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MEDVEDEV'S «SOZERTSANIE KRATKOE» OR ELOQUENCE AS THE SOUL OF CIVITAS

«*Quod est Deus in mundo, animus in corpore, hoc eloquentia in vita civili*» (As God in the world, as the soul in the body, so eloquence in civic life): this commitment to discourse as the foundation of civic life was expressed by Nicolas Caussin (Cassuinus), French Jesuit and rhetorician in 1626¹. In far-off Muscovy, sixty years later, a historical treatise appeared which echoes the same sentiments. Sil'vestr Medvedev's «*Sozertsanie kratkoe let 7190, 7191 and 7192 v nikh zhe chto so deiasia vo grazhdanstve*» [A Brief Perusal of the Years 1681/2, 1682/3 and 1683/4 as well as what occurred in the Civitas in these Years²] is an apology for the regency of Sof'ia Alekseevna which centers on the concept of «dialogue» – both as a literary trope and as a social virtue. Tsarevna Sof'ia Alekseevna's sign of legitimacy, according to Medvedev, is her God-given eloquence. This eloquence is further contextualized in a general identification of communication with the ideal of social order and harmony. The presence of Caussin's *Symbolica Aegyptorum* among other post-Reformation works on rhetoric³ in the library which Medvedev

¹ Cassuinus N. *De Eloquentia sacra et humana libri XVI*. Coloniae Agripinae, 1626. P. 3. Nicolas Caussin (1583-1638) was a French Jesuit whose rhetorical works were often used an alternative to those of Suarez in seventeenth-century Poland-Lithuania. Ulcinaite E. *Teoria retoryczna w Polsce i na Litwie*. Wroclaw, 1984. S. 40. See also: Campbell S. F., S.J. *Nicholas Caussin's «Spirituality of Communication»: A Meeting of Divine and Human Speech // Renaissance Quarterly*. 1993, vol. 46. P. 44-70.

² I used the printed edition of «*Sozertsanie kratkoe*» as edited by: Прозоровский А. *Созерцание краткое лет 7190, 7191 и 7192 в них же что содеяся во гражданстве // Чтения в императорском обществе истории и древностей российских при Московском университете*. 1894, т. 4. С. I–LII; 1–198. For background on Medvedev and the «*Sozertsanie*» text see: Волков Я. «Созерцание краткое» как источник по истории общественно-политической мысли // *Общество и государство феодальной России*. М., 1975. С. 198–208; Богданов А. П. *Сильвестр Медведев // Вопросы истории*. 1988, № 2. С. 84–95.

³ Besides Caussin's «*Symbolica Aegyptorum sapienta*» (Paris, 1634) and «*Troegediae*» (Paris, 1619) Medvedev's library contained such representatives of «modern» rhetoric as Erasmus, Soarez, Sa, and Melanchthon. See Alphabetical Catalogue: Hippiusley A., Luk'janova E. *Simeon Polockij's Library. A Catalogue*. Cologne, 2000. Pp. 43–44 and Subject Catalogue, pp. 66–67. Caussin's own definition of the «*Symbolica Aegyptorum*» as a supplement to his major work on rhetoric «*De eloquentia sacra et humana*»

inherited from Simeon Polotsky, suggests a possible source for his equation of eloquence and communication with the transcendental good in general, and with good government in particular.

The connection between rhetorical form and ethical content in the «*Sozertsanie*» delineates one strand of the complex and often contradictory process by which a new Western-based language of civic virtue enters the monarchic culture of Muscovy, on the eve of the era of Petrine reforms. Medvedev's root metaphor-Divine Providence as a sign or hieroglyph embedded in the world, decipherable only to those touched by the Holy Spirit – seems to echo the rhetorical theories of Caussin. While the existence of a general intellectual influence from the Jesuits on Medvedev through his teacher and mentor, Simeon Polotsky has long been recognized in Russian historiography, the actual specifics of this influence are just beginning to be addressed⁴. It is within this historiographical context that I offer the following discussion of Medvedev's «*Sozertsanie kratkoe*».

By using images from the discourse of Jesuit rhetoric and emblemology to relate the unprecedented and thus «inexpressible» regency of Sof'ia Alekseevna⁵ Medvedev was using a «foreign» language to describe his patron, and in this very process demonstrating the strength of *Tsarevna* Sof'ia's monarchic charisma, as one capable of integrating and ultimately containing «foreignness» or «difference»⁶. He was also demonstrating his

(Paris, 1526) makes it possible to classify this book both as an emblemology and as a rhetorical aid, in the spirit of Caussin's own eclecticism. See: Campbell S. F., S.J. *Nicholas Caussin's «Spirituality of Communication»*. P. 48.

⁴ Елеонская А. С. *Русская ораторская проза в литературном процессе XVIII в.* М., 1990. С. 87–89; Okenfuss M. *The Rise and Fall of Latin Humanism in Early-Modern Russia*. Leiden, 1995. P. 45–62. Hippisley A. *The Emblem in the Writings of Simeon Polotskij* // *The Slavic and East European Review*. 1971, vol. 15. P. 167–183; Hippisley A. *A Jesuit Source of Simeon Polotsky's Vertograd mnogotsvetnyii* // *Oxford Slavonic Papers*, N.S. 1994, vol. 27. P. 23–40.

⁵ See: Zelensky E.K. «*Sophia the Wisdom of God*»: *The Function of Religious Imagery during the regency of Sof'ia Alekseevna of Muscovy* // *Women and Sovereignty* / Ed. L.O. Fradenburg. Edinburgh, 1992. P. 150–169; Богданов А. П. *София премудрость Божия и царица Софья Алексеевна: Из истории русской духовной литературы и искусства XVII века* // *Герменевтика русской литературы*. 1994, № 7. С. 399–428; for an opposing view stressing the continuities in Sof'ia Alekseevna's political image see: Thyret I. *Between God and Tsar: Religious Symbolism and the Royal Women of Muscovite Russia*. De Kalb, IL., 2001. Chapt. 5.

