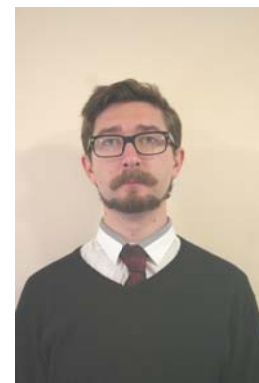


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In the World of Gothic. Books in German of the 16th–18th centuries in the collection of Yaroslavl Museum-Reserve

Abstract. The article analyses the collection of books of the 16th–18th centuries, printed in Gothic script in German, from the collection of Yaroslavl Museum-Reserve: theological works, philological, historical and political contributions as well as practical-books. The Yaroslavl collection is regarded to be a mirror of the evolution of the German books from the Middle Ages towards the early modern period. The library of Yaroslavl Theological Seminary is accentuated, whereby the museum serves as the heritage center at the crossroads of cultures.

Keywords: German books, Gothic type, the Spaso-Preobrazhensky Monastery, Yaroslavl Theological Seminary, Protestantism, Pietism, Orthodoxy, cultural influence, the Baroque

Introduction

In 2015, the Yaroslavl Museum-Reserve celebrated its 150th anniversary, summarizing the enormous work of many generations of research workers. The attention of historians and local history experts was once again focused on the multifaceted collections bearing the imprint of various eras, the skilled labor and spiritual needs of the distant ancestors. A special place among them is occupied by books published in Germany, which has always been regarded in Russia as the country with scholarly standards. Today, they serve to us as ‘windows’ to the world of rich foreign culture. However, the Gothic books are only part of the large ‘German collection’, which includes a variety of subjects (phaleristics, numismatics, fabrics, etc.) from the Late Middle Ages to the present. These subjects reflect the increasingly intensified inter-

cultural contacts between the two nations, which, according to Boris Groys, have always been characterized by "mutual attraction and repulsion".¹ In our opinion, it is promising to consider German books not only from the point of view of their quantitative representation, repertoire, the evolution of the graphic design styles, the history of existence and influence on Russian culture, but also as a 'mirror' reflecting the social and economic transformations in the new time.

Main part

The starting point in the cultural exchange between the peoples of the Russian state and the Germans can be considered since the 15th century, when they begin to use the Gothic architecture to design the building facades and in the art of jewelry design, as well as the coins of Livonian Order as a means of payment. In Novgorod, in the court of Archbishop Gennady, the German printed books through Holy Scripture were used to clarify and correct the Old Church Slavonic translation of the Bible.² The contacts between the people from Yaroslavl and the Germans also established early on, mainly through the trade. It was the time of opening the trade route from Europe via the White Sea, through Vologda and Yaroslavl to Moscow. Many foreigners travelled along this route, and some of them left their notes about Muscovy. The Austrian diplomat Siegmund Freiherr von Herberstein passed through Yaroslavl twice and noted its fertile soil and "abundance in everything".³ An account on the foundation of the Church of the Ascension of Christ («Сказание о построении деревянной Вознесенской церкви») (the 16th century) mentions Gottlieb, the German, a merchant by profession, who asked the Yaroslavl archbishop for permission to build a Protestant church in the city. The earliest known surviving German books, however, in Latin, are also dated by the 16th century. This is the whole collection of early works by Lutheran theologians: a colleague of Martin Luther and the first systematic theologian of the Protestant Reformation, Philipp Melancthon (1497–1560), Burchard Harbart (1546–1611), Johannes Pappus (1549–1610), Aegidius Hunnius (1550–1603), a German Lutheran theologian and writer Daniel Cramer (1568–1637),

¹ Groys B. *Poisk russkoi natsional'noi identichnosti. Rossiia i Germaniia: Opyt filosofskogo dialoga* [The Search for Russian National Identity. Russia and Germany: The Experience of Philosophical Dialogue]. Moscow, 1993, pp. 3–4.

