Relatio de Theologia Moscovitica*, which is the same as that of *Warmund**, with some additions, few but significant, regarding the diverse image of the Muscovite religion in the 16th and 17th centuries.

Anatomia Russiae deformata came out in German in 1688. It is a little book in which the author treats of this matter in a conversational form. He calls himself J[uris] U[triusque] Candidate from Dobrilugk in Lausitz. But he should be named G.A. Schleißing*.⁷⁹ Copies of this book are so rare that they cannot be bought.

*Der Muscowitische Staat** in 4^{to}, published in German in 1702,⁸⁰ has a good deal to say on politics, most of it good, but as for religion it draws the mere outlines.

Der Curieusen und Historischen reisen durch Europa, andre Haupttheil, aus dem Französischen übersetzt und mit anmerckungen versehen durch Talandern saw the light of day in Leipzig in 1699, in 8^{vo}; it deals with Moscow, and is the seventh part of the whole work. Talandern*, however, is a fictitious name; the true name, according to the dedication, is Augustus Bose*.⁸¹ He explained all that needs to be known fully, not perfunctorily.

Oldenburger's Thesaurus Rerumpublicarum* reports a few things relevant to this question, but it should be read with circumspection.

*Wagenseilius**, a most well-informed man, in his *Pera*, section 2, ch. 19, describes the manners and religion of the Muscovite people.

*Hieronymus Kromaierus**, in his *Historia ecclesiastica*, sect. 10, has taken what he reports on religion from *Oderborn's** *Epistola ad Chytraeum*. What he adds of his own is not much. The same author, in his *Scrutinium Religionum*, has described the Ana-

tolic or Greek religion, to which the Muscovite religion is similar in several respects.

*The Earl of Carlisle*⁸², a legate sent to the King of Sweden, Charles XI, of blessed and glorious memory, Frederick III of Denmark and Tsar Alexium Michailowitz [Aleksej Michajlovič] by Charles II, King of Great Britain, published in French what he had observed on his journey; he gave an excellent treatment of the Muscovite religion in German translation in ch. 4, p. 665, of the Leipzig edition in 12^{mo}.

¤ The Earl of Carlisle, whose name was Charles Howard, was wished a good journey on the 29th of September 1669, in an English poem by that most excellent of Swedish poets, Lars Johansson, known as Lucidor the Unhappy. For this poem, see his collection of poetry entitled *Helicons Blomster*,⁸³ published in Stockholm in 1688. ¤

Axtelmejer^{*} published, in German, a Muscovite Prognosticon, in which, considering the power and excellent military discipline of the now reigning Tsar, he promised him the throne of Constantinople. In it, he dealt not unsuccessfully with political history; church history, however, interested him less. The book was printed in Augsburg in 1698.

Johan Arnold von Brand^{*}, Juris utriusque Doctor and Professor at Duisburg, in his Journeys through various provinces of Europe, among them Muscovy, has some passages concerning our theme. His book was published in Wesel in 1702, in 8^{vo}.

The honourable *Claudius Arhenius Örnhielm*^{*}, historiographer to His Majesty the King of Sweden, as long as he lived our most amiable patron, interspersed much information concerning Muscovite history in his biography of the most illustrious hero Pontus de la Gardie, Commander-in-Chief of the Swedish armies, and furthermore, as the title of his book makes clear, he presented almost the whole history of Livonia. The book was published in Leipzig in the year 1690, in 4^{to}. It was dedicated to the most excellent hero, the Lord High Chancellor of Sweden and the foremost benefactor of learning and learned men, Count Magnus Gabriel de la Gardie.

Master *Johannes Herbinius*^{*}, in his work on the Cave Monastery of Kiev, has a few observations about religion. He was appointed pastor of the church in Vilnius that adheres to the Augsburg Confession and, by order of the most eminent Archbishop Doctor Laurentius Stigzelius,⁸⁴ ordained by the Bishop of Estonia, Master Johannes Jacobus Pfeiffius,⁸⁵ in the German Church in Stockholm on the 30th of July 1672, as he himself mentions in ch. 4, sect. 4, p. 36. His book was published in Jena in 1675, in 8^{vo}.

By *de Neuville*^{*}, who was sent in the name of Louis XIV, King of France, to Muscovy by the Marquis de Bethune in the year 1689,⁸⁶ there is an account entitled *Relation*

curieuse et nouvelle de Moscovie, printed in The Hague in 1699, in 12^{mo}; in many respects it is not quite fair to the Russians.

*Johannes Botvidi**, doctor of theology and preacher to King Gustavus Adolphus, in his theses on the question *Utrum Moscovitae sint Christiani?* [Whether the Muscovites are Christians], which were ventilated at Uppsala at the King's command, had much to say about their religion. The book was published in Stockholm in 1620, in 4^{to}.

Boterus'* accounts, very popular among the Russians themselves, and other geographers who have touched upon things Muscovite, I now knowingly and willingly pass over.

¤ There are further authors who write about things Muscovite: (1) The Muscovite chancellery scribe Alexander Selitski, a Swedish manuscript by whom is kept in the Royal Archives. He composed his writings in Stockholm in 1669, and was called, by another name, *Grigori Carposson Cotossichin** [Grigorij Karpovič Kotošichin]. This work is to be found among the Ruthenian manuscripts in the Sparwenfeld Library.⁸⁷ (2) Abraham van de Corput, a Belgian, 1662.⁸⁸ (3) *Alphonsus Lysek**, a secretary of the legation under the Imperial Legates Hannibal Bottoni and Johannes Gusmannus. The work, published in 1675, is in Latin. (4) Moscow from a true German quill, 1687.⁸⁹ (5) The Polish-Lithuanian legation to Moscow in 1678, described by the eyewitness Bernhard Leopold Franciscus Tanner*, a Bohemian from Prague. (6) Hieronimus Horsey* [Jerome Horsey] and (7) Antonius Sankinson [Anthony Jenkinson*], both in English. (8) The troop may be concluded with *Gothofredus*'* *Archontologia Cosmica*,⁹⁰ a work in folio, which in book 1, p. 357, speaks knowledgeably about Muscovy. ☉

Chapter II

§ 1. As the authors discussed in the first chapter described not so much religious views, but mostly the history, we should now mention those books mainly concerned with doctrine that are most trustworthy. *Schwabe** acknowledges this in his foreword; he gave pride of place to a little book, printed in the Muscovite language and alphabet and presenting the creed and the letters.⁹¹ But we are, in this respect, more fortunate than he was, since we have access to their own books, to which we can rightly assign the name *Books of the Creed*. Foremost among them is the *Confession of the Greek Church*, published in the Muscovite language under the following title:⁹² 'In honour of the Holy Trinity, of one substance, life-giving and inseparable, Father, Son and Holy Spirit, this book, the Orthodox Confession of the Catholic

and Apostolic Eastern Church, recently compared with the Greek language by trustworthy witnesses, by order of our most honourable Lord, the Tsar and Grand Prince Peter, son of Aleksej, *Samoderschize* [*Samoderžec*] or Autocrat of all Greater, Lesser and White Russia (it is difficult to express the meaning of this word, a title that has caused long contentions between our legates and those of the Russians, see Widekindi*⁹³ ‘The Russian War’, book 9, p. 686), with the blessing of his spiritual and pious father, the Great Lord (here another word occurs, of less dignity, which we have nevertheless rendered as ‘Lord’, for the first word, which is given to the Tsar, is *Gossudar* [*Gosudar*]), and the latter, given to the Patriarch, is *Gospodin*), the holy Lord (in Muscovite ‘kyr’) Adrian,⁹⁴ Archbishop of Moscow and of All Russia and Patriarch of All Northern Regions, under our Most Highly Born⁹⁵ Great Lord and Son of our Tsar, the Grand Prince Aleksej, son of Peter, printed in the great imperial city of Moscow, in the year of the creation 7204, but in the year 1696 after the birth of Jesus Christ, God and man, officially dated the 4th of the month of March.⁹⁶ Published together with this book were two homilies on the cult of images of the saints, by the Holy Father John of Damascus.⁹⁷ The book is in folio (*Figs. 9, 10*). Quite a comprehensive foreword to the *Confession* was added by the Patriarch Adrian, as a recommendation of the book.⁹⁸ There we also find some information on the reasons for the edition. Since our intention now is to stand by his opinion and explain, as far as possible, the Muscovite doctrine with the very words of the *Confession*, we have considered it worthwhile to add what we have found out about the originator of the book, the reasons for it, its argument, its editors and translators, and its authority.

§ 2. As for the originator, I will use the words of the great *Normannus*,⁹⁹ as long as he lived our most important supporter, from the foreword to the accurate translation into Latin that he made from the Greek; there he said: “From what Nectarius,⁹⁹ the Patriarch of Jerusalem, once said in his preface to the work, we consider it a fact that Petrus Mogilas [Mogila],¹⁰⁰ Metropolitan priest of Kiev and Exarch to the Constantinopolitan Throne, a man descending from the Dukes of Moldavia and Walachia, took it upon himself, not without good reason, to initiate this work. As Nectarius says in the preface, he [Mogila] found his flock confused and infected with new sectarian ideas and far astray from the genuine and old doctrine of their forefathers.” This he took as an opportunity to call together three bishops and famous learned men with whom to discuss the matter, and after various deliberations, they unanimously decided to prepare an exposition of their creed and put it in writing, divided into certain chapters, and then to submit it to the Constantinopolitan Church and its holy synod for further examination and debate. For a long time, they have followed the authority of this church and, of their own free will, submitted themselves to it, seeing it as the head of the orthodox flock of Greeks. There is more noteworthy information explaining the history of this *Confession* to be gleaned from the quoted prefaces.

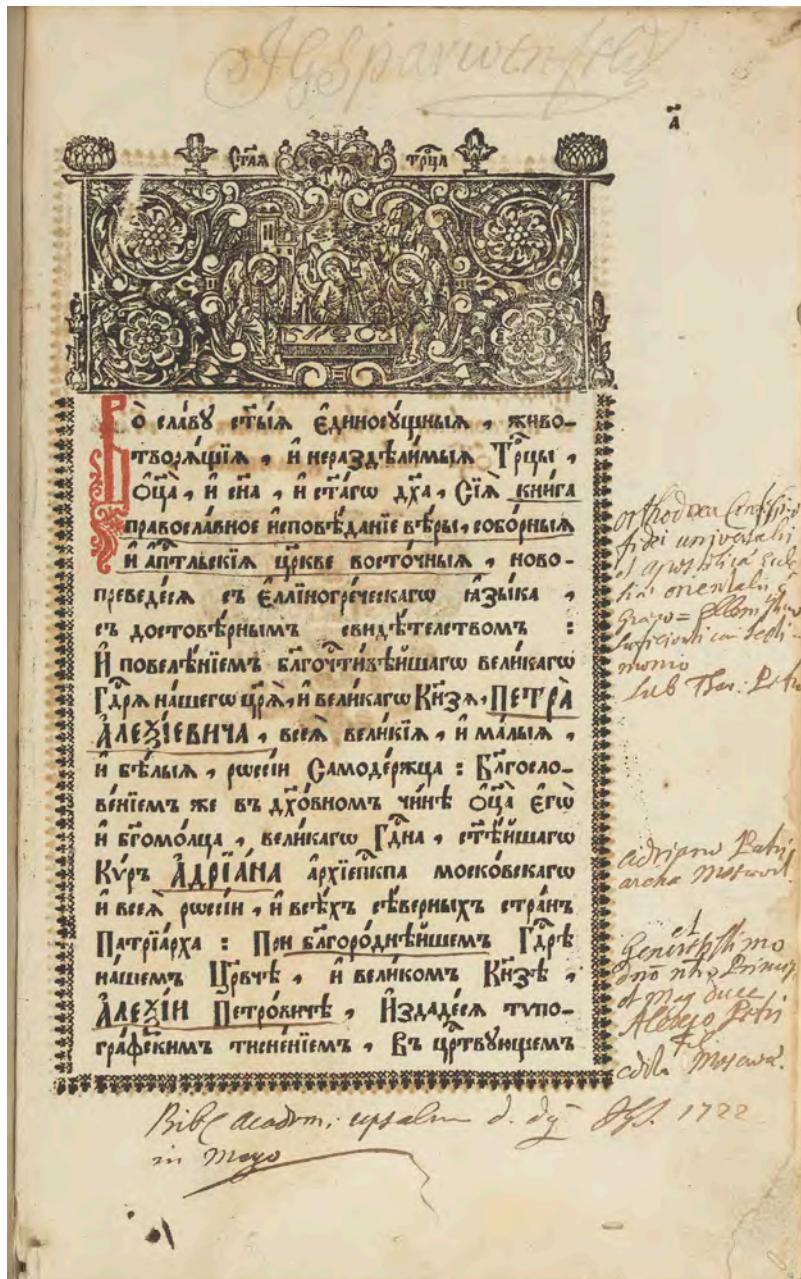


Fig. 9. The title page of the Russian-Church Slavonic translation of Peter Mogila's Orthodox Confession (Pravoslavnoe ispovedanie very), printed in Moscow in 1696, with notes by J. G. Sparwenfeld in the margins. Uppsala University Library, Ksl F 29.

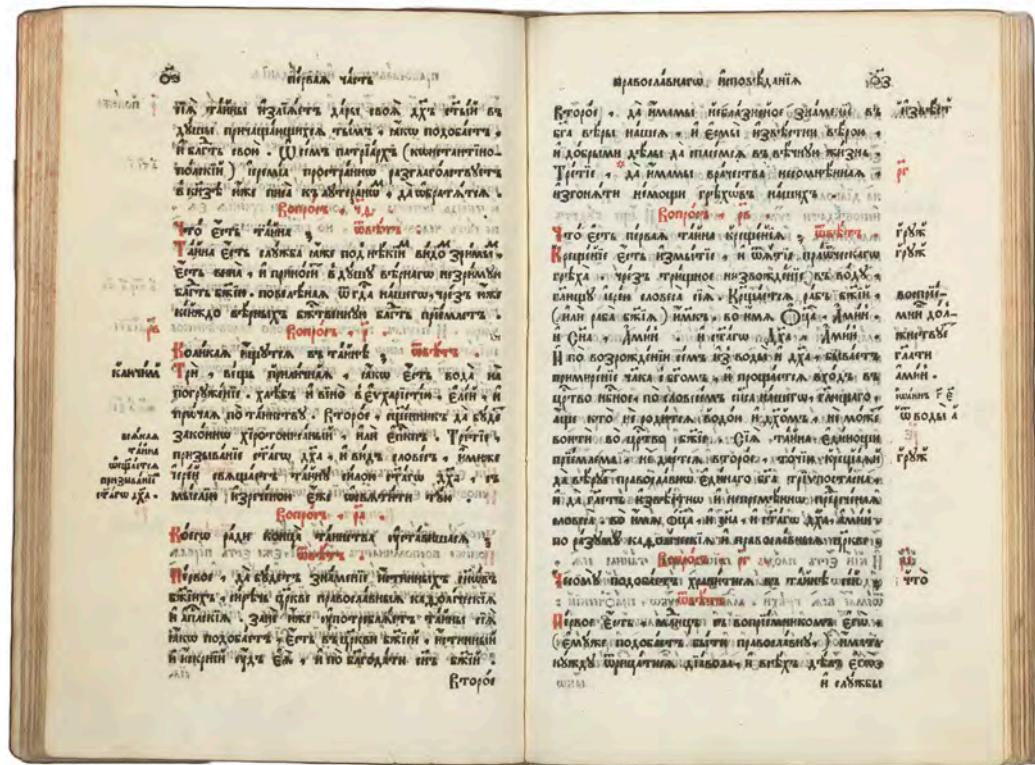


Fig. 10. An opening from the Russian-Church Slavonic translation of Peter Mogila's Orthodox Confession. Uppsala University Library, Ksl F 29.

§ 3. No one can be in any doubt about the subject matter of the book, for Nectarius gives the title 'Exposition of the faith of the Russians' and Normannus 'Catechism of the Russians'; both rubrics seem to refer to the same matter. But Parthenius,¹⁰¹ in the preface, asserts that the text was sent to him under the title *Confessio orthodoxae fidei catholicae orthodoxae ecclesiae* [A confession of the orthodox catholic faith of the orthodox church]. So we can move on to get to know those who, with their hands, helped polish and bring this work to life.

§ 4. In the first category, Nectarius mentions Porphyrius¹⁰² and Meletius Syrigus,¹⁰³ on whom he bestows the praise that he was 'a great teacher of the Church'. To *Normannus*, he was a holy monk and theologian of the Constantinopolitan Church. He also won repute by another book, in which he openly refuted the confession of Cyril Lucaris (who was a Calvinist, and of no great honour, for he had been Patriarch of Constantinople, twice dismissed and once reinstated; but with the loss of his life in the most miserable circumstances, he expiated his unfaithful treatment of the tenets

of the Greek Church).¹⁰⁴ Meletius went to Moldavia together with Porphyrius; several others also went there, sent by the Russians, including *Hesaias Trophimi F[ilius] & (Josephus) Conovicius, and (Ignatius) Xenovicius, all truly admirable men distinguished by letters and liberal arts*, according to Nectarius.¹⁰⁵

§ 5. As for translators, Normannus is not sure on what authority *Carolus du Fresne**,¹⁰⁶ author of the modern dictionary of medieval and recent Greek, in his index of published authors and under the word μά, attributes the translation into vernacular Greek of the ‘Catechism of the Russians or Greeks’ to *Panagiota*,¹⁰⁷ the first interpreter of the Turkish Sultan. And although Normannus adduces reasons that should be taken into account, the most important of which is that he believes Panagiota to be twenty years younger than the *Confession*, we shall feel free to leave the question unresolved, since Normannus does not suggest any other name.

§ 6. As regards the question whether the *Confession* was first conceived in the Russian language, our Normannus doubts it, since he argues, in opposition to du Fresne*: “In vain the great man seems to claim that it is agreed that the *Confession* was conceived in the Russian language, not in vulgar Greek.” This controversy seems to be easily decided, since Nectarius himself acknowledges that the first lines of the *Confession* were added in Russian. And if you consider that the author Mogila was a Russian,¹⁰⁸ there is not much room for doubt that it was first written in Russian, which Nectarius too seems to intimate when he says in the foreword: “Although this book was printed by the Russians some time ago in the language of the ordinary people, it was only transcribed by hand and circulated in a few copies among the Greeks.” However this may be, it still arouses some suspicion that the praise which the Patriarch Parthenius expresses for Panagiota’s generosity at the end of his Greek foreword also occurs in the Russian version, so that one can understand that it has been translated from Greek, as it would have been superfluous to mention this in the Russian text. Another fact that speaks for a Greek original is that the Russian version corresponds verbatim to the Greek text, according to the customary manner among Russian translators, a manner that allows few changes in word order.¹⁰⁹ The third reason is that it is subscribed only by doctors of the Greek Church. So it is difficult to say anything definite about this controversy, since many good reasons support each side. If, however, I am to say what I believe, I think we should hold with Normannus rather than with du Fresne and judge that the *Confession*, such as we have it, was first written in Greek. There is also a Slavonic version of another Catechism, and, if I am not entirely wrong, this is the Catechism that the Patriarch Nectarius meant when he said that “a *Confession* was already printed by the Russians.” For it was printed in Moscow, in the year of the creation 7157, that is, in 1648, but the Greek version first appeared in Belgium in 1662.¹¹⁰ It does not matter that the two editions do not correspond in every detail. The later edition, though somewhat more exhaustive, does not differ essentially from the earlier one. The Syn-

Fig. 11. The title page of Laurentius Normannus's translation from Greek into Latin of Peter Mogila's Orthodox Confession, printed in Leipzig in 1695 (Uppsala University Library, Obr. 57:108).

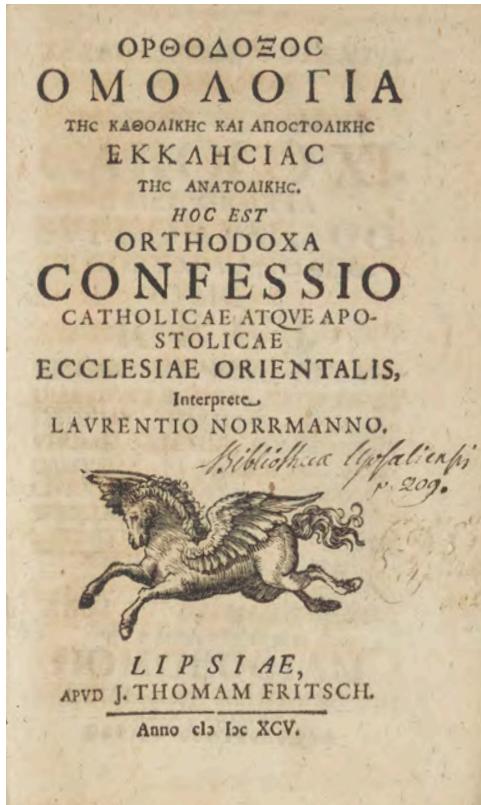
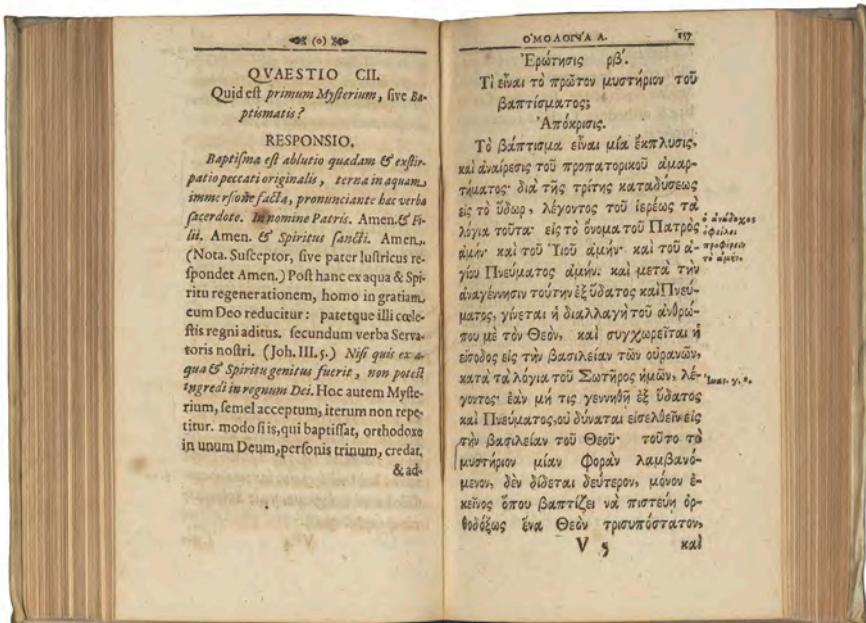


Fig. 12. An opening from Laurentius Normannus's Latin translation of Peter Mogila's Orthodox Confession, with the interfoliated original Greek text. Uppsala University Library, Obr. 57:108.



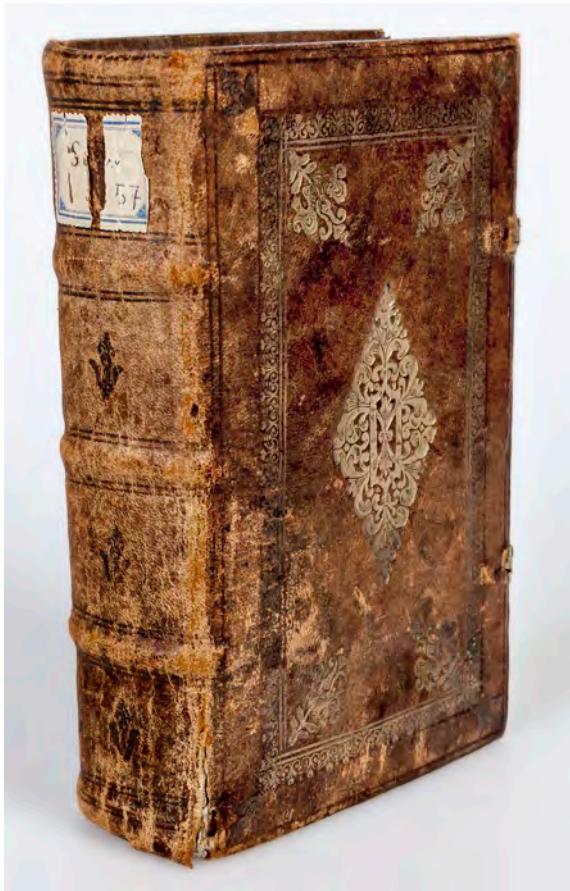


Fig. 13. Uppsala University Library, Slav 57, containing the printed Greek version of Peter Mogila's Orthodox Confession and an interfoliated anonymous, handwritten translation of the text into Russian-Church Slavonic.

od of Jerusalem held in 1672 confirms my opinion. It says that the *Confession* was first written by Mogila, but then made more lucid and perfect, wherever it seemed to need clarity and perfection, and this was done at the command of the Synod of Jassy¹¹¹ by Meletius Syrigus of Crete, assistant bishop and Doctor of the Great Constantinopolitan Church. It is thus quite safe to state that the first lines of the *Confession* were conceived in Russian, but that the improvement on the first edition was written and printed in Greek and then translated into Slavonic. Adrian, Patriarch of Moscow, in the preface to the *Confession*, agrees and says that it was translated from the Greek in Moscow, in the Monastery of Michael the Archistrategos,¹¹² under the guidance of Joachim, his predecessor.¹¹³

§ 7. The often-mentioned Normannus was the first among us to provide a Latin version,¹¹⁴ a man whose services to the learned world should not fall into oblivion. The translation was published in Leipzig, together with the original text, by J. Thomas Fritsch in 1695 (Figs. 11, 12), with the collaboration of *Rechenbergius*.¹¹⁵ It is to be observed that I said 'among us', for both Patriarchs, Nectarius and Partheni-

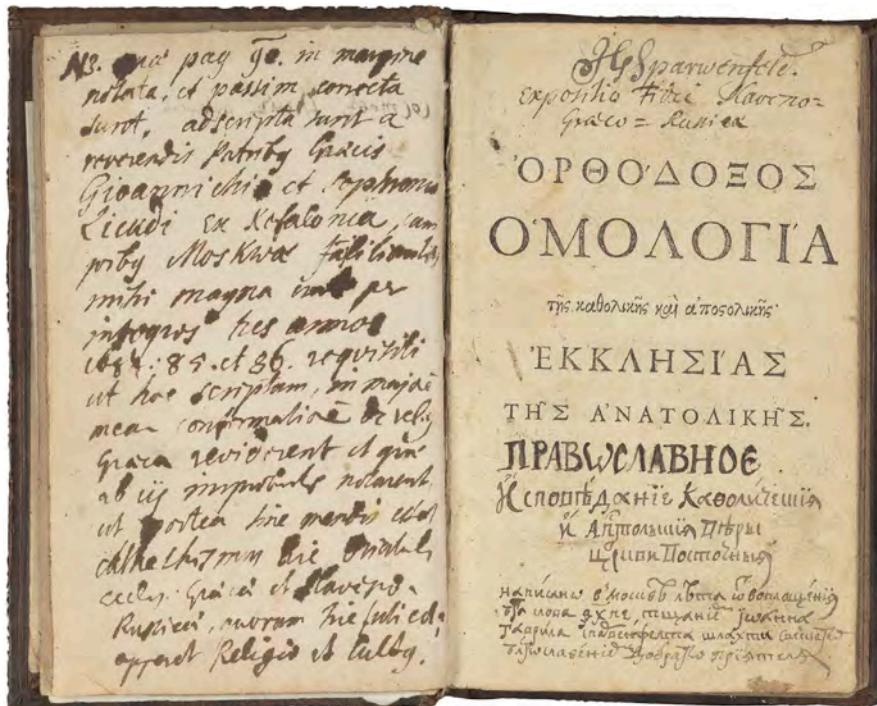


Fig. 14. The title page of the Greek version of Peter Mogila's Orthodox Confession (printed in Amsterdam in 1666), with notes by J. G. Sparwenfeld in Russian and Latin. Uppsala University Library, Slav 57.

us, are most trustworthy witnesses that a Latin version was published as early as 1662, at Panagiota's expense. The first-mentioned of them explained the matter thus in his preface: "Master Panagiota is, as we know, most devoted to our Greek nation and an ardent defender of the orthodox faith and, in addition to so many other great works, he not unwillingly took it upon himself to publish in print this book, in our language and Latin, at his own expense, in spite of being occupied and engaged for hours in public affairs." The second says in his preface: "Since we have not engaged in reading the second part of the book, which is in Latin and placed on opposite pages, we duly confirm only the part that is written in our own vernacular language." If you wish to know where the earlier translation is to be found, Normannus will tell you this, for at the end of his preface he expresses the wish that "the firstborn translation of these very authors should be brought out into the light from the Royal Treasury by learned men from France."¹¹⁶ Above all, he has done well by the Russians and us with this translation, as the faith can now be better known by our fellow-countrymen. For the Russian version agrees with the Greek word for word, and the corrections added by the Lichudy brothers in the margin of Sparwenfeld's copy have been faithfully attended to (Figs. 13, 14, 15).¹¹⁷ Such minor errors that have

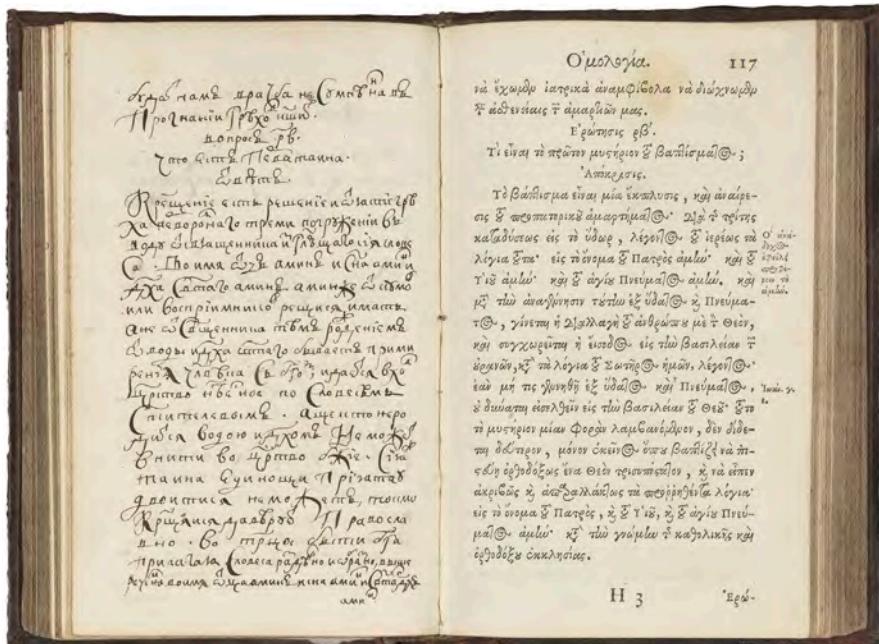


Fig. 15. An opening from the printed Greek version of Peter Mogila's Orthodox Confession with an interfoliated handwritten translation into Russian-Church Slavonic. Uppsala University Library, Slav 57.

crept in and should be eliminated, such as *Question 70* in part I, p. 118, not p. 90 as is wrongly stated in the preface, and which are left untranslated by Normannus, do not appear in the Russian version.

§ 8. As for the first editors, we need not trouble ourselves, since both Nectarius and Normannus give that honour to *Panagiota*. The latter says: “Although Panagiota should be seen neither as the author (*there is no doubt about that*) nor as the translator (*this I would not say for sure*), we think that he has deserved an immortal name because, through his care and effort (and if Nectarius is to be believed, also at his expense), the first edition in Greek saw the light of day in Belgium in the year of our Saviour 1662.” That it was paid for by the generosity of the States General of the Netherlands, not by private money, seems to be indicated by a letter to *Arnaldus*^{*118} from the French legate *de Nointel*,¹¹⁹ a friend of whose asserts that he has learnt the following from the mouth of the Resident [ambassador] of Holland: “On the fifteenth of February, one of my friends, who had been dining with the Resident of Holland when the conversation had touched upon the religion of the Greeks, reported to me that they had spoken of a book entitled *Confession orthodoxe de l'Eglise Catholique & Apostolique d'orient* and stated that it defended the Real Presence and

Transubstantiation. The Resident disclosed the origins of the printing of this book, for he told him that Monsieur Panajotti had sent the original to Holland to be printed at his own expense. The States General had not wanted to take his money, and to gain his good will they had had the book printed at their own expense and with great care,¹²⁰ and they had entrusted their Resident with several cases, to be made a gift of to Monsieur Panajotti. So this is how that Dutch gentleman explained it." But as we would not wish to state anything certain about an uncertain matter, we shall leave this question unresolved, as did Normannus. But if anyone wants to argue that the first edition was published at the expense of the States General, and the second, which *Dionysius, Patriarch of Constantinople*,¹²¹ together with *Nectarius* attributed to Panagiota and the above-mentioned *Dionysius* is said to have praised, at the expense of *Panagiota*, he will not find me arguing against him. That a large number of copies were taken out of the Netherlands and exported to Byzantium is not only to be believed, but is also the reason why the book is still known to rather few people in our world; Normannus notes this in his preface, and experience confirms it, for in the dissertations on the religion of the Muscovite people that were published in the following years, under the learned presidency of Siricius*, Gerhard* and Dannhaver*, you will look in vain for traces of this book.

§ 9. It remains to briefly discuss the authority of this book. Normannus raises the following question on this point: "What credence or what authority do you believe is due to your confession of faith? For I do not think you are unaware that the praise given to it by a theologian of high standing among his own, viz. Johannes Claudius [Jean Claude],¹²² seems to have been written with a certain irony." After quoting Claudius's French text at length and conceding that certain foreign habits were introduced into the Greek churches from the Roman Church, he adds: "And I cannot deny that, in this matter, I adhere rather to Thomas Smith, who in other matters is a fellow-initiate with Claudius, but who in this particular matter is without doubt a more experienced eye- and ear-witness,¹²³ and who, as often elsewhere, embellishes his letter on the state of today's Church with words and testimonies taken from our confession of faith." Thus, Smith gives it quite strong authority, which we, too, think should not be diminished, since it is supported by the unanimous decision of so many bishops of both churches and, having once again been examined (on which examination Parthenius [reports] "that he has studied it carefully before considering it worthy of his approval"), was also subscribed by them. It was subscribed in the year of salvation 1643, on the 11th of March, by Parthenius, 'by God's mercy Archbishop of Constantinople, the New Rome, and Ecumenical Patriarch', Johannicius, 'by God's mercy Pope and Patriarch of the great city of Alexandria and judge of the whole world', Macarius, 'Patriarch of God's great city of Antioch', Paisius, 'Patriarch of the holy city of Jerusalem', and twenty-two other theologians, whose names are added after Parthenius's preface, where anyone can find them.¹²⁴

§ 10. But so that its authority may stand unharmed, the text has been confirmed by the testimony of the whole Synod of Jerusalem, held in the month of March 1672 by the Patriarch Dositheus. This testimony is related by Normannus in both Greek and Latin; here we shall quote only the Latin text: “And not only these, but also many others (whose names we shall give in their due places) have of late treated of these arguments, when six or at most seven years ago a book was published entitled *Confession of the Eastern Orthodox Church*, written by the most holy Metropolitan of Kiev (Petrus Mogila), but made more illuminating and more correct, wherever it seemed to be lacking in lucidity, by order of the Synod of Jassy by Meletius Syrigus of Crete, Protosynarchus and Doctor of the Great Constantinopolitan Church, which book was accepted then and is still accepted by the whole of the Eastern Church.” This should not be omitted, since it confirms what we have said above. And so it was that Arnaldus* in his ‘General response’ to Claudius’s* new book, ch. IX, p. 137, after carrying out quite a scrupulous examination of the history of the *Confession* in question and adding to its trustworthiness from all the sources, declared his opinion in the following words: “All the dogmas on which the Greeks differ from the Latin Church are utterly defended, and one can have no suspicion that the authors of this *Confession* had any affection or inclination towards the Roman Church. It is thus difficult to imagine or even to wish for a book that is less suspect, more authorised, or more authentic, or of which one can feel more assured that it contains the true opinions of the whole of the Eastern Church.” And no reason compels us to repudiate that opinion.

§ 11. To this, I will add another book that agrees at all points with the *Confession* and that was published a long time before the *Confession*, in Russian type: it even seems to have been used by Mogila when he prepared the *Confession*. It has the following title: ‘A short collection of the doctrine on the articles of faith’. This title was printed in red, and then further explained thus: ‘that is, the articles on the dogmas and traditions of the Orthodox, Catholic Christian Faith, transmitted in Slavonic (composed or translated) according to the confession and doctrine of the Holy Eastern, Universal and Apostolic Church, for the instruction and information of all orthodox Christians, and especially of schoolchildren,¹²⁵ by order of the Great Lord the Tsar and Grand Prince Aleksej Michajlovič, *Samodertschze* [*Samoderžec*]¹²⁶ of All Russia, and with the benediction of the Great Lord, St Joseph¹²⁷ the Patriarch of Moscow and All Russia, printed in Slavonic in the city of the Tsar, Moscow, in the year 7156, on the 20th of January’, which is 1648. This book comprises the following texts:

- I. ‘The Creed or Confession of the Most Holy Athanasius, Patriarch of Alexandria’,¹²⁸ which agrees completely with ours, with the sole exception of the progression of the Holy Spirit from the Son: the words *et Filio* are omitted from the Muscovite translation, and one sentence has been added: “that whoever does not hold with this creed cannot be saved,” a sentence that is

unnecessarily accused by many of being arrogant. But [Gerardus] Vossius*, in his work 'Dissertation on the Three Creeds', 2, § 23, p. 54, denies that the author Athanasius acknowledged that sentence and states that the creed was first written in Latin, not Greek.

- II. A short explication of the Faith by Anastasius,¹²⁹ the Holy Patriarch of Antioch, and Cyril of Alexandria.¹³⁰ It is undertaken in the form of twenty-two questions and answers on theology.
- III. The abridged explication of the Faith by St Maximus,¹³¹ in the form of questions and answers to every orthodox Christian; it contains 13 questions.
- IV. Explication of the Faith, here with the following title: 'The Book of Catechism, or the doctrine of the Faith with all necessary things'¹³² that pertain to it.
- V. The Book on the Faith of St Gennadius, Patriarch of Constantinople,¹³³ in which he states at the very beginning that "to have the orthodox Faith is the foundation of good works. And therefore the discourse should rightly begin with the Faith." The book has one hundred chapters, of which chapter 1 begins thus: "I believe in the Father, the Son and the Holy Spirit, the Holy inseparable Trinity" etc., and the last chapter ends: "Of Jesus Christ our Lord, to whom be glory and power, honour and worship, together with the Father and the Holy Spirit, now and for ever, world without end."

§ 12. But this book was published before, viz. in the year 1645, but then in the Belarusian dialect ('dialecto Bielo Russica'), under this very title: 'A short collection of the doctrine on the articles of the Orthodox Catholic Christian Faith, from the knowledge and doctrine of the Holy Eastern, Universal and Apostolic Church, published for the information and instruction in schools of the children of Orthodox Christians, according to the elucidation and benediction (or permission) of senior religious men, first in Polish, but now in the White Russian dialect ('dialecto albo-Russicā'), in the holy, great and wonder-working Monastery of the Kiev Caves in the year of Christ 1645.'¹³⁴ As the preface sets out the reasons for the edition and also contains other things worth mentioning, we will present it here in the translation of the noble Sparwenfeld: 'By permission and according to the explication of the Elders, a little book on the Faith has recently been published, entitled "A short collection of the Orthodox Catholic Christian doctrine", but in the Polish dialect, for obvious reasons, dear Reader, especially in order to silence the mouths of our impudent detractors, who as the most influential enemies of the Eastern Church wrote their invectives against the Orthodox Eastern Church in Polish, and thus to refute them in the same dialect, in which the true religion is here presented. But now this

little book on the Orthodox-Catholic Faith, having been amended in some places, is published in the Russian ('dialecto Russicâ') dialect, for the use of the sons of the Eastern Orthodox-Catholic Church, not only with the aim that the priests in the parishes will give this doctrine and their full assistance to the sheep that God has given them and Christ has redeemed with his own blood, every day but in particular at least once a week, and on feast days, but also with the aim that lay people who can read will, out of Christian charity, find it useful for the instruction of others who are simple and unlearned; in particular, parents should instruct their children, masters their serfs, and princes their subjects. But its usefulness will abound the most in schools, where pupils should learn the tenets of this book by heart. If anyone is not content with this short presentation of the Catholic doctrine and requires more comprehensive instruction, built on Holy Scripture, the Councils and the divinely inspired Church Fathers, he will have to wait a while, since, with the help and promotion of the Holy and Life-Giving Spirit, we shall try to edit from the very foundations a more perfect treatise (on these matters). In the meantime, benevolent reader, enjoy this little book instead of the perfect one, read it with benediction and, keeping it in your memory, be saved and benevolent.' I shall now keep silent about what can be drawn from this preface that is worthy of observation, as I shall speak of it later.

§ 13. But none of the matter added to the pure Slavonic edition occurs in this version. In it, after the cited preface, there follows the 'Exposition of the Faith', without the added title: 'Catechesis'. Nevertheless, in their explication both versions agree, so I would not hesitate to assert that the Slavonic version was translated from our White Russian text (which the title, too, seems to confirm), just as the White Russian version was from the Polish one. Therefore, I think it is clear that Regenvolscius* is wrong when, in book 4 of his Slavonic Church History, ch. 1, p. 461, he writes: "Catechism books containing the main points of their doctrine are not seen among the Ruthenian priests, only liturgical books, Slavonic Bibles etc." And there is no reason for anybody to say that such books were published only after their time, for Regenvolscius, who appeared in the year 1652, could and should have had knowledge of the catechisms published in 1645 and 1648, especially as such a book was published even in Polish among the very Ruthenians he was speaking of. Regenvolscius seems to have followed Oderborn*, who had said in his letter: "They do not have the advantage of a catechism." And this might have been correct in his [Oderborn's] time.

§ 14. Now that we have come to speak of Regenvolscius*, we cannot conceal the great injustice that befell this historian, who had done such good work in his book on the History of the Slavonic Churches and on the Reformation of the Church in general. When the four volumes of his work had appeared in 1652, in Utrecht at the press of the bookseller Johannes van Waesberge,¹³⁵ with the full title: *Systema Historico-Chronologicum Ecclesiarum Slavonicarum per provincias varias, praecipue*

Poloniae, Bohemiae, Lithuaniae, Russiae, Prussiae, Moraviae &c. distinctarum, libris 4 adornatum; continens Historiam Ecclesiasticam, a Christo & Apostolorum tempore, ad An. Dom. MDCL, opera Adriani Regenvolscii E.P. cum prefatione Vossii [A systematic historical and chronological account of the Slavonic churches according to the various provinces, especially Poland, Bohemia, Lithuania, Russia, Prussia, Moravia etc., arranged in four books, containing the History of the Church from the time of Christ and the Apostles until the year 1601, by Adrianus Regenvolscius, Knight of Poland,¹³⁶ with a foreword by Vossius¹³⁷], they are said to have been reprinted later in Amsterdam, at the Janssonio-Waesbergian printers,¹³⁸ in 1679, with this title: *Andrea Wengerscii Libri quatuor Slavoniae Reformatae, continentes Historiam Ecclesiasticam Ecclesiarum Slavonicarum, in primis Polonicarum, Bohemicarum, Lithuaniae, Russicarum, Prussicarum, Moravicarum &c. Quibus additur Appendix variorum monumentorum ad res Ecclesiasticas Slavonicas* [ed. *Slavoniae*] pertinentium: *nimirum Epistola Joannis Smera ad Regem Russorum Vlodimirum: Narratio compendiosa de ortu & progressu semiarianorum* [ed. *Socinianorum*] in *Polonia: Catalogi Patriarcharum & Episcoporum Ephesiorum, Smyrnensis, Sardensis, Laodicensium Syriae, Caesariensis Palestinae & Capadociae, Tyriorum: Historia de Catharina Zalassovia, Erasmi Otwinonii* [ed. *Othwinovii*] *Heroes Christiani. Colloquium Roznoviense habitum inter Pontificios et Socinianos* [Andreas Wengerscius's four books on the reformed Slavonia, containing the church history of the Slavonic churches, especially the Polish, Bohemian, Lithuanian, Russian, Prussian, Moravian etc., to which is added an appendix containing various documents pertaining to Slavonic ecclesiastical matters, such as Johannes Smera's letter to the Russian king Vlodimirus [Vladimir]; a comprehensive report on the origin and history of the semi-Arians in Poland; a catalogue of the Patriarchs and Bishops of Ephesus, Smyrna, Sardes, Laodicea in Syria, Caesarea in Palestine and Cappadocia and of the Tyrians; the history of Catharina Zalassovia, Erasmus Otwinovius's Christian Heroes; the conference in Roznov between Roman Catholics and Socinians]. It is unbelievable that Wengerscius went so far in his shamelessness that he copied Regenvolscius's four books¹³⁹ and sold them as his own, and also conveyed the idea to the reader that the history would continue to our time, that is to the year 1679, although apart from the conference with the Socinians held in 1660 he did not add a single word about what happened after 1650, the year in which Regenvolscius finished; the whole appendix is dealt with on ten folios, of which the conference takes up six. Thus, this man has merited the foremost place among all plagiarists under the sun. And we will not call it a new edition, for not only are the page numbers identical, but also the punctuation and the subdivision of the text.

§ 15. Let us return to our books of catechism. In these, you look in vain for the *Symbolum Apostolorum* [the Apostolic Creed]. Sparwenfeld, too, carefully searched for this in their books, to find out what they taught about Christ's descent into the kingdom of the dead, but did not find it. Therefore, one must wonder by what right

Schwabe*, in ch. 3, maintained that “they have the *Symbolum Apostolicum*.” Only the too credulous hold with Oderborn*, who says that “they generally learn this by heart, only with some words changed.” I would believe that what he incorrectly says about the *Apostolicum* should be taken to refer to the *Nicenum*.

§ 16. Here it should not be shrouded in silence that there exists yet another little catechism published in the Slavonic language, but translated from Latin, entitled: *Catechismus, seu doctrina omnibus orthodoxis Christianis ad instructionem valde necessarius, ex Latinâ linguâ in russicam linguam noviter exposita. Impressa Vilnæ anno â nat. Chr. 1585 voluntate seu placito Seniorum* [‘Catechism or doctrine most necessary for the instruction of all orthodox Christians, recently translated from Latin into the Russian language. Printed in Vilnius in the year 1585 after the birth of Christ, by the wish and decision of the Elders’].¹⁴⁰ I was given access to this book by Eric Benzelius the Younger, librarian at Uppsala and a very dear friend,¹⁴¹ when I was looking for Russian books in that most splendid library. But the *Apostolicum* is not in this book either. But neither is the *Symbolum Nicenum* quoted there in the same wording as in the catechisms we have cited earlier. For in those, when the Holy Spirit is spoken of, the article is given as follows: “And in the Holy Spirit, the Lord and giver of life, who proceeds from the Father, who with the Father and the Son is adored and glorified, who has spoken through the Prophets,” see the edition of Kiev, fol. 30, and that of Moscow, fol. 20, whereas that of Vilnius only has “and in the Holy Spirit.” But in ch. 1 of the explications it correctly teaches that it “proceeds from the Father and the Son.” The Vilnius edition thus omits what was added in the *Nicenum*, see Vossius* in his book on the differences in the three *Symbola*, 3, § 8, p. 559, and § 41, p. 22. It seems to me exceedingly likely that the Russians have taken much from this work. This assertion is made no less credible if you consider that the three parts into which both the *Catechism* and the *Confession* are divided appear under the same headings in our work, that is (1) On Faith, (2) On Hope, and (3) On Love. And although the Vilnius edition adds another two parts: (4) On Sacraments, and (5) On the Christian Office, the catechisms of Kiev and Moscow refer those parts to the preceding sections.

§ 17. I would not hesitate to state that our Russian version of Dr Luther’s *Small Catechism*, which was prepared in 1628 by order of the invincible King of Sweden Gustavus Adolphus the Great and printed in Stockholm in the same year by Petrus Vancelav [Peter van Selow],¹⁴² also gave the Russians reason to prepare their own catechism. This I learnt from Adrian, Patriarch of Moscow,¹⁴³ in his preface to the *Confession*, where he says, among other things: “When Dr Martin Luther’s disciples had found beautiful and clear Slavono-Russian letters and translated the reasons and explanations for their fallacious dogmas into pure Slavonic language, they published books full of venom, one in quarto in the town of Nesvizina [Nesvizh] in 1562,¹⁴⁴ and another, shorter and smaller one in Stockholm in 1628; these books they called

‘catechism’ or ‘doctrine’, containing what a man must above all know and learn. It is now difficult to say how full this book is of the most sordid errors.” Thus far Patriarch Adrian. But with due respect to him, I must say that he has not made a collation between our catechism and their own; if he had, he would have judged ours very differently. For if you take away the words ‘and (from) the Son’ from our Apostolic Creed, then it is consonant in every respect with the Muscovite *Nicenum*. The discrepancy we can find in the numbering of the Ten Commandments is not worth commenting on here. That we do not augment the number of sacraments beyond Christ’s own mandate cannot be turned against us. In the explication of the Creed, the Commandments, the Lord’s Prayer and the Sacraments, their confession and our catechism mostly agree, as, with God’s help, we shall demonstrate in Section II. Meanwhile, we must remark that our catechism, which was presented under the following title: ‘Catechism is a Greek word, but in Russian it signifies a Summary of Christian Doctrine, of what a man should learn and know for the salvation of his soul. Printed in Stockholm by Master Peter van Selow in the year 1628 after the Incarnation of our Saviour Jesus Christ’¹⁴⁵ is 23 years older than any catechisms printed by the Russians that have reached our hands. And we can congratulate ourselves on the praise that Patriarch Adrian gives us in the preface to his *Confession*, that we have used “most elegant type and a pure Slavonic language.”

§ 18. Further, we find it strange that there is no mention of our catechism in Bazius’s Inventory of Sveo-Gothic Church History.¹⁴⁶ For in ch. 20 of book 7, where he treats of the books that were published during the reign of Gustavus Adolphus the Great, there is deep silence about the book we are speaking of. From this we learn that the wishes of learned men in our country, that someone who is equal to the task should set about augmenting and amending this history, are not unfounded. For the work that Bazius took upon himself seems to be very well worth the recommendation given him by the Northern Pallas, Queen Christina, and her tutors and other illustrious men of the realm, Per Brahe, Gustaf Horn, Lars Fleming, Axel Oxenstierna and Gustaf Oxenstierna, who in a letter to the aforementioned Bazius, dated Stockholm, the 25th of March 1643, added the following words: “We note with special grace and favour your efforts and hard work to serve God’s congregation and your country” etc.¹⁴⁷ But nevertheless, some of it needs polishing, and no one who has any knowledge of the history of our church and our country can doubt that there is still a copious harvest left. The eminent historian Schefferus*, who has written much about scholarship at Uppsala, also presents, in his *Suecia literata*, p. 88 et seq., a comprehensive catalogue of books published during the reign of Gustavus Adolphus, but there is no mention of the Russian catechism there either. So who does not see that that work, too, needs some augmentation?

§ 19. Lest the Vilnians should flatter themselves that the Russian edition of their catechism was the first of all, they must remember that, according to the testimony

of the Patriarch, the catechism that came out in Nesvizh in 1562 in quarto snatched the palm from them, since theirs appeared in 1585 and is thus 23 years later. Nesvizina, I might add, or Neswizium, is a very civilised town in the Palatinate of Novgorod in Lithuania, on the river Uzsa [Uza], with the title 'duchy of the Radzivils' as Hofmann* observes in his *Lexicon universale*, vol. 2, p. 16. Moreover, the Russians and all the Patriarchs who follow the now deceased Adrian¹⁴⁸ know that they, as much as all the rest of the entire European continent that adheres to Christ, owe the fact that they have catechisms to that incomparable hero and defender of the true religion, Dr Martin Luther. Even the Jesuits must give him praise for having, in these latest of days, taught the Christians to use catechetical instruction. This had been done in the first centuries, but had fallen into complete disuse. Nor should we doubt the assertion found in Dr Mayer's* most learned treatise, entitled *Ecclesia Papaea Lutheranae Reformationis Patrona Cliens* ('The Papal Church, Patron and Client of the Lutheran Reformation'), published in 4^{to} in Leipzig in 1698, and dedicated to the "most excellent hero, Leader of the King's Council, Chancellor of the Realm and Chancellor of Uppsala University, Count Bengt Oxenstierna"¹⁴⁹ (who has now been called to his celestial home and is deeply missed by all good men, especially by the clerical order, who have often enjoyed the clemency of his high patronage and who will preserve the memory of a most generous benefactor as long as the world stands); in ch. 4, § 5, p. 92 of this work Mayer teaches that "the Roman Church owns catechisms thanks to the labours of Luther," and he calls Possevinus^{*150} as a witness whom we shall enjoy listening to. For he says, in 'A letter about the necessity and use of and reason for a Catholic Catechism' printed at Ingolstadt in 1583: "So what? If it is the case in the future that we teach the catechism, the people will think either that this comes from others or that we have been asleep until now. But mark my words, even if both things are true, it is the duty of a Christian rather to confess his own fault than to hide his sins at the peril of the community." Anyone who wants to know which Jesuits have published catechisms and in how many languages can look in Mayer's book, § 4, where catechisms in more than thirty languages will be found, among others Polish, Lithuanian and Latvian. But none of Loyola's crew printed it in Russian; they left to us Lutherans the honour of being the first to have cared about the salvation of the Russians, by compiling and publishing Slavonic catechisms.

§ 20. To the catechisms we should add liturgical books, (other) catechetical books, prayer books, manuals and others that may have been published; these will be treated separately later. Long ago, Ivan Vasil'evič's book¹⁵¹ seems to have functioned as their Creed; it consists of one hundred chapters which he himself compiled, and is thus regarded with great respect. Perhaps he wanted to imitate Charlemagne, the Roman Emperor, whose *Capitularia* are still extant. Concerning this work, see the Supplement to Hofmann*, *Lexicon universale*, I, p. 366.

Chapter III

§ 1. Having said what seems to be necessary about the most important books, which rightly seem to be books that uphold the authority of the Creeds, we must now investigate the origins of the people. Herberstein* reports that their handwritten annals (for nothing of this sort had ever been committed to print in his time) contain nothing about the origins of the people, apart from the following: “The people are Slavic and belong to the tribe of Japheth; once upon a time they had settled along the Danube, where now Hungary and Bulgaria are situated.” The Archimandrite Ghizelius* [Gizel’] in his *Synopsis*, printed in Russian in the year 1678, p. 7, agrees. More can be found in Herberstein, p. 2 of the folio edition. To this may be added the honourable Mauro Orbini’s* ‘The Realm of the Slavs’.¹⁵² That the homeland of these Slavs was Scandinavia, as the author claims on p. 7, would not have been acknowledged by Olaus Rudbeckius* [Olof Rudbeck] who, in accordance with Herodotus, denies that the Sarmatians are Scythians (*Atlantica*, part I, ch. 10, § 3); he says that today both Poles and Muscovites are called Sarmatians, and we share his opinion, since there is no doubt that Slavs and Sarmatians are one and the same people; see Gize’s *Synopsis*, p. 8.¹⁵³ See also Hofmann*, *Lexicon universale*, vol. 2, p. 309 on Sarmatians, and p. 323 on Slavs, and other geographers. Orbini mixes up the victorious people, the Goths, with the defeated nation, for the Goths beat the Slavs and chose to settle in their lands; he also attributes the migrations of the Goths to the Slavs, an intolerable mistake in our eyes. For no reason, he states that Slavs, too, under the name of Goths, went forth from Scandinavia. On p. 7, he develops his opinion thus: “The first exit of the Slavs from Scandinavia happened, as Albertus Kranzius* writes in his ch. 2 on Sweden, under Otoniel [Othniel], Judge of the Hebrews before the era of the Kings. For he was the immediate successor of Joshua, the successor of Moses, in the year of the world 3790 and 1460 before the birth of Christ; in those years the Goths left Scandinavia, and after them also the Slavs.” As for the Slavs, we believe that this stands on uncertain ground. Whoever wants to find solid knowledge about Scandinavia and its inhabitants should turn to Rudbeck’s *Atlantica*, part I, ch. 16.

Various names are given to the Russians, so no one should be confused because they are called *Mosci*, *Moscovitae*, *Russi*, *Rossiaci*, *Rutheni*, *Roxani* or *Roxolani*, although they constitute one nation.¹⁵⁴ But if you are looking for the original name, one of them has a wider significance than the others: they maintain that they are called *Rossi* from the inseparable particle *Ros*, which is equivalent to Latin *dis*, and *Sejanie* ‘sowing’, that is, a disseminated or scattered people,¹⁵⁵ which is coherent with the sense of the name *Japheth*, which may have the same meaning. That they were once called Sarmatians is uncontroversial; see Rudbeck’s *Atlantica*, part I, ch. 10, § 3. As for the origin of the word *Slavus* from *Slava*, which means ‘glory’, see Fletcher*, ‘On the state of the Russians’, ch. 13. We have decided generally to use the names ‘Mus-

covites' and 'Russians', since these are the most well-known in our time. See Lascius's* *Theologia Moscovitica*, ch. 8, p. 28, and Imhofer's* 'Hungarian Annals', vol. I, p. 78.

§ 2. Geographers tell us that the region itself is divided into two parts, the White and the Black or Red part,¹⁵⁶ and others say the same; see Siricius*, ch. 2, p. 7. Cromerus*, in his book I about Poland, ch. 8, attributes 500 miles to Russia, but others say 600, as does Isbrand¹⁵⁷ in his 'Report from a journey to China', p. 3: "It is a vast country, but deserted in many places, especially towards Asia. From Poland to the lands of the Tartars in Asia it is three hundred German leagues, and the same from the Caspian Sea to the Arctic Ocean." And we should not omit to say that the White part belongs to the Grand Prince, the Red to the King of Poland. The Roman Pope has not had any rights in these parts, although Steuchius* in his book on Constantine's donation¹⁵⁸ says that he has; this, however, is sheer fantasy, as Siricius* convincingly proves in his ch. 4, p. 19. How wrong are not both Baronius* and Imhofer*, the latter of whom says in his Hungarian Annals, vol. I, p. 86: "The Russian kingdom has been given over to the Roman Church." But this issue is not a problem, for he himself admits that he does not know by whom this donation was made. He says: "I have not found out which King made himself immortal by this splendid deed; it is, however, well known that King Demetrius was given the Kingdom by Pope Gregory VII as a gift of St Peter's. Therefore, there exists a letter from the said Pope, dated 15 Kal. Mai [18 April] [Indict. 13.] 1075, in the second year of his pontificate. But not long after that, Demetrius was expelled by his tyrannical brother and fled to the Emperor Henry IV; on this, see Lambertus* and Sigebertus*,¹⁵⁹ the former under the year 1075, the latter under 1073." All this should not be construed according to the Pope's letter, but in accordance with the Russian Annals; because in them there is total silence about this fictitious donation; Imhofer, following Baronius, complains in vain that this noble monument has been omitted by those who have investigated things Russian. How could those people take into account a thing that does not exist?

§ 3. Why should I go into more detail about their customs? Regarding these, Schwabe* in his foreword, asserts that they are very close to those of other barbarians. The whole people are prone to sexual intercourse, according to Sabellicus*, book 3, Enead 10. Jovius*, p. 176 of the 8^{vo} edition, says that they have not engaged in philosophy, adding a comment from Herberstein*. Siricius*, ch. 5, p. 61, says that they often have incestuous relationships. He also quotes from Oderborn's* Letter to Chytraeus that the Russian people are infamous for all sorts of vice. De Neuville*, in his account, describes them thus:¹⁶⁰ "The Muscovites are, to tell the truth, barbarians, they are suspicious and mistrustful, cruel, sodomites and gluttons, misers, beggars and cowards; they are all slaves but for three foreign families, namely Prince Sirkacke [Čerkasskij], later lord of the land of the same name, who is immensely

rich, Galitschin [Golicyn], and Hartemonovitz [Artamonovič]. Moreover, they are very uncouth, not to say coarse", p. 181. But even if we agree with him concerning the people who lived two centuries ago, we do not think that you can say the same about those living today. The author of a letter 'On the present state of Moscow', which has been added to Isbrand's* account, p. 194, admits:¹⁶¹ "Before Tsar Aleksej Michajlovič, who ascended the throne in 1645, the Muscovites may have seemed very uncouth, but the Prince, who was a very wise and capable man, hoped to remedy this." But we should also listen to the Ruthenian Orichovius* who in the dedication of his *Baptismus Russorum* says to Gamrathus, Bishop of All Sarmatia:¹⁶² "You must grant us that the Russian people, born to great gentleness, are held together, not only by their inherited institutions but also by their letters, both native and Greek, to serve both their community and their religion." And that man was writing as early as the year 1544. He has a sympathiser, at least as regards the people around the Dnieper, in the German Herbinius*: "The Borysthenian¹⁶³ Russians have more polished manners, especially as they are often made more gentle by the humane arts in their schools; that is why they are a little more polite towards foreigners and treat them well." As for the rest of them, he sings the same song as the others, as follows: "But the Muscovites are entirely barbarian, and besides being conceited and greedy they lack both the laws and the customs of civilised people." See ch. 14, p. 177 where he says that the reason for their haughtiness is that "they believe themselves to be nobler than all other nations." See also Olearius*, book 3, ch. 6, p. 184.

¤ On the customs of the Muscovites, the Earl of Carlisle makes the following comparison between the Swedes and the Muscovites, when he speaks, in ch. 32, p. 424, of his reception:¹⁶⁴ "On which occasion there was not as much pomp and ceremony as when we entered Moscow, but on the other hand there was, which was no less pleasing, honesty, decorum and openness to be seen everywhere. And whereas the entire ambition and aspiration of the Muscovites was to make themselves great and to show their majesty in a manly way, the Swedish court made a point of receiving his Excellency with respect and friendliness." And in ch. 33, on Sweden: "Their greatest ornament is their fine nobility, which in my opinion is as well bred and as well educated as at any other court in Europe; we were all the more astonished to find, in such a raw and uncouth land that you could well see as the cast-off of Nature, such an agreeable, beautiful and elegant court, when, by contrast, we find in Moscow such a beautiful land with only coarse and barbarian people, among those of high rank as well as among the common folk", p. 428. ¤ But there is hope that they will adopt a better way of life, now that they have begun to cultivate their natural qualities, ¤ they may make some allowance for culture. More about this from a captive, the Reverend Dean Gluck,¹⁶⁵ who writes the following to the honourable Vice-roy (*Stadthalter*) of the Latvian district in Livonia, Michael von Strohkirch, our most honourable sponsor, in a letter written in Moscow on the 30th of November 1703: "The local authorities are planning to found an academy here. Studies are in-

creasing; the patriarchal school has some professors, and more than 300 pupils study there. Catholic priests teach some of the children of the nobility. Englishmen teach many people in mathematics, and also in navigation and seamanship. To their pupils, generous scholarships are paid out every week;¹⁶⁶ only sabre-rattling can prevent it.”¹⁶⁷

The Muscovite language, just like Bohemian and Polish, is a Slavic dialect, maybe even *the* Slavic language. See Schwabe*, preliminary discussion, 3. He thinks that the language is so contaminated by foreign tongues that a Slav and a Muscovite hardly understand each other. But Olearius, in his book 3, ch. 22, p. 180 [*sc.* 280], asserts that there is so close a relationship between the Polish, Muscovite and Church-Slavonic¹⁶⁸ languages that a man who knows one of them well can understand the others. The excellent Rudbeck* though, who deserves to be remembered in posterity, agrees with Schwabe, for in his *Atlantica*, I, ch. 10, § 3, p. 43, where he has asserted that learned men derive the Polish, Muscovite and Lithuanian languages from one and the same source, viz. Slavic,¹⁶⁹ he adds: “So great, however, is the difference and the variety between all these dialects that a person who knows only one of them is forced to silence in the others, if he does not have an interpreter.” We willingly give him our support, such as it is. But we are astonished to find that Schwabe in his book did not think it worthwhile to learn Slavic. How much delay this will cause in the cultivation of the Russians I have briefly explained elsewhere in a letter in German, called ‘Freundliches Ansinnen an die Herren Liebhaber der Russischen Sprache, Historien und Bücher, davon Nachricht zu ertheilen N.B. Sup. Narv.’ printed by Kölner on the 10th of April 1702 in Narva.¹⁷⁰ The reasons Schwabe adduces have no foundation, and it is not true that the Russians are uninterested in good literature. For they deserve that we encourage them to love literature, which will not succeed if we do not learn their language. And that typography did not flourish in his time is no problem, for today the printing presses are more active, and there were enough books printed even in his time. But how can a man with no knowledge of the language get any sense out of them? You may say that everything they have published consists of translations. And that may be true, but it is in any case our task to judge whether a translation is correct or not, and so we must learn the language for that reason. That politicians make excellent use of their knowledge of Russian is made clear, I think, by the fact that our Kings, of blessed memory, always paid some men to live in Moscow in order to learn the language.¹⁷¹ If I say that the matter is essential to us, as their neighbours, I believe I have hit the nail on the head.

§ 4. That this language is very widespread, Jovius* tells us on p.176, and for that reason, too, it should be studied. If someone is unmoved by Jovius’s authority, he should listen to Hofmann*, *Lexicon universale*, part 2, p. 323: “The Slavonic language, which some people call Windisch¹⁷² but the Latins call Illyrian,¹⁷³ is today the

most widely spread language of all,¹⁷³ so that it seems to be used from the Adriatic Sea to the Arctic Ocean. For it is spoken by Dalmatians, Bosnians, Moravians, the Lusatian Sorbs, the Silesians, Poles, Lithuanians, Ruthenians, peoples of Scandinavia, Russians, who reign over a very large region, Bulgarians and many adjacent regions, all the way to Constantinople, so that even the Turks very often use it." When the Emperor Charles IV, who was a great supporter of the Sorbian language, saw that it had such a wide extent and such dignity, he publicly ordained by an imperial law, called the Golden Bull, of the year 1356, that those princes who were imperial electors should be completely fluent in one Slavic language, the King of Bohemia and the Elector of Heidelberg in Bohemian, and the Electors of Saxony and Brandenburg in Sorbian. I may quote Frenzelius*,¹⁷⁴ who, in the preface to the reader in vol. 1 of his work on the origins of the Sorbian language, drew the conclusion that it was not beneath the dignity of the most high and mighty princes to be able to speak with Sorbians (Slavs) in the Sorbian language.

§ 5. And although this should suffice to convince anybody that the study of this language must be most important for several reasons, we think that we should add the opinions of many famous men who will give their unreserved support to our claim. Andreas Mollerus* from Freiberg writes in the preface to his book on the life and death of his father: "It is to be regretted that this language is so totally neglected, as if it is barbarian and not worthy of an educated man. For even the Emperor Charles IV wanted the sons and heirs of the electors to learn it, according to a law enacted at the Diet of Metz in the year 1356. If his orders had been obeyed, we would be better able to penetrate the old books that were published about the Slavs and were well worth knowing, for the Slavs were not as despised in the old days as their descendants seem to be now. Moreover, they were famous for both martial and other virtues. On the strength of this, they spread so widely over almost the whole of Europe and Asia that no other people flooded any part of the inhabitable world with so much success and in such great numbers, and by offering violent resistance to the Greek and German Emperors, they accomplished more for themselves. But above all, if the Slavic language were known to us, we would know what relations had existed with the Slavs in those parts of the world during the many centuries before Henry the Fowler¹⁷⁵ became Emperor. We have almost no knowledge of these things. But it is too late to deplore this, and the weak intellects of our time and the preposterous contempt for ancient history give us no hope of any improvement."

Thomas Reinesius*, who is well known for his erudition, says, in his *Variae lectiones*, ch. 14, p. 48, that some haughty people who think themselves refined uncivilly deride the Slavic or Slavonic language of the Sarmatian people, the Wends in Germany, who, having crossed the Vistula and the Danube from Scythia, once lived widely in Illyria and Dalmatia and still dwell in several of these regions, as rustic, unpolished, slovenly and beneath an educated man. On the other hand, they see it as extremely

wise, if they learn that something transalpine, Italian or French, is heard among their equals. How much ignorance and darkness this neglect causes the Germans in matters pertaining to a neighbouring people, who venerate the same authorities as we do, they notice too late and when they can only deplore it.¹⁷⁶ The famous Schurtzfleisch*,¹⁷⁷ in his dissertation on things Slavonic, says towards the end: "Others may treat of the Slavonic language; for me it must suffice to remind my readers that it was once so necessary to learn it that it was decreed by imperial law." Athanasius Kircher*, in his 'On the tower of Babel'¹⁷⁸ book 3, ch. 1, p. 131, says: "The Illyrian language is the oldest and has branched out to Poland, Lithuania, Moscow and the remotest parts of the Orient, and it is the origin of innumerable languages. For in later times, Turkish, Bulgarian, Bosnian and Tartar were born out of it and the latter filled most of the great and vast region called Tartary." What this Jesuit says about the Turkish language is without doubt erroneous, as the language is a descendant of Arabic, and I believe that the rest, too, should be taken with a grain of salt. To these authors, I may add Herbinus*, in his book on the Cave Monastery of Kiev, ch. 15; Nicolaus Myler*, a lawyer from Tübingen, in his appendix to Martin Rumelin, part 3, dissertation 6, thesis 17, on the Golden Bull, p. 867; Ed. Brerevodus*, in his Enquiries on languages, ch. 8; all these unanimously confirm that the language has been very widely used.

¤ The Hon. Sparwenfeld reminds me that Turkish is not a descendant of Arabic, that they have no words in common except ecclesiastical terms, and that Turkish differs as much from Arabic as Arabic from Persian. But I remember having read in Pfeiffer's* *Critica Sacra*, ch. 10, § 8, p. 304, that at least a quarter of the vocabulary is of Arabic origin: "The character of the Turkish language (although the Turks have almost a quarter of their words from the Arabs, and a quarter from the Persians, so that someone who is ignorant of both Arabic and Persian cannot fully understand or interpret Turkish literature) is most closely related to the Tartaric language, or rather it is its daughter and a dialect of it, and it differs from both the Persian and the Arabic language, not in writing but in meaning." If Pfeiffer is perhaps referring to the ecclesiastical vocabulary here, he would seem to agree with Sparwenfeld, but if not, his opinion supports my statement. But there is not time here to analyse this question with the diligence it deserves. ¤

§ 6. The difficulty in learning the language is mitigated by the fact that they use Greek letter forms, which are known to learned men, with some exceptions borrowed from the Illyrian¹⁷⁹ or Serbian scripts or from the Slovenes [?] [Slavonibus]. For a comprehensive account of this issue, see Schwabe*, in his preliminary discussions, 3; Jovius*, p. 176, thinks that they use Illyrian letters, as do the Slovenes [?] [Slavos], the Bohemians, Dalmatians, Poles and Lithuanians. But this is true of only a few of them. The others use Greek letters, if you do not take into account the script special to the Illyrians. But this script is not in use in Moscow, nor is the Muscovite

script in use among Poles and Lithuanians, for they use Latin letters. Gize*¹⁸⁰, in his Synopsis of Russian history, p. 19, does not deny that the Russian letters are derived from the Greek ones, and he says that this happened in the year of Christ 790, and that after peace was made with the Russians, the Greek Emperor, as a token of his benevolence, sent them books containing the first elements of reading. After the Greek ones, some letters were invented for the sake of the Slavs. Since that time, the Russians have had letters and books; they then started to write their own history, even two centuries before the Poles could enjoy the same privilege, as Stricovius [Stryjkowski]¹⁸¹ confirms in his Lithuanian history, book 4, p. 87. I therefore cannot understand what made the Jesuit Kojalovitz^{*} write that “the Russians had no letters in the time of Vladimir,”¹⁸² referring to the ‘Lithuanian chronicle’, part I, book 2, p. 36, although his aim was to present the Pole Stricovius in a shortened Latin version.

§ 7. This language, by the way, has much in common with Hebrew, as Herbinius*, among others, observed in his book on the Cave Monastery of Kiev, ch. 15, § 3, p. 168, and demonstrated to be clearly seen by comparing fifty-one words. After him, in 1693, Frenzelius* in his work on the Sorbian language, took the greater part of the words from that work and drew the conclusion that Hebrew was the mother of all languages; this opinion was resisted, in vain, by Goropius Becanus*,¹⁸³ who devoted all his energy to proving that the Cimbrian or Old German language was the tongue of Adam. But this was like the struggle of Sisyphus; see Michael Havemann’s* *Methodus*, sect. 2, ch. 1, p. 215, where the author of the following verses explained the matter well:

“Just as all seas originate from the ocean,
So all languages come from the same origin and are formed by the same lips.
A very humble thing, a sack, may serve as an example.”¹⁸⁴

¤That there was talk, in the time of Queen Christina of Sweden, of creating a trilingual dictionary of Swedish, Finnish and Russian is to be seen from the following reminder, found in the Royal Archives by the most noble secretary, Mr Palmiskiöld:¹⁸⁵

“A short reminder of what Her Royal Majesty has declared should be done, and regarding which we still humbly pray for Her gracious resolution:

- [1.] Since Her aforementioned Royal Majesty resolved some time ago, at the request of the Bishop of Wiborg, Master Per Biugge, that the Russian Catechism should be emended and that the same should be written for the Ingrian clergy in three languages, namely Swedish, Finnish and Russian, and furthermore that the Finnish text should also be set in Russian letters and the Russian in Latin ones;

2. And since Her Royal Majesty has also resolved that a Russian book, written by a Russian from Kexholm, *Semän Wäsume* by name, against the Russian religion, which book reveals and demonstrates its injustice and erroneous blindness, should be translated into Swedish and, after being reviewed by the clergy, should be published in print.¹⁸⁵
3. And since I have been given to understand that Her Royal Majesty has in mind to have a Russian dictionary made with Swedish and other languages, in order to help the clergy and facilitate their work in Ingria and to help young people who want to learn the Russian language either for trade or for other reasons, but also to make it easier for the Russians to get to know and use the Swedish language, I most humbly ask, in what way Her Royal Majesty wishes such a dictionary to be realised?

Johan Roselin, Russian interpreter.”¹⁸⁶ ☞

Many more, however, will with God’s help prepare to learn Slavic when, a good fortune willing, the *Lexicon Slavonicum* which the famous scholar Sparwenfeld is adorning with a Latin translation appears.¹⁸⁷ Even now, without this help, there is a possible way for them to the language, albeit a very hard one.

Chapter IV

§ 1. Now we should look more closely at the religion of the people. There is no doubt that they were once idolatrous. Herberstein*, p. 5, tells us which idols they worshipped the most: the first or foremost was called *Perus* or, as others say, *Peruni* [Perun], with a silver head and the rest made of wood. Others were called *Všlad* [Volos?], *Corsa* [Chors], *Dafva* [Dažbog], *Striba* [Stribog], *Simaergla* [Semargl], *Macosch* [Makoš, Mokoš] etc. If you want to see etched pictures of four of these idols, go to Warmund*, p. 2, where the first one is that of *Stribus* [Stribog], the second of *Macossus* [Makoš], the third of *Chorsus* [Chors], and the fourth of *Piorunus* [Perun], as he is called there. More on the gods of the Slavs is supplied by Frenzelius* in his book about the origins of the Sorbian language, book 5; and by Helmoldus* in *Chronica Slavorum* (he wrote in the 12th century); concerning him, see Mollerus’s* Historico-Critical Diatribe, published in Lübeck in 1702. See also Arnkiel’s* Cimbrian Antiquities, and, of the Ruthenians, Innocentius Gizel*, p. 41 et seq. To him we might add Nestor Petzurski* [Pečerskij], the Pole Stricovius* [Stryjkowski], Cromerus*, book 3, p. 42, Guagnini*, and others.

§ 2. But let us leave these idols and concern ourselves with the period when they had been converted to Christianity. To Siricius*, ch. 3, p. 8, the opinion that this conversion took place during the reign of Wladimirus [Vladimir],¹⁸⁸ around the year 990, seems the most probable. Many others, including myself, subscribe to this opinion. *Stepenna Kniga* [Stepennaja Kniga]*,¹⁸⁹ a manuscript containing Russian Annals, puts it in the years 989–990 of Vladimir's reign; Gisel', p. 62, mentions the year 988. Cromerus* quotes him, but prefers the year 989; the *Liber de Fide** quotes Johannes Duglossus [Dlugossus]*, book I, p. 150, for the year 992; these sources are not far from our own opinion. It is true that Dr Benzelius, in his Church History, the New Testament part, sect. 9, § 1, p. 233,¹⁹⁰ said that "it is common belief that the Poles and the Slavs received the Christian faith in that same century, and that Methodius's associate Cyril taught them," and he thus seems to be against us, but if you take into account that the great man used the phrase 'it is common belief', which does not state anything emphatically, and then added that he was speaking of the conversion that took place under Basil the Macedonian,¹⁹¹ not this solemn conversion of which we are now speaking, then every contradiction that could have existed here goes up in smoke. Queen Olha or Olga,¹⁹² though she acknowledged the Christian religion and had received the name *Helena* in baptism in the year 955, during the reign of the Constantinopolitan king John, and had since been likened to the Sun by the Russians, was unable to propagate the Christian faith in those regions, for her son Stoslaus [Svjatoslav] was against it and would not accept Christianity, according to Zonaras*. And Johannes Pappus*, in his Church History, p. 77, says the same, quoting Zonaras. But after Stoslaus's [Svjatoslav's] son Wladimirus [Vladimir] had renounced the idols and ordered Perus [Perun] to be thrown into the Dnieper together with the other idols, he was illuminated by the divine light, purified in the baptismal font, and took the name Basil [Vasilij]. He married Anna, the daughter of the Emperor of Constantinople. She brought with her Bishop Leo, made him a Patriarch and gave him the right to handle religious matters, as our own Petrejus*, who will be interesting to listen to, says in his book 6, p. 2: "The religion they now have and confess, they received, as they say themselves, in the year 980 after the birth of Christ from the Emperor of Constantinople with his sister, whom he gave as bride to the Grand Prince of Russia; she brought with her a bishop, by the name of Leo" etc.; if you want to read more, you must go to the author. You may add, from the Ruthenian side, Gisel', p. 62, where he treats of the baptism of Vladimir, and p. 63, on the baptism of the whole people. With him, you may compare *Stepenn[aj]a Kniga** and Nestor Petzurski* [Pečerskij], if you find manuscripts of them; they have not yet been printed. Papebrochius* agrees with us, in his preface to his Greek and Russian Calendar,¹⁹³ where, with his master Henschenius*, he places the conversion of the Russians in the year 990. The Grand Prince of Moscow, Basilides [Ivan Vasil'evič] himself, removed all cause for doubt by attributing the beginning of Christianity to the times of Vladimir. He says: "Our people were baptised in the name of the Father, the Son and the Holy Spirit, now and for ever blessed, after our

first progenitor, the Great Saint and Tsar Vladimir, was divinely illuminated and received in the mystic water the name of Basil [Vasilij], and since then until this very day our faith is called not Russian but Christian.”¹⁹⁴

¤ Thuanus,¹⁹⁵ in the 21st book of his *Historiae*, maintains that the Russians received the Christian religion around the year 890, and says the following: “And thereafter they were imbued with the Christian faith, because of an affinity no less honourable than fortunate, since Vladimirus [Vladimir], their Prince, who had just then taken his permanent seat in Kiev, had married Anna, daughter of Basil Porphyrogenitus and sister of the Emperor Constantine, around the year 890. That is why, to this day, they maintain the rite of the Greek Church. This is what is told by the Russian annals, and after them the Polish annals, although Byzantine historians are completely silent on the matter, so that one may wonder why those idle and unreliable men have ignored so memorable a thing, men who elsewhere have transmitted things to posterity that agree with what we have said about the Russians.” It is clear that this, the greatest historian of the previous century, is mistaken in this matter, for many reasons. For it is not clear which annals he can have relied on, since those we have used differ from his sources. Further, he deviates from the historical truth when he says that Anna was a daughter of Basil Porphyrogenitus and a sister of the Emperor Constantine. For these two men were brothers, see Hofmann’s *Lexicon universale*, vol. 1, p. 259, and they succeeded Johannes Zimisci in the year 975. He also confuses Basil I with the younger Basil II, and the solemn conversion of the people that occurred in Vladimir’s time with the conversion which took place under Basil I and which constituted only the first steps towards a conversion. Vladimir is a hundred years or more younger than that man. Furthermore, the Anna that was given to Vladimir, was a daughter of the younger emperor Romanus by Theophana; see Hofmann’s *Lexicon universale*, at the same place. Just as we see how easily he has gone astray, we pray for forgiveness for ourselves, for we have gone astray ourselves in many instances. ¤

§ 3. Siricius*, ch. 3, p. 9, teaches us that the Emperor Basil sent many bishops and priests to Russia, who urged on the conversion. Schwabe*, in his preliminary discussion, 2, shows that according to both Zonaras* and the Curopalate, this [the conversion] happened through a miracle, namely when [the Russians] had seen a Gospel book being thrown into a fire and lifted out again unharmed; some authors believe this story.¹⁹⁶ Vossius*¹⁹⁷ wished for more accuracy in Zonaras, and he is amazed that a man of such experience says many things only perfunctorily, see *De Historia Graeca*, book 2, ch. 27, p. 304. As the Russians believe him, according to the *Liber de Fide**, p. 32 et seq., it is not for me to shake that belief. But this miracle happened before Vladimir and during the reign of Basil the Macedonian and not during that of Vladimir; thus Schwabe, *loc. cit.*, confused the two *Basils*.

§ 4. Here we must take into account Cardinal Baronius*; in vol. 10 of his Annals, p. 253 (a work that took him thirty years and was compiled to diminish the authority of the *Centuria Magdeburgensis** and to stabilise the imaginary majesty or primacy of the Pope; this, however, did not succeed, as he was opposed by Casaubon* in his 'Exercises against Baronius' and by Kortholt* and others, see Vossius* in his treatise on the differences in the three creeds, book 2, § 9, p. 43), he defended the opinion that the conversion had taken place in the 9th century and rejected the other opinion. His view is shared by the Hungarian Jesuit Imhofer*, who in his Hungarian Annals, vol. 1, p. 85, for the year 810, says the same thing. Against their error we rightly adduce Cromerus*, book 3, de R. Pol. [*De origine et rebus gestis Polonorum*], p. 415; Guagnini* in the epilogue of his book on European Sarmatia; Olearius*, who says that it is clear from Russian chronicles that a conversion took place during the reigns of Basil and Constantine in the east and Otto III in the west,¹⁹⁸ which is what we said in § 2. I think I have uncovered the source of the error, however, if I maintain that the later, official conversion has been confused with the earlier ones. The *Liber de Fide** enumerates four such early conversions, the historian Gisel'* five, following in the footsteps of Nestor*, the Ruthenian Chronographer, part I. After him, Herbinius*, in his book on the Cave Monastery (The Crypts of Kiev), ch. 3, p. 16, reports: (1) those who were baptised by the Apostle Andrew;¹⁹⁹ (2) those who were baptised in the year 863 or 862, during the reign of Michael, Emperor in the east, and the patriarchate of Photius;²⁰⁰ (3) in the year 878, or according to Baronius, vol. 9 of his Annals, 886, during the reign of the Emperor Basil the Macedonian;²⁰¹ (4) Olha, the wife of the Grand Prince of Russia and grandmother of Vladimir, brought about, by her example, the fourth baptism of the year 958;²⁰² and then finally (5) when Wladimirus Suetoslaus [Vladimir Svjatoslavič] reigned in Russia, in the year of Christ 1000, or according to Baronius's calculations in the year 1008, all Ruthenians everywhere were converted to Christianity and baptised. It will thus be easy to reconcile these different opinions, if we make clear which conversion of the people we are speaking of.

§ 5. We should not omit to mention, though, that the Russians themselves maintain in their annals that the first beginnings of Christianity are due to the Apostle Andrew, but that the faith was then eliminated by the intrusions of idol worshippers. Others say that Thaddaeus²⁰³ or Bartholomew²⁰⁴ preached Christ; see Siricius*, ch. 3, p. 7. But on this question, let us listen to Guagnini*: "They themselves maintain, in their annals, that long ago, in the times of the Apostles, the Apostle Andrew sailed from Greece over the Black Sea to the estuary of the Dnieper and from there he sailed against the current up to Kiev, the then capital of Russia, and there blessed the whole of Russia, baptised and put up the cross there. From Kiev he went on to Novgorod the Great."²⁰⁵ [Mathias] de Miechow*, in his Treatise on the Two Sarmatias, book 2, ch. 1, tells us that, among the saints, the Ruthenians especially venerate the Apostle Thaddaeus, because they say that he converted their lands and taught

them the Christian faith. Secondly, they venerate Bartholomew, also an apostle, through whom they say that they have received many articles of the faith. Gizel*, in his historical Synopsis, p. 66, maintains that the Apostle Paul (who according to many theologians had learnt his theology in the third heaven – an opinion which has no foundation, for although he heard unsaid things there, he had his doctrine from the inspiration of the Holy Spirit, just like the other Apostles, and he announced it publicly) had taught them as well, according to the Russian annals. For he taught in Mysia and in the Illyrian region, as we read in the Acts of the Apostles, ch. 16. Mysia, however, and Illyria are Slavonic regions. He also states that the Apostle Paul sent his disciple Andronicus, one of the seventy disciples, to the Slavs, who then taught and baptised in Illyria and Mysia, i.e. Bulgaria, Bosnia and Moravia, and became a bishop in Pannonia, and he quotes Romans, ch. 15, to support this.²⁰⁶ See also 'Church History of the Goths', book 2, ch. 2, sect. 3, § 11,²⁰⁷ where the journeys and the missionary work of Paul are described and it is noted that he travelled from Mysia to Troas.

§ 6. And if the sound of the Apostles went out into the entire world, there is of course no doubt that it reached these regions as well. And it is not strange to say that the same thing happened to them as to us, for to us the true religion was introduced, but it then suffered a setback, as we hear from our most eminent Archbishop [Benzelius*], in his Church History, the part on the New Testament, sect. 1, § 1, p. 149: "Nothing would seem to prevent us from stating that the Swedes, too, even in that century and in the following centuries, were illuminated by at least some of the light of the Evangelical religion," and in sect. 9, § 1, p. 234: "There are signs that the preaching of the Apostles, which spread widely over the world and was later continued by others, to some extent reached Sweden as well in the 1st century. But people returned to their old errors and the cult of their idols, which were celebrated almost all over the world. The opinion that the heavenly doctrine was totally extinct in our lands during the following centuries is contradicted, however, not only by the testimonies of famous authors and Fathers about the teaching of the faith that was heard among the Swedes and the Goths, but also by the frequent trade between the indigenous Goths and those abroad, who had spread everywhere in both the Eastern and the Western world; that they had Christian teachers there is no doubt, and it is not to be believed that they had given up their concern for the conversion of their fellow-countrymen, although the devil never refrained from exercising his right and preventing the course of preaching." I believe I can say the same about the Russians, among whom I would not maintain, as does Imhofer*, that the Christian religion was rendered unknown and its memory lost. For he [Imhofer] says regarding the year 870 in his 'Hungarian Annals', vol. I, p. 86: "For as a field is overgrown by woods if it is not cultivated, so religion totally ceased to exist among the Ruthenians in those unjust times, while their pastors were no doubt sleeping, until the field was cultivated again, around these times, after about five hundred years." For even if I

were to omit that the reason the Greek religion was accepted, rather than any other, was that it had survived in some places, it cannot be denied that the Council of Nicaea happened in the 4th century after the birth of Christ and that a bishop from the Russians or the Slavs contributed to it, evident testimony that the Christian religion had not been entirely driven into exile. I think that this proves that the Christian religion had been held in esteem by not so few people in those vast regions. Imhofer, again, says for the year 325, when the Council was held: "Bishop Domnus of Stridon, from the province of Pannonia, took part in the Council, etc. But he was a Slav."²⁰⁸ Stridon is, as you know, a town in Dalmatia, famous as the birthplace of Jerome. See further Imhofer, in the Chronicle that precedes his Annals, pp. 78 and 79, and in the Annals for the year 870, p. 86: "That Antipater Rhos or Rhos, a name which, as we have shown elsewhere, the Greeks used for Ruthenians, took part in the Council of Antioch in the year 363, and together with the others signed the Council's letter to Jovian, is clear from Socrates*, book 3, ch. 29." The defection from the faith, with which most of them contaminated themselves, was no doubt provoked not only by the negligence of their priests, but by the severe persecutions, the flood of heresies and the frequent attacks of the pagans; see Regenvolscius* in his Slavonic Church History, book 4, ch. 1, p. 456 [*sc.* 458].