⁶ Exceptionalism is always the sign of a monarch. See: Geertz C. *Centers, Kings, and Charisma: Reflections on the Symbolics of Power* // *Rites of Power, Symbolism, Ritual and Politics since the Middle Ages* / Ed. Sean Wilentz. Philadelphia, 1985. P. 13–38; Miller D.M. *Byzantine Sovereignty and Feminine Potencies* // *Women and Sovereignty*. P. 250–263; Zelensky, E. K. *New Maidens Convent: Matrix of Empire* // *Selected Proceedings from the Fifth International Hilandar Conference*. Vol. 1. Beograd – Columbus, 2006. P. 198–210.

commitment to the same principle of eclecticism of sources and authorities, which Caussin justifies in the name of the real purpose, as he understands it, of any form of communication; the articulation of the Truth, of Christ the Word of God as He is hidden in the World... whose reflection may be seen in creation by way of signs, symbols and images⁷. Caussin justified this approach by invoking, among others, the authority of Clement of Alexandria's *Stromatum* Book V⁸. Two books by Clement, no longer extant but listed in the 1853 Zabelin inventory publication of the Polotsky library⁹, offer further evidence for the existence of a potential source for this valorization of dialogue, the «spirituality of communication», to use S.F.Campbell's felicitous term, within the intellectual world of Medvedev.

In their stress on the importance of «dialogue» both Caussin and Medvedev were reflecting a major theme of Reformation Europe's Christian anthropology as a whole – the shift of attention to a dialogic relationship between man and God. This literal stress on the word as the means by which to experience the Word-Logos, or Divine Wisdom of God, newly arose out of Protestant insights concerning the essential subjectivity of man's relationship to God. Luther's assertion that the interior Word is enveloped in sounds, expressed through letters, made flesh through rhetoric and tropes¹⁰, foregrounds the essentially dialogic aspect of his theology. The importance of the subjective and emotional is also stressed by Melanchthon: »...the schools are deceived when they say that the will is naturally opposed to the emotions or able to engender an emotion whenever the intellect advises or approves it»¹¹.

The resulting transformation of the rhetoric of religious language for both Protestant and Catholic and, eventually, for the Orthodox¹² marks

⁷ «Nie można przeciwstawiać «nowych» i «starych» autorów, tylko z każdego trzeba wydobyć to, co w nim jest najlepsze». Ulcinaite E. *Teoria retoryczna*. S. 41. Cf. Cassuinus N. *De Eloquentia*. P. 129.

⁸ Cassuinus N. *Symbolica Aegyptiorum*. P. 1.

⁹ Забелин Е. *Книги переписные книгам, которые по указу святейшего Патриарха в нынешнем во 198 году сентябре в день переписаны...* // *Временник императорского Московского общества истории и древностей российских*. 1853, т. 16. Смес. С. 53–67; Его же. *Две книги Климента Александрийского*. С. 33. Cf. Hippisley A., Lukjanova E. *Simeon Polockij's Library*. P. 195.

¹⁰ See «In Natali Christi» 1515 sermon, in Luther, M. *Werke*. Vol. I, (Weimar, 1883). Cf. Ginzburg C. *History, Rhetoric and Proof*. Hanover, 1999. P. 14.

¹¹ *Melanchthon and Bucer* / Ed. by W. Pauk. Philadelphia, 1969. P. 29 (The Library of Christian Classics; 19).

¹² The interest in homiletics and catechism in the Orthodox lands of the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth and eventually in Muscovy provides what may be the most obvious evidence of this new importance of dialogue. See i. a.: *The Rise of the Sermon* // Bushkovich P. *Religion and Society in Russia. The Sixteenth and Seventeenth centuries*. New York, 1992. P. 150–175; Корзо М.А. *Украинская и белорусская катехитическая традиция конца XVI–XVIII вв.: становление, эволюция и проблема*

the beginning of the modern Christian era. By stressing the communication between God and man and man and man as an essential aspect of Christ Logos, a subjective- therefore ethical – dimension came to be recognized as an essential component of religious rhetoric. At the heart of this new attitude is the notion that spiritual life is affective, not simply intellectual and therefore passionate eloquence can convert the soul and transform its listener into a «new creature»¹³.

Among the most powerful Western innovators in this new rhetoric of spiritual subjectivity were Ignatius Loyola and his followers – the militant opponents of Protestantism. It has long been recognized that a dialogic structure lies at the heart of Loyola's understanding of the Christian's relationship with God, as expressed both by his «*Autobiography*»¹⁴ and by the central institution of Jesuit spirituality, the Spiritual Exercises. The compelling emotional power of these guided meditations stems from their effectiveness in recreating an individual's perception of a dialogue with God: Ignatius Loyola himself was most insistent upon this point in his instructions: »During the Spiritual Exercises when a person is seeking God's will it is more appropriate and better that the Creator and Lord Himself should communicate Himself to the devout soul... accordingly, the one giving the Exercises ought not to lean or incline in any direction... but rather to allow the Creator to deal immediately with the creature and the creature with its Creator and Lord»¹⁵.

The Ignatian emphasis on the individual's conscious understanding and exploration of emotion and the centrality of imagination for the *Spiritual Exercises* contributed to the acceptance of a more graphic and emotionally compelling style of artistic expression for Counterreformation Europe – so much so that until fairly recently the term «Jesuit Style» was used interchangeably with the term «Baroque»¹⁶. The Jesuits carried out an aggressive image creating program: whether in books

заимствований. М., 2007; Довга Л. «Соціальні» аспекти в антропології Інокетія Гізеля // Київська Академія. К., 2007. Вип. 4. С. 58–69.

¹³ Campbell S. F., S.J. *Nicholas Caussin's «Spirituality of Communication»*. P. 60.

¹⁴ Loyola constantly refers to his life as a process of education in learning to decipher the language of God as schoolmaster, teaching the lessons of Providence: «God treated him at this time just as a schoolmaster treats a child whom he is teaching» (*The Autobiography of St. Ignatius Loyola with Related Documents* / Trans. J.F. O'Callaghan, Intro. J.C.Olin. New York, 1992. P. 37; Gray H., S.J. *The Experience of Ignatius Loyola: Background to Jesuit Education* // *The Jesuit Ratio Studiorum: 400 Anniversary Perspectives* / Ed. by V. J. Duminuco, S.J. New York, 2000. P. 3–5).

¹⁵ *The Spiritual Exercises of Saint Ignatius Loyola* / Trans. and commentary Pierre Wolff. Liguori, 1997. P. 25–26. A classic treatment of Ignatian spirituality is found in: Rahner H., S.J. *Ignatius the Theologian* / Trans. Michael Barry. New York, 1968. P. 1–31.

¹⁶ Levy E. *Propaganda and the Jesuit Baroque*. Berkeley, 2004. P. 16.

of emblems, sermons or the class room a veritable «colonization» of the imagination was attempted by Loyola and his followers¹⁷. Images however were the means, the dialogic format was the end, for this lay at the heart of Ignatian spirituality, the mystical dialogue with God in this world and through this world.