² Angermann N. *U istokov kul'turnykh svyazei Moskovskogo gosudarstva i nemetskikh zemel' (konets XV – nachalo XVI v.)* [At the origins of cultural ties of the Moscovite state and German states (late 15th – early 16th century)]. *Nemtsy v obshchestvennoi i kul'turnoi zhizni Moskvy, XVI – nachalo XX veka* [The Germans in the Social and Cultural Life of Moscow, 16th – early 20th century]. Moscow, 1999, p. 11.

³ Baron Siegmund Freiherr von Herberstein. *Zapiski o Moskovitskikh delakh* [Commentaries on Muscovite affairs]. Available at: http://www.vostlit.info/Texts/rus8/Gerberstein_3/text4.phtml

the work 'Apology of the Formula of Concord' in German by Daniel Hofmann (1538–1611), etc. All of them, represented by 18 titles, are united using a single cover, i.e. are parts of the convolute. The works of Catholic authors, for example, representative of the Counter-Reformation, Adam Tanner (1572–1632) – an Austrian Jesuit professor and the opponent of witch trials – are less common.⁴ This is a very important point – the Protestant works kept in the seminar library of the monastery. Transfiguration of the Saviour Monastery, the foundation of which dates to the beginning of the 13th century, has been a traditional center of book-learning for centuries. Here, the first school for all classes in the north-east of Rus was created, where the scriptorium was opened and the library was being collected. The presence of the local manuscript tradition and further on of a printed tradition, influence of the foreign literature and their close interaction gave rise to a special phenomenon of Yaroslavl book-learning, which flourished in the 17th–18th centuries. The book trade and the book market of Yaroslavl were second largest in the country after Moscow and Novgorod. The 17th century in Yaroslavl history referred to as the 'Golden Age', not only due to the active masonry construction of the temples, but also because of the close connection of all aspects of life with the books.

On the territory of the Spassky Monastery, there were several libraries: the library of the monastery itself, the main library of the Slavic Greek Latin Academy (founded in 1747 on the initiative of Metropolitan Arsenius (Matseyevich)), where there was a pupils' library and the library with books for sale, as well as the library at Bishops' House (i.e. the library used by the archbishops). In 1875, there were 7,500 books in the seminary's main library and 450 copies in the pupils' library in 1862. Books from Rostov, the oldest archbishops in Russia, were brought to the library of the Bishops' House after the relocation of the Archbishop's residence to Yaroslavl in 1787. In 1853, it included 988 titles of printed books and manuscripts. It is well known (thanks to provenance records, book-plates and other certificates) that the owners of the German books were the following hierarchs of the Diocese of Yaroslavl and Rostov: Arsenius (Matseyevich) (1697–1772), Volodymir Kalihraf (? 1760), Arseny Vereshchagin (1736–1799), Antoni (Znamensky) (1765–1824), Nil (Isakovich) (1799–1874). All of them were outstanding church leaders, highly educated intellectuals, experts in ancient and new languages and collectors of old books. Currently, approximately a thousand of books in foreign languages of the 16th–20th centuries, including books in German, have survived. There are only four dozen of Gothic books in German, originating from the seminary alone as well as the personal collections of arch-

⁴ In addition to Tanner, there is also the work of the Jesuit Johannes Dolman (1556–1590): Dolman M. Johan *Andächtige Herzensseuffzes und Gebet*. Gedruckt in Riga, durch Gerhard Schröder, 1640.

bishops. The seminary library changed its location several times. It was housed in various buildings inside the monastery; then, after the construction of the new seminary building in 1875, moved to another building (where today the Natural-geographical faculty of the Yaroslavl Pedagogical University is housed); in the 1920–30s, it was moved to the building in the main square of the city – Soviet square – and, finally, returned to the fold of the monastery. It survived three revolutions, the fire of the Russian Civil War that destroyed one-third of the city's housing stock, the mess-up of the 1920s, gradually becoming smaller and being dispersed through various collections and storages. Two people who were related to the library and the book collection of the Museum-Reserve in the Soviet period should be mentioned here. One of them was Adam (Yegorovich) Bahdanovič (1862–1940), the Belarusian member of 'Narodnaya Volya', the historian of culture and ethnography, the father of the poet and publicist Maxim Bahdanovič (1891–1917). In December 1920, Adam Yegorovich was appointed head of the scientific library at the Yaroslavl State Museum-Preserve, where he worked until 1931. The second important person was Igor Erichovich von Kleinenberg (1904–93), a teacher of German at Leningrad State University, a participant in the creation of the Leningrad historical school in the 1930s and a specialist in ancient manuscripts. In 1941, Igor Erichovich as a native German was exiled to Siberia for tree felling, then worked as a worker in a sovkhos (state farm), and then in a rural school as a teacher. His term of exile ended only in 1954, and he could reunite with his family that moved to Yaroslavl after the war. In the 1960s and 1970s, Igor Erichovich, reading in two dozen languages, attributed and compiled brief annotations of most books in German and other languages.