§ 7. This may suffice regarding the conversion to Christianity. But it seems worthwhile to learn what side the Muscovites took when the Church was so sadly divided after the times of the Apostles. The limits of my project will not permit me to treat more fully the differences between the Eastern and the Western Church, of which the former is called the Greek and the latter the Latin Church. Let us see what has been said against Leo Allatius*, who has tried to construct a consensus, by among others Vejelius*, the great Superintendent of Ulm, in his *Exercitatio Historico-theologica de Ecclesia Graecanica hodierna* [Historical and theological dissertation on the modern Greek Church], in opposition to Allatius, Arcudius* and others, published at Strasbourg in 1666 with Doctor Danhaver* as president, in order to eliminate all doubts about the difference, especially if you consider the Greek Church, whose customs and rites pleased Vladimir so much that he recommended it to all his people, for the following reasons: (1) the Greek religion had flourished in Russia [Rus'] before, and was still alive in some places; (2) its rites were more splendid than the Latin ones; (3) churches were insufficiently adorned among the Latins, etc., according to Siricius*, ch. 3, p. 9; see that author. But when Papebrochius*, in the preface to his Greek and Russian Calendar, does not hesitate to declare war on his confrater Possevinus* and maintain that the Greek Church had agreed with the Latin in everything when the Russians [Rusians] accepted the Christian doctrine, and also rejects as erroneous Possevinus's opinion that the Russians were converted by schismatic Greeks, we have found it necessary to remind our readers that Possevinus has every other author on his side, including the Russian annals. But Papebrochius set his mind to proving the contrary opinion, so that he could recommend that the

Russian saints be revered by everybody, which would have been a sin if they had been schismatics. But against him we do not adduce Theodoret*, Bishop of Cyrrhus, who was famous in the 5th century, and whom Bellarminus* in his book 2 on Christ, ch. 21, blames for the beginning of the schism (concerning this Theodoret and the eulogy on him, see Hofmann's *Lexicon universale*, vol. 2, p. 445, and the Reverend Master Edsberg*, Pastor of the Riddarholmen Church and my most honourable patron, in his erudite dissertation on the Procession of the Holy Spirit, published at Stockholm in 1702, part I, thesis 12, p. 21). Nor do we adduce [John of] Damascus, from the 8th century, who shows the same tendencies as Theodoret; concerning him, see Edsberg in the aforementioned work. But we have the support of the whole Synod of Constantinople, held in the year of Christ 979 [869–870], under Patriarch Photius,²⁰⁹ at which, as Edsberg shows in his first part, thesis 13, p. 24, an open division took place. Add to this Doctor Vejelius*, 'On the modern Greek Church', pp. 14 and 18. Vladimir and the Russian people finally accepted the faith in the year 990, as Papebrochius agrees. So by what reason he dares assert that they were not converted by schismatic Greeks, I cannot understand. For on p. 3 of his preface he says, though in rather guarded terms: "I would not be easily convinced that the Muscovites were converted by schismatics, however strong support that opinion may seem to have." But our opinion is not based on a presumption but on the authority of all writers. Whoever wants to know the causes of the dissension should read Edsberg's dissertation on the Procession of the Holy Spirit, part I, thesis 9, p. 16, where he discusses four causes, and thesis 14, where he shows that the addition *Filioque* ('and the Son') seemed to Photius and others to be the principal point.²¹⁰ Add to this Doctor Vejelius on the modern Greek Church, pp. 14, 18, 47, 50 et seq., and his dissertation in defence of his book on the Greek Church, which mentions the causes *passim*.

§ 8. But if anyone wants to know whether the Russians agree with the Greeks in everything, Siricius* answers thus, in his ch. 3, p. 11: "We must admit that the Russians do not agree with the Greeks in all matters," and in ch. 5, p. 93 he says the same, adding that when some people criticised Prince Basilides [Ivan Vasil'evič] for that dissension, they were punished with a cruel death. Oppenbusch* says the same thing, ch. 2, p. 5. On the main points of dissension, we shall perhaps say more later in this work.

§ 9. From this dissension with the Greeks, it might be inferred that there is agreement with the Papists, especially if we consider what Baronius*, with great ostentation, presents at the end of the seventh volume of his annals, where he seals the whole history of the union with the Roman Church with the picture of a coin, one side of which is impressed with the image of Pope Clement VIII and the other with the same Pope sitting on a throne with a prostrate Russian before him and the inscription *Ruthenis receptis* ('the Russians recovered'), 1596.²¹¹

¤ The discord is demonstrated by the oath which must be taken by Russians who embrace the Roman rite and which is added, in the Polish language, to Orichovius's* book on the baptism of the Ruthenians; we quote this oath in full, translated by our dear friend Sparwenfeld:

"I, N, who saw the separation (from the true Church) but was held by the snares of the Devil and the false corruption in which I was stuck, have at last considered it in my soul and examined it carefully, with a clear and healthy conscience and without any coercion and only by special grace from God, and then returned and come back to the unity of the Christian religion and also to the Roman Christian Church, renouncing all errors and schisms. In order not to be suspected of any error, as if I had not gone back to this Roman Church and to obedience to and service of the same, I promise and swear under oath and eternal damnation to you, Reverend Father Bishop, and likewise to St Peter the first of the Apostles and the first Pope, and to the present Pope, *Julius II*, and all his successors, representatives of our Lord Jesus Christ, that I will not in any way whatever, or by whatever instigation, revert to my previous false doctrine, from which, by God's grace, I have been saved, but firmly hold onto the unity of the holy Christian Church and to obedience to and the authority of the Pope and Bishop of Rome. Therefore, I promise under oath to Almighty God and on his holy Gospels to persevere in the same obedience and unity until the end of my life. And if, God forbid, I should depart in any way from this Roman Church and obedience to it, I solemnly declare that my destiny, on account of my perjury and fallacy, will be eternal damnation together with other schismatics and traitors to the faith, so help me God, the Holy Cross and the Holy Gospels, Amen."²¹² ¤

§ 10. But if he wants us to understand this as valid for all Russians, he is pulling the wool over our eyes. If he is speaking of those who live under the Polish King, then we must admit that they have gone over to the Papists in some respects, especially by recognising the Pope as head of the Church. But since they have made it a condition that their doctrine and rites be unchanged, it is not much of a union to pride oneself upon.

§ 11. That this is the state of the matter is testified by Brerevodus* in his 'Enquiries', ch. 8, where he says that "Although these Ruthenians have subjected themselves to the Pope, they have done so without changing their Greek religion and rites," as can be seen from the articles discussed by Thomas à Jesu* in his book on the conversion of the pagans, book 6, p. 3, ch. 1, p. 326; they should rather be said to have shaken off the jurisdiction of the Patriarch of Constantinople than to have defected from the Greek religion; see further Schwabe* in his preliminary discussion, 1, and Sirius*, ch. 4, p. 14. Petrejus*, book 6, p. 20, notes "that they did not by any means let themselves be persuaded into a union". Oppenbusch* says, in ch. 2, p. 8, that "a union did not come off, although it was attempted at the Synod of Brest"; his ch. 3, p.

21 should be consulted, where he tells us that the Metropolitan Isidore²¹³ was killed in a miserable way, because he had been in favour of a union and tried to persuade others (p. 18).

§ 12. Those who associated themselves with the Roman Church were later called *uniti* ['unitarians']; against them the *Liber de Fide** speaks in a special chapter, namely ch. 23.²¹⁴ The others are called *non uniti* ['non-unitarians']; it must not be believed that all the people living in that region have subjected themselves to the servitude of the Pope. Regarding their zeal in defending the Greek religion, see Piascius's* *Chronica* for the year 1632, p. 443, and Regenvolscius's* Slavonic Church History, book 4, ch. 2, is also worth looking up. For besides other things, he demonstrates, on p. 475, the already divided series of ecclesiastical persons in ruling positions with the Greeks or the Ruthenians.

§ 13. As the same Regenvolscius*, in book 4, ch. 3, speaks 'On the union of the Evangelical Christians in Poland and the Grand Duchy of Lithuania with the Greeks or Ruthenians', we should say a word about who its promoters were and what success it enjoyed. The promoters were, on the part of the Greeks or Ruthenians, Constantine, Duke of Ostrog,²¹⁵ and on the Evangelical side Andreas, Count of Leschnow,²¹⁶ and Christophorus Radzivilius, Duke of Birza;²¹⁷ they summoned theologians from both churches and held a colloquium at Vilnius in May 1599. When the Evangelicals had written down a number of articles to be compared with the Greek ones (for these articles, see the cited work p. 482 [*sc.* 481–482]), and added questions to them, and had also seen through the ignorance as well as the obstinacy of the Ruthenian priests, they decided to write to the Patriarch of Constantinople about the whole matter. The same Regenvolscius presents a copy of the letter, p. 491, and then [p. 498] he concludes the story of this union as follows: "The thread of the incipient concord between the Evangelicals and the Greeks was thus broken and never again continued or completed. A political alliance, however, was established at Vilnius and is still maintained." These words form the end of his entire work.

Chapter V

§ 1. Having discussed these matters, we will now address the often-repeated question *whether the Muscovites should be called Christians*. That this is a matter of doubt is shown by the fact that the Ordinance of our Church of the year of Christ 1572,²¹⁸ fol. 32, seems to look upon the Russians in almost the same way as upon heathens, for when it deals with those who are excommunicated, it says that such people should have the right to listen to the sermon in the churches, on the ground that this right is not denied pagans and Russians: *Doch måge the wäl wara inne / när Gudz ord predikas: Ty thet warder och Rydzom och Hedningom tilstadt.* Therefore, at the

command of Gustavus Adolphus, the Great King of Sweden, the Chaplain to the King, Doctor Botvidi*, wrote down his theses on this question and had them examined at Uppsala in the year 20 of the last century. Schwabe* in his preface and Oppenbusch*, ch. 3, p. 27 [*sc. 26*], say that Henricus Stahl,²¹⁹ the first superintendent of Narva and my own predecessor, a man who did much good for the whole Church of Livonia, also devoted himself to the explication of this question. Although I have tried hard to find and evaluate Stahl's work, alas without result, I approve of their work without hesitation, as do Siricius*, Schwabe and Oppenbusch of others: *they are Christians*, even though their doctrine has some significant errors and many people's lives are full of abominable crimes, *cf.* Olearius*, book 3, ch. 21, p. 276. For they are not all blinded by errors or given to crime. We should not despair about the salvation of many of them, but be of the same opinion as Oppenbusch, who concludes his discussion as follows: "Far be it from us to condemn all Ruthenos [Russians]; they are part of the Church, and we know that many of them are of the right mind." We can see an example of a citizen of Narva who spoke well, in Olearius's 'Persian Travels', book 3, ch. 26.

§ 2. Nevertheless, although I would like to cherish good hopes for most of them, the enormous ignorance of sacred things that prevails among them forces me to fear the opposite. For just as in the past many complained of the people's lack of progress in too sterile a religion, so the heedless negligence of the Russians of today gives cause for the same complaint.

§ 3. For, just as Clement Adams* in his Description of the Englishmen's Journey in his time complained that "hardly one out of ten can recite the Lord's Prayer by heart" – and Olearius*, book 3, ch. 21, p. 279, found that that was still true in his day – we, in our time, can make the same complaint. For in our Ingria we encounter sad evidence of this truth, because the lazy negligence of those inhabitants who are dedicated to the Muscovite religion has eluded the zeal worthy of Christian princes and bishops, with which the latter have tried to promote their religious improvement. And what can you expect from the people, when the priests themselves are so ignorant that they cannot even explain the mystery of the Holy Trinity, according to Scripture,²²⁰ as the Letter to Chytraeus* remarks.

§ 4. Nevertheless, both high and low show great piety, according to Oppenbusch*, ch. 2, p. 6, yet this piety is not founded on solid ground, and therefore they adhere to superstitions. For example, they believe that they have snakes to thank if their fortune and homes flourish. Concerning this ὄφιολατρεῖα [worship of snakes], see Oppenbusch, ch. 2, p. 16. It should also be regarded as superstition that on the day of St John the Baptist, on Easter Day and at Epiphany²²¹ their priests distribute holy bread to all the people; they believe that the use of this bread can relieve those suffering from fever; see Jovius*, fol. 175, where many more interesting things are to be found.

§ 5. In this matter, the Papists agree with them. For I remember having seen Father Marcus d'Aviano²²² distributing pieces of bread dedicated to the healing of illness, when a great number of people had flocked to him in the Alps during Lent 1686 to obtain health. For the simple people believed that he had the glorious gift of performing miracles.

§ 6. But I return to the Russians, and like Siricius*, ch. 5, p. 58, I am aware that they should be admonished “to cast off their negligence in perceiving the true knowledge of God and give in to the truth.” This, however, “we can wish rather than hope for, since they are reluctant to be moved from their set opinions” if we are to believe Oppenbusch*, ch. 2, p. 6. But we have not lost all hope, and if suitable means are used to dispel the darkness of ignorance, together with instruction in good letters, I do not see why we should doubt that the light of truth might rise for them as well as for us, if God bestows his blessing on the work.

§ 7. Their stubbornness, together with their ignorance, is due to their tradition, whereby no debates on religion are tolerated, so that a monk who debated with a Lutheran would have been in danger of his life, had he not when interrogated by the Patriarch used a ruse and said that he had been seeking to convert the Lutheran; he had taken the matter so far that the Lutheran was to go over to his side in a very short time. See Olearius*, book 3, ch. 21, p. 279, Schwabe*, ch. 1, § 6.²²³ See also Siricius*, ch. 5, p. 88, who from this correctly concludes that this is the source of their ignorance. If you ask to know the reasons for this most obstinate prohibition, they answer that “the unity and purity of the faith are best preserved in that way”; see Oppenbusch*, ch. 2, p. 7, and Olearius, *loc. cit.*: “The Patriarch does not allow people to talk about and discuss religious matters much, so they are all of the same opinion everywhere.”²²⁴ In the times of Basilides [Ivan Vasil'evič], however, we learn that discourses on religion both with Antonius Possevinus* and with Rohita [Rokyta]*²²⁵ took place, as we have explained in ch. 1, § 3, p. 3, and § 5, p. 4, above.

Chapter VI

§ 1. In spite of this strict prohibition on disputations on religious matters, they have not been able to prevent all disagreement on the main points of their religion.

§ 2. Having introduced this disagreement, we should now address the question: ‘Are there sects in Moscow?’ The laws seem to give a negative answer; not only are sects excluded in them, but it is also the highest concern of the Patriarch that heresies and disagreements are not caused by such debates. Experience teaches otherwise, however, for just as we know that no small number of them follow Luther or Zwingli, as

attested by Olearius*, book 3 of his 'Persian Travels', ch. 3, p. 317, so we are sectarians in their eyes, in that we do not approve of their religious customs. Most people who have treated of this argument have thought that 'we are only sectarians to them,' but if we look deeper into the matter, we will hardly even seem worthy of the name 'Christians' in their eyes. For just as, in ch. 5, § 1, p. 61, we asked the question of them: 'Are they Christians?', now we must ask this question of ourselves: 'Are we ourselves Christians?' That we are not is maintained by (1) Basilidis [Ivan Vasil'evič] in his judgement on Luther, accusing him in ch. 1 of his 'Reply to Rokytas*' confession,²²⁶ of "having made an attack on Christ, and then of having overthrown his teaching, of having dispersed, destroyed and left to oblivion the doctrine of the Apostles and the holy Fathers, of having turned the Holy Scriptures upside down and of having given them a meaning which they do not have in themselves but which his [Luther's] depraved and self-willed mind had suggested to him." In Albinus's edition, p. 14 and ch. 9, it is said that "he did not have any legitimate occupation but was, together with his friends, Satan's helper in the act of deceiving people."

That the Russians of today have not abandoned the Prince's opinion is shown by the Russian author of a 'Treatise on Luther', who calls him 'the Son of Satan'. (2) From this, they conclude that 'there is no legitimate ministry among us' and (3) 'there are no sacraments, not even baptism'; the cited author maintains that "there is no cleansing from sins but rather contamination," if we may use such an expression. On this question, the imprisoned Muscovite resident Knes Andrei Jacowlowitz Chilkow [Knjaz' Andrej Jakovlevič Chilkov],²²⁷ when consulted about repeated baptism and having himself consulted others, declared his opinion in a letter to Sparwenfeld, as the aforementioned Sparwenfeld wrote in a letter of the 6th of October;²²⁸ his words are as follows: "Lately, I have received the final answer that things will remain as they are now, that Lutherans and Calvinists are to be baptised by being immersed in water *formaliter* according to the Russian rite, and they do not refrain from openly saying, just as the Resident has written to me in a most explicit way, that the Russian communities do not hold our priestly office for a priestly office at all and that they do not see our priests as anything but ordinary people and laymen, without any ordination, which they maintain that we do not and cannot have. This is exactly what the Roman Catholics say about us, and here the whole argument falls. For if we have no priests, then we cannot have any sacraments."²²⁹ If this opinion stands, it will be very difficult to find anything affirmative to adduce. For if I bring up the opinion of the now reigning Tsar, in his edict of the 15th of April 1702, according to which we are classed among Christian sectarians, the above-mentioned proves that he says this in vain.²³⁰ The emptiness of this impious and shameless opinion was, as far as Luther is concerned, demonstrated by the most excellent men: by Mullerus* in his 'Defence of Luther' and 'Defence of the Defended Luther', by Danhawer* in his 'Revived Memory of the Wonderful Man Luther', and by many others, such as Seckendorf*, in his 'History of Lutheranism'; foremost among them was

Melanchthon* in his 'History of the Life of Luther', which we have translated into Swedish and published with a commentary in Stockholm in 1700.²³¹ With God's help we will, following many others, reclaim the ministry and the sacraments in the second, dogmatic, section.

§ 3. Although they have declared the Turks enemies of the Church, they nevertheless have many Turks as subjects, Jews they totally abhor. But in the camp at Narva that was shattered by the most invincible King Charles XII on the 20th of November 1700, I think I am correct in concluding that even some Jews were found, since the 'Tephillim'²³² that were found there belong to them. But what 'Tephillim' are can be learnt from Buxtorfius's* 'Jewish Synagogue'.

§ 4. In that they boast of themselves as Christians, they regard all others whose opinions differ from their own as barbarians, or even indecent people, according to Petrejus*, book 6, p. 26. This is confirmed by the Prince's "habit of washing his hands every time he has given a legate of a Christian king his hand to kiss"; see Oppenbusch*, ch. 2, p. 7, and Talander*, ch. 9, p. 59: "These people look upon other Christians as heathens and idols, and believe that their mere presence can make them impure. Whenever the Tsar gives audience to legates from foreign potentates who are not of the Greek faith, he washes his hands as soon as they have left the audience room."²³³

§ 5. But if anyone wants to know what order they have established among those who differ from them, he will find that information in Oppenbusch*, ch. 2, p. 9: they give first place after themselves to the Greeks, second place to Lutherans and Calvinists, and third to Papists. Thus, the above-mentioned Oppenbusch says that they will tend to agree rather with the Lutherans than with the Papists; those who wish to know the reasons for this choice may consult Oppenbusch's book. Petrejus* agrees with him, for he asserts (book 6, p. 19) that the Augsburg *Confession* has more authority with them than the Roman Catholic confession. This may have been true in Petrejus's days. I myself was inspired by his and Dr Schelwigius's* authority when I wrote my letter to the Friends of Russian Books and History of the 10th of April 1702.²³⁴ But two things made me hesitate. On the one hand, the author of a book called 'The European rumour about the state of things at the greatest courts', published in 1703, who on p. 1038, part 11, says that the Tsar wants to send his son to Vienna.²³⁵ "First he wants to organise his court after the fashion of other courts in Europe, and then to form a special household for the royal princes, in which above all his son, under the supervision of a competent marshal of the court and together with quite a number of other servants, will travel to the imperial court in Germany."²³⁶ On the other hand, the declaration of the legate Chilkov that the Papists, by order of the Tsar, are now received into the Russian Church without renewed baptism, which used to be necessary for them as for all others. For Sparwenfeld says: "In

former times, they used to rebaptise the Catholics by immersion, but not so long ago they were allowed to be excused from rebaptism, and people have told me that this has happened recently on the intervention of the Tsar.”²³⁷ Time will reveal all this, and also how much the rumour is to be trusted that the Tsar is willing to swear an oath to the Pope.²³⁸ I can hardly believe that that Magnanimous Prince would reach such a state of madness that he would, without urgent necessity, submit to that yoke. Perhaps he will follow in the footsteps of Ivan Vasil’evič, about whom Piasecius’s* *Chronica*, p. 9, for the year 1582, says: “The Muscovites, who feared the Poles, had resorted to a cunning plan and sent legates to the Pope, imploring him to help them make peace with the Poles and promising to receive the Catholic faith in their lands. Antonius Possevinus* was sent to negotiate peace.”

¤ The present Tsar gave proof of his magnanimity when he fought successfully against the Turks and the Tartars, according to Groningius²³⁹ in his History of the expedition into Russia recently undertaken by CHARLES XII, the mighty King of Sweden, defender of the faith, peacemaker of all the Christian world, most successful subjugator of enemies, *Pater Patriae*, pious, just, brave and magnanimous Prince, which was published in Hamburg in 1701; he says, on p. 4, that “the Russian army is feared and famous for its successful campaign against the Turks and the Tartars.” Yet it was braver still to go against the Swedes, who, according to Oderborn*, book 2, ch. II, in his book about the life of Ivan Vasil’evič, were invincible: “Ivan Vasil’evič made so bold as to violently attack the otherwise invincible Swedes, who long ago had laid Rome, the old capital of the world, in ashes and conquered all of Italy.”²⁴⁰ In the collection of authors on Moscow, p. 282, his text reads as follows in Latin translation: “Ivan Vasil’evič brought the violence and power of his arms against the Goths, who, so far unbeaten, had destroyed Rome, the capital of the world, together with enormous numbers of armed men, who had conquered all of Italy, and who for many centuries had been independent.”¤

Chapter VII

§ 1. Among other sects, the most prominent among the Russians is the native and widespread one called the Roscolsika or Rascalmica [raskol’niki] (which means ‘hostile’ or ‘disorderly’),²⁴¹ who please themselves with the title ‘the Chosen.’ For the sectarians love to call themselves *Isbranici* [izbranniki, izbrannici], which means ‘the Chosen.’ When they meet others in public, they show off their sanctity, scorn all others and strenuously emulate the Pharisees. For these sectarians abhor the company of other people to such a degree that they do not condescend to share food or drink with anyone who is not of the same superstition. And although in Ingria I was on visiting terms with both their teachers and those who listened to them, and they

frequently visited me and I listened to them, I could never make them taste as much as a crumb of bread in my house.

§ 2. Since, as far as I know, no one of our faith has written anything about this sect, I think it would be rather agreeable if I explained their background and their dogmas at somewhat greater length, using the records of the Royal Archives in Stockholm and of the Royal Consistory of Narva, where they have often appeared in order to answer for their faith. It cannot be denied that they have a much better knowledge of the Scriptures than other Russians in Ingria. But they contaminate this knowledge with their peculiar regulations.

§ 3. But since in February 1687 they themselves presented an account that was later translated into Swedish under the supervision of the most illustrious and excellent Count, Royal Councillor and Field Marshal Georgius [Göran] Sperling,²⁴² then Governor of Ingria, and the most reverend Doctor Johannes Gezelius the Younger,²⁴³ then a most energetic superintendent (of whom the former remains alive through his son-in-law, the illustrious and honourable Henning Rudolph Horn,²⁴⁴ strenuous commander of the town and fortress of Narva and vice-governor of the province, and his children; and the latter, even now, rules in the very best way the Church of the Grand Duchy of Finland – and long may he do so!), we decided to submit that account here, and to that end we compelled the most noble Elias Palmskiöld²⁴⁵ to give us permission to compare our copy with the original, which is in the Royal Archives. But lest these pages should grow too much, we shall only indicate the contents of the document.

§ 4. They tell us that the schism came about in the year 1666. As for the reasons for the separation, they put forward

“(1) that the Patriarch Nikon²⁴⁶ had the writings of the Fathers and the 7th Ecumenical Council printed in an altered form; (2) that he took away the old picture of the cross from the bread destined to be distributed in the Eucharist and replaced it with another;²⁴⁷ (3) he eliminated the mention of the Son of God from the prayer; (4) he spoke ill of the Holy Spirit; (5) he changed the rite of walking around the churches or the traditional procession at Easter, which he wanted to be done to the left, but these people wanted it to be done to the right, facing north;²⁴⁸ (6) he changed the holy vessels, the chalice and the paten;²⁴⁹ (7) on his orders, things were taken out of the churches that the holy Fathers had brought there; (8) especially their own books; (9) he had his own books introduced, in which innumerable heretical opinions are to be found; (10) he gave orders that even the ritual should be changed, and taught them to invoke the evil spirit;²⁵⁰ (11) that in administering baptism, one should not, like the Fathers, walk clockwise around the baptismal font; (12) nor should one, when blessing those who enter into matrimony, walk clockwise, but counterclockwise; (13) that those who bury their dead should not follow the body

with a censer but go before it, although the Fathers decided otherwise; (14) that he held the 8th Synod²⁵¹ and thus declared himself Antichrist, who will in everything oppose Christ; (15) although it was established by the holy Fathers that no fewer than seven loaves were to be consecrated in the Eucharist, Nikon changed the number to five, whereupon they called him the vessel of Satan; (16) that he infected the whole world with the poison of heresy and desecrated many souls; (17) that he impressed a simple form of the cross on the consecrated bread and thus led the people to Satan; (18) that he taught that one should cross oneself with the three main fingers, under which Satan himself is hiding, who is called Titin;²⁵² they attribute this custom to the heretical Roman popes; (19) they complain of the violence that has been done to them to make them accept this custom, although Christ never treated anyone violently; they themselves teach that the sign of the cross should be made with three fingers, but with the thumb and two fingers, viz. the fourth and the fifth; the mysteries of this they explain by showing the books from which they have taken their doctrine; (20) it annoys them that priests and deacons are recruited for the sake of money and they think that they are to be compared to Judas and Caiaphas and that they are condemned;²⁵³ (21) they complain that the traditional custom of fasting is no longer upheld; (22) nor do they accept that a priest who fulfills his duties by baptising, celebrating the Eucharist or blessing a marriage, should accept a fee for it; (23) if a man is a moneylender, a drinker or an adulterer, one must not pray together with him; (24) they maintain that they are devoted to the genuine Greek religion; (25) they request that they be given freedom to practise their religion without fear of persecution, from which they testify that the pious Tsars abstained.”

§ 5. From these points it is quite clear what these people wish for in the Russian religion and rites; whether these things are as important as they believe can rightly be doubted. Some things that they accuse others of have proved false, as we have seen for ourselves: for instance, what they say about the veneration of the unclean spirit, which they claim is recommended in the major ritual. For the name of the unclean spirit is included in parentheses; it has nothing to do with the sentence itself, but is added as an explanation. As far as I have been able to find out from them, the principal source of the controversy is the way they cross themselves; this controversy is resolved by our confession,²⁵⁴ which approves of the way used in the whole of Russia. The other way the Muscovites want to reserve for priests who are blessing the people.

§ 6. For the sake of greater clarity, we shall quote the account given by Johannes Michailow, who was sent to them in the name of the Royal Consistory of Narva; it reads as follows: “On the 1st of June (the year is missing, but it seems to have been 1687), I went to the village of Clementine’ (Klimentine in Swedish; it is situated not far from the castle of Koporje, which belongs to a Mr Döhnell,²⁵⁵ Doctor of Medicine and an honoured friend), with a book for some Rutherian people who do not

drink beer or wine, do not have brothels, who cut off and dig up the roots of hops and throw them out of their gardens, who do not eat meat and who do not marry.” (Note: they do not use hops, since they make beer, or rather a sort of drink, using only roasted barley, ‘malt’). “(2) They do eat meat, but more rarely than others, because they are very given to fasting; as they therefore often do violence to their health, they walk about like skeletons. (3) They do not marry, because they have no regular priests²⁵⁶ who could confirm their marriages.” He then enumerates their errors and customs:

- I. “[1] They do not allow their daughters to marry. (2) They do not go to church. (3) They hate priests, they call them wolves, and their vestments wolves’ skins; in Russia they call them accusers/informers.²⁵⁷
- II. Myself, and the book from the Consistory, they scolded, calling me a thief, cursed, devilish, a servant of Antichrist. The book (they said) that you bring with you is of the devil, and such a book deserves to be burnt, together with you and whoever wrote it. Tell those who asked you to go to hell.
- III. We have with us Cyril of Jerusalem’s²⁵⁸ books about the Gospels, his *Liber Apis* and *Liber Clavis*, and his *Liber de Fide**. We can give you as much as you want. Furthermore, we shall ask those people who are still in Narva, for they maintained that these books were in Narva.
- IV. Those who, with their wives, follow them in this religion do not let priests baptise their children, if they have any, but baptise them themselves. (For even laymen have the right to administer this sacrament, and how much more such laymen as the people look up to as doctors, in the place of priests?) And what is more, they do not sleep with their wives, if they are unwilling to join them (that is, convert to their ideas). They live in the same house, but eat their bread separately (that is, if man and wife do not belong to the same sect), and they do not love such people. If a father is separated from his children, because of their ideas, the children hate their father. These people ought to be seen by the spiritual order of the Consistory and their books ought to be examined to see whether the books they have promised to show are proper. The Deacon of Koporje has signed this and he has heard and seen the scolding of the priest with the book from the Consistory. It is subscribed by Maxim Ivanow and Systog, Maxim’s wife Martha.’ The priest of Koporje wrote down the report.”

§ 7. I have not wanted to change anything in this text, to show the progress of the Russians in the Latin language. For some of them are quite good at it, unless we are to believe that this is the version of a Russian translator rather than the version signed by the priest.

§ 8. This could have been enough said about this sect, if I had not thought it worthwhile to adduce the following points from 'a most learned letter that offers historical information, sent to the Consistory of Narva by the most reverend and illustrious Pastor Schwartz of Gubanitz,²⁵⁹ on the 17th of November 1701'; the Consistory had asked the pastor to communicate to them what he had studied in some depth.

§ 9. Besides what their own confession tells us, we can learn the following from that letter:

1. That they have been given the name Roskolski, Roskolniki [roskol'niki] and, out of contempt, Roskoltschiki [roskol'sčiki] since the separation.²⁶⁰
2. That they maintain that they agree with the other Russians of that name.
3. He [Schwartz] names the Grand Prince Alexius Michalowitz [Aleksej Michajlovič] as the man during whose reign the change took place.
4. That they complain that the others have changed not only the older books, but even the Psalter, and thus attacked even the Canonical Scriptures.
5. That among the Fathers, Basil the Great^{*261} and Gregory Bogoslov ['the theologian' = Gregory of Nazianzus]²⁶² are very much valued by them.
6. How many icons are made for them as well, and that they are in friendly agreement with the others concerning the cult of icons.
7. That they accuse the others of not correctly teaching and believing the article about the Holy Trinity; they say that the others deny the divinity of Christ and the Holy Spirit, which is rarely mentioned in their texts and sermons, and that they do not even honour it.
8. That they exclude the Son from the formula of baptism and do not baptise in his name. (The Rev. Schwartz rightly suspects that the latter point is concocted to inflame hatred of their adversaries, so that they seem to disagree on a certain point of faith, whereas in other respects their disagreement has to do only with ceremonies.)
9. That they see ceremonies as necessary for salvation.
10. He [Schwartz] confirms what we have said before about the sign of the cross.
11. That they do not cut their beards, only the hair on their heads.
12. That the reason for their abstinence from wine and beer is the fear that, if they ever taste them, they will drink until they are intoxicated and then take up their vices again and badly contaminate themselves.
13. As they lack priests, there is no use of the Holy Supper, or only as a last resort (the first point is certainly true, but the second is very doubtful, if not utterly false).
14. That many have declared that they have never taken part in a holy *synaxis*.²⁶³
15. That one of them had said that he had once gone to Communion and that the sacrament had been given to him with the words '*Accept the merits of Christ etc.*' (perhaps before he defected to the Old Believers, for with their false piety they enticed many to come to them).

16. That they lead their outward life peacefully and piously.
17. That they are no less prone to deceit and fraud than other Russians.
18. That they are reluctant to live anywhere other than by rivers, as water from springs close to dirt is an abomination to them.

§ 10. The teachers they have they call *Knisniki* [Knižniki], which means 'people who understand books' or, according to the judgement of the popes of the other Russians, people who are more learned than others. These people do not care about domestic matters, nor do they have wives, but devote all their time to reading and writing. At the Synod that we held with them at Narva in March 1702, in the presence of the reverend and illustrious men who are permanent members of the Consistory, viz. Master Johannes Andreas Helwig,²⁶⁴ First Pastor of the German Church, Ericus Quist, Pastor of the Legation of Horn, Ericus Buure, Pastor of the Finnish Church, Henricus Brüningk, Assistant Pastor of the German Church, and the Notary Dannenberg, all of them then colleagues and now most beloved supporters, we called six of them to be examined; among them was Spiridon, who preceded the others in both age and learning. He was quite well versed in the reading both of Scripture and of some Church Fathers, and proved quite ready to defend his dogmas, especially the invocation of saints and the cult of images. At the bidding of the Consistory that he present the particular points of dissension between his own people and the others, he complied by explaining, in the Slavonic language, things that are now not so easy to get at – which is true of a good many other things as well.

§ 11. After the Holy Scriptures and the Fathers, they rank as most important a book which they themselves call *Vera Kniga* or better *Kniga o Vere*, the 'Book on the Faith'²⁶⁵ about which we must say something, since we are concerned with the books of the Muscovites. For as far as we have been able to ascertain, this 'Book on the Faith' is accepted not only by the Raskolkians [raskol'niki], but also by all other Russians, so we must hold its testimony in high regard.

§ 12. The followers of this sect have been persecuted by Russia with fire and sword, but they have joyfully submitted to the ultimate punishment. Some of them withdrew to Ingria. But recently they massacred nine of our horse-soldiers, cutting, in the dead of night, the throats of those whom they had accepted as guests; thus they gave us bloodstained proof of their perfidy against us, and they withdrew into Russia from a flourishing, quite densely populated village called Ilchora [Ižora] in which their teachers, too, had their primary place of abode and where, in one house, they had a beautifully adorned little chapel.

§ 13. I think I must add a few points here from an accurate judgement about them, made by Doctor Gezelius, Bishop of Åbo [Turku] and our esteemed supporter,²⁶⁶ on the 17th of November 1687:

1. That they are unjustifiably accused of magic. "They are accused of some unlawful art to attain learning – but I at least have not yet found any probability in, still less any foundation for that accusation."²⁶⁷
2. That there exists no such gross idolatry among them.
3. That their rite was accepted in Ingria a long time ago. "Thus, they can defend themselves by saying that their way of crossing themselves, their forms of prayer, their way of going about with the incense at their holy ceremonies and other things that they wish to defend are things that were in use in the Russian religion and that were sanctioned in this country by Their Majesties the glorious Kings of Sweden from the year 1617²⁶⁸ on."
4. That they were not going back to Russia. But their recent infidelity, which we spoke of earlier, has taught us otherwise.

Among things that are blameworthy are:

1. That they bend the sense of the Scriptures into allegories, but absurd ones.
2. That a more stubborn Pharisaism prevails among them than among the others; they abolish all reliance that should be placed in Christ's merits and God's grace. For they openly declare that they put their trust in a holy life, in fasts, in the sign of the cross etc.
3. That their separatism is irreconcilable, and therefore full of danger.
4. That they do not condescend to talk to or greet others.
5. That they are more artful than others when it comes to defending their beliefs.
6. That they create dissension in families, in that they recruit some members.
7. That they love nightly meetings.
8. That it is doubted whether they take care to baptise their children in the proper way. (In this case I know for certain that they do not let them be baptised by Russian popes, but by their own *Knisnici* [knižniki]).
9. That they deny that they rebaptise people who convert to them, but here they are convicted by the testimony of many.
10. That they do not admit that matrimony is a divine institution (which creates a risk of infamous cohabitation).
11. That they despise arguments made against them, be they ever so cogent.
12. That not only deacons,²⁶⁹ but also peasants, old wives and shepherds are very much engaged in propagating the sect; thus, they have attracted fifty families into their nets.
13. That they like to make desperate plans, to be set in motion if anyone tries to drag them away from their religion.

§ 14. They have never, however, been treated with violence before an attempt has first been made to lead them back to the right way by teaching. To that end, two

Tsars have called together Councils, and Patriarch Joachim has, in a special treatise, attempted to convince them of their errors and bring them back to the right way.²⁷⁰ More about this will follow later.

§ 15. An especially memorable example is the punishment imposed on heretics that is described in Warmund*, ch. 4, p. 21. He says: "All other sects they consider to be not Christians, but fanatics and impious; this is evident from the fact that a well-known heretic, Quirinus Kuhlman²⁷¹ from Silesia, was burned alive together with another man in Moscow." The reason for this was as follows: "When the said Kuhlman, in Leiden, had made so bold as to defend the writings of the shoemaker Böhme²⁷² and thus create new upheavals, and had also prepared to introduce the sect there, he was sent down from that university with great shame. From there, he went to England to spread his whims there. But when he was ordered to leave that realm as well, he went to Moscow in desperation, where he went to stay with a man of the same sort, called Norderman,²⁷³ who had once been a German merchant, but who had since indulged in various delusions and finally come to support this idea: 'That it is necessary that Christ as the Great Prophet should once again come into the world with many miracles, convert all people and lead them together with himself into his kingdom.' The more people admonished him to repudiate this opinion, the more he persisted in it, until he scraped together a small treatise in Russian and gave it to a leading minister of the state, strenuously entreating him to promote the printing of it. The man, however, dissuaded him, saying: 'Norderman, are you out of your mind? You know that I am bound to you in friendship, and I advise you to refrain from this plan and change to a better opinion, otherwise you will certainly be condemned to the stake.' But Norderman did not heed this salutary advice, but went to the printers and asked them to print the work. When the printer said that he was not allowed to do so without the Patriarch's consent, Norderman made him give the text to the Patriarch to be examined. When the Patriarch had read through the fanatical booklet, he immediately had both Norderman and Kuhlman thrown in jail, and when Norderman absolutely refused to recant his fanatical opinion, they were both burned alive in a bath house."

Chapter VIII

§ 1. From this, I consider it quite clear what we ought to think about the liberty to profess other religions than those which the authors say prevail there; that is, such religions can be allowed as pose no danger to their own faith, and which are expressed in a foreign language, such as that of the Lutherans or Calvinists, who possess their own churches in a suburb called [Nemeckaja] Sloboda, the Calvinists one and the Lutherans two.²⁷⁴ Of the latter, a new one, more beautiful than the other, is

said to have been built by the now reigning Tsar, mostly at his own expense, since he gave them the stone and also granted them the right to use bells, which was against the will of the Patriarch. Concerning this, Isbrand*²⁷⁵ writes in his account of his journey to China: "It is to be noted here that the now reigning Tsar Pierre Alexeowitz [Pêtr Alekseevič], a prince of excellent qualities, has donated to the Lutherans the stone from which they have built their new church and also given them the right to build a belfry, something that the Patriarch would never have granted them" (p. 6 in the edition of 1699).

§ 2. The Papists they used to think worthy of such hatred that they absolutely refused to let them practise their superstition; even the King of France, Louis XIII, tried in vain to obtain their permission;²⁷⁶ see Siricius*, ch. 1, p. 5. But now they have been allowed to have a house in which to celebrate their rites, according to the aforementioned Isbrand*: "As for the Roman Catholics, whom the Muscovites do not look kindly upon any more than they do the Jews, they have only been allowed to perform their rites in a house they have bought and then only on condition that no Jesuit comes and establishes himself in the kingdom or says Mass there; should anyone be caught doing this, he would immediately be banished from the country, as happened a few years ago to a Jesuit who had been bold enough to try just that" (p. 5).²⁷⁷ The fate of the Roskolkians [raskol'niki] can tell us that no house is ever allowed to other sects that have arisen among them.

§ 3. Here a good opportunity presents itself to insert the second paragraph of Tsar Peter's edict of 1702, given on the 20th of April, which reads as follows:²⁷⁸ "And since we have now introduced here in our Residence the right to exercise one's own religion for all other Christian sects, even though they do not agree with our Church, so it shall hereby be reaffirmed that we do not, by virtue of the power given us by Almighty God, presume to force any man's conscience, but are happy to allow every Christian, on his own responsibility, to attend to his salvation. Therefore, we will strongly insist, as has been the practice until now, that no one should be interfered with in either his public or his private devotions, but that they should be protected and safeguarded from disturbance by others. And should it so happen that in any place in our realm or in our army or in any garrison no formal ministry of the Church, no preacher or church exists, then every man shall have the right to serve the Lord not only in his house, on his own or with his family, but also to welcome those who want to gather there and, following the common order of the Christian Church, praise the Lord together with others, and also to conduct a service. And although there are in our armies individual officers or whole groups of regiments and companies that have chaplains, they shall nevertheless enjoy all the immunities, privileges and liberties that we have allowed such churches here in our Residence as well as in Archangel'sk and elsewhere, and be allowed to do all that is customary not only in the practice of the regular office of preaching, but also in the distribution of

the holy sacraments and other parochial duties. We also give them permission, at the request of their fellow-believers, to build new churches in other places.” This edict can be read in *Fama**, p. 1024,²⁷⁹ and *aufgefangener Briefe* 3, *Paquet der dritten ravage*, p. 244.²⁸⁰ From this it is clear that the Papists, too, have less difficult a situation in Moscow nowadays.

§ 4. If someone, following the example of this Prince, were to have it in mind to introduce religious tolerance everywhere, he must remember that the Tsar and his religion have less to fear from it than others. For since those who separate themselves from the Muscovite religion are foreigners or descendants of foreigners, and no one of the Muscovite people follows the Latin rite or understands it, they will not be able to gather any large crowds. What we ourselves think about this tolerance, we have often set out in prefaces to various treatises by others that have been published at our initiative and expense. These prefaces are to:²⁸¹ (1) Doctor Laurelius’s articles on the faith, for the Hereditary Prince Charles, Stockholm, 1694.²⁸² (2) ‘The Touchstone’, 1695, for the Princess Hedwig Sophia.²⁸³ (3) Augustine’s letter on the moderate coercion of heretics, dedicated to the Royal Councillor, Count Christopher Gyllenstierna, 1696.²⁸⁴ [(4)] The severe judgement of the bishops of the Swedish realm on the actions of Duræus, dedicated to Archbishop Swebilius, of blessed memory, and the other bishops and superintendents, 1697.²⁸⁵ (5) Doctor Calovius’s²⁸⁶ compilation of anti-syncretistic arguments, 1698, dedicated to Archbishop Eric Benzelius; all these [prefaces] are written in all humility and courtesy, as is the preface to Doctor Laurelius’s Decision on the mirror of religion, 1699.²⁸⁷ Since we have demonstrated in those texts that such tolerance must not be tolerated in our country, we will not repeat the arguments here. To these writings we may add Doctor Spener’s ‘Sermon on false prophets’, which was republished here in 1693, at our initiative and expense.²⁸⁸ This work Spener himself, for no reason, excluded from his list of works in his old age, although as a young man it had won him the sympathy and favour of all orthodox people; see Doctor Pfeiffer*, famous Superintendent of Lübeck, of blessed memory, in his *Scepticismus Spenerianus*, part 3, ch. 1.

Chapter IX

§ 1. Just as the Russians work hard to preserve their ancestral religion, so too they spare no pains in propagating it. To say nothing of the zeal of their monks and hermits in drawing peoples of the North to their faith, we have heard that quite a few members of our own Church as well as members of other churches are enticed by them. During a six-week stay in a monastery, these people are forced (1) to learn the basics of the faith they are going to adopt, (2) to recant their errors,²⁸⁹ (3) to curse

their former fellow-believers, and (4) to renew their baptism. More about this in Oppenbusch*, ch. 2, p. 13, and Petrejus*, book 6, p. 16.

§ 2. They, too, have their own churches consecrated for the performance of their rites; they are round, to represent the sky, and have no pews. Oderborn*, in his Letter to Chytraeus, writes about this as follows: “The Russians have churches, in the country mostly built of wood, with shingled roofs; on the top of the church an image of the crucified Christ is to be seen.” Although only a cross appears there. Olearius*, too, writes about this in his book 2, p. 177: “Almost all their churches are built in the same style. Churches that are built of stone have five towers, all round and shaped almost like apples; the largest of them is in the middle. On each of them there is a triple cross. Inside, they are all of a round vaulted shape, a custom they may have inherited from their ancestors, who also made their temples round, to indicate the indeterminate majesty of the God that was to be worshipped.” Oderborn made the important addition that most of the churches are of wood. For there are innumerable stone churches everywhere, too, especially in Moscow, the most famous of which are the churches of the Holy Trinity [Troeice-Sergieva Lavra],²⁹⁰ St Michael the Archangel [Archangel'skij sobor],²⁹¹ where the Tsars are buried, and the Metropolitan Church of Moscow [Uspenskij sobor], dedicated to the Virgin Mary and famous for its beauty and size, which was built, if we are to believe Jovius*, by Aristotle of Bologna,²⁹² a most skilful architect and creator of marvellous things, some sixty years earlier. Jovius wrote in 1557 or thereabouts, so his book is now about 160 years old.²⁹³

§ 3. Nor must we ignore the very old and venerable church of Novgorod, dedicated some 400 years ago to the Holy Wisdom [Sofijskij sobor], Christ the Son of God,²⁹⁴ in emulation of the Byzantine emperors (see Jovius*, pp. 170 and 172), in order to plainly state that they have had many occasions over the centuries to be informed about religion, and that they possess a church of venerable age, the equal of which few provinces can boast. Concerning the external embellishment of their churches, the following can be said:²⁹⁵ “The churches in this region are on the whole built of stone, and their bell towers are roofed with copper, which glitters so beautifully in the sun that it is not unlike gold and has therefore given rise to the opinion that the sun itself has created such a degree of perfection.” See Carlisle*, ch. 8, p. 120, where he gives a description of Moscow.

§ 4. That these churches are most devoutly venerated is vouched for not only by Jovius*, but also by Olearius*, book 3, ch. 27, p. 303: “They consider the churches very sacred places and venerate them highly and are most unwilling to let adherents of other religions enter them, etc.”²⁹⁶ This can also be seen from the fact that not only women, as Oderborn* says in his Letter to Chytraeus, but also men who have had sexual intercourse during the previous night do not enter the inner part of the

church, in order not to profane the place; they stand in the vestibule (*πρόναος*) or the third²⁹⁷ part of the church, men and women separated from each other; the others enter the church and remain in the second part (*ναός*). Into the third part (*Trapeza*) no one but the priest and the deacon is allowed. In the middle of the *Trapeza* an altar is placed (they call it the *Praestol* [prestol]), and towards the south-east a smaller altar, called the *Schertwennick miesto* [žertvennik, žertovnik, žertvennoe mesto], which is the place for the offertory, where the deacon prepares the Host. See Leo Allatius* and others concerning the structure of a Greek church;²⁹⁸ among the latter, Jac. Godofredus*, *Exercitatio 1 de Ecclesia* is to be recommended. Suicerus*, in his *Thesaurus Ecclesiasticus*, under the word *Ναός*, mentions that there were five parts to a Greek temple, namely *Βῆμα*, *Τερατεῖον*, that is 'choir', the place assigned to the priests and singers, *Ἄυθων*, that is 'pulpit' (where the Gospel and the Epistle are read, and where they preach to the people), *Ναός*, that is 'nave', where the people pray, the sexes divided by a platform, and the *Βαπτιστήριον* near the *πρόναος*, where the penitents have to stop. All their churches are of the same type, according to the Supplement to Hofmann's* *Lexicon universale*, vol. 3, p. 27. The larger ones are called *Chram*, to the Russians the finest of all buildings, and they are distinguished by a cross. The smaller ones are called *Tschassovni* [časovni], since only the breviary is read and Mass is not celebrated there, except in an emergency. There are a great number of both types, but the latter are much more numerous, for they are built in every village and even in the houses of the leading men of Moscow; they are dedicated to housing the patron saints and services are rarely held there, except when the feast of the patron saint of the village is celebrated. As for bells, their firm opinion is that they express a special devotion to God by them, and so they offend if they use them to excess. In their churchyards, they build wooden structures in which to hang bells, sometimes single ones, sometimes two or three, according to Clement Adams*, p. 365 of his book on the Muscovite state. One of their bells is so big that it is without equal in the world (*Fig. 16*).²⁹⁹ "In the belfry there is this very large bell that was cast a few years ago by a Muscovite and is said to weigh three hundred and fifty-six *centner*. It is nine fathoms ('Klaster') in circumference, and must thus be three fathoms³⁰⁰ in diameter, so that there is room for forty or fifty people inside such a bell." See Carlisle*, ch. 8, p. 121.³⁰¹ Another bell is mentioned by Olearius, book 3, ch. 1, p. 147. For a picture of a church, see Olearius, *loc. cit.* and book 1, ch. 12, p. 45.

§ 5. In them, the rites are performed in the Slavonic language, just as they are performed in Greek among the Greeks. In this, they are luckier than the Papists, who favour Latin, although it is understood by very few listeners. But, truth to tell, the Slavonic language is not much less foreign to ordinary, unlearned Muscovites than the Latin language is to the Papists.

§ 6. Pope John [VIII] gave this privilege to the Moravians, whose region was very large and constituted the limit of Europe, as Schwabe* says in his ch. 1. Pope John's



Fig. 16. Drawing of the renowned “Great Bell” or “Tsar of Bells” from Erik Palmquist’s album (1674), fol. 22.

concession in his letter to Sventopulcus [Sventopluk], Count of Moravia, reads as follows: "We rightly praise the Slavonic letters, once created by a philosopher called Constantinus, in which due praise of the Lord is expressed, and command that Christ's teachings and works shall be proclaimed in that same language; for we are told to praise the Lord not only in three, but in all tongues, by that very sacred authority that says: 'O praise the Lord, all ye nations', etc.³⁰² Nothing in the sacred faith or doctrine stands in the way of saying the Mass, nor does it prevent the reading of the Holy Gospel or the sacred lessons from the Old or New Testament in the same Slavonic language, provided they are well translated and explained."³⁰³ To the Papists who canonised the Latin language at the Tridentine Synod,³⁰⁴ this was a beam in their own eyes. The whole letter is to be found in Baronius* *Annales Ecclesiastici*, vol. 10, for the year 880,³⁰⁵ note 16 et seq. In Dalmatia and Illyria and other places the Mass is, even now, said in the vernacular Slavonic language. Pope Innocent XII ordered that the Missal be translated into the coastal Slavic language, with the help

of Sparwenfeld's Latin–Russian dictionary, which he had given to the said Pope on the 4th of June 1692;³⁰⁶ the Illyrian dialect will be added by Pastricius [Pastricco, Paštrić], professor of theology at the College for the Propagation of Faith.³⁰⁷ The aforementioned Sparwenfeld tells me that the Pope called the book he had offered him 'a treasure' and, standing there supported by a crutch, had given him his hand and personally thanked him and even told the cardinals present to favour his activities in every way.

§ 7. They consider the foremost part of the divine service to be the reading of the Holy Scriptures of the New Testament, which their most honoured priests recite, if Jovius* is to be believed. The Old Testament they do not use in the churches, since they consider it less holy; they believe that it profanes their churches, as so many lewd and voluptuous things are told in it; see Olearius*, book 3 of the Persian Journey, p. 276.³⁰⁸

¤ "When Mass is being celebrated, the people stand and bow to their icons, and quite often repeat the *Gospodi pomilui* [Lord, have mercy]. Otherwise, as has been noted before, they do not have sermons or expositions of the Bible readings,³⁰⁹ but are content with the bare readings or at most with the homilies of the aforementioned Doctor of the Church (*Chrysostom*); they maintain that if the Holy Spirit, in the beginning of the Church, worked through the Word of God, without any exposition, it can do so still. Besides, they believe that much exposition gives rise to many different opinions, which can only induce confusion and heresy. Two years ago, the *Morumski Protopop* [the protopope from Murom], Login by name, had taken the liberty to preach and, together with several of his subordinate priests from Morum [Murom] and from other towns, to start publicly teaching, warning and chastising the people with sermons from God's Word (hence they are called *Kasanscha* [Kazateli, preaching priests]); they have drawn large crowds, too. But ever since the Patriarch heard about it, he has zealously counteracted it, deposed the preachers from their office, condemned them with special ceremonies and sent them to Siberia in disgrace." See Olearius*, book 3, ch. 25, p. 291.³¹⁰ ¤

§ 8. Siricius*, ch. 3, p. 42, does well to remind us that the Muscovites are not the first to speak so ill of the Old Testament; long ago, the Simonians, Basilidians, Marcionites and Manichees had said the same; regarding this matter, one should read Irenaeus*, book 1 of his *Adversus haereses*, ch. 20 and 22, and Epiphanius*, 'Heresies', 56, and also call to mind the great Chemnitius's* saying in his *Hypomnemata* 7, p. 17: "Old heresies are called up from the underworld, at different times and in slightly different forms."

§ 9. They do indeed have the whole Bible in private homes, and are thus better than the old heretics, and also better than the Persians, who utterly condemn the book,

according to Olearius, book 5, ch. 40, p. 683; they say that the Jews and the Christians have corrupted it and that a new book therefore had to be sent in the Koran. The author of the latter book is the infamous Mahomet [Muhammad], who concocted a peculiar theology that has been taken over by the Turks. It has, however, been entirely overthrown by Petrus Holm*, later professor of theology at Uppsala, in a very learned treatise entitled 'A short consideration of the Muhammadan theology', published at Jena in 1664, of which part 2, ch. 1, cont. 1, defends the majesty of Holy Scripture. But nevertheless they make a scarcely tolerable error when they exclude the Old Testament from the churches, (1) because the whole of the Old Testament is recommended by the Apostle [in his letter to the] Romans, 1:21, and 2 Tim. 3:15; (2) because the whole of it is inspired by the Holy Spirit, 2 Tim. 3:16; (3) because the whole of it has been handed down to us by holy men, 2 Pet. 1:21; (4) because the whole of it contains the sacred doctrine that should be implanted in man for his sanctification, 2 Tim. 3:16; (5) because we are told to study all of it, John 5:39; (6) because the whole of it is the foundation of the Church, Eph. 2:20; (7) because the whole of it is preserved in the temple of Jerusalem. More arguments are given by Siricius*, ch. 3, p. 43. And it is a fact that part I, question 54, p. 97, of the Muscovite Confession confirms the authority of the Old Testament, quoting 2 Pet. 1:19.

§ 10. Their priests read so badly that neither the one who is himself reading nor those who are listening can understand anything, since the lessons are often read amidst chatter and noise among the listeners, as Oppenbusch* says in his ch. 2, p. 6, quoting Clement Adams*. This is not only a true statement, but a very deplorable one, for in this way the desired edification of the listeners vanishes into thin air. And I do not understand what made Oderborn* write as follows: "But if the priest makes a mistake when reading, wavers in his pronunciation or does not express a word loudly enough, his listeners will censure him most severely for it and unanimously proclaim him unworthy of his position and ask that the books be handed over to someone else" (Letter to Chytraeus, p. 132), unless someone tells me that this custom is maintained in some churches.

§ 11. The same letter describes the devotion of the listeners as follows: "They hasten to church with all speed. But they do not leave their houses until they have appeased their genius by saying some prayers. For everyone has a wooden tablet on which you can see the heads of some saints depicted;³¹¹ to this, they go with their whole families and pray and implore, with sighs and tears, St Nicholas and his companions in heaven to save their homes from evil, and sometimes they smite their breasts with great devotion" (in imitation of the publican in Luke 18) "so as to excite grief in anyone who stands near them. When they have placated their penates, they go off to the sacred house, and as soon as they reach its entrance, they reverently touch the earth with their heads. And truly, if the brow is rightly said to be the door to the

soul, I do not see how any people anywhere could venerate God more reverently than those we are speaking of, if only they would at last learn the truth of the heavenly word instead of their vain fables. It is, however, to be deeply deplored that the clear light of the Gospel has never shone upon them."

§ 12. I see that it is said against them that they read fables and legends, and even impure ones, to the people; so, for example, says Siricius*, ch. 5, p. 38, in his 'Articles on Holy Scripture'. He bases his opinion on Oderborn's* Letter to Chytraeus, in which the author complains that he has never heard a single lesson from the Gospel being read, and where he speaks of their books he adds: "and I do not know why they have those books, for on Sundays they read mere fables to the people" and gives examples of such fables. Many more of the same despicable kind are adduced by Siricius*, ch. 5, p. 40. To be sure, I would not dare to deny that they may have had this practice in the past, but likewise I do not hesitate to state that nowadays they do nothing of the sort in their churches. For not only have I inspected with great care every nook of the seven major Russian churches in our Ingria and carefully read through all their books, and found no such nonsense, but I have also been given access to all the Russian churches in Reval and found some splendid books donated by the Tsar, in which there is not the slightest trace of such fables. In the Lives of the Saints, you might find some fabulous things, but I would not think that there is anything impure to be found there either.

§ 13. Organs and other musical instruments they do not use in their churches, being of the opinion that God cannot be praised by such things, since they are without life. And although you raise the objection that David's Psalms and instruments were used in the temple of Jerusalem, they answer that that had been the custom in the Old Testament, but that it had been abolished in the New Testament; see Olearius*, book 3, ch. 27, p. 302.

§ 14. When they are engaged in prayer, they never kneel. Instead, they pray either standing up or prostrate on the ground. They say that those who kneel imitate knights and mock Christ. Olearius* who asserts that they pray on their knees is thus wrong, book 3, ch. 27, p. 302: "The Russians have neither chairs nor pews in their churches, for no one is allowed to perform his prayer and worship sitting, but only [standing or] kneeling or lying on the ground."

Chapter X

§ 1. Here a good opportunity presents itself to discuss the books they use in their churches. In the first place, we must mention the New Testament of the Bible, as I

have already said in § 7 of the preceding chapter. But we must take a closer look at the parts of Holy Scripture that they bring into their churches: among these, the four Gospels are the most prominent. You used to find them written by hand, splendidly bound and adorned with silver plates, lying on the altars enfolded in a linen cloth. They were held so sacred that no one ever dared to touch them without first signing himself with the sign of the cross and wrapping his hands in a special garment.³¹² But the Acts of the Apostles and the Epistles (which they call *Apostol*) they place on the ambon. The Psalter of David, together with various Liturgies of the saints and parts of the Fathers, should be at hand, even if some are lacking. Few of the Fathers are to be seen in the churches, although a good number of them have been translated into their own language; as Jovius* says “a large number of holy books have been translated into the Illyrian language.” And, lest the translators should be unknown, he gives us the names of Jerome³¹³ and Cyril.

§ 2. As we have now mentioned translators, we would do well to discuss the question of the Slavonic Bible translation: (1) By whom was it translated? (2) Was it translated straight from the sources or was it made on the basis of other translations? As for the first question, the opinions of the learned diverge. For if the Muscovite translation is the same as the one Jerome made in the Dalmatic language, which is Slavonic or a Slavonic dialect – and from the testimony of the Jesuit Contzen’s* questions on the New Testament, question 4, § 10, it is certain that such a translation of the Bible existed, although we do not know by whom – then the Muscovite translation must without doubt be attributed to Jerome.

§ 3. But truth to tell, we do not see why we should deviate from the opinion of the famous Scaliger*,³¹⁴ who has mentioned that there exists a translation in the Slavonic language that is later than the Dalmatic version, of Serbian and not Dalmatic character, as was the version by Jerome, and that this translation is the one used in Moldavia, Russia etc. to this day. The author of this version is said to be Methodius.³¹⁵ Who he was is not quite certain. He seems to be identical with the Methodius who was Archbishop of the Moravian Church, to whom Pope John VIII wrote a letter (to be found in Binius*, vol. 3 of the General Councils, part 2, p. 995, number 268), and of whom Aventinus*, whose diligence they justly praise, says in his ‘Annals of the Bavarians’, book 4, p. 59, “that because of the frequent wars he left Moravia and went to Dalmatia. There he invented the letters and then he went back to Moravia; by the Moravians he was subsequently counted among the saints and religiously venerated.”

§ 4. But it will be pleasant to hear the cited Aventinus* speak himself: “At the same time” (with Ludvig August as Emperor and John VIII as Pope, in the 9th century) “the philosopher Methodius invented the Wendish letters [Venedas literas] and translated divine oracles into the Slavonic language, and he persuaded the inhabit-

ants of Dalmatia to throw out the Latin language, hiss the Roman rite off the stage and honour their own eloquence. When he tried to persuade the Bavarians to do the same, he was driven from there by a party of Juvanensian priests³¹⁶ and fled into Moravia, and there he was buried in Olmutz [Olomouc].” Laetus* relates, in his ‘Short History of the World’, “that during the reign of Emperor Ludvig II, he [Methodius] converted the Dalmatians and Slavs, in the year of Christ 862; then he brought the Bohemians over to the Christian faith by baptising King Borzivous in the year 894, and to them, just as to the Moravians whom he had converted earlier, he energetically preached the Gospel as late as the year 910.” (Quoted from Laetus in Hofmann’s* *Lexicon universale*, vol. 1, p. 1035.) Frenzelius*, in the preface to the reader of his book on the origins of the Sorbian language, maintains that he was assisted by his brother Cyril. But Brerewodus*, in his Enquiries on religion, attributes the translation to Methodius, as does Scaliger*. But on the question who this Cyril was, and how Mutius Pansa* errs in believing that he was either Cyril of Alexandria or of Jerusalem, since our Cyril lived in 860, see the cited passage. Hofmann’s *Lexicon universale*, vol. I, p. 517, teaches us that he was Bishop of Moravia.

§ 5. Olearius*, however, in his book 3, ch. 21, p. 276, raises a more important issue, viz. whether the translation was made from the sources, and states that the Old Testament has been translated from the version of the seventy interpreters³¹⁷ and the New Testament from the Vulgate.³¹⁸ “They have the Holy Bible, namely the Old Testament according to the seventy Greek interpreters, but the New Testament according to the common translation, both printed in the Slavonic and Russian languages.” (In this case, we should see Slavonic and Russian as one and the same language.)³¹⁹ As for the Old Testament, we agree with Schwabe*, ch. 1, who asserts that no one will strongly contest that it has flowed from the version of the seventy interpreters, since from the times of the Primitive Church this version has had such strong authority that the Doctors very much relied on it. The foremost among them, Augustine, Father of the Latins, says in book 15 of ‘On the City of God’, ch. 23, that “those men translated the Old Testament with a prophetic spirit.” Following in his footsteps, Bellarminus*³²⁰ says in his work on the Word of God, book 2, ch. 6, that the seventy interpreters miraculously had access to the help of the Holy Spirit, so as not to err in anything; they thus seemed to be not only interpreters but prophets. But in fact a comparison between their translation and the authentic Hebrew source shows very clearly that they quite often deviated from the path of truth.

§ 6. But if Morinus³²¹ and Isaac Vossius* had thought twice, Morinus would not have written, in his book 1, exercise 6, ch. 1, p. 183: “It is a fact that the old ‘Septuagint’ translation was an authentic one, for otherwise the whole Church would have had no authentic Word of God for five hundred years, nor would the Apostles and their successors, for they neither used any other translation nor gave the Churches of God any other translation to use”; and Vossius would not have tried so hard in his

own diatribes to prove “that the translation was to be preferred even to the holy text itself.”³²² Many have raised objections to these scholars: from our side, Doctor Gerhard*, in his *Isagogic Disputation on Holy Scripture*, ch. 17, § 6, Doctor Calovius*,³²³ in his biblical criticism, p. 787 et seq., and Doctor Walther*, in his *Officina Biblica*, § 339 et seq.; and on the part of the Papists, Huntlaeus*, vol. 1 of his *Controversies*, ch. 11, p. 42, Bonfrerius*³²⁴ in the preface to his commentary on the Books of Moses, and others. They have all quite rightly stated that the Hebrew text takes precedence over the Septuagint.

§ 7. Even if we have given the ‘thumbs up’ to Olearius* regarding the Old Testament, we cannot do the same when it comes to the New Testament, even though we see that others have given him their assent. Among them is Oppenbusch*, who maintains in ch. 2, p. 6, that he has understood from a friend, who had spent two years teaching in Russia and made a comparison of the two versions, that their translation of the Old Testament agrees with the Septuagint and the New Testament with the Vulgate. For Schwabe*, in his ch. 1, rightly observes that it must be a matter of doubt how the Russian version could have been made from the Vulgate, when the Greeks have always been averse to the Roman Church; it is not reasonable, therefore, to think that they would have deserted the source and followed the rivulets. He does not make things clearer by reverting to Jerome; the latter is in fact accepted by the Papists as the author of the Vulgate, and if he had written the Slavonic version as well, then he could have made it agree with the Vulgate. The aforementioned Schwabe certainly does not try to maintain this, nor could he have done so, since that honour belongs to Methodius.

§ 8. We have thus made a comparison and found discrepancies between the two versions; since the Slavonic version strictly follows the word order, from which the Vulgate often deviates, we do not hesitate to assert that the Slavonic version is made from the source and that Oppenbusch’s* friend did not accurately compare the two versions. We will give a couple of examples to make this assertion more trustworthy. We have compared the following instances, especially because they occur in their Manual:

In the form for the blessing of marriages:

John 2:6 *lapideae hydriae* Vulg., but in Greek it is *hydriae lapideae*, as it is in the Russian Bible. In the same passage, Vulg. leaves out *ἀνά*, but Russ. translates it *πο* ‘about’. Eph. 5:23 Greek *et ipse est*, and thus Russ., but Vulg. leaves out *et est*; in the same passage Greek *corporis*, and thus Russ., but Vulg. adds *ejus*. Verse 29 Greek *suam carnem*, and thus Russ. and Pagn[inus],³²⁵ but Vulg. has *carnem suam*. In the same passage the Greek has *Kύριος*, i.e. *Dominus*, as do Russ. and Pagn., but Vulg. has *Christus*. Verse 31 Greek *relinquet patrem suum et matrem*, and thus Russ. Pagn. omits *suum*, and Vulg. has *patrem et matrem suam*; Greek *εἰς τάρκα μίαν*, and so too

has Russ., but Vulg. and Pagn. have *in carne una*. In the same verse Vulg. *in Christo*, Pagn. *de Christo*, Russ. *in Christum*; sic Greek verse 33 οὐτως, Russ. and Pagn. *ita*, Vulg. omits it. In the form for funerals we find John 6, verses 35, 37 and 38, in which the action is expressed by participles in Greek, Russ. renders participles by participles, Vulg. by the pronoun *qui*. But the active participle is also rendered by a participle in Vulg., for instance 1 Cor. 15:20, Greek *dormientium* with a Greek participle, which is rendered in Vulg. by *dormientium*. Russ. has *mortuorum*, Pagn. *qui obdormierunt*. Greek has *primitiae dormientium ἐγένετο*,³²⁶ and likewise Russ.; Vulg. omits *factus*. Vulg. 15 Greek³²⁷ [John 6:52] *Caro mea est quam Ego dabo pro mundi vita*. Thus Russ. and Pagn., but Vulg. omits *quam ego dabo* Rom. 6:4. Russ. adds *incipiamus*, which is neither in Greek nor in Vulg. In verse 6, Vulg. has *ut ultra non serviamus*. Greek adds *nos*, and thus Russ. and Pagn. Matt. 28:19 Greek *Sancti Spiritus*; thus Russ., but Vulg. and Pagn. *Spiritus Sancti*.

§ 9. We hope, too, that we will be doing something that is agreeable to the benevolent reader if we settle the question of another Slavonic translation, a question which Schwabe* in his ch. 1 left open. For he says as follows: “There exists a Slavonic version of the Bible, printed in Latin or so-called Dalmatic letters at Wittenberg in the year 1584, by the heirs of Johannes Craton” (and I have had access to it in the illustrious library of this Academy). “But whether this is identical to the Slavonic version that the Russians use today, I am not the right man to say, for so far I have not had the opportunity to study the Russian version with my own eyes.” Schwabe seems to have had some doubt as to whether the Lord’s Prayer that is in ch. 1 of the books of the Catechisms of the Russians and Rocha[†] is expressed in the same words as in the Russian Bible. On the other hand, it would not have been difficult for him to state that they are not one and the same, since there is a notable difference in the translation of the Lord’s Prayer. But before we demonstrate this, we must be permitted to say, with all respect for the excellent Doctor Schwabe, that he could not even read Russian, nor did he understand the language. Thus he misunderstood the abbreviations and wrote, in the first petition, *Dastetsi* instead of *Da suiatetsi*. In petition 5 he wrote *Ostavlem* for *Ostavljajem* etc. So now, if you compare the two versions, a very large discrepancy appears. The beginning reads as follows in the Russian Bible: *Otze nasch ische jesu na nebesech*.³²⁸ But in the Wittenberg version (which is a translation from Luther’s German Bible, made by Georgius Dalmatinus,³²⁹ who translated the Old Testament, and Truberus, who translated the New Testament, and of which Frenzelius*, in his book on the Sorbian language, says that he has seen a copy, of which he approves; a copy of it, in folio, is also extant in Sparwenfeld’s library),³³⁰ it reads: *Nasch Otze kir si v’ nebesich*. In the Russian Bible, the first petition is *Da Suiatetsi imæ twoje*. In the Wittenberg version, it is *Posvitschenu bodi twoje ime*. The second petition in the Russian Bible is: *Da prüdet Zarstwie twoje*, in the Wittenberg version: *pridi twoje Krailestwu*. These examples may suffice to demonstrate the difference.

§ 10. But the prayer text that is said by Schwabe* to have been taken from Rocha* does not agree with the text cited by Boxhornius* in his book on the Muscovite Republic, number 194 from Angelus Rocha's catalogue of the Vatican Library, for that text agrees more closely with the translation of the Wittenberg edition than with the Russian, but it deviates from both of them. And the Slavonic prayer is not written out in Latin letters, as it should be (perhaps it was not possible); whether the typographer or the copyist is to blame for this, I could not say. But I can assert that those who judge translations relying on the opinion of others, although they themselves are ignorant of the language in question, are prone to go astray. When we get to this point, we will cite the whole of the Lord's Prayer according to the Russian Bible.

§ 11. This Slavono-Russian Bible, however, was printed twice: (1) in Ostrog³³¹ in 1581, at the expense and under the care of Prince Constantinus of Ostrog, Palatine of Kiev and Prince of Wolinia [Volhynia], according to Regenvolscius* a man of venerable age, pious and zealous; see his *Slavonic Church History*, book 4, ch. 3, p. 486. See the Greek and Slavonic preface to that edition, in which the Prince complains that he has had to deal with many slanderers inspired by the devil. Thus we find him, like many others who have taken upon themselves such holy labours, exposed to the criticism of malevolent people.

§ 12. This Bible was published again in Moscow in the year 1663, likewise in folio, during the reign of Alexius Michailovitz [Aleksej Michajlovič];³³² the later edition is by far the most elegant. Both versions have prefaces to each book of the New Testament. But the Old Testament, too, is preceded by an exhaustive preface, and to this are added *summaries* or *main points* of each book; from these, the contents are easily learnt and memorised by the reader. The prefaces to the New Testament are taken from Theophylact,³³³ and prove to be of excellent use to the reader, since they explain in brief what each book is about.

§ 13. Nor will it be fruitless to discuss with which edition of the Septuagint our translation of the Old Testament agrees most closely. It is indisputable that the latter was made on the basis of manuscript books in the 9th century, by Methodius, concerning whom see ch. 9 [sc.10], § 7. For the art of typography, which is the only safeguard against moth and rust, those most fiendish enemies of all learning, was first invented in the 15th century, whether in Strasbourg, Mainz or Haarlem it is not for us to decide; on this question, see Hofmann's* *Lexicon universale*, vol. 2, p. 507. Since the manuscripts in question have variant readings, it is natural that the printed editions, too, should vary. It may interest the reader to hear what Jean Morin* says about the Septuagint in his Letter to Junius:³³⁴ "For these reasons it happens that even the most correct manuscripts of the Septuagint show some variations, even where there is no negligence or ignorance on the part of the copyists" (he had earlier

spoken of this as the reason for variation) “and no change has been made. I use the expression ‘most correct manuscripts’, lest you should believe that I am speaking of such mixed editions as, for instance, the one from Complutum [Alcalá], or Antwerp, or Frankfurt, or others.³³⁵ For these are not in any way pure editions of the Septuagint, but a medley compiled from the Septuagint and from Theodotion’s³³⁶ translation. Now you will perhaps ask me which of these versions is the purer and less corrupted, given that they are both related to the Septuagint. Sound judgement and experience seem to speak for the Roman edition;³³⁷ see *Ecclesiae orientalis antiquitates enucleatae*, p. 418.”³³⁸ And then, after inserting some other matter, he adds: “I do not want you to believe that I consider the Roman edition free of any flaw; that edition, too, has its blemishes, and those who published it in Rome did not conceal this, in either the commentaries or the preface. For example: Gen. 5:25, where there is the question of Methuselah’s age, and similarly 11:24, which is about Nahor, and other instances in the same chapter, in which your edition [*sc.* the London Polyglot] and that of Aldus are much better.” It will also be to the point to adduce what follows, for Morin goes on: “There are many excuses for this, however. For the very old codex on which the Roman edition is based was greatly mutilated from the beginning of Genesis to ch. 47, and therefore the edition had to be reconstructed from other manuscripts. Hence, the variation in numbers is very considerable everywhere, and especially in these passages, as is evident to anyone who has compared them and read what Jo. Scaliger*, p. 424, has picked up from Eusebius* and Georgius Syncellus’s* *πανταδαπτὴ ιστορία* [Universal history].”³³⁹ For this reason, Morin admits that he, too, constituted the excellent Paris edition on the basis of the Roman one, adding to it a Latin translation that agrees with the Septuagint; this edition was published in 1628, in four volumes in folio, including commentaries. The Amsterdam edition of 1683 imitates Morin’s edition. The editor of the latter version, at the end of his learned preface in which he comprehensively demonstrates the use and profit, even the necessity, of the Septuagint, expresses the wish that Isaac Vossius* would give us a correct version of it, after collecting³⁴⁰ all the versions. The newest edition, from Leipzig and 1697, admits to walking in the footsteps of the Roman and London editions. On the interpreters of the Septuagint, see Lightfoot’s* Miscellany, ch. 22 etc., Calovius’s* biblical criticism, Morin’s *Exercitationes*, and Doctor Pfeiffer*, who offers much information in a concise form in his *Critica Sacra*, ch. 11, § 8, p. 321 et seq.; Pfeiffer, however, seems to have a rather poor opinion of the authority of this version, since he has called it not just ‘human’, but even ‘trifling’. Those who want to know more scholars who have worked on the Septuagint should read ch. 15 of Pfeiffer’s work, where a large number of them are listed.

§ 14. Since all the other editions give pride of place to the Roman one, it will not be displeasing to compare our own Slavonic translation with it. I do not have the space to go into great detail, and will therefore examine just a few passages. I will begin with Gen. 5:25, which Morin* says is corrupt. In the Roman edition it reads as fol-

lows:³⁴¹ “And Methuselah lived for sixty-seven years and begat Lamech. And having begotten Lamech, he lived for eight hundred and two years and begat sons and daughters.” But the Russian version follows the original text. Gen. 5:32: The Roman text has τρεῖς νόντες, ‘three sons’. The Swedish Bible has, in accordance with the original text, *och födde Sem, Ham och Japhet* [and begat Shem, Ham and Japheth]. The Russian translation begins ch. 6 with this verse (thus indicating that it does not have the same division into chapters as the Roman version) and adds *Sini tri*, that is ‘three sons’, which neither Pagn. nor Vulg. has. 2 Chron. 14: Three passages have variant readings in the commentaries; the Russian translation follows these readings. In v. 6 it adds some words; in v. 15, Rom. reads κτήσεων, in the commentaries it is κτηγῶν, and so too in the Russian translation. In the same verse, Rom. reads ἀλιμαζωνεῖς, in the commentaries ἀμαζονεῖς, and thus Russ. Psalm 118:27: ἐπήκουσάς μου, καὶ ἔγενον μοι εἰς Σωτῆραν. This is neither in the Swedish nor in the Lutheran Bible, but it is in the Russian one. Prov. 2:3: Some manuscripts add ‘if you loudly ask for knowledge.’ The Russian keeps these words. They are neither in the original nor in the Lutheran Bible. In verse 21, the Russian adds the words: ‘for the just shall inherit the earth, and the pious shall survive in it.’ This sentence is not in the Roman edition. Isa. 1:4: In the original and in the Swedish Bible we read *Wända tilbaka* [return]. Rom. omits this, but the Russian version has it. Jer. 4:8: Swed. *Grymma urede* [fierce anger]. Rom. has only ‘anger’. Some read θυμὸς ὀργῆς, and the Russian follows them. Ezek. 1:14: In the Roman edition the following words are omitted: *Och diuren lupo hiit och tijt* [and the animals ran hither and thither]. These words occur in other versions, and also in the Russian. Dan. 6:18: Here, the sentence ‘And God closed the mouths of the lions’ is added. This is neither in the Hebrew Bible, nor in the Latin one, but the Russian Bible has it. Hence it can readily be concluded that the Russian translator did not use the same manuscript as the editor of the Roman edition worked from.

§ 15. Besides the division into chapters, which on the whole corresponds to ours, they also divide the New Testament into shorter passages, which they call *Zaczalas* [začala] or ‘Beginnings’. Thus, the Muscovites divide the Gospel of St Matthew into 116 short chapters, some of them so short that they have only three verses; St Mark has 71, St Luke 114, and St John 66 such chapters. They have no doubt done this in imitation of the Greeks, who have divided the New Testament into περικοπάς [pericopes]; see Schwabe*, ch. 1, quoting Lasicius*, *Theologia Moscovitiae*.

§ 16. That this translation has contributed much to the conversion of the Russians, no one can deny. For as the translation was completed in the 9th century and the solemn conversion took place towards the end of the 10th, everyone must see that it was brought about or at least promoted by that translation. Our Duntius* is of the same opinion in a similar situation, for in his work on the Cases of Conscience, section 2, question 5 on the Church, he asserts that the Reformation begun by Lu-

ther benefited greatly from the excellent Bible edition that was published at the expense (an incredible expense, for it is said to have cost him 600,000 ducats) and on the initiative of Franciscus Ximenius,³⁴² Archbishop of Toledo in Spain, Cardinal and Founder of the *Universidad Complutense* [Madrid], in 1515 (that is, two years before the Reformation began); it is called the *Opus Complutense* and presents, for the Old Testament, the Hebrew text and the Chaldean paraphrase together with the corresponding Latin translations, and for the New Testament, the Greek text with a Latin translation. This edition made it possible for scholars to scrutinise more closely the text of the Bible and also allowed the light of the Gospel to break forth as from darkness; see Duntius, *loc. cit.*

Chapter XI

§ 1. After these preliminary observations on the Slavonic Bible, we will add, in as few words as possible, what we have to say about the distribution of the Fathers in the Slavonic language. The first names we encounter are the following, which are mentioned in these words in the Liturgy attributed to Chrysostom: “In honour and memory of our holy Fathers and principal priests, Basil the Great*, Gregory the Theologian, John Chrysostom, Athanasius, Cyril, Nicholas of Myra, and all holy priests” (see the fol. edition p. 5, in the 8^{vo} edition p. 32).³⁴³ Of Athanasius’s work we find nothing translated except the Creed that is attributed to him; see above, ch. 2, § 11. Nor have we seen any translation of anything written by Nicholas of Myra – if he wrote anything – but he should be mentioned.

§ 2. 1) Cyril of Jerusalem, to whom catechisms are attributed, flourished around the year 365. The Muscovites call him Kirila Jerusalimski [Kirill Ierusalimskij].³⁴⁴

2) John of Damascus became famous in the 8th century, under Leo III and Constantine V, for his four books on the orthodox faith, which I very much doubt exist in Slavonic. His two homilies on the cult of images of the saints that were added to the faith we have already mentioned. The Russians call him *Iwan Damaskin* [Ioann (Ivan) Damaskin].³⁴⁵

3) John Chrysostom, Archbishop of Constantinople, whom they call ‘Golden Mouth’ because of his mellifluous speech; the Muscovites express this by calling him *Sloto Usta* [Zlatoust].³⁴⁶ He flourished at the end of the 4th century, during the reign of the Emperors Arcadius and Honorius. His homilies on all the letters of St Paul, including the letter to the Hebrews, were shown to us in Slavonic translation by Spiridon in the Consistory at Narva; they were printed in folio at Kiev. They also have his homilies on the Gospel of St Matthew, in folio. His Liturgy, too, is published in 4^{to} (more about

that below), and book 7 of his work *De sacerdotio* ('On the priesthood'). All of these works I have seen in the library of my honourable friend Sparwenfeld.

- 4) Ephrem [Ephraim] Syrus, Deacon of Edessa, of the 4th century,³⁴⁷ whose writings are so highly valued that they are read publicly after the readings from Scripture, according to Jerome in his book on illustrious authors; the Muscovites call him *Je-phreim Syrin* [Efrem Sirin]. They believe, without good cause, that he had received from an angel a book written in golden letters, which no one but himself was allowed to open; from this book he is said to have obtained his knowledge. He died in the reign of Valens, in the year 478 [sc. 373]; more about him is to be found in Hofmann's* *Lexicon universale*, vol. 1, p. 601.
- 5) Gregory of Nazianzus, as Schwabe* thinks in his ch. 1, and others with him, is called *Bogoslova* [Bogoslov] ('theologian') among them.³⁴⁸ In my handwritten index, his Liturgy is mentioned, but whether it was ever printed or is available only in manuscript is not clear. He died in the year 389 in the desert, after giving up the Archiepiscopate of Constantinople in 382 of his own free will. Hofmann's* *Lexicon universale*, vol. 8, p. 717, offers more details.
- 6) Basil the Great*,³⁴⁹ whose Liturgy is the only work we have seen translated and printed, in the year 1684 in Moscow, in 4^{to}, flourished in the 4th century. Gregory of Nazianzus composed an oration in praise of him; see Hofmann's *Lexicon universale*, vol. 1, p. 259.
- 7) Theophylact³⁵⁰ on the four Gospels; the very elegant second edition of his work we received from the castle at Narva. He was Archbishop of Bulgaria and showed enormous zeal in converting those people. He was the ornament of his century and died in the year 1071; see Hofmann's* *Lexicon universale*, vol. 2, p. 450.
- 8) The Lives of the Saints (*Vitae Sanctorum*) they have in the order they have received them in the menologia of the Greeks, collected in four volumes and printed in folio. The latest excellent edition of them appeared in the very same year that distinguished our great King Charles XII by his victory, unheard of for so many centuries, and made our Narva famous for the remarkable defeat of the Russians and its own liberation. The Russians call the work *Prolog*. These Lives have also been published in an abbreviated form in 12^{mo}. The second edition appeared in Moscow in 1659, entitled *Mesetzolow* [Mesjaceslov], or 'Calendar'.³⁵¹ They have also been inserted into the more recent editions of a book called *Psaltir Sledovanno*³⁵² [Psaltir' sledovannaja].
- 9) You will also find Menologies, in Russian called *Minea* [Mineja],³⁵³ in translation from Greek, published in twelve volumes in folio, one for each month, and containing Liturgies for the Saints and Masses that are to be said as often as the same saint

is to be venerated. A rather splendid second edition of it appeared a few years ago.

10) There are other books too, of the same kind, called by the Russians *Octai* [Ok-taj], *Trifoloi* [Trefoloj], *Shesto dnef* [Šestodnev], *Triodi*, *Penticastarion*³⁵⁴ etc., the names of which indicate that they have come from the Greek Church to the Russians; see Allatius's* dissertation on the books of the Greek Church.

11) To these, we must add the book called *Jirmoloi*,³⁵⁵ in 4^{to}, which regulates Masses in the peoples' Masses.

12) The Manual or Ritual, of which there is a larger and a shorter version. The large one is identical with the Greek Euchologion,³⁵⁶ which was translated on the initiative of Peter Mogila and published in the great and wonder-working Monastery of the Holy Spirit at Kiev [Kievo-Pečerskaja Lavra] in the year 1646, on the 16th of December; on this, see Normannus in the preface to his translation of the *Confession*.³⁵⁷ From this [version] another was created, still in folio but of much lesser bulk. The version published in 8^{vo} in 1696 seems to be an abbreviation of that one. There used to be editions in 4^{to} and 8^{vo}, and also in 12^{mo}, but copies of these are now quite rare, though they are very much appreciated by the *Roskolkici* [raskol'nik = the Schismatics, 'Old Believers']. For the older the books those people find, the more happily they will buy them at enormous prices. These books are called *Potrebnik* [Potrebniki], 'necessary books'³⁵⁸.

§ 2 [bis]. The most famous edition appeared with the following subtitle: 'In honour of the one Holy Substance, the life-giving and inseparable Trinity of the Father, the Son and the Holy Spirit, at the request of our great lord the Tsar and Grand Prince Peter, son of Alexius [Petr Alekseevič], autocrat of all of Greater, Lesser and White Russia, with the permission and benediction of the spiritual father and great and devoted lord Adrian, holy before God, Archbishop of Moscow and All Russia and Patriarch of the whole northern region, under the most serene lord and son of the Tsar, Grand Prince Alexius, son of Peter [Aleksej Petrovič], this book *Trebnik* ('necessary', 'customary') is published in the grand imperial city of Moscow in the year 7205 from the creation of the world, but from Christ's appearance in the flesh 1696 (which is the same year as the *Confession*) on the 5th of September.'³⁵⁹ We shall translate the index of the book, as follows:

Description of the chapters which, with God's blessing, are included in this Manual:

1. Prayers on the first day when a woman has given birth, fol.1.
2. Prayer to be said when a child who does not yet have a name is given a name on the eighth day after its birth, fol. 3.
3. A woman's prayer³⁶⁰ after giving birth, to be said forty days after the birth, fol. 11.
4. A woman's prayer when she has had a miscarriage, fol. 11.

5. Prayers on performing an exorcism, fol. 13.
6. The order for Holy Baptism, fol. 24, and a prayer for Holy Baptism in an abbreviated form; how a child is to be quickly baptised, especially in the event of a deadly illness, fol. 42.
7. The order for Confession, fol. 45.
8. Prayer to be said for those who are to be absolved from excommunication, fol. 51.
9. Order for prayers at a betrothal, fol. 60.
10. Order for the benediction of a marriage, fol. 65.
11. Prayer for the dissolution of spouses³⁶¹ on the eighth day, fol. 80.
12. Order for a second marriage, fol. 90.
13. Order for the benediction of Holy Oil, fol. 90.
14. Order to be followed when a sick person urgently needs to be given Communion, fol. 137.
15. Order for prayers to be said to our Lord Jesus Christ and to the immaculate Mother of God when the soul of a true believer is being separated from the body, and a prayer for when the soul has left the body, fol. 141.
16. Order for the death and funeral of a secular man (of the common people or a lay person)³⁶², fol. 150.
17. Instruction for dealing with people who die and need to be buried during Easter and the whole of Holy Week, fol. 178.
18. Order (to be used) for dead priests, fol. 182.
19. Order for the burial of an infant, fol. 227.
20. Order for a shorter benediction of water, fol. 243.
21. Order for the benediction at Holy Epiphany, or the Feast of Kings, fol. 259.
22. Prayer for one's spiritual children on the day of Christ's birth, fol. 274.
23. Prayers at the beginning of the Forty-Day Fast, fol. 276.
24. Prayer for the benediction of bread and meat (in the book itself is added: in the Holy Week of Easter), fol. 281.
25. Prayer for the benediction of cheese and eggs, fol. 282.
26. Prayer for the collection of fruit, on the 6th of August, fol. 282.
27. Prayer for those who carry the first fruits, fol. 283.³⁶³
28. Prayer for the foundations of a house, fol. 284.
29. Prayer for when someone wishes to enter a new house, fol. 287.
30. Prayer for the digging of a well, fol. 287.
31. Prayer for a new well, fol. 287.
32. Order for how to act when something impure has fallen into a well, fol. 287.
33. Prayer for those about to begin a journey, fol. 288.
34. St Basil's* excommunicatory prayer over those who are possessed of a demon, fol. 289.
35. Order for how to act when something impure or polluted has fallen into a vessel containing wine, oil, mead or something similar, fol. 290.