Thus speech, capable of affecting the heart, rather than the mind alone, shifts the focus of discourse from the imitation of moral character to that of passionate response, i.e. a dialogue. Speech must always be in dialogue with the heart; and the grace-filled heart is in continual dialogue with the Word. The key to this dialogue—the semiotic marker—was the recognition of Divine Providence and its workings in this world. Communication— as a never-ending process and a moral imperative—provided the means for this recognition¹⁸. In the *Constitutions* Loyola himself points out this shift in preaching emphasis: «Members of the Society will exercise themselves in preaching and delivering sacred lectures in a manner suitable for the edification of the people, which is different from the scholastic manner»¹⁹. Clarity and intelligibility are central to this endeavor — thus the need for an education in the humanities, centering on rhetoric²⁰.

The «*Sozertsanie*» is a brief historical summary of the last year of Tsar Fedor Aleksevich's reign, 1682, and the following three years of Sof'ia Alekseevna's regency. It was written as an apology for this regency, at the height of *Tsarevna* Sof'ia's campaign to be crowned independently of her brothers and in her own right. As one of the few first-hand accounts which provide an alternative to the triumphalist vision of the official historiography of Peter I it has long been the subject of historical scrutiny²¹. Silvestr Medvedev, its author, was the favorite pupil and

¹⁷ Therien G. *Memoria as the Place of Fabrication of the New World // De-Centring the Renaissance: Canada and Europe in Multidisciplinary Perspective 1500–1700* / Eds. G. Warkentin and C. Podruchny. Toronto, 2001. P. 73–75. «Thirty-four percent of all emblem books published in the seventeenth century were composed by Jesuits» (Dimler G., S. J. *Studies in the Jesuit Emblem*. New York, 2007. P. 47).

¹⁸ Campbell S. F., S.J. *Nicholas Caussin's «Spirituality of Communication»*. P. 61.

¹⁹ See Article 402: Ignatius of Loyola. *The Constitutions of the Society of Jesus* / Trans. G.E. Gasse, S.J. St. Louis, 1970. P. 201.

²⁰ In a letter dated May 21, 1547 Juan de Polanc wrote in the name of Ignatius that, «...others no doubt, communicate their knowledge, but not with the same authority and profit which would result if they possessed the faculty of making themselves understood and could thus make their ideas clear and intelligible to their audience as they are in their own minds» (*Monumenta Ignatiana: S. Ignatii de Loyola Epistolae et Instructiones*. Ser. 1. Madrid, 1903. Vol. 1. P. 522; see Dimler G., S. J. *Studies*. Chapter 1: *Humanism and the Rise of the Jesuit Emblem*).

²¹ See: Прозоровский А. *Созерцание краткое*. Предисловие; Лавров А. С. *Регентство царевны Софьи Алексеевны. Служилое общество и борьба за власть в верхах Русского государства в 1682–1689 гг.* М., 1999. С. 15–78; Богданов А. П.

heir of Simeon Polotsky, a major figure of the Muscovite Baroque²². Medvedev succeeded his mentor, upon the latter's death in 1680, as abbot of the Zaikonospasskii monastery in Moscow and director of the monastery school, which he hoped would eventually gain recognition from the tsar as the Slavic-Graeco-Latin Academy²³. The death of Tsar Fedor Alekseevich, another one of Polotsky's pupils, in 1682 put a brake on Medvedev's plans. The tumultuous series of palace coups accompanied by the mutiny of the *streltsy* or palace guards followed as the Miloslavsky and Naryshkin court factions struggled to gain power. The final result was the unprecedented inauguration of a dual monarchy — Ivan Alekseevich and Peter Alekseevich were to rule jointly and their sister (half-sister in the case of Peter) *Tsarevna* Sof'ia Alekseevna would be *de facto* regent.

As a single woman wielding the highest power in patriarchal Muscovy Sof'ia Alekseevna was an unprecedented phenomenon, and could neither be represented nor acknowledged within the traditional discourse of Muscovite monarchic imagery — which was centered on the analogy of Christ-in-heaven echoed by tsar-on-earth. Thus, one of the regency government's first tasks was to establish a representational paradigm within which her rule could be expressed. A particularly appropriate image was that of Divine Wisdom — an ambiguous concept fraught with discrepancies of gender²⁴ which fluctuates between a male personae — that of Christ as Word of God/ Logos and two female personages, Mary as the carrier of Wisdom, as the House or Seat of Wisdom²⁵ and

К вопросу об авторстве «Созерцания краткого» // Исследование по источникововедению дооктябрьского периода. М., 1987; Huges L. *Sophia Regent of Russia.* New Haven, 1900. P. 61–76.

²² Сазонова Л. И. *Поэзия русского барокко (вторая половина XVII — начало XVIII в.).* М., 1991. С. 88; Робинсон А. Н. *Симеон Полоцкий и русский литературный процесс // Симеон Полоцкий и его книгоиздательская деятельность.* М., 1982; Елеонская А. С. *Русская ораторская проза.* С. 86–148.

²³ Фонкич Б. Л. «Привилегия на Академию» Симеона Полоцкого — Сильвестра Медведева // *Очерки феодальной России.* М., 2000. Вып. 4. С. 237–297; Bushkovich P. *Religion and Society in Russia. The 16th and 17th Centuries.* New-York — Oxford, 1992. P. 163–174.

²⁴ The androgynous aspect of Orthodox Wisdom imagery is discussed in: Meyendorff J. *Wisdom-Sophia: Contrasting Approaches to a Complex Theme* // *Dumbarton Oaks Papers.* 1987, vol. 41. P. 400. For the text in French of the 17th c. Orthodox Sophia service, attributed to Simeon Shakhovskoi, which is centered on the dialectical relationship between Logos as masculine and Theotokos as feminine aspects of Wisdom see: Spassky F. G. *L'Office liturgique slave de la Sagesse de Dieu* // *Irenikon.* 1957, vol. 30. P. 164–188. For a summary in English of Orthodox Wisdom imagery see: Fiene D. *What is the Appearance of the Divine Sophia* // *Slavic Review.* 1989, vol. 48. P. 449–476.

²⁵ The text of the canon sung at matins on Holy Thursday, attributed to Cosmos of Maiuma, uses this premise as its anchoring metaphor, but with an androgynous nuance.