Here it is necessary to make a digression from the topic and give a small reference about printing in Germany and the concept of 'Gothic type'. Hans Bechstein in his study '*Reise in die Renaissance*'⁵ noted that the dramatic rise of science, its wide spreading and relationship development between various people became possible only due to the invention that changed the world and was aimed to pave the road for wisdom of the past and all future thoughts and actions of people, good and not so good. What it involves is a seal with cast letters. Having spread from Mainz, the printing of books in Germany by the beginning of the 16th century had already counted about 50 locations (the most important were: Strasbourg, Cologne, Basel, Augsburg, Nuremberg, Lübeck and Erfurt). The miniatures of medieval manuscripts, produced with the help of watercolor paints or tempera, replaced the woodprint. After the first editions, which were issued mainly for the needs of the church, the printing acquired its unique and attractive power for all those who could and wanted to write or express some of their ideas. And if in most cases, the manuscripts made in the mo-

⁵ Bechstein Hans. *Reise in die Renaissance*. Leipzig, 1980, S. 85–86.

nasteries served theology and scholasticism, then the secular word, science and poetry now widely made advantage of the new situation too. The epoch of 'Ars magna' ('ultimate general art'), however, was not particularly favorable to the grand poetry. Nevertheless, the same century gave birth to the creator of the language of outstanding rank as well. When Luther translated the New Testament in Wartburg, a new, energetic and common language was presented to the Germans. The Orthodox researcher of the early 20th century, N.D. Terent'ev, for all his dogmatic rejection of Protestantism, wrote: "In general, the symbolic books of Lutheranism are not a dusty old tome that speaks only of the forgotten, but a live voice, in which the speech of the German reformers is heard hitherto. Here we see a testament for all eternity – a grant in which the wealth and the rights of Lutheranism are forever established, we feel the form in which the burning and seething thought of Luther and Melanchthon is still beating".⁶ As for the concept of 'Gothic typeface', its name has no direct relation to the 'barbarian' tribe of Goths. It was suggested in the 15th century by the Italian Revivalists, who considered the manuscript types with ornate letters, strong contrast and broken strokes 'barbaric'. The Italians opposed them to the ancient Roman writing with straight, unbroken letters. The well-known art historian Erwin Panofsky, explaining the origin of the modern letter and printed characters from the Italian Renaissance, wrote: "It can be said that the Gothic writing symbolizes the fragility of the medieval Renaissances".⁷ Nevertheless, a long life prepared for such fonts, especially in Germany. With the beginning of typography, there appeared movable Gothic types, which also evolved, because each master compositor sought to contribute to the image of letters. Thus, Textura, Fraktur type, Schwabacher and Rotunda successively replaced each other.

A whole era in theological and cultural history of Germany and the whole West represented the Baroque Period (1575–1770), coinciding with the formation of absolutism and national states. Being the result of the Counter-Reformation, the Baroque spread from the territory of Rome and Spain to Protestant Europe. It gained great popularity in the east of the continent: Vienna, Prague and Poland. In the ideological sense, there were two strands in the Baroque – materialism and idealism, which were often strongly intertwined. Materialistic views developed with the material and technical progress, the revelation of the laws of nature, mechanicalism and the idea of

⁶ Terent'ev M.D. Liuteranskaia veroispovednaia sistema po simvolicheskim knigam liuteranstva (fragmenty) [Lutheran religious system based on symbolic books of Lutheranism (fragments)]. *Protestantizm kak faktor formirovaniia rossiiskoi gosudarstvennosti i kul'tury. Antologiya*. [Protestantism as a Factor in the Formation of Russian Statehood and Culture. Anthology]. St Peterburg, 2012, p. 308.