36. Prayer for those who have eaten something impure, fol. 292.
37. Prayer over polluted vessels, fol. 293.
38. Prayer over polluted corn or flour or something similar, fol. 293.
39. Prayer over salt, fol. 295.
40. Prayer for those who are to sow corn, fol. 295.
41. Prayer for granaries, fol. 296.

The remaining topics of this index are:

42. An explanation of the one hundred and sixteen most useful rules taken from the *Nomocanon*.³⁶⁴
43. Calendar, with God's help, for the whole year, fol. 326 et seq.
44. Easter table, to help find the time of Easter and all other feasts, fol. 380.

§ 4.

13. *Kanonick* [Kannonik], of two kinds, one major and one minor.³⁶⁵
14. *Molitwennik* [Molitvennik], or Prayer Book. Many editions of this book have been published, in 8^{vo}, 12^{mo} or 16^{mo}.
15. *Xeipotovia*, or *Instruction for priests*, a little book in 8^{vo}, consisting of only a few leaves.³⁶⁶
16. *Ustaf* [Ustav], of which there are several editions, containing various texts; the foremost of them is the Psalter etc.³⁶⁷
17. *Sluschebnick* [Služebnik], or the correct way to administer the Holy Office, in folio, 4^{to} and 8^{vo}. My own copy is in 4^{to} and was printed in Moscow in the year 1684.³⁶⁸
18. *Tschasoslow* [Časoslov], in 8^{vo} and 12^{mo}. This is a Book of Hours, containing the canonical prayers or hours.³⁶⁹
19. *Kormtscha Kniga* [Kormčaja kniga],³⁷⁰ a very voluminous book, containing Councils and Canons etc.
20. *Historia ecclesiastica* ('Church History'), if we can trust my manuscript index.
21. *Vita Nicolai* ('Life of St Nicholas'), in 8^{vo}.
22. I have heard of other books, called *Philistim* and *Margarist* [sic].³⁷¹ But whether these names refer to one book with two names, or they are separate works, I cannot say for sure. They are said to contain homilies.
23. *Mir Sbogom Tscheloveku* [Mir s Bogom čeloveku], which means 'Peace with God to Mankind'.
24. In my manuscript index, besides Anastasius, Cyril of Alexandria and Maximus, of whom we have spoken before, mention is made of (1) Athanasius's books, (2) Theodore Balsamon's Canon,³⁷² (3) Johannes Zonaras's *De patriarchibus* [On the Fathers], (4) Photius's *Nomocanon*,³⁷³ (5) some writings of Mattheus Hieromonachus, (6) writings by the Archdeacon Alexius, (7) by Harmenopulus Nomophylax, (8) a letter of St Nicholas, (9) [writings] by Theodore of Studios. But whether these works have been published, or are to be

had only in manuscript form, is uncertain. It is, however, clear that many books are highly esteemed by them, although they have never been printed.

25. Among manuscripts, I think the most eminent is John Climacus's *Scalae Paradisi*, written most elegantly in folio on oriental paper; it is the only book I have ever encountered written on that material, although I have seen countless manuscripts. It belongs to the holdings of Uppsala University Library.³⁷⁴

26. *Calendars* they have, both added to other works and separate ones; the latter are printed in 12^{mo}. They use them continuously, and although the present Tsar decided that the year, which had until then begun in September, should now begin on the 1st of January, the ecclesiastical year still begins on the 1st of September.³⁷⁵

¤ Calendars etc. "They have a perpetual calendar according to the Old Style, with which they are familiar and in which they can quickly find movable as well as immovable feasts." See Olearius, book 3, ch. 25. ¤

§ 5. But while I dare not contradict that, as Jovius* asserts, Ambrosius, Augustine, Jerome and Pope Gregory have been translated into the Illyrian language (perhaps for the sake of the Dalmatians, who are sons of the Latin Church), I am positive that they are not all accessible in Russian, especially as I know that almost all the Latin Fathers are despised by them; in this, I have the support of Siricius*, ch. 5, p. 33. If anyone wants to know more about this, he may turn to Siricius, ch. 4, p. 23; Schwabe*, ch. 1; Lasicius's* *Theologia Moscovitica*, ch. 4; [Mathias] à Miechow*, *Sarmatia Asiana et Europaea*, p. 517; Petrejus*, book 6, p. 7. Lately, I have found Ambrosius's hymn *Te Deum laudamus* translated into the Slavonic language and added to a little prayer book in 16^{mo} with the title *Confessio orthodoxae Fidei Sancti Ambrosii Episcopi Mediolanensis*; it does not diverge in any way from our word order. The book was printed in Kiev with the permission of the κυρ [kyr] Barlamus *Scheptizen-sis*, Archimandrite,³⁷⁶ in the year 1698, on the 20th of August.

§ 6. We must not ignore the Russian people's writer Nicola Tschjudotvorets [Nikolaj Čudotvorec],³⁷⁷ who is held in high esteem for his holiness and his miracles and is much read. Schwabe*, ch. 1, believes that the stories that are often read in the churches are taken from him. But I do not believe that his authority is so great that his writings are allowed into the churches. Ludolphus,³⁷⁸ in the preface to his Russian Grammar, also mentions a certain Simon Polotskogo [Simeon Polockij],³⁷⁹ who during the reign of the latest Tsar Theodorus Alexeovitz [Fëodor Alekseevič] translated the Psalms of David into Slavonic verses and brought many other theological writings to light, namely *Objed Duchovni* [Obed duševnyj], 'The Spiritual Meal'; *Wetscher Duchovni* [Večerja duševnaja], 'The Spiritual Vesper'; *Mnogo tzvetznoi vertograd* [Mnogocvetnyj vertograd], 'The Garden of Many Flowers'. He is said to have avoided the more difficult Slavonic expressions as much as he could, in order that

his writings might be more widely read and understood; he now claims that everything is in Slavonic and that much of it is unknown to ordinary people. A commentary on the Book of Revelation by Andrew, Bishop of Caesarea, I have seen in a manuscript in folio, with illustrations, and in 4^{to} without them in the library of Spiridon, a Doctor of the Roskolkici [raskol'nik] (Schismatics, 'Old Believers').

§ 7. Here we must also mention that in practically every church you can find a book called *Psaltir Sledovanna* [Psaltir' sledovannaja],³⁸⁰ which means Psalter, with various additions or treatises, of which the most important are: (1) the Athanasian Creed; (2) the short explanation of the Creed by the Patriarch of Greater Antioch, Anastasius, and Cyril of Alexandria, in the form of questions and answers; (3) rules for the reading of the Psalter throughout the year; (4) rules for the reading of the Psalter in Lent; (5) On the *caphismi* [kafismy] for the fifth day of Holy Week [Maundy Thursday] and for Lent; (6) how to read the Psalter in Holy Week, so as to finish it; (7) the Sermon on the Psalter by Basil* the Great; (8) the Church Father and Doctor Augustine's preface to the Psalms and other authors on the excellence of the Psalter; (9) Theodoret's explanation of the 5th Psalm; (10) instructions on how to sing the Psalter in private; (11) a prayer before reading the Psalter; (12) the Psalter of David itself; (13) a *horologion* or breviary containing the continuous rites of the Church, according to the order of Jerusalem and the more respected monasteries; (14) a *menologion*³⁸¹ for the whole year, containing a chronology, prayers, lauds and legends; (15) prayers asking for forgiveness (*Condonatoriaæ preces*), songs and lauds, beginning from the week in which the parable of the Pharisee and the Publican is read and continuing until All Saints' Day, and several other prayers, lauds etc.; (16) St Cyril of Alexandria's sermon on the Departure of the Soul, and on the Second Coming of Christ; (17) rites and offices for the individual days of the week; (18) Easter tables and cycles of the moon, computed from the year of the world 6000 to 7448. A fuller enumeration of the contents we reserve for another occasion.

Nor must we pass over the *Anthologion* or *florilegium* ['anthology'], i.e. the Breviary of the Holy Offices, which has been published in Kiev in quite a large volume in folio.³⁸²

I think we can state that it has always been an important concern of theirs to provide the Church with the necessary books and to promote a knowledge of theology with Bibles and the writings of the Fathers. Owing to this, there are very few political writings in print; on these, I have decided, God willing, to write in a separate work, namely on 'Muscovite Books and Letters'.³⁸³

§ 8. They have many more books, however, than we have now indicated. This is shown by the three indexes that are printed in the same volume as *Cyril*.³⁸⁴ The first index has the following heading: Books by our Holy and Divinely inspired universal Pastors and Teachers; the first one mentioned is the book by *Dionysius the Areopagite* etc.³⁸⁵ Of the Latin Fathers, mention is made of *Hippolytus*, *Pope of Rome*, *Syl-*

vester, Pope of Rome, Palladius, Irenaeus of Lyons, Isidore Relusiota [Isidore of Pelusium], *Augustine, Bishop of Hippo*; I do not believe that all their writings have been translated into Slavonic. I have only seen Augustine's Preface to the Psalms in Slavonic translation in the Sledovanna Psalter [Psalter' Sledovannaja]; of his other writings I have seen none. Here some 90 authors and works are listed. The second index lists apocryphal writings, such as some Psalms, the Gospel of Barnabas, of Thomas etc.;³⁸⁶ of such books, which orthodox Christians should not read or even keep, they have hardly a smaller number. The third index establishes a nomenclature of heretical books, and begins by mentioning *Astrology, Astronomy etc.* This index is quite comprehensive and ends thus: "Damned be the heretics, and may their writings be consecrated to Vulcan." These latter indexes correspond to the Roman *Index Expurgatorius* and *Index prohibitorum librorum*. On whose authority our books have been included, I have not discovered. I would believe that very few of our books are available in Slavonic and that the index was translated from the one drawn up by the Greeks.

§ 9. I would not deny, however, that there are more manuscript books than printed ones. This is confirmed by authors who mention some of them. Olearius* reports that an interpreter, von Delben by name, has translated several books from Latin and French. He mentions 'The History of the Grand Mogul', but also that before that, the Imperial Legate Adam Dorn had made 'A Short Cosmography' available to them in Slavonic³⁸⁷; see book 3 of Olearius's Itinerary, ch. 22, p. 281. Although the aforementioned index counts astronomy among the forbidden subjects, I have in my possession a manuscript on astronomy, on the signs of the zodiac and the weather conditions that correspond to each of them.

They not only possess geographical maps, but often complain that the ones that are made to show the Muscovite region are inaccurate. Therefore, they have produced maps of their particular provinces, which Sparwenfeld has collected and made available to the excellent Mayor Witte [Witsen] of Amsterdam,³⁸⁸ and through him to Johannes Bleau,³⁸⁹ so that they could make a universal map with the help of them.

§ 10. They love both true and fabulous history, and among permitted books they count works on chronography, genealogy and the like. Even Jovius* says that in his day he had also found among them, besides Annals of the Fathers, a History of Alexander the Great and the Roman Caesars, and likewise a History of Mark Antony and Cleopatra.³⁹⁰ Dr Botvidi* says, in his 17th thesis, that "their practical political prudence must have something to do not only with their natural shrewdness, but also with their acquaintance with that kind of history." To avoid prolixity, we cannot now deal with the Book on the Faith*, as we promised to do in ch. 7, § 11.

Chapter XII

§ 1. Since the Greeks no less than the Papists, and thus also the Muscovites, focus their main attention on reading and singing Masses and Liturgies, we must inquire a little more closely into the nature of these. The word *Liturgia* is of Greek origin and means ‘service’; this service may be political (see Aristotle, *Politics*, book 4), economic (see Aristotle, *Politics*, book 7) or ecclesiastical; in the latter case, it can be taken in a wider or a more restricted sense. We say, with Hofmann*, that in its ecclesiastical meaning the word is nothing other than a “description of the order that is to be followed in the celebration of divine service.” This order is also called *Hierurgia*, see the Supplement to Hofmann’s *Lexicon universale*, vol. I, p. 1032.

§ 2. There are several Liturgies in circulation, some of which are attributed to Peter, James, Andrew, Basil* and Chrysostom, others to Mark, Clement, Gregory the Great and who else? Jeremias*, Patriarch of Constantinople, attributes the Liturgy used by the Greeks to the Apostle James. He admits that there is one created by Mark, too, and later revised by Basil and finally made shorter and more harmonious by Chrysostom. He says that he does not know the reason for the changes, but maintains that he knows for sure that Basil and Chrysostom left two volumes, of which the Liturgy of Basil is more verbose, whereas Chrysostom’s is more concise; see *Censura Orientalis*, ch. 13, p. 105.³⁹¹

§ 3. It thus follows that they have been changed arbitrarily, that much has been added to them and that all this prolixity is unnecessary. Since several of the additions are impious and idolatrous and therefore cannot go back to the Fathers, many doubt that they really are the issue of those Fathers. There is no doubt that they are not genuine, if you look at them as a whole. For who can believe that the Fathers prescribed idolatrous practices? Who can believe that Chrysostom taught Christians to pray: “O Father John Chrysostom, pray Christ, pray God to save our souls.”

§ 4. Nevertheless, I would not maintain that nothing of what is in them comes from Chrysostom. I agree with the opinion of Bishop Andrews* of Winchester, in his *Pattern of Catechetical Doctrine*, ch. 3, on the second Precept, p. 202: “But to deny the Substance of it to be Chrysostom, is contrari to the Testimony and practise af all the Greek Church, and therfore was niver intendet by this Learned author.” He attributes the substance of it to Chrysostom, and does so with the support of the testimony of the Greek Church, but he admits that it has been changed. However, the argument which he and Jewel*, whom he quotes, use, viz. that they pray for the Emperor Alexius, who lived 600 years after Chrysostom, does not prove that anything has been changed. For the Church could not for ever pray for Arcadius, who was contemporary with Chrysostom. There were new emperors to include all the time, as one succeeded another, so that one must wonder why they wanted to use

that method. However, since the prayer that we have cited and other similar things prove our point most plainly, there is no room for doubt here. But to show more clearly that the Liturgies have been corrupted, we shall now enter into a comparison between various editions.

§ 5. Two Graeco-Latin editions of the ‘Liturgy of Chrysostom’ in 8^{vo} were available, both printed in Venice in 1644, of which the first is much more comprehensive and augmented with various instructions for priests, prayers etc. Then there is another edition in folio, with no place or year of printing. Between this latter edition and the longer one I have just mentioned there is practically no difference, nor is there such a difference between them that it really affects the substance of the text. I can say the same about the Russian translation, although it gives their priests far more instructions than do all the others and adds some rites, especially where it deals with the cutting of the holy bread and the placing of cut bread on the altar. But in things that tally with the Divine Word, just as in other things that are against it, they are in friendly agreement.

§ 6. In the first category [*sc. things that agree with Scripture*] are the following: (1) they all use bread and wine; (2) they all retain the words of institution; (3) they all read the Lord’s Prayer; (4) they all sing the angelic hymn of Isa. 6;³⁹² (5) they all pray that communicants shall receive the Sacrament in a worthy way; (6) they all administer the Eucharist *sub utraque* [in both wine and bread]; (7) they read aloud the Epistle and the Gospel and the Nicene Creed; (8) they often encourage those present to worship; (9) they all pray for their kings and add a special section in their Litanies; (10) they pray to God for the catechumens; in these things, we too follow in their footsteps, and it is evident that, regarding these chapters, except for the catechumens, our Liturgy agrees with theirs.

But in all the Liturgies, Greek as well as Russian, you will find the same sad and deplorable signs of idolatry. For (1) they all offer prayers to Mary and to the saints; (2) they are all eager to be liberated and saved from evil through the merits and intercessions of the saints; (3) they all offer a ‘bloodless sacrifice’ to God; (4) they all pray and sacrifice not only for the living, but also for the dead; (5) they all believe that they purify and appease altars and images with incense; (6) they revere the bread with a preposterous adoration even before it has been consecrated, but after the consecration not at all, as Mayerberg* observes, p. 51. This is against their Confession, which states that the Holy Eucharist should be venerated as Jesus Christ himself, questions 56 and 107; (7) they venerate saints, of whose holiness no one can be sure, or even reasonably so.

§ 7. The most important difference between the Major and the Minor Liturgy is that the major one orders the catechumens to come forward (p. 88 and the folio edition, p. 17). But the Minor Liturgy requires them to leave. The Russian agrees

with this, and with good reason. To make this clear, we learn from Isidore*, ‘On the Offices of the Church’, book 2, ch. 20, that “the Catechumens are people who have come from heathendom with a will to believe in Christ.” Of them, the theologians say that there were three classes, namely those hearing, those kneeling and those praying; that is why the deacon repeated his ‘Catechumens leave’ three times. For all of them, the elements of the faith used to be given in a certain place called the Catechumenium, and not in writing but orally; therefore they got their name from κατηχεῖν, ‘make a sound for the ears’, ‘instruct’, ‘teach the first elements’. In that sense, Luke 1:4, Acts 18:25 and Gal. 6:6 are quoted. For faith comes from hearing, Rom. 10:17 et seq. All of them were sent away when the officiating priest made himself ready to celebrate the Eucharist, and the deacon exclaimed three times: “Go, catechumens, *missa est*” and this happened among the Latins as well, in imitation of the Greeks, who used the verb ‘go away’, as is mentioned in the Supplement to Hofmann’s* *Lexicon universale*, vol. I, p. 365. Thus, the Russian Liturgy, and the minor one, is to be preferred to the major, all the more so as it is also consistent with Basil’s* Liturgy (fol. 164). More on this matter you will find in Macer’s* *Hierolexicon* and Sickerus’s* *Thesaurus* under this word: ‘Hofmann under the word *Missa*.’ Of our people, Doctor Lange*, that most valued Bishop of Reval, has treated the matter in his doctoral dissertation on the introduction of the catechumen to the reading of Holy Scripture, defended at Åbo [Turku] in the year 1690.³⁹³

§ 8. There are, however, various such Liturgies or Masses, especially among the Papists, and they are distinguished by special names, according to what scope the celebrant has set himself. For Masses are celebrated (1) for the deceased; (2) at a judgment; (3) on weekdays; (4) with a presanctified host; (5) in private; (6) in public; (7) dry – so why not cold, warm or wet? – but I dare not assert that all these types are also accepted by the Russians. Those who want to know more about this should consult the Supplement to Hofmann’s* *Lexicon universale*, vol. II, p. 69.

§ 9. There is no doubt that the Mass of the Presanctified is also celebrated by the Russians. For there is a typical Mass in the modern Greek Church, in which the body of Christ is not made, as they say, but already consecrated bread is consumed after songs of divine praise have been sung; see Hofmann*, *loc. cit.* The Russian formula for this celebration can be found in the *Liber Liturgiarum*, fols 199–224. The Papists’ Communion of the Sick seems to correspond to this rite, for they do not consecrate the bread anew when visiting the sick. Thus, we see traces of this use in the Roman Church, too.

§ 10. Here we must discuss what the difference is between the Roman Liturgy and the Russian one. For then it will be seen that the bragging of the Roman Church, or rather on the part of Allatius* and his associates, about the perpetual consensus with the Greek Church is unjustified. For (1) the Russians use leavened bread, whereas

the Romans use unleavened; (2) the Russians have chosen certain saints to venerate and call upon as intercessors, the Romans have chosen others; (3) the Russians let the people partake of both bread and wine, the Romans only bread, which difference alone would be enough to break the consensus they boast of; (4) the Russians mix bread and wine in the same chalice and distribute it with a spoon (fol. 144 et seq.), while the Romans distribute bread and wine separately; (5) the Roman Canon [of the Mass] is not as prolix as the Russian one. I have used a very old edition of the Roman Canon, printed by Melchior Lotter in 1507, with an explanation by Balthasar, licentiate in theology at Leipzig.

§ 11. Furthermore, there is this difference, (6) that while the Romans believe that Mary was conceived without sin but do not offer any sacrifice to her, both the Greek Liturgies do that, the minor one on p. 87 and the major on p. 132, in the same words, if you look at the Greek text: "Still, we offer you this fair worship, for our forefathers, who rest in faith etc., especially the most holy, immaculate, blessed above all others, our Lady, the Mother of God and ever-virgin Mary." The Major Liturgy just adds 'honoured'. The translation, however, varies.³⁹⁴ For in the Minor Liturgy, it reads: "And then we offer you this fair worship, for our forefathers who rest in faith [...], especially for the most holy, immaculate, blessed above all others, our Lady, the Mother of God and ever-virgin Mary." But in the Major Liturgy, it reads: "We offer for those who rest in Christ, for our forefathers etc., especially for the holy intemperate, more than blessed, our glorious Queen, the Mother of God and ever-virgin Mary." 'Mary' is in the genitive, which case corresponds to their preposition, whereas the Latin uses the ablative. The Russians, too, offer a sacrifice to her, fol. 129. The Minor Liturgy adds *Ave Maria*, which is not in the major one, nor in the Latin Canon, nor in the Muscovite. Basil's* Liturgy, in its principal chapters, conforms to the so-called Chrysostom Liturgy. The Russian Liturgy often refers the priest to Chrysostom's Liturgy, in order to find there what the editors do not want to repeat twice in the same book. Furthermore, it has a special prayer for the Tsar, which does not occur in the other book. The Russian Liturgy is used on the more solemn feasts; for other days, Chrysostom's Liturgy is used.³⁹⁵ "On Sundays in Lent and during Easter and on some other days, we read the Liturgy of Basil the Great, on other days we follow Chrysostom" are the words of Father Jeremias* in *Censura Orientalium ecclesiarum*, ch. 13, p. 106, and the work *Orientalischer Kirchen-Staat**,³⁹⁶ p. 10, says the same. And just as the Greeks read it in their old language, although it is difficult for the people to understand, so the Muscovites, too, read their Liturgy in the Slavonic language, on which language see above, chapter 9, § 5.

§ 12. During the reading of the Liturgy, the actions of the priest succeed each other in the following order. First, he reads the prayer: 'Lord, send forth your hand from your high abode, and strengthen me for your proposed office, so that I can stand without harm before your tremendous altar and perform the bloodless sacrifice, for

yours is the power and the glory for ever and ever, Amen'; (2) he reads several prayers while donning the sacred vestments, the tunic, the orarion, the stole, the girdle, the subgenialis, the chasuble; there is a special prayer for each of them; (3) he washes his hands, adding a prayer from Ps. 25:6;³⁹⁷ (4) he prepares the holy vessels, the paten and the chalice; (5) he cuts the bread with a lance and lifts it high and offers it; (6) the deacon pours wine and water in the chalice and blesses it in honour and memory of Mary, praying that, on her intercession, the Lord will accept the sacrifice on his celestial altar; (7) he lifts up more pieces of bread, one after another, and at the third piece, he recites a long catalogue of saints, by whose prayers he hopes to be protected; (8) he prays for the living and for the dead; (9) the deacon takes the thurible, and the priest prays that the incense may be agreeable; (10) he covers the holy bread; (11) he covers the holy chalice, with additional prayers; (12) he speaks the offertory prayer; (13) the deacon incenses the altar; (14) he reads the 50th Psalm; (15) he speaks a blessing and prays for peace, for the people, for the Archbishop etc., for kings and for other things necessary for a good life, for sailors, travellers etc.; (16) three times he recollects the memory of the saints; (17) the choir sings the antiphons; (18) the choir sings the Trisagion;³⁹⁸ (19) the priest prays the secret prayer; (20) he offers incense; (21) he reads the Gospel (the Russians read the Epistle first); (22) he prays once again for kings; (23) he prays for catechumens with these words: 'God, our Lord, who lives in heaven and regards humble things, you who have sent your only son, our God and Lord Jesus Christ, as salvation for mankind, look with care on your servants the catechumens, who bend their heads to you, and make them, in due time, worthy of the bath of regeneration, the remission of sins and the clothing of [in]corruption.'³⁹⁹ Unite them with your holy catholic and apostolic church, and count them among your elected flock.' So far, he has prayed in a low voice, but now aloud: 'So that they may, together with us, glorify your great and venerable name of Father, Son and Holy Spirit, now and for ever and unto ages of ages'; (24) the deacon instructs the catechumens to retire; (25) two prayers for the faithful follow, which the priest says in a low voice; (26) the deacon reads the peace offerings, outside the tabernacle; (27) the choir sings the angelic hymn; (28) while they sing it, the priest prays at length; (29) once again the 50th Psalm is recited; (30) the deacon, with the paten lifted above his head, and the priest, holding the chalice and, in his right hand, the thurible, walk around the church and pray for everyone; (31) the deacon incenses the holy vessels three times; (32) he prays for the holy offerings and all the things that he enumerates; (33) the choir sings the Nicene Creed; (34) he [the priest] exhorts the people to worship; (35) the choir sings again etc.; (36) he blesses the holy bread using the words of institution; (37) he does the same with the chalice; (38) he prays thus: 'Turn this bread into the precious body of your Christ, and what is in the chalice into the precious blood of your Christ'; (38) he adds, in order to bring about the transubstantiation: 'transforming them by your Holy Spirit'; (40) he prays that this be turned to the salvation of the souls of the communicants; (41) he praises Mary; (42) the deacon calls to memory the dead or

the living, as he wishes; (43) he has recourse to the intercession of the saints; (44) now the priest mentions such dead or living persons as he wishes, praying thus for the dead: 'For the peace and remission of the soul of your servant N, place him, O God, in the place full of light, where there is no pain, no sighs, and let him rest where the light of your face protects him'; (45) once again, he prays at length for everybody, as often before; (46) he prays that they shall communicate worthily, and asks for other good things; (47) the choir says the *Pater noster*; (48) the priest adds 'For yours is the kingdom' etc.; (49) he recites several prayers; (50) he lifts the sacred bread (which is called the *Prophora* [Prosfora], in the middle of which a cross is stamped and a lance, with a sign that is called *Agnetz* [Agnec], with the added inscription *Jesus Christus Nika*); (51) the deacon says to the priest: 'Cut, my Lord, (or pierce) this holy bread with the lance'; (52) the priest cuts it into four pieces; (53) again, the deacon says: 'Fill, my Lord, this holy chalice'; (54) the deacon asks him to bless the hot water; (55) which the priest does; (56) the deacon then pours it into the chalice in the form of a cross; (57) the deacon asks that the holy bread be given to him; (58) the priest gives it to him and says: 'I bestow upon you the precious, holy and immaculate body of our Lord and God and Saviour Jesus Christ, for the remission of sins and for eternal life'; (59) the priest also takes the bread and prays that he be made worthy to communicate, and adds more prayers; (60) then they take the holy bread and the holy chalice, and the priest inclines it and drinks three times from it, and the first time he says 'In the name of the Father', the second time 'and the Son', and the third 'and the Holy Spirit'. Then he continues: 'This has touched my lips and taken away my iniquities and cleansed my transgressions, everywhere, now and for ever unto ages of ages'; (61) he calls forth the deacon; (62) the deacon comes forward and says: 'I come to the immaculate King' etc.; (63) the priest says to the deacon: 'Accept, you servant of God, Deacon N, the precious and holy body and blood of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ, for the remission of your sins and for eternal life'; (64) the deacon wipes the paten and chalice and shows the chalice to the people; (65) he [the priest] gives thanks for the Holy Communion; (66) after Mass has been completed, he prays for the people and for the Church; (67) he recites Ps. 33 according to their numbers, Ps. 34 according to us; (68) he says a prayer while gathering the holy things; (69) he gives remuneration and absolution; (70) he rinses the holy chalice three times and sees to it that there is nothing left, which is called *margaritis*,⁴⁰⁰ (71) he recites the Canticle of Simeon; (72) he gathers the holy things, if there is no deacon present; if a deacon is present, he does it; (73) the *Pater noster* again; (74) the prayer of absolution of Chrysostom; (75) The Contakion ['hymn']; (76) he says to the people: 'May God protect you out of his grace and piety, everywhere, now and for ever unto ages of ages. Amen'; (77) the people bend their heads and say: 'Lord, bless the man who blesses and sanctifies us for many years to come.' And he retires in peace with God.

§ 13. Before finishing this chapter on the Liturgy, I will return to the memory of such former malpractices as were in use in our native country because of the Roman Liturgy which Cardinal Hosius, Possevinus*, Klosterlasse⁴⁰¹ and others tried to foist on us by making us return to the [Roman] Church. They abused the good faith of the most excellent and learned King John III and afflicted those who spoke against them with various calamities. But these men, the foremost of whom were Master Ericus Jacobi Schinnerus, Master Nicolaus Olai Bothniensis, Master Petrus Kenicius and Master Ericus Skeperus,⁴⁰² thought it a sin to surrender to the evil persecutors and left us materials for the praise of God, because through their works they preserved for us the truth, put in order and protected. That our descendants may enjoy this truth until the end of this world, that is what we urgently pray of God! Concerning this liturgical conflict and the maelstrom of evils that one or other change in the rite and the encroachment of one word or another brought about, see Bazius's *Inventory*, book 3 from ch. 37 to ch. 66, and Dr Paulinus*, *History of the North*, ch. 72, p. 308.

Chapter XIII

§ 1. Now we have seen the place where they worship, that is, their temples. We have also spoken of the language in which they perform their rites, viz. the Slavonic. We have discussed the Liturgy, which is the soul of their whole religion. Now let us look at the time at which they come together at their holy places. Olearius*, book 3, ch. 25, p. 291, and Fletcher*, ch. 22, indicate three⁴⁰³ different times: (I) before dawn, which is called *Outrena* [Utrenjaja] and corresponds to our *Ottesång* and the *Mattins* [Matins] of the Anglicans. The order of this service is described to us by Fletcher, *loc. cit.*: "The priest enters the church together with the deacon", and when he has reached the middle of the church he says in a loud voice: "*Blagoslavi Vladico* [Blagoslovi Vladko]" that is, "Bless us, heavenly shepherd", and points to Christ. So Fletcher says, but this does not refer to Christ, but to the celebrant or the bishop, who is called thus because of his excellence. And then the priest adds: 'In the name of the Father' etc. and then *Aspodi*⁴⁰⁴ *pomilui* [Gospodi pomiluj] (he should have said *Ghospodi*), that is 'Lord, have mercy on us'. He repeats this three times. Then he proceeds to the podium or chancel, or the *Sanctum Sanctorum* as the Russians call it,⁴⁰⁵ and enters it through the heavenly door, through which no one may enter except the priest (and the Tsar, who may enter whenever he partakes of Communion). Standing at the altar, or the table, which is situated by the far wall of the podium, he recites the Lord's Prayer, and thereafter *Ghospodi pomilui* twelve times. Then, 'Blessed be the Trinity, Father, Son and Holy Spirit'; the deacon and the people answer 'Amen'. Then the priest adds the Psalms appointed for the day and begins thus: 'Let us come and go forth' etc., and then he turns, together with the deacon and the

people, to the idols or images hanging on the wall, and they cross themselves, bow three times and strike their heads against the floor. After that, the priest reads the Ten Commandments and the Athanasian Creed, from the Book of Liturgy. (As for the Ten Commandments, that is what Fletcher says, but he deviates from the truth, for they do not appear in the Book of Liturgy.) After this, the deacon, standing outside the heavenly door and the podium, reads part of a legend from a manuscript book (for they do not have printed ones, or so Fletcher says, and perhaps it was so in his time, for he was writing in 1605; but nowadays they have several printed books), a book that contains the life and miracles of some saint. These texts are divided into several parts for each day of the year, and they read them in a recitative tone, not unlike the Papists when they recite their Gospel. After this reading, which can go on for an hour and a half or two hours, he [the deacon] adds some collects or prayers appointed for the text just read, and then this office ends. And at this time a great many wax candles are burnt (some of which are the height of a man), which are given by the people of the church, either as a free gift or imposed on them as a punishment.

II) *Objedna* [Obednja], of which Fletcher says: “About nine in the morning, they have another service” (they call it Compline,⁴⁰⁶ we *Högmässa* [High Mass]), “in which to a great extent they observe the same order as the Papists use in their Liturgy with the same name. But if it is a great feast day, the office of that day is celebrated in a special way, and then they begin with the following prayer: ‘Blessed be God’ etc. and ‘We bless thee, O God’ etc., and they sing the rest, but with a more refined melody.”

III) “Vespers, which they call *Vetscherna* [Večernja] and we *Aftonsång* [Evensong], they begin in the same way as matins,⁴⁰⁷ that is, with Psalms appointed for that day. When these have been read, the priest sings ‘My soul glorifies the Lord’ etc.,⁴⁰⁸ then all sing *Ghospodi pomilui* thirty times. The children who are in church answer in one voice, as loud as they can, *Verij, verij, verij* [veri], or ‘praise’, thirty times.” (What this is meant to signify, I do not understand. For *verij* [veri] does not mean “praise” (Lat. *lauda*), as he [Fletcher] has translated it.)⁴⁰⁹ “Then the first Psalm is read, or on feast days, sung, and then, ten times, Alleluia” is added. “Thereafter some passage from the Gospel, which is concluded by singing Alleluia three times.” And when the priest has said “the collect for the saint of the day, the evening office is finished. But then the priest remains in the *Sanctum Sanctorum*, which he never leaves during the office” (but I have seen them leave!). “The deacons (of which there are many in the cathedral churches, and they stand at the heavenly door but do not dare to appear inside it) stand together with the people in the middle of the church or in the porch.” And they do not have pews or benches in their churches. Olearius (loc. cit.) agrees with Fletcher on this point.

IV) Around midnight they have an office, but only in monasteries; see Petrejus*, book 6, p. 6.

Chapter XIV

§ 1. As we have just mentioned feast days, we shall now go on to enumerate them. Olearius* gives us the thirteen most important ones, book 3, ch. 25. Their first solemn feast occurs on the 8th of September and is called ‘The Feast of the Nativity of the Most Pure Virgin Mary’. They call it *Pradznik Roschestve pritschistija Bogoroditsii* [Prazdnik Roždestvo prečistyya Bogorodicy], the Mother of God.⁴¹⁰

§ 2. On the 14th of September, *Ilzemirnoje wosduischenije Cresta* [Vsemirnoe vozdvijenie Kresta], the universal feast of the Exaltation of the Cross.⁴¹¹

§ 3. On the 21st of November, *W'Wedenie pretschistija Bogoroditsii* [Vvedenie prečistyya Bogorodicy], the Presentation of the Most Pure Mother of God.⁴¹²

§ 4. On the 25th of December, *Roschestwa Christowa* [Roždestvo Christovo], the Nativity of Christ.⁴¹³

§ 5. On the 6th of January, *Bogojavlenia* or *Creschenia* [Bogojavlenie or Kreščenie], Epiphany or the Manifestation of the Divinity of Christ, according to the testimony of the Most Holy Trinity at his baptism in the Jordan by St John the Baptist (we call it the Day of the Three Kings).⁴¹⁴

§ 6. On the 2nd of February, *Stretenia Ghospoda naschgeho Isusa Christa* [Sretenie Gospoda našego Iisusa Christa], Candlemass, Simeon’s meeting with Christ, shown to him in the temple by his mother.⁴¹⁵

§ 7. On the 25th of March, *Blagoveschenia pritschistija Bogoroditsij* [Blagoveščenie prečistyya Bogorodicy], The Annunciation of Mary.⁴¹⁶

§ 8. *Werbnoje Voskresenie* [Verbnoe voskresenie], Palm Sunday; the learned call it *Nedjela Tswietonosnaja* [Nedelja cvetonosnaja], or Flowery Sunday of Holy Lent.⁴¹⁷

§ 9. *Woskresenia Christova* [Voskresenie Christovo] or *Den Swiatije Paschi* [Den’ Svjatyja Paschi], Easter or the Resurrection of Christ, on which day the Russians are very merry, partly because Christ has risen from the dead, and partly because it means the end of their long fast. Everyone can then enjoy a special favour and, if I may speak according to their own old custom, ‘see the bright eyes of the Tsar’, that is,

they may be admitted to kiss his hand and accept a red egg in memory of the ceremony. For two weeks from this day, the people and their leaders carry coloured eggs of this kind, and a great many of them are for sale everywhere. People who meet during this holy period greet each other with a kiss, then the words: *Christos Voskrese*, that is 'Christ is risen'. And they respond to this by returning the kiss and saying *Voistino Woskrese* [Voistinno Voskrene], 'Truly, he is risen!' And no one, of either sex or whatever rank, would deny anyone a kiss and an egg.⁴¹⁸

§ 10. *Wosnesenia Christova* [Voznesenie Christovo], Ascension Day.⁴¹⁹

§ 11. *Soschestwija Suiatagho i Schivotworaschtago Ducha* [Sošestvie Svatago i Životvorjaščego Ducha], The Descent of the Holy and Life-Giving Spirit.⁴²⁰

§ 12. On the 6th of August, *Preobraschenije Ghospoda Isusa Christa* [Preobraženie Gospoda Iisusa Christa], The Transfiguration of Christ before his disciples on the mountain.⁴²¹

§ 13. On the 15th of August, *Uspenie pretschistija Bogoroditsii* [Uspenie prečistyya Bogorodicy], The Dormition of the Most Pure Mother of God (so to speak).⁴²²

§ 14. Warmund* adds that New Year's Day, which occurs on the 1st of September according to the Old Style, if we speak of the ecclesiastical year, is sacred to Simeon Stylites;⁴²³ you can read in Warmund about the ceremonies used in celebration of him, ch. 7, p. 52. To these feasts we must add the following, which are also named among the more solemn days, viz. on the 27th of September the Death of St John the Evangelist,⁴²⁴ on the 13th of November St John Chrysostom,⁴²⁵ on the 1st of January the Circumcision of Christ,⁴²⁶ on the 17th of January the Hermit Antony,⁴²⁷ who lived in the times of Constantine the Great, on the 29th of June the Feast of SS Peter and Paul.⁴²⁸ You may consult the Russian Calendar.

The feasts that I have now enumerated must be celebrated by everybody. Other feasts, of which there are so many that on every day of the year not only one but several occur, for instance St Michael, St Andrew etc. – such feasts everyone is free to celebrate if they wish to. But the clerical order spend such days reading, singing and reciting the Liturgy. Apart from these feasts they observe not only Sundays, but also Wednesdays and Fridays, on which days they must fast, as Olearius* tells us in book 3, ch. 25, p. 290 (middle). In earlier times, no one thought that it was against their religion to devote the rest of their day to work, once they had attended matins, especially as it was their opinion that only the magnates could enjoy leisure. But Olearius also adds that the Patriarch, in his own time, had seen to it that due honour was given to the Lord's own day. "Now the Patriarch has ordained that not only on feast days and Sundays, but also on Wednesdays and Fridays, neither shops nor

workshops may be open, and on the same days the Kabake [kabaki] and taverns must be closed and, especially when it is time to go to church, nothing must be sold from them." The Patriarch's decision was confirmed, as far as Sundays were concerned, by Tsar Alexius Michailowitz [Aleksej Michajlovič], *Statuta Moscovitica*,⁴²⁹ ch. 10, law 26: "Every Saturday, Orthodox Christians must close their workshops three hours before vespers and abstain from trade and all other work. On Sundays, the workshops must remain closed, and no one may attend to any trade or other work, except what is necessary for the life of humans or animals. This goes for all Feasts of the Lord." And so we think that the Lord's Day is just as much revered among them as in other Christian Churches.

Chapter XV

§ 1. A special form of worship, among the Russians as well as among the Papists, is their processions, so it will be appropriate to mention them. Twelve [Roman] miles (30 versts) from Moscow is the Monastery of the Holy Trinity, in which a certain Russian saint, Sergius by name, who was first a soldier and then a hermit, died in 1563 and was buried; he is famous for working miracles, if one can believe such things. To this monastery, the Tsar with all his family and the most prominent of his courtiers proceed twice a year, on Trinity Sunday and on St Michael's Day.⁴³⁰ When they are half a mile from the monastery, he himself and the Tsaritsa and his sisters walk all the way to the monastery, where he spends a few days. On this occasion, the archimandrite is obliged to supply all that is necessary for the board and lodging of the Tsar and his retinue. There the Tsar diverts himself with hunting, for the sake of relaxation.

§ 2. Another procession is organised, in which both the Tsar and the Patriarch take part, to a church in the city, not far from the Ambassadors' Court; you can see a drawing of the church in Olearius*, book 1, ch. 13 (*Fig. 17*). He tells us that this procession is organised on the 22nd of October and that the church was built there to celebrate the discovery of an image of Mary in the ground.⁴³¹

§ 3. There is also a procession to another church⁴³² in Moscow, which is called *Pret-schistija Bogoroditsja Casanskaja* [Prečistaja Bogorodica Kazanskaja], because in it there is the original of an image of Mary, found in Kazan'; here, pilgrims gather in great numbers.

§ 4. Among the most solemn processions is the one that occurs on Palm Sunday, and it proceeds from the Church of St Mary to the one that is called *Jerusalem*, near the castle; Warmund*, p. 58, gives the following description of it: "First, a tree, from



tieff neigte/ berührte es auch mit dem Kopfe/ unter dessen wurde von den Pöven oder Priestern gelezen. Darnach ging der Patriarch abermahl zu dem Zaar/ hielt ihm als einer guuen Hand lang mit Diamanten versetzes gülzden Eruß zu küssen vor/ drückt es ihm auch an die Stirn und beide Schlafse/ darauff giengen Sie in gedachte Kirche und verrichteten ferner ihren Gottesdienst. Es verfügten sich auch in selbig Kirche die Griechen/ welche die Russen/ weil sie sich auch zur Griechischen Kirche befehmen/ gerne/ aber sonst keine andre Glaubens verwandten in ihren Kirchen leidetmigen. Sonst war solcher Procescion beygewohnt eine unzähliche menge Volkes/ welche

Der Gute-
chen Frey-
heit in Rus-
sichen Kir-
chen.

Fig. 17. The Temple of Vasilij the Blessed, commissioned by Ivan the Terrible to commemorate his capture of Kazan' in 1552. From the 1663 edition of Olearius, chapter 12, p. 45.

which several fruits were hanging, was brought forth on a humble cart drawn by a horse. On this cart, four boys in white stoles were sitting, singing Hosanna. After them came priests ('popes'), dressed for a pontifical ceremony, carrying crosses, standards, images and fuming thuribles. Then princes, councillors of the Tsar and other noblemen, two by two, most of them carrying palm branches. After them the two brothers, the Tsars Ivan and Petrus Alexeowitz [Petr Alekseevič], who at that time reigned together, escorted by four boyars, splendidly dressed. The two Tsars brought the Patriarch a horse, to which long ears had been artificially added, to make it look like an ass; they held him with quite long reins in their hands. This false ass was wrapped in a black cloth, on which the Patriarch, in very fine pontifical dress, sat in the same way as women ride in our country; on his head he wore a mitre, decorated with pearls. On top of which was a golden crown. In his right hand he had a golden cross, adorned with diamonds, with which he blessed the people standing around. To the sides and behind the Patriarch processed metropolitans, bishops and other clerics, some of them with books in their hands, others with thuribles; they were followed by the foremost of the merchants and the people. Along the road, a great many children had been ordered to stand and to spread out both their clothes and other things on the road, so that the Tsars and the Patriarch could walk on them." The author further asserts that he has heard that the Patriarch had given the Tsars 800 roubles for this work. But the Tsars believe that in this way they have given proof of their humility and that they have shown the Saviour this honour, in his memory. This procession is held in the same way everywhere in Russia: first the Woiwoda [voevoda], or Governor, who represents the Tsar, then the Metropolitan or the leading churchman, representing the Patriarch. A picture of this procession, drawn and engraved in copper, is to be seen in Brand's* *Itinerarium*, p. 256.⁴³³ For a description in Swedish, see Petrejus*, book 6, p. 36, who does not hesitate to call the procession an 'Apespel' [apery].

§ 5. That these peregrinations to sacred places are thought to have the power to expiate sins cannot be doubted, although *Orientalischer Kirchen-Staat**, p. 19, maintains that this is not the case among the Greeks. But they are arranged for that purpose by the Papists, too, so if we take them together with the Russians, we believe that we have done right by the truth. How sacred they hold processions you can understand from law 26, ch. 10, of the *Statuta Moscovitica**: "On such days as prayer processions go through the city, with images and crosses, no one may pursue any trade or open their workshops until the procession has returned to the cathedral."

§ 6. Since they regard fasting as quite an important part of their rite, we must say something about it. Olearius*, book 3, ch. 29, p. 308, shows that the Russian Church imposes on its members a hard and laborious rule of fasting. These rules are obeyed more strictly by some, but less so by others. He says that he has seen no one who on fasting days will eat meat. They do not eat sugar either, since a merchant told the

Patriarch that it is mixed with the white of eggs. They have more days of the year on which the eating of meat is forbidden than when it is allowed. For every week they must fast on Wednesdays and Fridays.⁴³⁴

§ 7. The Great Fast [Lent]⁴³⁵ begins on the Sunday *Esto mibi*, and goes on till Easter. The first week is called *Maslaniza* [maslenica], when they are still allowed to use butter, milk and eggs. On these things many gorge themselves, especially with vodka, which they like very much, forgetting the words of Basil's* homily I, p. 185, 'On the praise of fasting': "The way to fasting does not go through drunkenness, nor does the way to sobriety go through lasciviousness." For the rest of the time, they observe the fasting rules better, so that those who are very scrupulous even abstain from fish.

The second period of fasting begins on the octave of Pentecost and goes on for fourteen days until SS Peter and Paul.⁴³⁶ The third begins on the 1st of August and must be observed for fourteen days.⁴³⁷ The fourth begins on the 12th of November and goes on until Christmas.⁴³⁸ On feast days and Sundays, if they do not fall within a fasting period, everybody eats meat, and it is said that they believe they sin if they abstain from meat then. Among them, just as in the primitive Church, fasting on Sundays is forbidden, since Sundays are intended for spiritual joy. During the fasting periods, especially during Lent, it is forbidden to give one's spouse the blessing of the marital bed. But Olearius* says that "not many fines will come into the treasury as a result of betrayal by themselves or their wives." Although I believe that many disregard this rule, it is undoubtedly observed by more prudent people, and it is a matter of penitence rather than of pecuniary fines. The punishment is described in the following way by Talander*, in his book on his travels, ch. 3, p. 22: "Whoever knows⁴³⁹ his wife during the fasting periods may not partake of Communion for the whole year, without risking committing a great sin. If he is a priest, he must discontinue his office for a whole year. And if he is someone else, who wants to become a priest, he will not in his whole life be called to that office. Their remedy against these impurities is a bath rather than penitence."

§ 8. There is a peculiar way of celebrating a fast, especially Lent, and one that used to be very common when preparing for Communion: some people buy birds and let them fly away, believing that they are doing a good deed by liberating the birds and that God will liberate them from sins in the same way. Although they have this practice in common with the Turks, who also believe that they can earn remission from sins by similar actions, they deceive themselves. In our times, this custom has almost fallen into disuse, and it is seldom observed among people of good family. This might have been the right place to discuss their rites in celebrating the sacraments. But we shall speak of these rites when we come to the doctrine of the sacraments. Let us now speak about their schools.

Chapter XVI

§ 1. Adjacent to their churches they have schools, which used to be rather few in number; today the number has grown considerably, so that there is one in every major village and many in the cities. The highest point of erudition you could reach in these schools was reading and writing Russian and Slavonic. But Olearius*, p. 280, tells us that even in his day plans were discussed for the founding of schools where you could learn Greek and Latin, and that the Tsar and the Patriarch were both committed to these plans. This had had the good effect that he had himself seen such a school in the neighbourhood of the patriarchal court, in those days run by a Greek called Arsenius.⁴⁴⁰ Since then, many more have been built, so there is no longer any ground for Olearius's complaint: "No Russian, be he priest or layman, of high or low class, knows a single word of Greek or Latin." See also Talander*, ch. 4, p. 28. Orichovius*, however, thought otherwise, maintaining that already in his day their minds were well cultured in Greek and Latin literature – but then Orichovius may seem to exaggerate a little in his praise of his own people. Among the schools, there is the especially excellent one that the two brothers-german, the Greek priest-monks Giovannichius and Zophronius Licudi [Russ. Ioannikij and Sofronij Lichudy], opened in Moscow, in which more than 100 young boys learnt the Greek, Latin and Slavonic languages.⁴⁴¹ But on the other hand the Greek language had long been taught in schools, albeit not by the most learned masters. On these schools, see Talander, ch. 4, p. 27: "In Moscow you find neither colleges nor universities. In their schools, the children learn nothing more than to write and to read." So far, so good. But the following is not consistent: "And when some wanted to learn more, they would come under suspicion and be punished for it, for the Tsar does not allow anyone to be considered more learned than himself."

§ 2. Concerning their talent in learning letters and languages, Olearius* testifies that it is excellent, as he proves by examples. The books that they use the most in their schools are enumerated by Petrejus*, book 6, p. 7: ABC-books, prayer books (called *Tsasownik* [Časovnik]), most of which are addressed to St Mary and St Nicholas, with responsories, the Psalms of David, the Apostolic, Nicene and Athanasian Creeds, and the History of Alexander the Great. What he says about the History of Alexander the Great does not deserve credence, for no one in their schools has it in his hands. The Apostolic Creed they do not have in translation. But those who have set their minds on entering the sacred orders learn to read, the New Testament, the Acts of the Apostles and the letters of St Paul, as well as the Homilies of Chrysostom, Basil*, Gregory of Nazianzus and others. Add to this the Slavonic Grammar, published both in 4^{to} and in 8^{vo}, with the title *Grammatiki Slavenskija pravilnoje Syntagma*, the author of which is Miletius Smotriskius [Meletij Smotrickij], a cleric of the Church of the Descent of the Holy Spirit in Vilnius, Lithuania, in the days when Timothy was Patriarch of Constantinople.⁴⁴² On their letters, Talander* tells

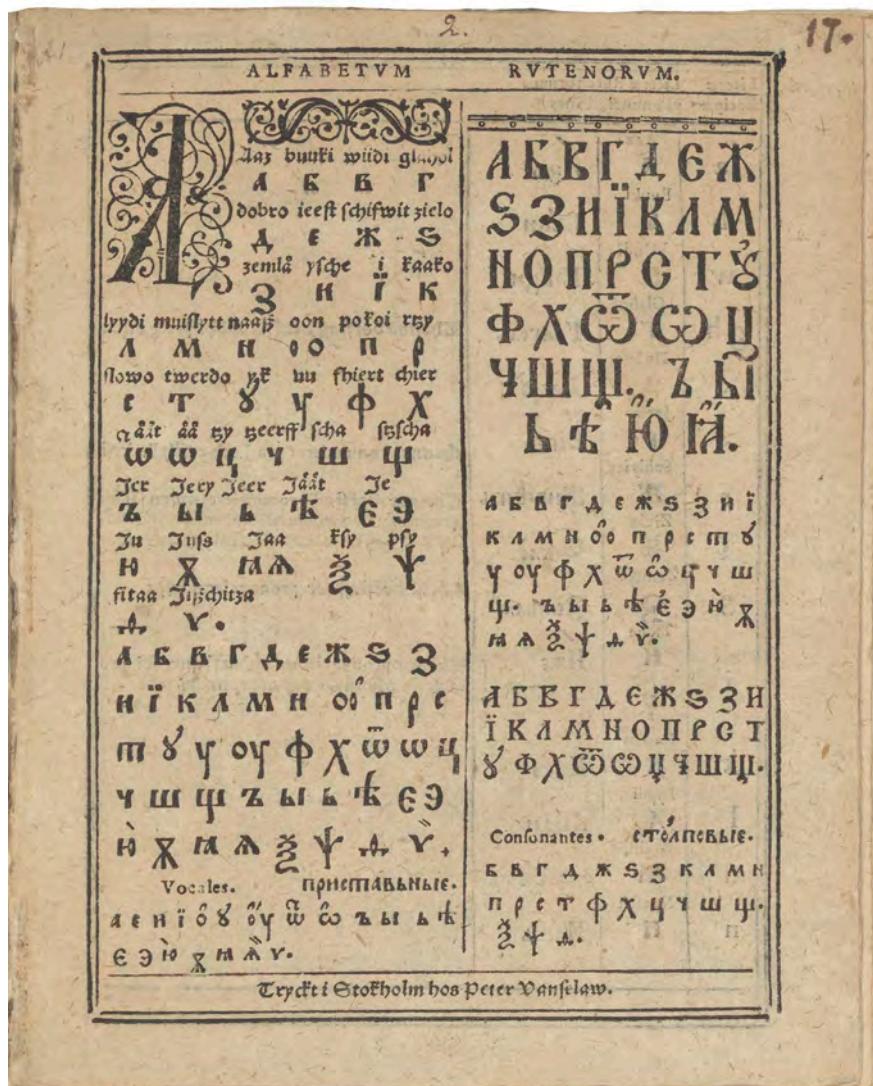


Fig. 18. A page from *Alfabetum Rutenorum*, a small primer printed by Peter van Selow in Stockholm, undated.

us the following: "In the year 1262 the Muscovites did not yet have an alphabet. But at that very time, the Emperor Michael Palaeologus sent them the Slavonic characters or letters, which they still use today; all their books are written in these letters. But for their language they also need a special alphabet, which they have mostly borrowed from the Greek, and they have increased the number of letters so that there are now 43 of them; the learned Daviti taught us their pronunciation, and

they are to be found in *Turnisser*, ch. 4, p. 26.”⁴⁴³ We have discussed, in ch. 3, § 6, above, how they had letters long before this date. I cannot remember that I have seen them use any other alphabet than that later one, which is largely borrowed from the Greeks. The forms, names and sounds of the letters you can find in *Olearius*, book 3, ch. 22, p. 280; in Pfeiffer*, *Critica sacra*, who enumerates only 40 letters; and in *Ludolphus*,⁴⁴⁴ who enumerates 39. See also *Vanselaw* [van Selow], at the beginning of the Russian-Swedish Catechism, which was printed very handsomely in 4^{to} in Stockholm (*Fig. 18*), of which I have seen only one copy, in the Royal Archives; it is so far unknown even to the most curious.⁴⁴⁵

§ 3. We have heard that quite a famous school has been opened in Moscow by a prisoner, the Provost of Marienburg, Dr *Glück*, and we have at hand the proposal he wrote to the Tsar on this matter, which we will abstain from including, to avoid prolixity. But that his efforts have enjoyed success, the Right Reverend Doctor Molin, chaplain to Her Majesty, our most clement Queen, has learnt from letters from his friends. However, there are people who are of another opinion and believe that he would not have been given this opportunity had he not converted to their faith.⁴⁴⁶

§ 4. They are very interested in calligraphy, as is attested by manuscripts in the Tsar’s archives. Even today, manuscript books are in frequent use among them, since they do not have enough printed ones, for printing houses are rare.

§ 5. I for my part do not agree with *Talander**, who in ch. 4, p. 27, is of the opinion that there is only one printing house in the whole country, and that is the Alexandrian one in a *sloboda* situated about four miles from Moscow. For he says: “All the books they use are handwritten, for in the whole country there is just one printing house, viz. in the Alexandrian *sloboda* [Aleksandrovskaja sloboda], four miles from Moscow, but this does not print anything but works destined for the use of the Tsar, and you have to be in high favour with him to get a single copy from it.” Today the situation is different, for in the Russian camp at Narva such a great number of books was found that the pope *Faedor Stepanof* [Fëodor Stepanov],⁴⁴⁷ a priest from *Ratzin* [Ratčino], to whom I owe my basic knowledge of Russian, jokingly said that “the Russians had come to occupy Narva with books, not arms: they had arranged a procession rather than a military campaign.” I would like to add that a greater devoutness and piety prosper in that people than most people have hitherto believed. There are in fact several printing houses, but the one *Talander* mentioned is not known.⁴⁴⁸ Very old, it seems, is the one in *Ostrogia* that was used for the printing of the Bible; it was acquired by the Duke of *Ostrogia* around the year 1580.⁴⁴⁹ The next one, I think, is the printing house organised in *Kiev*.⁴⁵⁰ And then in *Moscow*, where a magnificent *Palatium Typographorum*, a Printers’ Palace, has now been built, with several presses.⁴⁵¹ There is also a fourth printing house in the *Kutiensian Monastery* [Kutjinskij monastyr’],⁴⁵² two miles from *Novgorod*, and a fifth in *Tshernighowia*

[Černigov];⁴⁵³ from these houses many prayer books etc. have gone forth. The most famous of them all is that of Moscow; here the most beautiful books are produced, various and large-sized volumes, thanks to the generosity of the Tsar. The background and age of this printing house, as well as other matters to do with Russian Church history, can be learnt from an account in the Royal Archives of the 13th of November 1703, to which I have had access; from it, I would like to add the following:⁴⁵⁴

§ 6. “From a copy of the Church Order (Kirchenordnung) of the Grand Prince Knes Iwan Wasiliewitz [knjaz’ Ivan Vasil’evič], which was drawn up and issued in the year 7061 according to the Russians, 71 years ago in the current year 1640,⁴⁵⁵ by the Grand Prince and the Metropolitan regarding the printing house and the Church Order, carefully translated from Russian into German: Chosen by the Father, loved by the Son and completed by the Holy Spirit, and by the faithful Tsar and Grand Prince, Ivan Vasil’evič, Lord over All Russian Lands, and the blessed and ordained Macarius, Metropolitan of All Russia;⁴⁵⁶ many holy churches have been built in the city of the Tsar, Moscow, and in all the other towns that are scattered over the country, also in the newly acquired lands, as in Casan [Kazan’]⁴⁵⁷ with its towns, and they have been splendidly furnished and adorned by the faithful Tsar with images, divine writings and fine books, and provided with all appropriate fittings and ornaments, and according to good traditions and ecclesiastical law based on divine and apostolic patristic books and on the wise counsel of so many famous and great kings of blessed memory, even from Constantinople in Greece, of the great Emperor Constantine, Justin and Michael, and other pious kings of their times, and the now reigning pious Tsar and Grand Prince Ivan Vasil’evič, Lord of All Russia; and it was ordered that holy books be bought from markets and bookshops and given to the holy churches, especially: the Psalter, the Gospels and the Acts of the Apostles, as well as other pious books and writings that are genuine and authentic. But since there are so many books that have been found suspect, false and incorrectly written, and since so many old books have also been lost or destroyed, or mutilated or garbled by unschooled and incompetent copyists, and as such things have been reported and have reached the ears of the Tsar, the Tsar and Grand Prince has thought of a remedy, by which he can import into his lands the art of printing from Greece, Venice or Phrygia, from other languages and tongues, so that from now on Holy Scripture and other good books can be printed and produced; the Tsar and Grand Prince has made his will known to Macarius, the ordained Metropolitan of All Russia. The Metropolitan rejoices and has said to the Tsar: “This counsel and good thought is given to you by God; from heaven these good gifts have come to you!” According to this command from the pious Lord, the Tsar and Grand Prince Ivan Vasil’evič, Lord of All Russia, and the blessed and ordained Metropolitan, it was discussed, in the year 7061, the 35th year after the birth of the Tsar,⁴⁵⁸ how a master with a printing house could be given the task, according to the pious thought

and counsel of the Tsar, of building a printing house and how all the costs for it could be paid for by the Treasury of the Tsar, until the printing house was complete. And from his Treasury, the Tsar and Grand Prince gave the builders from the Church of St Nicholas and the printer Iwan Hodersson [Ivan Fëdorov] and Peter Timosiosson [Pëtr Timofeev Mstislavec] money to build the printing works and the buildings needed for it, and when their work was quite complete, then books of Holy Scripture and the Acts of the Apostles and writings by all the Apostles and the Epistles of St Paul were the first books to be brought together and printed;⁴⁵⁹ the work was begun in the year 7071, on the 19th of April, on St Iwan Paliwreda's Day,⁴⁶⁰ and continued and completed in the year 7072, on the 1st of March, when Ossanasius [Afanasij], Archbishop and Metropolitan of All Russia, took up his duties, in the first year of his office.⁴⁶¹ All was successfully done and completed to the glory and honour of the Almighty, the Creator of all life, the Holy Trinity, God the Father, God the Son and God the Holy Spirit. Amen." A whole decade was then devoted to the organisation of a printing house. And thus it is rightly thought to be older, finer and more famous than all the others.

§ 7. I remember that it was complained by Schwabe* in his dissertation and by Olearius*, p. 174 in the first edition, that printing took a long time; by what right they asserted this, I do not know, for I have observed that quite a large Book of Faith,⁴⁶² in folio and two fingers thick, was finished within two months, in the year of the world 7156. For this reason, Olearius left out his complaint in his second edition. There is no doubt that books are rather expensive, as has also been noted by the authors cited.

§ 8. They use both very good types and good paper, so that they do not give precedence to other European printers, nor are they inferior to them in any way. As testimonies to this, I adduce Bibles, Chrysostom's books on the Priesthood, Liturgies and the Life of the Saints, published in 1700. The present Tsar seems to want to call in doubt the glory of all other kings and princes by promoting learned studies. For he has invested enormous sums of money in them and is still ready to pay more. No book may be printed without the permission of the Tsar and the Patriarch, and all books have their names in them, the older ones at the end and the more modern ones on the frontispiece. You can see examples above, ch. 2, §§ 1 and 12.

§ 9. Not content with his own printing houses, the present Tsar gave the Dutch book-seller and printer *Johannes Thesing* [Jan Thessing] the opportunity to print Russian books and sell them in his dominions by a special privilege of fifteen years issued to him on the 14th of May 1698 (Old Style), which begins thus: "The Prince and mighty Lord, His Majesty the Tsar Peter Alexewitz, Lord of All Russians, has, after hearing the aforementioned request, benevolently permitted, granted and even ordered the suppliant Jan Thesing to print all world atlases, land maps and sea charts, all pictures of

famous persons, all hereafter mentioned books on warfare, both at sea and on land, as well as books about the art of building, mathematics, fortification, books on all sorts of knowledge, the free arts, craftsmanship, apart from books about the Greek religion and faith, in the Dutch or Russian language, printed in the alphabet of each language, together in one volume, or separately; [and to bring] the mentioned books and maps of the whole world or the pictures of famous lords and other persons from Amsterdam to His Majesty the Tsar's realm on the ships to Archangel'sk and to all other places in all Russia, so that His Imperial Majesty's subjects may thereby be well prepared and loyal and derive great profit." And further: "For every book that is brought to Archangel'sk for sale, four stivers with the value of five gulden [Bergius: "vyfgyldens"] must be paid to the Treasury of His Majesty the Tsar."⁴⁶³ It would have been well, had Master Thesing stood by his promise. But letters from Masters Bleau [Blaeu] and Petzold to the Honourable Sparwenfeld seem to suppress our hopes at the roots. For the former writes from Amsterdam on the 10th of April 1700: "I have informed myself about what M. Thesing has planned to do by virtue of his octroi and privilege from the Tsar, and so far he has done nothing, and personally I do not believe that he will do anything, unless someone with more experience in such matters intervenes and associates himself with him, as he strongly wishes. But he will have some trouble finding such a man. The Muscovites, as you know, are hardly interested; they do only what they are forced to do, and that only to please the Tsar, and when he dies, goodbye to their studies."⁴⁶⁴ The latter wrote on the 9th of April of the same year: "Thesing has a privilege of 15 years, but he is doing very little and does not himself have the capacity to do much."⁴⁶⁵

§ 10. To make it clear that the Tsar has left nothing undone that could help in making his subjects more polished, I must mention what I have found in the Hamburg *Historical Remarks*⁴⁶⁶ of the 23rd of May 1702, p. 167: "Mr Elias Kopijewicz, who, with a gracious privilege from His Majesty the Tsar, has written various books and in the year 1698 opened a printing house in Amsterdam in order to cultivate the Slavonic language (of which Russian is a dialect), is right now in Berlin, negotiating to move his printing house there, to the Academy of Sciences founded in Prussia by Their Majesty."⁴⁶⁷ Then they give a catalogue of books, some printed, some prepared for the press. But we learn from experience that nothing at all has so far been printed.⁴⁶⁸ When I wanted to know how he was faring in Berlin, I asked the bookseller Nöller from Riga to find out what had happened. He willingly complied with my request and got the following response from Ulrich Liebpert, dated Berlin, 28th of February 1702: "As for the printing of Russian I can tell you nothing certain. There has been much talk about it here, but nothing has come of it. The letters are the Greek ones, except for eight or ten that have different forms. They were to be cut here, but they cannot come to an agreement; some say that they know the language only at an elementary level; others say that they do not know it at all. So, it has come to a standstill, and to this day nothing has come of it."⁴⁶⁹

§ 12. What shall I say about libraries? I do not find any mentioned in the authors. From Sparwenfeld's account I have learnt that the Tsar has a library well provided with both manuscripts and printed books, and that it is situated in his own palace. The Patriarch, too, has his own library, known to have at least as many books. In their provinces metropolitans, archbishops and bishops have founded their own libraries, and one can find them especially in monasteries. In them they also preserve very old manuscripts with the utmost care. Among the clergy you rarely find anything but psalters, manuals and prayer books. High-born people read the history of their country and other manuscript books; other books they do not care much about, so that if you ask for a library in a private home (except the house of Lucianus Holosow [Lukjan Golosov]⁴⁷⁰ and a few others), you will find that you are wasting your time. Sometimes they have books that are beautifully adorned, and they do not spare gold or silver in ornamenting one side of the book; the other side, which rests on the table, is mostly not gilded. But today many bestow the same decoration on both sides.

Chapter XVII

§ 1. We cannot omit to mention the monasteries; once they were centres for fasting, vigils, prayer, good deeds, charity and work, and also schools for study, according to the Supplement to Hofmann's* *Lexicon universale*, vol. I, p. 109, but today they have degenerated into havens for the lazy. There are a great number of them in Russia, both for men and for women. To these they betake themselves, some because of poverty, others because of old age, some to be cured of ill health, many because they do not get on well with their spouses, others for other reasons. You could say that the last and rarest of these reasons is devotion, but devotion has also drawn some rich people to the monasteries. Earlier, when someone entered a monastery, he would leave all he had to the monastery, but in more recent times people have also left a portion to their heirs. When practically the whole country was given over in this way to monasteries, so that even the Tsar had to live without serfs, the following statute was drawn up as a remedy against this inconvenience: "If a man who has inherited from his father, be he of whatever status, or a widow enters a monastery, they may not give their inheritance (if they have one) to the monastery, and may not administer it after they have put on the monastic habit, but must give it over to their relatives, who are called according to the law to receive it; these relatives are then obliged to provide everything necessary for them as long as they live. But if the relatives do not provide for them, they may be allowed to sell their inheritance to relatives or to strangers. Goods they have bought they may sell to anyone, or give away, but absolutely not keep after putting on the monastic habit." Thus the *Statuta Moscovitica**, ch. 17, law 43. Therefore, some monasteries enjoy a rich revenue, while others are rather poor.

§ 2. In Russia they follow the Rule of St Basil (who regulated the monastic life of the Eastern Church in the 4th century, just as St Benedict did in the 6th century for the Western Church; see my synodal dissertation on the Monastic Vows,⁴⁷¹ presented at Uppsala in the year 1698, ch. 2, p. 7 et seq.). This Rule, however, is not divided into many, almost innumerable, families, as is the case in the Latin Church. Warmund*, ch. 5, p. 34, is of the opinion that there are monks who follow St Benedict or St Nicholas, but of this there is no mention in other authors, with the exception of Oppenbusch*. Rather, as every Greek monk follows the Rule of St Basil (see *Orientalischer Kirchen-Staat**, p. 10), I cannot see from where any other rules could have reached the Muscovites. Pernisten*, in his account about Moscow, agrees, for he says: “all the brethren are of the Rule of St Basil.” Therefore, those who told Petrejus* that they were of the Rule of St Bernard were wrong; see his book 6, p. 4.

§ 3. They are very true followers of their rule. At fixed times, both day and night, they devote themselves to divine worship; see Petrejus*, book 6, p. 26. They always have rosaries at hand. Russian rosaries, however, are made of leather and characterised by certain knots, made in a special way, whereas the rosaries of the Roman Church consist of little beads, and the Church still preserves the practice of praying with small stones that was introduced by Peter the Hermit as early as the year 1090. There is no such practice in the Greek Church, if we are to believe *Orientalischer Kirchen-Staat**, p. 18.

§ 4. They lead a hard life in the monasteries; they never eat meat or fresh fish, only salted fish, to which they add honey, milk, cheese and vegetables, especially salted cucumbers. They drink kvass, which is a beverage made from water with some flour added; it has an unpleasant, sour taste. To this they even add cucumbers, eating it with spoons.

§ 5. Sometimes, they are more generously entertained by friends outside the walls of the monasteries, so that they even have to be brought back rather drunk. In the monasteries, they are allowed to keep neither wine nor brandy, neither mead nor strong beer.⁴⁷² But if you deprived the Papist monasteries of those things, you would send all the monks into exile. For in them, a generous amount of wine, of which they often have plenty, is a special solace for those who are being held there by force and violence.

§ 5 [bis]. Mostly they are untaught, notorious for their simplicity and stupidity, and what Clement Adams* said is as true of them as it is of any Russian of the people today: “Hardly one in ten knows the Lord’s Prayer.” Very few of them know the Ten Commandments, and they think that these are meant for their lords and church leaders, not for themselves. *Orientalischer Kirchen-Staat**, p. 20, is testimony that this ignorance is also the rule among Greek monks: “As for the literature of the

modern Greeks, it is certainly the case that in Athens as in the rest of the country, the old philosophy and all other real learning lie waste, and most priests and monks do not understand the old Greek language; in many places, the bishops even forbid the reading of the old poets, orators, philosophers and other authors. Therefore, most of them learn in the schools to read Greek for the sake of reciting their Breviary or Hours, which are written in beautiful Greek; on these, just as the Papists do on their Hours and nuns on the Psalter, the Greeks – and not only priests and monks but laymen as well – base most of their religion.”

§ 6. You see many monks in the streets, acting as peasants, driving carriages and selling things; they can be distinguished from secular people only by their dress. In the same way, the Greek monks are of the people and devoted to work and do not lead lives of idleness, unlike the Papist monks, who for the most part honour the goddess of Idleness.⁴⁷³ They wear dark clothes and let their hair and beard grow.

§ 7. They are governed by archimandrites, abbots, igumens, priors etc., whose authority among the lower ranks and brothers is very high. Among the monasteries, the most famous is that of St Sergius of the Holy Trinity,⁴⁷⁴ which raises its head above the others, “just as the cypress rises above the thorn bushes” to use a phrase of the foremost of Latin poets, Virgil.⁴⁷⁵ Concerning this monastery, see above, ch. 15, § 1, p. 141.

§ 8. How they follow each other in rank is to be seen from the *Statuta Moscovitica**, ch. 10, ‘On law courts’. But also from the fine imposed on those who receive an abbot from this or that monastery with harsh words, which is not the same in every case, you can find out what the differences are. For a man who mistreats the abbot of the monastery of the Holy Trinity must pay a fine of 100 roubles, but for the abbot of the Nativity of Christ in Wlodimir [Vladimir] only 90, and then the fine falls lower and lower for the others.⁴⁷⁶ They [the abbots] are chosen on the authority of the prince, and no one dares go against that. See Doctor Botvidi*, thesis 40. On nunneries, see Mayerberg*, p. 32; on hermits, see Lasicius*, p. 166, Herberstein*, p. 31.

Chapter XVIII

§ 1. As for the government of the Russian Church, it used to have only a Metropolitan, chosen and confirmed by the Patriarch of Constantinople. In more recent times, only his confirmation was reserved to the Patriarch; the Metropolitan was chosen by consent of the bishops and all the clergy, until the Grand Prince took it upon himself to appoint him. He himself changed the title from Metropolitan to Patriarch on his own authority. Olearius*, in book 3, ch. 28, p. 304, maintains that Patriarch Philaret

Nikititz [Filaret Nikitič] was the last to be confirmed by the Patriarch of Constantinople. But it seems that the latter had been deprived of this authority even earlier. On this issue, I find the following in the manuscript *Stepenna Kniga* [Stepennaja Kniga]* and in the Life of Johannes Basilides [Ivan Vasil'evič]: “The first Patriarch of Moscow was Job, the first Metropolitan of Moscow. He was chosen in the year of the world 7063 [1555 AD, see note] by Jeremias, Patriarch of Constantinople, who himself came to Moscow with one metropolitan and two bishops from Greece. In Novgorod he made Archbishop Alexander the first Metropolitan of that city.”⁴⁷⁷ And it seems to me very likely that the Tsars have appointed the Patriarchs from that day on. Compare Guagnini*, in the edition from Albinus, p. 226.

§ 2. Today, the election of the Patriarch takes place in the Greater Church of the castle, which is called Sobor or ‘congregation’⁴⁷⁸; of the metropolitans and archbishops, two, three or sometimes even five are elected, whose learning, prudence and piety they believe to be greater than those of the others. These individuals are recommended to the Tsar, who after a discussion with the clergy entrusts the task to the worthiest person. Sometimes, when the choice is difficult, they draw lots for it; this procedure is sometimes repeated more than once, to assuage the envy of the others. When they have reached a consensus with the Tsars, the election is held to be valid. The electors give the chosen man a letter of vocation, in which they testify that he has been rightly chosen. Concerning this election, see Petrejus*, book 6, p. 3, where he says: “When he is to be chosen and ordained, there is no less a celebration than when a Grand Prince is chosen.” And to show how great the authority of the Grand Prince is in this procedure, he adds: “If the person that they have chosen displeases the Grand Prince, then he chooses another whom he likes, and he does not care whether that man is capable or not, even if all the clergy are against him; his man must nevertheless take on the task and be Patriarch as long as it pleases the Tsar.” These last words seem to indicate that he can be deposed again at the Tsar’s pleasure, but experience tells us that when Patriarch Nikon⁴⁷⁹ was to be deposed, three Greek Patriarchs were summoned, who passed judgment on him and deemed him unworthy of his office, so the absolute authority of the Tsar was not used on that occasion. Quite rightly, Strykowski*, ch. 5, p. 86, adds the following: “It is not less to be praised in the Russian religion that they do not exclude the great Tsar from the elections of the Patriarch, as is done nowadays, against the Holy Spirit and old customs, in the Roman Church.”

§ 3. The authority of this Patriarch is the highest in the whole country, apart from the Tsar. He has the same rank as the Tsar, except that he is called Patriarch instead of Tsar. ‘The Patriarch’, says Petrejus*, loc. cit., “is usually ranked just as high as the Grand Prince, except that he does not designate himself as ‘Tsar,’ and he has the power of judgment in spiritual matters and looks after the religion, on the mandate of the Prince, who has total power. See Quenstedt*, part 4, ch. 13, sect. 2, question

5. In discharging this office, he is a zealous promoter of piety, albeit a piety contaminated with superstition and errors; what seems to be helpful in achieving this aim he takes it upon himself to decide, and such decisions he then orders to be carried out. On this, see Olearius*, book 3, ch. 28, p. 304. "After the Grand Prince, the Patriarch has the highest authority in the country; he judges the clergy not only in matters that are dependent on secular jurisdiction but also in religious matters, such as matters concerned with good manners and Christian morality, and what he thinks is good, he can arrange according to his will, establish or abolish, and commend to the Grand Prince to execute."⁴⁸⁰ And if we are to believe Pernisten*, the Tsar does not decide anything important without consulting the Patriarch: "The Grand Prince does not decide or determine anything of importance without seeing the Metropolitan." In Pernisten's time, the Metropolitan did not yet enjoy the title of Patriarch.

§ 4. The dignity of the Patriarch is well illustrated in ch. 12 of the *Statuta Moscovitica**, of which the first law reads: "Officials of the Patriarch, his courtiers, sons of his noblemen, his subjects and all others of whatever status living on lands belonging to the Patriarchate, for whatever cause they might be called to a court of law, be they accusers or accused in the court of the Patriarch, were never in the time of previous Tsars or in the time of the Tsar and Grand Prince of all Russia, Michael Federowitz [Michail Fëdorovič], called before any other court, but always before the one at which the Patriarch himself presides." The officials and counsellors of the Patriarch are therefore closest to the Tsar's people in dignity. In the second law [of the same statutes] it is stated: "But if the Patriarch's officials are corrupted by gifts or friendship, if they judge anyone unjustly, and he makes an appeal to the Tsar, then he must be admitted and his cause transferred from the Patriarch's officials to the Tsar and his boyars, and if it is proved that the officials have judged unjustly, they must be punished in the same way as is stated concerning the Tsar's own judges." By what right Guagnini* says in *Descriptio Moscoviae*, ch. 2, that "castles, towns and all secular administrations are taken from them", I do not see. Nor does this follow from Herberstein's* account, p. 22: "The bishops concentrate only on the pious administration and promotion of church matters and religion and leave all their household as well as public matters to be taken care of by their officials." The same is done by the Papists' bishops, and no one would maintain that secular administration has been taken from them. Concerning this, Petrejus* says, in book 6, p. 4: "The metropolitanans, the Patriarch, the abbots and priors of the monasteries have their own peasants and yearly income." The Patriarch enjoys a very large annual sum, if we are to believe Talandier*, ch. 9, p. 58: "This Patriarch has an income of about forty-three thousand two hundred pounds a year."

§ 5. It is by the Patriarch that the Tsar is crowned or anointed. After the foremost of the princes has asked him, in the name of the people, to anoint the Tsar, he takes the

Tsar's hand and leads him to the royal throne, makes the sign of the cross on his face and on his breast, places the ducal mitre, which is adorned with a crown, upon his head, and finishes the ceremony with a benediction which the Patriarch, the Archbishop, the bishops and all the clergy bestow on him, as they urge him to fear God, love justice and defend their religion; see Talander*, ch. 6, p. 40. No one, not even the Tsar, can easily contradict the Patriarch's decisions. And Olearius* testifies that many things have been altered according to the will of the Patriarch. Today, there is no successor to the deceased Adrian, although the see has already been vacant for more than two years, and it has been occupied by someone else within a year on other occasions. Hence a suspicion has arisen that the Tsar is thinking of a change in this practice, too, although this may be a mistaken assumption.⁴⁸¹

§ 6. According to Olearius*, book 3, ch. 28, p. 305, they also have four metropolitans: (1) in Novgorod, (2) in Rostov, (3) in Kazan', (4) carskij [?] (of the Tsar).⁴⁸² After these, there are seven archbishops: (1) in Vologda, (2) in Rjazan', (3) in Suzdal', (4) in Tver', (5) in Siberia,⁴⁸³ (6) in Astrachan', (7) in Pskov. Mayerberg*, p. 27, adds one in Archangel'sk. Next in rank is the Bishop of Kolomna. Mayerberg also adds the Bishop of Vjatka. After these, they count protopopes, popes and deacons. Only the Patriarch has an archdeacon, who acts as his secretary. The Patriarch and the metropolitans, archbishops and bishops are never allowed to marry, since they are elected from the monastic order. Sometimes even the patriarchate is open to a widower who has retired to a monastery. An example is Philaret Nikititz [Filaret Nikitič], father of a Tsar;⁴⁸⁴ this, however, was so unusual that it may never be repeated.

§ 7. The clergy are not permitted to wear rings, except for protopopes and deacons, nor real shoes or linen clothes; they dress only in woollen shirts, and are forbidden to lay down their weary limbs on soft beds. The Patriarch, however, is allowed to wear not a linen but a silk shirt of subfusc colours. The dress common to patriarchs and metropolitans is a black tunic, quite wide, and over it they throw a black pallium. In Moscow no one except the clergy and the monks dress in black cloth. Archbishops, bishops and abbots wear round, black mitres. Only the Bishop of Novgorod has a white mitre with two horns, like the Roman ones.⁴⁸⁵ Olearius* describes their headgear thus: "On their heads they wear black hoods, some three cubits wide; in the middle of them there is a round disc, like a large plate, and behind they hang down from their heads."⁴⁸⁶ In their hands they carry sticks in the form of a cross, according to Olearius: "Whenever they walk in the streets, they have staffs in their hands, known as Posok [posoch], which are bent a good finger's length from the top, almost at a right angle."⁴⁸⁷

§ 8. How many priests there are in Russia you may infer from the fact that there are 4,000 in Moscow, since in the larger churches you may find six, eight or even ten priests.

§ 9. They are appointed to their holy ministry in the following way. A man who wants to enter the sacred order calls on the Patriarch or a metropolitan etc. to be examined, not by the Patriarch himself but by someone who is given this task. If he can prove that he has learnt to read, write and sing well, he is ordained and a letter confirming his ordination is given to him.

§ 10. For clothing, he is given a priest's tunic, not much different from the tunic of a layman, of ordinary colour. His hair is not shaved on the top of his head, but cut with a pair of scissors,⁴⁸⁸ and on his head is placed a cloth cap called a *Skuffia* [skuf'ja]. This they always wear, and they do not take it off to greet anyone. In it, they see the most important sign of their dignity, according to Warmund*, ch. 5, p. 33: "In this, their whole priestly dignity is concentrated, and anyone who knocks such a cap off a priest's head will be punished most severely."⁴⁸⁹ According to Warmund, simony is widely practised.

§ 11. Popes and deacons are not only allowed to marry, they are obliged to do so, and just as they like, according to the precept of St Paul in 1 Tim. 3:12: "Let the deacons⁴⁹⁰ be the husbands of one wife." It is worth noting that they must marry virgins: "They are obliged to choose a virgin," says Talander*, ch. 9, p. 58. A man who finds his wife guilty of unchaste behaviour cannot be employed for the holy ministry. "In the same way, a man must not be ordained a priest who has violated a virgin, nor must a man who finds on the first night he spends with his wife that she is not a virgin," says Petrejus*, book 6, p. 47. When his wife is dead he must abstain from the priesthood, if he is not found especially distinguished in age or manners, and he must not do any of the things he used to do. But in the choir he is allowed to act as a deacon, to read and to sing. Often a young priest who finds it difficult to live chastely without a wife discards the priestly habit and goes in for a trade or craft, and then celebrates a second wedding.

§ 12. Under the jurisdiction of the bishops are clerics, monks, nuns, *Proscurnicae* [proskurni] (widows of priests, who are employed to knead the holy bread), wives and children of priests, widows and midwives, and servants of the monasteries, those who make the clothes of the monks, and such people. See Botvidi*, thesis 42, concerning what is to be understood about the activities of their offices.⁴⁹¹ In other matters, they are subject to secular justice, just like laymen. Siricius* compares Faber* with Sacranus*, and not without reason he takes the part of the latter. For Faber says, on p. 171: "The Tsar never ever interferes with the punishment of clerics. It is, they always maintain and affirm, the task of the bishops to censure and punish those whom the order of the Gospel and the vocation to the Lord's work have made their subjects." Siricius adds: "But Faber shows himself to be ignorant and inexperienced, for Sacranus, in ch. 2 of his *Elucidarius*, reports the following as number 40 of the errors of the Muscovites. And these are his words: 'They say that it is permitted for

their secular lords, their rulers, without a formal note of excommunication, to flog and depose their patriarchs, bishops and priests.” Both these statements have some truth to them. The first is true in so far as it speaks of things that belong to their own office. The second is true in so far as it speaks of other crimes and offences. It is not permissible to flog them with impunity, even if it often happens. Since Siricius himself has observed this in Petrejus*, Olearius* and Herberstein*, I do not know why he should argue against Faber. Petrejus, he says, tells us in his book 6 that priests are chastised by the Patriarch or the bishops in matters concerning their office, but for other sins, such as adultery, theft, murder, treason etc., they are subject to the jurisdiction of the secular magistrate. No one would say that there exists the same exemption in Russia as in the Papacy. Hence Sacranus’s tears!

§ 13. The office of the bishops is to ordain priests and to settle disputes over religion; the office of the priests is to perform the sacred rites three times a week. It may now suffice to have given this sketch of the jurisdiction of the bishops and the censure of the clergy.

§ 14. They receive the income they require from landed estates and other extraordinary donations. As a rule, priests are supported by the people living on their land or by their parishioners. They are assigned small farms with fields and pastures, from which they get their keep. In times of war, they are even obliged to augment the army with a soldier, just like the other boyars. “They must also do their military service, like other boyars, when there is a war going on, and keep as many horses and men as their land and their income allow. For the Patriarch, the metropolitans, the bishops and the monks have about a quarter of the whole country under their monasteries, the knesses [knjaz’ja] and the boyars have the second quarter, and the Grand Prince the two remaining parts; and in accordance with this they must arm themselves and be prepared in times of war and when a campaign is to be launched” (Petrejus*, book 6, p. 4).

§ 15. The ecclesiastical order enjoys so much honour that metropolitans take precedence over the highest noblemen etc.; see Petrejus*, book 6, p. 4, where sons of boyars are said to serve metropolitans: “The foremost of them have more than 1,000 boyars, who serve them daily, and some have less, according to their income.”⁴⁹²

Chapter XIX

§ 1. Let us talk now about the Councils they have held. The National Councils are very much revered by them. Of these, there have been two, both held because of the Raskolkic sect [raskol’niki]; the first in the year of the world 7162 [1654], in the castle of Moscow.⁴⁹³ It was attended by Tsar Aleksej Michajlovič, Patriarch Nikon and the foremost of all the clergy, 34 in number, together with the whole secular

council of the Prince. At the Council, Nikon spoke and confuted the schismatics, both on the issue of the sign of the cross and on the correction of printed books, with such success that the Tsar and the whole Council decided that the old manuscript books were to be relied upon and that printed books should be corrected according to them. The Patriarch of Constantinople, who was consulted on this question, approved the decision and sent several manuscript books to the Tsar.

§ 2. A second Council was held in the year of the world 7190 [1682], on the 5th of July, in the Tsar's castle of Granwita [Granovitaja palata, the Faceted Palace]. Present were the Tsars John [Ivan] and Peter and the foremost among the clergy, but also the Tsaritsa Nathalia Kirillovna [Natalja Kirillovna] and the Princesses Tatiana Michalovna [Tat'jana Michajlovna] and Sophia and Maria, the sisters of the Tsars. At this Council, the previous Council was confirmed and it was demonstrated before their eyes that the books of the Patriarchs Philaret and Joseph, recently printed, required emendation. The schismatics, however, caused such an uproar that the Tsars and the others were very much upset and were preparing to resign the crown. But they were moved by the entreaties of the noblemen and stayed on until vespers. The leader of the rebels, Mikita [Nikita], was beheaded; the others were deprived of their books and, so that they could not cause more rebellion in the future, the books were thrown into the fire. This report, with all the circumstances it described, was given to us by the Honourable Sparwenfeld, who lived in Moscow during the second of these Councils.⁴⁹⁴ The Councils are treated in full in a book called *Objed Duchowni* [Uvet duchovnyj],⁴⁹⁵ to which I refer the reader.

§ 3. I must also briefly mention, following Herberstein*, p. 22, that apart from the seven General Councils, the Russians do not acknowledge any others. The seven Councils are: (1) The Council of Nicaea, at which 318 bishops condemned Arius, (2) the First Council of Constantinople, at which 150 bishops condemned Macedonius, (3) the First Council of Ephesus, at which more than 200 bishops condemned Nestor, (4) that of Chalcedon, at which 630 bishops condemned Eutyches, (5) the Second Council of Constantinople, in the year 553, (6) the Third Council of Constantinople, held in 680, and (7) the Second Council of Nicaea, held in 787.⁴⁹⁶ I believe that this fact is to be interpreted thus: other Councils should not have the same authority, but the not infrequent convocation of particular Councils leads us to believe that such Councils should not be deprived of all authority.