Wisdom as the companion of God described in Proverbs and the apocryphal Wisdom of Solomon. While a direct link between the Wisdom personage and the culture of monarchy within the Judaeo-Christian tradition is expressed through Proverbs 8: 14-17: «Counsel is mine and sound wisdom: I am understanding; I have strength. By me kings reign and princes decree justice»²⁶, it was Wisdom as Logos- I Corinthians 1:24: «But unto them which are called, both Jew and Gentiles, Christ the Power of God and the Wisdom of God» – which impressed itself equally deeply upon Orthodox consciousness, through Emperor Justinian's great church, the Hagia Sophia, built in 564 CE in Constantinople²⁷. During Sof'ia Alekseevna's regency, thanks to the fortuitous homonymic similarity of her name with this concept, and her «wise maiden»²⁸ persona numerous panegyrics, sermons, histories and engravings²⁹ appeared which stressed the connection between monarchic legitimacy and the possession of Divine Wisdom.

In a work preceding his «*Sozertsanie*», in 1685, Medvedev made full use of this imagery when he focused his hopes for a Graeco-Latin-Slavic Academy on the regent. His panegyric poem, entitled «The Presentation to ... the Divinely Wise Tsarevna... Sof'ia Alekseevna of the Charter to the Academy» (Charter)³⁰ is based on the same metaphoric plane, grounded in Jesuit imagery³¹ and organized around the equation of true wisdom» with «providence» which later reappears in «*Sozerstanie kratkoe*»:

«The inscrutable Wisdom of God / Built her house out of a pure and ever-Virgin-Mother / For Christ our Lord having assumed a fleshly temple, was glorified». See: Meyendorff J. *Wisdom-Sophia*. P. 393. For Western Mariological Wisdom see: Bouyer L. *The Seat of Wisdom: An Essay on the Place of the Virgin Mary in Christian Theology* / Trans. A.V. Littledale. New York, 1962.

²⁶ All Biblical citations are taken from the King James Bible.

²⁷ See: Флоровский Г. *О почитании Софии, Премудрости Божией, в Византии и на Руси // Труды V съезда русских академических организаций за границей*. Ч. 1. София, 1932. С. 485–500.

²⁸ Delaney J.D. *Feminine Images in Old Russian Literature and Art* // California Slavic Studies. 1980, vol. 11. P. 33-70.

²⁹ See: Zelensky E. Diss. Chapt. 4; Thyret I. *Between God and Tsar*. Chapt. 5; Богданов А.П. *Политическая гравюра в России периода регентства Софьи Алексеевны // Источниковедение отечественной истории*. 1981. М., 1982. С. 225–246.

³⁰ The Charter was presented to the regent on January 21, 1685, see: Фонкич Б. Л., «Привилегия на Академию». С. 279–285.

³¹ See Hippisley commentary on «Dukh svetoi deet» and «Dukha sviatago blagodati znamenie» in: Simeon Polockij. *Vertograd mnogocvetnyj* /Ed. A.Hippisley, L.I Sazonova. Köln – Weimar – Wien, 1996. Vol. 1. P. 353. A comparison of Medvedev's «Vruchennia privilegii» and these two verses of Polotsky demonstrates their common origins in the Jesuit Faber's sermons.

No siis v tebe sut' vsia zakluchenna, iako v kovcheze liudem predlozhenna/
Iako v zertsale solntse obrazitsia, tako v dushe ti Dukh Sviat nami zritsia/
Emu zhe gode v dushe tvoiei byti/Khram esi Bogu, izhe zhivia v tebe,
blagostroit tia vernu rabu sebe...Po imeni ty zhizn'tvoiu vedeshi, divnaia
rcheshi, mudraia deeshi/Slichno Sofii vynu mudroi zhiti, da veshch s
imenem tochno mozhet byti

[For all of these are found in you, as in an ark they appear before the
people/As in a mirror the sun shines forth, so in your soul we see the
Holy Spirit/And it is worthy that he should be in your soul, Enthroned as
on a heavenly throne/It is a temple of God, Who dwells within you/Who
makes you, the Lord's humble handmaiden, Worthy of yourself....
According to your name you live your life, you speak wonderously, you
act wisely/Together with Sophia the Wise you live, proving that «res»
and «verbum» can perfectly coexist].

The passive Marian imagery which predominates at the beginning of the verse «ark-mirror-handmaiden» gradually transforms into images which define Sofia as an active participant of Wisdom, in fact as «Wisdom's hieroglyph or ideogram in the «res-verbum» reference. The difference between the sign and the object or the «signifier» (*verbum*) and the signified (*res*) was a fundamental category of opposition in classical rhetoric, central to its systems of artificial memory³². The interest in emblems and hieroglyphics which was so characteristic of the seventeenth century signaled a rejection of this distinction. The craze for ancient Egyptian hieroglyphs which swept through late Renaissance and Reformation Europe was based on the belief that hieroglyphics were the original, natural universal language in which the word participates in the thing it signifies; thus a collapse of the original dichotomy into something new, strange, and ultimately, capable of affecting the soul directly, outside the limitations of reason³³. Medvedev reiterates this concept at the very end of the poem where he asks God to create out of the tsarevna a «Znamenie vo blage» [sign for the good]. Medvedev's familiarity with Western emblemology may be assumed through the presence of several other emblem books besides Caussin's in the catalogue of Polotsky's library³⁴.

³² See: Yates F. *The Art of Memory*. Chicago, 1966. P. 8–9; «the opposition between res and verbum is commonplace... in the rhetonic of Cicero and Quintilian» (Todorov T. *Theories of the Symbol* / Tr. C. Porter. Ithaca, 1977. P. 37–38).

³³ Gombrich E.H. *Icones Symbolica: The Visual Image in Neo-Platonic Thought* // Journal of the Warburg & Courtauld Institutes. 1948, vol. XI. P. 163–92; Russel D. *Emblems and Hieroglyphs: Some Observations on the beginnings and Nature of Emblematic Forms* // *Emblematica*. 1999, vol. 1. P. 227–243.

³⁴ Alciato A. *Emblemata*. Padua, 1621; Camerarius J. *Symbolum et emblematum*. Frankfurt, 1654; Neugebauer S. *Selectorum symbolorum heroicorum centuria*. Francofurti, 1619; Hippius A., Luk'janova E. *Simeon Polockij's Library*. P. 190.