⁷ Panofsky E. *Renessans i "renessansy" v iskusstve Zapada* [Renaissance and 'Renaissances' in the Art of the West]. St Peterburg, 2006, p. 182.

arithmetic calculations. The idealism rested on faith in God, raising questions about the relationship between the soul and the body. The tension between the irreconcilable opposites – the life-affirming attitude and alienation as well as religious seclusion – was especially typical for the 17th century. The main expressions of the Baroque were *carpediem*, *memento mori*, as well as the symbols of luxury, skeletons and theater. At the time it appears in the modern sense of the word, with theatrical mechanisms and backstage. On the stage an illusion was created, which could be exposed to the viewer. The theater became the image of human life in general: brilliance, glory and insignificance. The main events of the policy were the counter-reformation, the Thirty Years' War and a robust stratification of classes. The politics, fine arts and architecture were brought together by bends, changing points and intrigues. The painting was dominated by luxury, the desire for external effects and a sense of transience for everything that exists, the thought of the beauty death. The literature and texts were dominated by a combination of earthy and heavenly things, attention to dreams, with the help of which life was compared by the poets. "The Baroque thinkers and artists have revealed significant contradictions between man and his social environment, man and nature, man and the laws of the universe. In this new world landscape, the individual acquired new qualities – tragic in their dismay in this large and unknowable world and heroic in their efforts to cognize this world and the laws that govern it, and thereby to find their place in it".⁸

Regarding the political events of the 16th–17th centuries, a decline of the printing industry was observed in Germany. A certain revival was observed in the field of 'scientific' literature. Richly illustrated and decorated tomes were published – the works on natural sciences, architecture, as well as descriptions of travel and geographic atlases. The appearance of the book changed noticeably because of the reproduction of illustrations in the technique of engraved copperplate. The quality was reduced due to using bad materials. The book was often opened with a frontispiece engraved on copper (a picture placed on one center spread with the title) with the author's portrait. Then the typographical front page followed. It was typed, as a rule, with the help of various, mostly large-format types and often printed in two colors – black and red; its overall design was maintained in the style of lush baroque. Further, there were lengthy, ornate dedications to dukes and other high patrons. The images engraved on copper were in most cases printed on separate sheets and intertwined with the whole book. The non-expressive ornamental lines and vignettes were either printed from wooden boards or composed of movable ornament elements.⁹

⁸ Sofronova L.A., Lipatov A.V. Barokko i problemy istorii slavianskikh literatur i iskusstv [The Baroque Period and the problems of history in Slavic literatures and arts]. *Barokko v slavianskikh kul'turakh* [The Baroque Period in Slavic cultures]. Moscow, 1982, p. 4.

⁹ Funke F. *Knigovedenie* [Bibliology]. Moscow, 1982, pp. 72–74.