Chapter XX

§ 1. This section must conclude with the Memory of the Saints, whose cult confers both good and evil among the Russians. Basilides [Ivan Vasil'evič], in the 13th chap-

ter of his Response,⁴⁹⁷ gave them the following order regarding the veneration of images: “Of the images the foremost is that of Jesus our Lord and Saviour. Next to it is the image of his most pure Mother, and third in rank are those that depict the heavenly powers and all the saints.” The most important of them are enumerated by Oderborn* in his ‘Life of Basilides’, p. 320: “Of the number of holy men, he honoured St Nicholas, the Archangel Michael, the prophet Elijah and St John the Baptist the most, thinking that after so many crimes he would be commended to the eternal God by their intercession.”

§ 2. Ivan Vasil'evič gave the following reason for this invocation, viz. of the Blessed Virgin: “She is the intermediary for the salvation of mankind, and through her God is reconciled with us.” Of the other saints, he said: “They give aid to our salvation.” But who does not see that this reasoning is frivolous? Concerning saints from the Muscovite people, see Olearius*, book 3, ch. 27.

§ 3. Mayerberg*,⁴⁹⁸ p. 27, has some information that is especially worth mentioning: “The Muscovites despise all statues, except on the altar of the church. But wooden tablets painted in the Greek or Russian style, with icons of the saints, they acquire by barter for gold or silver (for it is not permissible to buy them), make them their own and sprinkle them with holy water, and such tablets are so highly venerated among them that you may begin to wonder what sort of cult they honour their saints with.”

§ 4. The cited author continues: “They all have several icons in their private houses, which are placed in the corners of their dining rooms or other rooms; they are adorned with gold, silver and gems, according to the means of the owner, and are presented to be honoured by both the family and guests. In front of them, they light candles and say their prayers, which are really rather long.”⁴⁹⁹

§ 5. Icons are so necessary to them that they are used in every sacred act. “It is absolutely not permitted for monks or priests to say their prayers to God without having an icon present,” says Mayerberg*, and Petrejus*, in book 6, agrees with all of this. But let us once again listen to Mayerberg: “If a child is to be baptised, if a marriage is to be celebrated, if someone is to take an oath, if a dead body is to be committed to the earth, they must have icons.”

§ 6. And I do not think that the following should be omitted: “Hanging on the inner walls of the churches there are images, put up everywhere by pious laymen. If anyone is excommunicated by a decree of the Church, the same punishment befalls his holy icon, for it is taken down and given to the excommunicated person to take home with him; if he is reconciled with the Church, the icon is admitted again.”

§ 7. Regarding the veneration that they show them, the often-mentioned traveller Mayerberg* says: “When any of the Muscovites enters someone else’s house, he refuses to greet the people who meet him, whatever their rank, and looks around him into the corners to see if there are any icons. If he does not see any there, he asks if there is no God there. When the icons are shown to him, he venerates them by bowing three times and crossing himself. After that, he fulfils his social duties towards the people around him. Having done what he came to do, he leaves, repeating once again his veneration of the icons.”

§ 8. If a man wants to engage in producing offspring with his wife, he has to cover the icons with a sort of veil, according to the same witness [Mayerberg]. Everything that Mayerberg* says about this can be read in German as well, in Olearius*, book 3, ch. 26.

§ 9. What happens to decayed icons is explained by Mayerberg*, p. 28: “But if any icon rots and the colours decay from old age, they do not consider it pious to throw it away or burn it, but they prefer to let it float in a river to wherever fortune takes it, or to bury it in a churchyard as if it were dead to its use.”

Section II: Dogmatics

Chapter I

On Justification

The plan of my enterprise now demands that I move on to point out the dogmas and examine them, as far as time allows. As we have taken it upon ourselves to do so following the words of the *Russian Confession*, it would be against my conscience to deviate from its own method. But since the author [of the *Confession*] has chosen to let three, as it were, preliminary questions precede the treatment and [logical] division of the Confession, I do not think that we should pass over these too briefly, since they treat the question of justification.

§ 2. How much disagreement there was on this matter: *Whether justification comes from the law or from the expression of faith, or from both together?* between St Paul and his adversaries, is shown in the very learned inaugural dissertation called *Zelus Vindex* published at Åbo [Turku] in the year 1703, by Doctor Johannes Rungius,⁵⁰⁰ Superintendent of Narva and my own most honourable successor, p. 4. And it is to be deeply deplored that almost all the Christian world follows the Jewish track and derives justification either from works alone, or from a combination of faith and works, although the whole of Sacred Scripture and St Paul teach very clearly that it should be derived from faith alone. To those who rely mostly on works we must count all of the modern Greek Church, and also the Russian Church, as is evident from the questions put before the Confession, of which

§ 3. The first question begins thus: *What must an orthodox and catholic person hold and observe to win eternal life?* As it is answered thus: *The right faith and good works, with the addition for whoever serves these two is a good Christian and has a true hope of eternal salvation*, according to the testimony of Scripture, which is quoted, viz. Jas. 2:24 and 26, further 1 Tim. 1:19 and 1 Tim. 3:9, it is clear that good works count for a great deal, as is also evident from the 9th question, p. 26, where the author asserts that *the hope of eternal salvation needs the help of our works*. Here, the author is without doubt unjust to faith, and he abuses these quotations to support his own opinion.

§ 4. As for the quotation from St James, the Apostle does not make works a necessary requirement for salvation, but requires only that they are performed as a testimony of good faith, a faith that is distinguished from a dead faith by its promotion of good works; from this, it does not follow that works are necessarily required for salvation. But as the *Apology of the Augsburg Confession*, p. 107 (middle) says of this

quotation that no other passage is thought to oppose our opinion more than this, we must not believe that works are superfluous, especially if we listen to the following:

§ 4 [bis]. “But there is a simple and straight answer,” says the apologist: “If our adversaries did not sew together their opinions about the merits of works, there would be no problem with the words of St James. (1) The passage says more against the adversaries than against us. For they say nothing of faith, which James retains.” (This is also true of the Russian Confession, which is to be preferred to the older Papists: the more recent Papists require faith, too.) (2) “James does not mean that we earn forgiveness of sins and grace by good works, for he is talking about the works of the justified, who are already reconciled, accepted and given forgiveness for their sins. James has shortly before spoken of the new birth that occurs through the Gospel, and therefore not through works.”

§ 5. If to this we add the following from the ‘Solid Declaration of Concord’, p. 639 (middle),⁵⁰¹ we can establish how far the opinion that the adversaries attributed to him was from James’s mind. “James (as the *Apology* says) is talking about the works of those who have already been justified by Christ, who have been reconciled with God, and who have received forgiveness for their sins through Christ. But when we ask from where faith has this power, and what is required for it to give justification and salvation, then it would be false to say that faith cannot justify without good works, or that faith can justify only to the extent that it is combined with charity, by which it is formed, or that the presence of good works is necessary for faith to be able to justify or for justification, in the sense either that the presence of good works is necessary in the very *article* of justification or that good works are a requisite *sine qua non*. These things may not be excluded by special paragraphs from the *article* of justification. For faith justifies only because of, and has its entire power from, the fact that it comprehends and embraces the grace of God and the merits of Christ as promised in the Gospel (as medium and instrument).”

§ 6. Thus, we must rightly reject the explanation of the passage in St James that our *Russian Confession* has in common with the Papists, and with the explanation also the doctrine that “our formal justification before God is the renewal and the charity that are inherent in us.” And further, this doctrine that “the justification of faith before God consists of two parts, forgiveness for our sins and renewal or sanctification.” Both these doctrines are rejected in the *Book of Concord*, p. 644. Concerning the passage in St James, see Balduinus* *ad loc.*

§ 7. Let us now see by what right the Confession adduces St Paul. No right at all, if we consider works, and thus it is clear that the *Apology of the Augsburg Confession* teaches that Paul, in 1 Tim. 1:19, is not discussing the way of obtaining eternal life,

but the whole of the Christian life, which is certain of the other passage, too; see Balduinus* and the *Book of Concord* p. 108 (middle).

§ 8. To the second question, which reads: *Why must the Christian first believe, and then perform good works?* the answer is: *Because no one can please God without faith, according to the saying of Paul in Heb. 11:6. To be dear to God, and to have his works favoured by God, a Christian man must first of all have faith in God, and then he must order and fashion his life according to the yardstick of faith.* This answer, as far as it speaks of justifying faith, leaves nothing to be desired. In this, the Russians seem more judicious than the Papists, who assert that good works can be done without faith, according to the Apology in the *Book of Concord*, p. 107, where it says: “The adversaries teach that a man can be justified by love and works. They say nothing about the faith through which we comprehend Christ, our propitiator.”

§ 9. The third question *In what do these two consist?* is answered satisfactorily in this way by the *Confession*: *In the three theological virtues, faith, hope and charity.* Not bad, if it had thought of faith not just as a virtue, but as a means of sharing the merits of Christ. But the *Confession* hardly, if at all, discusses ‘faith’ in this sense, and that is the most important thing that we rightly miss in it. And we understand that its authors laboured under the same sickness as the Papists. The Patriarch Parthenius,⁵⁰² in Syn. 2, agrees with them, against Cyril Lucaris, in that he rejects the opinion that faith saves without works. He says: “In the ninth [paragraph?] he declares that faith without works can save. But this faith is not our work but the work of Christ alone, who justifies man from without through his own life and death, so that no man shall seem to contribute anything to his own salvation.” And Cyrillus Berrhoensis,⁵⁰³ Syn. I, condemns him for teaching that works are by no means enough to seek remuneration at the tribunal of Christ. From this assertion, he believes, it would follow that the Gospels are lying when they say: “I was hungry, and you gave me to eat,” and that St Paul, the mouth of Christ, and the Lord’s own brother James also lied, the latter by saying that not hearers, but doers of the law are righteous [Jas. 1:23], the former by declaring that faith without works is dead [Jas. 2:20, Rom. 3:27–28].

§ 10. The author of the *Confession* divides his work into the following three parts: quite naturally, he says that in the first part, *in accordance with the Confession, he will deal with the articles of faith*; in the second part, *with hope and the Lord’s prayer and the evangelical blessings*; in the third part, finally, *with the Ten Commandments, in which the love of God and neighbour is inherent.*

Chapter II

On Faith, the Foundations of Faith, Holy Scripture, Traditions, Councils and Fathers

The author begins his treatment of the first part with the fourth question: *What is faith?* and he answers with a quotation from Heb. 11:1 (which epistle he rightly attributes to Paul) and adds his own definition: *The orthodox, catholic and apostolic faith is to believe in one's heart and confess with one's mouth that there is one God, in three Persons.* What he says about the faith of the heart and the confession of the mouth he confirms by quoting Rom. 10:10, but I would assert that the definition is less correct, if it is compared with what we find in writers on the common topics of theology.⁵⁰⁴

§ 2. For just as 'faith' differs according to whether it means *what* is believed (Gal. 1:23; Titus 1:13) or *how* it is believed (1 John 4:15–16), there is a need for different definitions. But as this *Confession* deals with 'faith' in the sense of *what* is believed, it can properly be defined thus: "Faith is the knowledge of the doctrine of salvation, rightly learned from Holy Scripture and confirmed by steadfast assent."

§ 3. What the author then adds: *For this reason an orthodox Christian should hold as certain and indubitable (Syn. 6, Can. 82) all the articles of faith that the Catholic and Orthodox Church believes are given to us by our Lord Jesus Christ through the Apostles of the Church, and that have been explained and approved by the Ecumenical Councils of the Church, which articles he should embrace with true faith*, favours (1) the traditions, (2) the Councils, and they see them as the foundations of the faith.

§ 4. Our assertion is strengthened by a passage quoted from 2 Thess. 2:15:⁵⁰⁵ *Therefore, brethren, stand fast, and hold the traditions which ye have been taught, whether by word, or our epistle* (Tremellius translates this 'the doctrine that has been handed down'), and from 1 Cor. 11:2: *Now I praise you, brethren, that ye remember me in all things, and keep the ordinances, as I delivered them to you.* It is absolutely certain, however, that we are concerned here with the doctrine (which as far as I am concerned may be called 'tradition'), a doctrine that is in complete accordance with everything that has been given us in the Holy Scriptures. But what support from the Scriptures such frivolous traditions have that fight against the Word of God and have their origin in a brain darkened by the clouds of superstition, I cannot understand.

§ 5. Entirely wrong, however, is the conclusion drawn from these biblical passages: *From these passages, it is evident that the articles of faith have received their authority and their authorisation partly from the Scriptures, and partly from the tradition of the Church and the doctrine of the Councils and the Fathers.* The authority of Dionysius*,

which is cited from the *Hierarchia Ecclesiastica*, ch. 1, p. 108, does not move us, since the book is not authentic and its author is unknown (see Hofmann, *Lexicon universale*, part I, p. 556; Hofmann rightly teaches that the work was not composed until the end of the 4th century). And yet Critopulus*, in his *Confessio*, ch. 1, p. 17, recommends him highly. But it is a sign of a bad cause that, of so many Fathers, none can be found to support their opinion, so that they have to take refuge in this fictitious and falsified author.

§ 6. So the following will not stand: *The dogmas of the Church are thus double and manifold, for some were handed down by mandates given in the letters of Holy Scripture, others were given by the word of the Apostles, and these are the same as were later more fully declared by the Councils and the holy Fathers, and the faith is built on both these foundations.*

§ 7. From this it is evident what we must say about the statement of *Oppenbusch**, ch. 2, p. 11: “In matters of faith, they maintain that whatever they see that the Prince believes or thinks is right must be followed by everyone.” And in reality, during the reign of Ivan Vasil’evič quite a few things were organised according to the will of the tyrant, but by right nothing of the sort should happen, according to the *Confession*. Schwabe*, who tells us in his ch. 1 that they acknowledge Holy Scripture as a sufficient norm for the faith, is disproved by the *Confession*. We shall see elsewhere whether Scripture seems clear to them, so that in this, too, we can set them against the Papists, who proclaim that it is obscure.

§ 8. As for the *means of knowing revelation, or the source of theological knowledge*, the Russian *Confession* has in common with the Roman Church that intolerable error which, at the Council of Trent,⁵⁰⁶ blasphemously taught that “traditions should be accepted with the same piety as Holy Scripture.” And you may wonder how Christian people can come to think this, but “the Roman Church ranks traditions even higher than Scripture,” an opinion that is confirmed by *Quenstedt**, part I, ch. 2, sect. 2, question 11, with testimonies taken from the Doctors. In this latter respect, my Russians are better. For as for regarding traditions as equal or even superior [to Scripture], there is total silence among them. But when we reject traditions, we are referring to dogmatic traditions that do not agree with Scripture, not ritual traditions; see *Quenstedt*, loc. cit.

§ 9. Even if we willingly grant greater authority to the Councils than to the Fathers, we will absolutely not allow them to force us to believe, with divine faith, anything that is outside of Scripture. Concerning this, see *Quenstedt**, part I, ch. 4, sect. 2. We more than willingly agree that they are useful but not necessary.

§ 10. The Fathers may serve as witnesses whose voices we respect, and in order to hold our adversaries more strictly in check, we use them abundantly ourselves, *Quenstedt**, *loc. cit.* Holy Scripture alone must be our norm and rule, according to which all dogmas must be examined; see the Book of Concord, p. 570.

§ 11. Very much to be praised is what then follows in the *Confession*, p. 18: *The faith must by no means simply be walled up in the secret and closed room of the heart; no, it must be proclaimed and brought forth without fear or doubt, just as the Holy Psalmist says*, Ps. 116:10, and St Paul, 2 Cor. 4:13.

Chapter III

On the Number of Articles of Faith etc.

§ 1. Now there follows in our *Confession* the fifth question: *How many are the articles of the catholic and orthodox faith?* The answer is: *According to the Creed of the First Council of Nicaea and the Second Council of Constantinople*,⁵⁰⁷ *they are twelve in number*. We will not stir up a quarrel about the number, since the opinions of the learned vary on this point. Anyone can see that there are many more, if you divide what is transmitted in that Creed into its parts. But it seems that this number has been chosen because it corresponds to the number of the Apostles; even the Papists attribute one part of the Apostolic Creed to each apostle. We do not need to say anything about the Councils, except that they are ecumenical and valid for us, too.

§ 2. But the following words of the *Confession*: *In these Councils* (whose doctrine is summarised in the Creed), *all that is relevant to our faith is so accurately explained that neither more nor less must be believed by us*, need to be examined. And what the great Calovius* said of the opinion of the Calixtines,⁵⁰⁸ who maintained that everything was contained in the Apostolic Creed, must be repeated by us, too: there are things that are not explained in that creed, but still necessary for us to know and believe. For instance, *the doctrine on justification that applies merit through belief in Christ*, on Holy Scripture, on canonical and apocryphal books, on the authority of Holy Scripture, and other such matters.

§ 3. There is, however, a most notable distinction between articles that are fundamental and those that are not fundamental, of which the former must be neither unknown nor denied, while the latter may be unknown or denied. The former are divided into primary fundamentals and secondary fundamentals, and the following difference should be observed between them: the primary fundamentals must not be unknown or denied, while the secondary may be unknown, but may not be denied without peril to and at the cost of your salvation. Whoever says that the Nicene

Creed contains all of these articles, even if we talk only of the primary ones, must see that he has overstepped the limits of the truth. So this assertion of the *Confession* is not trustworthy.

§ 4. Furthermore, the addition *in no other sense or understanding than the Fathers understood it* we cannot admit without having examined it, for here, too, excessive credit is given to the Fathers, a credit that is due to the Holy Scripture alone. For it is from that source that the Creed flows, and I consider it self-evident that our opinion on the rivulet and its purity should be formed on the basis of the source itself. But if the sayings of the Fathers agree with Holy Scripture, they may be admitted as witnesses.

§ 5. When the *Confession* says that some articles are clear and evident, while others contain more obscure matters, we can agree with it, as long as we are talking of the words in which they are given to us in Holy Scripture, but not if we are talking of the subject matter, which surpasses all understanding.

Chapter IV

On God

§ 1. After the 6th question follows the first article: *I believe in one God, the Father Almighty, Maker of heaven and earth, and of all things visible and invisible.*⁵⁰⁹

§ 2. Question 7, p. 20, says that the article has *two parts, the first that we must believe in God*, Deut. 6:4, the second that *God has created everything out of nothing*, according to Ps. 33:9.

§ 3. Question 8, p. 21, says that *there is one God*, Eph. 4:5–6, and that *none other exists besides him*, Isa. 44:7 and Deut. 6:4.

§ 4. ‘What is God?’ is explained thus in Question 8: *But what God is universally in his nature is something that no created thing can fully perceive or understand. And not only the visible, but also the invisible, and that is also true of the angels.* All this is correct. And the reason added is good, too, that *there is absolutely no comparison or proportion between the Creator and his creation.*

§ 5. Question 9, p. 22, demonstrates, from Matt. 28:19 and from the institution of baptism, that *God is a unity in three Persons*. It gives the Divine Persons in the right order, albeit it introduces the error concerning the procession of the Holy Spirit from the Father alone. This will be treated in its own place. The identity of essence is

correctly demonstrated on p. 28, from 1 John 5:7. It invites agreement with the Synods and the Doctors, an agreement that is confirmed by the blood of the martyrs, and concludes: *This we, too, must believe with all our hearts and without any doubt, and we must keep this faith firm and unshaken, and for its sake encounter death, if necessary.* And so we believe that the necessity of this article is proven, and our opinion is that all of this is firmly grounded. Critopulus* agrees in his *Confessio*, ch. 1, p. 10.

Chapter V

On the Holy Trinity

§ 1. Question 10, p. 26, explains the mystery of the Trinity more fully and states, quoting Isa. 46:5, that *it cannot be wholly pictured by any image or example.*

§ 2. And after saying that *no understanding can comprehend it, nor any tongue pronounce it*, and after admonishing us to take our reason captive, according to 2 Cor. 10:5, and pointing with strong assent to the explanation in the *Athanasian Creed*, it concludes thus: *Satisfied with this simplicity of faith, we ask and seek for nothing more.* It concludes that Sirach 3:22,⁵¹⁰ “do not seek” is to be observed.

§ 3. Thereafter, it proves the mystery of the Holy Trinity on the basis of the Old Testament in such a way as to make the Calixtines blush, who deny that that mystery can be explained from the Old Testament. How much turmoil they have provoked in our Church by that denial, many books and many disputes tell us.

§ 4. To show the road that it takes, it first quotes Gen. 1:26, 3:22 and 11:7, from which verses it constructs the plurality of the Persons. Then, in Isa. 6:3, it finds the vestiges of the Trinity. But from Psalm 33:6 it establishes the Trinity completely and refers us to the holy writings and the Doctors of the Church.

Thus the Russians distinguish themselves favourably from Socinians, Anabaptists and some Papists, with whom the ‘innovators’ [Pietists]⁵¹¹ blow the same horn, and for that they deserve the highest praise. We maintain that the Trinity was believed by the Old Testament to be a necessary medium, with Quenstedt* part. 1, ch. 9, sect. 2, question 3, and see Critopulus*, ch. 1, p. 11.

Chapter VI

On the Properties of God

§ 1. In question 11, p. 29 the *personal*⁵¹² and *essential properties of God* are well analysed. Question 13, p. 30, says that *the personal properties are those that distinguish the Divine Persons, but not the essence*; the character of the Father is that he is unborn, the character of the Son that he is born, and the character of the Holy Spirit that he proceeds, and apart from the fact that it is added that the Holy Spirit proceeds from the Father alone, this is correctly stated, and it also says that this happened from the beginning, quoting Ps. 110:3.

§ 2. This doctrine is confirmed by an axiom of Gregory the Theologian [Gregory of Nazianzus: *It is a common property of the Son and the Holy Spirit that both Persons originate from the Father. But the property of the Father is that he is unborn, while that of the Son is that he is born, and that of the Holy Spirit that he proceeds.* The Confession's addition that *another personal property of the Son is the whole arrangement of his assumed humanity* is a sentence peculiar to this text and should be left to comment on in its due place.

§ 3. Question 13, p. 31 gives the following opinion on the essential divine properties: *They are the properties that occur in the same way in the Father, the Son and the Holy Spirit, that is, being God, being eternal, being without any beginning or end, being good, almighty etc. in the same degree, and they are all, without any difference, common to the three Persons.*

§ 4. Question 14, p. 33 explains the reasons why only omnipotence is mentioned in the Creed, and says that *this is the most accurate expression of the property of divine essence.* And further that *the property of omnipotence has its nature from itself, and that it can create out of nothing.* That God is omnipotent is proved by quoting Rev. 1:8 and Luke 1:37.

§ 5. It is further noted that *omnipotence is distinct from will and judgement, so that God does not do everything he can do, but only what he wants to do*, according to Ps. 115:3. And what is then added: *He could have created six hundred thousand worlds just like ours, if he had wanted to, but he did not*, we leave to our Cartesians to comment on. For they say that this is impossible, always wanting, according to their rational custom, to measure the fields of divine power with their ten-foot measuring rod.

§ 6. It is stated that *omnipotence is combined with the highest perfection*, and the argument of the worldly who say that God is impotent because he cannot sin, is countered with the following words: “That [to sin] is the highest sign of impotence and the negation of one's self, and not compatible with the essence of God. See 2 Tim.

2:13 and Heb. 6:18.” Omnipotence is praised in accordance with Ps. 77:13 and 14, and God is rightly called omnipotent, since he holds everything in his power.

§ 7. In question 15, p. 36 it is taught why God is said to be omnipresent and also present in certain places, and the reason given is that *God does not occupy any space, but is his own space. But since he does greater and more excellent things in such places, and his works and the traces of his grace shine more clearly and more often in them, therefore he is said to live there, for instance in heaven* (according to John of Damascus, *The Orthodox Faith*, book 1, ch. 16) *since there are the angels, who have followed his commands and judgement and who constantly celebrate him; on earth, for there he lived with men in the flesh; in the holy Church, for there his grace is given in a special way, and his glory is preached to the faithful. But any place where God's grace is manifested can similarly be called a place of God.*

§ 8. Question 16, p. 37 is about God's omniscience, and differentiates between that and knowledge of occult things, which refers to both God and men. *God knows everything of himself, hidden things and secrets, the thoughts of men and angels, and that before the world was even created*, according to Sirach 23:29 etc. and Rev. 2:23. *Angels and men will know hidden things and things to come, when God discloses them*, Dan. 2:23, 2 Kgs. 5:26 and Acts 5. It is affirmed that *all prophets have been provided with the presentiment of things to come*, and we give our full assent to that.

§ 9. On God's goodness, question 31, p. 65, argues as follows: *Everything good you can imagine with your mind and your thought, ascribe it to God, who is the highest good, as the cause and beginning.*

§ 10. On God's prescience, see below regarding question 25, p. 55. On providence, question 29, p. 62.

§ 11. Question 17, p. 38 is about the remaining properties. It is said that these are innumerable, and that one must be content with those mentioned and set aside the others.

Chapter VII

On Creation

§ 1. Question 18, p. 34 says that *God is the creator of all things visible and invisible, without any discussion.*

§ 2. Further, that he observed the order that *he created the heavenly host before everything else*. The reason for this is added: *since they are the special heralds of his*

praise. But this is not proved. And by his thought alone he created, from nothing, the intelligible world that we know.

§ 3. And then he also created *the material world from nothing* and finally *man, who is rightly said to be a microcosm, since he is composed of an immaterial soul, in control of his mind, and a material body.*

§ 4. Question 22, p. 47 says that *God made everything out of nothing by his word and his command.* And on p. 48 it is added that *after everything else* [he made] *man to be the master of everything*, according to Ps. 8:7; this passage, however, is mainly related to the Son of God, and in a figurative sense to the sons of man.

§ 5. Further, that *everything is good, as far as it has been created by God.* Thus, we agree with Siricius*, ch. 5, p. 59, and Schwabe*, ch. 5, who find nothing to censure here. Critopulus*, ch. 2, p. 41, is of the same opinion.

Chapter VIII

On Angels

§ 1. Question 19, p. 40: Having said that *angels were created first*, it adds that *they are spirits.*

§ 2. Their office is (1) towards God, namely *to celebrate him with hymns, and to obey him;* (2) towards men, namely *to be their helpers;* (3) *and to go before them on the way to the kingdom of God,* p. 41.

§ 3. *And to them is assigned the care of cities, regions, monasteries, churches, people in religious orders and also secular people.* This is proved by quoting Acts 5:18 and 12:7 and Matt. 18:10. In this, the *Confession* is sounder than the Papists, who assign to this particular angel or to a special region, city etc., and of that practice there is no trace here.

§ 4. But other things, too, which they attribute to the angels, such as *they carry forth our prayers and alms and other benefactions to the Divine Majesty,* p. 42 and p. 321 (if you add these as witnesses), (2) *they intercede for us,* (3) *they help people individually wherever they are,* (4) *they save us from any kind of danger,* and (5) *they overthrow the enemy of souls,* p. 43, which is confirmed by the testimony of Ps. 91:11, are correct, except for what is said about intercession. For there is no example of that in Holy Scripture.

§ 5. And it is not wrong to say that *in the old law, before the Mosaic Law was yet given, the angels taught our forefathers the law and the will of God, and they have done so later as well*, p. 42, and this is what Dionysius* teaches in his *Hierarchia Ecclesiastica*, 4, p. 26. I cannot, however, assert that they taught them all his will, as the *Confession* maintains. We thus agree with Schwabe*, ch. 5, who says: “They seem to have a correct opinion about the angels, except that they believe that demons can be driven away by fumigation;”⁵¹³ in this, according to Oderborn* in his *Letter to Chytraeus*, they are perhaps deceived by the apocryphal testimony of Tobit. The Papists believe the same thing.

§ 6. After the tasks of the angels, there follows their division *into nine orders*, according to Dionysius’s* opinion in the cited book, chs. 6 and 7; the Papists, too, acknowledge him as their teacher in these matters. But just how much we are to believe his authority was shown above, ch. 2, § 5, p. 186.⁵¹⁴ And although the Apostle mentions thrones and powers etc., there is nothing to show that they should be divided into exactly nine orders.

§ 7. To establish that the angels are good, he says that *they cannot fall*, and a reason for this is given: *for they did not lend their ear to Lucifer*, p. 45. And this quality, that they cannot fall, must not be attributed to *any superiority of their own nature, but to God’s grace alone*, and that is an excellent opinion.

§ 8. Concerning bad angels, it is observed (1) that *they were once good*, according to John 8:44 and the words of the Saviour quoted on p. 46; (2) that *they are now the instigators of all impiety*, see the same place; (3) that *they themselves, or their instruments, are the deceivers of men’s minds*, according to 1 Pet. 5:8; (4) that *they cannot have their way with a man or anything created without God’s indulgence*, according to Matt. 8:31, p. 47; (5) that *they do not have the power to force a man to sin*, see the same place. And the reason given for this, *For a man is endowed with free will, and on this liberty God himself does not impose violence or necessity*, we accept with approval. But (6) that *they entice people by instigating and alluring them to frauds and errors* (see the same place), and (7) *because they are condemned to eternal punishment*, (8) *they cannot be part of God’s grace* is correctly deduced from Matt. 25:41.

Chapter IX

On Man

§ 1. Man, according to question 22, p. 48, is (1) *created after everything else*, (2) and *in the image of God*, (3) *made master of everything under heaven*, according to Gen. 1:26 and Ps. 8:7,⁵¹⁵ is rightly added. And (4) that he declared his disobedience to

God by picking and eating of the forbidden fruit, (5) was expelled from paradise, and (6) fell into the worst misery is proved by Ps. 48:13; and, finally, (7) he was given a death sentence, according to Gen. 3:19.

§ 2. On the state of innocence, question 23, p. 49, says that there are two kinds, according to the Homily of Basil* on the beginning of Proverbs (p. 184 in the Basle edition):⁵¹⁶ (1) *voluntary dissociation from evil*, and (2) *simple ignorance of evil*; to the latter form is compared the innocence of Adam before his fall. See the *Confession*, p. 50.

§ 3. Further, that *all knowledge is in the mind, but all goodness and honesty have manifested themselves in the will*, p. 50, and *man is not equipped with any knowledge found elsewhere, but only from his meditation and commentary on God. By coming to know God, he has learnt everything else through him*, p. 50. This latter sentence seems to waver. *He has retained his free will to sin or not*, p. 51, although he follows the rule of Sirach 15:11, and therefore *man was similar to the angels*, p. 52.

§ 4. It says (1) that the punishment for the Fall was that *man became mortal*, according to Rom. 6:23; (2) that *he lost the perfection of reason and intelligence*, and, in the same place, (3) that he found that *his will had become more prone to evil than to good*. Here, it reduces too far man's extreme corruption and state of sin, which the Holy Spirit counteracts. But then, in question 24, it argues well (1) that *all men are fallen*, pp. 53–54, and (2) that *punishment is due for every fall*, according to Rom. 5:12 and Gen. 2:17.

§ 5. As for the propagation of man it says, in question 28, p. 60, that *the body is of Adam's seed, but the soul is of God*; this it tries to prove from Zech. 12:1 and Sirach 12:7. To both these passages the answer is easy, if you make a distinction between the indirect and the direct action of God. Using the first passage, if you take it as it must be taken, they do not prove what lies in the question, namely that "souls are not transmitted through (carnal) propagation."⁵¹⁷ Against the second, a word from Gen. 5:3 stands in such a way that it cannot be accepted: "And he begat a son in his own likeness." Whether you look at the question from a physical or a theological point of view, it requires this form of propagation. To this it must be added that, if you deny it, Adam is the forefather neither of man nor of the sinner; he just bore a soulless body, with no part in the Fall. For as the soul is the first receptacle for sin, sin could not have been propagated if the soul had not been propagated. And we do not consider that it [*sc. the body*] has been propagated as a living thing, since we are convinced that no life is given without a soul. And therefore we have so far been so dull in mind that we have not been able to see that what Descartes's sharp intellect has thought out, concerning the actions of the soul in the human body and its union with the body, is in agreement with the truth. The doctrine that we once learnt at

school pleases us, and will go on pleasing us, that ‘the soul, viz. the rational soul’ – and whether you wish to call that soul mind, spirit or something else is of no concern to me – ‘is the first principle of every movement of the human body’.

§ 6. We are fully aware that, as regards propagation through (carnal) generation, both Papists and many Calvinists are against us, and even some of our own, who are too much given to philosophical speculation; however, we are in no way going to violate the oath we have made to truth in order to please them. And we do not fight alone for the truth, for innumerable theologians of our confession, and the foremost ones, stand with us.

§ 7. This truth the Russian *Confession* tries in vain to overthrow with the argument: *If it [sc. the soul] were of human seed, it would die.* But we do not say that the soul is brought out from physical seed, but that it is propagated together with the seed, with the help of the benediction “Be fruitful, and multiply” (Gen. 1:22). In short: “We do not know how the soul is propagated, but we believe the Scripture that asserts that the soul is propagated from the parents,” as Quenstedt* says in part 1, ch. 12, sect. 2, question 3, p. 519. Therefore, what the *Confession* adds on p. 62: *The soul is inserted by God into the body when it is already formed with its limbs and organs and ready to receive the soul*, has no firm foundation, since we have rejected that form of propagation.

§ 8. Concerning the union of the soul with the body, which it explains as follows: *When it is inserted, it spreads through the whole body, just as fire spreads through the whole interior of the glowing iron; however, it has its foremost residence in the head and the heart*, its reasoning is more to the point, p. 92.

§ 9. The immortality of the soul is well argued from Luke 23:43, according to the example of the malefactor. To this is added the word of Christ in Matt. 22:31, and it says that this word concerns the soul alone. And finally, what follows: *Just as the soul lives for ever, it remains for ever under the eyes of God*, is to be taken to refer to those who are to be saved.

Chapter X

On Sin

§ 1. Sin is defined thus: *A transgression of the divine law and will*, question 26, p. 56.

§ 2. On original sin, it says in accordance with Rom. 5:12: *and therefore, even in our mother's womb, we are conceived and born with that sin*, as the Psalmist testifies in Ps.

50, or 51 according to our numbering;⁵¹⁸ this assertion completely overturns the other one, on the propagation of the soul.

§ 3. Original sin is called hereditary (1) *because before it, man was infected with no other sin*; (2) *because no mortal man was ever conceived without this natural contamination*. The cause of the Fall, and consequently of sin, is ascribed to the Devil, and then to Adam. *And yet the Devil was already corrupted by his fall, but through his instigation sin began to grow in man, too. As both the author and the producer of sin, Adam is responsible for it, and so are we all, who are descended from him*, question 24, p. 53.

§ 4. The *Confession* deals with the often-raised question whether, and why, God created man prone to fall, and it formulates it as follows, question 25, p. 53: *When God knew that Adam would fall, why did he create him in that way?* The following answer is given: *God deals with man in such a way that his own goodness might shine all the more through the Fall; for he could send his only-begotten Son down to this earthly valley, who having been conceived by the most chaste Virgin, through the power of the Holy Spirit, will redeem man and carry him into the celestial kingdom with greater glory than he ever had in paradise, to the disgrace and shame of the Devil. And therefore, not even the sinfulness of man could lead God away or call him back from the creation of man*, pp. 55 and 56.

§ 5. Of moral sin the *Confession* treats expressly in part 3, on God's law etc. But since time hardly permits us to undertake an examination of it, we must here indicate in a word what Schwabe*, ch. 8, found deficient about this article, namely that (1) since there is no awareness among them of the Ten Commandments, there cannot be any awareness of sin either; (2) following Clement Adams*, he believes that the moral law as an obligation is suspended among them. But although this may have been the opinion of Ivan Vasil'evič, as can be seen from ch. 5 of his Response, p. 32, in Lascius's* *Theologia Moscovitica*, today the Ten Commandments are not only acknowledged in the *Confession*, p. 309, but the *Commandments that concern observance of the love that is due to God and one's neighbour are not only to be preserved by Christians, but are to be followed more carefully and more perfectly than they were by the Israelites of the old law*, according to p. 310. A solid reason for this is added from Matt. 5:20.

§ 6. Moreover, Schwabe* adds that "certain quite grave sins are not held to be sins among them, or they are not punished harshly enough." Among these he mentions adultery and the heinous crime of sexual intercourse with animals. And I do not find, in the *Statuta Moscovitica**, ch. 22, that these are mentioned among the crimes that are to be punished by death. But law 26 punishes "an unchaste woman who procures an abortion with the utmost severity," that is, with the death penalty. And I cannot believe that simple fornication is not a mortal sin among them, as Schwabe

says, following Sacranus*. There are also other things collected by Schwabe that are different today and perhaps were different even in the time of those who taught him.

Chapter XI

On Free Will

§ 1. Of free will, the *Confession* treats expressly in question 27, p. 58, and it maintains that *it is everybody's free choice in this world to be good and the child of God, or to be evil and the child of the Devil*, p. 59. This is taken from St Basil the Great*, who quotes 1 Cor. 4:15 and John 1:12 when he says concerning Isa. 14: "Anyone can, through his own will or decision, be either holy seed or the opposite. Please listen to Paul when he says: 'In Christ Jesus I have begotten you through the gospel.' And hear the words of Scripture: 'As many as received him, to them gave he power to become the sons of God.' This is wholly in the hands and the power of man, but on condition that divine grace helps man towards good and also drags him away from evil."

§ 2. But anyone can see that Basil* and the *Confession* that follows him deviate from the way of truth and that these sayings are adduced in vain, since they do not at all prove the powers of free will. This and other similar things gave Schwabe* sufficient reason to argue that they "attribute too much to man's own powers." The same opinion is found in Siricius*, ch. 5, p. 62, and Oppenbusch*, ch. 2, p. 20.

Chapter XII

On Predestination

§ 1. As for predestination, question 26, p. 56, the *Confession* formulates the following question: *If God thus knew everything even before the creation, did he then determine beforehand what was good and evil, so that it could not become different from what it became?* And it gives the following answer: *God certainly knew everything even before the creation, but he only determined beforehand what was good, as St John of Damascus says in book 2, ch. 30*, and reasons are added: *For it goes against the divine goodness to determine evil things beforehand.* But lest someone should think that this was said of the evil of punishment, it adds: *Evil should be taken as nothing else but sin. For strictly speaking, if we exclude sin, we find nothing evil in the world*, according to the same author in *De duabus Christi voluntatibus*.⁵¹⁹

§ 2. But *other things, with which God punishes us for our offences, such as pestilence, disease, wars and other such things, are said to be evil from our point of view, according*

to Basil, Homily 9; he maintains that God is not the cause of our misfortunes and, from Amos 3:6, he teaches that these things are not bad to God and cannot be held against him.*

§ 3. Further, he says that *God, according to his wisdom and justice, only determines beforehand things that we [do not] have the power to decide whether they are to happen or not.*

§ 4. *But God knows beforehand all the good things that we can decide whether they happen or not; in such a way, however, he agrees with his own favourable will, a fact that is in no way against the nature of free will.*

Chapter XIII

On Providence

§ 1. On the providence of God, question 29, p. 62, has a very good definition: *God cares for all things, for he knows them all, from the least to the greatest, and of everything he has created he takes separate and special care*, according to Matt. 10:20 [*sc. 29–30*] and Ps. 145:15.

§ 2. Further, it teaches us that *there is a difference between the terms Prescience, Predestination and Providence. Providence has to do with things already created. Prescience and predestination existed in God before created things, but in different ways.*

§ 3. For prescience, it says, *is pure knowledge about things to be created. But predestination is knowing beforehand, combined with a determination of every species, defining what is to become of each of them.*

§ 4. *According to our way of understanding, prescience comes first, predestination comes second, and providence follows them.* According to Rom. 8:29, a passage that the Confession advises us to apply only to human beings. For *divine predestination does not include other things (except angels, who are already on the verge of salvation).* The following reason is put forward: *for they [sc. other things]⁵²⁰ are deprived of free will and therefore not soiled with any stains of vice.*

§ 5. The Confession concludes this doctrine as follows: *Every good thing that you can comprehend with your soul and your thought you should ascribe to God, the best and highest, as its cause and its beginning. On the other hand, you must know that everything that is evil is alien and far away from God, and that this distance is not of a local but of an essential kind.*

§ 6. *Concerning the created thing, you should think thus: it is good to the extent that it is produced by that excellent Creator; but the created thing is provided with intelligence and free will, with the risk of it becoming evil when it deviates from God. Not because it is made that way, but because it becomes like that through deeds that disagree with reason. But the irrational created thing is good in itself in every way, since it lacks free will.*

Chapter XIV

On the Second Article

§ 1. The second article of this *Confession* is: *And in one Lord Jesus Christ, the only-begotten Son of God, begotten of his Father before all worlds, Light of Light, very God of very God, begotten, not made, being of one substance with the Father, through whom all things were made*, question 32, p. 65.

§ 2. Here the *Confession* treats of the Person of Christ, and in question 33, p. 66, it says that two things are taught there: (1) that *he is eternal God, begotten of the true nature of the Father and equal to him in honour and glory – equal to the Father*, according to John 17:5, see p. 66; (2) that *he is the Creator, not only of things themselves, but also of the time in which those things are created*, which is proved from Heb. 1:2 and John 1:10.

§ 3. *The name 'Jesus' means Saviour*, p. 67, quoting Matt. 1:21. *That name cannot rightly be given to anyone*, ibid. *The name 'Christ' means anointed*, p. 68. It is correctly remarked that *in the old law, the anointed were called Christi, that is priests, kings and prophets*. On the office of Christ, the *Confession* says that *he was anointed into three offices*, according to Ps. 45:8, Isa. 61:1 and Luke 4:21.

§ 4. The *Confession* acknowledges the *threefold excellence of Jesus before his associates*: (1) *because he was a priest after the order of Melchisedec*, according to Heb. 5:10 and 9:14 and 28; (2) *the second excellence is his royal office*, according to Luke 1:32, for *the Magi bore witness to his kingship*, Matt. 2:2, see p. 70, and *from the title on his cross*, John 19:19; (3) *his office as prophet, which Moses foretold*, Deut. 18:18.⁵²¹ He fulfilled his office (1) by teaching, John 17:8 and 26; (2) by *foretelling the future out of his own knowledge, as true God and true man*, p. 71. In question 35, p. 71, it is proved from John 1:14 and 18 that Jesus is *only-begotten. All others are God's children by grace*, according to John 1:12.

§ 5. In question 36, p. 72 the *Confession* explains why he is called *Light of Light* in the following way. It says that *there are two sorts of light, created and uncreated; created light according to Gen. 1:3, uncreated according to Isa. 60:19, and it is the latter that is to be understood here*. And the following reason is added: *For created light was produced out of nothing, but the begotten light, viz. the Son, went forth from the essence of the Father*; see Heb. 1:3 and John 8:12. It further says that *he has the whole essence of the Father in himself*, which is illustrated by a simile: *as when one candle is lit from another*, p. 73.

§ 6. The question on p. 74 gives a satisfactory explanation of the words: *Through whom all things were made*. It says that *he is also the Creator. But not through himself as through a servant, or an instrument*; according to John 1:10, *he was in the world and the world was made through him*, that is, it was made *by him*, which we all fully believe to be true.

Chapter XV

On the Third Article

§ 1. The third article of this *Confession*, question 37, p. 74, says: *Who for us men, and for our salvation, came down from heaven, and was incarnate by the Holy Ghost of the Virgin Mary, and was made man*.

§ 2. Question 38, p. 74 considers that the following four points must be noted: (1) that the incarnation took place when he descended from heaven into the womb of the Virgin, according to John 3:13; and that he descended *not by changing places, but by humbling himself*; (2) that he *took upon himself true, not apparent human nature*. The time is defined thus: *And this at the very moment when the Virgin answered the angel: "Behold the handmaid of the Lord"* etc., Luke 1:38; then he *immediately became a perfect human being, with all limbs and a rational soul, joined with his divinity*. John of Damascus book 3, 1, says that *his divinity was not converted into humanity, nor his humanity into divinity, but both remained absolute, with their own properties, in one person*.

§ 3. *The incarnation was the work of the Holy Spirit* is asserted in question 39, p. 77, so that (1) *just as the Virgin was a virgin before the conception (Isa. 7:14), so she remained a virgin in the conception, after the conception, and likewise in the act of birth itself*; (2) *Christ went forth from the womb of the Mother in such a way that she preserved completely intact and unviolated the sign of virginity*; and (3) *after giving birth, she remained for ever an unspotted virgin*, p. 77. Here, the *Confession* decides several controversial issues, and not badly, in my opinion.

§ 4. In question 42, p. 80 it explains the matter further: *He brought no flesh with him, but assumed it in the womb of the most holy Virgin, from the purest drops of her blood, through the work of the Holy Spirit.* Here, the *Confession* mentions, for the first time, heretics who maintain the opposite. It says: *But those who claim that the Saviour, when he descended from heaven, was already clad in flesh, and that he brought it into the Virgin through a small channel of some kind (see Cyril of Jerusalem, *Catechismus*, 13),⁵²² those the Church declares to be heretics, and condemns.*

§ 5. On the Angelic Salutation, the *Confession* notes, in question 40, p. 77, that *it is right to praise and honour the Virgin, (1) because she is the Mother of God; (2) because the Church has combined the Salutation from the words of the angel and of Elizabeth, with a few added words of its own.* For it goes like this: *Mother of God and Virgin, rejoice, Mary full of grace, the Lord is with thee. Blessed art thou amongst women, and blessed is the fruit of thy womb, for thou hast given birth to the Saviour of our souls*, p. 78.⁵²³

§ 6. Question 41, p. 78 explains what one should think about this salutation. It says that the salutation originates from God; it was transmitted through Gabriel, *who would not have dared to use it, if God had not told him to.* Elizabeth's words come from the Holy Spirit, and as for the addition, the Church, under the influence of the Holy Spirit, has, *as is its right, ordered it to be often used in prayer*, p. 79.

§ 7. Question 42, p. 79 further explains what doctrine the salutation contains, namely (1) *the commemoration of the incarnation*; (2) that the flesh was not carried down from heaven; (3) that we must *learn to call the Virgin 'Mother of God', according to Christ's human nature.* (The latter phrase nurtures some gross mistake, for I cannot see how she can be called 'Mother of God' according to his human nature.) The *Confession* continues: *For what was born of her was Christ, who is perfect God and at the same time perfect man.* (4) By the words *full of grace* the *Confession* tries in vain to show that *the angel teaches us that the Virgin is a greater participant in the divine grace than any other created thing*, p. 81, quoting Ps. 45:10.⁵²⁴ Now, if the salutation was said just to celebrate her memory, it could perhaps be tolerated, but it is not recommended for recitation for that reason alone.

§ 7 [bis]. The *Confession* says that it should be spoken devoutly. The reason for this is given in question 42, p. 81: *For the Mother's prayers are very valid with her Son.* In this, they are stuck in the same errors as the Papists, although the Greeks do not explicitly add: "Pray for us now and at the hour of death" as the Latins do. About this there can be no doubt, as the *Confession* adds the following precept: *Whoever wants to be a true worshipper of the Virgin shall sing the hymn called the Akathist*⁵²⁵ (*which they sing standing, not sitting*), *and prayers and other hymns of the Church composed in honour of the Virgin.* The cult of Mary certainly reigns as much among

the Greeks as among the Latins, although it has been condemned by the Holy Spirit and is superfluous, according to the Greek doctrine on the status of souls after death.

Chapter XVI

On the Fourth Article

§ 1. The fourth article, according to question 43, p. 82, is defined thus: *Who was crucified for us under Pontius Pilate.*

§ 2. Question 44, p. 82 shows that this article tells us six things: (1) *that he truly suffered, and in his own person*, according to Luke 23:46, and *that he shed his blood and redeemed us through it*, Eph. 1:5 and 7, p. 82. (2) Question 45, p. 83 says that *he, who was without all sin, took upon himself the punishment for our sins*, 1 Pet. 1:18 and 19, John 1:29, and that *he did it voluntarily*, p. 83. (3) Question 46, p. 84 says (1) that *he suffered according to the flesh, not according to his divinity*, see Col. 1:22; and on p. 84, there follows: *For his divinity suffered nothing; it was not nailed to the cross, it did not offer its face to spitting or blows, nor did it lose its life*; this is to be understood so that its truth agrees with Luther's argument against Zwingli, which is as follows: "This person suffers, dies etc.; this person is true God; ergo God suffers, dies etc. By this expository syllogism, all tropes are excluded" according to Calovius* in his 'Synopsis of Controversies', article 3, section 1, thesis 8, p. 267; (2) that *the divinity from which he had once assumed humanity was not separated from his humanity, not even in the time of suffering and death*; and (3) that '*even in death he was one and the same person*', according to John of Damascus, *Homily on the Holy Sabbath*, p. 292.⁵²⁶

§ 2 [bis]. Question 47, p. 85 says (4) that *Christ's death happened in a more distinctive way than that of other human beings, firstly because of the burden of sin*, Isa. 53:4; *secondly because he fulfilled the task of the high priests when he offered himself to God, his Father, on the cross*, 1 Tim. 2:6, Eph. 5:2 and Rom. 5:8; *and thirdly because he perfected the office of mediator*, Col. 1:20 and 2:14.

§ 3. The fifth point is the burial of our Lord Jesus Christ, question 48, p. 87: (1) *he was really dead*, p. 87; (2) *he was buried in a much frequented place*, (3) *so that no one could doubt*, or have any opportunity for calumny; (4) that *the watch of the Jews gave a most manifest testimony to his resurrection*, Matt. 27:64, namely that *the guards were stricken with fear*, Matt. 28:2; (5) that the same thing was understood from the angel's words, Matt. 28:5; (6) the rumours about the disciples having moved the body were contradicted by (1) *the grave*, (2) *the sealing of the stone*, (3) *the Jewish watch*, (4) *the shroud*, (5) the headcloth that was left behind in the grave, John 20:7. Con-

cerning the grave, the *Confession* says the following: *It is of course worth noting that it was necessary, according to the old prophecies, that Christ's grave was glorious, and so it was, and still is, cf. Isa. 11:10; but this passage does not say exactly that, although it nevertheless somehow proves it. And just as what the *Confession* has said so far about this article is in accordance with God's Word, so the following words express Papist superstition: whoever visits this grave in faith and love of Christ obtains great remission of his sins, as long as, in his soul, he seeks Christ himself through his grave.*

§ 4. Question 49, p. 90 answers the question: *Where was Christ's soul when it had left the body, but before the resurrection?* And the answer is, with reference to John of Damascus:⁵²⁷ *Joined with his divinity, it descended into hell.* And although the *Confession* admits that there is nothing in this article about this, it wants to prove it *from the hymns of the Church*, and especially from the hymn:⁵²⁸ *You were in the tomb, O Christ, according to the flesh, but in hell with your soul as God, in paradise with the thief, on the throne of glory with the Father and the Holy Spirit, you who, unlimited, fulfil everything.* This hymn occurs in the Liturgy of John Chrysostom and Basil and shows clearly their opinion about the descent of Christ into hell. But against it we quote the Saviour's own words to the malefactor: "today shalt thou be with me in paradise," and his final words uttered on the cross: "Father, into thy hands I commend my spirit."

§ 5. The fruit of this descent into hell, the *Confession* describes thus: *At the same moment, he tore away the souls of the holy Fathers and brought them to heaven, and with them he introduced the malefactor, who while still hanging on the cross had believed in him.* Since this is not confirmed by any saying of Holy Scripture, it can safely be rejected as the figment of an empty brain. They have this error in common with the Papists, p. 92. But in this same section it pleases us that the salvation of the malefactor is attributed to faith, without any mention of works. Whether Christ's body should be called a corpse during the time it rested in the grave, Doctor Sircius* discusses comprehensively in ch. 5, p. 55, on account of a saying of Ivan Vasili'evič. And he concludes that it must not be called and verily is not a corpse, an opinion with which we, too, agree.

§ 6. Question 50, p. 92 proves that *the cross of Christ is venerable*, according to Gal. 6:14 and 1 Cor. 1:18, because it is *the special sign of Christ, to which miraculous power to turn away demons is given*, p. 92. But when the Apostle speaks about the doctrine of the cross of Christ, it is not easy to apply this to the wood of the cross or even to the sign. What the *Confession* says about the repelling of demons savours of abominable superstition. This perverted opinion, however, has given rise to the following assertion: *It is necessary that we often sign ourselves with the cross, for the following reason: because we clearly perceive the temptations of the devil, which we cannot turn away in any other way than with the sign and the invocation of the life-giving cross*, p. 93.

§ 7. To add credibility to this, the *Confession* quotes the following words from Cyril of Jerusalem: *Whenever we sign ourselves with the venerable sign of the cross, then the devil remembers that Christ our Lord was nailed to the cross for the sake of our salvation and the extirpation of diabolic power, and then he cannot stay any longer and endure the power of the cross, but flees from us and does not tempt us any more, especially as we usually invoke the name of Christ our Saviour at the same time.*⁵²⁹ Just as it is right to ascribe the power to repel demons to the faithful invocation of Christ's name, it is superstitious and fruitless to attribute the same power to the sign of the cross.

§ 8. The *Confession* tries to convince us that, according to Cyril, demons can be repelled not only from us, but from all our things in the same way: *Make the venerable sign of the cross when you eat and drink, when you sit or stand, when you talk or when you walk. You must not begin anything, any work, without first making the venerable sign of the cross. Make it at home, on the road, night and day, everywhere.* It is no wonder, therefore, that they are very diligent in crossing themselves and that they attach great importance to it, p. 94.

§ 9. In question 51, p. 94, the *Confession* teaches how to make the sign of the cross: *First you touch your forehead with the three larger fingers and say 'in the name of the Father', then you bring down your hand, formed in the same way, to your breast and add 'and the Son', then you move your hand to your right arm (or shoulder) and say 'and the Holy Spirit', and at the same time you move your hand over to your left shoulder, and when you have thus signed yourself with the holy cross, you finish with the word 'Amen.'* And it adds: *You can also say, while you make the sign of the cross, the following words: 'Lord Jesus Christ, Son of God, have mercy on me, a sinner. Amen.'*

§ 10. In order to show more clearly which fingers the Russians and which the 'Roskolkani' [Roskol'niki, 'Old Believers'] use, we have had the hand movements of both drawn. The first hand shows the way of the Russians, the second the way of the Old Believers. And it is in this discrepancy that the main cause of the controversy lies, as we have shown above, in Section I, ch. 7, § 5, p. 33 [sc. 73]. The drawing is to be seen in the Appendix.

¤ The drawing that we promised in Section 2, ch. 16, § 10, is given here (*Fig. 19*).

What Warmund* tells us in his ch. 7, p. 48, is entirely false: "In this connection, I cannot refrain from recounting that, some years ago, the Patriarch saw to it that Russians who are laymen and not ordained priests were allowed to sign themselves only with two fingers and not with three, that is, with the thumb, the forefinger and the middle finger held together, as they used to do. This the Russians would not accept at first, answering: Just as the holy and venerable Trinity consists of three Persons, so they must sign themselves, as had always been customary with them, with

ibid. Ad pag. 218. Delineationem quam Sect.
2. cap. 16. §. 10. promittimus, hic damus.

I. Russorum.



2. Roskolkianorum.



Ad

Fig. 19. Bergius's illustration of the new way of making the sign of the cross in contrast to the old way, still adhered to by the Old Believers.

three fingers.” But the controversy was not about the number of fingers, but about the manner.⁵³⁰ A Council was held to settle this issue; see Warmund, p. 49: “What was to be done about this? This Patriarch brought about so much with the Tsar that at great cost the Arch-Patriarch of Constantinople and two other eastern patriarchs were sent for to the residence of Moscow. As soon as these patriarchs had arrived a Council was held and it was decided that signing with three fingers was to be strictly forbidden to the laity. But lay people resisted this Council and had to pay with their heads for it; and these simple people went to their death as willingly as if they were going to a dance.” It is clear from what we have said above in Section I, ch. 19, § 1, p. 174, about the Councils that this is not the case. What Warmund adds: “Nevertheless, this signing with three fingers goes on among the Russians, albeit secretly” is correct if we take as a reference to the custom of the Old Believers, for by them it is done secretly, but the custom of signing oneself with three fingers is common among them all.

Chapter XVII

On the Fifth Article

§ 1. This article is settled in question 52, p. 95 with the following words: *Who rose again on the third day according to the Scriptures.*

§ 2. Question 53 asserts that this article teaches us two things: (1) that *the Lord rose again*, according to Luke 24:7; (2) that *he rose again in the same body in which he died*.

§ 3. Further, question 54, p. 96 shows that this happened according to the Scriptures, the Old Testament as well as the New. It is *clearly confirmed* that the resurrection was predicted in the Old and fulfilled in the New Testament; see Mark 14:21, Luke 24:26, 1 Cor. 15:3 and Matt. 12:39, where it is demonstrated by the figure of the prophet Jonah.

§ 2 [sc. 4]. The *Confession* deduces (pp. 97–98), from 2 Pet. 1:19, that *the authority of the Old Testament must be observed*.

Chapter XVIII

On the Sixth Article of Faith

§ 1. This article, in question 55, p. 99, contains the following words: *Who ascended into heaven and sitteth on the right hand of the Father*. And in question 56, the *Con-*

fession maintains that four dogmas can be explained through this: (1) that *Christ ascended to heaven in the same body in which he rose*, p. 99; (2) that *he ascended to heaven only as man*, p. 99, and in that it is sounder than the Calvinists, who frivolously assert that he was exalted in both his natures; (3) that *Christ never abandoned his human nature*, according to Acts 1:11; (4) that *Christ exists only in heaven and is present on earth only in a sacramental way, through transubstantiation*, p. 101. As for this fourth point, the article maintains the same as the Papists and the Calvinists, in that it denies the omnipresence of Christ's body everywhere where ὁ λόγος [the Word] is present, which is against the following testimonies of Holy Scripture, viz. Eph. 4:10 and Matt. 28:20: "I am with you alway, even unto the end of the world," and also Matt. 18:20. "For on the human nature of Christ, through the hypostatic union, was bestowed the excellence of the omnipresence of the Word, so that he is really omnipresent together with his divine nature in a real and substantial presence;"⁵³¹ this is clearly proved, against the Calvinists and Papists, by Doctor Calovius* in his *Synopsis controversiarum*, article 3, section I, thesis 13, p. 286. On transubstantiation, I will write more below.

Chapter XIX

On the Seventh Article of Faith

§ 1. In question 57, p. 101 the seventh article is presented thus: *Who shall come again with glory to judge both the quick and the dead; whose kingdom shall have no end.*

§ 2. Question 58, p. 101 says that three things will be taught here: (1) that *Christ will come again to judge*, Matt. 25:31 and 24:27, 2 Tim. 4:1. The signs that will precede this judgment are enumerated: (1) that *the Gospel will be preached to all people*, Matt. 24:14; (2) that *Antichrist will come*; (3) that *wars, famine and pestilence will come, according to Christ's words*, Matt. 24:21. 2 Tim. 4:1 introduces Paul speaking about the certainty of all this: *'I charge thee before God, and the Lord Jesus Christ, who shall judge the quick and the dead at his appearing and his kingdom.'*

§ 3. Concerning the time, question 57 [*sc. 58?*], p. 101, cites Christ's words in Matt. 24:36 and 37 that *not even the angels know* of that day and hour. The Old Believers, however, believed that the time had already come,⁵³² and they prepared themselves to meet the judge, so that they went off to their graves, dressed in white clothes, but were then compelled by hunger to leave them again.

§ 4. Question 59, p. 102 adds that this article teaches that *men shall give an account of their thoughts, words and deeds*, according to Matt. 12:36 and 1 Cor. 4:5. Question 60, p. 103, has the following article: *Everyone will receive full and eternal payment*

according to their merits, according to Matt. 25:34 and 41, and Mark 9:44 [*sc. 47?*].⁵³³ But when the *Confession* calls the Reign of God ‘payment’, then it erroneously uses the word in its proper sense about something that is given by grace.

§ 5. Here, question 61, p. 104 asks *if there is a particular judgment for every single person*, and the answer is: *Just as everyone at the time of death is conscious of his sins, so he recognises in the same way, after death, the merits of his works*, p. 105. When the *Confession*, p. 106, quotes from Gregory of Nazianzus’s eulogy at his brother Caesarius’s funeral, p. 56, that *no one receives perfect payment before the Last Judgment*, it must be observed that ‘perfect’ here refers only to the beginning, not to the completion. The reason is that as formal bliss consists in the fruition of the Triune God, this happens to the blessed soul immediately after it has left the body. Fulfilment follows when the soul is united with the body. Then the *Confession* rightly teaches that *not everyone is brought to the same place*, and adds that *there is a particular judgment*.

§ 6. Question 62, p. 107, shows that *not all the elect will be in the same rank of blessedness*, according to John 14:2, Luke 7:47 and Rom. 2:6. It is very reasonable to refer from this place to the passage in Romans, but the passage from John is not relevant here. For that passage is about the enormous size of heaven, which is great enough to receive everyone. Nor does the passage from Luke fit here. Question 73 [*sc. 63*], p. 107, rightly says that (1) *the torments of the damned differ*, according to Luke 12:47, (2) *but all of them are eternal*, p. 108.⁵³⁴

§ 7. Question 64, *whether anyone meets his death in such a way as to be between the blessed and the damned*, the *Confession* deals with rightly by saying that *there are none such*, p. 108. But the following assertion, on the same page, does not stand on solid ground, viz. that *many sinners are freed from the prison of hell*. For this contradicts what the *Confession* has previously rightly quoted from Gregory [of Nazianzus], that *everyone well recognises after death the merits of his deeds*. And it adds that they are not freed because of their confession, for which this is not the place, according to Ps. 6:6⁵³⁵ and Ps. 115:17,⁵³⁶ but *because of the good deeds of those still living and the Church’s prayer for them, and especially through the bloodless sacrifice that the Church offers for both the living and the dead, all together, just as Christ died for them all in equal degree*. And having proved, with reference to Theophylact,⁵³⁷ that souls cannot free themselves, the *Confession* concludes: *Thus only Holy Liturgies, prayers and alms, which are given by the living for the sake of the soul, help that soul the most and redeem it from the Acheron*, p. 110. But there is no redemption from hell and the torments of hell are eternal, as the *Confession* itself states.

§ 8. It is thus in vain that question 65, p. 111 asks the question: *What is to be thought about the alms and good deeds that are done for the consolation of the dead?* For by quoting Theophylact’s commentary on Luke 12,⁵³⁸ it does not prove from Holy

Scripture that *prayers should be thought out or a bloodless sacrifice offered or generous alms given, just because they cannot do this for themselves*. For all these sayings are similar to the comments of the Papists on liberation from Purgatory and are only thought out to warm the kitchens of the monks.

§ 9. While question 66, p. 112 rightly denies that there is a purgatorial fire, because *nothing whatever is to be found in Holy Scripture about the existence of a temporary punishment that cleanses souls after death*, the *Confession* nevertheless adds that *the Church rightly performs a bloodless sacrifice for the sake of those souls, and also offers prayers to God, in order to gain pardon for those who have sinned in life; not, however, as if they could sustain some punishment and then be completely cleansed*. And here the *Confession* contradicts itself and ‘begs the question’, as we say in schools, in that it supposes things to be certain, whereas they lack any evidence whatsoever. Otherwise it rightly condemns Origen’s opinion, p. 113, and it rejects fanciful stories about the torments of the souls of the dead, saying *that some people falsely maintain that the souls are tormented with spikes, water and pits, which the Church never allowed or approved of*; see Siricius*, ch. 4, p. 31, § 10.

§ 10. Concerning the place that is destined for pious souls, question 67, p. 114, teaches that *they are in the hand of God*, *Wisd. 3:1*, and that it is called *paradise* in *Luke 23:43*, *Abraham’s bosom* in *Luke 16:22*, and *the kingdom of heaven* in *Matt. 8:11*. So far so good. But when it adds that *it must be believed by all that the souls of the just, even if they are received in heaven, by no means receive a full and perfect crown of glory before the Last Judgment* (p. 116), this opinion deviates from a doctrine that is more in agreement with Holy Scripture, viz. that full and consummate bliss befalls the soul of the pious. This bliss will be even greater after the union [of the soul with the body], but not intensively and inwardly, but extensively and outwardly, that is through the glory of the body etc., as *Quenstedt** says in his part 4, sect. 2, ch. 17, question 5, p. 67.

§ 11. Concerning the place of those souls that are in disfavour with God, question 68, p. 115, observes that it is called *hell* in *Isa. 14:14–15*, *everlasting fire* in *Matt. 25:41*, *outer darkness* in verse 30, *to which the devil was consigned when he was chased from heaven*, p. 115. All the names by which it is called stand for a place of condemnation due to divine wrath. The *Confession* is wrong when, on p. 116, it denies that *the souls of the condemned suffer full punishment and revenge before the judgment*, but it rightly argues that *after the decisive judgment, souls together with their bodies receive either the crown of glory or the torment of punishment*, p. 117.

Chapter XX

On the Eighth Article of Faith

§ 1. Here, question 69, p. 117, contains the following: *And in the Holy Ghost, the Lord and giver of life, who proceedeth from the Father [and the Son],⁵³⁹ who with the Father and the Son together is worshipped and glorified, who spoke by the Prophets.*

§ 2. The *Confession* asserts that this article teaches us (1) that *the Holy Spirit is coessential with God the Father and the Son*, according to 1 Cor. 12:4–5, 2 Cor. 13:13 and Acts 5:3; (2) that *the Holy Spirit proceeds from the Father alone*, question 71, p. 119, according to John 15:26. But the same verse also teaches that the Spirit proceeds from the Son. Athanasius does not deny that the Spirit also proceeds from the Son, because he does not say “from the Father *alone*,” and even if he had said so, his authority would not prove it, nor would the authority of Gregory the Theologian [of Nazianzus], nor the Second Ecumenical Council, nor the Eastern Church. And certainly not that of the Western Church, which the *Confession* in vain adduces as follows: *But also the Western Church, as is well confirmed by the two silver tablets on which the holy creed is written, on one in Greek, on the other in Latin, without the phrase ‘and from the Son’; these tablets were put up at the command of Pope Leo III⁵⁴⁰ in the church of St Peter in Rome in the year of our Lord 809, as Baroniūs notes under the year 809, item 69* [Normannus: 62]. For (1) the controversy had not yet begun, so it was not necessary to put in that phrase explicitly; (2) it should not be thought that they denied this doctrine, just because they did not think it necessary to mention it explicitly, for the reasons already given. Pappus*, *Historia Ecclesiastica*, p. 202, maintains that the phrase was added to the Constantinopolitan, not to the Nicene Creed. Schwabe*, ch. 3, observes that “the Greeks came to the Latins in the hope of getting help, but when they saw that they failed, they returned to their error.”

§ 3. With the words *whoever stands fast and firm in this faith can be sure of his salvation*, the *Confession* seems to make this dogma a requisite for salvation, p. 121. But our theologians see a distinction, and if someone is orthodox in everything else, they neither deprive him of salvation nor count him as a heretic because he does not know this truth or because he denies it out of sheer ignorance, as we can read in Doctor Hülsemann’s* Lectures on the Formula of Concord, p. 282, or, after him, in Doctor Quenstedt’s* part 1, sect. 2, ch. 9, p. 406.

§ 4. Question 32 [sc. 72] says that the following is taught by this article, p. 121, namely that *the Holy Spirit is the true author of both the Old and the New Testament, and that the Spirit has produced it through many other helping hands, and therefore the Scripture of the Old Testament as well as that of the New is the teaching of the Holy Spirit*, p. 122.

§ 5. Regarding the Councils, it expresses the following opinion: *Whatever the holy Fathers have determined in both general and particular orthodox Councils, wherever they were held, you must believe has come from the Holy Spirit*, according to Acts 15:28. But there is a great difference between this first Council, which was held by men inspired by God, and a Council that was held by other people. I also find it strange that the *Confession* attributes the same authority to particular as to general Councils, for it has hitherto been believed that only seven are regarded as Ecumenical Councils. On these, see above, Section I, ch. 19, § 3.

§ 6. The *Confession* goes on to explain, in question 74, p. 124, the *gifts of the Holy Spirit*, which are contained within the number of seven, as in Rev. 4:5. But the conclusion drawn from this that *there are seven lamps, and thus seven Spirits of God*, is not valid, for there are more than seven. But let us see which the *Confession* enumerates. It first mentions *the gifts, or more correctly, the very Holy Spirit in Jesus Christ, which is in every way much more abundant than in any other man*, according to Isa. 11:2, John 1:14 and Luke 2:40.

§ 7. According to question 74, p. 124, the first gift to him was the *wisdom from above* of which James speaks in 3:17. Its opposite is *fleshly wisdom*, 2 Cor. 1:12, which the Apostle rejects, according to 1 Cor. 1:19, following Isa. 29:14 and 33:18. The second gift, according to question 75, p. 125, is *understanding, or comprehension of the mysteries and of the divine will*, as in Exod. 36:1, Dan.1:17, Luke 24:45 and 2 Tim. 2:7, p. 125. But these passages do not speak of the mysteries of God and do not belong here, except that they can be taken to speak about experience in dealing with practical things and understanding of Scripture. Its opposite is *foolishness*, according to Luke 24:25. The third gift, according to question 76, p. 126, is *counsel, because it serves to promote the divine glory and the salvation of the human soul*, Acts 20:27. Its opposite is *the counsel of the ungodly*, as in Ps. 1:1 and 33:10. The fourth gift, according to question 77, p. 127, is *fortitude* in resisting temptations, as in 1 Cor. 16:13 and Eph. 6:14. Its opposite is *fear*, Ps. 14:5–6³⁴¹ and Luke 12:4. The fifth gift, according to question 78, p. 128, is *knowledge*, as in Ps. 94:10 and Jer. 3:15, so that man *will know God's law*, p. 129. Its opposite is *ignorance of the law*, Ps. 79:6. The sixth gift, according to question 79, p. 129, is *piety, which together with true faith is based on continuous prayer and good works*, 1 Tim. 4:8, but it must be sincere, not Pharisaic, which is its opposite; otherwise God will pass judgment on it, see Matt. 15:8 and 23:26. The seventh gift, according to question 80, p. 130, is *fear of God*, and that fear must be the *fear of children, not of slaves*, as in Ps. 34:10. The fear of slaves is what is meant in 1 John 4:18. But fear must spring from love, according to Ps. 22:24 and John 14:23.

§ 8. Question 81, p. 131, teaches that the special *fruits of the Holy Spirit* are nine in number, according to Gal. 5:22. *The fruits of the Spirit are love, joy, peace, longsuffer-*

*ing, gentleness, goodness, faith, meekness, temperance.*⁵⁴² But the *Confession* also asserts that “all virtues may be referred to as gifts of the Holy Spirit,” p. 132.

Chapter XXI

On the Ninth Article of Faith

§ 1. Question 82, p. 132 says: *In one holy, Catholick and Apostolick Church.* Question 83 teaches that there are four things to be noted here: (1) that *there is one catholic and apostolic Church*, as in 2 Cor. 11:2: ‘*I have espoused you to one husband, that I may present you as a chaste virgin to Christ*’, p. 133.

§ 2. Question 84, p. 133 teaches (2) that *the Church does not refer the honour of her name to any one place. She is the Mother, who was first of all blessed with the presence of Christ*, p. 134. She is, furthermore, *spread throughout the world*, as in Luke 24:47 and Acts 1:8. But the first of all churches is that of Jerusalem, p. 136, from Acts 11:2, 17 and 21, 15:2, 22 and 28, and 16:4, *although the emperors later gave the first rank to the Old and the New Rome [sc. Constantinople], because of the great empire which had its seat in these places*, according to the third canon of the Second Ecumenical Synod of Constantinople.

§ 3. Question 85, p. 137 rightly concludes from 1 Cor 3:11 that (3) *there is no other foundation for the Church than Christ alone*, and that *the Apostles and Prophets are a secondary foundation* (Rev. 21:14, Eph. 2:20) because they have propagated this doctrine. But they are *not above other mortals, for Christ has founded his Church upon himself and his divine teaching*. Eph. 5:23 and Col. 1:18 rightly teach that *Christ alone is the head of his Church*. The *Confession* also calls bishops ‘heads’, quoting Acts 20:28, but this is not a felicitous wording, for the designation ‘head’ should be reserved to Christ. It follows that Christ is the first of pastors, as appears from 1 Pet. 5:4. The satellites of the Roman Pope, who claim that he is the head of the Church, are well refuted here, just as they are refuted by Nectarius,⁵⁴³ Patriarch of Jerusalem, in his ‘*Refutation of the Empire of the Pope*’, which has recently been translated in England by Doctor Allixius.⁵⁴⁴

§ 4. Question 86, p. 140, teaches here that (4) *every Christian should follow the customs of the Church*, according to Matt. 18:17. And further that *the Church has been given the power to examine and approve the Scriptures through her ecumenical synods*, p. 140, that is, to distinguish through her judgement between genuine and apocryphal writings. But this does not imply any authority over the authentic books of Holy Scripture. Further, *the Church has the power to examine and pass judgment on the doings of Patriarchs, and also to punish with fines and canonical punishments*, ac-

cording to the seriousness of the crime, since the Church is the very foundation of the truth, according to 1 Tim. 3:15. Here, the *Confession* most rightly contradicts the flatterers of the Pope, who maintain that the Pope is above the Church.

Chapter XXII

On the Precepts of the Church

§ 1. *The most important and most special precepts of the Church are nine in number*, says the *Confession*, question 87, p. 141. The first is that *everyone should worship God with contrition and compunction of the heart so that on every Sunday and feast day of the Church he rightly celebrates the divine service*, which is *to hear diligently Matins* (ὁρθόπον), *Divine Liturgy* (λειτουργίαν), *Vespers* (εσπενινόν) *and the sermon* (διδαχήν). Instead of ‘sermon’, I would rather say ‘instruction’, that is, if you do not want to call the reading of the traditional homilies ‘sermons’. That other sermons are not in use among them we have already mentioned in Section 1, ch. 9, § 7, p. 91.⁵⁴⁵ This precept is based on Luke 18:1, Eph. 6:18 and 1 Thess. 5:11.⁵⁴⁶ But as such, it is not a precept of the Church but of God himself, except when you refer it to certain special feasts introduced by the Church.

§ 2. In question 88, p. 141, it is said to be a precept that *you should hold the prescribed fasts four times a year*. The following fasts are to be observed: (1) *The time before Christmas, fast which begins on the 15th of November*; (2) *the Forty-Day Fast, because it is said that Christ fasted then*, according to Matt. 4:2; (3) *the fast of the Apostles, which the Church begins immediately after the week of Whitsuntide and ends on the day of SS Peter and Paul, the 29th of June*, as is observed in the [Latin] version in a parenthesis, which does not appear in the Greek text. A reason for this designation is added, namely *that the Apostles, who were preparing to preach, fasted then*, according to Acts 13:3; (4) *the fast immediately before the day of the death of the most holy Virgin Mary, the beginning of which is on the 1st of August, and the end on the 15th*⁵⁴⁷ *of the same month*. In Greek, it says ‘on the 1st of August’, which day Normannus calls by the name derived from the ancient Romans, p. 143.⁵⁴⁸

§ 3. *You must also fast on Wednesdays and Fridays, but not on Saturdays and Sundays, for that is forbidden in the 66th Apostolic Canon*. The only exception is *Holy and Great Saturday before Easter*. Then it adds *the 14th of September, that is the day of the Exaltation of the Cross*,⁵⁴⁹ *and the 29th of August, to celebrate the beheading of St John the Forerunner*.

§ 4. On p. 143 the *Confession* adds: *Furthermore, in order that we do not abstain from food on certain days, the Church tells us these days, too, viz. the time from Christmas to*

Epiphany, and the whole week after Easter and Whitsuntide, and also the week that precedes Septuaginta; also the week between Sexagesima and Quinquagesima. The teaching finishes with the following admonition: *Every orthodox Christian must sincerely observe these fasts*, p. 144. Fasts that are commended by God, if rightly celebrated, we cannot disapprove of, but fasts intended only to gain merit and which are obligatory for certain periods lack God's mandate and therefore we rightly reject them and see them as *ἐθελοθρεσκείας* [worship according to people's own fancy], condemned by Christ, according to Matt. 15:9. See more on this above, Section 1, ch. 15, § 6 *et seq.*

§ 5. The third precept of question 89, p. 144 is that *we should treat spiritual men with due reverence*, and the reason is given: *since they are servants of God and mediators*, and (2) *because they offer themselves as intercessors for us with God*. The *Confession* makes the following distinction between them: *first of all, those who hear our confessions as spiritual fathers and whom we should consult in matters concerning our salvation*, according to 1 Cor. 4:1, 1 Thess. 5:12, 1 Cor. 9:13 and 1 Tim. 5:17. *For it would not be right*, it says, *for secular people and laymen to be involved or get themselves mixed up in spiritual matters*, see Gal. 6:1. This admonition may be innocuous in itself, but the saying is less appropriate here and refers only to spiritual men, albeit it is said of all believers – but I would not deny that it mostly concerns spiritual men.

§ 6. The fourth precept, in question 90, p. 146, is that *we must confess our sins four times a year to a duly ordained priest. Those who are more advanced spiritually must atone for their sins every month; the less advanced must confess and do penance at least once a year, namely during the Forty-Day Fast*. And the *Confession* adds: *those who are sick should take care above all to purify their consciences of all sins as soon as possible and to cleanse them by the confession of sins and participation in the Holy Eucharist*. Here it deviates from the Calvinists, who do not give Holy Communion to the sick. The *Confession*, however, wants it to be observed that *anointing with holy oil should be used first, with the utmost reverence*. But that sins can be expiated by confession is a Papist and heterodox doctrine, and should not be fixed to a certain time. The most famous theologians have asserted that confession, accepted as it is in churches of the Augsburg Confession, should not be abolished and that it commends itself for many uses. In fact, even the authors of the Augsburg Confession ordain, in the following words, that confession should be retained in the Church: "People should be taught to value absolution most highly, for it is the voice of God and is pronounced according to God's will. The power of the Keys is enhanced by it, and it is remembered how much consolation it brings to deeply frightened consciences," etc. in *The Book of Concord*, p. 27.

§ 7. The fifth precept, in question 91, p. 147, reads: *Heretical books must not be read, nor must their doctrine be heard, uttering their blasphemies, by those who are not*

trained in divine and human literature and teachings. Thus, the *Confession* rightly asserts that human and divine literature is necessary for the theologian, unlike our innovators, who shout that philosophical studies are, if not harmful, then useless. It is right in that it does not forbid a knowledge of heretical doctrine or controversies to everyone, which is also very common. And I do not dislike the advice given to less educated people, *that they should not take part in conversations with such people nor enter into friendships with them.* Ps. 1:1 and Titus 3:10 teach the same thing. If our people obeyed the same admonition, the number of those who have made a shipwreck of their faith would not be as great.

§ 8. The sixth precept, according to question 92, p. 147, is that *we must pray to God piously for men of every rank and station*, namely (1) *for spiritual people, for the Patriarch, the Metropolitan, and for the whole clergy*; (2) *then for the King, the Head of the Province, for the State and for the army*; (3) *for those who have done well by the Church, and (4) those who have endeavoured to expand the borders of the orthodox and catholic religion*, 1 Tim. 2:1; (5) *for those who have died in the orthodox faith*, although for the latter that labour is in vain, that is, if you do not count the price the clergy accept for it; (6) *for heretics and schismatics, that they may become wise again*, p. 149.

§ 9. The seventh precept, question 93, p. 149, is that *all fasts and prayer days that a metropolitan or bishop separately proclaims in his diocese must be kept by all the inhabitants of the province, when they are proclaimed to expiate the wrath of God, to save the people from pestilence, famine, war etc., or to cure the sick or comfort the oppressed*, according to Acts 12:6 [sc. 5].

§ 10. The eighth precept, question 94, is that *laymen must not try violently to take away goods or money from the Church or to use them for their own private needs*, p. 150. The *Confession* wisely adds that *it is the task of the priests responsible for the rites to buy, out of the goods of the Church, ornaments and other things that are necessary for her*; (2) *to procure food and clothes for those who serve the Church*; and (3) *to help the poor and the traveller*, in accordance with Acts 11:29. What must not be part of this practice is expressed by the *Confession* as follows: *But it is wholly unacceptable that laymen or prelates who are responsible for the rites in any church should convert its money or moveable property, be it acquired by legacy or given as a gift, for their own private use; otherwise the intention of the pious giver will be violated or overthrown.*

§ 11. The ninth precept of the Church, question 95, comprises three things: (1) *Marriages must not be celebrated on days forbidden by the Church*; (2) *Orthodox Christians must not take part in forbidden games or theatrical shows, but abstain as much as they can from such things*; here it must be said of comedies that they are not entirely illicit, if you watch only such plays as are consonant with honesty; (3) *Or-*

thodox Christians must not follow the practices of foreigners and barbarians, p. 152. Thus, the Church is also responsible for the civil manners of the people.

§ 12. The *Confession* goes on, in question 96, p. 152, to explain *how we can speak of 'believing in the Church'*. Which it would have recognised as superfluous work, if it had thought about the fact that one should not say 'I believe *in* the Church,' but rather 'I believe the Church.' But as they use the wording 'I believe in the Church' in Russian, we must hear their explanation: *Although the Church is a created thing and formed by men, it has as its head the same Christ, the true God; it has the Holy Spirit, who continually teaches and instructs it and makes it, according to the Apostle, the pure and blameless bride of Christ*, Eph. 5:27, and according to 1 Tim. 3:15, *the pillar and ground of the truth*. But *its dogmas are divine, not human*. This and the following sentence, which adds: *We understand that we believe in the Holy Scriptures*, do not convince us that it is right to say 'We believe *in* the Church' etc., but in what it says here about the help of the Holy Spirit, about the head of the Church and about the testimony of the Church, the *Confession* must be said to satisfy the truth.

Chapter XXIII

The Tenth Article

§ 1. Question 97, p. 153, says: *I acknowledge one Baptism for the remission of sins*. Here, the *Confession* says, in question 98, that this article offers us the opportunity to *consider the seven mysteries*⁵⁵⁰ of the Church, which are: *Baptism, Anointing with Chrism, the Eucharist, Penance, the Priesthood, Honourable Matrimony, and Holy Oil*. Concerning these mysteries, it maintains (1) that *they correspond to the seven gifts of the Holy Spirit*; (2) the *Confession* describes their efficacy thus: *through these, the Holy Spirit infuses his gifts and grace into the souls of those who use the mysteries in a right and worthy way*; and (3) it refers the reader to the book that the Patriarch Jeremias* wrote about converting the Lutherans, suggesting that the Censure of the Augsburg Confession was written by him. But the number of sacraments should be reduced to two, if we speak of the sacraments proper and of those things through which the Holy Spirit infuses his grace into the heart of those who use them; this has been shown by the theologians of Tübingen in their answers to the Censure of the Patriarch Jeremias and in all the other *loci communes* that they have collected. So Siricius* seems to struggle unnecessarily to refute Faber* and others who try to construct a consensus on this issue with the Papists, and Schwabe*, ch. 15, chose to follow him. But the *Confession* speaks against them, and when it comes to the number of sacraments, this *Confession* should be believed.

§ 2. In question 99, p. 155 the *Confession* defines a sacrament in the following way: *A mystery is a sacred rite which is a reality in a visible form and which confers on the souls of the faithful the invisible grace of God; it was established by Our Lord and through it every faithful soul receives divine grace.* And since faith is mentioned, it is not through works as the Papists say. According to question 100, p. 155, three things are required for a mystery: (1) *a material thing*; (2) *a priest*; (3) *the invocation of the Holy Spirit and a solemn form of words*, see p. 156, where the *Confession* also asserts that the intention of the priest is necessary: *to this must be added the firm and deliberate intention of the priest to consecrate the mystery* (p. 156). But here the *Confession* is in error together with the Papists, as was convincingly proved by Calovius* in his *Synopsis controversiarum*, article 8, thesis 5, p. 731, and Quenstedt*, part 4, ch. 3, sect. 2, p. 78.

§ 3. In question 101, p. 156 concerning the purposes of the mysteries the *Confession* says (1) that *they are signs and tokens for God's children*; (2) that *they are proofs of our confidence in God*; (3) that *they are remedies by which we can remove the infirmities of sin*, p. 156. Other points could be added from Quenstedt*.

Chapter XXIV

On Baptism

§ 1. Baptism is defined in question 102, p. 157 as follows: *Baptism is a cleansing and extirpation of original sin, through a triple immersion in water as the priest pronounces the following words: 'In the name of the Father, Amen, and of the Son, Amen, and of the Holy Spirit, Amen.'*

§ 2. The form of the baptism, in the name of the Father etc., is correct, although they administer it not in the first but in the third person: 'May Christ's servant N be baptised in the name of the Father, Amen, and of the Son, Amen, and of the Holy Spirit, Amen.' And therefore [this form of baptism] was approved by the Council of Florence,⁵⁵¹ according to Doctor Botvidi*, thesis 29, and Siricius*, ch. 5, p. 75. But they are wrong in that they (1) make immersion absolutely necessary; (2) require exactly three immersions. For baptism is efficacious even with a single aspersion; in this, the Calvinists agree in some places. It is a matter of Christian freedom, since no definitive precept exists.

§ 3. The efficacy of baptism is described thus: (1) *It is a cleansing and extirpation of original sin*, p. 157, and (2) *it opens the way into the kingdom of heaven*, according to John 3:5; (3) *it is an indubitable sign and token of eternal salvation*, p. 159. What the *Confession* says here about the extirpation of sin is erroneous, for it is the guilt that is taken away, whereas the tinder and the root of sin remain, which are extirpated only when we are turned to dust.

§ 4. The *Confession* rightly observes that *baptism should not be repeated*, p. 159, as long as the one who baptises has an orthodox belief in one God, in three Persons, and correctly speaks the words ‘in the name of the Father’ etc. It proves the necessity of it in an excellent manner by quoting John 3:5; see p. 158 and Petrejus*, book 6, p. 12. Baptism is, however, (wrongly) repeated in certain cases, according to Siricius*, ch. 5, p. 76, when a Russian adopts another faith, or if other Christians go over to them. An orthodox godparent is required by law, p. 158, and concerning his office, see Siricius in the cited work, p. 79.

§ 5. Question 103, p. 158 asserts that the infant must renounce the devil through his godparents. Of these they have only two, one of the male and one of the female sex. And these same godparents, if they are still alive, they use for all the children of a family. Thus, we see that they baptise infants, in which they differ from the Anabaptists. They also use exorcism, repeated three times; the formulas for this, too long to be quoted here, assume the form of prayers; Orichovius* has translated them into Latin. An adult *must repudiate the devil with his own mouth, answering the priest's questions and spurning the devil and all his works*, p. 158. *The creed must be openly confessed, and if it is an infant, by a godparent*, p. 159. They do not have a fixed limit, but baptism is often deferred until the fortieth day, because of the immersion, so that the child can tolerate it. But Tsar Alexius [Aleksej Michajlovič] had a son baptised on the sixth day.

§ 6. As for the matter of baptism, *pure water, not mixed with anything, and not artificially made, and no other liquid is to be used*, p. 159. So Sacranus* is wrong; see Siricius*, ch. 5, p. 73; *They consecrate water anew for every single person, since they believe that it is polluted by bodily uncleanliness*, p. 75. But Holy Scripture does not know of such an ablution; see the quoted work. That they put salt in a person's mouth, I do not remember having seen. But Siricius is not consistent here, saying once that “he put salt in the person's mouth,” but then adding: “they do not mix salt and saliva with dust in the Roman way”, p. 79.

§ 7. As for the minister, the *Confession* says that *baptism must not be performed by anyone but a legitimate priest*, p. 159. *But in case of necessity any other person, man or woman, can perform this sacrament, using water and the right words*, p. 159. So Faber* is right in this matter, but Siricius* must be accused of an error, for he says to the contrary, ch. 5, p. 80, that the *Confession* does not teach that the holy office can be assigned to anybody. But Siricius, ch. 5, p. 78, quotes from Olearius*, who both opposes and contradicts this error.