From the end of 1687 to the beginning of 1689 Silvestr Medvedev wrote «*Sozertsanie kratkoe*»³⁵. By this time the regent's position was clearly deteriorating. The Eternal Peace with Poland, signed in 1686 brought with it the obligations to participate in the Anti-Ottoman League or Holy Alliance, formed by Poland, Austria and Venice. The disastrous First Crimean Campaign followed in 1687. At home Peter Alekseevich was already going on sixteen and time was clearly running out for the regent. The desperation of her followers may be gauged by their ill-conceived and ultimately disastrous attempt to gain support of the Patriarch of Constantinople for Sof'ia to be crowned in her own right³⁶. Consequently, it seems evident that Medvedev's primary purpose in composing his history was to buttress Sof'ia Alekseevna's claim to legitimacy. The fact that Fedor Shakhlovitii, head of the *Strelets* Chancellery and main defendant in the treason trial which followed Sof'ia Alekseevna's fall was accused, among other crimes against the monarchy, of aiding Medvedev in the writing of his history by providing him with copies of documents³⁷ further supports this claim. Thus, in «*Sozertsanie Kratkoe*» we see the culmination of Medvedev's attempts to justify Sof'ia Alekseevna's rule.

The Prologue of «*Sozertsanie kratkoe*» can be divided thematically into three unequal parts. The first part is an explanation by Medvedev himself of his motifs and methods in writing this work. Signs or «portents [*znameniia*] are fundamental categories of reality for our author, links between the «higher» and «lower» spheres, physical manifestations of divine will, signs of communication with God whose correct interpretation or reading is a moral imperative. As a literary narrative the «*Sozertsanie kratkoe*» uses «portents», in the main text as well as the Prologue as emphasizing devices which serve to delineate certain incidents or scenes in the text from the general flow of events. The second, and much the longest section of the Prologue, is a re-telling of the Old Testament, with an emphasis on the role of kings in the history of Israel³⁸, and the ever-present admonition, illustrated by examples, that to ignore God's will by not paying attention to signs or portents of Divine Providence is to court disaster. Finally, in summation, Medvedev con-

³⁵ Богданов А. П. *Сильвестр Медведев*. С. 89.

³⁶ Каптерев Н. Ф. *Приезд в Москву Павловского Афонского монастыря архимандрита Исаяи в 1688 году с грамотами от преждебывшего Константинопольского патриарха Дионисия, сербского патриарха Арсения и валахского господаря Шербана с просьбою, чтобы государи освободили их от турецкого ига* // Прибавления к творениям святых отцов в русском переводе. М., 1889. Ч. 44. С. 302–320; *Розыскные дела о Федоре Шакловитом и его сообщниках*. Т. I. СПб., 1884. Стб. 1090.

³⁷ *Розыскные дела*. Стб. 617, 637, 677.

³⁸ Прозоровский А. *Созерцание краткое*. С. 7–14.

nects the general lessons to be learned from the perusal of the universally applicable, transcendental history of Israel with the specific case of Muscovy in the 1680's. He does this through linking one of the main themes of his actual history of Muscovy – the abolition of *mestnichestvo* (the order of precedence)³⁹ with one of the basic ideas of the Prologue – that the great people of this world can be praised for their good deeds, and censured for their bad deeds, through the writing of history, which is presented as a divine instrument for restoring the equilibrium of justice in this world. The subtly anti-hierarchic nature of this notion is underscored in the following statement, «And who is worthy, in this life, through his reason and his good character, then suffer him to enjoy a rank and position commensurate with his worthiness»⁴⁰. Thus, the idea that there exists a transcendental standard of Wisdom by whose measure the great of this world may be judged is central to Medvedev's conceit.

At the beginning of the Prologue Medvedev explains that he feels compelled to write his history because humankind, as a result of the Fall, has become both fallible and forgetful⁴¹. Adam had wisdom, because he was created through Wisdom, illuminated by the Holy Spirit, knew God's desires, and acted accordingly. The channels of communication with the divine were open; Adam was in a dialogic relationship with God. Consequently, Adam had no need of exemplars, including writing, to either help him think more clearly or prompt his memory⁴². After the Fall, however, divine signs became necessary for salvation: «the all merciful Lord saw that human nature had become forgetful, through breaking the commandment, and did not remember His all-glorious works, and in a short time turned away from Him»⁴³. In order to rectify this situation God created signs or portents, which would help man remember by affecting his sense of sight, the highest sense and thus the closest to celestial reality. Ancient wise men marked trees, stones, mountains, lakes, rivers and wells with signs, in order that the good and bad deeds done in their vicinity would not be forgotten⁴⁴. The Jews keep Passover as a mnemonic device; the Ten Commandments also are

³⁹ Там же. С. 18–32.

⁴⁰ Там же. С. 16.

⁴¹ Memory, while a part of rhetoric was also a subset of the virtue Prudence, and thus had an ethical dimension, according to Cicero: «Prudence is knowledge of what is good, what is bad and what is indifferent. Its parts are memory, intelligence, foresight» (*De inventione*. Lib. II. P. liii / Trans. H. M. Hubbell. Cf. Yates F. *The Art of Memory*. P. 20). Medvedev owned several copies of Cicero's *Rhetoric and Letters* (Hippisley A., Luk'janova E. *Simeon Polockij's Library*. P. 45–46).

⁴² Прозоровский А. *Созерцание краткое*. С. 4.

⁴³ Там же. С. 7.

⁴⁴ Там же. С. 4.

memory aids; Moses recorded how all of creation, both visible and invisible, was created through Divine Wisdom and thus itself became a portent or *znamenie*⁴⁵. History, for Medvedev, has a moral value precisely because it is a record of God's signs on earth, of the workings of Providence». God-knowing all – past, present and future – was merciful enough to create eternal signs for mankind, for remembrance, so that each man will see for what he was created. Therefore, how much more fitting is it for us, in our time, not to allow any deed to vanish into oblivion»⁴⁶.

Medvedev's explanation of the beginnings of written language, as well as his mention of Pharaoh and Moses, hints at the notion of the Egyptian motifs present in the Renaissance theme of *prisca philosophia*⁴⁷ which lay at the basis of Caussin's interest in Egyptian hieroglyphics, not as a novelty but as a continuation of ancient wisdom stretching from Moses to Clement of Alexandria and St. Augustine»⁴⁸. A panegyric addressed to Peter Mohyla in connection with the founding of the Kievan academy which compares the art of speech with the flow of the Nile, without which nothing can grow but which also is able to destroy all life by the force of the flood»⁴⁹ provide another instance of the fact that Egyptian motifs were gradually seeping into the consciousness of the learned Orthodox milieu of Poland – Lithuania in the seventeenth century.