The end of the 16th century and the beginning of the 17th century was a period in the history of Russia extremely rich in the events, mainly of a political nature. The 17th century was of great importance for the history of Russia. As a matter of fact, the country, where we currently reside, was born during that period. In this critical period, the domestic Russian market was formed, which was gradually integrated into the world market. Because of the troubled time, a new dynasty came to power, the ruling of which was accompanied not only by the social riots, but also by the split of the church - the "belated Russian reformation"¹⁰. At that time, religion was the basis of the worldview, both in the Western society and in the Orient. Religion was ideology, i.e. the set of ideas, values and feelings through which people experienced their society. The flow of Western goods and technologies was growing, which was really in demand. The paradox was that, confronting everywhere with the Western culture, the Russian person of the 17th century would oppose themselves to it. Thus, in the famous frescoes of the Church of Elijah the Prophet in Yaroslavl, there are engravings with the new interpretation given by the Russian masters of the Piscator's Chronicle (Jan Veeshcher). The viewer can easily recognize the 'Four Horsemen of the Apocalypse' from the 'Apocalypse' of Albrecht Dürer's series of fifteen woodcuts 'Apocalypsis cum figuris'. At the same time, in the fresco with the plot about the Last Judgement, 'the Germans' along with blackamoor figures and 'the Jews' follow to hell. In the library of the Bishop's House, we find the most important for the Christians Protestantism trend (*sola Scriptura*), the text of the Bible in Luther's translation (1697 edition in Nuremberg and several later editions)¹¹. The book contains notes and underlined text, which indicates that it was actively studied. The English scientist Christopher Hill calls the 17th century "the empire of the Bible, which was accepted as the main authority in all spheres of intellectual life"¹². In addition to the Bible, there are works of Lutheran theologians: Superintendent Christophorus Martinus (1664–1726), Johan Lassenii and Lutheran theologian and spiritual poet Christoph Porsch¹³. A small booklet by Porsch is a collection of cemetery epitaphs, which was characteristic of the sentiments of the Baroque Period. Christoph Porsch himself is

¹⁰ Kagarlitskii B. *Periferiinaia imperiia: Rossiia i mirosistema* [Peripheral Empire: Russia and the World System]. Moscow, 2004, pp. 212–216.

¹¹ *Biblia. Verdeutscht durch D. Martin Luthern. Vürzberg, In Verlegung Joh. Hofmanns, gedruckt bey Christian Sigm.* Nürnberg, 1693.

¹² Hill Christopher. *Angliiskaia Bibliia i revoliutsiia XVII veka* [The English Bible and the Revolution of the 17th century]. Moscow, 1998, p. 21.

¹³ Christophorus Martinus Sam. *Die wahre geistliche Christen Freude...* Dresden und Leipzig, Verlegts Johann Christoph Mith und Johann Christoph Zimmermann, druckts Georg Balthasar Ludewig, 1697; lassenii Joann. *Beseitigte Atheisteren.* Hamburg, bei Johann Nauman und Georg Wolff, 1673; Porsch Christoph *Elbingens. Geistliche Kirch-Hoff, darstellende biblische Grab-schriften.* Leipzig, gedruckt dey Johann Koeler, 1674.

considered one of those people who made a significant contribution to the development of the German language and culture; his works are included in the 15-volume edition of *'Allgemeine Deutsche Biographie'* (German: Universal German Biography). The book that is preserved in Yaroslavl is unique, since it has a dedicatory inscription by the author himself. The book was presented to the outstanding German composer and organist of St. Mary's Church (German: *Marienkirche*) in Danzig, to Thomas Strutius and his sons. The availability of Evangelical Lutheran books in the seminary and archbishop libraries (even if one is not to consider the fact that there were Protestant communities in Moscow, Yaroslavl, Vologda and other cities¹⁴) confirms the talking point of the German scientist Ludolf Müller¹⁵ about the influence of Protestantism ideas on the development of Russian theology and philosophy. However, Müller made this conclusion more towards the 18th–19th centuries. Nevertheless, the Protestant influence can already be related to the 17th century.

In addition to the purely theological literature, the collection of the Museum-Reserve includes some secular literature in German. Typography, according to Hill, "first stimulated the development of biblical sciences and only then the exact sciences".¹⁶ The collection features the world's first illustrated textbook of the great Czech teacher of nations Jan Amos Komensky, 'The Visible World in Pictures' translated into German, and *Delicia Physico-Mathematicae* by German scientist Daniel Schwenter (1585–1636)¹⁷. It is worth paying attention to the five-volume work on the German language *'Ausführliche Arbeit Von der Teutschen HauptSprache'* by the well-known philologist, writer and theorist of literature Justus Georgius Schottelius (1612–76), *'Politischer Weltman'* by Martinus Husanus' and *'Faber Fortunae politi-*

¹⁴ In the first third of the 17th century in the Russian state, up to 40 Protestant baptism ceremonies were held annually, and Moscow pastors tried to support the communities in the large cities. By the beginning of the 18th century, the number of Protestants in Moscow reached 20 thousand people, and throughout country – up to 30 thousand. See: Kerbikov M.D. Nemetkii protestantizm i Russkaia pravoslavnaia tserkov' v pervoi polovine XVIII veka [German Protestantism and the Russian Orthodox Church in the first half of the 18th century]. *XI Chteniia po istorii i kul'ture drevnei i novoi Rossii: Materialy nauchnoi konferentsii (Iaroslavl', 25–27 sentiabria 2014 goda)* [The 11th Readings on the History and Culture of Ancient and New Russia: Materials of the Scientific Conference (Yaroslavl, 25–27th September 2014)]. Yaroslavl, 2016, pp. 235–243.