§ 8. As for the fruit, (1) *it removes all sins, in the infant original sin, in adults both original and voluntary sin*, p. 160. (1) In vain, [the *Confession*] repeats what it said earlier about the abolition of original sin, which we had marked with black charcoal.

(2) It seems to deny the actual or voluntary sins of infants, an opinion which truth contradicts, p. 160. (2) *It restores man to that position of justice and sanctity in which he once stood when he was still innocent and untouched by sin*, according to 1 Cor. 6:11. Siricius*, ch. 5, p. 75, rightly reproaches them for extending too far the power of baptism. (3) *Through baptism, we become members of Christ*, Gal. 3:27, p. 160.

§ 9. From the fact that laymen may baptise, it is clear that “exorcism is not an absolute requirement of legitimate baptism”, p. 159, just as it is not in our church. On the other hand, we certainly cannot abolish it just to please every possible heretic. It is accusingly said of them that they believe that demons inhabit little children and that they therefore perform exorcisms outside their churches in order not to profane the churches should an unclean spirit get out inside them; see Siricius*, ch. 5, p. 78; Oppenbusch* also notes that exorcism used to be performed inside the church, but is now performed outside it, ch. 2, p. 22. Calvin’s adherents condemn exorcism as something abominable, but for no sound reason.

Chapter XXV

On Anointing with Chrism

§ 1. According to the *Confession anointing with chrism is the second mystery* of which question 104, p. 161 offers no definition. It does, however, refer its beginning to the time when the Holy Spirit descended upon the Apostles, Acts 2, p. 161. It tries to prove its necessity by saying that *the same holy act is needed for others who are initiated into Christianity. For just as visible fire came down then and bestowed upon them the gifts of the Holy Spirit, so now, when the priest anoints, they are filled with the gifts of the Holy Spirit*, p. 161.

§ 2. The rite is performed with the following words: *The seal of the gift of the Holy Spirit, Amen*. The *Confession* explains this and confirms it by quoting 2 Cor. 1:21. It further tries to prove that *in the days of the Apostles, this was done through the laying on of hands*, but later it was done *through anointing with chrism*, quoting Paul’s disciple Dionysius the Areopagite* (see *Ecclesiastica Hierarchia*, chs. 11 and 12).⁵⁵² But this is contrary to the truth.

§ 3. Question 105, p. 163 says that this mystery requires (1) that *the chrism be consecrated by the highest bishop of the place*, p. 163, which usually happens during Holy Week, according to Siricius*, ch. 5 [p. 79]; (2) that *the proper matter for anointing is oil or balsam etc.*; (3) that *they anoint the baptised immediately after baptism*; (4) not the whole body, but certain parts, such as the hands, the feet etc., p. 163.⁵⁵³

§ 4. The fruits of this mystery are (1) that *the Holy Spirit is renewed in us*, according to Titus 3:5; (2) that *we are so strengthened by the help of the Holy Spirit that nothing inimical can harm our soul. This mystery cannot be repeated except in those who come back again after having renounced Christ's name*, p. 164. The minister of this mystery is an ordinary priest, according to Siricius*, ch. 4, p. 25. I believe this is the reason they call it a sacrament. This is denied, however, by both Siricius, ch. 4, p. 24, and Schwabe*, chs. 15 and 16, but they are deceived by the authors they rely on. Everything else that is recorded here is without any foundation; those who say it lack both mandate and support in Scripture. The writings of Scripture are distorted to fit preconceived ideas.

§ 5. There seems to be no other difference between episcopal confirmation and this anointing, except the time and the difference in ministers. As for the time, the Russians do this immediately after baptism, whereas the Papists anoint children when they are about ten years old. Among the Russians, it is done by an ordinary priest, whereas among the Papists the bishop does it. Thus, the Russians seem not so much to reject the confirmation of the Latins as to have it at another time in life. Mayerberg, p. 42*, however, is of a different opinion: "Since they immediately anoint the baptised, they reject the confirmation of the Latins as superfluous."

Chapter XXVI

On the Third Mystery, the Eucharist

§ 1. Question 106, p. 164 offers this description, rather than a definition: *It is the body and blood of our Lord Jesus Christ in the visible form of bread and wine in which truly and properly (that is, according to the real thing) Jesus Christ is present*. Whether the Papist doctrine of concomitance can be elicited from these last words, I leave to others to examine. It is enough for me to state here that the description given is the same as that of Luther, namely: "It is the true body and blood of our Lord Jesus Christ, under bread and wine."⁵⁵⁴

§ 2. Its excellence is indicated, for it is said to *stand out among all the others*, p. 165. Its efficacy is indicated, for it is said to *contribute more to the salvation of our souls than the others, since in it all the works of grace are revealed*, p. 165. This is true, if you take the five fictitious sacraments into account; when it comes to baptism, it is not as easy to maintain this opinion.

§ 3. As for the minister, *no one but a priest can perform the Eucharist, not even in the greatest necessity*, question 107, p. 165. Its form: (1) *There must be a consecrated altar, or at least an antimension*;⁵⁵⁵ *without that the bloodless sacrifice can in no way take*

place, p. 165; (2) the priest *must see to it that the proper matter is at hand*; (3) he *must have the intention that the bread be transubstantiated*, p. 166.

§ 4. The proper matter is *bread made of grain, leavened and as pure as possible, and wine mixed with no other liquid, pure and genuine in itself*. But if they use any other liquid, such as apple juice or mead, we must believe, with Siricius*, ch. 5, p. 81, that it is done contrary to the *Confession*. But in the act itself, the *Confession* asserts, water must be poured into the wine (the translation adds ‘warm’), and this is correct, as we can see from Section I, ch. 12, § 12, p. 132, ‘On Liturgy’); this is to fulfil the Scripture, John 19:34, where it says that water flowed from Christ’s side. But here the *Confession* errs, for they do not see this as absolutely necessary when they give the Holy Eucharist to the sick. They give the Eucharist to children, even as young as three years old according to Lasicius*, *Theologia Moscovitica*, p. 114, but according to Guagnini* only to seven-year-old children, ch. 2 in his description of Russia. Petrejus* says in book 6, between five and seven. Siricius, ch. 5, p. 83, offers a compromise between these positions, in that he says that three-year-olds can be given part of the Eucharist and seven-year-olds the whole sacrament; this is also Olearius’s* opinion, in book 3 of his ‘Persian Itinerary’, p. 312.

§ 5. The transubstantiation is described as follows: *The very substance of the bread and wine is changed into the substance of Christ’s true body and blood through the operation of the Holy Spirit*, p. 166. On p. 166, the *Confession* spells out the prayers by which the Holy Spirit is entreated to perform the transmutation. On p. 167 it says *that the transubstantiation takes place immediately, as soon as the prayers have been said*. On p. 167 it further tries to prove that we must believe in transubstantiation because of Christ’s own words: “This is my body”; we, however, reject it as a figment. On the same page, it says that the sacrament is presented as bread and wine, *because nature abhors eating raw human flesh*; and further, that we are *persuaded through faith that the body is there*. And this we are told to believe on the strength of Christ’s words: “This is my body”, p. 167.

§ 6. *The Eucharist must be given under both species to both ecclesiastics and laymen*, (1) *because Christ taught this without any exception*, John 6:54; this verse, however, is not relevant here, since it is about spiritual eating; (2) *the Apostles handed it down*, according to 1 Cor. 11:23 *et seq.*, as the *Confession* rightly concludes; this is contrary to the Papists and especially to the Council of Constance, who impiously assert that the sacrament should be given to laymen in bread alone.

§ 7. When the *Confession* says that *the same honour is due to the Eucharist as to Christ himself*, Mayerberg* contradicts this, saying, on p. 52 that no honour is due to the sacramental bread. There is no doubt that, for the Russians, it serves as a bloodless sacrifice, as can be concluded from what has been said in Section I, ch. 12, § 12, p.

130 on the Liturgy, and this is confirmed by the *Confession* in the following way: *It is offered for all orthodox Christians, both for the living and for those who have died in the hope of resurrection to eternal life*, p. 170. *It is a propitiation for the sins of the living and the dead*, p. 171. *And it will not cease until the last day of the world*, on the same page. But this opinion disagrees with Christ's own words of institution: 'eat', not 'offer', and it is rejected as easily as it is spoken.

§ 8. The fruits are the following, p. 170: (1) *the commemoration of Christ's suffering*, 1 Cor. 11:26; (2) *reconciliation with God for the sins of the living and the dead*; as for the dead, this latter opinion is spurious; (3) a remedy against all temptations, p. 171. The *Confession* omits the principal fruits, namely the confirmation and increase of faith, assurance of the remission of sins etc.

§ 9. On p. 171, the *Confession* requires preparation and teaches that this is to be done (1) *through sincere confession of sins*, (2) *through perfect reconciliation with all*, and other similar things, for instance, *a married man should abstain from intercourse with his wife*, as Schwabe* has noted in his ch. 12.

§ 10. The formula according to which the Eucharist is performed varies among authors: see Oppenbusch*, ch. 2, p. 23. But it is safer to believe what has been said in Section I, ch. 12, § 12, p. 133. They mostly offer the Eucharist on Saturdays; see Petrejus*, book 6, p. 24. And on the following Sunday they distribute another bread called *Kutja*.⁵⁵⁶

§ 11. It is not determined how many times a year one should partake of the Eucharist. Pernisten* says of them that they go to Communion only once a year. Others say otherwise. Schwabe*, in ch. 17, says that they do not all communicate even once a year. And in Ingria there are septuagenarians who have gone to Communion only once in their whole life.

§ 12. But they are right (1) in giving the Eucharist *sub utraque* [in both bread and wine]; (2) in using the vernacular when they administer it; (3) in giving it to the sick in their homes; (4) in requiring that reconciliation takes place before it; (5) in allowing only a priest to perform it; (6) in rejecting paid-for masses, see Schwabe*, ch. 17. It must, however, be noted that when they recite the whole Psalter for the dead, they do not do it for nothing, but, as I have been told in Ingria, ask three or four imperials for the work.⁵⁵⁷

Chapter XXVII

On the Fourth Mystery, the Priesthood

§ 1. Question 108, p. 172 observes that there are *two kinds of priesthood, the spiritual and the sacramental*. It rightly says, based on 1 Pet. 2:9 and Rev. 5:9–10, that *all orthodox Christians are part of the spiritual priesthood*. And such as is this priesthood, such are the sacrifices to which it exhorts us; see 1 Pet. 2:5 and Paul, Rom. 12:1.

§ 2. Question 109, p. 173 maintains that the sacramental priesthood is *a mandate given to the Apostles by Christ himself; hence ordination is performed to this day by the imposition of their hands*, says 1 Cor. 4:1; *since then, bishops have succeeded the Apostles*.

§ 3. The aim of this priesthood is *to distribute the divine mysteries and serve the salvation of men*.

§ 4. According to p. 174 *this arrangement comprises two things in particular: one is the power to absolve men from their sins*, Matt. 18:18, *the other is the authority to teach*, Matt. 28:19. Christ sent the Apostles, they laid their hands on others and sent them, Acts 8:17, p. 174. The *Confession* also adds the necessity of mission, from Acts 8:17 and Acts 13:2. But although it rightly quotes the latter of those passages, it explains it badly, for it does not deal with the bloodless sacrifice, but only with the ministry. The conclusion of the *Confession* is that caution must be exercised in choosing ministers of the word, according to 1 Tim. 5:12 [*sc. 22*]. And rightly so. When it adds that *those who are not sent, and not chosen for this task, must in no way put their hands to the work*, quoting Rom. 10:15, it must be taken with the following exception: if necessity does not require otherwise. There is an example in Olearius*, book 3, ch. 32, p. 320, where a man called Georgius Ochse was accepted as a Lutheran priest because he was well versed in the postils, although he had never been ordained by a bishop.

§ 5. Question 110, p. 176 describes the qualities of those who are to be ordained: it stresses that candidates must be examined and requires that they possess three things, namely (1) *a good conscience*; (2) *knowledge, both about how to distribute the sacraments and how to instruct the common people by preaching*. Whether διδαχαῖς is well translated as ‘preaching’, I leave to others to judge. Among the Greeks, I would not think that we would find much of it, except in Lent, when *Orientalischer Kirchen-Staat** says that some preaching occurs; (3) that *they have all the limbs needed for the ministry in good health*.

§ 6. Question 111, p. 176, *whether other orders are conferred before the priesthood*, the *Confession* answers thus: (1) *The priesthood in itself contains all grades*, p. 176; (2) *the grades should be conferred in proper order, ibid.*; (3) the *Confession* enumerates the grades: *lector, cantor, lampadary*,⁵⁵⁸ *subdeacon and deacon*, which it says that the Eu-

chologia of the Bishops, which is called 'Tactica', deals with more comprehensively, and it refers the reader to that text. It mentions only six grades, while the Papists enumerate seven. They have three major orders: that of priests, whose task it is to sacrifice, then those of deacons and subdeacons; and four minor orders, namely those of acolyte, lector, exorcist and ostiary; and all of these they count as belonging under divine law; see the Roman Catechism, the chapter on Holy Orders, and Bellarminus* in his book on clerics, ch. 13.⁵⁵⁹ By accepting these orders, the *Confession* rejects Anabaptists, Weigelians, Socinians, Remonstrants and the English Independents, all of whom abolish and overthrow the ecclesiastical grades. See Calovius* in his *Synopsis controversiarum*, article 14, thesis 12, p. 930. On the hierarchy we wrote above, in Section I, ch. 18, p. 164. The *Confession* describes the office of the clergy as follows: *It is part of the bishop's office that, whenever he constitutes anyone in a grade, he clearly and lucidly explains to the ordinand the tasks of the order he is conferring, be it the office of the Liturgy or the reading of the Gospel or the Epistles of the Apostles, or the carrying of sacred vessels or the care of the paraments of the church. For there is a special sign for every order, by which they are distinguished from each other, and this should be explained by the bishop.* But all these orders lack foundation in the Word of God, and therefore they do not necessarily merit approval.

Chapter XXVIII

On the Fifth Mystery, Penance

§ 1. The *Confession*, question 112, p. 177 describes penance thus: (1) *It is a true and deep-rooted sadness, caused by the sins one has allowed oneself to be guilty of*, (2) *along with a firm resolve to better one's life in the future* and (3) *a full intention to observe and perform every penance and satisfaction enjoined by the priest* and (4) *to reveal to him one's sins in the manner of an accuser*, p. 178.

§ 2. *Penance shows its power when absolution is given, for as soon as someone is given forgiveness for his sins, all his sins are remitted by God through the priest*, as is said in John 20:23.

§ 3. Question 113, p. 179 points out that the following must be observed: (1) *The penitent must be an orthodox Christian*, adding the reason: *for penance without true faith is no penance and does not please God*, p. 179. It is to be wished that faith in the sense of trust in Christ's merits, and not just in the sense of doctrine, is required here. (2) *The confessor must be an orthodox Christian. For a heretic and an apostate have no power to absolve*, p. 179. (3) *The penitent must be contrite*, as in Psalm 51:19 [modern Bibles, v. 17]. (4) *Contrition must be followed by oral and specific confession of all sins*, according to Acts 19:18, Jas. 5:16 and Mark 1:5. And the *Confession* adds

the following argument: *for he [the priest] cannot absolve where he has nothing to absolve from.* But in these biblical quotations nothing is said about the enumeration of sins, nor is there any valid argument to support this idea. Does the priest not have innumerable sins to absolve from? And is his absolution not valid without that kind of enumeration? Since such an enumeration lacks God's mandate and promise and, what is more, is impossible, it is rightly rejected as being a torment of the conscience. (5) *The qualities of confession, that it must be humble, pious, true, sincere and self-accusing, and made with pain and sorrow,* are well prescribed.

§ 3 [bis]. The *Confession* vainly maintains that *the last part of penance is the list of penances and means of satisfaction that the confessor defines and imposes*, and the things that are added on p. 181, such as (1) *prayers*, (2) *alms*, (3) *fasts*, (4) *pilgrimages to holy places, prostrations* and such, are not given us as penalties in the Word of God. Hence it is evident that Schwabe* is right when he says in ch. 12: "Here, there is too much that is similar to the errors of the Papists, for they, too, require (1) contrition of the heart, (2) confession of the mouth and (3) satisfaction of deeds."

§ 4. But the *Confession* is right in adding a warning against sin, as in Ps. 34:15, John 5:14 and 8:11, and in encouraging good deeds, *even though it is impossible for man to avoid sin altogether.* And here the *Confession* explains very well what its own opinion is on Christian perfection: *But every pious man must, according to his conscience, try as hard as he can to make some amendment to his life from one confession to the next.*

§ 5. The form of confession is explained, in accordance with Olearius's* *Itinerary*, book 3, ch. 30, p. 309, by Siricius*, ch. 4, p. 29, and Petrejus*, book 6, p. 25; you can read it in their books. Mayerberg* adds that someone said that he "did not reveal any graver sins to his priest," p. 54.

§ 6. According to question 114, p. 182 the fruits of penance are as follows: (1) *Through penance we come closer to the innocence we gained in baptism.* (2) *Through sin, we fall out of divine grace; by recovering our senses, we regain it.* (3) *Through sin, we fall into the power of the devil; by penance we are liberated from it.* (4) *Through sin, our conscience is filled with fear; through penance, we find peace and trust, such as children have towards their parents,* p. 181; all this is reasonable.

§ 7. Oppenbusch*, ch. 2, p. 13, rightly says that "they use the key that looses and the key that binds. They also use excommunication, which they call *obscha* [?]." On Maundy Thursday they strike all those who are alien to their religion with bans, in the presence of the Tsar, as Oppenbusch, ch. 2, p. 13, notes that he has learnt from a friend from Prussia. Mayerberg* writes that an image of [*sc. given by*] the excommunicated person is thrown out of the church; we quoted his words in Section 1, ch. 20, § 6, p. 177.

Chapter XXIX

On the Sixth Mystery, Honourable Matrimony

§ 1. On this, question 115, p. 183, [the *Confession*] maintains (1) that *it is founded on consent between a man and a woman*; (2) that *no legal impediment must come between them*; (3) that *the marriage must be celebrated before a priest*, p. 183; (4) that *they must hold hands and promise that they will always keep unto each other faith, honour and conjugal love until the end of their lives, whatever happens, and never desert each other*; (5) that *this consent must be sanctioned and blessed by the priest, because what then happens is what is written in Heb. 13:4: 'marriage honourable in all, and the bed undefiled'*.

§ 2. The fruits of marriage are, according to question 116, p. 184: (1) *Protection from the danger of fornication*, according to 1 Cor. 7:2; (2) *Procreation of offspring*; (3) *Mutual help in sickness or other danger, and the greatest conjugal love*, as the *Confession* rightly concludes on p. 184, from Gen. 2:24. All this is well said in the *Confession*, and it does not add much.

§ 3. It is worth mentioning, however, what Mayerberg* says on p. 44: "the Muscovites do not call the marriage of the Latins 'matrimony', but 'concubinage'", and he concludes that "it follows that we are not born of a legitimate bed", p. 45. But the same author also says that "they dissolve the marriage of anyone who converts to their church." Their reason for this is as follows: "It is the marriage of a man who has been introduced to the other sacraments without passing the door of baptism in a legitimate way." So, if a married man wants to keep his wife, they bless their marriage anew.

§ 4. Many authors note that divorces are common among them. Mayerberg* maintains that the main reason for this is that they do not see their brides before the marriage, p. 45. It is certain that spiritual kinship, which according to their rite is entered into between godparents and baptised children, impedes matrimony just as it does among the Papists. But this impediment has no real foundation.

§ 5. Other errors which Siricius* attributes to them, ch. 4, occur frequently and are not a result of their doctrine, such as: (1) They sleep together before they have their parents' consent, although this is necessary according to their own doctrine. (2) They marry their fathers' concubines. (3) They often divorce. (4) They use violence against their wives. (5) Poor people make free with the use of their wives. (6) But some errors must be attributed to their doctrine, such as when they forbid monks to marry, and (7) when they absolutely prefer celibacy to matrimony. (8) They do not regard intercourse between a married man and a single woman as adultery. (9) They are openly hostile towards second marriages, yet they allow both second and third marriages, while rejecting fourth marriages, without sufficient reason.

Chapter XXX

On the Seventh Mystery, Holy Oil

§ 1. Question 117, p. 185 maintains that *holy oil was instituted by Christ*. It adduces the following proof: *When he sent out his disciples, they anointed many sick people with oil and healed them*, Mark 6:13. It further maintains that *the Church took this up as a solemn tradition*, following Jas. 5:14, p. 185. But it has long ago been proved that these passages speak of the healing effect of the oil, not the sacramental use of it.

§ 2. The Apostles used it only to heal the sick. But these people [the Russians] use it for other reasons too, as is clear from Oppenbusch*, ch. 2, p. 24, where he remarks: “Having committed to the divine power those who are in pain after receiving the last anointing and the holy viaticum, they do not allow them to take any more medicine or food unless evident signs of recovery are to be seen.”

§ 3. Question 118, p. 186 says that it must be ensured (1) that *this mystery, with all that goes with it, is administered only by priests, not by anyone else*; (2) that *the oil is pure and not mixed with anything else*; (3) that *the sick person is orthodox and has recently confessed*; (4) that *during the anointing the prayer explaining the power and efficacy of this sacrament is read*.

§ 4. Question 119, p. 186 enumerates the fruits of this sacrament, following Jas. 5:14: (1) *forgiveness of sins or the salvation of the soul*; (2) *bodily health, which does not always happen, but then forgiveness of sins always happens in the penitent*, p. 187. All this is contrary to the truth and clearly proves that they twist Scripture to suit their own preconceived opinions.

§ 5. We must further note that Siricius*, ch. 4, and Schwabe*, ch. 15, raise objections to Faber*, who says that to the Russians this is a sacrament. And the Russians do not expound James correctly, according to Schwabe, *ibid*. Rather, Sacranus* is in error, and with him Siricius, when they say of the Russians that “they maintain that this oil cannot offer any remedy against sin”, see Siricius, ch. 4, p. 29. And I cannot easily be led to believe that “this oil is applied to dead bodies,” as Sacranus says and Siricius believes, p. 30.

Chapter XXXI

On the Eleventh Article of Faith, the Resurrection.

§ 1. I look for the Resurrection of the dead, question 120.

§ 2. (1) The *certainty* of the resurrection, (2) *of human bodies*, (3) *of the good as well as of the evil*, is irrefutably demonstrated from John 5:28 in question 121, p. 187; further, that (4) *these bodies will be just the same as those they lived in on earth* is shown with the utmost consistency from Job 19:25; (5) *they will be incorruptible*, according to 1 Cor. 15:51, (6) *the souls will return to their bodies*, (7) *and together with them the souls will receive perfect and eternal payment for their actions and works*, p. 189, (8) *the bodies of the evil, too, will be immortal, ibid.*

§ 3. (9) Question 122 teaches that one should remember (1) *death*, (2) *the Last Judgment*, (3) *the punishment of hell*, and (4) *the heavenly kingdom, ibid.* (10) Question 123 enumerates the fruits of this recollection: (1) *piety*, (2) *avoidance of sin*, (3) *fear of God* etc., p. 190. All this is in accordance with God's Word. Concerning the state of souls after death, the *Confession* says nothing explicit in this section. But elsewhere it causes Siricius*, ch. 5, p. 92, to write that they are in error (1) because they teach that the righteous have descended into Hell before Christ, (2) because they deny that the souls of the good are allowed to see God, (3) in maintaining that those who dwell in hell can be helped by prayers of the living, and (4) in believing that they can do any good to the dead by prayers and masses. (5) Participation in this is granted in a letter from men of great authority to Peter or Nicholas.⁵⁶⁰ But one should be aware that such a letter is given to everyone since it comes in the form of a safe-conduct. In Petrejus*, book 6, p. 18, and Olearius*, book 3, ch. 31, p. 315, we read as follows:⁵⁶¹ "We N., bishop and priest of this place N., confess and testify that N. has lived with us as becomes a true orthodox Christian, and even if he has sinned now and then, he has confessed his sins and received absolution and the Holy Eucharist in forgiveness for his sins; he has honoured God and his saints, he has fasted and prayed according to the precepts, and he has lived with me, his spiritual father, so that I can forgive him all his sins. Therefore, we have given him this letter of safe-conduct to show to St Peter and other saints, so that he may be allowed to pass without hindrance through the gate to Joy." As for how they proceed with their dead, see Oppenbusch*, ch. 2, p. 25.

Chapter XXXII

On Purgatory

§ 1. It has been discussed whether they believe in Purgatory. “It is clear, however, that they do not teach that souls are purified by fire in Purgatory, and they acknowledge only two places after death,” says Oppenbusch*, ch. 2, p. 25.

§ 2. Concerning this, Jovius* writes on p. 174: “Furthermore, what we see as very alien to the Christian religion, they do not think that the souls of the dead can be helped by any prayers of priests or of relatives and friends, and they believe every place of purgation to be just a fabulous invention;” see above, Section 2, ch. 19, § 9, p. 224.

§ 3. But just as the latter part of Jovius’s* sentence is correct, so the first part of it is untrue, and it is certain that the Russians rely very much on such prayers, as we have shown above in Section 2, ch. 24 [*sc. 26*], § 7, p. 247. “What about the fact that they believe that much solace is given to souls by the sound of church bells?” asks Mayerberg*, pp. 25 and 55. On this question, see the learned and comprehensive historico-theological dissertation by Doctor Johannes Dieckman* on the dissension between the Eastern and Latin churches on the doctrine of Purgatory, Wittenberg, 1671.

Chapter XXXIII

On the Twelfth Article of Faith, on the Life of the World to Come

§ 1. This article is formulated thus in question 124, p. 190: *And the Life of the world to come*. Concerning this question 125 says the following: (1) *In the future world, God’s grace will come upon the blessed*, p. 191; (2) *eternal life will be extremely rich in joy and spiritual happiness*, as is said in 1 Cor. 2:9 and Rom. 14:17; this will happen because *we shall see God and enjoy his presence*, p. 217 and p. 237,⁵⁶² as in Psalm 27:13.

§ 2. Question 126, p. 191 asks (3) *Will the soul alone, or the body too, enjoy eternal life?* And it answers rightly: *Both will enjoy the same joy, for there will not be one joy for the soul and one for the body*, p. 192. (4) *The soul will become like the angels and equal to them*, according to Matt. 22:30. (5) *The body will be glorious, immortal and incorruptible, and will need neither food nor drink, like a spirit*, according to 1 Cor. 15:53.

§ 3. (6) *This joy will be no other than the contemplation of the most holy Trinity and the spiritual chorus that will be performed together with the angels*, as in 1 Cor. 13:12. And the *Confession* answers the objection in Exod. 33:20: *For no man can see my face and live* in the following way: *This must be understood to mean before that highest and most perfect reduction from this corruptible body, which is not yet participating in its glory, and from the present life. But after redemption from all that, God will give us, who will then have a body adorned with heavenly glory, in our future eternal life and after the Last Judgment, the light by which we shall contemplate God's own light*, as in Ps. 36:10. *Since we will take full possession of this light as soon as we see it, it will calm and still all desire for wisdom and beauty. For in this contemplation of the Highest Good, all other good things are integrated, and the enjoyment of this Highest Good is the fulfilment of all joy*, according to Ps. 17:15: *Satiabor cum adparuerit gloria tua* [I shall be satisfied when your glory appears].⁵⁶³ To which glory may the Holy Trinity, the Father, the Son and the Holy Spirit, to whom are due never-ending praise and glory, lead us when our time has come, Amen.

Commentary

- 1 At Uppsala University, public examinations usually took place on Wednesdays and Saturdays, most often at 7, sometimes at 8 o'clock in the morning. See Sjökvist 2012, 185 with references.
- 2 Refers to the Swedish victory over a Russian army three times as large on 20 November 1700, at the beginning of the Great Northern War. See NE 14, 33.
- 3 The quotations from Arcadius and Honorius appear in other theological literature of the period. They are quoted together in John Forbes (Johannes Forbesius a Corse), *Instructiones historico-theologicae de doctrina christiana*, Amsterdam, 1645, repr. in *Opera Omnia*, vol. 2 (1702), p. a 3; Samuel Maresius (Desmarests), *Theologiae elencticae nova synopsis sive index controversiarum*, Groningen, 1646 (in the dedication); and Francis Turretin (Franciscus Turretini), *Institutio theologiae elencticae*, 3 vols, Geneva, 1679–1685 (in vol. 3, pp. 270 and 356). The origin of Honorius's dictum is the *Praeceptum Honorii de habenda collatione, recitatum die Collationis primo*, printed in *Patrologia Latina* 43, col. 816 et seq. Arcadius's dictum, which Bergius divides into two parts, is more difficult to find; according to Forbes, it is taken from a letter by Arcadius to a Bishop Flavianus of Antioch, which is extant in the *Vita Chrysostomi* of Georgius Alexandrinus, included by Henry Savile in vol. 8 of his famous Greek edition of John Chrysostom's *Opera omnia*, Eton, 1611–1613. That edition, however, is in Greek only. In the slightly later edition by Fronto Ducaeus, Paris, 1621–1633, which is a parallel edition in Greek and Latin, the *Vita* is not included, so the Latin translation cannot be taken from that work. We suspect that Forbes translated the quotation from Greek himself since there is a marginal note, for he has a marginal note, stating exactly where the quotation is to be found in Savile's edition and giving its incipit in Greek [Οὐδὲν ἡμῖν]. The translation is very precise, only slightly shortened in one instance; the same wording is then found in Maresius, Turretin and Bergius. Since the origins of the quotations are so disparate, it is likely that Bergius found them together, probably in Forbes (who was well known in Sweden), Maresius or Turretin.
- 4 Bergius finishes his dedication to King Charles with what seems to be one long quotation. In fact, it is a paraphrase consisting of a mixture of fragments from Psalms 21 and 18 (and some words of his own); where the psalms have the verbs in indicative or infinitive forms, Bergius puts them into the hortative/optative subjunctive, thus transforming the passage into a consistent prayer for the king. Otherwise, Bergius quotes fairly exactly; he does not, however, use the Vulgate, but Immanuel Tremellius and Franciscus Junius's Latin translation of the Old Testament, first published in Frankfurt in 1579 and widely used by Protestant theologians. Our translation is inspired by the King James Bible, but does not follow it literally.
- 5 *To the Benevolent Reader:* Since there is no consistent pagination of this part of the work, only a few quire signatures, we have continued the foliation introduced in the dedication to the king through to fol. 18v; from Chapter I of the main text the work is (mostly correctly) paginated throughout.

- 6 The desire to study the ‘Slavonic’ language (Russian, Russian-Church Slavonic) clearly awakened when Bergius was made Superintendent of Ingria on 16 July 1700. He studied the language with the help of the pope Fëodor Stepanov in Ratzin (Ratčino). Concerning him, see Pereswetoff-Morath 2014.
- 7 After the Treaty of Stolbova in 1617, when Sweden, by gaining Ingria, the province of Kexholm and Nöteborg, acquired many new citizens belonging to the Russian Orthodox faith, the government tried to arrange for the Lutheran faith to be preached in the Russian language, as well as endeavouring to introduce education in the new faith. For that purpose there was a need for books in Russian. The Swedish authorities began looking for someone who could print in the Cyrillic alphabet, and on 14 April 1625 a royal charter was issued, authorising the Dutch printer Peter van Selow to come to Sweden to set up a Russian printing press. By 1628 the press was in place, and that same year it produced a Russian translation of Luther’s Catechism (in 8^{vo}), a number of copies of which still exist. Another product of the press is *Alfabetum Rutenorum* (undated), a small primer containing explanations of the Russian letters and their pronunciation, Luther’s Small Catechism, the Confession, prayers etc. in Russian and Swedish; a few copies have been preserved (in 4^{to}). Another visible example of the missionary ambitions of the Swedish government is the Finnish version of Luther’s Catechism (in 8^{vo}), printed in the Cyrillic alphabet. Jensen 1912, 138–145; Rudbeck 1925, 305, 318, 320, 330; Birgegård 2012, 300ff. See also Maier & Drost 2010 and Maier 2012. Ingrid Maier, Uppsala, is working on an edition of these catechisms, which will present new research in this interesting field. It is not clear which Muscovite Chronology in folio Bergius has in mind.
- 8 Per Brahe (1602–1680), Governor-General of Finland 1637–1641, from 1641 to his death *riksdrots* (roughly, Lord High Steward), one of the highest posts in Sweden, and a member of the Royal Council (*SBL* 5, s.v. ‘Brahe, Per’).
- 9 Johan Pontusson De la Gardie (1582–1640), member of the Royal Council, Governor of Estonia 1619–1622, Governor-General of Livonia from 1622 (*SBL* 10, s.v. ‘De la Gardie, Johan Pontusson’).
- 10 Erik Ryning (1592–1654), officer and politician, Governor-General of Livonia for a short period in 1644, commanding admiral of the Swedish navy, member of the Royal Council (*SBL* 31, s.v. ‘Ryning, Erik’).
- 11 Axel Oxenstierna (1583–1654) held a central position in Swedish domestic and foreign policy for more than three decades. For twenty years, as Chancellor, he worked side by side with King Gustavus Adolphus to make Sweden a leading European power (*SBL* 28, s.v. ‘Oxenstierna, Axel’).
- 12 Gabriel Gustafsson Oxenstierna (1587–1640), younger brother of Axel Oxenstierna, with whom he cooperated closely as royal councillor and Lord High Steward from 1630 to his death. His successor was the above-mentioned Per Brahe (*SBL* 28, s.v. ‘Oxenstierna, Gustafsson Gabriel’).
- 13 Henricus Stahilius (Heinrich, Henrik, Stahl, Stahel, Stahell and other variant spellings) (c. 1600–1657), Lutheran clergyman of German descent, born at Reval (Tallinn). Master of arts at Wittenberg 1622, Dean of Reval 1638. As the first

Superintendent of Ingria (appointed in July 1640), he was an important pioneer in efforts to promote the Lutheran Church in Ingria and organise the administration of the province. He was hard-working and very committed, but met with considerable opposition from the German nobility, townspeople and the Russian Orthodox population. Most of his efforts were to no avail. Stahl was interested in languages and published the first Estonian grammar (1637), a church handbook and a collection of sermons in Estonian; he learnt Swedish and published a catechism in Swedish (1644), but is said never to have learnt Russian. His dissertation at Wittenberg had the title *Dissertatio de quaestione, an Moscovitae Christiani dicendi sint*; Mokroborodova (2013, p. 282) says that she has searched in vain for this work (as did Bergius, see Chapter V, §1). On Stahl, see Väänänen 1987, 278–280, Lotman 2000, *passim*, Raag 2003, Tolstikov 2002, 122ff.

14 From the 1630s there were a few Russian schools working in the different Ingrian fortresses, possibly on the initiative of private individuals or the Church. In 1637 the government paid for 10–12 Swedish boys to study Russian in the town school of Narva, started by the burghers of the town a few years earlier. In 1642 there were plans on the part of the government to start a school with a more ambitious curriculum. The old town school and the planned new school ('trivialskolan') were combined into a secondary grammar school which was inaugurated in 1643 and offered studies in Russian. However, the teaching of Russian, it seems, was never particularly systematic, partly because the Russian authorities reacted strongly to any plans to convert the Russian-speaking Orthodox population to Lutheranism. Öhlander 1900, 178–182; Naber 1995, 68 *et passim*; Pereswetoff-Morath 2010, 20ff.

15 Here, Bergius quotes Quintus Curtius Rufus, *Historiae Alexandri Magni Macedonis*, III, 8, 29, almost verbatim. Curtius writes *Ceterum destinata salubriter omni ratione potentior fortuna discussit*; Bergius has *Verum haec* for *ceterum* and *evertit* for *discussit*. No reference is given, but the phrase is quoted fairly often in contemporary literature, so it was probably well known.

16 Bengt Bengtsson Oxenstierna (1591–1643), baron, diplomat, royal councillor, later known as 'Resare-Bengt' (Bengt the Traveller) because of his extensive travels, especially in the Middle East. Governor-General of Livonia and Ingria from 1634, royal councillor from 1641. *SBL* 28, s.v. 'Oxenstierna, släkt'.

17 Erik Gyllenstierna (1602–1657), officer and politician, baron and royal councillor. He was Governor-General of Ingria from 1642, held legal posts in Finland and was eventually appointed Governor-General of Finland shortly before his death. He paid at least two visits to Moscow (*SBL* 17, s.v. 'Gyllenstierna, släkt').

18 Erik Stenbock (1612–1659), army officer, count, royal councillor. In 1647, he was appointed commander of all the Swedish troops in Livonia and assistant to the Governor-General. Governor of Riga 1649–1654 and Governor-General of Ingria and the province of Kexholm 1651–1654. He held several senior administrative and military posts, until he was killed in action at Copenhagen (*SBL* 33, s.v. 'Stenbock, Erik Gustafsson').

19 Christina's Church, mentioned by Bergius, was a new church, allotted to the Swedish congregation on 6 September 1649. The same year it was declared a ca-

thedral. There was a conflict between the Swedish government and its representatives in Narva and the local authorities, the chief magistrate and council. The council, dominated by Germans, persistently resisted the Swedish government's efforts to centralise the administration of Narva by referring to their old privileges. After fruitless discussions between the two sides regarding the administration of the 'old' German church and the new Swedish one (the cathedral), Governor-General Erik Stenbock, on 31 December 1652, issued an eight-point decree to the local authorities and the heads of the two churches regarding the total separation of the German and Swedish congregations. Naber 1995, 81ff; Lotman 2000, 98–102.

20 Göran Sperling (1630–1691), officer and administrator, count. Appointed general of the infantry and Governor of Ingria and the province of Kexholm in 1683. Governor-General of Ingria, Karelia and the province of Kexholm from 1687. He was an energetic person, much appreciated by King Charles XI, and known to work assiduously to carry out the government policy of making new conquests truly Swedish (*SMoK* 7, s.v. 'Sperling, Göran'; *SBL* 33, s.v. 'Sperlingh, Jöran').

21 Otto Vellingk (1649–1708), Swedish army officer, baron and royal councillor. He held many administrative and military posts in Finland and the northern parts of Sweden, before becoming Governor of Scania in 1693. In 1698, he was appointed Governor-General of Ingria and the province of Kexholm. When the Great Northern War broke out, he served with great distinction in the conflict, although his stubbornness often got him into trouble (*SMoK* 8, s.v. 'Vellingk, Otto').

22 The reason Bergius, while President of the Consistory of Narva, did not listen to Otto Vellingk's repeated calls to inform the Russian population better, i.e. spread the Lutheran faith more effectively among them, was probably that the Tsar(s), from the 1680s onwards, had started acting on the matter. In a letter dated 7 August 1685 the Tsar, referring to a treaty from 1684 (signed in connection with Conrad Gyllenstierna's embassy to Moscow, cf. note 35), complained about the Swedish government's treatment of Orthodox believers in Ingria and Karelia, who were guaranteed freedom of religion. Charles XI turned to Gezelius and Sperling (see notes 20 and 24) for information. They assured him that there was no foundation for the Tsar's complaints, but all the same they resulted in a change of policy and a more careful approach vis-à-vis the Russian Orthodox population. Öhlander 1900, 148ff.

23 *Governors*: Nils Asserson Mannersköld (1586–1655), cavalry officer, administrator. Governor of Ingria, Governor of Narva, Ivangorod, Jama, Koporje and Nöteborg 1626–1643, including Dorpat from 1633. After 17 years in Ingria, he was recalled to Sweden, where he held military and civilian posts (*SBL* 25, s.v. 'Mannerskiöld, Nils Asserson'). Carl Mörner (1605–1665) was a highly educated officer, civil servant and lawyer. He fought at Breitenfeld and Lützen, but after that his military career seems to have been limited to acting as a liaison officer and courier. In 1641, he was appointed Governor of Viborg, and in 1645 Governor-General of Ingria. He seems to have tried quite hard to improve conditions in the province, not least for the Russian-speaking section of the population, but with little success. From 1651, he was president of the Court of Appeal of Dorpat. When this ceased functioning during the war of 1656–1658, he returned to Sweden and served there as an admi-

nistrator and judge. He could speak Russian and on occasion served as a negotiator (*SBL* 26, s.v. 'Mörner, Carl'). Simon **Grundel-Helmfelt** (1617–1677), Governor-General of Narva and Ingria 1659–1664 and of Narva, Ingria and the province of Kexholm 1668–1673 (*SBL* 17, s.v. 'Grundel-Helmfelt, Simon'); Sparwenfeld in his *Diary* (p. 43, see note 35) writes that he was told by a clergyman that "Helmfelt had ordained in Nöteborg that small boys are required to ski every day from 12 to 1, then return to school again, which is considered to be quite healthy." Martin **Schultz** (1617–1682) was appointed Governor of Narva and the province of Kexholm in 1681 (*SMoK* 6, s.v. 'Schultz, Martin'). Hans **von Fersen** (1625–1683) was appointed Governor of Ingria and the province of Kexholm on 6 May 1682, but died suddenly in the spring of 1683 (*SBL* 15, s.v. 'Fersen, von, Hans'). Jakob Johan **Taube** (1624–1695), an officer and administrator with wide military experience, was Governor-General of Ingria and the province of Kexholm three times, viz. 1664–1668, 1673–1678 and 1678–1681. He seems to have been quite successful in his negotiations with the Russians (*SMoK* 7, s.v. 'Taube, Jakob').

24 *Bishops and superintendents*: On **Stahlius**, see note 13. Johannes Johannis **Rudbeckius** (1623–1667) studied at Uppsala and Leipzig. He taught theology at Uppsala and became *professor ordinarius* there in 1654. Appointed chief military chaplain in Livonia in 1655, and Superintendent of Ingria and vicar of Narva in 1658. Back in Sweden from 1663, appointed Bishop of Växjö in 1667, but died before he could take office (Väänänen 1987, 264–265). Salomon **Matthiae** (1609–1665) was born in Germany and studied there and at Dorpat, where he taught theology and served as professor and vice-chancellor. Vicar of the German parish of Narva 1650–1655, fled during the war of 1656–1658 to Germany, where he became Professor of theology and Hebrew at Stettin. Called back after the war and appointed Superintendent of Ingria in 1664 (Väänänen 1987, 212; Lotman 2000, 100–101). Abraham **Thauvonius** (1622–1679) studied at Åbo and Dorpat and was very active at both universities. *Physices professor* at Åbo in 1649, Professor of theology there in 1659, Doctor of theology at Uppsala in 1665. Was appointed Superintendent of Ingria in 1666 (Väänänen 1987, 284–285). Ericus Johannis **Albogius** (born in the 1610s, d.1678), studied at Uppsala and Dorpat, mentioned as a 'Russian pastor' at Narva, military chaplain, appointed Superintendent of Ingria in 1673. It has been said that he was very hostile to the Orthodox population's wish to be allowed to practise their religion (Väänänen 1987, 145–146). **Bangius** must be Petrus Erici Bång (1633–1696), Superintendent of Ingria 1678–81, then Bishop of Viborg (*SBL* 7, s.v. 'Bång, Petrus Erici'; Väänänen 1987, 166–168). Johannes **Gezelius** the Younger (1647–1718) became a Professor of theology at Åbo Academy in 1679, rector there in 1680 and Superintendent of Narva and Ingria in 1681. He was a very active superintendent, putting a great deal of energy into the organisation of the Church, the development of schools and the conversion of the Russian Orthodox section of the population of Ingria to the Lutheran faith. During his time in Narva he cooperated fruitfully with Göran Sperling (see note 20), Bishop of Åbo 1690–1713 (*SBL* 17, s.v. 'Gezelius, Johannes'; Isberg 1973, *passim*; Väänänen 1987, 195). Jacob **Lang** (Langh, Lange, Langius) (1664–1716) studied at Åbo, Uppsala and Oxford. Served as secretary to the diplomat Nils Lillieroth (see note 55). Ordained in Ingria, he worked closely with Gezelius. Appointed Superintendent of

Ingria in 1688, vicar of the Swedish parish of Narva, Doctor of theology at Åbo in 1690, Superintendent-General of Livonia from 1700, Bishop of Reval from 1701. Fled to Sweden in 1710 and became Bishop of Linköping in 1711 (Vääänänen 1987, 223–224).

25 Eric Benzelius the Elder (1632–1709), Swedish theologian and clergyman. He studied at Uppsala and made a two-year-long peregrination to Denmark, Germany, France, England and Holland in 1663–1665; he then taught history, philosophy and theology at Uppsala and became *professor ordinarius* of theology in 1668, Bishop of Strängnäs in 1687, and Archbishop in 1700. As a member of the Diet for the clergy, he sat on all the then current committees, including the committee drafting a new Church Law, which resulted in the Church Law of 1686 (a body of rules for the Church of Sweden that remained in force until 1993), and the committee for a revised translation of the Bible, which resulted in what was called the Charles XII Bible, the authorised Bible translation in Sweden until 1917. He always adopted a conservative and strictly orthodox position; his influence may have been instrumental in keeping the revision of the translation as limited as possible (*SBL* 3, s.v. ‘Benzelius d.ä., Eric’).

26 Bergius is referring to Olaus Swebilius (1624–1700), Eric Benzelius the Elder’s predecessor, who was Archbishop from 1681 to 1700 (*SMoK* 7, s.v. ‘Swebilius, Olaus’).

27 On the Church Law, see note 25.

28 Ericus Odhelius (1620–1666), Swedish theologian and Orientalist. Master of arts at Uppsala University 1646. Studied in Germany 1649–1651. Professor of theology at Uppsala from 1652, Doctor of theology in 1656. One of the foremost theologians and Orientalists of his time, specialising in Old Testament exegesis. In 1663, he was ordered by the king to refute the theses of two theologians, Johannes Matthiae Gothus (1593–1670, Bishop of Strängnäs) and Johannes Elai Terserus (1605–1678, Bishop of Åbo), who had been accused of syncretism. So successful was he that, in 1664, they were both suspended, although Terserus, after recanting, later became Bishop of Linköping. Odhelius planned to present his work in a book called *Palma pacifera*, but died before it was finished. It was to be completed by his son-in-law Eric Benzelius the Elder, although he edited only a part of it in 1696; according to our text, Bergius also seems to have had a hand in the work. The book has been called “the most important Swedish theological work of the century”; see Göransson 1950, 453, also *SBL* 28 s.v. ‘Odhelius, släkt’; on Johannes Matthiae, see *SBL* 20, s.v. ‘Johan Matthiae’; on Terserus, *SMoK* 7, s.v. ‘Terserus, Johannes’.

29 On Olearius, see *Reference Library* (henceforth, Ref. Libr.).

30 Concerning the Catechism printed at Narva at the instigation of Bergius, see Introduction, p. 13–14. Concerning his efforts to procure a Russian printing press to print Sparwenfeld’s *Lexicon Slavonicum* (note 35), see Birgegård 1985, 96–98.

31 Concerning this privilege, see note 463.

32 The *succamerarius* (or *subcamerarius*), literally ‘under-chamberlain’, was a senior political and legal district official in ancient Poland and Lithuania; see DuCange, s.v. *succamerarius*. The town and district of Osmiana, now Ashmyany, was an important

administrative unit of Lithuania (*Zedler-Lexicon* vol. 25, s.v. ‘Osmien, Osmian, Osmiana’). It is near Vilnius, but today part of Belarus.

33 The Bible was printed in Polish in Brest-Litovsk in 1563. Sparwenfeld owned a copy of this Bible, now at Västerås (no. 61 in Gawryś 1960), and he was also familiar with it. Birgegård 2012b, 55.

34 On Pernisten, see Ref. Libr. It is interesting that Bergius, who normally either quotes other languages than Latin without translation or summarises them in Latin, three times in his foreword “To the Benevolent Reader” gives both the Italian text and a Latin translation of it (here translated into English). Later, when quoting Pernisten, he only summarises his text in Latin.

35 Johan Gabriel Sparwenfeld (1655–1727), traveller, polyglot, book collector and man of great learning, referred to by some as ‘the First Swedish Slavist’. Sparwenfeld was a member of Conrad Gyllenstierna’s embassy to Moscow in the spring of 1684 and stayed there on a royal scholarship until 1687, studying the Russian language and Russian affairs. He brought home with him a very rich collection of Russian manuscripts and printed books, all of which were later donated to Swedish libraries, mainly Uppsala University Library and the Diocesan Library of Västerås. The most visible result of his interest in and knowledge of the Slavic languages is his *Lexicon Slavonicum*, a Slavic-Latin dictionary in four volumes, kept at Uppsala University Library (ed. U. Birgegård). Sparwenfeld also wrote a diary of his journey to Russia – there will be references to it throughout this edition. The original is kept at the Swedish National Archives (*Tidöarkivet*, Vol. E501), and was published in 2002: *J. G. Sparwenfeld’s Diary of a Journey to Russia 1684–87*, edited, translated and with a commentary by Ulla Birgegård (378 pages). On Sparwenfeld, see Jacobowsky 1932; Birgegård 1985; Birgegård’s article in *SBL* 33, s.v. ‘Sparwenfeld, Johan Gabriel’.

36 Erik Holmen is in all probability identical with Erik Holmenius, vicar of Moloskovits, who is mentioned towards the end of the dedicatory chapter. Holmenius (Hollmenius, Holmaenius) studied at Åbo from 1686 and held several posts as a clergyman and teacher; in *Narva literata* (Geerbens 1703) he is mentioned as headmaster of the cathedral school at Narva up to 1702. That year, he was appointed vicar of Moloskovits. He had to flee from there to Narva, and then to Viborg, where he died in 1710 (Väänänen 1987, 209). The Latin word used by Bergius, *hospes*, can be translated ‘host’ or ‘guest’; in all probability, Bergius was the guest of Holmenius, who lived at Narva, when Bergius arrived there recently widowed.

37 Bergius’s wife, Christiana Juliana Oxenstierna, died on 27 February 1701. Their four children all died at an early age. Note that Lundström (in *SBL* 3, s.v. ‘Bergius, Nicolaus’) mentions only one son, while the biography in Hellström (p. 117) mentions three children, but Bergius himself says four in this text, a number that is confirmed in the short biography he wrote on his wife, *Kort beskrifning af then högwäl-borna frus, fru Christiana Juliana Oxenstiernas lefwernes lopp; then sal. frun til wäl-förtjent äbreminne och odödeligit beröm, then ärbare werlden til sanferdig effterrättelse uthgifwen*, Stockholm, 1704 (Short description of the life of the high-born lady Christiana Juliana Oxenstierna; the deceased lady of blessed memory and eternal praise, published as a truthful guide to the decent world).

38 *Professors at Giessen*: Philipp Ludwig Hanneken (1637–1706), Professor of theology at Giessen 1667–1693, then at Wittenberg. A strictly orthodox Lutheran, he fought against Pietism (*DBE*, s.v. ‘Hanneken, Philipp Ludwig’). David Clodius (1644–1684), Orientalist, Lutheran theologian, Professor of Oriental languages at Giessen from 1671 (the first to hold the chair), then of theology (*DBE*, s.v. ‘Clodius, David’). David Christiani (1610–1688), Hebraist, mathematician, Lutheran theologian. Taught at several German universities and held high posts in the Lutheran Church before becoming Professor of theology at Giessen in 1681 (*DBE*, s.v. ‘Christiani, David’).

39 Bergius’s parents, Olaus Bergius and Vendela Rylander, died when he was only a boy (*SBL* 3, s.v. ‘Bergius, Nicolaus’).

40 *Professors of theology at Uppsala*: Petrus Johannis Rudbeckius (1625–1701) taught theology at Uppsala from 1654, from 1667 as Doctor of theology and ‘First Professor of theology’. In 1692, he was appointed Bishop of Skara and left Uppsala (*SBL* 30, s.v. ‘Rudbeck, släkt’). Martin Brunnerus (1627–1679), Professor of Greek at Uppsala University from 1659, Professor of theology from 1666. Famous both as a Greek philologist and for his opposition to the ongoing witchcraft trials (*SBL* 6, s.v. ‘Brunnerus, Martin’). Samuel Skunck (1632–1685), Professor of Greek at Uppsala from 1667, Professor of theology from 1671 (*Uppsala Stifts herdaminne* I, 1842, 258–259). Petrus Holm (1634–1688), Orientalist and theologian. From 1667 the first Professor of Oriental languages at Lund, Professor of theology there from 1671. In 1675, he had to leave Lund because of the Danish war and became Professor of theology at Uppsala in 1676 (*SMoK* 3, s.v. ‘Holm, Petrus’). Regarding Eric Benzelius, see note 25.

41 Kristofer Gyllenstierna (1639–1705), baron, later count, army officer, administrator, royal councillor, Governor (*överståthållare*) of Stockholm 1682–1705. Son of Erik Gyllenstierna (note 17) (*SBL* 17, s.v. ‘Gyllenstierna, Kristofer’).

42 Carl Gustaf Frölich (1637–1714), army officer, administrator, royal councillor, count. He was appointed Governor of Riga in 1700, Governor-General there in 1702, and President of the Court of Appeal of Dorpat in 1705 (*SBL* 16, s.v. ‘Frölich, Carl Gustaf’).

43 Henning Rudolf Horn (af Rantzien) (1651–1730), army officer, count, royal councillor, commander of Narva from 1695. Played an important role at the battle of Narva in 1700, saving the town from falling into the hands of Tsar Peter, but in the second siege, in 1704, he and two of his daughters were imprisoned by the Russians. He spent ten years in captivity before he was exchanged and was able to return to Sweden (*SBL* 19, s.v. ‘Horn, Henning Rudolf’).

44 Gustaf Adolf Strömfelt (1640–1717), ‘Financial Governor’ (*ekonomiståthållare*) of (part of) Livonia (with Riga) 1705–1710 (*SBL* 34, s.v. ‘Strömfelt, släkt’; Elg. 7, 772).

45 Michael von Strokirch (1649–1723), civil servant in Livonia, ‘Financial Governor’ of Livonia from 1690. Fled to Sweden with his family in 1710 (*SBL* 33, s.v. ‘Strokirch, von, Carl Michael’; Elg. 7, 731–732).

46 Michael von Segebaden is recorded in correspondence extant at the National

Archives in Stockholm as secretary to the Governor of Livonia, but very little else is known about him.

Carl Teppati (1675–1737) was secretary to the Governor of Narva and was taken prisoner with his family in 1704. When he came back from Russia, he became an associate judge of the Court of Appeal at Åbo, where he served until he retired in 1732 (Lagus 1895, 301–302).

47 Thomas (von) Vegesack (1640–1715) studied law at Giessen and became mayor and burgrave of Riga in 1701 (Elg. 8, 708).

48 Christopher von Kochen (1637–1711) (prior to his ennoblement in 1683, Christoff Koch, with variant spellings) was a Swedish diplomat. He was born into a German-speaking family in Reval. As a very young secretary to the Swedish resident, Johan de Rodes, he came to Moscow in 1655. In 1656, after the death of de Rodes, war broke out between Sweden and Russia, and as a result the Swedes in Moscow, including Koch, were detained for almost two years. He returned to Sweden in 1658. From 1664 onwards he had various functions in Moscow. In 1671 he was appointed correspondent, stationed in Moscow, to the Governor-General of Narva, Simon Grundel-Helmfelt (note 23). From 1678 he was also the official Swedish commercial representative ('factor') in the city. In 1680 he was given the title of Commissary. In 1684 he was appointed envoy in Russia and in 1686 burgrave of Narva. Von Kochen was also active within the Swedish intelligence service. He stayed on in Moscow until 1690. *SBH* 1, s.v. 'Kochen, Christofer von'; Elg. 4, 229; *SBL* 21, s.v. 'Kochen, von, Johan Henrik'. Von Kochen appears frequently in Sparwenfeld's *Diary* (see note 35). He wrote very interesting reports to the Swedish authorities, now in the National Archives in Stockholm. Zernack (1958) has made extensive use of them. See also C. von Kochen 1878 and Jensen & Maier 2015, 20–22 *et passim*.

49 Johan Thesleff (1653–1722), knighted Stiernstedt in 1697, later baron. Civil servant and lawyer, served in the Baltic provinces and in Finland. Was *Consul Justitiae (jusitieborgmästare)* at Narva 1699–1703 (*SBL* 33, s.v. 'Stiernstedt (Thesleff), Johan').

50 Hermann Dittmer, member of the Council of Narva. *Consul Politiae (politeborgmästare)* from 1699. Geerkens 1703.

51 *Members of the Council of Narva*: Mathias von Porten (c. 1638–1718) is mentioned as Governor of Reval 1690–1710 (Lewenhaupt 1962, 65; see also Elg. 5, 791); Alexander Eckholm, Herman Po(o)rten and Johannes Folckern are all listed as members of the Narva Council in the 1690s in *Narva literata* (Geerkens 1703), where all members of the Senate (*Totum Senatus Collegium*) of Narva, including von Kochen (as 'Burggravius'), Stiernstedt and Dittmer, are listed.

52 *Clergymen of Livonia and Ingria*: Liborius Depkin (1661–1710) was a German-Latvian clergyman, vicar of St Peter's Church in Riga, assessor of the Consistory and Royal Superintendent of Riga (*Ev. Pred.*, 204–205). Liborius Depkin (1652–1708, a relative of the former) was a clergyman (vicar of St John's Church in Riga, from 1701 assessor of the Consistory there) and writer, strongly involved in promoting the Latvian language. See Larsson 2011, 36–38; Vanags (2011), 74ff. Reinerus Reineri Broocman (1677–1738), a learned Swedish clergyman, vicar at Lais in Livonia. He and his family fled to Sweden in 1711, where he became vicar, then dean at

Norrköping. He is famous for having started a still very influential and active printing house, and for his writings, among which *En fullständig svensk hushållsboek* ('A complete Swedish handbook on the household economy') is the most important (*SBL* 6, s.v. 'Broocman, släkt'; *Ev. Pred.*, 187). Andreas **Willebrand** (1652–1737), *Oberpastor* of St John's Church in Dorpat 1698–1704 (*Ev. Pred.*, 477–478). Reinhold **Dauth** (1663–1710), vicar at Roop 1690–1710 (*Ev. Pred.*, 203). Bergius calls him Johannes, but there can be no doubt that this is the man he is referring to. Johannes **Andreae Helwig** (1668–1720), a German clergyman, studied at Riga, Greifswald, Rostock and Wittenberg. German pastor at Narva 1696, *Oberpastor* there in 1701, assessor of the Consistory of Narva from 1697. Sent to Russia in 1708 as a chaplain for prisoners of war, he later returned and was appointed Superintendent of Estonia in 1713 (Väänänen 1987, 203). Erik **Quist** (studied at Åbo in 1686, died a prisoner in Russia), known as a pastor and military chaplain in Ingria and assessor of the Consistory of Narva (Väänänen 1987, 258). Ericus **Bure** (studied at Åbo in 1687, d.1716), vicar of the Finnish parish at Narva in 1698 and assessor of the Consistory there. Prisoner in Russia 1708–1716 (Väänänen 1987, 166). Heinrich **Brünink** (1675–1736), a German clergyman, studied at Dorpat, Kiel, Halle, Leipzig and Wittenberg, chaplain of the German parish of Narva 1699, *compastor* there in 1701, assessor of the Consistory of Narva, Superintendent-General of Livonia from 1710 (Väänänen 1987, 164–165). Zacharias **Lithovius** (1672–1743), a clergyman from Finland who studied at Åbo, then served in the Baltic provinces and became vicar of Nyen in 1702, from where he had to flee to Finland, then Sweden. There, after a period of poverty, he became a member of the Diet. He ended up as vicar of Uleåborg in Finland (Väänänen 1987, 230–231). The name *Johannes Sarkovius* is a problem. There is a clergyman of that name, who is known to have spent some time as a student and teacher at Novabura and Narva in the 1690s, but he never served as a clergyman in the Baltic provinces. *Carolus Sarkovius* may be the person referred to. He was vicar of Novabura from 1688, fled from there to Narva in 1703 but later returned. He died before 1707 (Väänänen 1987, 268–70). Johannes **Schütz** (c. 1658–1722) was vicar of Koporje from 1678. Fled to Narva in 1703 but returned to Koporje, only to become a Russian prisoner from 1708 to 1715. After that he served as Finnish vicar of Narva and Dean of Ingria (Väänänen, 275f.). Johannes **Elianus** was vicar of Ingris from 1684; he is said to have fled to Finland in 1702 (Väänänen 1987, 179–180). Andreas (Anders) **Ahlgren** (c. 1655–1714) was vicar in Lempala from 1695, dean from 1698; he fled in 1703, ending up in Viborg (Väänänen 1987, 144). Levin Andreas **Schwartz** (1669–1716) was vicar in Gubanits from 1697. Fled in 1703, first to Kosemkina near Narva, then to Sweden, where he lived until his death (Väänänen 1987, 274). For Ericus **Holmenius**, see note 36.

53 *Teachers of theology at the Academia Gustavo-Carolina at Dorpat/Pernau*: Olaus (Olof) **Moberg** (d.1705) became professor at Dorpat in 1690 and was vice-chancellor of the university in 1690, 1695–1696 and 1700–1701. He obtained his doctor's degree there under Laurentius Molin (see the following) in 1699 (Kulmar, Petti & Laats 2014). Laurentius (Lars) **Molin** (1657–1723), Master of arts at Uppsala in 1688, Licentiate in theology at Giessen in 1692, Professor of theology at Dorpat from 1694, at Pernau from 1699, Doctor of theology at

Giessen in 1703. From 1705, he was Professor of theology at Uppsala University and Dean of Uppsala Cathedral. From 1702 chaplain to the Queen Dowager Hedvig Eleonora (*SBL* 25, s.v. 'Molin, Lars'). Johannes Folcker (c.1665–1729), Master of arts at Uppsala in 1693, Licentiate in theology at Giessen 1696, Professor of theology at Pernau from 1701. He had to flee to Sweden in 1710, where he was eventually dismissed from office because of his Pietist sympathies (*SBL* 16, 252).

54 On Queen Dowager Hedvig Eleonora, see note 74.

55 Nicolaus (Nils) Lillieroth (1636–1705), baron, diplomat, politician, royal councillor and chancellor of the Academia Gustavo-Carolina (*SBL* 23, s.v. 'Lillieroot, Nils').

56 Carl Piper (1647–1716), count (from 1698), civil servant, diplomat. First minister and royal councillor from 1697, vice-chancellor of Uppsala University from 1702, although absent, since he accompanied Charles XII during the Great Northern War. From the outbreak of the war he was one of the leading members of the field chancellery. In 1709 he was taken prisoner at Poltava. For a number of years, from Moscow, he worked hard to alleviate the burden of the many Swedish prisoners of war. He died in Russian captivity (*SBL* 29, s.v. 'Piper, Carl'). Sjebaldina 2010 and 2014, *passim*.

57 The vice-chancellor of Uppsala University in May 1704 was Johan Upmarck (1664–1743), later raised to the nobility and named Rosenadler. He was *professor Skytteanus* 1698–1716 (i.e. *professor eloquentiae et politices*), then *censor librorum* and finally under-secretary of state (*SBL* 30, s.v. 'Rosenadler, Johan').

58 Bergius quotes Gen. 32:10 in Tremellius & Junius's translation.

59 Bergius quotes 1 Sam. 7:11 in Tremellius & Junius's translation.

60 Once again, Bergius creates a prayer by paraphrasing fragments of the Psalms and combining them with words of his own into a new whole. The biblical text employed is that of Tremellius & Junius. The verses used are as follows: Ps. 80:15, 16 and 14, then Bergius's own words, then Ps. 85:5–8, Ps. 80:20, Ps. 85:11–12, some words of his own, and finally Ps. 113:2–3. The preface then ends with an imitation of Virgil.

61 This is an imitation of Virgil, *Eclogae* 3.89: *Mella fluant illi, ferat et rubus asper amomum*. Bergius writes *Ut tibi mella fluant, ferat rubus asper amomum*, changing the *illi* ('for him') of the original to *tibi* ('for you') and rearranging the verse accordingly. But an *et* has been omitted from the second half of the hexameter, so the new verse does not scan. This may be simply a misprint.

62 See also Birgegård 1990.

63 Note that the heading of the Russian version correctly says 'Lucae 21 vers 15', whereas the Latin version has 'Luc. XXXI.15'. The biblical quotation, however, is rather free and does not agree entirely with either the Vulgate or the New Testament translation by Th. Beza, which is normally combined with the Old Testament translation by Tremellius & Junius that Bergius must have used. The poem is written in iambic senarii. The Russian text has also been reproduced in Jensen 1912, 151–152. Petrovskij 1914, 534–37, has reproduced Sparwenfeld's Russian and Latin versions

plus his own reading of the Russian text. He adds that Sparwenfeld's Russian text is probably the first syllabo-tonic poem printed in the Russian language. See also Berkov 1935, 67ff. On the wider context, see Picchio 1984, 15–16.

64 On Herberstein and all the following authors, as well as anonymous titles quoted by Bergius, see henceforth Ref. Libr.

65 This is of course short for (or perhaps a misunderstanding of) *Liber baro de Herberstein*; Herberstein was Baron (Ger. *Freiherr*) of Herberstein.

66 For *Scriptores Rerum Moscoviticarum*, see Ref. Libr., under *Rerum Moscoviticarum auctores varii*. The phrase *editoribus Marniis* in Bergius's text refers to the printer Andreas Wechsel's heirs, Claude de Marne and Jean Aubry, working at Frankfurt around 1600.

67 This comment shows that Bergius is not relying on the 1600 Frankfurt edition for his reading of Jovius (cf. Ref. Libr.).

68 In 1581 Possevinus was sent to mediate between King Stephen Báthory of Poland and Grand Prince Ivan Vasil'evič ('the Terrible') and to negotiate the reunion of the Russian Church with Rome, though with little success. De Madariaga 2005.

69 There is no 'number 5' in the text.

70 Gennadius Scholarius (c.1405–c.1472) was Patriarch of Constantinople in 1454–1456, 1462–1463 and 1464–1465 (*LThK* 4, 463–464; Bulgakov 1913 (1993), vol. II, 1387). He took part in the Council of Ferrara–Florence (see note 213) and initially favoured the union, but in time emerged as the leader of the anti-Unionist party. Runciman 1968, 104–105, 110, 168–170 *et passim*.

71 On Possevinus, see Ref. Libr. Bergius is referring here to a collection of his works on Russia, published at Cologne (by Brinckmann) in 1595, which comprises, besides *Moscovia*, his accounts of three discussions with Ivan IV and other short works concerning his visit to Moscow. It is likely that he had read Possevinus's *Moscovia* in that edition. Cf. Santich 1995, 97–99.

72 Yes, Mathias de Miechovia wrote his treatise on the two *Sarmatiae* before 1544: his book was first published in 1517, and he died in 1523 (see Ref. Libr.).

73 Bergius, in § 5, gives a (not quite complete) list of the contents of the so-called Albinus collection. See also under Lasicius in Ref. Libr.

74 Queen Dowager Hedvig Eleonora of Sweden (1636–1715), daughter of Duke Frederick III of Holstein-Gottorp and widow of King Charles X Gustav, was a member of the regency during the minority of both her son, Charles XI (1660–1672), and her grandson, Charles XII (1697), and represented Charles XII in Sweden during his war campaigns (*SBL* 18, s.v. 'Hedvig Eleonora').

75 The symbol ☉ is used to denote passages added by Bergius on pp. 262–272 under the title 'Appendix eorum quae ADDENDA', with references to the pages in question.

76 Michail Fëdorovič Romanov, Tsar of Russia 1613–1645, founder of the Romanov dynasty.

77 "Ceci merite d'autant plus de foi, que la Relation de cet Ambassadeur paroît en beaucoup d'endroits fort passionnée contre les Moscovites."

78 Paragraph numbers 8 and 9 are missing in the text.

79 See Ref. Libr., under Schleussinger.

80 We have not succeeded in identifying this book.

81 The real author of the quoted work is Claude Jordan de Colombier, French traveller and author. It was translated into German and edited with commentaries by 'Talander', which is a pseudonym for August Bohse. See further Ref. Libr., under Jordan and Bohse.

82 Charles Howard, 1st Earl of Carlisle (1628–1685), English military leader and politician. In 1663 he was appointed ambassador to Russia, Sweden and Denmark. The report on the embassies was written, not by Howard himself, but by Guy Miège under Carlisle's name: *A Relation of three Ambassies from his sacred Majesty Charles II, to the Great Duke of Moscovia, the King of Sweden and the King of Denmark, performed by the Earl of Carlisle in the years 1663 and 1664, London 1669*. Poe 1999, 133. So the first edition was in English, but there were already editions in French from 1669, according to Poe. An edition in German was published at Leipzig in 1701. On pages 114–117 in the folder containing Sparwenfeld's diary of the journey to Russia (Swedish National Archives, *Tidöarkivet*, Vol. E501), there is handwritten material on Count Carlisle's embassy to Tsar Aleksej Michajlovič in 1663. Sparwenfeld comments (in French) on Carlisle's book, gives a summary of the aim of the mission, comments on the audience (he quotes Carlisle's speech on that occasion in its Latin translation) etc. He also quotes a Latin letter from Carlisle to the Tsar.

83 According to the normal practice of the day, the title *Helicons Blomster* is printed with the purely Swedish word *Blomster* (flowers) in Gothic black-letter type.

84 Laurentius Stigzelius (1598–1676), Swedish theologian, vice-chancellor of Uppsala University four times from 1645 to 1668, and Archbishop of Uppsala from 1670 (SBL 33, s.v. 'Stigzelius, Laurentius (Lars)').

85 Johann Jacob Pfeiffus (his own preferred name form, but more often called Pfeif or Pfeiff) (1613–1676), German Lutheran theologian. Vicar of the German parish at Stockholm, in 1666 appointed Bishop of Reval and all Estonia. Author of several funeral speeches, published in Stockholm and Reval (Hellström 1951, 561; Paucker 1968, 12, 58).

86 François Gaston de Béthune (1638–1692) was a French soldier and diplomat who was sent by King Louis XIV as ambassador to Poland and other central European countries and finally to Sweden. He was made Marquis de Chabris (DBF 6, 348–349). De Neuville gives different versions of the aim of his mission to Muscovy in the first two chapters of his book – his dedication to Louis XIV and his 'Recit de mon voyage'. He seems to have travelled to Russia in the service of the King of Poland rather than that of Louis XIV of France (Lavrov 1996, 23–24).

87 The work written by this person, Grigorij Kotošchin, the original and only copy of which is kept at Uppsala University Library (*Slav 29*), is unique and is one of the most valuable Slavic manuscripts found in Sweden. Kotošchin worked at the Chancellery for Foreign Affairs (*Posol'skij prikaz*) in Moscow. In his work he came into contact with Swedish diplomats, and eventually he started selling information

to the Swedes. In time, the risk of discovery became imminent and Kotošichin left Russia (under the name Johan Alexander Selitskij), spent some time in Poland, and was eventually helped to travel to Stockholm (in 1666), possibly on condition that he wrote a report on the inner circles of the Muscovite realm. He did so, and was just finishing this work when he was condemned to death for killing a man, an interpreter of Russian, in a drunken quarrel. He was executed in November 1667.

Within two years his work, *O Rossii v carstvovanije Alekseja Michajloviča* (On Russia during the Reign of Tsar Aleksej Michajlovič), which was of course of great interest to the Swedish authorities, was translated into Swedish by the interpreter of Russian, Olof Barckhusen. In 1682 Barckhusen started revising his translation, but he never finished the project. The translation was published by Gustaf Adde in Stockholm in 1908: *Beskrifning om Muschofsche Rijkets Staat författat och skrifwin af en Rysk Cantzelist Grigori Carpfsson Cotossichin, förswänskat j Stockholm Anno 1669: Samtida skildring af 1600-talets ryska samfundslif*. In one way or another, Sparwenfeld became the owner of the original manuscript, which he donated to Uppsala University Library in 1721–1722. It has been published a number of times for historians in Russia, and in 1980 an annotated philological edition was produced by Anne Pennington at Oxford. See also Kovalenko 2010, 102–108; Birgegård 2012a, 306–309; Tarkiainen 2017, 174–180.

- 88 We have not been able to identify this person. Could he be a relative of the well-known military officer Johan van den Corput (1542–1611)? *Biografisch Woordenboek 3*, 1858, 736–739.
- 89 Bergius has “Muscovia einer wahrhaften Feder deutsch, 1687.” This reference is unclear.
- 90 On Gothofredus (Godofredus), see Ref. Libr.
- 91 This text is referred to on the second page of Schwabe’s foreword. It is not possible to identify with any certainty the book he mentions, especially as it appears to lack information about where it was printed. Schwabe believes that it could have been printed in Moscow, however. If so, he could be talking about Vasilij Fëdorov Burcov’s primer, printed in Moscow in 1634 and lacking a title page, according to Korzo 2007, 540. She also gives an account of other primers of the 17th century printed in Moscow and elsewhere (p. 540ff.). On Burcov’s primers, see also Lobačev 2003, 48.
- 92 Concerning this book, Peter Mogila’s *Pravoslavnoe ispovedanie very* (the *Orthodox Confession*), the Russian-Church Slavonic translation from 1696, see further the Introduction. The copy used by Bergius was owned by Sparwenfeld, who later donated it to Uppsala University Library (catalogue number *Ksl F 29*) (Cat. 2280 A). The title is as follows (with slightly simplified spelling): “Во славу стъял единосущныѧ, животворащѧ, и нераздѣлимыѧ Троицы, оїѧ, и сїѧ, и стағо дхѧ, Сїл книга православное исповѣданіе вѣры, соборныѧ и апостольскїѧ цркви восточныѧ, новопреведеса съ еллїногреческаго языка, съ достовѣрныемъ свидѣтельствомъ: И повелѣніемъ блгочестивѣшаго великаго Гсдру нашего црѧ, и великаго Кнѧза, Петра Алѣкѣевича, всеѧ великиѧ, и малыѧ, рѡссїи Самодержца: Блгословеніемъ же въ

дховномъ чинѣ оїа егѡ и бѣомолца, великаю Годна, стѣйшаго Куръ Адріана архіепскпа московскаго и всеѧ россїи, и всѣхъ сѣверныхъ странъ Патріарха: При блїгороднѣйшемъ Годрѣ нашемъ Црвчѣ, и великомъ Кнѣзѣ, Алеѣи Петровичѣ, Издадесѧ тупографскимъ тисненїемъ, Въ црствующемъ великомъ градѣ Москвѣ : въ лѣто міротворенїѧ / зѣд: Ржства же бѣочлїка Іїса Христа / ахчс. індїкта д. Мсца марта. Придадесѧ же к'сей книзѣ два слова о чествованїи стыхъ іконы, стїаго оїа іоанна дамаскина.” On fol. 51 v. in the volume, Sparwenfeld has written (in Swedish): “Note: this is the pure Church Slavonic text, which has been translated into Church Slavonic from the Greek for the benefit of all Slavic congregations, being the most complete Catechism they have – apart from this one they have 2 or 3 shorter ones. The original Greek text is the one that the late Professor Norrman translated into Latin from my Russian Church Slavonic-Greek Codex MSS long before this one was printed in Moscow during the reign of the present Tsar Peter, under Adrian, the Patriarch of Moscow, in the year of the creation 7204, in the year of Christ 1696. Two sermons by John of Damascus on the veneration of icons have been added. J[ohan] G[abriel] S[parwenfeld].” Bergius misunderstood part of the Russian title: he translated the Russian ‘новопреведесѧ съ еллїногреческаго языка, съ достовѣрныиимъ свидѣтельствомъ’ (recently translated from the Greek language, with credible testimony) into ‘noviter collatus cum Helleno-graeca lingua, à fide dignis testibus’ (recently compared with the Greek language by trustworthy witnesses). Regarding this book, see Korzo 2007, 367ff.

- 93 The reference to Widekindi (the Swedish version, pp. 685ff., Ref. Libr.) points the reader to negotiations between Sweden and Russia that have come to a halt owing to disputes over the appropriate titles etc. The ‘mediatores’ are having difficulty finding constructive solutions to differences of opinion as to whether the long or the short title should be used, and ascertaining that the title ‘samoderžec’ (autocrat) is always used in connection with Tsar Vasilij Ivanovič, that the title of King Gustavus Adolphus is not too ‘simple’ etc. Concerning titles that gave rise to protracted contention, see also Birgegård 2014.
- 94 Patriarch Adrian (1690–1700) was the last patriarch to serve before Peter the Great changed the whole church hierarchy. On Adrian, see *Slovar’ knižnikov* b, vol. I, 50f. The title ‘кур, кир’ (pronounced ‘kir’), from Greek *kyrios*, is the usual title before names of individuals belonging to the Church hierarchy in the 16th to the 18th centuries, e.g. Патриарх кир Адриан (Patriarch kir Adrian).
- 95 Here, Bergius uses the Swedish word ‘Högboren’ to gloss the Latin *sub summo loco natus*. The Russian original has ‘блїгороднѣйшемъ’ (*blagorodnejšem*, superlative of *blagorodnyj* – noble, of noble birth). Regarding the heir to the throne, Aleksej Petrovič, see note 235.
- 96 Johannes Damascenus, John Damascene, John of Damascus, Ioann Damaskin (c. 676–c.754), one of the Fathers of the Church, Doctor of the Church, theologian, philosopher and hymnographer. His main work – more like a religious encyclopedia – written in Greek, is *Pege tes gnoseos* (*Source of Knowledge*, Russ. *Istočnik znanija*).

ja), consisting of three chapters. The third, considered to be the most important, is *Expositio fidei* (*An Exact Exposition of the Orthodox Faith*, Russ. *Točnoe izloženie pravoslavnoj veri*). His work on icon veneration, included there (3.16), is regarded to this day as a standard in the Orthodox Church (McGuckin 2011, 358); *Patrology* 2006, 228–238.

- 97 Concerning Patriarch Adrian's foreword, see note 143.
- 98 Bergius writes “τοῦ πάπυ Normanni”. Laurentius Normannus (Lars Norrmann) (1651–1703), Professor of Greek, Hebrew, theology, and logic and metaphysics at Uppsala University, (head) librarian at Uppsala University Library, cathedral dean. Normannus translated the Greek version of Mogila's *Orthodox Confession* into Latin: *Orthodoxa Confessio Catholicae Atque Apostolicae Ecclesiae Orientalis. Cum interpretatione Latina primum edit Laurentius Normannus*, printed in Leipzig in 1695 by J. Thomas Fritsch. To do so, he used Sparwenfeld's copy of the Greek translation, printed in Amsterdam in 1666 (Rozemond/Mırşanu). By the end of the 17th century, this edition had already become very rare. The book is now kept at Uppsala University Library, catalogue number UUB, MS *Slav* 57. According to Sparwenfeld's notes in the book (in Swedish), he was the one who took the initiative and urged Normannus to translate the work into Latin: “NB: From this Greek original Professor Lars Norrman made his Latin version, printed in Leipzig, something he would not have done, or even thought about, had it not been for me, who immediately after my arrival home from Moscow in 1687 travelled directly to him in Uppsala and showed him and lent him this copy.” For more on Normannus (Norrman), see *SBL* 27, s.v. ‘Norrmannus, Laurentius’. There are three copies of Normannus's Latin translation in Uppsala University Library. One of them (with the catalogue number *Obr. 57:108*) is of particular interest, as Sparwenfeld's notes from the Greek version (*Slav* 57) have been transferred to it.
- 99 Nectarius (1602–1674) was Patriarch of Jerusalem from 1661 to 1668 (*LThK* 7, 732, Bulgakov 1913 (1993), vol. II, 1391). Bergius could read his foreword in the Greek original from 1666, in Normannus's Latin translation from 1695 and in the Russian-Church Slavonic edition of 1696. An English translation of the *Orthodox Confession* by Philip Lodwell (Lodvel, Lodvill), printed in London in 1762, is accessible online (Papadopoulos 1984, no. 4551). There Nectarius's preface is also found. Nectarius opposed the Patriarch Cyril Lucaris of Constantinople (see note 104) and defended Mogila's *Confession*.
- 100 On Peter Mogila (Petro Mohyla) and his catechism, see Introduction.
- 101 Parthenius II, Patriarch of Constantinople, was one of the four patriarchs who signed and thereby approved the amended version of the *Confession* presented after the Synod of Jassy (Runciman 1968, 343). He wrote a short preface, which concluded with the signatures of the Orthodox dignitaries confirming the contents of the *Confession*. He says openly that what is confirmed by the four patriarchs and the other signatories is the Greek version of the work. The Latin version on the opposite page is not covered by their approval, probably because of difficulties with the language.
- 102 As Bergius rightly says, Porphyrius, metropolitan of Nicaea, is mentioned in

Nectarius's preface. He was sent to Jassy by the Holy Synod of Constantinople. Niess 1977, 144.

103 Meletius Syrigus (1585–1664) was a Cretan mathematician and scholar who, after studies in Italy, went to Constantinople, where he took up leading posts in the Church and wrote theological treatises. He was sent to Jassy by the Holy Synod as the representative of the Patriarch. Nectarius, in his preface to the *Orthodox Confession*, praises him highly for his learning and as a trustworthy representative of the true faith. He had written a work in opposition to the 'Confession of Faith' of the 'Calvinist Patriarch' Cyril Lucaris (see note 103), *Antirrhesis*, which was carefully examined at Jassy. In that context, Syrigus also translated Mogila's amended *Orthodox Confession* into the Greek vernacular. His original translation, full of corrections, is kept in Constantinople (Codex M 360, no. XII in Pargoire 1908, 275–76). On Syrigus's life and work, see Pargoire 1908, 1909; Völkl 1975, 88–89; *LThK* 9,1207, *BBKL* 9, 369–372.

104 Cyril Lucaris (Cyrillus Lucaris, Kyrillos Loukaris) (1572–1638), born on Crete, studied in Italy, Patriarch of Alexandria from 1601 (as Cyril III), Ecumenical Patriarch of Constantinople 1620–1638 (with interruptions, as Cyril I), known as the 'Calvinist Patriarch'. He was dismissed several times for his unorthodox (Calvinist) opinions, but subsequently reinstated. In 1638 he was accused of inciting the Cossacks against the Turks and executed by agents of Sultan Murad IV. His 'Confession of Faith' first appeared in 1629, in several languages, and prompted an intense controversy within the Orthodox Church; his opinions were finally condemned at the Synod of Jerusalem in 1672. Völkl 1975, 86–89; *EEOC I*, 173–174; Korzo 2007, 213.

105 The three mentioned participants in the Synod of Jassy were not sent from Moscow ('by the Russians') but from Kiev, with Peter Mogila as head of the delegation. According to Völkl 1975, 89 they were Isaja Trofimovyč-Kozlovskyj, Iosif Kononovyč-Horbačkyj and Ignatij Oksenovyc. See also Malvy & Viller 1927, xlviii.

106 Here, Bergius quotes Charles du Fresne, sieur du Cange, *Glossarium ad Scriptores Mediae & Infimae Grecitatis*, Lugduni, 1688, Index Auctorum under Panagiota, almost verbatim. Under the word μά, 'sed', 'verum' (Eng. 'but'), he says that this word "occurs very often in Panagiota in the Russian catechism."

107 Panayoti Nicoussios Mamonas (Panagiota, Panagiotis) was born in Chios and educated by Jesuit fathers there. He studied philosophy under Meletius Syrigus (see note 103) in Constantinople, before going on to medical school in Padua. Back in Constantinople, around 1650, he attracted the attention of the Albanian-born vizier Ahmet Köprülü, who first took him on as a family doctor, but then discovered his remarkable gifts as a linguist. In 1669 he was appointed interpreter-in-chief of the Sublime Porte, a position he retained until his death in 1673. Runciman 1968, 363–364.

108 Peter Mogila was not a Russian, nor was he a Ukrainian (which Bergius probably has in mind, as he lived in Kiev); he was born in the Principality of Moldavia. See Introduction.

109 The person who translated the Greek version of Mogila's *Orthodox Confession* into Russian, resulting in the 1696 publication of *Pravoslavnoe ispovedanie very* (see note 92), was Evfimij Čudovskij (d. 1705), a Graecophile, polemical writer and translator from Greek, connected to the Moscow Printing Press from 1652. He was an outspoken defender of word-for-word translations, a view he expressed as follows: “И подобает истинно и право преводити от слова до слова, ничто разум и рѣчений пременяя, и той есть преводитель вѣрный, иже и разум, и рѣчения преводят нелжivo, ничто оставляя или пременяя” (quoted from Sazonova, 93; in English translation: “The true and correct way to translate is to translate word-for-word, without changing the meaning and the words. A true translator is one who translates both the meaning and the words in a correct way, not leaving anything out and without changes”). See also note 112.

110 Legrand (1894, 202–216), and many other scholars after him, have claimed that the Greek version first appeared in 1667 in Holland, probably in Amsterdam (or Leiden). But new research has made it clear that it was printed in Amsterdam in 1666 (Rozemond 1964; Mirşanu 2006). Concerning the Slavonic Catechism from 1648 mentioned by Nectarius, see note 125. Bergius comes to the wrong conclusion about the relationship between the large and the small catechism.

111 Bergius is speaking of the *Synodus Glascensis*, the Synod of Jassy (Iași, the capital of the Principality of Moldavia, today north-eastern Romania), 15 September–27 October 1642, presided over by the Ecumenical Patriarch Parthenius II of Constantinople (cf. note 101), with the support of the Moldavian Prince (Gospodar) Vasile Lupu. The synod ratified an amended version of Peter Mogila's *Orthodox Confession* (EEOC II: 325–326; Runciman 1968, 341ff.; Völk 1975, 88–90.) The purpose of the synod was to counter certain Catholic and Protestant doctrinal errors that had infiltrated Orthodox theology and to offer a comprehensive Orthodox statement of the true faith. Bergius is wrong about the language in which Mogila originally wrote his *Orthodox Confession*. The first version was written in Latin.

112 This byname of St Michael, referring to his role as the leader of the heavenly host of angels, is common as a name for churches and monasteries in the Orthodox world. The monastery connected to the Cathedral of the Archangel Michael in the Kremlin was Čudov monastyr'. This was where Evfimij, called 'Čudovskij' – he was a monk of that monastery – worked on his translation (cf. note 109). Concerning him, see *Slovar' knižnikov* b, vol. I, 287–296; Sazonova 2006, 90–95 *et passim*.

113 On Patriarch Adrian, see note 94. His predecessor Joachim (Ioakim) was the Patriarch of All Russia 1674–1690. *Slovar' knižnikov* b, vol. II, 53–57.

114 See note 98.

115 Adamus Rechenbergius (1642–1721), Lutheran theologian, Professor of theology at Leipzig, and the author of several theological works. *BBKL* 7, 1994, cols 1458–1459.

116 In UUB *Slav* 57, the Greek edition of the *Orthodox Confession* (see Introduction and note 98), Sparwenfeld wrote (in Swedish): “In the Royal Library in Paris there is a manuscript copy of this work in Greek with a Latin version, made in

Constantinople, with an express dedication to the King, with countless signatures in the original, but it is difficult to get permission to see it.” The Latin version of the manuscript mentioned (*Parisinus 1265*) was edited and provided with a French translation in 1927 by Malvy and Viller. According to them (p. xix), Panayoti (‘Panagiotis’) sent the manuscript to the French ambassador Nointel, who forwarded it to the French king. Panayoti was in direct contact with the translator of the *Orthodox Confession* into Greek, Meletius Syrigus, his former philosophy teacher (see notes 103 and 107), and had plans to edit the text. At the very end of Parthenius’s preface, after the date 11 March 1643, and after the signatures of those confirming the text, is the addition: “These Copies are to be given, and presented *gratis*, to all pious Christians, for the Benefit of the Soul of the most illustrious and eloquent Lord, the Lord PANAGIOTA.” Nectarius in his preface, dated November 1662, writes that at first the approved Greek text was found in just a few manuscripts, but that Panagiotis, “Interpreter to his imperial Majesty of the *East and West*” – notwithstanding that he was a very busy man – took it upon himself to print the Greek and a parallel Latin text at his own expense, and that the copies were distributed free of charge. Nectarius also writes that the Greek text is “in a plain style and unadorned with eloquence,” that it is aimed at not only the learned, but “the unlearned Multitude also,” in other words, that it is in vernacular Greek (quotations from Lodwell’s translation). New research, however, has made it clear that there was only one printing, and of the Greek text only. It took place in Amsterdam in 1666 at the expense of the Netherlands, but with Panayoti as an active promoter (Rozemond 1964; Mîrşanu 2006).