Medvedev's actual history of Moscow in the years 1681/82, 1682/83 and 1683/84⁵⁰ further amplifies and delineates the Renaissance theme of Providence or Divine Wisdom⁵¹ as the ultimate foundation for any stable civic order and of communication or the Word as the spiritual glue, which along with love, binds people together in that civic order. A total of fifteen pages out of the twenty-two pages devoted to Fedor Alekseevich at the beginning of Medvedev's history have to do with *mestnichestvo* (the order of precedence system). While the argument

⁴⁵ Прозоровский А. *Созерцание краткое*. С. 7.

⁴⁶ Там же. С. 5.

⁴⁷ This is the belief that Divine Providence enlightened ancient pagan philosophers and religious figures, such as Zoroaster, Hermes Trismegistus, Pythagoras, Plato, Plotinus whose ideas prepared the way for the Gospels, see: Hankins J. *Plato in the Italian Renaissance*. Leiden, 1990. Vol. 2. P. 460–464.

⁴⁸ «Non esse novum hoc scribendi genus, sed gravissimis autem usurpatum». Cassuini N. *Symbolica Aegyptiorum sapientia*. P. 4–5.

⁴⁹ *Евхаристеріон або вдячність*. Київ, 1632. Cf: Bruening A. *On Jesuit Schools, Scholasticism and the Kievan Academy* // Київська Академія. К., 2007. Вип. 4. С. 17.

⁵⁰ Прозоровский А. *Созерцание краткое*. С. 17–197.

⁵¹ See: Rice E. *Tradition and Innovation in the Renaissance Idea of Wisdom* // *The Renaissance Idea of Wisdom*. Cambridge, 1958. P. 208–216.

against precedence as an inefficient way to run a government and army is made in several places⁵², Medvedev's main focus is the notion that *mestnichestvo* is inimical to love of one's fellow man – Christ's main commandment. Fedor Alekseevich in his speech to the boyars and clergy thus clearly identifies himself with Christ, but Christ in His Sophic aspect:

For He is the source of all truth, of veritable love, peace and right order. Through Him rulers rule (Proverbs and Wisdom of Solomon) and the mighty hold the earth, and it is from His generosity that my own serenity has accepted the scepter and orb. And I always carry His image in my mind and remember His words, «I have come down from the heavens not to do my will, but to do the will of my Father who sent me. ... So, how much more so must we, who were born on this earth only by His good grace, obey His will rather than our own, and wearing the royal ensignia, speak for all those entrusted to our care before His throne... and since it is repugnant (*mersko*, sic.) and hateful to the all-seeing Eye of God's Providence, with my all-powerful word I shall destroy this love-destroying *mestnichestvo*' this evil thing, which divided hearts one from another, and so that all may unite in peaceful and blessed love⁵³.

Again, the monarch's «word», his ability to engage in discourse, destroys the *mestnichestvo* system, which implicitly destroys, in its turn, dialogue through destroying love.

Patriarch Joachim's answer underscores this point:

«Well we know that this enterprise, oh great sovereign, comes from above, from God's Providence, and it is a great and praise-worthy enterprise which you have deemed fit to begin, from which love will multiply among people, ... as Christ Himself said, «A new commandment I give you, love one another as I have loved you» And His chosen companion, John the Theologian said. «God is love and who dwells in Love dwells in God, and God dwells within him»⁵⁴.

Medvedev constantly connects Sof'ia Alekseevna with her brother, Fedor, who, in his turn, has as his most telling characteristic, the destruction of *mestnichestvo*. Thus, the notion is advanced that wisdom and virtue, not precedence of birth or sex, are the true signs of God's chosen rulers, that Muscovy must learn to recognize these signs or suffer the disaster of *smuta*, and finally, that after the death of Fedor Alekseevich the person most clearly marked by her God-given ability to decipher and communicate God's will is *Tsarevna* Sof'ia. She alone has been chosen by the Word to restore communication and order to Muscovy, whose body politic has disintegrated into mutually unintelligible factions.

⁵² Прозоровский А. *Созерцание краткое*. С. 25.

⁵³ Там же. С. 24–25.

⁵⁴ Там же. С. 26.

Medvedev foregrounds the events of the *streltsy* mutinies and the public disputation with the Old Believers in his history as signs of breakdown in communication. These situations delineate and foreground Sof'ia Alekseevna's God-given rhetorical abilities to decipher words, convey meanings, and create order from chaos and meaninglessness. Here are some of Medvedev's descriptions, from several different passages, of the breakdown of the body politic:

Oh, how can I bear to go back through the images in my memory, to that dreadful day, full of fear and horrific deeds?...and Red Square was full of cut-up bodies, which lay there for many days, for no one, not even relatives dared to take the bodies of their kin for burial...and the rebellious servitors, having gained courage from spilling blood, became so fierce, they would not allow anyone to talk to them, and they walked about drunk on the streets, without fear, shouting all sort of stupidities...and how lies (prelest') and temptations were poured, like poison among the people... and it was truly impossible not to cry, for anyone capable of thought, seeing the confusion of the servitors, who were now like unto orphans... and members of the same commonwealth, adherents of the same Orthodox faith, were running in fear from one another; servitors fearing the bondsmen of the boyars, the boyars and their men in turn fearing the servitors, the city people of various ranks in fear of everyone, and all living in anticipation of misfortune and death...⁵⁵

The body politic of Muscovy is deteriorating in front of the reader's eyes; alienation, anomie, and lack of communication spread like poison among its members, poison-which according to Renaissance medical theory worked by disturbing the balance of the humours, mixing them together and thus, through disorder, letting in decay and death.

It is at this place in the narrative that Sof'ia Alekseevna appears as a sign or marker of God's Providence:

The most wise God, however, in His immeasurable goodness, never leaves mankind outside His Providence; neither kingdoms, nor a handful of dust... as in ancient times, through His miraculous powers, in Israel the prophetess Deborah judged the people of Israel, and the righteous Judith saved them from foreign tribes, and wise Esther saved them from the Medes, and in Constantinople, during the reign of Theodosius, who was a youth, his full sister Pulcheria, the philosopher-maiden, not only helped her brother in government matters, but also aided the whole Orthodox world... so it was in our time that the sister of His Majesty Tsar Peter Alekseevich, due to his tender age, the noble and most-wise, merciful and great sovereign lady...Sof'ia Alekseevna appeared... Sof'ia Alekseevna was filled by the grace of the Holy Spirit and thus became the means of governance... And then the great sovereign lady, through her prudent and wise words, given to her by God, convinced the servitors to bury the cut-

⁵⁵ Прозоровский А. *Созерцание краткое*. С. 51; 54; 57; 111–112.

up bodies, which had been lying on the square for a long time, and which had already begun to rot and stink⁵⁶.