¹⁵ Müller L. *Poniat' Rossiiu: istoriko-kul'turnye issledovaniia* [To understand Russia: Historical and Cultural Studies]. Moscow, 2000, p. 260.

¹⁶ Hill Christopher. *Angliiskaia Bibliia i revoliutsiia XVII veka* [The English Bible and the revolution of the 17th century]. Moscow, 1998, p. 27.

¹⁷ *Orbis sensualium pictus. Die sichtbare Welt*. Nürnberg: sumptibus Michaeli et Joannis Gricderici Endteri, 1658–1662(?); 1. Schwenter Daniel. *Geometriae practicae novae et auctae. Tractatus I*. Nürnberg: bey Simon Halbmayr, 1623.

cae' by Christian Georg Bessel¹⁸, which had a huge impact on the ethos of the politicians of the 18th century. Into the same group, the following can be included: the German translation of 'The Court Man' by the Spanish Jesuit, philosopher and literary theorist Balthasar Grazians-y-Morales (1601–58).¹⁹ As for fiction books, translation of Virgil's works by Oswald Beling (published 1649) should be noted here. The book was published with the support of Adam Olearius (better known for as 'A Journal of the Travels of the Ambassadors from the Duke of Holstein into Muscovy, Tartary, and Persia') published just like the Virgil's works, in Schleswig by the ducal publishing house, only two years earlier).²⁰ Erwin Panofsky poetically expressed the periodically awakening interest in antiquity: "The Middle Ages left the antiquity unburied and alternately revived and conjured its corpse. The Renaissance sobbed at its grave and tried to resurrect its soul".²¹ The second book is the translation of the 'Plays by Molière' by a certain J.E.T. 1694–1710 (as the translator signed "without the hope of being equal (to Moliere))"²².

The era of the Bible ended in the West by the beginning of the 18th century. The Austrian art historian Hans Sedlmayr writes about "the loss of the center", i.e. Christocentricity of Western culture and staging a person with his problems and opportunities in the center of the universe: "In pantheism and deism of the 18th century, the abyss opens between man and God. There is the endowment of man with the theomorphic and 'Godlike' (*Gottförmige*) qualities... Man is incredibly exalted, striving for his own exhaustive fullness"²³. The background knowledge had changed in Russia in the times of Peter the Great and the subsequent Romanovs. The autocracy of the state became truly boundless, concerning its attitude both regarding the cities, the virtuous farmers and great landowners, the Boyars and the church, not to mention the peasants. Hegumen Ioann Economtsev points out: "If the flesh of the national idea is the

¹⁸ Balthasar Gracians. *Uomo di corte oder Kluger Hof-und Weltmann...* von D. Christoph Heinrich Freisleben. Altenburg, Bey Johann Ludwig Richtern, 1723.

¹⁹ Virgilius Maron Oswald Belings. *Verdeutschte Waldlieder oder 10. Hirtengespräche des allerfürtrefflichsten Lateinisch: Poeten Virg. Marons...* Gedruckt in der Fürstl. Druckerey zu Schleßwig bey Jacob zur Glocken. Im jahr 1649.

²⁰ Moliere Derer *Comödien des Hern von Moliere Königlichen französischen Comödianten; ohne Hoffnung seines gleichen. In das Teutsche übersetzt durch J.E.T. Mit schönen Kupfferen gezeichnet und das erstmal also gedruckt. Nürnberg; zusinden bey Johann Daniel Taubern. Buchhändlern, 1694–1710.*

²¹ Panofsky E. *Recessans i "recessansy" v iskusstve Zapada* [Renaissance and 'Renaissances' in the Art of the West]. St Peterburg, 2006, p. 189.