117 According to Sparwenfeld’s notes in the printed Greek version of the *Orthodox Confession* that he brought home from Moscow, UUB *Slav 57* (cf. note 98), some corrections to the Greek text found in the margins were made by the Lichudy brothers (Sparwenfeld’s notes are in Latin). *Slav 57*: “NB The corrections added in the margins on p. 90 and *passim* are made by the Rev. Greek Fathers Ioannikij and Sofronij Lichudy from Cephalonia, with whom I lived in close friendship in Moscow for three whole years, 1684, 1685 and 1686, after I asked them to revise the text so that I could be more sure about the Greek religion, and to note what they did not agree with, in order for this catechism for the Eastern Greek and Slaveno-Russian Church to be valid, whose religion and ritual are presented here” (fol. 5r). Sparwenfeld, however, is mistaken about the years. The Greek brothers, Ioannikij (1633–1717) and Sofronij (1652–1730) Lichudy (Leichoudes), arrived in Moscow on 6 March 1685. On their activities in Russia, see note 441. See also *Slovar’ knižnikov b*, vol. II, 301–305, and Chrissidis 2000 and 2016. The Lichudy brothers’ interference in the text seems very limited: apart from corrections added in the margin on p. 90, mentioned by Sparwenfeld, we have found minor traces of them in only three other places.

118 Antonius Arnaldus (Antoine Arnauld) (1612–1694), French Catholic theologian and mathematician, famous leader of the Jansenists of Port-Royal. In the 1670s he was engaged in a bitter debate with Jean Claude, a leading Calvinist preacher (see note 122), formulating his opinions in *La Perpétuité de la Foy*, 3 vols, Paris, 1669–1673. Runciman 1968, 306–307.

119 Charles Marie François Olier, Marquis de Nointel (1635–1685), French politician and diplomat, ambassador to the Sublime Porte. Runciman 1968, 307, 309.

120 See Introduction, which makes clear that this was in fact the case.

121 Dionysius IV of Constantinople (d. in Wallachia 1696), Patriarch of Constantinople five times during the period 1671–1694. *The Free Encyclopedia*, accessed 15 January 2018; Bulgakov 1913 (1993), vol. II, 1388.

122 Johannes Claudius (Jean Claude) (1619–1687), leading French Huguenot and polemical Calvinist theologian, involved in an intense dispute with Arnaldus (see note 118) (*CERLThes.*); the main theme of the controversy was the nature of the Eucharist, and they both hoped to find support within the Eastern Christian tradition. Cyril Lucaris flatly denied transubstantiation, while Mogila, in his *Confession*, accepted it. The two disputants turned to the Marquis de Nointel (see note 119) for information about the Greek position. Jean Claude's answer was formulated in *Réponse au livre de Mr. Arnaud entitulé La Perpétuité de la Foy*, Quevilly/Rouen, 1671. Runciman 1968, 306–307.

123 Bergius quotes Normannus: *Neque diffiteri possum hāc in parte me potius accedere Thome Smitho, cetera quidem Claudio συμβοτη και συνδιασωτη sed harum rerum haud dubie callentiori quippe αυτόπτη και αυτηρχώ ...* Thomas Smith served as an English chaplain at Constantinople from 1668 to 1670. In 1678 he published a Latin, in 1680 an English version of his *Account of the Greek Church*. This work includes an appendix containing a life of Cyril Lucaris: 'The State of the Greek Church under Cyrillus Lucario'. This material was republished by Smith in 1707 under the title *Collectanea de Cyrillo Lucario*. Runciman 1968, 259, n. 1, 292–293.

124 Regarding the signatories, see also Runciman 1968, 343.

125 After Peter Mogila's major work, the *Orthodox Confession*, had been the subject of in-depth discussion and revision at Jassy, translated into Greek and approved in 1643 by Constantinople, and was waiting to be published, possibly in a form that was not quite to Mogila's satisfaction, he started working on some other, shorter catechisms. In 1645, in Kiev, he printed a small catechism, a summary of the large one, in Polish and Ruthenian. The following year the Ruthenian text was printed again, in Lvov (Ukr. Lviv), and in 1649 (not 1648, as Bergius says) it appeared in Moscow in a Russian-Church Slavonic translation, with the addition of a number of other texts (see Bergius's account; also Golubev 1898, 480–487). The Moscow version has the following title: 'Собраниe краткиe науки, о артикоулахъ вѣры. Сирѣчъ о догматѣхъ, или о преданїахъ вѣры, православно каѳолическїѧ, христіанскїѧ: артикоуль бо пословенску преданіе или собраніе [in the margin: сложеніе] толкуется: по исповѣданію и оченію. стыа восточныхъ соборныхъ апстльскїѧ цркви ради оченія и вѣденія всѣмъ православнымъ христіаномъ. На и пачеже дѣтемъ очащимса, по повелѣнію гедръ црѣ и великаго кнѧзя Алѣкѣла михаиловича всел руси самодержца и по бѣгословенію великаго гедна стѣйшаго юсифа патріарха московскаго и всея руси. тисненіемъ издроуку издасѧ языкомъ словенъ-скимъ, вѣ црѣствующемъ градѣ москвѣ. вѣ лѣто седмъ тысячиѣ рѣз є. мѣса генваря. вѣ къ день' (quoted from the copy *Ksl 9* at UUB, Cat. 970

A). This copy was part of Bergius's library. The catechism was not, as Bergius suggests, used by Mogila as a source for his large catechism; on the contrary, the small catechism is a summary of the larger one. For details of its contents, see also Korzo 2007, 366f. and *EEOCI*, 389–390. Regarding the Polish and Ruthenian catechism, see also note 134 below.

126 Aleksej Michajlovič (1629–1676), Russian tsar 1645–1676, 'Samoderžec vsej Rusi' (Autocrat of All Russia).

127 Joseph (Iosif) was the Patriarch of All Russia from 1642 to 1652 (Bulgakov 1913 (1993), vol. II, 1405).

128 *Symbolum seu confessio Sanctissimi Athanasii Patr. Alexandrini*. Athanasius (the Great) (c. 296–373), Archbishop of Alexandria 328–373, a Church Father and one of the four Eastern Doctors of the Church. He has been called 'Father of Orthodoxy'. *LThK I*, s.v. 'Athanasius'; *Patrology* 2006, *passim*.

129 Anastasius I, Patriarch of Antioch 559–570 and 593–598. *LThK I*, 599; *Patrology* 2006, 209–216.

130 Cyril (Cyrillus), Patriarch of Alexandria 412–444 (d. 444). He is counted among the Church Fathers and the Doctors of the Church. *LThK II*, s.v. 'Cyrillus'; *Patrology* 2006, *passim*.

131 Maximus the Confessor (c. 580–662), recognised as a Father of the Church and one of the most influential theologians of the 7th century. *LThK VII*, 9–10; *Patrology* 2006, 135–153.

132 The original has: *КНИГА КАТИХИСИС рекие оученіе агвѣрѣ, и оноуожнѣйшихъ винахъ пристоащихъ к'ней* (quoted from UUB *Ksl 9*).

133 On Gennadius Scholarius, see note 70.

134 In 1645 Peter Mogila published in Kiev a new, smaller catechism (cf. note 125), first in Polish: *Zebranie krotkiej navki o artikulach wiary*, then in a Ruthenian version (prosta mova): *Събрание короткой науки о артикулах вѣры*, both of which, according to Korzo, appeared in two editions (Korzo 2007, 363ff.). Golubev (1898, 358–469) reissued the Ruthenian catechism from 1645; according to him (471ff.), the Ruthenian version differs somewhat from the Polish.

135 Johannes Janssonius van Waesberge (with many variants of his name) was a printer and bookseller who worked in Rotterdam, Utrecht, Breda and Amsterdam; from 1675 he worked with his sons Johannes and Gillis as the 'Janssonio-Waesbergii', their printing house known as the 'Officina Janssonio-Waesbergiana' (*CERLThes.*, accessed 22 September 2014).

136 E[ques] P[olonus].

137 Bergius erroneously writes *Vossii*, but the foreword is written by Gisbertus Voetius (1589–1676), Calvinist theologian and Professor of theology at the University of Utrecht.

138 Cf. note 135.

139 Bergius's indignation is uncalled for here, because Andreas Wengerscius and

Regenvolscius are one and the same person. Regen(s)volscius is a pseudonym; his Polish name was Andrzej Węgierski, and he sometimes wrote under the Latinised form of that name, which was Wengerscius or Wengersius. See further Ref. Libr.

140 There are two copies of the catechism printed at Vilnius in 1585 at Uppsala University Library (*Ksl 1* and *Ksl 157*, Cat. 160 A, 160 B), so it was probably one of these that Eric Benzelius showed to Bergius (see following note). As has been shown by Granberg (2016), they are most likely two of the twelve copies of Peter Canisius's Catechism in Slavonic translation (ed. Mamonič 1585) originating from the library of the Jesuit Collegium in Riga. The title is: *Катехизъ мъ Или наука всѣмъ православнымъ христіяномъ кловчено велъ мъ полезно златинскаго языка наrusкii языкъ, ново преложоной. Друкованъ оувильни року, божъ, нарожъ ѿ ф'нѣ. здозволенъемъ, старъ-шихъ.* The titles of the chapters are: (1) 'О вѣре, и опреданїи апостольскому'; (2) 'О надежди и молитве господней'; (3) 'О любви и заповѣди бжжи'; (4) 'О сакраменътехъ'; (5) 'Оповинности, справедливости христианъское, повченія христианъскаго'. Granberg 2016, 85–91.

141 Eric Benzelius the Younger (1675–1743), priest, theologian, archbishop, and one of the most impressive Swedish intellectuals of his time. After studies at Uppsala, he defended a dissertation on John Chrysostom's *Homilia* in 1702, with Laurentius Normannus presiding (see note 98). In the same year – at the age of 27 – he became librarian at Uppsala University Library (after Normannus), a post he held for 21 years. His significance for the development of the library and its collections cannot be overestimated. Benzelius was ordained in 1709, became a Professor of theology in 1723, Bishop of Gothenburg in 1726 and of Linköping in 1731, and Archbishop in 1742. In 1715 he managed to buy, from his nephew, a valuable collection of Polish documents earlier belonging to Nicolaus Bergius, and now kept in Kraków. *SBL 3*, s.v. 'Benzelius d.y., Eric'.

142 Concerning the Russian translation of Luther's catechism printed in Stockholm in 1628, see note 7.

143 Patriarch Adrian's foreword contains a warning against the heresies represented by Calvinism, Lutheranism and Catholicism. He stresses in particular the two Lutheran catechisms, printed in the Grand Duchy of Lithuania and Stockholm, respectively. They pose a more serious threat because they are printed in Church Slavonic and in the Cyrillic alphabet: "Мартіна убо Лютера ученицы из'обрѣтше писмена славенороссійскаѧ, точнаѧ, чистаѧ: и преведше на славенскій чистый дїалектъ, своихъ имъ лживыхъ догматовъ доводы, и тупомъ издавше изнесоша на свѣтъ, свой яда полный не цвѣтъ ѿб'юхающыѧ услаждающїй, но тернъ ѿсазающыѧ убодающїй дѣлъ книжичищи, едину в'полдестъ в'градѣ несвижинѣ, в'лѣто 1562, вторую сокращеншу в'четверть, в градѣ ст҃околинѣ, в'лѣто 1628. нарекше тыѧ книжицы, катихисисъ, рекше наглашеніе, или ученіе, что члѣкъ прежде всего да учитса, и вѣсть. Яже книжица каковыхъ и коликихъ превель исполнена, изрещи вкратцѣ ниѣ неудобно" (fol. 5v). Bergius somewhat simplifies Patriarch Adrian's rhetoric concerning the two books: he transla-

tes his words as “typis ediderunt in lucem veneno plenos libellous” (they published books full of venom), whereas Adrian says something like “they published [in the form of these books] not a fragrant flower, but a piercing thorn full of venom.” See also Korzo 2007, 149.

144 The first-mentioned book, from 1562, was Simon Budnyj’s catechism, composed in the Calvinist tradition of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania. It was written in the Old Belorussian (Ruthenian) language, in the Cyrillic alphabet, and printed in Nesvizh (Beloruss. Njasviž), today’s Belarus, in Minsk Province. It belonged to the Radziwill family. Nemirovskij 2007, 274, 417ff.; Korzo 2007, 148–167.

145 The title in the original is as follows: ‘*KATHIXHΣΙΣ* си есть гръческое слово. *Апоруски именуєтсѧ Крѣтъянское оученіе перечнемъ чѣмъ чѣкъ подобаетъ прежде всего оучитисѧ и въдати осѣніи дий своей. Апечаталъ въ стоколъ не мастеръ петерь фанъ селавъ. Лѣта отъ воплощенія спаса нішего иса хадъ ахѣй.*’

146 J. Baaz, *Inventarium historiae ecclesiasticae Sveo-Gothicae*, Linköping, 1642.

147 This quotation is in Swedish, not Latin.

148 On Adrian, see note 94.

149 Bengt Gabrielsson Oxenstierna (1623–1702), count, diplomat, royal councillor. Governor-General of Livonia 1662–1666. He became President of the Chancellery in 1680 and was one of Charles XI’s most trusted councillors, but lost much of his influence when Charles XII succeeded his father (*SBL* 28, s.v. ‘Oxenstierna, släkt’).

150 Mayer quotes from the edition Antonius Possevino, *Adversus Davidis Chytræi haeretici imposturas* [...], Ingolstadt, 1583. Kappeler 1972, 89.

151 The reference here is to the so-called *Stoglav* (Book of One Hundred Chapters), the result of a joint meeting of the Boyar Council and the Church Council in 1551 to discuss a major reform programme that would regulate canon law and ecclesiastical life, especially for the Russian clergy. The *Stoglav* dogmatised native Muscovite rituals and practices, and was eventually used by the Old Believers in their opposition to Nikon’s reforms. It is divided into around one hundred answers to questions, some of which were submitted by Tsar Ivan himself. De Madariaga 2005, 83–85 *et passim*.

152 On Orbini, see Ref. Libr. Sparwenfeld donated a copy of *The Realm of the Slavs* to Uppsala University Library in 1722. On the title page is a note in his handwriting saying that the copy of this rare book which he is hereby donating to the library is the only one in the country. He used to have two copies. “When it comes to the history of the Slavs and the Goths (‘Göther’), it [the book] is indispensable, as can be seen on the opening pages, where he begins talking about Scondia [...].” Judging from underlinings, marginal notes and translations of Orbini’s summaries into Russian, Sparwenfeld had read part of the book (up to p. 180) exhaustively. On the remaining copy of this book, which was not lost – as Sparwenfeld believed – but is now at the Royal Library in Stockholm, see Jacobowsky 1932, 320, n. 2. Regarding Orbini’s work, see Fine 2006, 226–229 and Iovine 1984, 103, 124.

153 The origin of the Slavs was an important theme in Slavic chronicle writing and historiography. According to tradition, Noah's son Japheth was the ancestor of the Slavs: on this there was widespread agreement. There were differing views, however, as to which of Japheth's sons was the more immediate ancestor. The most widespread version said that Meshech, his sixth son, was the ancestor of the Muscovites, based on the similarity of the words. The Meshech theory also emphasised the common ancestry of all Slavs, something that was to prove very important. As for theories about where the first Slavs had settled, one of the first was the Balkan, or Danube, theory, claiming that the Slavs had inhabited the land around the Danube. Another, originating in Catholic sources, said that the Slavs had migrated through an area of Asia called Sarmatia. When these Asian Sarmatians settled in Europe their new land was also called Sarmatia. Mathias de Miechovia (see Ref. Libr.) wrote about the 'two Sarmatias', one European and one Asian or Scythian, which were separated by the Danube, both of them inhabited by Slavs. Many Polish authors identified the European Sarmatia with Poland or the Commonwealth, while others chose to include Muscovy as well. A West Russian source talked about the 'two Scythias', the terms Sarmatians and Scythians often being used interchangeably. The very influential Stryjkowski (see Ref. Libr.) regarded all the Slavs as one people, originally with a single language, a message that was also spread by Innokentij Gizeł' in his *Synopsis* (cf. Ref. Libr.). Concerning this and the subsequent development of the Sarmatian theory, see Helander 2004, 274–276; Watson 2012, 39–41. See also Myl'nikov 1996, 22–24, 28–30; Plokhy 2006, 25. On the discussion about where to place the Slavic ancestral home and the arguments in favour of the middle Dnieper basin, see Schenker 1996, 1–8.

154 On these names, see Helander 2004, 264–265, 271–273; Plokhy 2006, 268–269.

155 This explanation has no foundation.

156 These historical terms, 'Russia (Ruthenia) Alba', 'Nigra' and 'Rubra', have existed since the Middle Ages and are for the most part not clearly defined. Concerning White Russia and its relationship to Little Russia, see Plokhy 2006, 327–328. The term 'Red Ruthenia' ('Red Russia') was used for western Ukraine or south-eastern Poland, or right-bank Ukraine. Bergius's comment below, from "And we should not omit to say [...]" is possibly taken from Guagnini, who for his part probably found it in Stryjkowski. Scholars hold differing opinions about the origins of these colour terms. See Ostrowski 1975; Kamusella 2009, 149–150, 164–169, and Plokhy 2017. Free Wik., s.v. 'Red Ruthenia' and 'White Ruthenia', accessed 16 January 2018.

157 On Isbrand Ides (and Adam Brand), see Ref. Libr. Bergius regards Isbrand Ides as the author and calls the work *Relation du Voyage de la Chine*. He in fact quotes from the French translation of Adam Brand's *Beschreibung Der Chinesischen Reise* from 1699.

158 On Steuchus, see Ref. Libr. The book referred to must be his *Contra Laurentius Vallam de falsa donatione Constantini libri duo*, 1547. This 'classic' falsification, the so-called 'Donation of Constantine', was based on a decree, the *Constitutum Constantini*, composed around 750, saying that the Emperor Constantine the Great (306–337), on being baptised by Pope Sylvester I in Rome, had transferred authori-

ty over that city and the western part of the Roman Empire to the Pope. That the decree was in fact a forgery was exposed by the humanist Laurentius Valla around 1440 in his 'Declamatio de falso credita et ementita Constantini donatione' and, independently, by Nicholas of Cusa. That this was indeed the case was conceded by historians of the Vatican at the end of the 16th century. See *NCE* 2003², 4, 860–861, s.v. 'Donation of Constantine'; *LexMA*, 5, 1385–1387, s.v. 'Konstantinische Schenkung'.

159 Gregory VII was Pope from 1073 to 1085. The King Demetrius mentioned is probably Demetrius Zvonimir, King of Croatia 1075–1089, who took an oath of allegiance to Pope Gregory VII. There are different versions of how he died, but he may have been assassinated by his own soldiers (not by a brother). Lambertus (Lambert of Hersfeld), under the year 1075 (col. 1170), introduces him as *Ruzenorum rex, Demetrius nomine*. See Lambert of Hersfeld, *Annales*, p. 202 and Fennel 1995, 99; Free Wik. s.v. 'Demetrius Zvonimir of Croatia', accessed 16 January 2018.

160 On de Neuville, see Ref. Libr. The quotation is in French and is taken practically verbatim from the Hague edition of 1699, p. 181. The families mentioned are the Čerkasskie, the Golicyny and Andrej Artamonovič Matveev. These families also appear in Sparwenfeld's *Diary*, p. 231: he counted members of the Golicyn family and Andrej Artamonovič Matveev among his friends. Some of them also gave him valuable books (see notes 180 and 189). Members of the Čerkasskij family (see *RBS*) are also mentioned in the diary. Bergius's statement: "But even if we agree with him concerning the people who lived two centuries ago" is somewhat surprising, as de Neuville was his contemporary.

161 The quotation is in French. Concerning the letter 'On the present state of Moscow', see the French title of Adam Brand's report, Ref. Libr.

162 'Gamrathus, Bishop of All Sarmatia' must be a reference to Petrus Gamrat (1487–1545), who was Bishop of Gnesen and Primate of Poland. He was an energetic opponent of the Reformation and played an active part in politics; Nitecki 2000, 108–109.

163 *Borysthenes* is the Ancient Greek name for the Dnieper; the *Borysthenidae* are the people living along that river. The people from the south-west, the 'Ruthenians' (Ukrainians and Belorussians), who had more contact with the Latin world through Poland, were regarded as better educated and more 'cultivated' than Muscovite Russians. The Mogila Academy in Kiev (see Introduction, p. 5) played a major role in this respect.

164 The quotation from Carlisle is given in German. Concerning him, see Ref. Libr. and note 82.

165 On Ernst Glück, see note 446; on Michael von Strokirch, see note 45. The letter from Glück to von Strokirch is in German and quoted by Bergius *verbatim* (see Glück & Polanska 2005, 104–105). A school for foreign languages had been opened at the *Posol'skij prikaz* in 1701 by the translator Nicolaus Schwimmer. This school was taken over by Glück in 1703 by order of Tsar Peter under the name of 'Academic Gymnasium'. There were several Germans among the teachers. The stu-

dents were taught mathematics, physics, geography and foreign languages (the most important ones being German and Latin). The curriculum also included 'knightly' skills such as dancing and riding. After Glück's death in 1705, the activities of the gymnasium continued for a few years with the support of August Hermann Francke, but in time it lost its importance. Pekarskij 1862, 126–132; Belokurov–Zercalov 1907, *passim*; Winter 1953, 162ff.; Wittram 1964 vol. II, 196–197; Kovrigina 1998, 313ff. Thus, in his letter of November 1703 Glück wrote about plans for an academy. In fact his own 'Academic Gymnasium' was the beginnings of what in 1725 was to become the Russian Academy of Sciences.

- 166 Before Peter's time, education in Russia had been the responsibility of the Church. After returning from his first European journey (The Great Embassy, 1697–1698), and heavily influenced by his experiences on the European continent, Peter began talking to the head of the Church, Patriarch Adrian, about founding some kind of university to educate men not only for the Church, but also for government service. After the Patriarch's death in 1700 (see note 94), he was able to act more independently. But while still on his journey he had arranged for a few schools of the new type to be opened, a school of navigation, a military school etc. By and by, after his return, new 'technical' schools were opened, with foreign teachers and often good conditions for the students. Wittram 1964 vol. II, 195–196; Glück & Polanska 2005, 90ff. The students at Glück's gymnasium, for example, were exempt from military service and received daily allowances. Winter 1953, 162. The scholarships paid out to students of mathematics, navigation and seamanship fitted well with Tsar Peter's efforts to modernise his country.
- 167 Bergius does not quote Olearius's German text, but gives a summary in Latin. In the passage about the relationship between the Slavic languages, Olearius writes 'Sclavonischen' (Bergius has 'Slav.'), probably to be understood as Church Slavonic. Bergius may also have been influenced by Sparwenfeld, who had made a close study of many of the Slavic languages. Sparwenfeld, like Olearius, is of the opinion that the Slavic languages are very closely related, and that someone who knows one of them well (especially Church Slavonic) can quite easily understand all the others. According to Sparwenfeld, Church Slavonic is the parent language and the other Slavic tongues are the 'daughters'. This view was expressed, for example, in his letters to Leibniz. Birgegård 1985, 86–87; Birgegård 2010, 93.
- 168 Lithuanian is not a Slavic, but a Baltic or Balto-Slavic language. On the Balto-Slavic controversy, see Schenker 1996, 70. Concerning the Ruthenian language referred to as 'Lithuanian', see Plokhy 2006, 235.
- 169 On Bergius's booklet *Freundliches Ansinnen* [...], see note 234.
- 170 Initiatives were taken as early as the 16th century, by Gustav Vasa, to send young men to Russia to learn the language. Regular training of future interpreters and translators from the Russian language was introduced in Stockholm around 1640. For practical training in the language and to study the country, the students were required to spend some time in Russia. Tarkainen 1972, 516; Birgegård, 2012a, 296–300.
- 171 Hofmann's 'Windisch' (Wendish) is another name for the West Slavic language Sorbian (Upper and Lower Sorbian or Lusatian), spoken in Upper Lusatia (Ober-

Lausitz) and Lower Lusatia (Nieder-Lausitz) in eastern Saxony. Schenker 1996, 73; Scholze & Balke 1993; Nuorluoto 2012, 122–123. But ‘Windisch’ was also used for Slovene (see the title of the Slovene Bible, ‘Windisch Gedruckt’, note 329).

172 At this time ‘Illyrian’, the name used by the ‘Latins’ (i.e. the Roman Catholics) according to Hofmann, could refer to a purified and universally understood Slavic language, the common language of all the Slavs (Iovine 1984, 104). The word was often used, moreover, of the Croats, who were Roman Catholics, and of Croatian Church Slavonic, used in coastal Croatia (Dalmatia). (Regarding the Serbian and Croatian recensions of Church Slavonic, see Schenker 1996, 191.) See also note 307.

173 Cf. the introduction to vol. I of Sparwenfeld’s *Lexicon Slavonicum*, where he writes about the wide extent of the Slavic language area. He, too, mentions Emperor Charles IV’s *Aurea Bulla Carolina* and the use of Slavic languages at the Turkish court (probably by the Janissaries, kidnapped as boys from the Balkans to work as soldiers at the Sultan’s court). Herberstein could be the original source, also used by Adam Bohorič and Mauro Orbini (see Ref. Libr.). Bir gegård 1985, 6–7. There is no such thing as ‘the Slavonic language’; rather, there are different redactions of the Slavic literary language Church Slavonic and various vernaculars.

174 Regarding Frenzelius, see Ref. Libr. The text from “When the Emperor...” to the end is taken more or less verbatim from the ‘first’ preface to the reader in vol. I of his *De originibus linguae Sorabicae*. There is no pagination, but the text is found on the 11th page of this preface.

175 Henry the Fowler (Henricus Auceps), or Heinrich I (d. 936), King (not yet Emperor) of Germany and father of Emperor Otto I, founder of the Ottonian house. See *CMH* vol. III, 239–244.

176 Bergius writes: “Is neglectus quantum inscitiae & tenebrarum in rebus vicini, & Aquilas easdem nobiscum venerantis populi, Germanis objiciunt, fero nimis & cum deplorare solum, possunt, sentiunt.” This quotation from Reinesius (on him, see Ref. Libr.) is given practically verbatim. The only difference, however, is crucial to our understanding of the passage: Bergius writes *objiciunt* for *objiciat*, which leaves the subject of the clause, *is neglectus*, dangling.

177 On Schurzfleisch, see Ref. Libr. The passage is quoted verbatim from the very end of his *Res Slavicas*, p. 16 (accessed digitally through *VD* 17, 11 December 2014).

178 On Athanasius Kircher, see Ref. Libr. What Kircher has in mind when talking about the Illyrian language is probably the Slavic language, the common (written) ancestor of the Slavic languages (cf. note 172). He is – as Bergius is aware – wrong about its relationship to Turkish (and Tatar), both Altaic languages. Bergius himself is wrong about the relationship between Turkish and Arabic. Concerning Lithuanian, see note 168.

179 What Bergius calls Illyrian letters are probably what is now known as the Glagolitic script, used much earlier in Bohemia, Slovenia, and during Bergius’s time in Dalmatia. It was never, though, used in Poland or Lithuania. The Slavic alphabet closest to Greek, however, is the ‘Cyrillic’ one, used in Bergius’s time in *Slavia orthodoxa*, i.e. in Muscovite Russia, among the Orthodox in the Polish-Lithuanian

Commonwealth (for the Ruthenian language), and in Serbia and Bulgaria. Schenker 1996, 166ff.

180 On Stryjkowski, see Ref. Libr. Sparwenfeld owned his chronicle in Polish, as well as a Russian translation of it in manuscript (UUB, MSS *Slav* 26–28), which, according to a note in his hand in the first volume, was a gift from a member of the Golicyn family (cf. note 160), Ivan Ivanovič Golicyn the elder. Watson 2012, 76–77.

181 Regarding Vladimir, see note 188.

182 On Johannes Goropius Becanus, see Ref. Libr. Concerning the discussion of the time about the language of Adam, see Pombo 1987 and Aarsleff 1982, 84–100.

183 The Latin text reads as follows: *Cuncta ut ab oceano maria: omnis ab origine una/ Lingua ita promanat labio formata sub uno; / Exemplo esse potest vel res vilissima saccus.*

184 Elias Palmskiöld (1667–1719), head of the Royal Archives from 1702. *SBL* 28, s.v. ‘Palmskiöld, Elias’.

185 Alexander Pereswetoff-Morath, who collected material about this person for a talk and a future paper, has generously placed his findings at our disposal. Simon Wässma/Wäsm, Russ. Semën Igumnov (d. around 1655), a convert from Vjaz’ma, in Swedish service in 1616, lived in the town of Kexholm, engaged in trade and other activities. He was working on a book, consisting of 97 chapters, against the Orthodox faith. There were plans to translate it into Swedish, and Pereswetoff-Morath has found at the Swedish National Archives what he believes are extracts from two chapters in Swedish, possibly translated by Johan Roselin. So far, however, there is no trace of the original. See also Tolstikov 2002, 150–155.

186 The signatory, Johan Bengtsson Roselin, ennobled as Rosenlindt, was an interpreter of Russian working in the Royal Chancellery. His father Bengt Mattsson, also a Russian interpreter, was born in Kexholm, a small Russian fortress on the Ladoga under Swedish rule from 1580 to 1595. After working as an interpreter for a number of years, Bengt Mattsson ended up in prison (1629–1631). During his time there he worked on a Russian–Swedish and Swedish–Russian dictionary. He also had plans to prepare a Russian grammar. He wrote petitions to the authorities for writing paper and the like, but to no avail. Eventually he started work on a revised translation of Luther’s *Catechism*, published in Stockholm in 1628 at Peter van Selow’s printing house and translated by the Russian translator Hans Flörich (see note 7, Tarkiainen 1984, 17–18). Bengt Mattsson died in 1653. His son Johan Bengtsson Roselin was more fortunate in his career. He was employed by the government in 1641 and placed at Narva. In 1642–1643 he studied at Dorpat at public expense, before moving to Stockholm to work in the Royal Chancellery. In 1649 he became a ‘translator’ of Russian, the highest position at the Chancellery for translations. He worked as a teacher of Russian at the Chancellery, and in that capacity was of course interested in teaching aids. From 1653 he was sent on various diplomatic missions, and during the Polish War, in 1657, he was killed by a band of Cossacks. In his petition to the Queen (RA, *Biographica ‘Roselin, Johan. Rysstolk’*), dated 3 August 1649 and quoted by Bergius, Johan Roselin mentions the need for an emended version of the Russian catechism and a Russian–Swedish dictionary. Possibly he had in mind the

work done by his father, who was still alive. A Finnish version of the *Catechism*, printed in the Cyrillic alphabet, was published in 1644 (cf. note 7). The person who transliterated the Finnish text into Cyrillic was Roselin himself (Tarkiainen 1984, 19). On Johan Roselin as the possible author of *Alfabetum Rutenorum* (note 7), see Maier 2012. On two Russian poems written by Roselin in Dorpat, see Maier & Beyer 2008. Concerning Bergius's Russian–Swedish catechism from 1701, see Introduction.

187 J.G. Sparwenfeld's *Lexicon Slavonicum* was not yet finished when Bergius wrote this. The final result of Sparwenfeld's extensive dictionary project, which took more than twenty years to complete, is now at Uppsala University Library. The main dictionary (*Slav 37–40*), the draft and the sources were all donated to the library. Despite all his efforts, Sparwenfeld's dictionary was not printed in his lifetime, but did finally appear in print at the end of the last century: Birgegård 1985; J.G. Sparwenfeld, *Lexicon Slavonicum*, vols I, II, III, IV, Index, Uppsala: Almqvist & Wiksell 1987–1992. The Latin column in the major part of *Lexicon Slavonicum* was written by the Slovak Matthias Zabani, who was hired by Sparwenfeld as an editor.

188 Vladimir (Volodymyr) the Great (956–1015) was Prince of Kiev; he was born a pagan, but converted to Christianity in 988 and Christianised his subjects in accordance with the Greek Orthodox faith; he is regarded as a saint and is celebrated on 15 July in the Russian liturgy (Bulgakov 1913 (1993), vol. I, 266–268). See also Bodin 2006, 11ff.; Plokhy 2006, 22, 43.

189 Regarding *Stepennaja kniga*, see Ref. Libr. J.G. Sparwenfeld owned a copy, now at Västerås (*Codex AD II*). According to a note in the book, he received it as a gift from Andrej Artamonovič Matveev in 1686 (Gawryś & Jansson 1956, 12–17, cf. also note 160). On Matveev, see Sparwenfeld's *Diary*, n. 736; Brokgauz & Efron, vol. 18, 1896, 778.

190 On Eric Benzelius the Elder, see note 25. Bergius is referring to his *Breviarium historiae ecclesiasticae Veteris & Novi Testamenti*, printed at Strängnäs in 1695.

191 Basil Macedo ('the Macedonian') or Basil I, Byzantine emperor 867–886 (*LThK 2*, 71; Bulgakov 1913 (1993) vol. II, 1386). Benzelius is evidently (according to Bergius) speaking about the 'Slavic Apostles', the brothers Cyril and Methodius, who did their missionary work in the 9th century (see notes 303 and 315).

192 Princess Olga (Olha) (881–969) was christened, probably in Kiev or Chersonesus, during the reign of Emperor Constantine VII Porphyrogenitus (945–959). She was the wife of Igor' of Kiev and, after his death, ruled Kievan Rus' as regent 945–c.963, on behalf of their son Svjatoslav. She was the grandmother of Prince Vladimir. The year of her conversion has often been given as 955. Rybakov, however, concludes that it must have taken place earlier, probably in 946. (See also Živov 2017, 81). The *Primary Chronicle*, an important source for this period, confuses the emperors and states that the emperor in power when Olga was baptised was Ioann Cimischij (969–976), which is incorrect. This version was also taken over by Bergius and his sources (when it comes to the name of the emperor at that time). Rybakov 1987, 385ff.

193 On Papebroch and Henschen, see Ref. Libr. Daniel Papebroch, Godfrey Henschen

and Conrad Janningus were early Bollandists in Antwerp and editors of the *Acta Sanctorum*. Bergius calls the work *Ephemerides Graeco-Russicae*; the correct title is *Ephemerides Graecorum et Moscorum*. The work is part of the *Acta Sanctorum* for May, vol. I. Papebroch and Janningus were close friends of Sparwenfeld's. He helped them in their work by providing information on Swedish and Russian saints. See Jacobowsky 1932, 16n., 105.

194 The quotation is taken from Lasicius (the Albinus collection), *Theologia Moscovitica*, the debate between Rokuta and Ivan IV (ch. 8, p. 67). See Ref. Libr. under Lasicius.

195 Thuanus (Fr. de Thou), *Historia sui temporis* ... Bergius is right to challenge the information given by de Thou. Vladimir came to power in Kievan Rus' in 980. The Byzantine Emperor Basil II Porphyrogenitus (976–1025) approached Vladimir and asked for help against the Bulgarians. At the same time, he offered him his sister Anna as his wife. Vladimir agreed to give his support and accepted Christianity for himself and his people in 988. Basil II was followed by his brother Constantine (979–1028) as emperor. As Bergius says, both followed after Johannes Zimisci (Ioann Cimischij) as emperors (Bulgakov 1913 (1993) vol. II, 1386). There was an emperor Basil I ('the Macedonian') in power from 867 to 886 (cf. note 191). Kievan Rus' was first converted to Christianity in the 860s (possibly between 864 and 866), but it did not last (Dvornik 1970, 127–128). According to Bergius, Anna was the child of the younger emperor Romanus, i.e. Romanus II (reigned 957–963), as consequently were the two Porphyrogenitus brothers as well (Bulgakov 1913 (1993) vol. II, 1386).

196 According to information from Patriarch Photius (see note 209) in a circular letter written in 867, inhabitants of Kiev were christened in 865–866 by Metropolitan Michail. To convince the hesitant Russians, the metropolitan threw the Gospel into the fire, and it did not burn. After that, many converted to the new faith. Rybakov 1987, 397. See also Živov 2017, 80. Schwabe in his preliminary discussion 2 mentions a certain 'Joh. Curopalates scriptor Graecus.' The Latin Curopalates (Eng. Curopalate) from a Greek word meaning '[the one in] charge of the palace' was a high Byzantine court title.

197 On Vossius (Gerardus), see Ref. Libr. The work referred to here is probably *De historiis Graecis libri III* (1624).

198 Otto III, Holy Roman Emperor 996–1002. *NCMH* vol. III, 2000.

199 Regarding St Andrew, see note 205.

200 The Greek emperor Michael III Pijanyj (the Drunkard) 855–867; Patriarch Photius 858–867 and 877–886 (Bulgakov 1913 (1993) vol. II, 1386–1387; *EEOC* II, 544–545).

201 See note 191.

202 On Olha or Olga, see note 192. The exact years of conversion in all these cases are, understandably, somewhat approximate.

203 St Jude the Apostle, Judas Thaddaeus, one of the twelve apostles of Jesus. He preached the Gospel in huge areas of today's Middle East (Israel, Arabia, Syria, Mesopotamia, Persia and Armenia) and died around AD 80. His feast day in the Russian Orthodox Church is 19 June. Bulgakov 1913 (1993) vol. I, 229.

204 St Bartholomew, one of the twelve apostles of Jesus. He preached the Gospel in India, Babylonia, Assyria and Armenia, where he died a martyr. His feast day in the Russian Orthodox calendar is 11 June. Bulgakov 1913 (1993) vol. I, 219.

205 According to tradition, the Apostle Andrew (St Andrew), the 'First Summoned', preached the Gospel in the Black Sea area (Azov) and founded a Christian church in Chersonesus in the Crimea (Plokhy 2006, 27–30; McGuckin 2011, 55). A legend about St Andrew in Kiev and in Velikij Novgorod (Novogardia Magna, Novgorod the Great) was included in one of the earliest versions of the Primary Chronicle. See e.g. Mjuller 1974, 23–32.

206 Mysia, situated in north-west Anatolia on the south coast of the Sea of Marmara, and the Adriatic coast are mentioned in both the Acts of the Apostles and the letters of St Paul as regions where there was a Christian mission from the start. Andronicus is mentioned only in Romans 16:7 (not 15 as Bergius says), as a friend, kinsman and fellow prisoner of Paul. In the Orthodox tradition, however, he has been counted among the seventy disciples (cf. Luke 10) and given the title of Bishop of Pannonia; he is regarded as a saint in the Eastern Orthodox and Oriental Orthodox churches, in the latter even as a martyr. See Bulgakov 1913 (1993), vol. I, 190 (under 17 May). Bergius writes: "Mysia, however, and Illyria are Slavonic regions" when talking about Paul's missionary journeys. 'Illyricum' was a Roman province situated in the western part of the Balkans (the eastern and north-eastern coast of the Adriatic Sea), in the first century AD, comprising Illyria/Dalmatia and Pannonia.

207 See Ref. Libr. under Petrus Bång.

208 Stridon (Lat. Strido Dalmatiae), possibly located near Tuzla in today's Bosnia. Known as the birthplace of St Jerome (see note 313). The town was destroyed by the Goths in 379. Bishop Domnus of Stridon (should be Domnus of Sirmium, of Pannonia) took part in the First Council of Nicaea in 325. Zeiller 1918, 144.

209 St Photius (810–895), known as 'the Great' in the Orthodox tradition, was Patriarch of Constantinople 858–867 and 877–886. He could be said to have prepared the ground for the final separation between the Byzantine and Roman Churches in 1054. Photius argued against papal supremacy and the position of the Western Church on the *Filioque*-question. His work *Mystagogy of the Spirit* became fundamental within the Orthodox world. During the (IV) Council of Constantinople mentioned in Bergius's text, held in 869–870 (not 979 as stated there), the Patriarch argued against Pope Nicholas, saying that he was not a legitimate Bishop of Rome as he tolerated *Filioque* in the Frankish churches. As a result, the Council condemned the Pope. This was the first public division between the Western and Eastern Churches. EEOC II, 544–545; Chadwick 2003, 159–160.

210 The *Filioque* controversy in 1054 led to the final split between the Western and Eastern Churches. In the article on the Holy Spirit of the Niceno-Constantinopolitan Creed, the Western Church added 'and the Son', leading to the wording 'the Holy Spirit, proceeding from the Father and the Son.' This addition was never accepted by the Eastern Church. The Orthodox interpretation of the addition is articulated by Photius (see previous note) in his *Mystagogy of the Spirit*: the

wording that the Holy Spirit proceeds from the Father *and the Son* gives the impression that it proceeds from two distinct sources, while the source is in fact one (McGuckin 2011, 83, n. 27). See also Runciman 1968, 90ff.; Chadwick 2003, 153ff. and Bodin 2006, 26ff.

211 The union referred to by Bergius is the Union of Brest, 1595–1596. After the Union of Lublin in 1569, when the Grand Duchy of Lithuania and the Kingdom of Poland – formerly linked dynastically – became the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth, Orthodoxy, which had been the majority religion in the Grand Duchy, became a minority faith. It had to compete with Polish Catholicism and Protestantism, and continuously lost ground. In this situation, in December 1595, two Ruthenian Orthodox bishops were received in Rome by Pope Clement VIII for negotiations, resulting in a union, on condition that they break away from the Patriarch of Constantinople and recognise the Pope as head of the Church, but with the right to retain their Eastern Christian liturgy. The union was to be confirmed by a Church Council. Two Councils, one *for* and the other *against*, took place in Brest in October 1596, resulting in the creation of the Uniate Church. Runciman 1968, 262–263; Stone 2001, 137–138; Plokhy 2006, 163–164.

212 So, according to Bergius, Sparwenfeld translated this oath from Polish into Latin.

213 The union mentioned by Bergius in connection with Isidore was the union discussed at the Ferrara-Florence Council of 1438–1445. This Council was to prove the breaking point for the Orthodox Church. It involved discussions between the Latin and Greek Churches, aimed at achieving reconciliation. Several difficult issues were provisionally resolved, and an agreement was reached in June 1439. But in ensuing discussions within the Eastern Churches the agreement reached at the Council was withdrawn and, after that, the dividing lines between the churches became very pronounced. Isidore (1385–1462) was Metropolitan of All Russia residing in Moscow, a Greek, and one of the most influential defenders of reunion with the Catholic Church at the time of the Council. Grand Prince Vasilij II (1415–1462) was against the reunion, but Isidore managed to persuade him to ally himself with the Catholics to save the Byzantine Empire and the Orthodox Church of Constantinople from the Turks. In time, however, Vasilij II became critical of the reunion and Isidore, after spending time in prison, left Moscow for Rome, where he died. He was not killed, it seems, as Oppenbusch maintains. Runciman 1968, 104ff., 321; Plokhy 2006, 104; *Slovar' knižnikov* a, s.v. Isidor; Scheidegger 1999, 69. After the Council of Ferrara-Florence, the metropolitans of Moscow were chosen from the Russian clergy (Lobačev 2003, 20), which was a first step towards the Russian Orthodox Church becoming independent of Constantinople.

214 On the *Liber de fide*, see Ref. Libr. and note 265 below.

215 Prince Konstantin of Ostrog (of Ostrih, of Ostroh, Ostrozky, Ostrožskij of Volhynia) (1526–1608), an immensely rich and tolerant humanist, saw himself as the leader of the Orthodox Church in the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth. He was heavily involved in the discussions surrounding the Union of Brest in 1596 (see note 211), but was not happy with the outcome, which gave a dominant position to the Catholic Church and the Pope. After the Union, Orthodox and Protestant be-

lievers, in an effort to oppose this Catholic dominance, sought closer relations. A joint meeting was held in 1599, and there were plans to organise common synods. Not much came of these efforts, however. Stone 2001, 138–139; Plokhy 2006, 182. See also Besters-Dilger 2007, 160–163.

216 Andrzej (Andreas) Leszczyński (the Elder) (1559–1606), Count of Leschnow and Count Palatine [*vojvode*] of Brest, according to the *Index nominum* of the facsimile edition of Regenvolscius (1973) and Free Wik., accessed 9 February 2018.

217 In preparation for what was to be the Union of Lublin in 1569, when the Kingdom of Poland and the Grand Duchy of Lithuania formed a full union – the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth – many Lithuanian magnates converted to Calvinism, partly to demonstrate their ethnic identity (Stone 2001, 61–63). Among these Calvinists, members of the Radziwiłł family held a leading position. Christophorus Radzivilius (1547–1603), Polish Krzysztof Radziwiłł, was ‘Großhetman’ or Grand Duke of Birza and Prince of Lithuania.

218 Bergius is referring here to what is normally called ‘1571 års kyrkoordning’. The text was printed by Archbishop Laurentius Petri in 1571, but ratified by a synod at Uppsala in 1572 (Andrén & Tegborg 1999, 162–165).

219 On Stahl (Stahlius), see note 13. His *Dissertatio de quaestione, an Moscovitae Christiani sint?* was defended in Wittenberg in 1622 and gained him a master’s degree.

220 Many foreign travellers commented on the ignorance of Russian Orthodox priests concerning sacred matters. The Ukrainian Orthodox Church on the other hand, owing to the strong influence of the Catholic and Uniate Church in the Commonwealth, developed an identity of its own. Thanks to Mogila’s Kievan Academy, which was more open to Western theological debate and had the Latin language on its curriculum, the clergy from the south-west were better educated than their Muscovite counterparts. Because of the pressure on the Orthodox in the Commonwealth, there was a movement of monks from the Ukrainian and Belorussian territories into Muscovy. By comparison, the low level of education of Russian Orthodox priests and monks was more striking. There were efforts from within the Church, championed by the ‘Zealots of Piety’ (*Revniteli blagočestija*), to reform standards of education and the way of life among the Russian Orthodox priesthood. In connection with his reforms, Patriarch Nikon – who came from their ranks – imported many learned monks from the south-west to help revise church books, as – with a few exceptions – he was unable to find the necessary people among the Muscovite monks. Charlampovič 1914 (1968), 262–275; see also Birgegård 1985, 21ff; Birgegård 2002, 99 (Sparwenfeld’s diary) and Lobačev 2003 *passim*.

221 The name of this festival in the Russian Orthodox Church (6 January) is *bogojavlenie* (the appearance of God) or *kreščenie* (the baptism), popularly *Jordan* (Epiphany, commemorating the baptism of Jesus Christ by John the Baptist in the Jordan). In the Western Church, the day celebrates the three Magi, (*dies trium magorum*). Bulgakov 1913 (1993) vol. I, 23–25.

222 (The blessed) Marco d'Aviano (1631–1699) was a Capuchin preacher who was hailed for his piety and the miracles he is said to have worked (BBKL 23, 35–38). We do not know if Bergius visited the Alps during Lent 1686, but it is not impossible, as he was still abroad at that time.

223 The reference to ch.1 in Schwabe's treatise is correct, but there is no § 6 in that chapter.

224 Bergius quotes Olearius practically verbatim: *Es gibt der Patriarche nicht zu / daß man von Glaubenssachen viel rede und disputiere / daher sie allenthalben einerley Meinung erhalten*. There is no tradition of questioning or debate within the Orthodox Church, as the Truth has been revealed once and for all.

225 Jan Rokyta was a Hussite, a member of the Bohemian Brethren, and chaplain to a Polish-Lithuanian Embassy that visited Moscow in 1570; his debate with Tsar Ivan Vasil'evič was published and caused the Tsar to publish a reply. On this debate, see de Madariaga 2005, 251– 253. The latest and most comprehensive book about the debate between Rokyta and the Tsar is Morčalis 2009.

226 The quotation (somewhat reformulated) is taken from Lasicius (the Albinus collection), *Theologia Moscovitica*, the debate between Rokyta and Ivan IV (ch. 1, p. 14 and ch. 9, p. 84). See Ref. Libr. under Lasicius.

227 Andrej Jakovlevič Chilkov (1676–1716) arrived in Sweden in July 1700 as the first permanent Russian resident (ambassador) in the country. After the outbreak of war, on 9 October, he was informed of his arrest by Sparwenfeld, then Master of Ceremonies at the Swedish court, who was to be the intermediary between the Russian prisoners of war and the Swedish authorities. Sparwenfeld's relations to the Russian prisoners, and to Chilkov in particular, were very good, according to the Swedish authorities *too* good. Chilkov, despite several attempts to have him exchanged and released, died a prisoner at Visingsborg Castle on 8 November 1716. Almquist 1942, *passim*; Birgegård 2009a, 185–186 *et passim*; Jorikson 2009a, 168, 175; Šebaldina 2014, 113–130 *et passim*.

228 These letters have not been found.

229 The whole of the quotation from Sparwenfeld's letter is in Swedish.

230 After the fall of Constantinople in 1453, the Russian Orthodox Church regarded itself as the only remaining true defender of the pure Christian faith. 'Moscow – the Third Rome' was the slogan used: the First Rome had fallen, the Second Rome, Constantinople, likewise, but the Third Rome – Moscow – would stand for ever as a guarantor of the survival of the only true faith, Russian Orthodoxy (Uspenskij 2002). This led to isolation and a fear of contamination from those of 'heretical' faiths, Catholics and Jesuits first of all, but also Lutherans. Consequently, Russian Orthodoxy did not accept Catholic or Lutheran baptism and, in cases of conversion to Orthodoxy, called for repeated baptism through immersion (Plokhy 2006, 224–225). The Church of Sweden, on the other hand, accepted Russian Orthodox baptism as valid. For practical reasons, however, Tsar Peter initiated a change of policy. A manifesto dated 16 [sic] April 1702, written in German by Johann Reinhold von Patkul, who had been given full powers by the Tsar to recruit officers abroad for service in the Russian army, was published in the form of a brochure and distributed in

Europe. There is a contemporary translation of the manifesto into Russian, published together with the original German text in *Письма и бумаги императора Петра Великого* II, No. 421, 39–50. In the manifesto, Peter promised that “whereas here in Our Capital freedom of worship has already been introduced for all faiths except the Christian sects separated from our church, nonetheless we adopt this means to confirm once again that by the authority given to Us by the Most High we do not wish to constrain men’s consciences, and readily leave to every Christian the responsibility of caring for the well-being of his own soul” (quoted from Cracraft 1971, 72–73). The Christian sects separated from the Russian Church were surely above all the Old Believers. See also Wittram 1964, 176.

- 231 Bergius translated Melanchthon’s *Vita Lutheri* into Swedish under the title *Then dyra Gudzmannens doct. Martini Lutheri lefvernes beskrifning, såsom den af Philippo Melanchtone warit författat; nu på swenska afsatt, och på egen bekåstnad til trycket befordrat af Nicolao Bergio*, Stockholm, 1701.
- 232 Tephillim [tefillin], leather bands with small boxes containing verses from the Old Testament, worn by Jews when praying (*ODJR*, s.v. ‘Tephillim’).
- 233 The matter of the Tsar washing his hands as soon as legates from non-Orthodox foreign potentates had kissed them and been dismissed was a cause of some controversy. See Erik Palmquist’s* famous picture of Gustaf Oxenstierna’s audience with Tsar Aleksej Michajlovič in 1674. To the right of the Tsar there is a table with the famous water jug, handbasin and towel (Palmquist, fol. 21). Herberstein* mentions these objects and their stated use, and after him many travellers watched out for them. They provoked strong reactions from foreign envoys, who saw them as a gross insult. Sparwenfeld, in his diary of his Russian journey where he describes the audience given to Conrad Gyllenstierna’s embassy in 1684, does not mention the jug with its accessories, nor do the authors of other reports on that embassy, which would seem to indicate that it was not there. Leonid Juzefovič is of the opinion that there never was a jug (at least not for that purpose) and that the whole thing was a myth, possibly created for political ends in the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth (Juzefovič 2007, 314–320). Concerning this question and its relationship to the issue of clean/unclean, see Scheidegger 1993, 72–73. Cf. also ‘Moscow – the Third Rome’, note 230.
- 234 Bergius is referring to his own *Freundliches Ansinnen an die Herren Liebhaber der Russischen Sprache, Historien und Bücher*, published on 10 April 1702, but he gives the title in Latin translation. This little pamphlet, consisting of seven pages printed at Narva by Johann Köhler, urges its readers to study the Russian language, as the Russians have only recently begun to study foreign languages themselves. They are also urged to inform the author about titles of books of interest in Russian and to send such books to him. The text ends with the place, the date and the words “Gebet- und Dienstwilligster N.B.”
- 235 The son of the Tsar who was to be sent to Europe for his education is Aleksej Petrovič (1690–1718), from Peter’s first marriage, to Evdokija Lopuchina. Peter was in all respects an absent father; he saw as little as possible of his wife, and hence also of his son. Tsarevič Aleksej (the crown prince) grew up with his mother. Peter sent

Evdokija to a convent in 1698 to escape from the marriage. In connection with his journey to Europe in 1698–1699, Tsar Peter began making plans to send his son to be educated in Germany, in time more specifically in Dresden, under the responsibility of General von Carlowitz. For various reasons, among others the death of von Carlowitz and Russia's entry into the war, these plans were postponed. Various European courts were eager to offer the Tsarevič an education, among them Vienna. Meanwhile, a plan for the education of the heir in Russia was submitted by the German lawyer Heinrich von Huyssen, a plan which Peter approved. Things looked promising, but von Huyssen was sent away on a diplomatic mission in February 1705, and after that matters took a turn for the worse. Concerning this and the sad fate of Tsarevič Aleksej, who was tortured and sentenced to death for high treason, see Wittram 1964, vol. II, 346–405; Glück & Polanska 2005, 89.

- 236 The quotation is given in German. ‘The European rumour’ is in all probability the then new periodical *Die europäische Fama: welche den gegenwärtigen Zustand der vornehmsten Höfe entdecket*, Leipzig, 1702–1733.
- 237 According to Massie (1980, 784) Peter issued decrees recognising the validity of Protestant and Catholic baptisms late in his reign. In practice, however, that recognition was probably granted much earlier. See also Wittram 1964, vol. II, 177–178.
- 238 The rumour mentioned by Bergius, that the Tsar was willing to swear an oath to the Pope, was entirely without foundation. It may have arisen in connection with Peter's visit to Europe. While in Vienna, he showed a keen interest in the Catholic Church, attended services, discussed religious matters with a Jesuit etc., leading to hopes in Rome of a closer association between the two churches. Wittram 1964, vol. II, 172. However, this was surely just another example of Peter's inquiring mind and his interest in how things were run in foreign countries.
- 239 Johannes Groningius (1669–1747), German legal scholar and author. Bergius gives the original title: *Historia Expeditionis Russicae, nuper susceptae à CAROLO XII, Suecorum Rege potentissimo* etc., Hamburg, 1701.
- 240 The quotation from Oderborn is given first in German, then in Latin translation.
- 241 The meaning of the word *raskol'nik* is in fact ‘separatist’, someone who separates or detaches himself from something (from the prefix *ras-*, meaning ‘apart’, and the verb *kolot’* ‘break, split’). There are two variants: *raskol'nik* and *roskol'nik*. The prefix *ras-* is the Church Slavonic form, *ros-* the Russian.
- 242 On Göran Sperling, see note 20.
- 243 On Gezelius, see note 24. Gezelius's opinions are summarised in Latin, but whenever Bergius quotes verbatim, he does so in Swedish.
- 244 On Horn, see note 43.
- 245 On Palmskiöld, see note 184.
- 246 A major factor influencing Russian life in the second half of the 17th century was the schism within the Russian Orthodox Church, brought about by reforms introduced by Patriarch Nikon (in office 1652–1666), but also by other factors. In the eyes of those who defended the old ways, known as the Old Believers (Russ.

Staroobrjadcy, raskol'niki, see note 241), however, Patriarch Nikon was the main enemy (Kapterev 1909, 106ff.; Zen'kovskij 1970; Lobačev 2003; Crummey 2011). The formal split took place at the Church Council of 1666–1667. The reforms included a revision of the Church's service books and practices. Nikon argued that the original, true Orthodox faith taken over from the Greek Orthodox Church had, over the centuries, been distorted on Russian territory. He wanted to 'correct' the Russian texts and ritual using the Greek liturgy as a pattern. Those who opposed Nikon's reforms, the Old Believers, maintained that they were the only true representatives of the old Orthodox faith and that it was the Greeks who were responsible for the distortions. As Lobačev (2003, 44–52) points out, another factor behind the need to 'correct' the texts was that printing was gaining ground, and in that connection it was necessary to determine which of the many versions of a handwritten text was to serve as the original to be printed. Nikon left Moscow in July 1658 after a conflict with Tsar Aleksej Michajlovič, but he was not officially removed from office until 1666, during the Church Council. His reforms, however, lived on. The Old Believers who refused to recant were severely persecuted. Many fled out into the margins, into remote areas of the Russian realm or across the border, others chose to suffer martyrdom by committing collective suicide, and still others were executed by the authorities, but their places were constantly filled by new converts. *Materialy* vol. II; Hauptmann 1963; Crummey 2011; see also Lotman & Uspenskij 1977. Scheidegger (1999) draws attention to the demonic aspect in the Old Believers' interpretation of the world and the eschatological atmosphere surrounding them. To them, the activities of the Antichrist were very visible in Nikon's reforms, turning everything upside-down.

247 It was decided that the old eight-pointed cross was to be replaced by a cross with four points. Regarding the new four-pointed cross on the sacramental bread (the *prosfora*) instead of the old eight-pointed one, see *Materialy* vol. II, 205, 217. The four-pointed cross was interpreted by the Old Believers as a symbol of the Papal Church, i.e. something 'unclean', connected with the Devil. It was contemptuously called by its Polish name *kryż* (Scheidegger 1999, 68–69).

248 Processions around churches moved in an anticlockwise direction, not clockwise as before. See, for example, the petition of the pope Lazar' to the Tsar from 1668: "Und sie gehen heute rings um die Kirchen und rings um das Taufbecken, wenn sie Säuglinge taufen, nach der linken Seite; ist das denn nicht ihre offensichtliche Abkehr von Gott? Können sie denn die Sonne und den Mond und die übrigen Planeten umkehren, damit sie rückwärts gehen? Und wenn sie es können, dann sollen sie es doch tun. Wenn sie das jedoch nicht tun können, dann gehen sie von der Rechten, das heisst von Gott, weg zur Linken, zu ihrem Vater, dem Teufel. Wir gehen von der rechten Seite aus, das heisst, wir werden aus Gott geboren und wachsen hin zur linken Seite, das heisst, zur Sünde, und kehren wieder nach rechts zurück, das heisst, wir kommen zu Gott. [...] Sie aber gehen von der linken Seite aus; sie zeigen dadurch ihre Geburt aus dem Teufel, und sie wachsen hin zur Rechten, das heisst, zu Gott, und kehren wieder zur Linken zurück, das heisst, sie kommen zum Teufel." (*Materialy* vol. IV, 245f.; quoted from Scheidegger's translation (1999), p. 57.)

249 Bergius uses the word *orbis*, referring to the *diskos* (Russ. *дискос*) – a round plate used in the Orthodox liturgy.

250 Bergius answers this point himself below, § 5.

251 The Russian Orthodox Church recognises only seven Ecumenical Councils, the last of them held at Nicaea in 787. McGuckin 2011, 17–20. This ‘eighth synod’ referred to by the Old Believers could be the Holy Council summoned by Nikon in 1654, which agreed to his reforms. See note 493.

252 On the sign of the cross, see note 530. ‘Titin’ is one of the names of Satan (Antichrist) in books by Old Believers; see for example [http://www.staropomor.ru/posl.vrem\(5\)/evf.titin.html#verh](http://www.staropomor.ru/posl.vrem(5)/evf.titin.html#verh). We thank L. Mokroborodova for this reference.

253 This contempt, among one branch of the Old Believers, for priests who were paid for their services led to the decision to serve God without priests (hence the name ‘the priestless’, *bespopovcy*). The main reason why this group did not accept priests was that there was no one to ordain a new priest, as the Patriarch and all of the high-ranking clergy belonged to the Antichrist and were unclean (Scheidegger 1999, 46–47).

254 Bergius writes *nostra confessio*, but is referring to the Orthodox confession he is discussing, not his own Lutheran confession; see further Section II, ch. XVI, §§ 9–10.

255 Johann Justin Döhnell (or Dohnell) (d. before 1711) was a doctor of Narva who was taken prisoner by the Russians and ended up as Tsar Peter’s personal physician (Brennsohn 1922, 163).

256 Cf. note 253.

257 The Latin word is *delatores*, accusers, informers; in Russian *donosčiki* (because they denounced the Old Believers).

258 On Cyril of Jerusalem, see note 344. The book *Liber de fide* mentioned here was not written by him (see below). But another important book, *Kirillova kniga* (Cyril’s book), published in Moscow in 1644, was erroneously thought by the Old Believers to have been written by Cyril. It was a collection of polemical texts defending the Russian Orthodox religion against heretics of different faiths, written by authors from the south-west and translated into Russian-Church Slavonic. It did, in fact, contain some texts by Cyril of Jerusalem, but also writings by many others, such as Stefan Zizanij, Maximus the Greek (Russ. Maksim Grek) etc. Cf. *Liber de fide* (*Kniga o vere*, see note 265), published in 1648. These two books, both very popular at the time, were often referred to by the Old Believers in defence of their position, because although the books were meant to condemn all kinds of heresies, they contained texts written *before* the reforms of Patriarch Nikon, and could therefore be useful in their polemic. Niess 1977, 9ff.; Lobačev 2003, 49–50, 74.

259 On Schwarz, see note 52.

260 See notes 241 and 246.

261 Basil of Caesarea, ‘St Basil the Great’ (Vasilij Velikij) (329 or 330–379), Bishop of Caesarea, Father and Doctor of the Church, one of the ‘Cappadocian Fathers’, brother of Gregory of Nyssa and a friend of Gregory of Nazianzus. One of the ‘Great

Hierarchs' within Eastern Christianity. Father of Eastern monasticism (*LThK* 2, 67–69; 5, 1219).

262 St Gregory of Nazianzus (Gregory Nazianzen), 'Gregory the Theologian' (Russ. Grigorij Bogoslov) (c. 325/30–389 or 390), Bishop of Constantinople. One of the 'Cappadocian Fathers'. One of the 'Great Hierarchs' of Eastern Christianity (*LThK* 4, 1004–1007; 5, 1219; *Patrology* 2006, *passim*).

263 The liturgy of the Orthodox Church falls into two major parts: the liturgy of the Word (*Synaxis*) and the liturgy of the Eucharist (*Anaphora*). The climax of the *Synaxis* is the chanting of the Holy Gospel (*EOC I*, 194–196, s.v. 'Anaphora').

264 On Helwig, Quist, Buure and Brüningk, see note 52. They are all mentioned in *Narva literata* (Geerkens 1703).

265 The *Liber de fide* (*Kniga o vere*) was printed at the Printing Office in Moscow in 1648 on the initiative of the 'Zealots of Piety' (*Revniteli blagočestija*) (see note 220). It was a translation into Russian-Church Slavonic of a compilation made by an anonymous author, 'Pseudo-Nafanail', in Kiev. It contains various texts, among them several chapters from works by the archimandrite of the Cave Monastery, Zacharij Kopystenskij. The main purpose of the book was to defend the Russian (and Greek) Orthodox Faith (and the Church Slavonic and Greek languages) against the Roman Catholic and Uniate Church and the 'poison' of the Latin language. It was printed in an edition of 1,200 copies, and was in great demand from the start. One copy is kept at Uppsala University Library (*Ksl F 9*, Cat. 870 A) and earlier belonged to Bergius. See Niess 1977, 43–69; Bushkovitch 1992, 197, n. 13; Lobačev 2003, 49–50, 74. This book and *Kirillova kniga* (see note 258), both very popular in their time, were to be central to the Old Believers, as they were printed *before* the reforms of Patriarch Nikon, and consequently could be referred to in the group's polemic against the followers of the reforms.

266 Gezelius's report to the King and Council is dated 17 October (not November) 1687: "Short report on the recently arrived and rapidly growing Russian sect here in Ingria" (RA, Liv. II: 203). Isberg 1973, 126; Öhlander 1900, 164. See also note 24.

267 The direct quotations from Gezelius are given in Swedish.

268 That is, from the year of the Treaty of Stolbova between Sweden and Russia.

269 Bergius writes (acc.) *Diakos*, from Russian *d'jakony*.

270 Patriarch Joachim (Ioakim), 1674–1690 (Bulgakov 1913 (1993) vol. II, 1405). See further below, note 277.

271 Quirinus Kuhlmann (1651–1689) was a German poet and mystic, born in Breslau (Wrocław), Silesia. He was brought up as a Lutheran, but converted to the mystical ideas of Jacob Böhme while studying law in Leiden. He travelled widely, attempting to propagate his mystical ideals and to form an alliance to destroy Catholicism in Europe. In 1689, he went to Moscow to try to persuade the Tsar to enter into an alliance with the Turkish Sultan to fight against the House of Habsburg and the Pope; however, he was considered theologically and politically dangerous and was finally executed at the stake as a heretic, together with his friend and host in

Moscow, Kunraad Norderman (see note 273). Čyževskýj 1942–1943, 29–46; Schmidt-Biggemann 1998, 259–297. See also Pančenko 1963 and Kovrigina 1998, 180–181.

272 Jacob Böhme (1575–1624) was a German philosopher and a Christian mystic; as a shoemaker, he had no formal education, but he read widely and wrote several works about his mystical experiences. Some of his books found a very wide readership, even in the 19th century (*LThK* 2, 550–51). See also Weeks 1991 and Andersson 1999. On Bergius's warnings against Böhme, see von Rauch 1943, 203–204.

273 Kunraad Norderman (Russ. Kondratij Filippovič Norderman) was a Dutch merchant, evidently an acquaintance of Sparwenfeld's in Moscow, as Sparwenfeld mentions him in his *Diary*, p. 197. See also Kovrigina 1998, 180–181.

274 According to David (see note 277), in his *Status modernus magnae Russiae et Moscoviae* (1690), the Lutheran Protestants had two churches in Moscow, one a large stone building with a surrounding churchyard, the other a smaller one of wood (David 1968, 1, 126). See also Schleussinger 1970, 113 and Kovrigina 1998, 298ff. Tsar Peter was favourably disposed towards the Lutherans and gave them further support.

275 Bergius quotes from the French translation of Adam Brand's report (see Ref. Libr.). The text is found on p. 113 in Hundt's edition.

276 The French king Louis XIV (not XIII) had tried to send a group of missionaries, French Jesuits (referred to as 'royal mathematicians'), to China by land through Muscovy. The mission was led by Philippe Avril. After many delays, the 'mathematicians' were forced to turn back, as they were suspected of being Chinese spies. Santich 1995, 189, n. 70.

277 Bergius again quotes from the French translation of Adam Brand's report (p. 113 in Hundt's edition). Concerning whom Brand has in mind when writing about a Jesuit who had been banished from the country, there is a probable candidate. Brand was in Moscow at the beginning of the 1690s. He could be referring to the Czech Jesuit Jiří David (1647–1713), who arrived in Moscow in August 1686 and had to leave in October 1689, when Patriarch Joachim managed to expel all the Jesuits from the city (according to a ukase from the two Tsars of 2 October 1689); Wittram 1964, vol. I, 178, Santich 1995, 190. Patriarch Joachim, who disliked foreigners and their supposedly evil influence on the true Orthodox faith, issued an edict to the two Tsars, published (after his death) on 30 September 1690, in which he demanded that all Jesuits be expelled from the country. (Before that, during the regency of Sophia, the policy towards foreigners and people of a different faith, including Catholics, had been more tolerant. For that reason the Patriarch, in the power struggle between Sophia and Peter, had chosen Peter's side. Now, with Sophia out of the reckoning (since 1689), he acted to turn things in his own direction. Živov 2004, 19.) Joachim however, who died on 17 March 1690, did not live to see the new turn of events. David wrote an interesting account of Russia, *Status modernus magnae Russiae et Moscoviae*, published in 1941 by A. V. Florovský (see Bibliography) and, in part, in a Russian translation by A. S. Myl'nikov (David 1968). David himself wrote about his expulsion in his *Status modernus* (see David

1968, 1:128–130). He was acquainted with Sparwenfeld (see the latter's *Diary*, n. 638). The two had in common their great interest in the Russian language. Jesuits are mentioned now and then in Sparwenfeld's diary: in his entry for 23 June 1684, he writes: "They [the imperial ambassadors] left their Catholic *pater* here for the small Catholic congregation found here" (*Diary*, p. 181). A highly placed Jesuit had arrived incognito in Moscow in June of that year to try to make further progress in asserting the rights of the Catholic congregation in the city. An agreement had been reached, whereby two Jesuits were to reside in Moscow to take care of the congregation. The first priest was Johannes Schmidt from Prussia, who, according to Myl'nikov (in David 1968, 124), also spoke Czech (Cvetaev 1885, 29–32; Hughes 1990, 125–126). In his entry for 13 May 1685, Sparwenfeld writes: "A Jesuit from Poland arrived, bringing a letter from the Pope to the Tsars, but nothing public. It seems to contain an appeal for support against the Turks, [...]. Likewise it concerns permission for Jesuits to work in Russia and the founding of a church for the Catholics" (*Diary*, p. 219). The Jesuit from Poland was the German Albert de Boy, who died within a few months (n. 638). Santich 1995, 188–190. According to Myl'nikov (David 1968, 124), he came from Olomouc. In 1689, replacing Johannes Schmidt, Tobias Tichavský came from Prague, and evidently he was soon expelled together with David. But as early as 1692 Tsar Peter gave permission for Catholic priests to come to Russia to work with the congregation. Jesuits, however, were not welcome.

278 The quotation is given in German. Patkul's brochure (cf. note 230) was spread widely and in various ways.

279 See note 236.

280 *Aufgefangene Briefe: welche zwischen etzlichen curieuse Personen über den ietzigen Zustand der Staats und gelehrten Welt gewechselt*, Wahrenberg [i.e. Leipzig], by Johann Georg Freymunden [i.e. Groschuff], 1699–. These are fictitious letters, claimed to have been intercepted by highwaymen; the issues were called 'paquets', and the word 'ravage' hints at the feigned robberies.

281 Bergius gives all the titles in Latin (although some of them were written in other languages). Even the ones originally in Latin are rendered in an abbreviated or slightly altered form. We have therefore chosen to give them all in English translation. The correct titles are provided in separate notes on each cited work.

282 Olaus Laurelius, *Abrégué des articles de la foi tiré de l'écriture sainte, pour l'usage de la jeunesse svedoise. Traduit en françois*, Stockholm, 1694. Olaus Laurelius (1585–1683) was a professor at Uppsala and subsequently Bishop of Västerås; his views were strictly orthodox Lutheran. The book referred to here was originally written in Swedish, printed in many editions and widely used as a Christian primer for children. Bergius probably translated it for use in his French-speaking parish in Stockholm.

283 *L'inaffiaillable Pierre de Touche de la Religion Apostolique Lutherienne et Papistique Romaine, selon les articles les plus controversez & les plus connus au people [...]* Traduite en François & imprimée aux depens de Nicolas Bergius, Stockholm, 1695. This booklet is in all probability Bergius's own work.

284 *Augustini De moderate coercendis haereticis ad Bonifacium comitem epistola [...] Edita et notis illustrata [...] à Nicolao Bergio*, Stockholm, 1696.

285 *Episcoporum & cleri in incluto regno Sueciae censura de instituto & actionibus Johannis Duræi ecclesiastie Scoto-Britanni, in oblate nobis pacis & concordia ecclesiastica inter nos & reformatos calvinianos conciliande studio [...] Edita & notis nonnullis illustrata a Nicolao Bergio*, [Stockholm], 1697. This is a new edition of an answer by the Swedish clergy to the efforts of Johannes Duræus [John Durie, 1596–1680] to reconcile the Swedish Church and the reformed Calvinist churches. Durie stayed in Sweden from 1636 to 1638, but had to leave without achieving a result, although he received some support from political leaders.

286 On Abraham Calovius, see Ref. Libr. The work referred to here is his *Syntagma locorum antisyncretisticorum, CL erroribus oppositum*, which Bergius had printed in Stockholm in 1698, together with a short treatise, *Theses anti-syncretisticae*, by Johann Adam Schertzer (1628–1683, professor at Leipzig) on the impossibility of a union with the Calvinists; both treatises were edited, with a preface, by Bergius himself.

287 *Speculi religionis clausula: Besluth uppå religions spegelen [...] af Olao Laurelio; ånyo medh några anmärckningar, til trycket befordrat af Nicolao Bergio*, Stockholm, 1699.

288 Philipp Jacob Spener, *Christiliche Predigt von nothwendiger Vorsehung von den falschen Propheten [...] nach erhalterner Adprobation abermahl zum Druck befordert durch Nic. Bergium*, [Stockholm], 1693.

289 Regarding the recanting of errors, see two texts found at the National Archives in Stockholm, one in Church Slavonic, consisting of 32 paragraphs, and a translation of the same text into Swedish, setting out the wording by which an Orthodox believer was to abjure his Protestant faith. Birgegård 2002. See also Öhlander 1900, 195–198.

290 On the Trinity Cathedral at the Trinity-St Sergij Monastery (Troice-Sergieva Lavra), the largest and richest monastery in the country, see Brumfield 1993, 87–88, and Baldin 1956, 21–56. See also note 430.

291 The Cathedral of the Archangel Michael (Brumfield 1993, 101–104), the burial church of the tsars. Cf. note 112.

292 *Aristoteles Bononiensis* is Aristotele di Fioravanti di Ridolfo (c. 1420–c. 1486), a famous Italian engineer and architect, born in Bologna. He built the magnificent Assumption (Dormition) Cathedral (Uspenskij sobor) on Cathedral Square in the Moscow Kremlin in 1475–1479. This was the burial church of the metropolitans and patriarchs of Moscow. He worked for Ivan III; when he wanted to return home to Italy, he was not allowed to do so and died in Moscow. See *AKL* vol. 40, s.v. ‘Fioravanti, Aristotele’.

293 The last part of this passage must be corrupt in Bergius’s text. As it now stands, it reads: *Si Jovius credimus, Aristoteles Bononiensis [...] ante annos 60. exstruxit. Scriptis Jovius Anno 1557. vel circiter, ut jam annos 160. floruerit*. Since the cathedral was built in the late 1470s, 60 years later must be in the 1530s. Jovius’s book on Muscovy

was first published in 1525, but it was often reprinted; there is an edition of 1537 (see Poe 2008 (1995), 47), which Bergius may have used. By 1557, Jovius was already dead. But if we replace 1557 with 1537, the arithmetic works, provided we make another slight emendation of the text and supply an *ante* (or *abhinc*) before *annos 160*. This would mean that Bergius is saying that Jovius wrote 160 years before his own time, which would tie in fairly well with the year 1537 “or thereabouts”.

294 The Cathedral of the Holy Wisdom (St Sophia, *Sofijskij sobor*) in Novgorod was built in 1045–1050 (Brumfield 1993, 27–31).

295 The following quotation is in German.

296 Sparwenfeld, who was a very inquisitive traveller, reports in his diary on the reception he met with when he and some comrades tried to enter the Nikol’skij Monastery in Vjažišči near Novgorod: “As soon as I arrived I, together with some companions, wanted to visit the monks and look at the monastery. But when I had paid my respects I was asked, without any respects, who had given me permission to enter. They said that we were not Christians and consequently were not allowed to enter such a sacred place, and although the gate was open for us to enter, one of their men, notwithstanding, was boxed heavily on the ear because he had not prevented us from entering. They told us to get out immediately, which we did” (*Diary*, p. 79). This, however, was not always the kind of welcome he was given. Sometimes he was allowed to enter churches without difficulty, and once he was even admitted to the most sacred place (*Diary*, p. 125).

297 Here, Bergius makes a slight mistake: first he counts the three main parts of the church from the inside, making the *pronaos* the third part, but further on in the text, he sees things from the outside and the *trapeza* (i.e. the choir) is regarded as the third part.

298 Cf. also Sparwenfeld’s detailed description of the cathedral at the Iberian Monastery (Iverskij monastyr’), built by Nikon on an island in Holy Lake near Valdaj (*Diary*, pp. 111ff.), and of a wooden church in Bol’soe Mednoe (*Diary*, p. 125).

299 Many foreign travellers were impressed by the church bells in the Kremlin, particularly those in the *Ivan Velikij* (Ivan the Great) bell tower, built in the early 16th century and extended in the year 1600 (Zabelin 1884, 60). Tanner (1891, 58) has a fine description of it. Most renowned among the bells was the ‘Great Bell’ or ‘Tsar of Bells’ (*Car’-kolokol*). Originally cast during the reign of Boris Godunov, it was recast by order of Aleksej Michajlovič in 1654. The bell lay in the casting pit for fourteen years before it was hoisted into the *Ivan Velikij* bell tower in 1674. In 1701, it fell down and was shattered. At the beginning of the 1730s it was recast, and it can now be admired in the Kremlin. (Myl’nikov (David) 1968, 97:2). Lapteva gives somewhat different information about the bell (Schleussinger 1970, 1, 124, n. 11). Erik Palmquist, in his *Some observations concerning Russia* (the original is in Swedish) from 1674, has a beautiful picture of this bell and the arrangement by which it was hoisted. He says in the text that the bell was cast in 1637 during the reign of Tsar Michail Fëdorovič. He gives various figures concerning its size and weight and says that in all, without the clapper, the weight is 4,400 *centner* [almost 200 tonnes]. Its circumference is given as 12 fathoms or 36 ells, the diameter as 11

ells 1 2/11 quarters. See Palmquist (2012), fol. 22, pp. 250–252. See also Witsen (1996, 108f.), who gives the weight of the copper in the bell as 10,800 puds. He also provides some further details. Sparwenfeld writes in his diary: “Mr Vinius told me that the copper in the large bell weighs 10,000 puds, not counting the silver and gold that was cast with it” (*Diary*, p. 221). Paul of Aleppo gives a beautiful account of the casting of this bell (Fal’kovič 1913, 88–92). One cannot help but wonder whether Andrej Tarkovskij had read it before he made the bell-casting scene in his film *Andrej Rublev*. Concerning the many bells in the Ivan Velikij tower and their history, see *Putevoditel’ 1792* (2009), 147–153.

300 356 *centner* would be between 16 and 20 tonnes. Although there is a difference in circumference between Carlisle’s and Palmquist’s descriptions, the difference between the given weights is too large to be realistic; it is impossible for us to decide which figure is the more likely. As for measures, the German text quoted by Bergius has *Klaster*, which is a unit roughly equivalent to a fathom (differs slightly between countries, but is about 1.8 m). So Carlisle describes the bell as large, but still as a good deal smaller than the one described by Erik Palmquist.

301 The quotation from Carlisle is in German (see Ref. Libr. and note 82).

302 Ps. 116 (117), *Laudate Dominum omnes gentes*.

303 Originally Prince Rastislav of Great Moravia sent an embassy in 863 to the Byzantine Emperor Michael III, asking him to send someone to Moravia to preach the Christian faith to the newly converted Slavs in their own language. The emperor turned to Constantine (827–869), a Greek from Thessaloniki famous for his learning (‘Constantine the Philosopher’), who knew the Slavic language spoken in Macedonia. Constantine composed an alphabet (known as the Glagolitic alphabet) and began to translate the Gospels into Old Church Slavonic, a special literary language created on the basis of the local Slavic dialect. His brother Methodius (815–885), who was a monk, helped him throughout. The brothers went to Moravia and devoted themselves to missionary work among the Slavs. However, they met with considerable opposition from the local, Frankish clergy, who claimed that only the three ‘sacred’ languages, Hebrew, Greek and Latin, could be used. The brothers continued with their task, eventually with the support of Kocel’, ruler of the local Slavs (Slovenes) in Pannonia. Somewhat later, Pope Nicholas I invited them to visit Rome. They were received with great honour by his successor Pope Adrian II in late 867 or early 868, when the Pope gave his blessing to the Slavonic liturgy. Constantine fell ill and died in Rome, having become a monk and taken the name of Cyril. After Cyril’s death in 869, Methodius, following a short visit to Pannonia, returned to Rome, where he was consecrated Archbishop of Syrmium (Srđem). Methodius continued the mission with a number of followers, some of whom were ordained priests. Soon after, Kocel’ turned to the Pope, asking him to permit Methodius to return to Moravia. Permission was given in a papal bull addressed to the Moravian princes Rastislav and Sventopluk, as well as to Kocel’. Rastislav was eventually dethroned by his nephew Sventopluk, who changed sides and collaborated with the Franks. Methodius was imprisoned for two and a half years, but in 873 the new Pope, John VIII, arranged his release and he resumed his work in Moravia.

Because of the continuing opposition, John VIII forbade the use of the Slavonic liturgy in 879, but Methodius once more went to Rome and managed to convince the Pope to write a new bull (*Industrie tue*) addressed to Sventopluk in June 880, in which Methodius's authority was again reinforced. In the last years of his life he was able to continue, with the assistance of two secretaries, the work of translation begun during his brother's lifetime. Together they translated parts of the New and Old Testaments and other texts into Church Slavonic. After Methodius's death the Slavonic liturgy was again banned and his disciples were expelled. As refugees they spread the Church Slavonic language to other, primarily South Slavic regions. The brothers have been called 'the Slavic Apostles'. See Schenker 1996, 26–43; Auty 1965 (Introduction), 1–4.

304 The Council of Trent (Concilium Tridentinum, 1545–1563), held in Trento and Bologna in northern Italy, was one of the Roman Catholic Church's most important Ecumenical Councils, said to be the embodiment of the Counter-Reformation. Jedin 1951–1975.

305 Bergius's text reads 1880, which must be a misprint. Pope John VIII died in 882.

306 Pope Innocent XII (1691–1700) was involved in a revision of the books containing the Roman Catholic liturgy written in the Illyrian language (see following note). Sparwenfeld had probably heard of this project. At an audience with the Pope on 4 June 1692, Sparwenfeld honoured him with a large Latin-Slavonic dictionary with silver-ornamented covers. In one version of his letter of donation, Sparwenfeld emphasises that this dictionary could be very useful in the Propaganda's missionary work in Dalmatia and among the Croatian priesthood. The donation, made by a Protestant for use in the Catholic mission, was viewed as remarkable by the Protestant world. Sparwenfeld probably had a keen interest in getting his dictionary printed in Rome, which was so well stocked with type for different alphabets. For Rome this was clearly a propaganda victory: Sparwenfeld was said to have sat for his portrait in Rome, holding the dictionary (Jacobowsky 1932, 197ff.). My own (UB's) and other scholars' efforts to trace this book have proved fruitless. In recent years I have searched in both the archives of the Propaganda and the Vatican Library, but to no avail. At the Propaganda printing press, a Glagolitic *Missale* was published in 1688 and a Glagolitic *Breviarium* was planned (it came out in 1706). The 'Pastricius' mentioned by Bergius is the Croat Ivan Paštrić (in Italian, Giovanni Pastriccio; 1636–1708), originating from Split in Dalmatia and attached to the Propaganda. He undertook to work as the editor for a planned printed version of Sparwenfeld's dictionary. He also planned, and even began, to add two columns: one Church Slavonic in Glagolitic letters and one with the Dalmatian equivalents printed in Latin characters. But nothing came of this project. Birgegård 1985, 77–84; Golub 1971.

307 The meaning of Illyria/Illyrian has varied over time. Regarding the true Illyrians of antiquity, the pre-Slavic population inhabiting most of the Balkan peninsula, see Fine 2006, 138–139. The Slavs ('Slaveni') spread through the Balkans in the second half of the 6th and the early 7th century. In the late 15th century, 'Illyrian' began to be used of the South Slavic lands and population in general, and in time the original

Illyrians were forgotten and Illyrians were looked upon as Slavs. In Bergius's time, the 'Illyrian language' mainly connoted the literary (and spoken) language of Catholic Croatia (Dalmatia) in which church books were written in the Glagolitic script. That script had earlier been used in Moravia as well (cf. note 179), but by this time the tradition was alive only in the parts of the Balkans (mainly today's Croatia) that were of the Catholic faith. The language as such, printed in Glagolitic script in various church books, did not differ much from Church Slavonic printed in Cyrillic script, apart from some South Slavic features. It was the *Congregatio de Propaganda Fide*, the missionary centre in Rome, that was responsible for the printing of Glagolitic books. Concerning the church in Dalmatia and its language, see Fine 2006, 54ff. and *passim*. See also Iovine 1984.

308 What is said here about the Russians not using the Old Testament in their churches has no foundation. During services, the Russian Orthodox use the *služebnoe evange- lie*, a liturgical book in which the texts of the four gospels are arranged according to the readings for the church year. Quotations from and allusions to the Old Testament, however, occur frequently in prayers and hymns. *BDEC*, s.v. 'The liturgical texts'. According to his *Diary*, p. 105, Sparwenfeld was of the same opinion concerning the use of the Old Testament; in his case too, the probable source was Olearius.

309 It had earlier been the case that preaching was not used in the Russian Orthodox Church, but this had gradually changed from the middle of the 17th century. The Church was moving away from an emphasis on liturgy and the veneration of saints and icons to morality (Bushkovich 1992, 128). Preaching became more and more common, initially among the Moscow elite, and later in the provinces. An important aim of the Zealots of Piety (see note 220, was to put more emphasis on morality, within the Church and in society as a whole. In that context, sermons were an important tool. Nikon, who used to belong to the Zealots of Piety, approved of sermons and encouraged Slavineckij and other Kiev-trained scholars to preach (Bushkovich 1992, 123). Simeon Polockij and Epifanij Slavineckij did so extensively in Moscow and wrote collections of sermons (see note 379). The emphasis in moral teaching was on humility and charity, the main dangers for an Orthodox Christian being pride and avarice. The Old Believers also supported preaching, and Protopope Avvakum was an active preacher. On the rise of the sermon in Russian society, see Bushkovich 1992, 150ff. *et passim*.

310 Protopope Login of Murom was among the opponents of Patriarch Nikon's reforms, including the ban on crossing oneself with two fingers introduced in 1653. Scheidegger 1999, 64–65. The reason for the Patriarch's harsh treatment of Login was surely not, as Olearius seems to believe, his preaching as such, but what he said in his sermons. He also had a clash, caused by his religious zeal, with the *voevoda* (governor) in Murom. He was found guilty of slander and disobedience, expelled from the Church in September 1653 and exiled to a monastery near Vologda. He was one of the early Old Believers. Bushkovich 1992, 60; Michels 1999, 52–53, 108–109.

311 The central position of icons, placed in 'the beautiful corner' (*krasnyj ugol*) in

Russian homes, was often commented upon by travellers. See, for example, Herberstein: “In all houses and dwellings they have the images of saints, either painted or cast, placed in some honourable position: and when any one goes to see another, as he enters the house, he immediately takes his hat off and looks round to see where the image is, and when he sees it he signs himself three times with the cross, and bowing his head says, ‘O Lord, have mercy.’ He then salutes the host with these words, ‘God give health’” (quoted from Major’s translation, vol. I, 1851, 107). St Nicholas of Myra (270–343) (Nicholas the Wonderworker, Nikolaj Čudotvorec), the protector of sailors, merchants, children etc., was (and still is) one of the most loved saints within the Russian Orthodox Church. Bulgakov 1913 (1993), vol. I, 177–178. The revering of icons was regarded as idolatry by the Protestants. Löfstrand 2014.

312 Sparwenfeld writes about this “special garment” in his *Diary*, p. 125. On the way to Moscow he came across a very beautiful wooden church, two storeys high. The priest was kind enough to unlock the building for him, and he was even allowed to enter the most sacred place. Sparwenfeld writes: “He [the priest] showed me the New Testament lying on the altar and mounted in silver, [...]. By the book [?] there also lay a small cross mounted in gilt silver. [...] But before he showed them to me he put on two gloves, designed for this, on his hands and forearms, so as to not touch the book with his bare hands. They had a small thumb and a few small buttons of silver.” These special mittens are called *naruči*.