Images of death, decay, drunkenness and disorder are vanquished by this wise maiden, whose gift of communication-of rhetoric — is a sign of God's special favor. Medvedev's invocation of the humanistic *femme forte* motif through the figures of Judith and Esther and Deborah further links Sof'ia Alekseevna with the discourse of early modern European rhetoric.

The public debate with the Old Believers is another crisis during which Sof'ia Alekseevna demonstrates the superiority of her rhetorical skills. First, inspired by the Holy Spirit, she sees through the evil designs of Prince Ivan Khovanskii⁵⁷. Then she confronts the Old Believers themselves: «And the schismatics came into the hall before their majesties and the patriarch with great shamelessness and yelling, as if possessed by demons... not using their reason». Medvedev then goes on to describe the drunken crowds accompanying the leader of the Old Believers Nikita Pustosviat. Tsarevna Sofia addresses herself to the schismatics,

...in a voice heard by all, she asked them why they came... they answered: «To bear witness to our old faith». She in turn asked them: «What is faith? And what is old faith or new faith? And they answered that they did not know anything about that. And their leader, Nikita, could not answer but stood aside silently...then the schismatics, malfeasant idiots, teachers of mad illusions, who had so much to say while they were scurrying back and forth from between town squares and taverns, now they fell silent also⁵⁸.

The source of her skill—the Holy Spirit⁵⁹ is invoked again in a scene in which Sof'ia Alekseevna appears to the representatives of the repentant *streltsy*, who had come to beg forgiveness after the execution of their boyar leader Prince Khovanskii, on September 26, 1682.

And after the bloodless sacrifice of the liturgy, upon leaving the Dormition Cathedral, stepping out unto the southern cathedral porch, the God-loving, heavenly-winged dove, the blessed wise maiden whose reasoning abilities and sharpness of insight were granted to her by God, which makes them even more precious not gilded with wings, but bedecked with the beauties of her virtuous reason more splendidly than with gold and topazes, and enriched with her mind's wings upon which she ascends to God, through her desire to do good for all of mankind, not glittering

⁵⁶ Прозоровский А. *Созерцание краткое*. С. 58–59.

⁵⁷ Там же. С. 79.

⁵⁸ Там же. С. 86–87.

⁵⁹ This seems to be a reference to the first type of rhetoric in Caussins's system as explained in «*Eloquentia divina*». That which cannot be taught in school, but comes directly from God. *Dei praepotentis incituta spiritu*. Cf. Ulcinaite E. *Teoria retoryczna w Polsce i na Litwie*. S. 40.

with gold ornaments, but rather shining brighter than the sun through the maidenly chastity, desire for the right, and charity of her heart, their royal majesties sister, the noble sovereign tsarevna and grand duchess Sof'ia Alekseevna (as the sun conquers night, and as truth and wisdom conquer dark anger) stepped out unto the southern porch...⁶⁰

The vividness of this description, its aggressively graphic quality, bring to mind, once again the discourse of emblemology. Here the image of the celestial dove as Paraclete and the Fiery-Faced-Angel as Wisdom are superimposed one upon the other to create an emotionally compelling vision of the regent, one capable of imprinting itself on the imagination of the reader, and thus of projecting Sof'ia Alekseevna's power.

Medvedev was presenting a new image of the monarchy in Moscow – one anchored to the ideogram of Wisdom, with an emphasis on communication, on possession of the word, which is ultimately found in the Word-Christ as Logos whose design underlies the world order. Sof'ia Alekseevna becomes the model monarch in Medvedev's history; order and enlightenment are her two identifying metaphoric devices. She achieves both by power of the word-through rhetoric. The word is the force which is pitted against forgetfulness, defined as a state of moral turpitude⁶¹.

How did Silvestr Medvedev come to use this specific set of images in his defence of Sof'ia Alekseevna? How did he come to see Sof'ia Alekseevna in this light? The patterns of his imagery offer us a clue as to the «modern» – in the sense of the new rhetoric necessitated by the post-Reformation realities of written and spoken culture – origins of his imagery. The central metaphors of Medvedev's text – that rhetoric is associated with salvation, that the constant presence of God as Providence is witnessed by signs and portents which must be decoded, that this ability to decode Providence begins with self-knowledge, that one may learn and teach from experience, thus the importance of education in general and history in particular⁶², and finally, the centrality of both heart/emotions and mind/reason to this enterprise – is a reiteration of the basic Jesuit approach to the rhetoric of spirituality – the spirituality of discourse of the Word in the world.

The link between emotion and imagination is key to post-Reformation rhetoric – from being a lower faculty in Aristotle and Aquinas imagination becomes the central nexus through which the human can be taught or cajoled to recognize the divine, it becomes the means

⁶⁰ Прозоровский А. *Созерцание краткое*. С. 126.

⁶¹ Reference Footnote 42 above.

⁶² See: Nelles P. «*Historia magistra antiquitatis*»: *Cicero and Jesuit History Teaching* // *Renaissance Studies*. 1999, vol. 13. P. 130–169.

through which creature may apprehend Creator in a mystical dialogue or discourse⁶³. And it was Medvedev's imagination – possibly galvanized by Jesuit theories of rhetoric⁶⁴, – which made it possible for him to recognize in the unprecedented phenomenon of Sof'ia Alekseevna – the sign of God's Providence.

The vivid and startling metaphors which Medvedev used to express this realization – so unusual within the genre of Muscovite historical literature – crafted to affect not only the reason, but the hearts of his readers- gives the *Sozertsanie kratkoe* its unique style. The sources of this style are clear: Besides his Jesuit-educated mentor Polotsky, it was his mentor's library which opened up this new form of language for Medvedev. The library, which was confiscated during the course of the Shakhlovitii trial in 1689⁶⁵ consisted of 603 titles and editions, representing 391 authors. Among these were such mainstays of Jesuit education as the «*Grammatica*» of Emanuel Alvarez, the standard Latin grammar for Jesuit schools, recommended in the «*Ratio Studiorum*»⁶⁶, Jacobus Pontanus «*Annotated Ovid*»⁶⁷; Emmanuel Su⁶⁸; Robert Bellarmine⁶⁹; Alphonsus Salmeron⁷⁰; Cypriano Soares⁷¹; Francisco Suarez⁷². Medvedev also had a copy of the «*Spiritual Exercises*» of Ignatius Loyola, and the Jesuit Constitution⁷³, as well as Aquinas, Thomas

⁶³ «All the sacred rhetorics drop the association of pathos and deception and link passionate oratory with salvation. Christian oratory redeems its hearers by moving the emotions», see: Campbell S. F., S.J. *Nicholas Caussin's «Spirituality of Communication»*. P. 62.