²² Moliere Derer *Comödien des Hern von Moliere Königlichen französischen Comödianten; ohne Hoffnung seines gleichen. In das Teutsche übersetzt durch J.E.T. Mit schönen Kupfferen gezeichnet und das erstmal also gedruckt. Nürnberg; zusinden bey Johann Daniel Taubern. Buchhändlern, 1694–1710.*

²³ Zedlmayr H. *Utrata serediny* [The Loss of the Centre]. Moscow, 2008, p. 176, 217.

people, the church, the creative elite, then the idea of the empire materializes in the abstract, faceless power of the state apparatus. At the triumph of centralization policy, the latter acquires incredible power and can implement fantastic, monstrous projects."²⁴ According to the Protestant scheme, the synodical reform took place; the church became part of the new bureaucratic absolutist empire. The political works of Samuel von Pufendorf, which developed the concept of natural rights and restrictions related to the power of the church, were spreading after being published in Germany and translated in Russia²⁵. There appeared works on world history, chronicles of various 'memorable events' and different calendars²⁶. One can learn about the sovereigns, courts, political situation, wars of the past and present, from ten volumes of the German writer, the author of school books in the field of history, poetics and evangelical pedagogy Johann Hübner (1668–1731) *'Kurze Fragen aus der Politischen Historia biß auf gegenwärtige Zeit'*²⁷. In the museum, the seven volumes are preserved, which originate from the library of the theological seminary. There are many books of 'applied nature': how to make fireworks, hunt birds, do gardening, ride horses and build houses²⁸. Among them, the most curious by the name are: *'Allgemeine Oeconomische Holzspahrkunst'* and *'Manesson (von Paries)'* translated

²⁴ Ekonomtsev I. Natsional'no-religioznyi ideal i ideia imperii v petrovskuiu epokhu. K analizu tserkovnoi reformy Petra I [National-religious ideal and the idea of the Empire in the reign of Peter the Great. To the analysis of the church reform of Peter the Great]. Igumen Ioann Ekonomtsev. *Pravoslavie. Vizantiia. Rossiia. Sbornik statei* [Hegumen Ioann Ekonomtsev. Orthodoxy. Byzantium. Russia. Digest of articles]. Moscow, 1992, pp. 160–161.

²⁵ In the museum's collection – Puffendorff Samuel Freiherr von. *Vierter Theil zu Herrn Samuel Freyherrns von Puffendorff. Einleitung zu der Historie der vornehmsten Reiche und Staaten von Asia, Africa und America...* Die zweite Auflage durchauß vermehrt und verbessert. Franckfurt am Mayn, 1710.

²⁶ About Russia from the times of Peter the Great and Catherine I. 1. Die veränderten Rußlandes. Zweytes Theil... durch den Verfasser des Ersten Theils. Hannover: Verlegt von seel. Nicol. Förster und Sohns Erben, 1739. 2. Die veränderten Rußlandes. Dritter Theil. Die Regirung der Keiserin CATHARINA und des Kaisers PETRI SECUNDI... durch den Verfasser des Ersten Theils. Hannover: Verlegt von seel. Nicol. Förster und Sohns Erben, 1740. Also, Meiners C. *Vergleichung des ältesten und neuen Rußlandes in Rücksicht auf die natürlichen Beschaffenheiten der Einwohner, ihrer Kultur, Sitten usw. Bd. I.* Leipzig, 1798.

²⁷ Hübner Johann. *Kurze Fragen aus der Politischen Historia biß auf gegenwärtige Zeit continüret, und mit einem vollständigen Register versehen.* In 10 Thelen. 1697.