313 St Jerome (Hieronymus, c. 347–420), Father and Doctor of the Church, was born in Stridon (see note 208) on the border between Pannonia and Dalmatia (‘Illyria’) and died in Bethlehem. He was immensely productive as a translator and writer and is particularly famous for his translation of most of the Bible from Hebrew and Greek into Latin (the *Versio vulgata*). In the South Slavic area there was an early tradition of ascribing the creation of the Glagolitic script to him (the script was called ‘Hieronymiana’). This theory was documented as early as 1248 and was prevalent well into the 18th century. That the Slavs only inhabited this area in the 6th and 7th centuries was long since forgotten. Mathiesen 1984, 54–55. On the origins of the two Slavic alphabets, see the very interesting discussion in the correspondence between G. W. von Leibniz and Sparwenfeld. Leibniz did not believe that St Jerome was the creator of the Glagolitic script, and also doubted that Cyril had created the Cyrillic one. Concerning the Glagolitic alphabet, he writes: “I believe that these distorted characters come from idiots and know-nothings who started trying to reproduce the letters of their neighbours, but so badly that they changed them completely” (the original is in French). Sparwenfeld, who had the information about St Jerome being the creator of the Glagolitic alphabet from Pastricchio (see note 306), is somewhat defensive in this discussion and is unwilling to say anything for certain until more facts are known. Birgegård 2004, 122–123. Most contemporary scholars are of the opinion that the Glagolitic script was created by Cyril in the 9th century and that the alphabet called ‘Cyrillic’ was created later in Bulgaria (Schenker 1996, 179ff.). St Jerome was also said to have translated the Bible into the ‘Illyrian language’, no doubt because of his birthplace and other Bible translation. On the ‘Illyrian language’, see note 307.

314 On Scaliger, see Ref. Libr. Thus Scaliger says of the other, later translation of the Bible that it was “of Serbian, not Dalmatian character”, i.e. that it was written in Cyrillic script. What he has in mind is probably the Ostrog Bible of 1581.

315 As can be seen from the different quotations (see also § 4), the picture given here does not quite fit the facts. The Methodius mentioned is the elder of the two ‘Slavic Apostles’ (see note 302). Following the death of Cyril in 869, Methodius, after a short visit to Pannonia, returned to Rome, where he was consecrated Archbishop of Syrmium (Srđ). After several dramatic changes (including imprisonment), he devoted the last years of his life in his diocese to translation work begun with his brother. Together they had translated the Psalms, the four Gospels and other texts. Now Methodius, assisted by two secretaries, translated parts of the New Testament, most of the Old Testament and other works. Thus, the greater part of the Bible existed in an Old Church Slavonic translation. Methodius died in 885 and was presumably buried in Velegrad, the capital of Great Moravia. The assertion that Methodius had invented the alphabet is not correct; it was the work of Cyril, who, because of his erudition, was called ‘Constantine the Philosopher’ (he became a monk and took the name Cyril shortly before his death). That the alphabet created was understood to be the Wendish one (Venedas literas) (i.e. that of the West Slavic language Sorbian) could be explained by the fact that in Moravia, where the brothers had been active as missionaries (today’s Czech and Slovak territories, Czech and Slovak both being West Slavic languages), there existed an early Glagolitic scribal tradition, i.e. Cyril’s new alphabet was first used there. The stated activities of Methodius in Dalmatia have not been confirmed by the sources (mainly *Vita Methodii*), but after his death his disciples were expelled from Great Moravia and fled into the South Slavic area, above all to Bulgaria. For generations, the Roman Catholic population of maritime Croatia and Dalmatia celebrated their religious offices in their own language, and the alphabet used was the Glagolitic. This fact could be explained by the activities of Methodius’s disciples. The information given by Laetus also differs from what is now recognised by scholars. On the confusion that reigned concerning Venedi, Vandali etc., see Schenker 1996, 3–5; Helander 2004, 285–287.

316 Bergius writes “juvanensium mystarum”. Iuvavum is the old Roman name for Salzburg. Re. the Neo-Latin meaning of mysta/mystes, see Helander 2004, 78.

317 That is, the Septuagint, the Greek translation from Hebrew.

318 That is, from the standard Latin version, not from the original Greek.

319 That is, in Russian-Church Slavonic.

320 Bergius is probably referring to Bellarminus’s *De verbo scripto et non scripto (Prima controversia generalis)* in *Disputationes de controversiis Christianae Fidei*, 1, Ingolstadt, 1586 (included in *Opera omnia* 1, 67–213).

321 On Johannes Morinus (Jean Morin), see Ref. Libr. The work referred to here is either Morin’s *Exercitationes ecclesiasticae in utrumque Samaritanorum Pentateuchum* (Paris, 1631) or (more probably) *Exercitationes biblicae de Hebraei Graecique textus sinceritate* (Paris, 1633 and later editions). HBOT, 767–772.

322 The issue here was one of the most discussed topics of biblical scholarship in the

16th and 17th centuries: which version of the Old Testament was the most authentic? Very early on, most Protestant scholars, especially Lutherans, but also many Catholics, influenced by early humanists, decided on the Hebrew Bible (which may seem rather self-evident today). Inspired by philologists such as Joseph Justus Scaliger and Thomas Erpenius, they gradually realised that the text had a long history of transmission and could be subject to corruption. Some scholars, however, took the position that the seventy interpreters of the Septuagint had had access to older and better Hebrew sources than the Masoretic text and that the Septuagint was thus to be preferred; one of them (and probably one of the last) was Isaac Vossius. Some Catholic scholars shared this view and some even defended the priority of the Latin Vulgate on the ground that Jerome had not just translated the Septuagint, but had revised it using old Hebrew sources and even translated some of those sources anew; the Vulgate was therefore a better text than both the Septuagint and the (modern) Hebrew text. Jean Morin was one of the champions of the Septuagint, although he argued that the Samaritan Pentateuch was a better source than the one used by the seventy interpreters for the Pentateuch; he was also a defender of the Vulgate in its approved form. See *HBOT*, 767–772, 789; Mandelbrote 2012, 85–117.

323 On the Lutheran theologian Abraham Calovius, see Ref. Libr. Here, Bergius is probably referring to Calovius's *Biblia illustrata*, a scholarly Bible commentary, published at Wittenberg in 1672–1676. He admittedly writes *Critica Sacra*, which normally refers to a work by August Pfeiffer (see Ref. Libr.), but in this case he may not have meant anything more precise than 'biblical criticism'.

324 On Jacobus Bonfrerius, see Ref. Libr. The work referred to here is Bonfrère's *Pentateuchis Moysis commentario illustratus praemissis [...] praeloquis perutilibus*, Antwerp, 1625; this (rather long) foreword is in fact meant to be a guide to reading the whole Bible. *HBOT*, 758–764.

325 Bergius is referring to Santes Pagninus (d.1536), who translated the Bible from Hebrew and Greek: *Veteris et Novi Testamenti Nova Translatio*, Lyon, 1528. Pagninus also published a Hebrew dictionary, *Thesaurus linguae sanctae*, Lyon, 1529. His translation was much used by both Protestant and Catholic theologians in the following centuries. See *HBOT*, 185–186.

326 This reading is known from the manuscript tradition, but is not in the standard editions of the Greek Bible.

327 Bergius has V.15, which is consistent with neither 1 Corinthians nor St John's Gospel, where the passage that follows is to be found in chapter 6, verse 52.

328 The Russian Bible referred to by Bergius is the Moscow translation of the Bible from 1663 (see note 332).

329 Jurij Dalmatin (Lat. *Georgius Dalmatinus*, 1547–1589) was a Slovenian Lutheran preacher, theologian and translator. The Reformation was successful in Slovenia in the 16th century, and one of its results was the printing of the Bible in the Slovenian language (Fine 2006, 205: 'proto-Slovenian'; Nuorluoto 2012, 86–87) in 1584. Dalmatin translated the Bible into Slovenian: *Biblia/tv ie, vse svetv pismv, stariga inu Noviga Testamenta, Slovenski, tolmazena skusi Iuria Dalmatina/ Bibel/ das ist/*

die gantsse Heilige Schrifft / Windisch Gedruckt in der Churfürstlichen Sächsischen Stadt Wittemberg [...] Anno M. D. LXXXIII. Sparwenfeld owned this Bible and donated his copy to Uppsala University Library, where it is still to be found today. Concerning various Slavic Bible texts sent from Sparwenfeld to G. W. von Leibniz – among them passages from the Slovene Bible – see Birgegård 2012b. On Sparwenfeld's dislike of Slavic texts written in the Latin alphabet, see also Birgegård 2010, 91.

330 Primož Trubar ('Truber') (Lat. *Primus Trubarus, Truberus*, 1508–1586), was a Slovenian theologian, biblical scholar and translator. He established the Slovenian literary language from the dialect spoken around Ljubljana and was the author of the first book printed in that language (a catechism in 1550). Trubar translated the New Testament into Slovene (printed in Tübingen in 1581–1582). According to Bergius, he translated the New Testament in the Bible of 1584 (see previous note), while Dalmatin translated the Old Testament. The Bible itself gives no confirmation of this. The source of the information was probably Frenzelius (in 'Ad Lectorem', p. 8). For further discussion of Trubar, see Fine 2006, 207–208; Giesemann 2017, 106ff. See also Nuorluoto 2012, 86.

331 Bergius has *apud Ostrogenses*, i.e. in Ostrog (Ukr. Ostroh) in what is now western Ukraine, where the Ostrog Bible (*Ostrožskaja Biblija*) saw the light of day. The initiator of the edition was Prince Konstantin Ostrožskij (1526–1608), a great humanist (see note 215 and Nemirovskij 2007, 558–559). He invited the master of Russian book printing, Ivan Fëdorov – who had moved from Moscow to Lvov (Ukr. Lviv) and thereby also laid the basis for Ukrainian book printing – to come to Ostrog and print the Bible in Church Slavonic. It was published in 1581, the first complete Bible to be printed in a Slavic language, and was of vital importance in the cultural history of the East Slavs. Florovsky 1937 (2000), 270ff.; Besters-Dilger 2005; Nemirovskij 2007, 189–260. Sparwenfeld owned a copy of this Bible, now at Uppsala University Library (*Ksl. F 90*, Cat. 120 C).

332 On the Moscow Bible of 1663, see Nemirovskij 2007, 260–261. Sparwenfeld owned a copy of it, now at Västerås (Gawryś 1960, no. 9, Cat. 1170 D). On the flyleaf he wrote the phrase "Gudhfruchtigheet är nyttigh till alt" (Godliness is good for everything) in 14 languages. According to notes in the book, it was a gift from Prince Pëtr Alekseevič Golicyn, presented in 1685. The book was bound in December 1686.

333 Theophylact(us) of Ohrid (Ochrida, Achrida) (born c. 1050/1060, probably in Euboea, died after 1108, perhaps as late as c. 1125/26) was a Greek philologist, biblical scholar, and Archbishop of Ohrid (in today's Macedonia). His letters are an important source for the history of Bulgaria under the Ottoman Empire. His biblical commentaries have been held in high esteem, especially in the Slavic world; his prefaces to the Gospels are to be found in many Slavic Gospel manuscripts from the 14th century on (*TRE* 33, 371–375). Below, in Chapter 11, § 7, Bergius says that he died in 1071, which is wrong but agrees with the source Bergius used, viz. Hofmann's *Lexicon universale*, 2, 450–451.

334 Patrick Young (Patricius Junius, 1584–1652) was a Scottish biblical and patristic sc-

holar. He was one of the first to work on the *Codex Alexandrinus* manuscript of the Bible, which had come to England in 1628, and made many other contributions to contemporary biblical scholarship, including the London Polyglot Bible (see next note). See *BDES* 3, s.v. ‘Young, Patrick’, p. 496; *HBO* 2, 783. Some of his correspondence with Jean Morin is to be found in *Antiquitates Ecclesiae Orientalis*; see note 338.

335 What were known as ‘polyglot Bibles’ were important tools for the biblical scholars of the 16th and 17th centuries. The first of them was the Complutensian Polyglot or the Polyglot of Alcalá, edited by Cardinal Jiménes de Cisneros (1436–1517) and printed at his expense at Alcalá in 1514–1517. The work contained the original Hebrew, Aramaic and Greek texts in versions revised according to the best available manuscripts, together with a Latin text based on the Vulgate, but also revised by scholars. The Antwerp Polyglot was printed by Plantin in 1568–1572. It made use of the Complutensian Polyglot, but was much enlarged. The Paris Polyglot appeared in 9 volumes, from 1628 to 1645, and comprised Hebrew, Samaritan, Chaldean, Greek, Syriac, Latin and Arabic texts. (Jean Morin did the Samaritan texts.) The London Polyglot was published by Brian Walton in 1653–1658. It has all the languages of the Paris Polyglot and in addition Persian and Ethiopic, and became the most used polyglot Bible down to the present day. Among the many contributors were Brerewood, Lightfoot and Patrick Young. Besides these four ‘great’ polyglots, several smaller and more limited ones were printed in the 16th and 17th centuries. See *HBOT*, 774–784.

336 Theodotion was a Jewish scholar of the 2nd century who translated the Old Testament from Hebrew into Greek. His version was used by Origen in his *Hexapla* and was sufficiently widespread to almost supersede some parts of the Septuagint. It is not quite clear whether he revised the Septuagint or worked directly from Hebrew manuscripts; however, he seems to have known better manuscripts than those used for the Septuagint. *JewEncyc*, s.v. ‘Theodotion’. Free Wik., accessed 9 February 2018.

337 The ‘Roman edition’ of the Septuagint is the *Sixto-Clementina* of 1586–1587, the version that was declared official by the Council of Trent (*HBOT*, 781).

338 The work quoted here, with the title in abbreviated form, is *Antiquitates Ecclesiae Orientalis Clarissimorum Virorum Card. Barberini, L. Allatii, Luc. Holstenii, Joh. Morini, Abr. Ecchellensis. Nic. Peyrescii dissertationibus epistolicis enucleatae*. The most famous edition of this work appeared in London in 1682 (now available as an e-book), but that is not the edition Bergius has used, for although the text is quoted almost perfectly, his page numbers are completely different. Morin published *Bibliae Graecae sive Vetus Testamentum secundum Septuaginta* (Paris, 1655), and in the Paris Polyglot Bible he published Samaritan variants of the Pentateuch, cf. note 335.

339 As a consequence of the new awareness of the discrepancies occurring in different versions of the Bible, the truth of the biblical chronology was challenged, and many scholars tried to get to grips with the differences not only between the Hebrew Bible and the Septuagint, but also between Christian and pagan chronology as they

knew it from classical antiquity, Egypt etc. A fundamental contribution was made by Joseph Justus Scaliger, who wrote *De emendatione temporum* (1583) and *Thesaurus temporum, complectens Eusebii Pamphili chronicon* (1606), both printed in many editions. In the latter work, he included an edition of the chronology of Eusebius, which he was able to reconstruct (partly) on the basis of the chronicle of Georgius Syncellus (d. after 810). One of the problems of biblical chronology was the respective ages of the patriarchs; Methuselah is often mentioned, and he was 187 when he begat his son Lamech, according to Gen. 5:25 in the Hebrew Bible and the Vulgate, but only 167 according to the Septuagint. The Septuagint of the Paris Polyglot, however, reads 165, which must be simply wrong since, even there, the total of Methuselah's years is given as $165 + 802 = 969$. The total agrees with that of the Vulgate, which says $187 + 782 = 969$. Such figures were important to chronologers, since the year of the creation, the *Annus Mundi*, had to be established by backward reckoning, and any discrepancy gave different results. (Grafton 1993, vol. II, 729.) Most Western scholars put the *Annus Mundi* somewhere around 4000 BC. Eastern scholars, however, used other sources, and in the Byzantine (and the Russian) tradition the *Annus Mundi* is fixed at 5508 BC, which is the basis for the Russian years given by Bergius. Useful tables can be found in Ginzel 1914, vol. 3, 406–408.

340 Bergius writes *ex collectione*, but one would expect *ex collatione*, 'after having collated'.

341 Bergius's Greek text: *καὶ ἔζησε Ματουσάλα ἐπτά ἔτη καὶ ἔζηκοντα, καὶ ἐγέννησε τόν Λάμεχ; καὶ ἔζησε Ματουσάλα, μετά τὸ γεννῆσαι αὐτὸν τὸν Λάμεχ δύο καὶ ὀκτακόσια ἔτη, καὶ ἐγέννησεν υἱούς καὶ θυγατέρας.* The Hebrew Bible, the Vulgate and most modern Bible versions have the numbers 187 and 782, the Septuagint 167 and 802. We have not been able to identify Bergius's exact Greek source here (there are some differences in word order compared with the Sixto-Clementine Septuagint), but it is evident that the word *ἐκατόν*, 'hundred', must have been omitted. On Methuselah's age, see also note 338 above.

342 'Ximenius' is Ximenes (Jiménes) de Cisneros; see note 335.

343 We have not been able to find the copies of Chrysostom's Liturgy mentioned by Bergius in Swedish libraries. See, however, note 346 below. On the style of his liturgy, see McGuckin, 294.

344 Cyril of Jerusalem (c.315–386), Doctor of the Church, Bishop of Jerusalem, upholder of orthodoxy at the Council of Constantinople in 381, and author of catechisms (LThK 2, 1370). Cf. note 258.

345 On John of Damascus (Johannes Damascenus), see note 96.

346 John Chrysostom (Johannes Chrysostomus, Ioann Zlatoust) (c.349–407), Father and Doctor of the Church, Patriarch of Constantinople (398–403), one of the three Holy Hierarchs, famous for his eloquence (LThK 5, s.v. 'Johannes Chrysostomus'; NCE 7, s.v. 'St. John Chrysostom'). His homily on the letters of St Paul, from Sparwenfeld's collection, is now kept at Västerås (Gawryś 1960, no. 7). According to a note in the book, it was a gift from Prince Boris Alekseevič Golicyn,

presented in July 1685. Sparwenfeld was also the owner of Chrysostom's homily on the Gospel of St Matthew (Gawryś 1960, no. 10), given to him by the same donor. John Chrysostom's 'On the priesthood' (Книга о сacerdotio), Moscow, 1664, from Bergius's collection, is found at Uppsala University Library (*Ksl. 17* in 4to, Cat. 1220 A). Not all of the books mentioned by Bergius are found – at least not today – in Sparwenfeld's collection. Chrysostom's liturgy, it is true, is found in a book owned by Sparwenfeld (UUB *Slav* 34, Cat. 1105 A), but in a Romanian translation.

347 Ephraem (Ephraim) Syrus (Ephrem the Syrian) (306–373), theologian, Doctor of the Church, hymnographer, especially beloved in the Syrian Orthodox Church. Bergius gives an incorrect year for his death. He probably meant to write 378; this, however, was the year Emperor Valens died, whereas scholars seem to be agreed on 373 for Ephraem. *LThK* 3, 708–710; *Patrology* 2006, 439–443. On a 16th-century copy of an Old Russian translation of Ephraem's *Paraenesis* kept at Stockholm University Library, see Ågren 1989.

348 On Gregory of Nazianzus, see note 262.

349 On Basil the Great, see note 261. His liturgical contributions are still very important in the Eastern Churches. The liturgy that bears his name is an expanded form of the Nicaean liturgy which he revised (rather than wrote). In the Orthodox (including the Russian Orthodox) Church, it is used as an alternative to the Liturgy of St Chrysostom (*TRE* 5, 312). It was printed in Moscow in 1684 (in 4^{to}).

350 On Theophylact, see note 333.

351 This church calendar (*mesjaceslov*), printed in Moscow in 1659, was part of Bergius's library, now at Uppsala University Library (*Ksl. 12*, Cat. 1110 A).

352 See note 380.

353 Here Bergius talks about a *mineja chetija* (Eng. a *reading menaion*), a liturgical reading book containing the lives of the saints divided into the months in which they are venerated. On Metropolitan Makarij's role in this context, see note 456.

354 All these terms are, as Bergius says, of Greek origin. Russ. *oktaj* (*ochtaj*), *oktoich* (*oktoik*, *ochtoik*), *osmoglasnik*, Eng. *Octoechos*, book of 8 tones: a collection of hymns grouped together into eight weekly cycles; Russ. *trefoloj*, *trefologion*: a liturgical reading book, homily; Russ. *Šestodnev*, Eng. *Sunday Octoechos*; *Triodion* ('Three Odes', Russ. *triód'*) "designates the liturgical book that contains the different hymns and prayers for the movable feasts leading up to Pascha" (Easter) (McGuckin 2011, 442). Russ. *pentekostarion*, *triód' cvetnaja*, Eng. *flowery triodion*, *Pentecostarion*): a service reading book. Synaxis info., Library of Eastern Orthodox Resources (online).

355 Greek *Hieromologion*, Russ. *irmologij*, *irmoloj*, Eng. *Heirmologion*: a book of the Eastern Orthodox Church containing the initial verse (*irmos*) of a number of liturgical hymns.

356 A copy of this larger version of the Euchologion, translated and printed at the Cave Monastery of Kiev on the initiative of Peter Mogila, was owned by Sparwenfeld and is now at Västerås (Gawryś 1960, no. 8, Cat. 810 C). The book was a gift from

Andrej Artamonovič Matveev, “friend and benefactor”. But Bergius, too, owned this book. His copy is found at Uppsala University Library (*Ksl. F 7, Cat. 810 B*) and is on the list, compiled by Eric Benzelius in 1708 (*Bibl. Ark. K95, 6a*), including books sold to the university, under no. 13. *This Mega Euchologion* (Greek), Eng. *Great Book of Needs*, is called *Velikij trebnik* in Russian.

357 In the preface to the reader ('LECTOR CANDIDE'), dealing with Peter Mogila, Normannus writes: "*In primisque opere Euchologico, de Graeco traducto, & in Monasterio Kioviensi anno 1646 edito: quod in Muséo illustris Viri, Johannis Gabrielis Sparvenfeldii, exoticis illiusmodi ac transmarinis mercibus refertissimo, oculis nuper usurpabamus: inter suos clarum celebratumque*" (pp. 2–3, no pagination). The meaning of the end of the quotation is as follows: "This work, very famous among the Russians, I was recently able to study myself in the library belonging to the illustrious Johan Gabriel Sparwenfeld, a library filled with exotic objects of this kind and things from far away."

358 This smaller version (Greek *Mikron Euchologion*) is called *Trebnik, Potrebnik, Treby* in Russian.

359 Wrong in Bergius, should be December. Apart from that, Bergius's translation of the title is on the whole correct. He has, however, left out a word or two here and there. The book referred to is found at Uppsala University Library (*Ksl. F 34, Cat. 2385 A*), provenance unknown. Bergius's translation of the index is somewhat approximate: a lot is left out, there are occasional mistakes, and the order sometimes differs.

360 Under 3 and 4, Bergius translates “Молитва женѣ” (in the dative) as ‘*Precatio mulieris*’, ‘*Oratio mulieris*’ (in the genitive), ‘A woman's prayer’, instead of the correct ‘A prayer for a woman’.

361 Here Bergius translates “Молитва на разрѣшеніе вѣнцевъ, во осмый день [...]” as ‘*Precatio in dissolutione conjugum die octava*’ (Prayer for the dissolution of spouses on the eighth day), as he misunderstands the word *вѣнцевъ*. *Вѣнецъ* means ‘wreath’, and this ‘*церковный вѣнецъ*’ (church wreath) is associated with the marriage ceremony (*вѣнчаніе*) in the church. *EEOCI*, s.v. ‘Marriage’, p. 380.

362 It is not evident how to interpret the text within brackets. Bergius has “*Sequelæ in morte & sepulturâ corporis secularis hominis, (è plebe & è seculo) fol. 150.*” The Russian text is shorter, it says: “*Послѣдованіе погребеній мѣрскихъ человѣкъ*” (Order for the burial of secular/lay people). Further on in the text there are chapters about the burial of monks, priests etc.

363 The importance of gardening was appreciated very early in the history of Moscow. There were special suburbs for growing fruit and vegetables. In the 16th century a regulation came into force stating that on a certain date each year the inhabitants of these suburbs were to deliver the first-fruits of different fruits and vegetables to the sovereign, the so-called *nov'*. Responsibility for this rested on the foreman of the suburb (Zabelin 1856, 11–13). In his *Diary* under 20 July 1684 (p. 183), Sparwenfeld writes: “The 20th is the first day each year that the Tsars eat melons for the first time, and the farmers are obliged to supply them at whatever price.” Under 6

August he writes: “The 6th is the first day of the year that the people have to furnish home-grown ripe apples to the tsars, at whatever price.”

364 The *Nomocanon* (a collection of canons/decrees), defines the relationship between church law and secular law.

365 Numbered 13, as Bergius continues the numbering from 12 on pp. 115–116. *Kannonik*: liturgical book containing selected canons to the Virgin Mary and others, together with prayers.

366 *Cheirotonia* (ordination), the sacrament of Holy Orders, the ceremony of consecration to the ministry, the act of conferring Holy Orders.

367 Greek *Typikon*, Russ. *Ustav*, *Oko cerkovnoe*, Eng. *the Rule, the Eye of the Church*: rule of liturgical procedure.

368 Greek *Hieratikon*, Russ. *Služebnik*: the Priest Service book. No book corresponding to Bergius’s description of his personal copy has been found.

369 The *Časoslov* or *Horologion* is a liturgical book used in the Eastern Churches, containing prayers and hymns for the daily hours.

370 *Kormčaja kniga* (Greek *Pedalion*, Eng. *the Rudder*), was translated from Greek into Russian-Church Slavonic and published in Moscow in 1650. There was a second edition with some material (for example on Constantine’s donation, see note 158) added in 1653 (Scheliga 2004, 71–73; Lobačev 2003, 117). Sparwenfeld, on the inside cover of MS *Slav 41* (a Slavic–Latin dictionary), among many notes that are partly bibliographical in character, wrote: “Книга кормчая или правилная: Петра Могила требник служебник ex his tribus pergnoscitur religio et ritus Russorum” (*Kniga kormčaja ili pravilnaja* (= Guide or Reference book): *Petra Mogila trebnik služebnik* (= Peter Mogila’s *Trebnik*, *Služebnik*), from these three you can learn about the Russian religion and rites). Concerning Peter Mogila’s *Trebnik*, see note 356 and regarding *Služebnik*, note 368.

371 In 1641, at the Moscow Printing Office, a book was published with the title *Margarit* (the Pearl, the Emerald), an anthology of the homilies of John Chrysostom (Ioann Zlatoust), first translated in full from the Greek original in the 14th century. It also contained his *vita*. Sobolevskij 1903, 21; Bushkovich 1992, 152, n. 3; Lobačev 2003, 103. One copy of this book is found at Uppsala University Library (*Ksl. F 52*, Cat. 600 A), as a result of the exchange of books between the library and the Russian State (Lenin) Library in 1938.

372 On Balsamon’s *Nomocanon* (c.1170), see Isačenko-Lisovaja 1987.

373 Within the Orthodox Church, what was known as the ‘*Nomocanon in 14 titles*’ was gradually supplanted, from 883, by the ‘*Nomocanon of Photius*’. Concerning ‘*Evfimievskaja Kormčaja*’, containing Photius’s *Nomocanon* and Balsamon’s commentaries, see Isačenko-Lisovaja 1992, 290. The earlier and later *Nomocanons* were included in *Kormčaja kniga*.

374 John Climacus (John of the Ladder, John Scholasticus, John Sinaites, Russ. Ioann Lestvičnik) was a 7th-century Christian monk at the monastery of Mount Sinai. His work *Scala Paradisi* (The Ladder of Divine Ascent or The Ladder of Paradise,

Russ. *Lestvica* – ‘The Ladder’) is among the real classics of the Church. *Patrology* 2006, 311–313; Sobolevskij 1903, 25.

375 In 1700 Peter the Great changed the Russian calendar from the Byzantine way of reckoning, with New Year’s Day on 1 September, to the European, with the new year beginning on 1 January. Ginzel 1914, vol. 3, 294.

376 Varlaam Jasinskij, Metropolitan of Kiev, Galicia and All Little Rus’ (1690–1707). *Slovar’ knižnikov* b, vol. I, 157–162. The author of the work printed was St Ambrose (340 339–397), Bishop of Milan 374–397, Father and Doctor of the Church. *NCE*, s.v. ‘Ambrose, St.’

377 Concerning him, see note 311.

378 Heinrich Wilhelm Ludolf’s *Grammatica Russica* was printed at Oxford in 1696. Sparwenfeld knew it well (Birgegård 1985, 95). See also Dunn 1993. There is a copy at Uppsala University Library (Cat. 2310 C). Bergius uses indirect speech when reproducing a passage from Ludolf’s preface, but for the most part he follows Ludolf’s text very closely. It is from him that Bergius has taken the incorrect titles of Polockij’s works: *Duchovni* (twice) for Ludolf’s *Duchovnoi* (twice), instead of *duševnyj, duševnaja*.

379 Simeon Polockij (1629–1680) was a Belorussian who received his education in Kiev (at the Kievo-Mogiljanskaja kollegija) and at the Jesuit College in Vilno (Vilnius). From 1664 he lived in Moscow, where he became one of the more prominent cultural figures of his time. Polockij was very productive as a writer in the 1660s and 1670s (poetry and plays, sermons, religious polemic and translations). He is regarded as the creator of the Moscow variant of East Slavic Baroque. He was tutor to the princes Aleksej and Fëdor Alekseevič and to Sof’ja Alekseevna, and became court poet. Polockij was also involved in planning an academy (Moskovskaja akademija) that was modelled on Mogila’s Kiev College. The impressive work of Sazonova provides a rich and full picture of Polockij and his time. See also *Slovar’ knižnikov* b, vol. III, 362–379; Hippisley 1985; Bushkovich 1992, 163ff. The following of Polockij’s works mentioned by Bergius – which once belonged to Sparwenfeld – are now kept at Västerås, gifts from Boris Alekseevič Golycyn: *Obed duševnyj*, Moskva 7190/1681, 4^o (Gawryś 1960, no. 14, Cat. 1570 B); *Večerja duševnaja*, Moskva 7190–91/1683, 4^o (Gawryś 1960, no. 15, Cat. 1640 B). These two works are collections of sermons. A copy of one of Polockij’s plays (The Comedy of the Prodigal Son) is kept at Västerås in *Codex AD 10*, brought to Sweden from Moscow by Sparwenfeld (Dahl 1949, 108–114). At Uppsala University Library there is a copy of his *Psaltir’ rifmotvornaja*, printed in Moscow in 1680, a result of the book exchange between the library and the Lenin Library in Moscow in 1938. Concerning a fragment of a Polish/Russian-Church Slavonic dictionary in Uppsala, ascribed to him, see Birgegård 1985, 53f.

380 A *Psaltir’ sledovannaja* (*s posledovaniem*) (from *sledovat’* ‘follow’), liturgical psalter, contains the Psalms, divided into 20 *caphismi/kafismy* (when the congregation are allowed to sit), followed, for example, by a horologion (*časoslov*, book of hours) and a menologion (*mesjaceslov*, church calendar). Bergius creates a Latin version (*caphismi*) of a Russian loanword (*kafismy*) from Greek, including the peculiar Slavic

transformation of *th* to *f*. The Greek word is καθισμα. The online catalogue lists several Psalters with appendices owned by Bergius: for example, *Ksl. F 3*, Cat. 490 A, no. 33 in folio on the list, printed in Moscow in 1632, and *Ksl. F 5*, Cat. 620 A, no. 11 in folio on the list, printed in Moscow in 1642. Sparwenfeld owned *Ksl. I 37*, Cat. 530 A, printed in Venice in 1638.

381 *Menologion*: can refer to various kinds of books, but Bergius's description indicates some kind of legendry for a whole year.

382 No such book has been found.

383 See note 234.

384 The volume mentioned here must be *Kirillova kniga* (Cyril's book), see note 258. See also Niess 1977, 17ff.

385 Re. Dionysius Areopagite, see Ref. Libr. The first independent translation by Evfimij Čudovskij (see notes 109, 112), in 1675, referred to texts by Dionysius the Areopagite (*Slovar' knižnikov* b, vol. I, 290).

386 On the Slavonic translation of the *Infancy Gospel of Thomas*, see Rosén 1997.

387 The short cosmography mentioned by Olearius, translated by a certain Dorn, must be Gerhard Mercator's (1512–1594) well-known *Atlas sive Cosmographiae meditatio-nes de fabrica mundi et fabricati figura*, which was first printed in Düsseldorf in 1595 and then appeared in numerous editions, in longer and shorter versions, with and without maps etc. The cosmography ('*Kosmografija*') was translated into Russian at the *Posol'skij prikaz* in 1637 by Bogdan Lykov and Ivan Dorn (Sobolevskij 1903, 59–60; Kudrijavcev 1963, 233–235). In *Codex AD 10* in the Västerås library, a codex brought back from Moscow by Sparwenfeld, there is (under number 5 in Gawryś & Jansson 1956, 10) a manuscript with the title *Vvoždenie v' kosmografiju i ee časti* ('An Introduction to Cosmography and its Parts'). Dahl in his work (pp. 76–82) provides information about the manuscript, hinting at a clear connection with the new translation of Mercator's work by Epifanij Slavineckij and the brothers Isaja and Arsenij Satanovskij, printed at the end of the 19th century ('*Kosmografija* 1670').

388 Nicolaas Witsen (1641–1717) was very interested in Russia and its neighbours. Like Sparwenfeld, he travelled to Russia as a member of an embassy, and wrote a very interesting journal about his experiences there. It was published in 1966 in the Netherlands (*Moscovische Reyse, 1664–1665*, see Bibliography). The journal was also published in a Russian translation in 1996. Witsen became famous for his major work *Noord en Oost Tartarye*, which appeared in two editions during his lifetime, in 1692 and 1705. He also compiled a well-known map of Tartary (Siberia) in 1687, of which Sparwenfeld owned a copy (now at Uppsala University Library, alvin). Witsen was a mayor of Amsterdam. Keuning 1954; Jacobowsky 1932, 320, 381.

389 Joan Blaeu (1650–1712) (sometimes spelt Bleau) was a cartographer and printer who followed in the footsteps of his father and grandfather in publishing cartographical works. J.G. Sparwenfeld and Blaeu exchanged letters about the possible printing of Sparwenfeld's works in Amsterdam, and even drew up a contract in the early summer of 1689 relating to Russian cartographical works (seven letters from Blaeu,

plus the contract, are preserved in Linköping, *Br.* 33, and have been published by M.M. Kleerkoper and W.P. van Stockum Jr. 1914–1916, 47ff.). Apart from Witsen's map (see previous note), Sparwenfeld gave Uppsala University Library another four maps of Siberia, divided into five separate parts. It was probably commissioned by Sparwenfeld, the source being a Russian map from 1672. There is still a Russian map linked to his name at Uppsala University Library: a map of south-west Russia showing Kazan', Perm, Vjatka etc. For further information on Sparwenfeld's maps, see Wieselgren 1883, 266–268, Jacobowsky 1932, 103–104, and Bagrow 1947. According to the contract, Blaeu also bought from Sparwenfeld sketches of maps (perhaps the ones mentioned by Bergius?). With Blaeu as an intermediary, Sparwenfeld also hoped to buy back to Sweden the matrices of van Selow's Russian printing press (see note 7), at that time in Holland and owned by Dirk Voskens's widow, for the printing of his own lexicographical works, a grammar, religious books etc. (see Sparwenfeld's memorandum of 1695, paragraph 3, printed in Jacobowsky 1932, 369–372; Birgegård 1985, 93–94).

390 This information about secular literature is, as Bergius states, taken from Jovius. Botvidi, in his 17th thesis, has the same information about this literature and refers to p. 128, i.e. Jovius's text in the Frankfurt volume of 1600. Concerning a history of Alexander the Great (known in the Russian tradition as 'Aleksandrija', and found there in a Serbian redaction since the 15th century), see Sobolevskij 1903, 33; Kudrjavcev 1963, 202–205; Mokroborodova 2013, 65–66. The well-known works of Quintus Curtius Rufus on Alexander the Great were very widely disseminated. In *Codex AD 10*, brought home from Moscow by Sparwenfeld and probably commissioned by him, there is a copy in Russian of six chapters of *Gesta Romanorum* (Gawryś & Jansson 1956, no. 15, p.11); Dahl 1949, 125–131.

391 On Jeremias II, Patriarch of Constantinople, see Ref. Libr. Four liturgies are used in Orthodox ritual today: the Divine Liturgy of St John Chrysostom, used on Sundays and weekdays; the Liturgy of St Basil the Great, used ten times in the course of the year, mainly during Great Lent; the Liturgy of St James, the brother of Jesus, used on the feast day of St James; and what are called the 'Presanctified Gifts of St Gregory the Dialogist' (a liturgical service of Holy Communion), used on Wednesdays and Fridays in Great Lent, and on the first three days of Great Week. McGuckin 2011, 294–295. On the liturgies of Basil and Chrysostom, see Bulgakov 1913 (1993), vol. I, 770–771, 879ff. On the Liturgy of the Presanctified Gifts of St Gregory the Dialogist, see Bulgakov 1913 (1993), vol. I, 772–774, 919–927.

392 The Angelic Hymn of Isaiah 6 is the *Sanctus, Sanctus, Sanctus*.

393 Bergius is referring here to his predecessor as Superintendent of Ingria and also as Superintendent-General of Livonia, Jacob Lange (Lang), who defended his doctoral thesis *De introductione catechumeni ad lectionem Sacrae Scripturae* at Åbo (Turku) in 1690. He left his office in Livonia to be Bishop of Reval (Estonia), but had to return to Sweden in 1710, when Estonia was lost to the Russians; he was then appointed Bishop of Linköping by Charles XII and died in that city in 1716. von Rauch 1943, 142, 189; Isberg 1973.

394 The quotation is given first in Greek, then in two Latin versions, the first of which is

very close to the Greek. We have tried to bring out the differences in the translation; where the Minor Liturgy renders the Greek correctly, the Major Liturgy has slipped into a Grecism, putting both the word *propator* and Mary's titulature in the genitive, following the Greek, which has the preposition *ὑπὲρ* with the genitive, instead of using the ablative with the Latin preposition *pro*.

395 Concerning the liturgies of St John Chrysostom and St Basil the Great, see note 391.

396 This book was printed at Gotha in 1699, but seems to be extremely rare.

397 Ps. 25:6: *Lavabo inter innocentes manus meas, et circumdabo altare tuum, Domine.*

398 The Trisagion hymn: 'Holy God, Holy Mighty, Holy Immortal have mercy on us' (McGuckin 2011, 296).

399 In similar texts, *indumentum incorruptionis* is often mentioned together with *lavacrum regenerationis*.

400 A Greek word meaning 'pearl'. Bergius's description of the use of the word in connection with the Eucharist gives a good idea: the very last remainder of the bread and wine. See Lampe.

401 Bergius writes *Laurentius Closterlassius*, which is a rather odd Latinisation of a nickname. Laurentius Nicolai (in Swedish, Lars Nilsson), 1538–1622, was born in Norway but left Lutheran Scandinavia to be a Jesuit. He was sent to Sweden in 1576 to work (in secret) for the Catholic Church; he had a great influence on King John III, who gave him the opportunity to start a college in the former Franciscan monastery of Stockholm. Initially he was quite successful, but when he became more radically Catholic in his teaching he had to leave the country, going on to work in various Jesuit houses in Poland and Latvia. *SBL* 22, s.v. 'Laurentius Nicolai Norvegus'.

402 Ericus Jacobi Skinnerus (d. 1597), professor, the first vice-chancellor of Uppsala University after its reinstatement in 1593, and poet (*SBL* 32, s.v. 'Skinnerus, Ericus Jacobi'). Nicolaus Olai Bothniensis (d. 1600), clergyman, theologian, archbishop and Orientalist (*SBL* 26, s.v. 'Nicolaus Olai Bothniensis'). Petrus Kenicius (1555–1636), theologian, parliamentarian, archbishop from 1609 (*SBL* 21, s.v. 'Kenicius, Petrus'). Erik Olofsson Skepperus (1555–1620). All the above were more or less active in their opposition to John III's liturgy.

403 In this section, on the daily divine services, Bergius's account is not quite correct (his sources being Olearius and Fletcher). There are two main services of the day: Vespers and Matins, Vespers being regarded as the first. These services are conducted by a priest and a deacon. Then there are a number of 'hours', in which the deacon does not take part. The Obednja mentioned under II below is one such 'hour'.

404 In Church Slavonic, *g* (r) was pronounced as a fricative, making it difficult for foreigners to perceive.

405 *Svjataja svyatych* (Святая святых), the Holy of Holies.

406 In the Roman rite, *Compline* (Lat. *Completorium*) is the late office, after Vespers.

McGuckin 2011, 339–340: “Matins and Vespers are the main hinge points of the daily offices, but the monastics also consecrated the night hours with Night Prayers (Compline) and Midnight Office (see below in the text).” For a more detailed survey of the term *Completorium*, see *CathEnc*, s.v. ‘Completorium’.

407 Concerning the celebration of Vespers, see Bulgakov 1913 (1993), vol. I, 761–765, and McGuckin 2011, 341ff.

408 The Canticle of Mary or the *Magnificat*, Luke 1:47–55, in an English translation used for the Divine Office.

409 This is an imperative (in the singular) of the verb *veriti* [вѣрить], which means ‘believe’.

410 Concerning this feast day, see Bulgakov 1913 (1993), vol. I, 349–351, 717.

411 *Vozdvizhenie Čestnago Kresta Gospodnja* (Bulgakov 1913 (1993), vol. I, 363–366, 717).

412 *Vvedenie vo chram Presvjatyja Devy Marii* (Bulgakov 1913 (1993), vol. I, 462–465, 717). The adjective *presvjatyja* (consisting of the intensifier *pre-* and *svjatyja* ‘holy’) is as a rule abbreviated to *-styja* (-стыя) in writing (the word *svjatoj* ‘holy’ is practically always abbreviated in religious texts). Bergius misunderstands the underlying word and reads it as *prečistyja* ‘the most pure’.

413 *Roždestvo Christovo* (Bulgakov 1913 (1993), vol. I, 520–526, 717).

414 *Prazdnik Bogojavlenija, Kreščenie Gospodne* (Bulgakov 1913 (1993), vol. I, 23–25, 717).

415 *Sretenie Gospoda Boga i Spasa našego Iisusa Christa, Sretenie Gospodne* (Bulgakov 1913 (1993), vol. I, 69–72, 717).

416 *Blagoveščenie Presvjatyja Bogorodicy* (Bulgakov 1913 (1993), vol. I, 126–129, 717). Re. ‘Presvjatyja’, see note 412.

417 The ‘official’ name of the day is ‘The Lord’s Entrance into Jerusalem or Osier Sunday’ (*Vchod Gospoden’ v Ierusalim* or *Nedelja Vajj*). In the Russian tradition, osier twigs replace palm leaves. Bulgakov 1913 (1993), vol. I, 584–587. In the vernacular, the day is called ‘Verbnoe voskresenie’ – Osier Sunday.

418 *Svetloe Christovo Voskresenie* (Bulgakov 1913 (1993), vol. I, 621–642, 717).

419 *Voznesenie Gospodne, Voznesenie Gospoda Boga i Spasa našego Iisusa Christa* (Bulgakov 1913 (1993), vol. I, 665–671, 717).

420 There is a slight error in the text here: *vi/vi]fiantis*. The feast is of course Pentecost. *Pjatidesjatnica* or *Sošestvie Svatago Ducha na apostolov* (Bulgakov 1913 (1993), vol. I, 675–686, 717).

421 *Preobraženie Gospodne, Svatatoe preobraženie Gospoda Boga i Spasa našego Iisusa Christa* (Bulgakov 1913 (1993), vol. I, 298–302, 717).

422 *Uspenie Presvjatyja Bogorodicy* (Bulgakov 1913 (1993), vol. I, 312–316, 717). Re. ‘Presvjatyja’, see note 412.

423 Cf. Bulgakov 1913 (1993), vol. I, 337–339 (Simeon Stolpnik).

424 The correct day to commemorate the death of St John the Evangelist is 26 September, not the 27th (Bulgakov 1913 (1993), vol. I, 384–387).

425 Bulgakov 1913 (1993), vol. I, 450–453, 717.

426 Bulgakov 1913 (1993), vol. I, 3–4, 717.

427 Bulgakov 1913 (1993), vol. I, 42–43.

428 Bulgakov 1913 (1993), vol. I, 240–242, 717.

429 *Statuta Moscovitica* is the name used in Bergius's text for the important Russian Law Code of 1649 (*Sobornoje uloženie*). See Ref. Libr. and Lobačev 2003, 81–82. Sparwenfeld owned a copy of this book (*Slav 23* at Uppsala University Library). He evidently studied it after his return to Sweden, with the help of a Russian prisoner of war (Birgegård 1987).

430 The monastery of the Holy Trinity (Troice-Sergieva Lavra), consecrated to Sergius of Radonezh (Sergij Radonežskij, 1314–1392), is situated 60 versts (around 65 km) north-east of Moscow (see note 291). Pilgrimages to this monastery by the Tsar (or earlier, the Grand Prince) and his family began shortly after it was built in the 14th century and continued until the beginning of the 18th. The Tsars went there at least once every year. The most important occasion for a pilgrimage was 25 September, the feast day of St Sergij. According to Zabelin, the Tsar would normally leave Moscow around 20 September, arriving at the monastery four days later at the earliest. He would be absent from Moscow for eight to ten days, returning around 30 September. For a detailed description of this yearly pilgrimage, see Zabelin 1847. See also Bulgakov 1913 (1993), vol. I, 381ff. Cf. Olearius (1967, ed. Baron, 260): “The Grand Prince and his foremost magnates make pilgrimages to this monastery twice a year [...] When they are half a league from the monastery, the Grand Prince dismounts and goes the rest of the way with his suite on foot. He stays to pray several days [...]” Bergius's text here contains quite erroneous information on the life of St Sergij. He was never a soldier, and he died in 1392, not in 1563. The stated distance from Moscow is not quite correct either. One Russian *verst* (versta) is 1.067 km.

431 Bergius's description of the two churches under § 2 and § 3 is somewhat blurred. The church mentioned under § 2: According to Bergius, who cites Olearius, the cathedral was not far from the Ambassador's Court (*Posol'skij prikaz*) and is depicted in Olearius's work, book 1, chapter 13. In the two editions available to us – of 1647 and 1663 – there is no picture of a church in chapter 13. In the 1647 edition there is no division into books and chapters and chapter 13 in the 1663 edition comprises only two pages with no illustrations. There is, however, an image of a cathedral in chapter 12 of that edition, on p. 45. The church in question is known by several names: the Cathedral of the Intercession (or Trinity) on the Moat (*Pokrovskij (or Troickij) sobor na Rvu*), or the Temple of Vasilij the Blessed (*Sobor Vasilija Blažennogo*) or Jerusalem (*Ierusalim*). Ivan the Terrible commissioned the building of this cathedral to commemorate his capture of Kazan' in 1552. The tower in the middle is dedicated to the Intercession of the Virgin, celebrated on 1 October. For the history of this cathedral, see Brumfield 1993, 122–131. Bergius's claim that the church had been built there to celebrate the icon having

been found in the ground is not correct, it refers to the church mentioned under § 3 (see next note).

432 The church mentioned under § 3, the Cathedral of the Icon of the Kazan' Mother of God, was built in the 1620s near the north end of Red Square, in commemoration of the Russian victory over the Poles in 1621, during the Time of Troubles. The military commander on that occasion was Prince Dimitrij Požarskij, who was among those who later supported the building of the cathedral. The Russian army was said to have been victorious thanks to the divine protection of the icon of the Kazan' Mother of God (Kazanskaja ikona Božjej Materi), which was brought to the troops from Kazan'. According to tradition, this icon was found in the ground in Kazan' in 1579 by a nine-year-old girl, in the remains of her family's house, which had burnt down. Prior to that, the Virgin Mary had appeared several times in the girl's dreams and told her about the icon. Bulgakov 1913 (1993), vol. I, 253–254, 419–421. The cathedral was demolished at the beginning of the Soviet period, but a new one has been built in its place. See also Brumfield 1993, 141. 22 October is the day of commemoration of this icon. After the victory, a celebration was held on that particular day – to begin with only in Moscow, but from 1649 throughout Russia – in memory of the salvation of Moscow through the intervention of the icon. There was a procession from the Kremlin into the cathedral.

433 In Russia, this ceremony was first documented in Novgorod, at that time enacted by the *voevoda* (governor) and the archbishop. The first evidence of it being performed in Moscow is from 1558. The source is an anonymous Englishman belonging to the retinue of the ambassador Anthony Jenkinson (Ref. Libr.). Originally, it seems, the procession started out from *Uspenskij sobor* (the 'Church of St Mary', according to Bergius) in the Kremlin and went to a church there called *Vchodo-Ierusalimskaja cerkov'* (honouring Christ's entry into Jerusalem). Tsar Ivan IV (the Terrible) built a cathedral in Red Square in honour of his capture of Kazan' in 1552 (see note 431), with an annex consecrated to 'the Entry of our Lord into Jerusalem' (*Vchod Gospodnja v Ierusalim*). Eventually, it would appear, the procession went from *Uspenskij sobor* to this cathedral and back again. In 1656, under Patriarch Nikon, the ceremony was changed. It now started at *Lobnoe mesto* (the 'raised place'), a stone construction in Red Square from which all public announcements were made, and went to *Uspenskij sobor* in the Kremlin. During the procession, the Patriarch, representing Christ, sat on the 'donkey', with the Tsar on foot holding its reins (at this time, from 1682 to 1696, there were two Tsars, the half-brothers Ivan Alekseevič and Pëtr Alekseevič). In many of its details, the first part of Bergius's quotation from Warmund (Schleussinger) resembles the description given by the anonymous Englishman from Jenkinson's retinue. The payment was also part of the observance, in Russia symbolising the spiritual reward of Christ, sitting on the donkey. The ceremony was abolished by Tsar Peter in 1697. It had its origins in Constantinople, but there were important differences between the two traditions. See Uspenskij 1998, chapter 'Ношение белого клобука и шествие на осляти в Вербное воскресение как знаки духовной власти' (440ff.).

434 Wednesdays and Fridays of every ordinary week were observed as fast days: believers consumed no meat, oil or dairy produce and no wine (McGuckin 2011, 354).

435 Lent, in Russian *Velikij Post* (the Great Fast), lasted for 40 days (or rather 36) (Bulgakov 1913 (1993), vol. I, 550ff.). The fast began after Shrovetide, popularly known as *maslenica/maslenica*, after *maslo* 'butter', and ended with the resurrection of Christ on Easter Day. *Maslenica* was not the first week of Lent, as Bergius says, but preceded it. Another name was *Sedmica syrnaja* 'cheese week', after Russ. *syr* 'cheese' (Bulgakov 1913 (1993), vol. I, 542ff.).

436 This fast is known as 'Peter's Fast' (*Petrov Post*). Its beginning is linked to Easter, and it can last from eight days to six weeks (Bulgakov 1913 (1993), vol. I, 19f.). It continues until the feast of Peter and Paul on 29 June.

437 The Fast of the Assumption of the Virgin (*Uspenskij Post*) begins on 1 August and lasts up to and including 14 August (Bulgakov 1913 (1993), vol. I, 293).

438 The Christmas Fast (*Roždestvenskij Post*) begins on 15 November (not the 12th) and lasts until Christmas (Bulgakov 1913 (1993), vol. I, 454f.).

439 Here in the Biblical sense, i.e. have sexual intercourse.

440 This 'Arsenius', known as *Arsenij Grek* (Arsenius the Greek) (born around 1610, died after 1666), was a hieromonach, teacher of rhetoric and translator. He was born in Greece, studied in Italy and in 1633, after returning to Greece, became a monk. He then lived at the courts of Moldavia, Walachia and Poland. He came to Kiev and Moscow, but was suspected of heresy and sent to the Soloveckij monastery. In 1652 he was called from there to Moscow by Patriarch Nikon, who needed him for his reform project. Nikon made him the head of a new Greek-Latin school close to the patriarchal court in the Kremlin. The school did not last long, however. In 1654 Arsenij Grek was put to work at Pečatnyj dvor (the printing house at the Russian court), as head of Nikon's project to correct the books used by the Church. After the fall of Patriarch Nikon, he was once again exiled to *Soloveckij monastyr'*. Tsar Aleksej Michajlovič set him free in 1666. He was important as a translator from Greek into Russian. *Slovar' knižnikov* b, vol. I, 105ff.

441 On the Lichudy brothers and their connections with Sparwenfeld, see note 117. The Greek brothers arrived in Moscow in March 1685, invited by Patriarch Joachim (Ioakim) to counterbalance the strong south-western influence of scholars working in the Polish-Latin tradition, with its possible Catholic leanings. Soon after their arrival, they were appointed leaders of the recently founded Slavonic-Greek-Latin Academy. They started teaching there, wrote manuals etc. They were not, however, true representatives of a possible Graecophile camp, as they were educated in Jesuit schools in the West and included Latin in the curriculum. However, the teaching of Latin was soon stopped by the church authorities and the brothers were forced to leave. They later opened an academy in Novgorod. See *Slovar' knižnikov* b, vol. II, 301–305; Sazonova 2006, 108, 131 *et passim*; Chrissidis 2000 and 2016.

442 This grammar (*Грамматики Славенския правилное Синтагма, Потицаниемъ многогръбнашъ Миха Мелетия Смотрикогъ*) played a fundamental role in codifying the literary language of the East Slavic area. In Bergius's time there were two editions: that of 1619, printed in Jevje near Vilno (Vilnius), and the so-called 'Moscow edition', printed in 1648. The 1619 edition dealt with the 'prosta mova'

(the literary language of the south-west) and contained inflections of words of Greek and Latin origin that were excluded from the 1648 edition. The Moscow edition, on the other hand, dealt with Russian-Church Slavonic. In 1721, Sparwenfeld donated his copy of the 1648 edition (in 4^{to}) to Uppsala University Library (*Slav 69*). This grammar was of great importance when Sparwenfeld was studying the Russian language in Moscow and, as emerges from a note in the book, he even translated it into Latin as part of his studies, as can be observed in *Slav 69*. For a time, Sparwenfeld also owned a copy of the rare edition of 1619 (in 8^{vo}), but the Royal Librarian in Paris, Melchisedech Thévenot, managed to obtain that copy. For further information, see Birgegård 1985, 56–58. As Bergius states, when the first edition of the grammar was printed Timothy (Timofej II) was Patriarch of Constantinople, who held the office from 1614 to 1621 (Bulgakov 1913 (1993), vol. II, 1387). Smotrickij arrived at the Vilnius Orthodox Brotherhood Monastery of the Church of the Descent of the Holy Spirit ca 1616 and was made archimandrite of the monastery in 1620. Frick 1995, 73, 76.

443 In the quoted passage, Talander (Bohse) mentions ‘Turnisser’, i.e. the Swiss Leonhard Thurneysser zum Thurn (1531–1596), alchemist, astrologer, physician, printer etc. The work referred to is probably Thurneysser’s *Tabula qvarvndam syllabarvm*, Berlin 1583. See Ambrosiani 2014, 33, n. 4.

444 Concerning Ludolf’s grammar, see note 378.

445 On van Selow and *Alfabetum Rutenorum*, see note 7.

446 Johann Ernst Glück (1654–1705), was born in Wettin, Germany, and studied at German universities. His life took a series of unexpected turns. In 1675 he moved to Livonia and worked as a vicar in Dünämünde, where he became acquainted with the Superintendent of Livonia, Johann Fischer, and started studying Oriental languages. In 1683 he became a vicar (*Pfarrer*) in Marienburg (Latvian Alūksne). There, he translated the Bible into Latvian. It was published in 1694 by Johann Fischer, the printing partly financed by the Swedish king. While in Marienburg he also learnt Russian. From 1687 he was the rural dean (*Propst*) of Kokenhusen (Latvian Koknese). Glück came into contact with the Old Believers in the area and took an interest in them. He worked on a translation of the Church Slavonic Bible into Russian for them, and with the support of Charles XI started to compile schoolbooks in Russian for their children. All this material disappeared in connection with the outbreak of the war. In 1702 he and his family were taken prisoners by the Russians. Glück offered to go to Moscow to serve the Tsar as a translator. In 1703 he founded the first Russian gymnasium in Moscow. He was its rector and worked hard to equip the gymnasium with teachers and schoolbooks. He himself wrote a Russian grammar (see the edition by Keipert *et al.*, Glück 1994). To find teachers and books for his gymnasium, he turned to the Pietist August Hermann Francke in Halle for help. They were personally acquainted and Glück was one of his followers. He also bought books from Elias Kopiewicz, among them his Latin grammar (*Latina grammatica in usum scholarum...*), printed in Amsterdam in 1700 (see note 468). Glück was not happy with the grammar and complained of there being errors on every page (Winter 1953, 162ff. *et passim*; Pekarskij I, 1862, 126–132; von

Rauch 1952, 207–209; Wittram 1964, vol. II, 196–197; Isberg 1973, 127–128). In passing, it may be mentioned that the Glück family, apart from their own children, also had a foster-daughter, Marta Skowronska (Marta Skavronskaja), probably the daughter of a Lithuanian peasant and his wife, who had died of plague when she was still an infant. In 1702 – she was then 17 – Marta did not go to Moscow with her foster-parents, but arrived there later, in the autumn of 1703, together with Peter's favourite Menšikov. In his house, Peter got to know Marta and they became a couple. They married (the first time in Poland in 1711 and a second time in St. Petersburg in 1712) after Catherine (Ekaterina), her new name after she had converted to the Russian Orthodox faith, had borne him three children. Peter's first wife Eudoxia, whom he had in practice divorced, forcing her to take the veil in 1698, was in a convent. After his death, from 1725 to 1727, Ekaterina was the Empress of the Russian Empire (Catherine I). Winter 1953, 58–59 *et passim*; Massie 1980, 371ff. On the extensive discussions among scholars regarding her identity and background, see Glück & Polanska 2005, 120ff. Re. Molin, see note 53.

447 See note 6.

448 See note 451.

449 Concerning the printing house at Ostrog, where the Ostrožskaja Biblija was printed in 1581, see note 331.

450 The printing press at the Monastery of the Caves (Kievo-Pečerskaja tipografija) was founded at the beginning of the 17th century. The first book known to be printed there was the *Časoslov* (Book of Hours) from 1616. One of the archimandrites who did a great deal for the printing house was Peter Mogila. There, Innokentij Gizeł's *Synopsis* (see Ref. Libr.) was published in 1674 and 1678. Nemirovskij 2007, 421.

451 The first official printing house in Moscow was initiated by Ivan the Terrible, with the support of Metropolitan Makarij (see note 456). Regarding the first printers, Ivan Fëdorov and Pëtr Timofeev Mstislavec, and their work, see note 459. The first book printed after they left was *The Psalms (Psaltyr')*, 1568. The next book appeared eight years later. A further edition of *The Psalms* was printed in 1576, in the Alexander Suburb (Aleksandrovskaja sloboda) on the outskirts of Moscow. The first mention of where the printing house was later located is in the German traveller G. Staden's notes (he lived in Moscow from 1565 to 1576). There, it emerges that the Moscow printing house (Moskovskij pečatnyj dvor) was situated on Nicholas Street (Nikol'skaja ulica), not far from Red Square and the Kremlin. Nemirovskij 2007, 519–520. On Palmquist's map it is found under C: m (fol. 17).

452 At the printing house of *Kutejinskij monastyr'*, the well-known Church Slavonic-Ukrainian dictionary by Pamva Berynda was printed, the first edition in 1627, the second in 1653. A copy of this dictionary (the second edition) was in Sparwenfeld's possession and was an important source for his *Lexicon Slavonicum* (Birgegård 1985, 54–55).

453 A printing house was founded in Černigov, in the Eleckij monastery in 1646, and it was still operating in the 18th century (Nekrasov 1924, 117). One book produced there, a *Horologion* (*Časoslov*) from 1686, was found in Bergius's library (Davidsson 1956, 129, n. 2; Cat. no.1740).

454 Here follows a very long quotation, comprising almost the whole of § 6, from a copy of Tsar Ivan Vasilevič's 'Kirchenordnung', dealing with the establishment by the Tsar and the Metropolitan of a printing house in Moscow (see below). The copy of the German translation of the Russian original (probably made in 1640) was kept at the Royal Archives in Stockholm and communicated to Bergius on 13 November 1703.

455 The reckoning of the years is not correct: the year 7061 from the creation of the world means 1552/53 from the birth of Christ. The translator was evidently working in 1640, which was not 71 years from 1552/53. On the whole, the beginning of the translation here is somewhat obscure.

456 Macarius (Makarij) (1482–1563), Archbishop of Novgorod 1526–42, Metropolitan of Moscow and All Russia 1542–1563. Macarius played a very important role in Russian church, cultural and political history. He compiled the first editions of the *Great Menaion Reader* (*Velikie Minei-chetii*), a compilation of the lives of the Russian saints. He is also credited with beginning the *Stepennaja Kniga* (see Ref. Libr.), the *Book of Degrees of Royal Genealogy*, which traced Ivan IV's lineage back to Roman times. In addition, he encouraged the introduction of printing in Russia. The first book printed in Russian in that country, however, did not appear until after his death. *Slovar' knižnikov*, vtor. pol. XIV–XVI v., č. 2, 1989, 76–88.

457 The khanate of Kazan' was conquered by Ivan IV in 1552 (de Madariaga 2005, 103ff.).

458 Once again, the calculation of the dates does not make sense: Ivan Vasil'evič was born in 1530. The year 7061 (AD 1552/53) does not constitute the 35th year of his life. Cf. note 455.

459 Ivan Fëdorovič Moskvitin (c. 1510–1583) ('Ivan Fëdorov', 'the Father of Russian Bookprinting'). Very little is known about his early life, but he probably studied at the University of Kraków. It is believed that he worked for a number of years at an anonymous printing house in Moscow, publishing around seven books. When that house closed down, Tsar Ivan Vasil'evič decided to found a state printing house under the management of the said Ivan Fëdorov, by then an experienced master. He and his collaborator Pëtr Timofeev Mstislavec worked on the printing of the first book, the *Apostol* (readings from the Acts of the Apostles and the Epistles, used in the liturgy), from 19 April 1563 to 1 March 1564. The preparatory work on the text and the editing were probably undertaken by Ivan Fëdorov. The second book published by the two was *Časovnik* (*The Book of Hours*), two versions of which came out during 1565. Nothing more was printed before they both left Moscow, evidently after severe criticism of their editorial work. The Tsar ordered printing to be continued in Aleksandrovskaja sloboda, under his own supervision. The two printers went to Zabludov in Lithuania, inhabited by Orthodox Ukrainians and Belorussians. There they built a Cyrillic printing press, where they printed *Učitel'noe Evangelie* in 1569. After that, Pëtr Timofeev Mstislavec left Zabludov for Vilno, while Ivan Fëdorov stayed on to print a *Psaltyr'* in 1570. After the financial collapse of the Zabludov printing house, Ivan Fëdorov moved to Lviv (Lvov) in 1572, where he set up the first Ukrainian press. There, in 1574, he printed the *Apostol*, the first

dated Ukrainian book in print, identical to the Moscow edition. At the end of the book he gave a summary of his life as a printer from the Moscow period onwards. At approximately the same time he also printed an abecedarium (*Azbuka* 1574), the first of its kind in the East Slavic area. Around 1578, Ivan Fëdorov was invited by Konstantin K. Ostrožskij to go to Ostrog to print a complete Slavic Bible. Prince Ostrožskij had started an academy and a school in his residence and needed books. Ivan Fëdorov printed a new *Azbuka* in 1578. In 1580 he printed the Psalms and the New Testament, and in 1581 his real masterpiece, the *Ostrog Bible* (*Ostrožskaja Biblja*), the first complete Bible in the East Slavic area (see note 331). At the beginning of 1583, Ivan Fëdorov moved back to L'viv (Lvov), after the Ostrog printing house had been closed. He died at the end of that year. Nemirovskij 2007, 39–46.

460 Iwan Paliwreda's Day, 19 April. (Ivan (Ioann) vetchopeščernik, possibly 'starec' (an elderly monk living in a cave). He lived in a desert in Palestine in the 8th century. Bulgakov 1913 (1993), vol. I, 153. Regarding the date, see the previous note.

461 Afanasij was Metropolitan of Moscow from 1564 to 1566. Bulgakov 1913 (1993), vol. II, 1405.

462 Bergius writes "librum de Fide satis magnum", i.e. he is talking about the *Liber de Fide* (see note 265).

463 The text of this letter of privilege is quoted in Dutch. Concerning the letter etc., see Sopikov 1904–1905, vol. I, p. 123, no. 13153; the text of it (in Russian) is found in Sopikov 1904–1905, vol. V, 133–143; part of the letter (in Russian) has been published by Pekarskij 1862, vol. II, p. II, no. 46; Adarjukov & Sidorov 1924, 130–139. Jan Thessing, as was suspected by bystanders (see below in Bergius's text) did not accomplish much, but evidently did achieve something. His first publication was a *Short Introduction to History* (*Vvedenie kratkoe vo usjakuju istoriju*, 69 pages), compiled by Il'ja Kopievskij (Elias Kopiewicz, see below) and printed in Amsterdam in April 1699 (Bykova & Gurevič 1958, 278–279). The Tsar himself, while in Amsterdam during his almost five-month stay in Holland in 1697–1698, had introduced Thessing to Elias Kopiewicz (Russ. Il'ja Kopievskij), a possible partner in the enterprise. Born a Belorussian, but a Pole by nationality, Kopiewicz had converted to Protestantism and worked as a Reformed pastor in Amsterdam. In a second Cyrillic work produced in Amsterdam in April 1699, a short introduction to arithmetic (48 pages), the editor is named 'Elias Fedorov Kopievskij' (Bykova & Gurevič 1958, 279–281). During the summer of the same year, a third booklet was printed in Amsterdam (on heavenly bodies and their movements etc., comprising 41 pages) at Thessing's printing house ("v drukarni ivana andreeva tesinga"). Its compiler and author was Kopievskij (Bykova & Gurevič 1958, 281–282). A few more books were published from Thessing's printing house in the first half of 1700, for example one 'Nomenkljator' of 127 pages, with Russian, Latin and German texts, and another of the same size, with Russian, Latin and Dutch. Two copies of the first-mentioned nomenclature are kept at Uppsala University Library. In the summer of 1700 Aesop's fables were printed at Thessing's printing house. In all these cases, it was evidently Kopiewicz who did the compiling, translating etc. (Bykova & Gurevič, 282–288). Later that year Kopiewicz left and started a printing house of his own. Thessing died

the following year. Concerning the plans of Sparwenfeld and Bergius to print the *Lexicon Slavonicum* using Kopiewicz's type, see Birgegård 1985, 96ff.

464 This letter is in French.

465 This letter is in German and is printed in German black-letter type.

466 The periodical mentioned is *Historische Remarques Der Neuesten Sachen in Europa* published in Hamburg. The quotation from it in Bergius is in German, printed in German black-letter type.

467 The Prussian Academy of Sciences was founded on 11 July 1700 by Elector Frederick III of Brandenburg under the name *Kurfürstlich-Brandenburgische Societät der Wissenschaften* (later Königlich-Preussische [Berliner] Akademie der Wissenschaften). Its first chairman was Gottfried Wilhelm von Leibniz. *DBE*, s.v. 'von Leibniz, Gottfried Wilhelm'.

468 It is not true that Kopiewicz did not print any books. Apart from the crucial role he played in the operations of Jan Thessing's printing house (see note 463), in September 1700 he printed a Latin grammar: *Latina grammatica in usum scholarum celeberrimae gentis Slavonico-Rosseanae adornata* (Karataev 1861, no. 1156; Bykova & Gurevič, 288–289). In the preface, Kopiewicz hints at difficulties in his cooperation with Thessing and complains about the workers' lack of skill. At the end, he lists the books he has edited (eight in all) and states that of these Thessing has printed six, nine are ready for printing and four are in preparation. Concerning the works he printed and planned to print, see Pekarskij 1862, 523ff.; Karataev 1861, nos. 1151–1160. For further works involving Kopiewicz, see Björkbom 1934, 124–126 and Sazonova 2006, 264–265, 290–291.

469 This letter is in German and is printed in German black-letter type.

470 Lukjan Timofeevič Golosov, born in the 1620s, died after 1682. He was *dumnyj djak* at the *Posol'skij prikaz* and a translator from Latin. He is mentioned several times in Witsen's report on the Dutch embassy. As a poet he had the reputation of being very learned, and seems to have trimmed his sails to every wind during the complicated age he was living in. See A.M. Pančenko's article in *Slovar' knižnikov* b, vol. I, 212ff.

471 The title of the dissertation was *Disp. theol. in articulum decimum quartum partis tertiae articulorum Smalcaldicorum de votis monasticis*, Stockholm 1698, in 4^{to}. The synod took place in Uppsala on 21–23 June of that year (*SBL* 3, s.v. 'Bergius, Nicolaus').

472 Sparwenfeld in his *Diary*, pp. 97–99 describes a scene in the Iberian Monastery on Easter Day 1684: "I also watched a few small processions in which icons were carried in and out of the houses by boys who were singing Christ is risen. I also saw a drunken monk or two as well as a drunken pope, who nearly fell into the mud with his silver crucifix but was taken into his house with great difficulty by a boy who hauled him inside."

473 Bergius uses the unusual phrase *Vacunae vacare*, 'to devote oneself to Vacuna' (a goddess of rural leisure).

474 On this monastery, see note 430.

475 *Quantum lenta solent inter viburna cupressi* is taken from Virgil, *Eclogae* 1.26.

476 These fines are provided for in Chapter X: 32–33 of the Russian Law Code.

477 Patriarch Filaret was not, as Bergius rightly suspects, the last patriarch to be confirmed by the Patriarch of Constantinople. Fëdor Nikitič Romanov (1553–1633), after an eventful life – including ten years in Polish captivity – was chosen as Patriarch of Moscow. In reality he became co-regent with his son, Tsar Michail Romanov. Filaret was Patriarch 1619–1633. (Lobačev 2003, 15–16.) The first Patriarch of Moscow, as Bergius correctly states, was Iov (1589–1605). Under an agreement concluded in 1589, the Tsars were subsequently to appoint the patriarchs. Uspenskij 1998, 495ff. The assertion that the Archbishop of Novgorod, Alexander, was installed as the first Metropolitan of Novgorod is also confirmed: Alexander was archbishop 1576–1589, and then, until 1591, metropolitan. At that time the Patriarch of Constantinople was Jeremiah II (1589–1594). Bulgakov 1913 (1993), vol. II, 1387, 1406.

478 The election of the Patriarch takes place in the Cathedral of the Dormition (Uspenskij sobor). Russ. *sobor* has the meaning ‘council’, ‘synod’, ‘assembly’, but also, as in this case, ‘cathedral’.

479 Over time, the close relationship between Tsar Aleksej Michajlovič and Patriarch Nikon developed into an open and increasingly dramatic struggle for supremacy. In 1658, in an attempt to bring matters to a head, Nikon renounced his patriarchal position and left Moscow. This move was followed by a chaotic situation that lasted several years. Finally, in December 1666, during a synod in Moscow attended by two (not three) Eastern patriarchs – Macarius of Antioch and Paisius of Alexandria – and a number of high-ranking men of the Church, Nikon was deposed. His church reforms, however, were confirmed. Lobačev 2003, 222–226 *et passim*.

480 The translation into Latin is very precise.

481 Bergius’s assumption was, in fact, correct. Tsar Peter took the opportunity to change the system and do away with the patriarchate. Patriarch Adrian died unexpectedly in October 1700 when Peter was busy fighting the Swedes at Narva. The Tsar wanted more control of the Church and needed to change its structure, but had no time to spend on the matter then. He came up with a compromise, declaring the Patriarch’s throne ‘temporarily vacant’ and appointing an interim, joint leadership. The patriarchate was abolished and replaced with a Holy Governing Synod (*Svjatejšij Pravitel’stvujuščij Sinod*) only in 1721 when the Ecclesiastical Regulation (*Duchovnyj reglament*) was enacted by decree. Massie 1980, 789ff.; Život 2004, 44ff.

482 Olearius has “4. Sarskoi und Podonskoi zu Sarski und Podon. Dieser wohnet in Musscow auff dem Schlosse.”; Bergius has “Sarkiensem” (acc. sing.).

483 Olearius has “5. Sibirskoi und Tobolskoi zu Toboleska”; Bergius has “Sibiriensis”. Cf. Bulgakov 1913 (1993), vol. II, 1415: ‘Archiepiskopy Tobol’skie i Sibirskie’.

484 Cf. note 477. Fëdor Nikitič Romanov (Filaret) married Ksenija Ivanovna Šestova

(married name Romanova-Jurjeva) around 1590. They had several children, but many of them died. In 1600, for political reasons, Ksenija Ivanovna was forced to take the veil (her new name was Marfa). In 1602 she was 'released'. While her husband was away, she raised their son Michail, who was elected Tsar in 1613 at the age of sixteen (Tsar Michail Fëdorovič Romanov). She was strong-willed and very influential at court. After her husband's return from Poland in 1619 and his election as Patriarch, she lost her influence. She lived until 1631, at the end of her life more and more like a nun (*Slovar' knižnikov b*, vol. II, 337–341). So Filaret became a widower very late in life. But, as Bergius says, their case is quite unique.

485 One of Patriarch Nikon's 'reforms' was to change the mitre (the *kamilaukion, camelaucum*) to the Greek style, with a stiff plate that made it higher. This provoked sharp criticism from the Old Believers. The "two horns" mentioned by Bergius could also be perceived on black mitres, and were clearly associated by the Old Believers with the Devil. Scheidegger 59–60.) Regarding the white mitre of the Bishop of Novgorod, see Uspenskij 1998, Excursus XIV: Ношение белого клобука и шествие на осляти в Вербное воскресение как знаки духовной власти., 429–439. See also Scheidegger 1999, 100.

486 Cf. also Sparwenfeld's description and drawing of the dress of the monks in his *Diary* (pp. 98–99).

487 Cf. Sparwenfeld's description of a *posoch* in his *Diary* (p. 103).

488 Bergius writes *forcipe*, 'with a thong', which would be a rather painful way of cutting someone's hair. He probably meant *forfice*, 'with a pair of scissors'.

489 Cf. Olearius: "In the investiture ceremony he [the new priest, UB] is dressed in a priestly cloak not much different from a secular one. The hair is shorn from the top of his head, and a little cloth cap, which they call a *skuf'ia*, is put on. It is like our skullcap and lies against the skin; the surrounding hair hangs down to the shoulders like a woman's. They never take off this hat during the day, except to have their hair cut. It is a sacred article and enjoys great respect. If anyone strikes a priest and comes down on the cap or makes it fall to the ground, he is severely punished [...]." (1967, ed. Baron, 266–267).

490 Bergius wrongly writes *episcopus*, where the Vulgate has *diaconi*. Here, we quote the Bible according to the King James Version.

491 Botvidi, for his part, gets his information from Herberstein and refers to the appropriate page of the Frankfurt edition of 1600. For the text, see Mokroborodova 2013, 238 (in Latin), 258–259 (in Russian).

492 Petrejus uses the word 'Baiorer', i.e. boyars, which Bergius translates as 'Bojarum filii', but he probably misunderstands the rank involved. The term in Russian is *bojar skij syn* (literally 'a boyar's son'), pl. *deti bojarskie*. This rank was much lower than it sounds. The term denotes a member of the lower gentry, without or with only limited means, a serving young nobleman, mostly in the provinces. See also the definition given by Sparwenfeld's 'teacher', when the latter was explaining terms from the Russian Law Code (*Uloženie*); Birgegård 1987, 245, no. 16.

493 During the Holy Council (Osvjašennyj sobor) in Moscow, lasting from February

to April 1654, Patriarch Nikon presented his 'reforms' and turned to the Council for approval. There was considerable opposition to his innovations within the Church, and Nikon, aware of this, summoned only some of the clergy. He argued that over the centuries liturgical books had been distorted in Russia and that the ancient, correct versions were to be found in the Greek texts (it was in fact the other way round: the changes had been made in the Greek texts). Consequently, the Russian books needed 'correcting' in accordance with the Greek texts. Another question raised by Nikon was the need to change from a two-fingered to a three-fingered sign of the cross. It was decided, further, that the old eight-pointed cross was to be replaced by a cross with four points, and some additional issues were also addressed. As Nikon had Tsar Aleksej Michajlovič on his side, and the Tsar spoke in favour of his proposals, the Council agreed to everything without discussion. *Materialy*, vol. II, 205, 215–217; Kapterev 1909 (1912), vol. I, 136ff.; Lobačev 2003, 124–126.

494 Thus, the Council was attended by the two Tsars and half-brothers Ivan Alekseevič (his mother was Marija Miloslavskaja) and Pëtr Alekseevič, Peter's mother Natalja Kirillovna Naryškina, the two Tsars' aunt on their father's side Tat'jana Michajlovna, and two of the daughters of Marija Miloslavskaja, Sof'ja Alekseevna and Marija Alekseevna. Patriarch Joachim was also present. This was not a regular Council, but a 'disputation', a public debate (Russ. *prenija*), taking place in the Faceted Palace on 5 July 1682. If Sparwenfeld told Bergius that he was in Moscow at the time, he was not quite telling the truth: he arrived in the city in April 1684. These *prenija* took place in the turmoil after the dramatic events of the *streltsy* uprising in May 1682, which led to considerable bloodshed and resulted in Russia having two Tsars. The Old Believers were involved in the uprising in various ways, and one of their 'activists', Nikita Dobrynin, 'Pustosvjet' (his nickname means 'one who, without foundation, regards himself as holy'), represented his fellow believers in the debate. The other side was represented by the regent of the two Tsars, Sof'ja Alekseevna, who played a major role in the debate, alongside the Patriarch. No concessions were made on either side, and Nikita Dobrynin was executed one of the days following the Council. Scheidegger 1999, 79–80; Hughes 1990, 76–77 – according to her, the two Tsars were *not* present. A. M. Pančenko (in *Slovar' knižnikov* b, vol. II, 380–383) is of the same opinion.

495 Bergius is confusing *Uvet duchovnyj* (A Spiritual Exhortation) with *Obed duševnyj*, a collection of sermons by Simeon Polockij (see note 379). *Uvet duchovnyj*, printed in opposition to the Old Believers in 1682 after the public debate in the Faceted Palace (see the previous note), has been ascribed partly to Patriarch Joachim and partly to Archbishop Afanasiy of Cholmogory (Scheidegger 1999, 234–235, 348). A copy of *Uvet duchovnyj* is found in Uppsala (*Ksl. II8*).

496 On the seven Ecumenical Councils, see McGuckin 2011, 18–19. The sixth Council, the third in Constantinople, was held in 681 (not 680 as Bergius says).

497 The quotation is taken from Lasicius' (the Albinus collection) *Theologia Moscovitica*, the debate between Rokhta and Ivan IV (ch. 13, p. 130). See Ref. Libr. under Lasicius.

498 The aspect of the Orthodox faith that provoked the strongest reactions among Protestants was, it seems, the veneration of icons (and Mayerberg, as a Catholic, evidently reacts as well). The icons were looked upon as idols and as a rule elicited contemptuous comments. On this, see Tarkiainen 1971, 109–111; Löfstrand 2014.

499 Concerning this ‘krasnyj ugol’ (‘beautiful corner’), see also Sparwenfeld’s *Diary*, p. 131.

500 Johannes Matthiae Rungius (1666–1704), Finnish theologian, educated at Åbo (Turku). Professor there in 1700, Superintendent at Narva in 1701 (Bergius’s immediate successor, he was to be the last holder of the post), Doctor of theology in 1703; died at Narva during the Russian siege of 1704. Bergius is referring here to his inaugural dissertation, defended by Anders Bange at Åbo in 1703, with Rungius presiding; the full title is *Zelus Vindex gratiae salvificae ordinatae circa ruinam Israëlis inordinati conspicuus & ex cap. IX, X, XI Epist. ad Romanos delineatus disquisitione inaugurali*, printed in Åbo by J. Winter, 1703. Väänänen 1987, no. 284.

501 In the translation of the quotation from the *Book of Concord*, some changes from the version used have been made, in order to follow Bergius’s Latin version more closely.

502 Parthenius I, Patriarch of Constantinople 1639–1644. Bulgakov 1913 (1993), vol. II, 1387.

503 Cyrillus Berrhoensis (Cyril Contari), formerly Metropolitan of Berrhoea (Aleppo), Patriarch of Constantinople (Cyril II), was Cyril Lucaris’s enemy and rival; Lucaris was strangled in 1638, Cyrillus Berrhoensis died the following year. Runciman 1968, 283–287. The work referred to for both Parthenius (see previous note) and Cyrillus Berrhoensis is *Cyrilli Lucaris Patriarchae Constantinopolitani Confessio Christianae fidei: Cui adjuncta est gemina ejusdem Confessionis Censura Synodalis; Vna, a Cyrillo Berrhoensi, Altera, a Parthenio; Patriarchis ididem Constantinopolitanis, promulgata (In ... monasterio sanctorum trium Praesulum, 1645)*.

504 Bergius writes *Script. Loc. Theolog.*, which is too imprecise to be identified with any specific work.

505 Bergius means verse 14; as usual, his translation is not that of the Vulgate. He must have used Tremellius, but decided that he wanted to make a slight change. We have quoted the text according to the King James Bible, as in the following passage, since there is no obvious difference here.

506 See note 304. It may be worth mentioning here that, when Botvidi was to decide whether the Russians were Christians or not, he generously referred much that was not accepted by the Lutheran Church to *adiaphora* (non-essentials, tradition), for example something as fundamental as the veneration of saints (thesis 49). Icons, regarded by the Protestants as idols, are not even mentioned. See also Mokroborodova 2013, 144, 148–149.

507 On the Ecumenical Councils, see note 251.

508 Calixtines, from Latin *calix* (chalice), a party of Hussites – also known as Utraquists –, who were of the opinion that the laity should receive Communion under ‘both species’ i.e. both bread and wine. *Cath. Dict.*

509 There are several more or less official English versions of the Nicene Creed. We use that of the Anglican Communion, from the Book of Common Prayer, 1662.

510 In the Vulgate, Eccl. (Sirach) 3:22 reads: *Altiora te ne quaesieris et fortiori te ne scrutatus fueris*. Bergius's *ne scrutare* is either from some other Bible translation or is his own reading. The *scutamur* of our text is a misprint for *scrutamur*.

511 In the Latin jargon of the period, *novatores* is a common designation for Pietists; see Nordbäck 2004, 86.

512 Bergius writes *DEIinpersonales*, but the explanation that follows shows that, just like his source, he means *personales*.

513 The text has *fuffitu*; this is an extremely rare word that stands for a kind of medicine. However, it is evident that it is to be read as *suffitu* ('by fumigation'), since the biblical reference (Tobit 4:17) is about fighting demons with smoke.

514 This reference to Bergius's own work is correct.

515 The text has 9:7, but Bergius corrects this to 8:7 in his errata.

516 St Basil, *Homilia in principium Proverbiorum*, n. 1 (Migne, PG 31, 408–409).

517 Here, Bergius discusses the question of the origin of the human soul. Adam's soul was created directly by God, but what about the souls of subsequent generations? There are two main views, viz. Creationism, according to which a new soul is created every time a human being is conceived, and Traducianism, according to which human beings are propagated from their parents as whole entities, with body and soul. Lutherans as a rule prefer Traducianism, whereas most Catholic and Calvinist theologians hold a Creationist view. The Orthodox *Confession* discussed here takes a Creationist view, with which Bergius firmly takes issue.

518 See Ps. 51:7–8.

519 St John of Damascus (Johannes Damascenus, see note 96) wrote, among other works, a treatise on the two wills in Christ, with the Latin title *De duabus in Christo voluntatibus*.

520 In this passage there are serious misprints (*destitutos* and *aspersos*), which Bergius has corrected to the feminine forms in *-as* in his errata.

521 The *Confession* has Deut. 18:15, but the two verses are almost identical.

522 The reference to Cyril of Jerusalem is not in Mogila's original text, nor is it in Normannus's parallel Greek text. But Normannus has it in parentheses in his Latin text. It refers to Cyril's *Cathecismus*, but rather to chapter 4, Migne, PG 33, 468A; later in the text, there is a reference to 'Cath.' 13, 36, PG 33, 816B (trans. R.P.). See note 529.

523 This is a translation of the 'Hail Mary' of the Eastern Orthodox tradition, which differs somewhat from the variant(s) used in Western churches (see note 525).

524 The *Confession* refers to Ps. 44:10, which in the Vulgate reads "[...] astitit regina a dextris tuis in vestitu deaureato, circumdata varietate." As usual, Vulg. Ps. 44 is Ps. 45 in most modern versions of the Bible, and Bergius normally quotes according to the

latter enumeration; here he has overlooked the fact that verse 10 is counted as verse 9 in modern Bibles, including Tremellius, which he normally quotes.

525 An *Ἀκάθιστος* (Slav. *Akafist*) hymn (the word literally means ‘not sitting down’) is a form of hymn used in the Eastern Church; the term is normally used, as it is here, for the most famous of them, the early 7th-century ‘Akathist’ to the Mother of God, the Theotokos. It is sung to commemorate her miraculous saving of Constantinople in 626. McGuckin 2011, 436. The Western Church has, instead of *quoniam Salvatorem animarum nobis peperisti* (‘for thou hast given birth to the Saviour of our souls’): *ora pro nobis peccatoribus, nunc, et in hora mortis nostrae* (‘pray for us sinners, now, and at the hour of our death’; cf. above. On the deep devotion to the Virgin Mary within the Orthodox Church, see McGuckin 2011, 210–222.

526 John of Damascus, *Homily in Sabbatum Sanctum*, Migne, PG 96, 632 B (PP).

527 John of Damascus, *Homily in Sanctum Sabbatum*, n. 25, Migne, PG 96, 625 (PP).

528 The text is what is known as a *troparion*. It is to be found in Goar’s *Euchologion* 1730, 63 (PP).

529 The *Confession* here quotes Cyril of Jerusalem’s *Catechism*, 13, 36, in Migne, PG 33, 816B (trans. R.P.), PP.

530 One of the subjects on which the followers of Nikon and the Old Believers had different opinions was the sign of the cross. The Old Believers retained the old Byzantine and Russian tradition of the two-fingered sign, confirmed by the so-called Synod of One Hundred Chapters (Russ. *Stoglav*) of 1551, whereas Nikon stated that three fingers were to be used. The Greek Church had changed to the three-fingered cross as early as the 13th century. During the Holy Council in Moscow, lasting from February to April 1654, a ban was imposed on making the sign of the cross with two fingers. This decision by Nikon also met with strong opposition among the clergy, and several opponents were removed from office. Concerning the new way of signing oneself, Bergius has a good illustration on p. 270 of his dissertation (see p. 176 in this edition). For a detailed description and an illustration, see also Scheidegger 1999, 65. See, in addition, *Materialy* vol. II, 215–216. On interpretations of the symbolism of the different signs (the Holy Trinity and the Two Natures of Christ), see Uspenskij 1993, 107 and Scheidegger 1999, 65 f.

531 Bergius has taken this sentence straight from Abraham Calovius, *Synopsis controversiarum potiorum*, but put it in indirect speech. The article, section etc. agree with the editions we have seen so far, but the page numbers do not.

532 As Scheidegger and others have pointed out, eschatological sentiments were central in the world of the Old Believers. The Antichrist was a reality and the end of the world was near. A lot of effort was devoted to deciphering various signs in the Bible and the surrounding world, to work out what year the end would come. Scheidegger 1999, 30ff.

533 Bergius does not refer to the same verse here as the *Confession* which has Mark 9:47. But both these verses refer to St Mark’s description of the torments of hell, that is, the ‘payment’ for evil deeds, so the change may be intentional, though it is more likely to be a misprint.