⁶⁴ The following scholarship informed my interpretation of Jesuit Baroque rhetoric for this paper: Levy E. *Propaganda and the Jesuit Baroque*. Berkley, 2004; *The Jesuit Ratio Studiorum: 400 Anniversary Perspectives* / Ed. Vincent J. Duminico, S.J. New York, 2000; *Ratio Studiorum: Jesuit Education, 1540–1773* / Eds. John Atteberry and John Russell. Chestnut Hill, 1999; Чернышёва Л.А. *Схоластический аристотелизм периода Контрреформации в Белоруссии и Литве*. Дисс. ... канд. филос. наук. Минск, 1982; Dimler G., S.J. *Studies*. Chapter 2: *Imitatio, Innovatio and Jesuit Emblem Theory*.

⁶⁵ The original inventory of Medvedev's and Polotsky's books is in: Российский государственный архив древних актов. Ф. 396, оп 2, д. 1174. This was first published by I.E. Zabelin in 1853, but in a truncated and cursory version. See: Забелин Е. *Книги переписные книгам*. С. 53–67. All inventory citations in this paper, unless otherwise noted, are from the work: Hippisley A., Lukjanova E. *Simeon Polockij's Library*.

⁶⁶ Ibid. P. 20.

⁶⁷ Ibid. P. 116.

⁶⁸ Ibid. P. 126.

⁶⁹ Ibid. P. 120.

⁷⁰ Ibid. P. 127.

⁷¹ Ibid. P. 134.

⁷² Ibid. P. 136.

⁷³ Ibid. P. 80.

a Kempis, and Augustine, all of the latter were crucial to the development of Ignatius Loyola's religious outlook.

In conclusion, while there can be no doubt concerning the personal strength of character and intelligence which helped Sof'ia Alekseevna to break through the convention of enforced invisibility which circumscribed the public lives of early Romanov princess' and to become a presence both in the halls of government and in the imagination of her subjects, the fate of her public image can only be understood at a more complex level within the context of a broader process, that of the westward shifting of cultural boundaries for Muscovy after the signing of the Treaty of Pereiaslavl' in 1654. It was the resulting flood of Slavic-speaking, Jesuit-educated churchmen and scholars, conversant in the literary tradition of Baroque panegyric and civic history, which provided the regent with a non-traditional literary vehicle through which her unprecedented political personae could be expressed⁷⁴.

By looking at Medvedev's composition from the perspective of Jesuit rhetoric in general and Caussin's in particular, one may stand the heretofore historiographical consensus on this subject⁷⁵ on its head; that it was not simply the unprecedented nature of Sof'ia Alekseevna's reign which necessitated the unusual format of Medvedev's «*Sozertsanie Kratkoe*» – as a single woman wielding the highest power in patriarchal Muscovy she was an anomaly, thus Medvedev's innovations- but that it was Medvedev's new way of perceiving *Tsarevna* Sof'ia which shaped the style of his narrative.

If Medvedev believed that «the world is God's image and symbol»⁷⁶, then Sof'ia Alekseevna would indeed be a miracle- literally a «sign» from God. I believe that Medvedev recognized *Tsarevna* Sof'ia as a carrier of God's Providence, as both the sign and the means for Muscovy's transfiguration. He celebrated her individuality, her uniqueness, her reason. What made it possible for this monk to appreciate such unusual virtues in a female ruler? It was Medvedev's education, in the rhetorical tradition of the Jesuits both with Polotsky and through the

⁷⁴ While I agree with R. Whortman when he refers to «a second symbolic system entering the lexicon of Muscovy through churchmen and writer's formerly of Poland-Lithuania», this system's roots are far from secular, as I have attempted to demonstrate above. Whortman R. *Scenarios of Power: Myth and Ceremony in the Russian Monarchy*. Princeton, 1995. P. 39–41.

⁷⁵ Reference Footnote 5 above.

⁷⁶ «Mundus Dei Imago et Symbolum». Cassuin N. *Symbolica Aegyptiorum*. P. 7. Compare this with F. Menestrier, who, in his «*L'Art des Emblems*» (1662) cites Paul's Epistle to Romans I:20 as the source of all emblem theory: «Invisible things are perceived by the creature through creation». The world is God's emblem by which we are taught God's action in creation, states Caussin's fellow – Jesuit and rhetorician as cited by Dimler G., S.J. *Studies*. P. 22.

books which he inherited from Polotsky. This made it possible for him to «see» the regent from a different perspective.

Sof'ia was a character in search of an author, a *femme forte* in the tradition of Deborah, Semiramis, Elizabeth of England and Pulcheria, to list some of the analogies made by Medvedev in other writings⁷⁷. In conclusion, I should like to cite Carlo Ginzburg: «Against the rudimentary notion that narrative models intervene in historiographical labors only at the end, to help organize the collected material, I attempt to demonstrate that they play a role at every stage of the research, creating both roadblocks and possibilities»⁷⁸. It was the Jesuit rhetorical discourse which made it possible to express *Tsarevna Sof'ia*, however briefly, before her time. By the eighteenth century female rulers in Russia, far from being an anomaly had become the norm, but that's another story altogether.

⁷⁷ The latter three female rulers are mentioned in the verses inscribed on the infamous Bloteling portrait of Sof'ia Alekseevna which played such a prominent role in the treason trial of Fedor Shakhlovityii and his associates. Ровинский Д. Подробный словарь граверов XVI — XXIX вв. СПб., 1895. Т. 2. Стб. 1941. See: *Розыскные дела о Федоре Шакловитом и его сообщниках*. Т. I. СПб., 1884. Стб. 596—598. For controversy concerning attribution of these verses see: Zelensky E.K. «*Sophia the Wisdom of God*». P. 319.

⁷⁸ Ginzburg C. *History, Rhetoric and Proof*. Hanover, 1999. P. 25.