534 This last issue is not treated in question 62, but at the end of question 64.

535 Vulg. 6:6, but in the King James Bible 6:5.

536 Vulg. 113:17.

537 Theophylactus in Lucam [Theophylact's commentary on (the Gospel of St) Luke] 5:24, Migne, *PG* 123, 764D (trans. R.P.) PP.

538 Theophylactus in Lucam 12:5, Migne, *PG* 123, 880. PP.

539 Bergius here writes *et Filio*, which is of course wrong, since this is the very bone of contention between the Eastern and Western Churches. But he corrects the mistake in his errata.

540 Leo III was Pope from 795 to 816 (Bulgakov 1913 (1993), vol. II, 1391).

541 Bergius writes Ps. 14:5–6 while the *Confession* has Ps. 13:5. Here, the numbering not only of the Psalms, but also of the verses differs in the relevant translations, but what Bergius seems to have meant is verses 4–5, rather than 5–6. In the following quotation, the *Confession* has Luke 12:5, Bergius Luke 12:4, which is the verse the *Confession* actually quotes.

542 This list is in accordance with the *Confession* and modern Bible translations of Gal. 5:22–23, including the King James Bible. But the Vulgate numbers twelve 'fruits', which is why this number often figures in the Western tradition. PP.

543 On Nectarius, see note 99.

544 Petrus Allexius (Pierre or Peter Allix or l'Allix), born in Alençon in 1641, died in London in 1717. He was a French Protestant theologian who moved to England and was awarded honorary doctorates at both Cambridge and Oxford. He produced a Latin translation of Nectarius's treatise *Contra primatum Papae*, published at Jassy in 1682. *Oxford DNB*, s.v. 'Allix, Peter [Pierre]'.

545 On preaching and sermons, see note 309.

546 Here, Bergius does not quote the Bible reference used in the *Confession* (1 Thess. 5:17–18), but refers, probably intentionally, to verse 11 instead, which speaks of *edifying*, whereas the original reference talks of *rejoicing, praying and thanksgiving*.

547 The date is missing in Bergius's text. Here it is supplied from parallel texts. Concerning the four fasts, see notes 435–438.

548 Normannus has *Calendis Sextilibus*, in accordance with the old Roman calendar.

549 See note 411.

550 *Mysterion* is the Greek term for sacrament, so although Bergius seems to be trying to distinguish between 'sacraments' and 'other gifts of the Holy Spirit', there can be no discussion about the number of sacraments here: according to the *Confession*, there are seven, and this is what Patriarch Jeremias also says in his writings against the Lutherans.

551 On the Council of Florence, see note 213.

552 *Eccl. Hier.* IV, 4 in *PG* (Migne) 3, 461 (PP).

553 Sparwenfeld, according to his *Diary*, p. 135, witnessed such a scene on 14 April 1684, not far from Tver': "In passing I also saw in a church how they baptize their children. They hold them completely under water. Then, while saying prayers, they paint crosses of holy oil with a small brush on their face, their wrists, their chest, and also on their feet and in the hollow at the back of the head. Then, after a few prayers, they cut four small wisps of hair cross-wise from the head of the child: first at the back of its head, then from the fringe at the front, then on the right temple, then on the left. The hair is collected by a person and rolled into wax, and the priest takes it to keep it."

554 The quotation is given in German: *Es ist der wahre Leib und Blut unsers Herrn Jesu Christi unter Brod und Wein etc.*

555 An *antimension* (Gr. ἀντιμήνσιον, Slav. *antimins*), from a Greek word meaning 'instead of the table'; is a rectangular piece of cloth, decorated with representations of the entombment of Christ, the four Evangelists etc., placed in the centre of the altar table. The Eucharist cannot be celebrated without it. *OrtEnc.*, s.v. 'Antimension' (Антиминс). *Orthodox Wik.*

556 Kotošichin (see note 87) reports in his work on the procedure after the death of the Tsar or a member of his family. The body is kept for six weeks in the church close to the Tsar's chambers (the Cathedral of the Archangel Michael) and the deacons read the Psalms and other prayers over it night and day. Every day, apart from Sundays and great feast days, *kut'ja* is put out. The translator Olof Barckhusen, in his Swedish translation of Kotošichin's text, has added in the margin (p. 24): "Kut'ja is a special sacrifice for the dead. In fact, *kut'ja* is simply boiled wheat, on which they pour honey water, and on top of it they sprinkle sugar and some berries. Over this they sing the Mass and then the closest relatives and the priests eat of it. They call it *pominki*, or in memory of the deceased."

557 Cf. the following scene described in Sparwenfeld's *Diary*, p. 133 under 11 April 1684, when the embassy was in Tver': "After the midday meal I went for a walk and happened to run into a Russian deacon who was standing on a grave in the cemetery. He had made a roof above and hung carpets around him and stood inside reading. And when I spoke to him he answered me kindly and gave me detailed information. He told me that a high-born man was buried there. He himself had been hired to read the whole Book of Psalms once every day for as long as six weeks over the corpse of the person lying underneath, for the benefit of his soul, which would thereby be saved from the torments of hell. I asked him how many hours it took him each day to complete the whole Book of Psalms. He said four hours, sometimes three, but he had to read it in full every day for as long as six weeks. And when he had finished he would receive 40 altyns for his trouble, which is 120 kopeks, i.e. 1 rouble and 20 kopeks, the same as 1 ducat."

558 A 'candle bearer', corresponding to the Western acolyte.

559 This 'Book on clerics' might refer to Bellarminus' *Controversiae*, where there is a chapter *De clericis*. Another alternative is *De exemptione clericorum* (1599).

560 That is, St Peter and Nicholas the Wonderworker (see below and note 311).

561 The text of this 'safe-conduct' is given in Swedish by Petrejus, in German by Olearius. Bergius has translated it very closely into Latin.

562 These references are to the second part of the *Confession*; page numbers agree with Normannus's translation. This second part is the basis for most of Bergius's Section III, 'On Moral Theology', which we decided not to include in the present work.

563 The English text here is not quoted from the King James Bible, but represents our own translation of the Vulgate text of Ps. 16:15 given by Bergius.

Reference Library

Adams, Clement (1519?–1587): English schoolmaster (but probably not himself a traveller). He wrote on geography and made maps; his book *Anglorum navigatio ad Moscovitas* is based on reports on a journey to Russia in 1553–1554 by Hugh Willoughby (d.1553) and Richard Chancellor (d.1556). It was first printed by Hakluyt in 1589 in Latin but with an English translation, and then included in *Rerum Moscoviticarum auctores varii*, where Bergius seems to have read it. See Kappeler 1972, 91; Poe 2008, 52–53. According to Zajončkovskij 1976, 39, Adams was ‘vtoroj kapitan’ (second captain) in Willoughby’s flotilla.

Albinus, Bernard: Printer of Speyer; flourished about 1579–1600; by 1601 his heirs had taken over his workshop. On the ‘Albinus collection’, see next entry → *Lasicius*.

Albinus collection, see *Lasicius*.

Allatius, Leo (Leone Allacci) (c. 1586–1669): Greek scholar and theologian, immigrant to Italy with a deep insight into both the Eastern and the Western Church, converted to Catholicism. He tried in vain to reconcile the churches; his view was that the faith was in fact identical. He was a manuscript librarian and ended up as Vatican librarian. His main work is *De ecclesiae Occidentalis & Orientalis Perpetua consensione [...]*, Coloniae 1648, to which Bergius refers several times, without actually quoting it. *Cath. Enc.*, s.v. ‘Allatius, Leo’.

Andrewes, Lancelot (1555–1626): Anglican theologian and Bishop of Winchester. He oversaw the translation of the King James Version of the Bible. He was a prolific writer; the work referred to by Bergius is *The Pattern of Catechistical Doctrine at Large*, a widely distributed commentary on the Ten Commandments, first published in London in 1630. *CELM*, ‘AndL’ 42.

Arcudius, Petrus (1563–1634): Greek scholar from Corfu, converted to Catholicism. Together with Allatius, he worked for a reconciliation between the Eastern and the Western Church. He wrote *De Concordia Ecclesiae occidentalis et orientalis in septem Sacramentorum administratione*, Du Puis 1672. *CERLThes*.

Arnauld, Antoine (Antonius Arnaldus) (1612–1694): French Catholic theologian and mathematician, famous leader of the Jansenists of Port-Royal, was engaged in a bitter debate in the 1670s with Jean Claude, formulating his opinions in *La Perpétuité de la Foy*, 3 vols, Paris 1669–1673. Runciman 1968, 306–307. See also *Claude, Jean*.

Arnkiel, Trogillus (1639–1713): Mythologist and historian from Schleswig, wrote, among other works, the pioneering *Cimbrische Heyden-Religion* (1691), which had a very great impact on research into Germanic religion and mythology. *NDB* 1, s.v. ‘Arnkiel, Troels (Trogillus)’.

Arhenius, Claudius, see *Örnhjelm*.

Aufgefangene Briefe: *Aufgefangene Briefe: welche zwischen etzlichen curieuse Personen über den ietzigen Zustand der Staats und gelehrten Welt gewechselt*, Wahrenberg [i.e. Leipzig], by Johann Georg Freymunden [i.e. Groschuff] 1699–1703. These are fictitious letters, claimed to have been intercepted by highwaymen; the three annual volumes ever edited were called ‘Ravages’, and the separate issues (12 in a ‘ravage’) ‘Paquets’; the vocabulary

hints at the feigned robberies. The author/editor is anonymous; Gottfried Zenner (1656–1721) and Andreas Stüböl (1653–1725) have been mentioned; most scholars today attribute the work to the latter. *ADB* 36, s.v. ‘Stüböl, Andreas’; *ADB* 45, s.v. ‘Zenner, Gottfried’. The letters can be read electronically at http://reader.digitale-sammlungen.de/de/fs1/object/display/bsb10402298_00005.html

Aventinus, Johannes (1477–1534): German historian who wrote extensively on the history of Bavaria ('the Bavarian Herodotus'). His main work *Annales bojorum*, in seven volumes, was published in Ingolstadt in 1554 and, in a more complete edition, in Basle in 1580. *Encyclopædia Britannica* 3, s.v. ‘Aventinus, Johannes’. Aventinus’s works are digitalised at: <https://www.bayerische-landesbibliothek-online.de/aventinus-works>

d’Avity, Pierre (Avitus), sieur de Montmartin (1573–1635): Educated at a Jesuit school, then a law student, officer, translator and author. His main work is *Les Estats, empires, et principautez du monde*; the first edition was published in 1613, and the author himself edited several revised and extended versions. Poc, 2008, 119; *IBF* and *IBFNappo*.

Axtelmeier (Acxtelmeier), **Stanislaus Reinhard**, about whom very little is known, lived from about 1650 until after 1715. He published several works in Augsburg, among them *Das Muscowitzische Prognosticon* in 1698. *Killy Literaturlexikon* 1, 273.

Balduinus, Franciscus (François Baudoin) (1520–1573): French humanist, lawyer and theologian, a Catholic, for some time a Calvinist. He wrote extensively on legal, historical and ecclesiastical topics. It is difficult to establish which of his works Bergius is referring to, but possibly his *Discours sur le fait de la Réformation*, Paris, 1564. *BBKL* 22, s.v. ‘Balduinus, Franciscus’.

Bangius (Bång), **Petrus Erici** (1633–1696): Theologian, church historian, Superintendent of Ingria 1678–1681, then Bishop of Viborg. His best-known work was *Prisorum Sveo-Gothorum ecclesia seu historia ecclesiastica de priscis Sveo-Gothica; terre colonis*, Åbo 1675, which is referred to by Bergius. *SBL* 7, s.v. ‘Bång, Petrus Erici’.

Baronius, Caesar (Cesare Baronio) (1538–1607): Italian cardinal and church historian, the author of *Annales Ecclesiastici a Christo nato ad annum 1198*, in 12 folio volumes, Rome 1588–1607. It was written as an answer to the anti-Catholic history *The Magdeburg Centuries* (see under **Centuria Magdeburgensis**). In the catalogue of books from Bergius’s library auctioned in 1708 one can find, under no. 112 among the folio volumes, ‘Baronii Annalium Eccles. Tomus VII. Antw. 1598.’ *NCE* 2, s.v. ‘Baronius, Caesar, Ven.’

Beccanus, see Goropius.

Beckmann (Becman, Bekman, Becmannus), **Johann Christoph** (1641–1717): Professor of Greek, later history and finally theology at the University of Frankfurt (Oder). Famous mainly as a chronologer and librarian. His *Historia orbis terrarum geographica et civilis* is very often quoted by contemporary historians. *NDB* 1, s.v. ‘Becman, Johann Christoph’.

Bellarminus, Robertus (Roberto Bellarmino, St) (1542–1621): Catholic theologian, Jesuit, cardinal. His *Disputationes de Controversiis Christianae Fidei adversus hujus temporis haereticos* in three volumes (Ingolstadt, 1586, 1588 and 1593) became one of the most influential works in the controversy theology of the time, but he wrote many more books and treatises, polemical, spiritual and educational. On Bellarminus, see *HBOT*, 646–648; *NCE* 2, s.v. ‘Robert Bellarmine, Saint’.

Benzelius, Eric (Ericus), the Elder (1632–1709): Swedish theologian and clergyman. Bergius occasionally refers to his *Breviarium historiae ecclesiasticae Veteris & Novi Testamenti*, printed in Strängnäs in 1695.

Binius, Severin (1573–1641): Born near Aachen, died in Cologne, was a Catholic priest and historian, known especially for his edition of the Councils of the Church: *Concilia generalia et provincialia*. The first edition in four volumes was printed at Cologne in 1606, the second in nine volumes in the same city in 1618, and the third, in eleven volumes, in Paris in 1636. *NCE* 2, s.v. ‘Binius, Severin’.

Bohse, August (pseudonym Talander) (1661–1740): Professor in Liegnitz, author, composer (*CERLThes.*, 5). The book referred to by Bergius, *Curieuse und historische Reisen durch Europa*, was originally written in French by Claude Jordan de Colombier (see under that name), and translated into German by ‘Talander’. The German translation first appeared at Leipzig in 1698, with a second edition with commentaries and indexes published in the same city in 1699.

Bonfrerius, Jacobus, more often known by his French name Jacques Bonfrère (1573–1642): Belgian Jesuit and biblical scholar. He wrote extensively on several books of the Old Testament. Bergius refers to his *Pentateuchis Moysis commentario illustratus praemissis [...] praeloquuis perutilibus*, Antwerp 1625. *Cath. Enc.*, s.v. ‘Jacques Bonfrère’.

Book of Concord, the Confessions of the Lutheran Church: It contains the three creeds: the Apostles’, the Nicene and the Athanasian Creed. It also contains the Reformation writings: Phillip Melanchthon’s Augsburg Confession and its Apology, the Smalcald Articles (written by Luther), Melanchthon’s ‘Treatise on the Power and Primacy of the Pope’, Luther’s Small and Large Catechisms, and the Formula of Concord, which was given its final form mainly by Jacob Andreae, Martin Chemnitz and Nickolaus Selnecker.

Boterus (Botero) Giovanni (c. 1544–1617): Italian priest, diplomat, poet and philosopher. The work referred to by Bergius is his very influential *Relazioni Universali*, published in four volumes in the 1590s. According to Kappeler 1972, 90, the first complete Italian edition appeared in 1596; according to Poe 2008, 95–96, in 1598. To Bergius, it was probably known in Latin translation, *Mundus Imperiorum sive Relationes de Praecipuis Mundi Imperiis, Regniis et Dynastiis*, which appeared in several editions from 1603.

Botvidi, Johannes (1575–1635): Swedish theologian, army preacher and chaplain to King Gustavus Adolphus, Bishop of Linköping 1630–1635. He wrote a booklet entitled *Theses de quaestione utrum Muscovitae sint christiani?* (‘Theses on the question whether the Muscovites are Christian’), printed in Stockholm in 1620. The book was a dissertation, defended at Uppsala the same year. On Botvidi’s dependence on Herberstein, see Kälvemark 1969. On Botvidi’s book in a discourse perspective, see Mokroborodova 2013; her work includes a facsimile edition of Botvidi’s theses and their translation into Russian. Botvidi’s work was present in Bergius’s library according to the catalogue of the 1708 auction: among quarto volumes, no. 23.

Boxhornius, Marcus Zuerius (van Boxhorn) (1612–1653): Dutch historian and philologist, professor at the University of Leiden and a pioneer in the history of Indo-European linguistics. He saw the similarities and assumed a common language, which he called Scythian; he excluded Hebrew, a language which most scholars at the time still considered to be the mother of all European languages. His compendium *Respublica Moscoviae et Urbes: Accedunt quaedam latine nunquam antehac edita* was printed in Leiden (by Maire) in 1630. Part 2 of this work is called *Pars historica, in qua rerum Moscovitarum miscella farrago*. See *Slavica Gottingensia*, ed. R. Lauer and U. Jekutsch, *Slavica Gottingensia* 1 (1995), no. 679; Poe 2008, 124. The compendium includes writings by Alexander Guagnini, Johannes Faber, Antonius Possevinus and Clement Adams, as well

as an appendix containing *De moribus Tartarorum, Lituanorum & Moschorum* by Michael Lithuanus.

Brand, Adam (d.1746): German merchant and traveller. He took part in the journey to China, undertaken by **Isbrand Ides** (see under that name) as a Russian ambassador in 1692–1694. Both Isbrand Ides and Brand, independently it seems, took notes during the journey. Both their descriptions of China were eventually published (concerning the complex relationship between the texts, see Hundt's edition, 64ff.). Brand's description was printed first in 1698 with the title *Beschreibung Der Chinesischen Reise Welche vermittelst Einer Zaaris. Gesandtschaft Durch Dero Ambassadeur/Herrn Isbrand Ao. 1693. 94 und 95. Von Moscau in Gross=Ustiga/ Siberien/ Dauren und durch die Mongalische Tartarey ver=richtet worden: Und Was sich dabey begeben/ aus selbst erfahrner Nachricht mitgetheilet Von Adam Brand. Hamburg/Bey Benjamin Schillern/Buchhändler im Dohm 1698. Gedruckt bey Friedr. Conr. Grefingern.* (Hundt 1999, 107.) The work was quickly translated into other languages, in 1699 into French with the title *Relation Du Voyage de Mr Evert Isbrand Envoyé de Sa Majesté Czarienne A L'Empereur de la Chine, En 1692, 93, & 94. Par le Sieur Adam Brand. Avec une Lettre de Monsieur ***, Sur l'Etat Présent de la Moscovie. A Amsterdam, Chez Jean-Louis de Lorme, Librairie sur le Rockin, à la Liberté, 1699.* See Hundt's edition *Beschreibung der dreijährigen Chinesischen Reise: Die russische Gesandtschaft von Moskau nach Peking 1692 bis 1695 in den Darstellungen von Eberhard Isbrand Ides und Adam Brand*, Herausgegeben, eingeleitet und kommentiert von Michael Hundt (Quellen und Studien zur Geschichte des östlichen Europa 53), Stuttgart, 1999.

von Brand, Johann Arnold (1647–1691): Lawyer and professor at the University of Duisburg. He wrote *Reysen durch die Marck Brandenburg, Preussen, Churland, Liefland, Plesscovien, Gross-Naugardien, Tweerien und Moscovien [...]*, which also included a description of Siberia. The book was printed in Wesel in 1702. Poe 2008, 138.

Brerevodus, Edoardus (Edward Brerewood) (c. 1565–1613): English scholar, philosopher and linguist. The book referred to by Bergius is *Enquiries Touching the Diversity of Languages and Religions, through the Chief Parts of the World*, published posthumously in 1614. Bergius may have read either a French translation of 1640 or a German one of 1655. *Dictionary of National Biography* 6, s.v. 'Brerewood or Bryerwood, Edward'.

Buxtorfius, Johannes (1564–1629): Famous Hebraist from Basle; his *De Synagoga Judaica* (first published in German at Basle in 1603, later translated into Flemish and Latin) was for a long time a standard work on the rites and customs of the German Jews. *JewEnc.*, s.v. 'Buxtorf (Buxtorff), Johannes'.

Calovius, Abraham (also Calov, Kalau) (1612–1686): German Lutheran theologian, professor at Wittenberg. Calovius was one of the most polemic upholders of Lutheran orthodoxy and ardently opposed all forms of syncretism. His writings are extensive, and Bergius quotes some of his books. In most cases, he quotes Calovius's *Synopsis controversiarum potiorum*, first published at Wittenberg in 1652. But he also mentions his *Biblia illustrata*, a scholarly Bible commentary published at Wittenberg in 1672–1676. *BBKL* 1, s.v. 'Calovius, Abraham'.

du Cange, see **du Fresne**.

Carlisle, see **Howard**.

Casaubon, Isaac (1559–1614): French–Swiss classical scholar and philologist. Bergius refers to his work on Baronius and, according to the auction catalogue, also owned this

book: 'Is. Casauboni de rebus S. & Ecclesiasticis Exercitat. 16, id. Cardin. Baroni prolegomena, Genevæ 1655' (no. 112 among the quarto volumes). Helander 2004, 24.

Centuria Magdeburgensis (often also in the plural: *Centuriae Magdeburgenses* – the Magdeburg Centuries): A work by the Croatian Lutheran reformer, theologian and church historian Matthias Flacius Illyricus (Matija Vlačić Ilir) (1520–1575). Professor of Hebrew at Wittenberg 1544–1549, of theology at Jena in 1557. The work first appeared in 1574 under the title *Ecclesiastica historia, integrum Ecclesiae Christi ideam [...] secundum singulas Centurias, perspicuo ordine complectens [...] ex vetustissimis historicis [...] congesta: Per aliquot studiosos et pios viros in urbe Magdeburgica* (1559–1574), but because it treats European church history strictly according to the centuries, the new title appeared first as a sort of nickname, and later (from 1757) as the official title of the book. Flacius worked on the basis of material collected for him by a group of assistants, often called the *centuriatores Magdeburgenses*. NCE 5, s.v. 'Centuriators of Magdeburg'.

Chemnitius (Chemnitz) Martinus (1522–1586): Perhaps the most influential Lutheran theologian of the generation immediately after Luther. The work cited by Bergius is his *Loci theologici*, which is a reworking of Melanchthon's *Loci communes*. Encyclopædia Britannica 6, s.v. 'Chemnitz, Martin'.

Chytraeus, David (1530–1600): Lutheran theologian and historian, in his youth a pupil of Martin Luther. Professor at the University of Rostock, author of a *Chronicon Saxoniae* in two parts, published at Leipzig in 1590 and 1593. Kappeler 1972, 88–89 and 259; Poe 2008, 95. Bergius often quotes 'the letter to Chytraeus': see *Oderborn*.

Claude, Jean (Johannes Claudius) (1619–1687): French Calvinist polemic theologian, involved in an intense discussion with Antoine Arnauld on the nature of the Eucharist. Jean Claude's answer was formulated in *Réponse au livre de Mr. Arnaud entitulé La Perpétuité de la Foy*, Quevilly & Rouen 1671. Runciman 1968, 306–307. See also Arnauld.

Contzen, Adam (1571–1635): German Jesuit, theologian and political thinker. He wrote a commentary on the four Gospels, referred to by Bergius: *Commentaria in Quatuor Sancta Jesu Christi Evangelia [...]*, which was published in Cologne in 1626. Killy Literaturlexikon 2, s.v. 'Contzen, Adam'.

Crantz, see Krantz.

Critopulus (Critopoulos), Metrophanes (1589–1639): Greek theologian from Macedonia, a protégé of Cyril Lucaris, whom he eventually succeeded as Patriarch of Alexandria. He was educated at Athos and later in England and Germany. He wrote a theological treatise on the Orthodox Creed, *Confession of the Catholic and Apostolic Eastern Church* (in Greek), which is very much influenced by the Protestant settings in which he had studied. It was never officially approved and, although written in 1625, not printed until 1661. Legrand 1894, 192–218; Runciman 1968, 294–295; Encyclopædia Britannica, s.v. 'Councils and confessions (Eastern Christianity)'.

Cromerus, Martinus (Marcin Kromer) (1512–1589): Polish theologian (Bishop of Warmia), diplomat, historian and geographer. The work Bergius refers to is probably his *De origine et rebus gestis Polonorum libri XXX* (Basle, 1555). Poe 2008, 54, 74.

Danhaver (Dannhauer, Danhawer), Johann Conrad (1603–1666): German Orthodox Lutheran theologian and professor at Strasbourg. He presided over a great many dissertations, of which some are found under his own name in bibliographical sources,

others under the names of the respondents. Bergius mentions him together with Michael von Oppenbusch, who defended a thesis under him, but always quotes the work in question under Oppenbusch's own name. Bergius also quotes Dannhauer's *Memoria thaumasiandi Lutheri renovata*, Strasbourg 1661. *Killy Literaturlexikon* 2, s.v. 'Dannhauer, Johan'. See further von Oppenbusch.

De Russorum, Moscovitarum et Tartarorum religione, see Lasicius.

Dieckmann, Johannes (1647–1720): His *Exercitatio Historico-Theologica de Ecclesiarum Orientalium & Latinae in dogmate de Purgatorio dissension* was published in Wittenberg in 1671. Dieckmann was a Lutheran theologian, much appreciated in Sweden; several of his works were translated into Swedish. *ADB* 5, s.v. 'Dieckmann, Johannes'.

Dionysius Areopagite (Pseudo-Dionysius, Pseudo-Denys): Christian theologian and philosopher of the late 5th to the early 6th century, probably Syrian, the author of the set of works commonly referred to as the *Corpus Areopagiticum* or *Corpus Dionysiacum*. In his work, the author pseudonymously identifies himself as 'Dionysius Areopagite', the Athenian convert of St Paul mentioned in Acts 17:34. His work on the classification of the angels, *Hierarchia Ecclesiastica* (the *Celestial Hierarchy*), has been particularly influential within Orthodoxy. McGuckin 2011, 227–228. See also *Patrology* 2006, 45–53.

Dlugossus, Dlugossius (also the incorrect Duglossus and the Latinised Longinus), **Joannes** (Jan Dlugosz) (1415–1480): Polish priest, chronicler and diplomat. He wrote a chronicle in twelve volumes called *Annales seu Cronicae incliti regni Poloniae*, for a long time circulated only in manuscript form. Parts of it were published in 1614 and 1615. The first complete edition appeared in 1711 under the title *Historiae Polonicae libri XII (–XIII) cum praefatione. Cath. Enc.*, s.v. 'Jan Dlugosz'.

Duntius (Dunte), **Ludovicus** (1597–1639): Lutheran pastor and theologian from Reval (Tallinn). He wrote a Latin–German treatise called *Decisiones casuum conscientiae sexcentorum et ultra, e diversis theologorum scriptis collectae, contractae et in brevitatem reductae*[...]: *Das ist: Kurze [...] Erörterung sechshundert und etzlicher Gewissensfragen*, Lübeck 1636; a longer version was called *Decisiones mille et sex casuum conscientiae e diversis theologorum scriptis collectae et in brevitatem reductae et iuxta ordinem Locorum Theologicorum positae. Das ist Kurze und richtige Erörterung [...]*, Erfurt 1648 and Wetstein 1664, and several other editions. Bergius does not say explicitly which of these versions he is using; he just says "in Casibus conscientiae" (in Cases of Conscience), which may refer to either of them; his quotations agree perfectly (as regards chapter, section and question as well as content) with the longer work.

Epiphanius of Salamis (d. 403): His *Panarion* is even now often quoted in the same way, as *Haer[eses]* and a number, since the types of heresies treated are numbered from 1 to 80 (*LThK* 3, s.v. 'Epiphanius von Salamis'; *NCE* 5, s.v. 'Epiphanius of Salamis').

Edsberg (Esbergius), **Zacharias** (1666–1708): Swedish theologian. The book referred to is *Disputatio theologica de processione spiritus sancti, quam ex consensu venerandae facultatis theologicae in regia academia Upsaliensi, bonorum examini submittit Zacharias Esbergius, antehac s.r.m. à sacris concionibus, jam vero pastor Ridderholmiensis, respondente s:ae r:ae m:tis alumno Andrea Lebetin Neric. S. theolog. studioso [...]*. Printed in 1702.

Eusebius (c. 260–c. 339): Bishop of Caesarea gave a chronological account of the development of early Christianity in his *Historia Ecclesiastica (Ecclesiae)* in a total of ten volumes, around 325. *NCE* 5, s.v. 'Eusebius of Caesarea'.

Faber (Fabri), Johann (1478–1541): German Catholic theologian, papal official and Bishop

of Vienna. He was a zealous opponent of the Reformation and wrote extensively against Luther and other reformers. Bergius refers to his work *Ad Serenissimum principem Ferdinandum Archiducem Austriae, Moscovitarum iuxta mare glaciale religio, a D. Ioanne Fabri aedita*, Basle 1526. It is often referred to as his *Epistola de Moscovitarum iuxta mare glaciale religione* and is said to have first been published at Tübingen in 1525, but according to Kappeler 1972, 25 and n. 39, the edition is 'apocryphal'. The text is included in both *Rerum Moscoviticarum auctores varii*, Frankfurt 1600, and in the Albinus collection from Speyer, 1582 (see *Lasicius*). Bergius evidently used the Frankfurt edition.

Fama = *Die europäische Fama: welche den gegenwärtigen Zustand der vornehmsten Höfe entdecket*, Leipzig 1702–1733.

Flacius Illyricus, Matthias, see *Centuria Magdeburgensis*.

Fletcher, Giles (Aegidius, the Elder) (c. 1548–1611): English poet, diplomat and parliamentarian. In 1588 ambassador to Russia; wrote *Of the Russe Commonwealth*, published in 1591, a book that has seen over 40 editions. A facsimile edition was published, with an introduction, variants from MSS and a glossary by Richard Pipes and John V.A. Fine, Cambridge and Harvard University Press, 1966; and a modern text edition, with an introduction by Albert J. Schmidt, Cornell University Press, 1966. Also in L.E. Berry & R.O. Crummey (eds.), *Rude and Barbarous Kingdom: Russia in the Accounts of Sixteenth-century English Voyagers*, Madison, Milwaukee & London, 1968, 85–246. A Russian edition is Флетчер, Д. *О государстве русском*, Изд. 3-е. вводная статья А.А. Титова, пер. Д.И. Гиппенса, ред. Н.В. Калачева, предисл. К.М. Оболенского, Санкт-Петербург 1906. Fletcher's book painted a very unfavourable picture, especially of the ruling class in Russia. The English merchants trading with Russia, fearing that it might harm their trade, made Queen Elizabeth of England ban and even destroy the book. The Russians also banned the work until 1848, when it was finally published in Russian translation. Zajončkovskij 1976, no. 4, p. 26; no. 6, p. 27; Poe 2008, 92–94.

Frencelius, Abraham (Frenzel, Ger. Frenzel) (1656–1740): Sorbian theologian and historian with a keen interest in the history of his people and their vernacular language. He wrote *De originibus linguae Sorabicae*, first published in two volumes in Bautzen in Lausitz ('Budisina Lusatorum') and Zittau ('Sittavia Lusatorum') respectively in 1693–1696. Sparwenfeld owned the first volume of this work, now at Uppsala University Library.

du Fresne, Charles, sieur du Cange (1610–1688): French philologist and historian. His main work is the *Glossarium ad Scriptores Mediae & Infimae Latinitatis*, Paris 1678, even now a much-used dictionary for studies of Medieval Latin. Bergius, however, refers to his *Glossarium ad scriptores mediae et infimae Graecitatis*, Lyon 1688. Bergius uses *du Fréne* and *du Fréne* as variant spellings of the name.

Gerhard, Johann Ernst (the Elder) (1621–1668): German historian, Hebraist and Lutheran theologian. He presided over a great many dissertations during his time as professor at Jena (1653–1668); see *Schwabe*. His own work mainly concerns biblical studies, among them *Isagoge locorum theologicorum*, Jena 1658. *BBKL* 23, s.v. 'Gerhard, Johann Ernst der Ältere'.

Giovio, Paulo, see *Jovius, Paulus*.

Gizel', Innokentij (Lat. Innocentius Ghiselius or Ghizelius) (c. 1600–1683): Professor of philosophy and rector of the Mogila Academy 1645–1656, archimandrite of the Cave

Monastery in Kiev 1656–1683. He was the author of a work on the history of Ukraine: *Синопсис, или краткое собрание от различных летописцев о начале славяно-российского народа и первоначальных князей богоспасаемого града Киева* ('Synopsis, or a short collection of various annals about the origin of the Slavono-Russian nation and about the first princes in the town of Kiev, protected by God'), first printed in Kiev in 1674. The book, known in English as the *Kievan Synopsis*, was published in new editions shortly after the first one, in 1678 and 1681. Each new edition was somewhat expanded and changed and given a more Russian focus. A copy of the 1678 edition of the book belonged to Sparwenfeld; now in Västerås (Gawryś II, no. 13). Concerning the differences between the editions and earlier literature, see Moser 2007, 219–285. See also *Slovar' knižnikov* b II, 43–46.

Goropius Becanus, Johannes (1519–1572): Dutch physician, linguist and humanist, the author of *Origines Antwerpianae* (Antwerp 1569). He was called the 'Belgian Rudbeck' because of his fanciful etymologies. Helander 2004, 401. Sparwenfeld bought this book in Brussels in 1689, now at the Royal Library in Stockholm. Jacobowsky 1932, 106.

Gothofredus (Godofredus, Gottfried), **Johann Ludwig**: German translator and compiler of historical records. For a long time 'Godofredus/Gothofredus' was believed to be a pseudonym for Johann Philip Abelin (1600–1634), which was not the case. Rather it seems that, to a large extent, the two men used the same sources. Bergius refers to *Archontologia cosmica*, published in 1628, 1638 and 1649. *NDB* 1, s.v. 'Gottfried, Johann Ludwig'; *Killy Literaturlexikon* 1, s.v. 'Archontologia Cosmica'. Bergius's reference on p. 54 to a certain 'Jac. Godofredus' and his 'Exercitatio 1 de Ecclesia' possibly concerns a different person.

Guagnini, Alexander (Alessandro) (1538–1614): Polish historian of Italian origin; the book described by Bergius is *Sarmatiae Europeae descriptio, quae regnum Poloniae, Litvaniam, Samogitiam, Russiam, Masoviam, Prussiam, Pomeraniam, Livoniam & Moschouiae Tartariaeque partem complectitur*. It was first printed in Cracow s.a., but according to the foreword in 1578; a second edition was printed in Speyer in 1581. With the title *Omnium regionum Moschoviae Monarchae subiectarum [...] descriptio*, it was included by Lasicius in the 'Albinus collection' *De Russorum Moscovitarum et Tartarorum Religione*, Speyer, 1582. It was a very influential source for later authors; see Kappeler 1972, 53–58; Poe 2008, 58. A copy of the 1581 edition, acquired by Sparwenfeld in Moscow in 1684, is found in Västerås (Gawryś III, no. 88).

Havemann, Michael (1630–1684): German Lutheran theologian, studied at Jena, pastor in Stade, rector at Bremen 1666–1672. Bergius refers to his *Methodus [...] ad fundamentalem linguarum [...] cognitionem*, 1673. *ADB* 11, s.v. 'Havemann, Michael'; *CERLThes*.

Helmoldus Bozoviensis (Helmold von Bosau): Probably born c. 1120 in or near Goslar, died after 1177. German priest, the author of *Chronica Slavorum* published for the first time by Siegmund Schorkel, Frankfurt am Main, 1556. Another edition, by Heinrich Bengert, came out in 1659 and was reprinted several times. In 1702 an edition augmented with a 'historico-critical diatribe' on Helmold's life by Johannes Mollerus was printed in Lübeck. According to the auction catalogue of Bergius's library he owned the 1659 edition (no. 119 among the quarto volumes). *BBKL* 2, s.v. 'Helmold von Bosau'.

Henschen, see under *Papebroch*.

von Herberstein, Siegmund (Sigismund) (1486–1566): Austrian nobleman, imperial diplomat and historiographer. He was twice sent on a mission to Muscovy, in 1516–

1517 and in 1525–1526. His work *Rerum Moscoviticarum commentarii*, first published in Vienna in 1549, was very influential and was included in the anonymous collection *Rerum Moscoviticarum auctores varii*, Frankfurt 1600 (and later editions) (see also under **Rerum**). Herberstein's work became a real best-seller in its time and was translated into German and then several other European languages shortly after it was first published. It was also the starting point for many who, after him, took it upon themselves to write descriptions of Russia. For the different editions and studies, see Poe's (2008) bibliography, 43–46. See also Zajončkovskij 1976, no. 1, p. 25. An edition with a translation into English, *Notes upon Russia*, was published by R.H. Mayor, London 1851–1852, and, with the title *Description of Moscow and Muscovy, 1557*, by B. Picard in 1969. In Russian there is С. Герберштейн, *Записки о Московии*, перев. А.И. Малеин, А.В. Назаренко, вступ. ст. А.Л. Хорошкович, ред. В.Л. Янин, Москва, 1988.

Herbinius, Johannes (c. 1632–1676 or 1679): Born in Silesia, Lutheran theologian and educationalist with a Master's degree from Wittenberg. Was headmaster of the German School in Stockholm in 1672. He was acquainted with Grigorij Kotošchin (see note 87). Herbinius translated Luther's Small Catechism and *Confessio Augustana* into Polish. He was sent to Vilnius in 1674 to work as Lutheran vicar there, but was discharged a year later because of his dissenting theological views. The work referred to by Bergius is *Religiosae Kiovienium Cryptae in quibus labyrinthum et in eo corpora Heroum atque divorum roxolanitum ex nomine ad oculum demonstrat M[agister]J[ohannes] H[erbinius]*, Jena 1675. *ADB* 12, s.v. 'Herbinius, Johannes'.

Hofmann, Johannes Jacobi: *Lexicon universale historico-geographico-chronologico-poetico-philologium* [...] opera et studio Ioh. Iacobi Hofmanni, *TOMVS Prior, TOMVS Alter, Basileae, [...] Typis Jacobi Bertschii & Job. Rodolphi Genathii. M.D.C. LXXVII* (1677); *Continuatio, TOMVS PRIMUS, SECUNDUS & tertius*, 1683. According to the appendix to the 1708 auction catalogue (among the folio volumes listed there), Bergius owned this work: "47. Hofmanni Lexicon Universale cum Continuacione. Volumina III."

Holm, Petrus (1634–1688): Swedish Orientalist and theologian. His work *Theologiae muhammedanae brevis consideratio*, published at Jena in 1664, attracted much attention in the academic world. See also note 40.

Hornbeck (Hoornbeck), **Johannes** (1617–1666): Dutch Reformed theologian, professor of theology first at Utrecht, then at Leiden. He wrote several polemical works, of which the best known is *Summa Controversiarum Religionis*, first printed in Utrecht in 1653. Towards the end of the book he deals with 'the Greeks'; clearly, this is the part referred to by Bergius. According to the auction catalogue, he owned this book (no. 193 among the octavo volumes). *NNBW* 8, s.v. 'Hoornbee(c)k, Johannes'.

Horsey, Jerome (c. 1550–1626): English explorer, diplomat and politician. He was in Russia for most of the period 1573–1591, first as a commercial agent, then as an envoy, initially between Queen Elizabeth and Ivan the Terrible, then as envoy to his son. He gained a unique insight into Russian affairs and wrote *The most solemne and magnificent coronation of Pheodor Ivanovich, Emperour of Russia & c. the tenth of June, in the yeere 1584. Seene and observed by Master Jerom Horsey, gentleman and servant to her Majesty [...] and other accounts*. Poe 2008, 88–89; Zajončkovskij 1976, 25–27, 29.

Howard, Charles, 1st Earl of Carlisle (1628–1685): English military leader and politician. In 1663 he was appointed ambassador to Russia, Sweden and Denmark. A report was written by Guy Miège, but published under Carlisle's name in London in 1669. Early on, there were

several translations and editions. See Poe 2008, 133; Zajončkovskij 1976, no. 144, p. 72.

Hülsemann, Johann (1602–1661): German Lutheran theologian. The book referred to by Bergius is *Praelectiones academicae in librum concordiae*, Lipsiae 1679. *ELC* 2, s.v. ‘Huelsemann, Johann’.

Huntlaeus, Iacobus Gordonus, or James Gordon of the Huntley family (1541–1620): Scottish Jesuit. His main work is *Controversiarum epitomes* of which the first volume appeared in Poitiers in 1612, the second in Paris in 1618. They were reprinted, together with a third volume, in Cologne (Kinchius) in 1620 (*CERLThes*).

Ides, see Isbrand Ides.

Imhofer (or Inchofer), **Melchior** (1585–1648): Jesuit from Hungary. He wrote, among other works, *Annales ecclesiastici regni Hungariae* published in Rome in 1644, which is the book Bergius refers to. *BBKL* 2, s.v. ‘Inchofer, Melchior’.

St Irenaeus (d. c. 202): Bishop of Lugdunum, today’s Lyon. His main work, *Adversus Haereses (Against Heresies)*, is an attack on Gnosticism (*LThK* 5, s.v. ‘Irenaeus Lugdunensis’; *NCE* 7, s.v. ‘Irenaeus, Saint’).

Isbrand Ides, Eberhard, or Evert Ysbrants (Ysbrandszoon) Ides (1657–1708): Dutch/Danish/German merchant who travelled to China as a Russian ambassador in 1692–1694. One of the persons accompanying him on the journey was Adam Brand. Both Isbrand Ides and Brand, independently it seems, took notes during the journey. Both their descriptions of China were eventually published (concerning the complex relationship between the texts, see Hundt’s edition, 64ff.). Brand’s description was printed first, however, in 1698 (see under **Brand**), while Isbrand Ides’s text was not published until 1704. Bergius in fact refers only to Brand’s work, although he believes the author to be Isbrand Ides.

Isidore of Seville (c. 560–636): Scholar, Archbishop of Seville, Father of the Church. Most famous is his *Etymologiae*, a summa of universal knowledge. The work referred to by Bergius is *De ecclesiasticis officiis* in two volumes: Vol. I: *De origine officiorum*; Vol. II: *De origine ministrorum. Cath. Enc.*, s.v. ‘Idore of Seville, Saint’; *Encyclopaedia Britannica*, s.v. St. Isidore of Sevilla.

Jenkinson, Anthony (1530–1611): English navigator. *The voyage of Anthony Jenkinson into Russia, wherein Osep Napea first Ambassador from the Emperor of Moscovia to Q. Marie was transported into his countrie. An. 1557. A Voiage to Russia in 1552*, in Berry, L.E. & R.O. Crummey (eds) 1968, *Rude and Barbarous Kingdom: Russia in the Accounts of Sixteenth-century English Voyagers*, Madison & London 1968, 46–58. Zajončkovskij 1976, 40; Poe 2008, 56.

Jeremias II: Patriarch of Constantinople three times during the period 1572–1595. He wrote *Censura orientalis ecclesiae: De praecipuis nostri seculi haereticorum dogmatibus*, published in Cologne in 1582. He is also famous for his debates with Lutheran theologians, published in Latin (*Acta et scripta Theologorum Wirtembergensium et Patriarchae Constantinopolitani D. Hieremiae*, printed in Wittenberg in 1584), in which he supports some of the Lutheran tenets, but rejects even more of them as heretical. He is said to have been one of the ablest leaders ever of the Orthodox Church. On his responses to Lutherans, see Runciman 1968, 247–256 *et passim*.

Jewel, John (1522–1571): English theologian and apologist for the Anglican Church. *Encyclopaedia Britannica*, s.v. ‘Jewel, John’.

Jordan de Colombier, Claude (1685–1727): Traveller and author. His work *Voyages*

historiques de l'Europe, contenant l'origine, la religion, les moeurs, coutumes et forces de tous les peuples qui l'habitent ... (8 vols.) was published in Paris in 1692–1697. It was then translated into German and edited with a commentary in Leipzig by 'Talander', which is a pseudonym for **August Bohse** (see under that name). Poe 2008, 145.

Jovius, Paulus (Paulo Giovio) (1483–1552): Italian physician, historian, historiographer, papal official and bishop of noble family. Among his extensive writings there are several descriptions of places and countries, including Muscovy: *Pauli Jovii Novocomensis libellus de legatione Basilii magni Principis Moscoviae ad Clementem VII Pontificem [...]*, Rome 1525, with several later editions and translations. This work was included in *Rerum Moscovitarum auctores varii* (pp. 118–30). 'Basilius', Vasilij Ivanovič (1479–1533), was the Grand Prince of Moscow from 1505. Pope Clement VII was in office in 1523–1534. A complete edition of Jovius's works was printed at Basle in 1678. Kappeler 1972, 24–25 *et passim*; Zajončkovskij 1976, no. 3, p. 26; Poe 2008, 47–48. It is not clear which edition Bergius is referring to in his text. He mentions both a quarto and an octavo volume.

Kircher, Athanasius (1602–1680): German Jesuit scholar, one of the last polymaths. In his *Turris Babel* (Amsterdam 1679), he discusses the archaeology and history of Babylonia, but also the confusion of languages and the following migrations of peoples. *BBKL* 3, s.v. 'Kircher, Athanasius'.

Kobenzl, Hans, see *Pernisten*.

Kojalowicz, Wojciech Wijuk (1609–1677), Polish-Lithuanian historian and heraldist, a Jesuit. Concerning his work, see Kojalowicz, A. W., *Historiae Litvaniae*, Pars prior, Dantisci, 1650, see Myl'nikov 1996, 209.

Kortholt, Christian (1633–1694): Lutheran theologian, church historian and professor of divinity at Kiel. Bergius does not refer to any particular work of his, but he wrote extensively against Rome. *BBKL* 4, s.v. 'Kortholt, Christian'.

Krantz, Albert (Albertus Crantzius) (c. 1448–1517): German historian and theologian who wrote several books. Bergius refers to his chronicle of the history of Sweden, Norway and Denmark, not published in his lifetime. It first appeared in 1546 under the title *Chronica regnorum aquilonarium*, followed by later editions. *ADB* 17, s.v. 'Krantz, Albert'; Myl'nikov 1996, 22 *et passim*.

Kromaierus, Hieronymus (Kromayer) (1610–1670): German Lutheran theologian, professor at the University of Leipzig. Bergius refers to his works *Ecclesia in politia: Id est historiae ecclesiastice centuriae XVI*, 1666, 1673; and *Scrutinum religionum tum falsarum, Paganismi... tum unice verae et orthodoxae, Lutheranismi*, 1670, 1672, 1681. *NDB* 13, s.v. 'Kromayer, Hieronymus'; *BBKL* 4, s.v. 'Kromayer, Hieronymus'.

Kühne, Christian: German scholar (not very well known), translated Paul Oderborn's work on Ivan Vasil'evič, 'the Terrible', into German and published it in 1698 together with an Appendix of his own on the Muscovite religion. The title was *Des Grausamen Tyrannen Johannis Basiliidis, sonst Jwan Wasilowitz genant. Gewesenen Czaars in der Moschkau. Leben und Thaten: [...] Benebenst einem Anhang von der Moschowitzischen Religion; Aus der alten und neuen Kirchen-Historie deutlich und gründlich zusammen getragen und heraus gegeben.* (OCLC WorldCat).

Laetus, Julius Pomponius (1428–1498): Italian humanist and a devoted teacher, wrote on Roman antiquities and Roman history. Bergius quotes from a compendium of Roman history (*Compend. Histor. Univ.*) that was included in *Opera Pomponii Laeti varia*, 1521. *Encyclopædia Britannica*, s.v. 'Julius Pomponius Laetus'.

Lambertus Hersfeldensis (Lambert of Hersfeld) (c. 1024–1088): Historian whose *Annales* are an important source for 11th-century history, especially that of Henry IV. See *PL* (Migne), where Lambertus's *Annales* are found: the year 1075 is covered by cols. 1170–1209.

Lange (Lang), Jacob (1664–1716): He defended his doctoral thesis *De introductione catechumeni ad lectionem Sacrae Scripturae* at Åbo (Turku) in 1690. On him, see also notes 24 and 393.

Lasicius, Johannes (Jan Łasicki) (1534–1600): Polish Protestant historian and bibliographer. He edited the collection *De Russorum, Moscovitarum et Tartarorum religione, sacrificiis, nuptiarum et funerum ritu e diversis scriptoribus [...]*, printed at Speyer in 1582 by Bernhard Albinus, and often referred to as the 'Albinus collection'. Lasicius translated the debate between Rokhta and Ivan IV providing his own commentary. The debate forms the first part of the Albinus collection. The commentary follows immediately after the debate; this part of the work is called *Theologia Moscovitica*. The collection includes several of the texts quoted by Bergius, e.g. Oderborn's letter to Chytraeus (which appeared in another, separate edition, *s.l.* but the same year); Bergius gives a list (not quite complete) of the contents of the collection in Section I, ch. I, § 5. Kappeler 1972, 72–73; Poe 2008, 84. Mokroborodova.

Liber de Fide: The *Liber de fide* (*Kniga o vere*) was printed at the Printing Office in Moscow in 1648. It was a translation into Russian-Church Slavonic of a compilation made by an anonymous author, 'Pseudo-Nafanail', in Kiev. The main purpose of the book was to defend the Russian (and Greek) Orthodox Faith (and the Church Slavonic and Greek languages) against the Roman Catholic and Uniate Church and the 'poison' of the Latin language. It was printed in an edition of 1,200 copies, and in great demand from the start. See also note 265.

Lightfoot, John (1602–1675): English classical scholar with special expertise in Hebrew and cognate languages, minister of religion. He took part in the work on the London Polyglot Bible and was responsible for the edition of the Samaritan Pentateuch. Bergius refers to his *Erubhim, or Miscellanies, Christian and Judaical, and Others*, printed in 1629. *DMBI*, 657–661.

Lysek, Alphonsus (Adolf Lyseck) (*fl.* 1675): Imperial diplomat. He wrote a report entitled *Relatio eorum, quae circa Sacrae Caesareae Majestatis ad Magnum Moscorum Czarum Ablegatos Annibalem Franciscum de Bottoni, Sacri Romani Imperii Equitem, Archiducalis Regiminis in inferioria Austria Consiliarum, et Joannem Carolum Majestatis Consiliarium, anno 1675 gesta sunt, strictim recensita per Adolphum Lyseck, dictae Legationis Secretarium*, Salzburg 1676 (Poe 2008, 139). See reference to a Russian translation in Zajončkovskij 1976, no. 178, p. 81.

Macer, Dominicus (or Domenico Magri, with many other variants of the name) 1604–1672: Maltese theologian and Orientalist whose *Hierolexicon sive sacrum dictionarium* first appeared in 1677 and was reprinted several times. *CERLThes*.

Mayer, Johann Friedrich (1650–1712): German Lutheran theologian. The full title of the work Bergius refers to is *Ecclesia papaea Lutheranae reformationis patrina et cliens, sive dissertationes de pontificiis, Leonis X. processum adversum Lutherum improbantibus*. Mayer held high ecclesiastical and academic posts in the German provinces under Swedish rule and was appointed Superintendent-General of Swedish Pomerania in 1702. *ADB* 21, s.v. 'Mayer, Johann Friedrich'; *Killy Literaturlexikon* 8, 68–70.

von Mayerberg (Meyerberg, Meyersberg), **Augustin** (1612–1688): Baron, imperial diplomat. He was in Muscovy in 1661–1662 on a mission to mediate between Russia and Poland. The work referred to is *Iter in Moschoviam Augustini liberi Baronis de Mayerberg et Horat. Guil. Caluucci ab August. Rom. Imper. Leopoldo ad Czarem et Magn. Ducem Alexium Michail A. 1661 Ablegatorum* (without place or year of publication). Apart from the text there is a famous collection of drawings, known as the ‘Mayerberg Album’. Adelung, F. *Augustin Freiherr von Mayerberg und seine Reise nach Russland, nebst einer von ihm auf dieser Reise veranstalteten Sammlung von Ansichten, Gebräuchen, Bildnissen u.s.w.*, St. Petersburg 1827 (two volumes); фон Майерберг, А. *Донесение Августина Майерберга императору Леопольду I о своем посольстве в Москвию*, перевод с латинского с предисловием и примечаниями Е.В. Барсова, Москва 1882; Zajončkovskij 1976, no. 136, pp. 68–69. Poe 2008, 132–133.

Melanchthon, Philipp (1497–1560): German Lutheran reformer, collaborator with Martin Luther. There are several early German editions of his *Vita Lutheri*, originally combined with a speech given at Luther’s funeral. Bergius translated the work into Swedish (see note 231).

Michael (Michalo) Lit(h)uanus, de Lit(h)uania, unidentified pseudonym, fl. c. 1550: He wrote a treatise called *De moribus Tartarorum, Lituanorum et Moschorum*, which was dedicated to Sigismund II in 1550, but not printed until 1615. It was later included in Part 2, *Miscella Farrago*, of Boxhorn’s *Respublica Moscoviae et urbes*, Leiden 1630 (see further *Boxhornius*). Kappeler 1972, 94; Poe 2008, 51.

de Miechovia, Mathias (Mechovius, Matthaeus von Miechow, Maciej z Miechowa etc.) (c. 1457–1523): Polish astrologer, physician and historiographer. His work on the history of Poland, *Chronica Polonorum*, was, according to Poe (p. 46), first published in 1518. His book *Tractatus de duabus Sarmatiis Asiatica et Europiana et de contentis in eis*, Kraków, 1517, has been called the first intellectual exploration of Eastern Europe and was printed in five languages in some twenty 16th-century editions (Kappeler 1972, 24 *et passim*; Poe 2008, 43).

Miège, Guy, see **Howard, Charles**.

Mollerus (Möller), Andreas (1598–1660): German Lutheran polymath and educationalist. Born in Pegau and educated in Leipzig, he worked in Freiberg as a teacher, headmaster, librarian and physician. He wrote a comprehensive history of Freiberg, Latin school plays, poems in seven languages, and an obituary of his father Andreas Möller the Elder, Archdeacon of Pegau. The last-mentioned work, entitled *Antipelargia sive Debitum parentale [...]* (Freiberg 1659), is referred to by Bergius, although he designates Mollerus as *Fridbergensis* rather than *Freibergensis*. The other work Bergius refers to is *Diatribae Historico-Critica*, printed at Lübeck in 1701. ADB 52, s.v. ‘Möller, Andreas’.

Morinus, Johannes (Jean Morin, 1591–1659): French theologian, priest and biblical scholar. The work referred to by Bergius is either Morin’s *Exercitationes ecclesiasticae in utrumque Samaritanorum Pentateuchum* (Paris 1631) or (more probably) *Exercitationes biblicae de Hebraei Graecique textus sinceritate* (Paris 1633 and later editions). HBOT, 767–772.

Myler von Ehrenbach, Johann Nikolaus (1610–1677): German lawyer, scholar and politician from Tübingen. The work referred to by Bergius is *Additiones ad Rumelini Dissertat. ad auream bullam*, published in Stuttgart in three volumes in 1635 (later editions in 1655 and 1702). ADB 23, s.v. ‘Myler ab Ehrenbach, Johann Nikolaus’.

Müller (Mullerus), Johann(es) (1598–1672): Strictly orthodox Lutheran theologian, pastor of St Peter's Church in Hamburg. Bergius quotes his works *Lutherus defensus* and *Defensio Lutheri defensi*, first published in Hamburg in 1658 and 1659, respectively; both books were reprinted in many editions. *Zedler-Lexicon*, s.v. 'Müller, Johann'.

Nestor Pečerskij, i.e. Nestor of the Kievo-Pečerskaja lavra (the Cave Monastery of Kiev): This more or less mythological author of the Nestor Chronicle (the Primary Chronicle) was said to have been a monk at the Cave Monastery and to have composed (or edited) the text in 1113. On the chronicle, see Plokhij 2006, 14ff.; on the possible identity of 'Nestor', see *ibid.* 19ff. In the Russian tradition, the chronicle is also known as *Povest' vremennyh let* (a tale of bygone years), from the first line of the text.

Neugebauer, Salomon (fl. around 1600): Historian and schoolmaster of whom fairly little is known, although he wrote several books, including a history of Poland. The work referred to by Bergius is *Moscovia: Hoc est de origine, situ, regionibus, moribus, religione ac Republica Moscoviae Commentarius*, Gedani [Gdańsk] 1612. Kappeler 1972, 248; Poe 2008, 117.

de la Neuville, Foy: French traveller and political agent, who visited Muscovy in 1689. The first edition of his *Relation curieuse et nouvelle de la Moscovie* was printed in Paris in 1698; there is also a 1699 edition from The Hague which Bergius seems to have used. For a long time the name was assumed to be a pseudonym of Adrian Baillet (this is the case in many old catalogues). Concerning de la Neuville, see de Madariaga 1987. See also Zajončkovskij 1976, no. 245, p. 102; Poe 2008, 144. In 1994 an English edition of his work was published in London: Foy de la Neuville, *A Curious and New Account of Muscovy in the Year 1689*, edited and introduced by Lindsey Hughes, translated from the French by J.A. Cutshall. There is also a Russian edition of his work: *Де ла Невиль, Записки о Московии*, предисловие, подготовка текста, перевод и комментарии А.С. Лаврова, Москва 1996.

Nicolai, Philippus (1556–1608): Lutheran theologian, poet and composer, famous as a hymn writer. The work Bergius refers to is *Commentariorum de regno Christi [...] libri duo*, 1597. *Killy Literaturlexikon* 8, s.v. 'Nicolai, Philipp'.

Oderborn (Oderbornius), Paul (c. 1555–1604): German Protestant theologian and preacher, working in Livonia, known mostly for his biography of Ivan Vasil'evič (Ivan IV, the Terrible): *Johannis Basilidis magni Moscoviae ducis vita tribus libris conscripta*, first published in Latin in Wittenberg in 1585 (not 1586, as Bergius says on p. 16), and later included in *Rerum Moscoviticarum auctores varii*, 1600. In 1582 he had published a treatise on the religion, funeral and nuptial rites, food, clothing etc. of the Russians in the form of a letter to David Chytraeus. Bergius often refers to this work as the 'Letter to Chytraeus'. There are two editions of this text with the same title, *De Russorum religione, ritibus nuptiarum, funerum, victu, vestitu: Epistola ad D. Davidem Chytraeum recens scripta*, both from 1582. One was a separate edition (*s.l.*), the other was included in the collection *De Russorum Moscovitarum et Tartarorum Religione*, edited by Johannes Lascius and printed at Speyer by Albinus in 1582 (the 'Albinus collection'). Kappeler 1972, 73, 77–81; Poe 2008, 83 (the letter), 89 (the *Vita*). See also Lascius.

Oldenburger, Philipp Andreas (d. 1678): German lawyer and publicist, writing under various names, surrounded by scandal because of his wanton way of using the works of others. Bergius refers to his *Thesaurus rerum publicarum totius orbis quadripertitus*, Geneva 1675, in which he makes use of written material by his former teacher. *ADB* 24, s.v. 'Oldenburger, Philipp Andreas'.

Olearius, Adam (Ger. Oelschläger) (1599–1671): German scientist and philologist, diplomat and traveller. After studies in mathematics and natural sciences at the University of Leipzig, Olearius was appointed Secretary to Duke Frederick III of Holstein-Gottorp in 1633 and sent to Russia (1633–1635). Shortly afterwards he was again sent on a mission, this time through Russia to Persia, from where he returned in 1639. In 1640 he was appointed councillor and court mathematician to the duke, and was commissioned to arrange his library and art collections. He wrote a very informative and influential work with good illustrations, including maps, about his travels. It appeared in two versions, the first called *Offt begehrte Beschreibung der neuen orientalischen Reise, so durch Gelegenheit einer Holsteinischen Legation an den König in Persien geschehen*, Schleswig 1647; the second, which was much longer and structured into six books, was called *Vermehrte neue Beschreibung der Muscovitischen und Persischen Reyse, so durch Gelegenheit einer Holsteinischen Gesandschaft an den russischen Zaar und König in Persien geschehen*, Schleswig 1656. This version then appeared in several editions with slightly different titles, and was also translated into several languages, including Dutch, French and English; a real classic among travel accounts from Muscovy. Olearius is one of Bergius's most important sources, and he quotes or refers to him more than fifty times. Quotations are always given in German (printed in black-letter type). Bergius himself says (in his appended text for p. 18) that he has used the second version 'with one or two exceptions', and it is evident from his quotations that this is the case. He probably used the Schleswig edition of 1663 since his page references practically always agree with that edition. He must, however, have had access to the older version as well. There are several modern editions and translations of Olearius's work, some abbreviated, e.g. *The travels of Olearius in seventeenth-century Russia*, transl. and ed. Samuel H. Baron, Stanford 1967; Олеарий А., *Описание путешествия в Московию и через Московию в Персию и обратно*, Введ., пер., примеч. и указ. А.М. Ловягина, Санкт-Петербург 1906. See Kappeler 1972, 249; Poe 2008, 125–26; Zajončkovskij 1976, no.137, pp. 69–70.

von Oppenbusch, Michael (1630–1686): Archdeacon, wrote (or just defended?) a dissertation called *Religio Moscovitarum: Syn Theo Moderatore Dn. Joh. Conr. Dannhawero* [...] under Johann Conrad Danhaver. It was printed in Strasbourg by Welperus in 1660; a second edition entitled *Exercitatio historico-theologica in qua religio Moscovitarum breviter delineata et exhibita* was published in the same place by Staedlius in 1667; yet another edition of the same text was printed in 1687 (in a volume with texts by Danhaver), and this seems to be the edition used by Bergius. For a German translation by G.A. Schleussinger, first printed in 1694, see under **Warmund**. Poe 2008, 135.

Orbini, Mauro (1563–1614): Born in Ragusa (Dubrovnik), Croatian historian and writer. His best-known work, the mythological *Il regno degli slavi* (The Realm of the Slavs), Pesaro 1601), with its pan-Slavic position, had a significant influence on later Slavic historiography. Fine 2006, 226–229; Iovine 1984, 103, 124.

Orichovius (Stanisław Orzechowski) (1513–1566): Polish humanist, politician and theologian; although a Catholic priest, he wrote extensively against celibacy and eventually married. The book referred to by Bergius is *Baptismus Ruthenorum: Bulla de non rebaptisandis Ruthenis*, Kraków 1544. On Orzechowski, see Plokhy 2006, 169–171, 182.

Orientalischer Kirchen-Staat. Worinnen enthalten der Zustand Griechischer Kirchen unter denen Türken in Europa, Asia und Africa [...]: printed at Gotha in 1699. The book seems to be extremely rare. The British Library copy is accessible online as ebook.

Örnhielm, Clas (Claudius Arhenius) (1627–1695): Swedish librarian, historian and ‘Historiographus Regni’. The full title of the book referred to by Bergius is *Vita illustris Herois Ponti De la Gardie*, Leipzig 1690. On Örnhielm, see Helander 2012, 167ff.

Palma, see Rudbeckius.

Pansa, Mutius (Mutio) (1565–1628): Philosopher and physician. His *Della Libraria Vaticana ragionamenti [...] divisi in quattro parti [...] Con l'agiunta degli Alfabeti delle Lingue [...]* (1590) is accessible online, digitised by The Internet Archive.

Papebroch (Papebrochius, Papenbrock), Daniel (1628–1714): Flemish Jesuit and hagiographer. Daniel Papebroch and Godfrey Henschen were early Bollandists in Antwerp and editors of *Acta Sanctorum*. Bergius refers to the work *Ephemerides Graeco-Russicae*; the correct title is *Ephemerides Graecorum et Moscorum*. It is part of the *Acta Sanctorum* for May, vol. I. BBKL 17, s.v. ‘Papebrochius, Daniel’.

Pappus, Johannes (1549–1610): Lutheran theologian and church historian who took an active part in the controversies of his time, enforcing Lutheran theology at Marburg University where he taught. Bergius refers to the following work of his: *Epitome Historiae Ecclesiasticae. De Conversionibus Gentium, Persecutionibus Ecclesiae, Haeresibus & Concilijs Oecumenicis [...]* from 1584. BBKL 6, s.v. ‘Pappus, Johannes’.

Paulinus Gothus, Laurentius (1565–1646): Swedish theologian, archbishop from 1637, a very prolific writer; his *Historiae Arctoae libri tres* were printed at Strängnäs in 1636. SBL 22, s.v. ‘Laurentius Paulinus Gothus’.

Pernisten, Philippo (real name Hans Kobenzl): Imperial ambassador to the Grand Prince of Russia. His account of 1579 is often quoted in later works on Russia; the full title is *Relatione Dall’Eccellentiss. Sig. D. Filippo Pernisten, Imperiale Ambasciatore della Maestà Cesarea, Al gran Principe di Moscouia, l’anno 1579*. It has been published in two major collections of texts on political science: *Thesoro Politico* edited by Comin Ventura, Milan 1600–1601, and *Praxis prudentiae politicae* by Philippus Honorius (pseudonym for Giulio Belli), Frankfurt 1610; the two works are more or less identical and appeared in many editions. Since Bergius does not give any page references, nor any printing details, it is not possible to tell which edition he used when quoting in Latin, but his quotations agree practically verbatim with the text in *Praxis prudentiae politicae*, volume I, which we have consulted at the Royal Library, Stockholm. On Kobenzl’s work, see Poe 2008, 78–79. According to him, there are two editions in Italian: 1617 and 1618. On Kobenzl, see also Kappeler 1972, 92f. *et passim*.

Petrejus, Petrus (c. 1570–1622): Swedish government official. After official journeys in eastern Europe and Russia (1609–1615) he wrote *Regni Muscovitici Sciographia: Thet är: Een wiss och egenteligh Beskrifning om Rydzland/ med thes många och stora Furstendömers/ Provinciers/ Befestningars/ Städers/ Siögars och Elfwers Tilstånd/ Rum och Lägenheet: Såsom och the Muskowiterske Storfursters Häromst/ Regemente/ macht och myndigheet/ medh theras Gudztienst och Ceremonier/ Stadgar och åthäfwor/ både vthi Andeliga och Politiske saker. Vthi sex böker korteligen författat, beskrifwin och sammandragin, af Petro Petrei*, Stockholm, Meurer 1615. It appeared in a German edition five years later: Petrus de Erlesunda [Petrus Petrejus], *Historien und Bericht von dem Grossfürstenthumb Muschow mit dero schönen fruchtbaren provincien und Herrschaften*, Lipsiae 1620. See Tarkiainen 2017, 124–127 *et passim*; Poe 2008, 119; Zajončkovskij 1976, no. 101, p. 57. See also Kälvemark 1969, Kovalenko 2010, 62–65 and Tolstikov 2012.

Pfeiffer, August (1640–1698): German Lutheran Orientalist, theologian and clergyman, finally Superintendent at Lübeck. He had studied under Calovius at Wittenberg, was strictly orthodox, and had a long-standing dispute with Ph. Jacob Spener, the result of which was the booklet *Scepticismus Spenerianus tripartitus* (1st ed., Lübeck 1696). Bergius refers to it in the list of books he himself had printed in Stockholm, section I, ch. VIII, § 4. Most of the quotations, however, refer to Pfeiffer's *Critica sacra*, a very influential work first published at Dresden in 1680. Many of his writings have been published in new editions in recent years, including his *Critica Sacra* (2012). He is also said to have had a great influence on J.S. Bach. *ADB* 25, s.v. 'Pfeiffer, August'.

Piasecius, Paulus (Pawel Piasecki) (1579–1649): Polish bishop and historian. His main work, to which Bergius refers, is *Chronica gestorum in Europa singularium*, Kraków 1649 (*CERLThes.*).

Possevinus, Antonius (Antonio Possevino) (1533–1611): Italian theologian and papal envoy. In Swedish history he is known as the papal legate who worked in the 1570s with King John III for a Counter-Reformation. In 1581 he was sent to mediate between King Stephen Báthory of Poland and Grand Prince Ivan Vasil'evič (Ivan IV, 'the Terrible') and to negotiate the reunion of the Russian Church with Rome, though with little success. Public debates on religion took place between the Tsar and Possevinus on three occasions in March 1582. (*NCE* 11, s.v. 'Possevinus, Antonius'). His major work on Muscovy is *Moscovia*, full title *Antonii Possevini ex Societate Jesu Mosconia, s. de rebus Moscoviticis et acta in conuentu legatorum regis Poloniae et magni Ducis Mosconiae anno 1581*, Vilno 1586; many more editions followed. Kappeler 1972, 82–85 *et passim*; Santich 1995, 85–111; Poe 2008, 91–92; Zajončkovskij 1976, no. 7, p. 28. See also note 71. Among modern editions, see Possevino, Antonio, *The Moscovia of Antonio Possevino, SJ*, transl. and with a critical introduction by H. Graham, Pittsburgh 1977; Поссевино, А., *Исторические сочинения о России XVI в.*, Пер. Л.Н. Годовиковой, Москва 1983.

Quenstedt, Johannes Andreas (1617–1688): German Lutheran theologian and professor at Wittenberg. His *Theologia didactico-polemica sive systema theologicum* (Wittenberg 1685 and many later editions) came to be one of the most influential works within the orthodox Lutheran tradition. Bergius quotes the work eleven times, without ever giving its title. His references agree with the parts, chapters and sections of Quenstedt's work; in three instances, Bergius also gives a page number which agrees with the Wittenberg edition of 1691. *BBKL* 7, s.v. 'Quenstedt, Johann Andreas'.

Regenvolscius, Adrianus (pseudonym for **Andreas Wengerscius**, Andrzej Węgierski) (1600–1649): Polish theologian and church historian. Bergius refers to his *Systema historico-chronologicum ecclesiarum Slavonicarum*, Utrecht 1652. This book was published anew, under Wengerscius's real name and with the title *Libri IV Slavoniae reformatae, continentes historiam ecclesiasticam [...]*, Amsterdam 1679. Bergius quotes the full title of the book in chapter I, § 14. He is not aware that *Regenvolscius* is a pseudonym for Wengerscius and believes the second edition to be a plagiarism. There is a facsimile edition (Warsaw 1973) of the latter edition, and Bergius's quotations agree practically verbatim with it. *CERLThes.*

Reinesius, Thomas (1587–1667): German physician, politician and philologist. His *Variarum lectionum libri III priores*, published at Utrecht in 1640, bears witness to his extensive reading and philological acumen; Bergius knows the work well enough to quote it practically verbatim. *ADB* 28, s.v. 'Reinesius, Thomas'.

Rerum Moscoviticarum auctores varii: This work, in the first edition entitled *Rerum Moscoviticarum auctores varii unum in corpus nunc primum congesti*, is a collection comprising many of the older texts used by Bergius, e.g. Herberstein, Jovius, Faber, Clement Adams, Miechow, Guagnini and Oderborn, although he has sometimes used other editions. On this collection, see Poe 2008, 103; Kappeler 1972, 91. It was first printed in Frankfurt in 1600; the phrase *editoribus Marniis* in Bergius's text refers to the printer Andreas Wechsel's heirs, Claude de Marne and Jean Aubry, working at Frankfurt around 1600. The work saw several later editions, the one most widely spread printed at Frankfurt in 1700, but from the precise references given it seems that Bergius had access to the first edition, although he always quotes the title in the incorrect form *Scriptores rerum Moscoviticarum*.

Rocha, Angelus (or Rocca, Roccha, Angelo) (1545–1620): Italian Augustinian monk, biblical scholar, historian and book collector. He led the Vatican printing office from 1585, served as the Pope's sacristan from 1595 and was very familiar with the holdings of the Vatican Library which he used extensively in his own writings. He compiled a catalogue (Rocca 1591): *Bibliotheca Apostolica Vaticana a Sixto V. Pont. Max. [...] et a Fratre Angelo Roccha a Camerino [...]*, Romae, MDXCI. Catalogo 1985, nos. 96–97, 100. (Ambrosiani 2012.)

Rokyta, Johannes (Jan): Hussite, a member of the Bohemian Brethren, and chaplain to a Polish-Lithuanian embassy that visited Moscow in 1570. His debate with Tsar Ivan Vasil'evič (Ivan IV, the Terrible) was published and caused the Tsar to publish a reply. On this debate, see de Madariaga 2005, 251–253. The latest work about the debate between Rokyta and the Tsar is Morčalis 2009.

Rossaeus (Ross), Alexander (c. 1590–1654): Controversialist theologian and philosopher, Scottish-born, but worked and died in England. The book Bergius refers to must be his *Pansebeia, or View of all the Religions in the World, with the Lives of certain notorious Heretics* (1652). Rossaeus is famous for having made the first English translation of the Qur'an (from a French translation, not directly from the Arabic). *Dictionary of National Biography* 49, s.v. 'Ross, Alexander'.

Rudbeckius & Palma: The Swedish theologians **Johannes Rudbeckius** (1581–1646) and **Jonas Germundi Palma** (1580–1642) wrote a 49-page booklet after a journey to Russia entitled *Een kort Berättelse och Undervisning om Wår Christeliga Troo och Gudztienst vthi Sverige. Ther vthi ock the groffueste Vilfarelser som är vthi the Ryssars Religion warda korteighan förlagde och tilbaka dreffne/ skriffuin Til the Ryske Präster och gemene Försambling vthi Iwangorodh/ såsom ock andre aff samma Troo och Mening [...]* [A short account and instruction on our Christian faith and worship in Sweden. In which, in addition, the most serious errors of the Russian religion are briefly refuted and rejected; written for the Russian priests and ordinary congregation of Ivangorod and for others of the same faith and opinion, by Joh. Rudb. and Jon. Palma, Chaplains to his Royal Majesty of Sweden etc.], Westerås (Peder Ericksson Wald) 1640. In it they tried to confute many of the tenets of Russian Orthodoxy. Their intention was to have the book translated into Russian, but it seems this never happened. The first edition (1614 or 1615) has not been found. Tarkiainen 1971, 121–122; Mokroborodova 2013, 93–94. On Rudbeckius, see *SBL* 30, s.v. 'Rudbeckius, Johannes', on Palma, *SBL* 28, s.v. 'Palma, Jonas'.

Abellicus, Marcus Antonius Coccius (1436–1506): Scholar and historian working in

Venice, known for his universal history *Enneades sive Rhapsodia historiarum* (1498). *Oxford History of Historical Writing* 3, 2012, 356.

Sacranus, Johannes (1443–1527): Professor at the Academy of Kraków, rector, theologian, well known for his *Elucidarius errorum ritus Ruthenici*, in Lasicius (ed.), *De Russorum Moscovitarum et Tartarorum religione*, Spirae: Albinus 1582. According to Lasicius (p. 184), the first edition of Sacranus's work came out in 1500. It was written in the aftermath of the Council of Ferrara–Florence (1438–1445) which had at first led to a new agreement and a union between the Roman Catholic and the Eastern Orthodox Church. After some time, however, the union was repudiated by the Eastern Church, a step which was looked upon by the Western Church as a major breach of faith for centuries to come. In that context Sacranus's text was used to point out the heresies of the Eastern, and particularly the Russian, Orthodox Church, and their 'pertinacia' was constantly emphasised. Mokroborodova 2013, 79–81.

Scaliger, Joseph Justus (1540–1609): French philologist and chronologer, converted to Protestantism, Professor at the universities of Geneva and Leiden. He wrote *De emendatione temporum* (1583) and *Thesaurus temporum, complectens Eusebii Pamphili chronicon* (1606). *BBKL* 8, s.v. 'Scaliger, Joseph'.

Scarga, Petrus (Peter Skarga) (1536–1612): Polish Jesuit, vice-chancellor of the University of Vilnius, Court Preacher to Stephen Báthory and Sigismund III. He played a certain role in trying to establish the Counter-Reformation in the Nordic countries. He wrote the book *O jedności Kościoła Bożego pod jednym Pasterzem i o greckim od tej jedności odstąpieniu* (On the Unity of the Church of God under One Shepherd and on the Greek Separation from That Unity), printed at Vilnius by M. Radziwiłł in 1577. Plokhy 2006, 174–75, Mokroborodova 2013, 84.

Schefferus, Johannes (1621–1679): Swedish historian, philologist and Skytte Professor (of political science and rhetoric) at Uppsala University. Originally from Strasbourg, he was one of the many learned men called in from the continent by Queen Christina. He was a pioneer in several scholarly disciplines, and the work Bergius refers to, *Svecia literata*, is the first history of Swedish literature. It appeared in print in 1680, one year after Schefferus's death (*SBL* 31, s.v. 'Schefferus, Johannes').

Schelwigius (Schelvigijs, Schelguigius, Schelguig etc.), **Samuel** (1643–1715): German theologian who represented a strictly orthodox Lutheran theology. *CERLThes.*

Schleussinger (Schleissing(er)), **Georg Adam** (pseudonym: Theophilus Warmund): He was active towards the end of the 17th century (*CERLThes.*); according to Poe (2008) he lived from 1660 to 1694. He was in Russia 1684–1686. Schleussinger was a German lawyer and traveller. His book *Universa religio Moscovitica, das ist: Die Auffgehende Sonne der Christlichen Religion, wie und zu welcher Zeit dieselbige durch dis finstere Wolcken des Heydenthums sich herfür gethan, und das gantze Moscovitische Reich bestralet, auch was darinnen, biss aufjetzige Zeit, so wohl in ihren Glaubens-Artickeln, als Kirchen Ceremoniis vorgegangen und geändert worden ist* is, according to Bergius, a translation of von Oppenbusch's *Exercitatio* (see von Oppenbusch). Von Oppenbusch's book was first presented as a dissertation under Johann Conrad Danhaver with the title *Religio Moscovitarum, Syn Theo Moderatore Dn. Joh. Conr. Dannhawero [...]*, Welper 1660. M.A. Korf (in Корф, М.А. 'Некоторые немецкие сочинения о России в конце XVII и начале XVIII веков', *Отечественные записки*, 1854 9:2, 139–148) was the first to suppose that the real author was Schleussinger. In most bibliographic descriptions and

databases (including *CERLThes.*) Korf's hypothesis is accepted. The first edition of Schleussinger's book was printed in 1694, Bergius refers to an edition of 1698 (also mentioned by Poe 2008, 135, and von Rauch 1952, 204), and several more were printed later. Bergius (p. 20) also refers to another book by Schleussinger: *Anatomia Russiae Deformatae oder historische Beschreibung derer beyden auf einem Trohn gesetzten Czaaren Iwan und Peter Alexewitz*, Dresden 1688. Yet another, ascribed to Schleussinger, is in the form of a dialogue between two people about Muscovy: 'Рассказ очеви́дца о жизни Московии конца XVII века', вступ. ст. Л.П. Лаптева, *Вопросы истории* 1970 1: 103–126. Poe 2008, 143, 144, 146; Zajončkovskij 1976, no. 222, pp. 94–95.

Schurzfleisch, Konrad Samuel (1641–1708): German historian, polymath and librarian, professor at Leipzig. He presided over a great many dissertations; whether he or the respondents wrote them, is not known. The book Bergius refers to is *Res Slavicas Recensēbunt publicē Praeses M. Conradus Samuel Schurzfleisch, Et Johannes Georgius Liebe Ossatiensis Misericordia Respondens [...]*, Leipzig 1698. VD17.

Schwabe (Schwabius), Johann (1644–1699): Lutheran theologian, born in Livonia who wrote (or possibly just defended) his dissertation on the Muscovite religion at Jena in 1662, as indicated on the title page of the editions of 1665 and 1710. The full title is *ЦУРКОВЬ МОСКОВСКІЙ. Dissertatio theologica de religione ritibusque ecclesiasticis Moscovitarum*, Jena: Typis Johannis Jacobi Bauhofferi, Anno M.DC.LXV. The structure of the book is the following: *Proemium, Praeliminaria 1, 2, 3, Chapters 1–21*. This book seems to have been one of Bergius's most important sources, and he normally quotes it under Schwabe's name. Otherwise, it is often quoted under the name of the Jena professor Johann Ernst Gerhard (the Elder) (see under **Gerhard**), who presided at the dissertation. See also von Rauch 1952, 202.

Scriptores Rerum Moscoviticarum, see *Rerum Moscoviticarum auctores varii*.

von Seckendorf, Veit Ludwig (1626–1692): German statesman and scholar, studied history and jurisprudence at the University of Strasbourg, from 1652 appointed to important judicial positions. He wrote *Commentarius historicus et apologeticus de Lutherismo*, of which a first volume was published in 1688, but the complete text, in three volumes, was printed in Leipzig in 1692. *Killy Literaturlexikon* 10, 718–721.

Sigebertus Gemblacensis (Sigebert of Gembloux) (c. 1030–1112): Belgian historian, theologian, hagiographer and author of a universal chronicle who was opposed to the expansive papacy of Gregory VII. He took part in the contest between Pope Gregory VII and Emperor Henry IV. *BBKL* 10, s.v. 'Sigebert von Gembloux'.

Siricius, Michael (1628–1685): German Lutheran theologian, from 1659 professor of theology at Giessen, from 1675 at Rostock. He edited a dissertation called *Religio Moscovitica: Per certa, lectu digna & utilia capita [...] in illustri et celeberrima universitate Giessena disquisitioni academicae subjecta a Michaelae Siricio*. The respondent was Ludertus Cramer (or Kramer). The book was printed in Giessen in 1661. It is unclear, however, who actually wrote this treatise, for in 1662 Cramer published the same book in German, under the title *Moskowitzcher Irrglaube* (v. Rauch 1952, 204). Bergius, who quotes the book more than 50 times, always does so under Siricius's name, and it is evident that he had access to the 1661 edition, for his quotations practically always agree, in content and as regards the page number, with that edition.

Socrates of Constantinople or **Socrates Scholasticus** (b. c. 380, d. after 439): Church historian and author of *Historia Ecclesiastica*, which covers the years 305–439. *PG* (Migne).

Statuta Moscovitica: The name used in Bergius's text for the important Russian Law Code of 1649 (*Soborneo uloženie*). The name comes from Augustin von Mayerberg's *Iter in Moschoviam ... cum Statutis Moschouiticis ex Russico in Latinum idioma ab eodem translatis*, without place or year (see also under Mayerberg). Among various editions, see the Russian *Soborneo uloženie* (1987) and the English one *The Laws of Russia* (ed. Hellie). See also the Dane Rasmus Æreboe's annotated translation from 1721, *Den Rysiske Lov 1649*, recently published in Denmark by L.P. Poulsen-Hansen 2013.

Stepennaja kniga, or Kniga stepennaja carskogo rodoslovija: Russian chronicle, originally produced in Moscow in the 16th century and later spread in many manuscript versions. Different versions of the chronicle have been published. See Lenhoff 2013.

Steuchus, Augustinus (Agostino Steuco) (1496–1549): Italian humanist, Counter Reformation polemicist, Vatican Librarian. Bergius refers to his *Contra Laurentius Vallam de falsa donatione Constantini libri duo*, printed in 1547. *Cath. Enc.*, s.v. 'Steuco, Agostino (Steuchus)'.

Stryjkowski, Maciej (Lat. Mathias Stricovius) (1540–1590): Polish scholar who is considered the first historian of Lithuania; in 1582 he wrote a Polish-Lithuanian chronicle in Polish: *Kronika Polska, Litewska/ Zmodżka/ y wszystkiej Rusi* ('Chronicle of Poland, Lithuania, Samogitia and All Rus'). On Stryjkowski, see Plokhy 2006, 175; on a Russian translation, see Watson 2012.

Suicerus, Johann Caspar (Schweitzer) (1620–1684): Philologist and protestant theologian from Zurich. The work referred to by Bergius is *Thesaurus ecclesiasticus e patribus Graecis ordine alphabeticu exhibens...*, vols. I–II, Amsterdam 1682. *ADB* 37, s.v. 'Suicerus, Johann Caspar'.

Syncellus, Georgius, d. after 810: Byzantine chronicler who wrote *Extract of Chronography* (in Greek, unfinished), from the creation of the world to AD 284. The work was primarily a chronological table with notes. *PG* (Migne).

Talander, see Bohse.

Tanner, Bernhard Leopold Fransiscus: Bohemian traveller, was in Moscow with a Polish embassy in 1678: *Legatio Polono-Lithuanica in Moscoviam [...]*, Nuremberg 1689; Таннер, Б. 'Описание путешествияпольского посольства в Москву в 1678 году', Пер. с латин., примеч. и прил. И. Ивакина, ЧОИДР 3 (1891), кн. 3 (158), отд. 3, с. I–XI, 1–203 с ил. (Zajončkovskij 1976, no. 181, p. 82; Poe 2008, 140).

Thomas of Jesus (Diaz Sanchez de Avila) 1564–1627): Born in Spain, discalced Carmelite and writer on mystical theology. The work referred to by Bergius is probably his *De procuranda salute omnium gentium*, Antwerp 1613. *NCE* vol. 14, s.v. Thomas of Jesus.

Ulfeld, Jacob (1535–1593): Danish diplomat and royal councillor from 1565. Ulfeld was sent on an embassy to Moscow in 1578–1579 when Ivan IV 'the Terrible' was in power. His account, *Hodoeporicon Ruthenicum in quo de moscovitarum regione, moribus, religione, gubernatione, & Aula Imperatoria quo potuit compendio & eleganter exequatur [...]* was printed in Frankfurt in 1608 and 1627. Kappeler 1972, 92; Poe 2008, 79.

Vejelius (Veiel), Elias (1635–1706): German protestant theologian, Superintendent of Ulm. The works referred to by Bergius are *Exercitatio historico-theologica de ecclesia graecanica hodierna*, *L. Allatio potissimum*, *P. Arcudio, et B. Nibusio, opposita*, 1661, and *Defensio exercitationis historico-theologicae de ecclesia graecanica hodierna [...]*, printed at Strassburg in 1666. *ADB* 39, s.v. 'Veiel, Elias'.

Vossius, Gerardus (Gerrit Janszoon Vos) (1577–1649): Dutch protestant theologian, who

wrote extensively on the dogmatic controversies of his time, but also on Greek and Latin authors and on the Latin language. One of the works used by Bergius was his *Dissertationes Tres de Tribus Symbolis, Apostolico, Athanasiano et Constantinopolitano* (1642). Bergius also refers to his Greek history *De historiis Graecis libri III* (1624). He was the father of Isaac Vossius (see the next entry). *ADB* 40, s.v. ‘Vossius, Gerhard Johannes’.

Vossius, Isaac (1618–1689): Dutch scholar, son of Gerardus Vossius (see the previous entry). He wrote on biblical criticism and chronology, but also on natural science. Bergius is probably referring to his *De septuaginta interpretibus* (1661). He created what was said to be the best private library in the world. Court Librarian of Queen Christina of Sweden in 1648–1654. *BBKL* 13, s.v. ‘Vossius, Isaak’.

Wagenseilius, Johannes Christopher (1633–1705): German polyhistor, jurist and Orientalist (Hebraist). Bergius refers to his *Pera librorum juvenilium*, 1695; the work is said to be the first encyclopedia for children. *Killy Literaturlexikon* 12, 59–64.

Walther, Michael (the Elder) (1593–1662): Professor of theology at Helmstedt and Superintendent-General of East Friesland. He wrote a Bible commentary entitled *Officina Biblica noviter adaperta*, first published in Leipzig in 1636 and reprinted in several editions. *ADB* 41, s.v. ‘Walther, Michael’.

Warmund, Theophilus, see Schleussinger.

Wengerscius, see Regenvolscius.

Widekindi, Johan (1620–1678): Swedish scholar, royal historiographer. His work *Thet svenska i Ryssland tijo åhrs krygzhistorie* was first published in Swedish 1671, although originally written in Latin. A shortened Latin version of the book came out in Stockholm in 1672: *Historia belli Sueco-Moscovitici decennalis [...] totidem libris distincta scriptore Johan Widekindi*. *SBH* 2, s.v. ‘Widekindi, Johannes’. There is a modern Russian translation of the work: Юхан Видекинд, *История десятилетней шведско-московитской войны XVII века*, под ред. В. Л. Янина, А. Л. Хорошкович, Памятники исторической мысли, Москва 2000.

Zonaras, Johannes (fl. until c. 1150): Byzantine theologian and historian, wrote a world history, *Epitome Historiarum* in 18 books, which runs from the creation of the world to 1118. *CODC*, s.v. ‘Zonaras, Johannes’.

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BBKL = Biographisch-Bibliographisches Kirchenlexikon, eds. F.W. Bautz & T. Bautz, 1975– (Artikel/Artikelanfang im Internet-Archive)

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