²⁸ Alex. Sincerum. *Der wohlerfahrne Salpetersieder und Feuerwerker...* Andere Aufg. Frankfurt und Leipzig, zu finden bey Georg Christoph Weber, Buchhand in Nürnberg, 1755; Die edle Reitkunst mit Kupfern und einem Anhang von der Roß-Artzney. Verlegts Michael Gottlieb Griesbach. Eisenach, 1755; Blonds Alexander *Gärtner-Akademie oder die Kunst Pracht und Luft Gärten. Aus dem Französischen ins Deutsche übersetzt von Franz Anton Danreitter.* Augsburg, 1753; De la Lande *Die Kunst Papier zu machen, von Herrn de la lande. Aus dem Französischen der «Descriptions des arts et metiers» der Pariser Academie übersetzt und mit Anmerckungen versehen von Johann heinrich Gottlob von Justi. Mit Kupfern.* Berlin; Stettin und Leipzig, 1762; J.N.J. *Jagdkunst. Neue lustige und vollständige.* Leipzig, 1762.

from French²⁹. The works on geography, statistics and mathematics remained the desk companions for educated people in Russia for a long time. The German specialist Fritz Funke criticized the repertoire of German books for a mass reader at the turn of the 17th and 18th centuries. He wrote that 'fair-literature' appeared at that time, which speculated on the sensations, superstitions and low culture of the reader. Calendars, dream-books and books on traditional medicine, often of strange content, massively came on stream. In this literature, "terrible events, fantastic natural phenomena and astrological predictions" were savored. Instructive literature was published in constant flow. Songbooks, prayer books, schedules of church services, homilies and funeral sermons were of great importance.³⁰

Indeed, the 18th century was also characterized by the fact that science in modern understanding had not yet separated from the parascience. In the museum collection, there are such 'scientific' works, as for example, '*Achtenmäßige und umständliche Relation von denen Vampiren*' published in Leipzig in 1732 by an unknown author.³¹ As the name implies, this small book was written by the 'famous professor from Leipzig' on the materials of Serbia, or rather a place called 'Medvedja'. Andrei Sharyi in his work 'The Danube: The River of Empires' mentions that Europe since the Middle Ages was not free from prejudice, and that the belt of the territories in the lower reaches of the Danube was associated with the legends about vampires. "Obviously, the state authorities were also worried about this: in the 1730s, the Austrian military command in Belgrade formed a commission led by Johannes Flickinger to find out whether there vampires existed in Serbia, part of which at that time fell under Habsburg Monarchy. Near Belgrade, the commission studied the graves with the remains of those who were considered vampires; the dead bodies preserved surprisingly well in the years after their burial. This raised concern whether the vampires would move up the Danube to Vienna. Flickinger compiled a detailed report of his mission; his work gave scientific material to generations of scientists and writers".³² One can assume that the book from the Museum-Reserve can be either the publication of Flickinger's report or its early literary adaptation. Scientific and socio-political jour-

²⁹ Lehmann Johann Christian. *Allgemeine Oeconomische Holzspahrkunst...* Leipzig, 1754; Mallet Allain Manesson (von Paries). *Kriegsarbeit oder Neuer Festungsbau so wohl der Lehrmäßige als Unlehrmäßige in drei Teilen abgehandelt. Verfasst durch Allain Manesson Mallet von Paris des Portugallischen Königs Kriegsbaumeistern als auch Geschüßmeistern in der Landschaft Alentejo. Und nunmehr aus seiner Muttersprache verhochdeutschet durch Filip von Zesen.* Amsterdam, 1672.

³⁰ Funke F. *Knigovedenie* [Bibliology]. Moscow, 1982, pp. 76–77.

³¹ *Achtenmäßige und umständliche Relation von denen Vampiren.* Leipzig, gedruckt Augusto Martini, 1732.

³² Sharyi A. *Dunai: reka imperii* [The Danube: The River of Empires]. Moscow, 2015, p. 95.

nals became notable phenomena in the public life, such as *'Die europäische Fama'*³³ published from 1702 to 1735 by Sinold von Schütz, Philippe Balthasar and Christian Stieff or the journal on 'scientific affairs' by Johann Gottlieb Krause (1684–1736). The use of the emblem became symbol of the transition from the Middle Ages to the New Age and embodiment of peculiarity of the European culture of the era. The Protestant books about emblems come to us as early as in the middle of the 17th century. In the Yaroslavl collection, there are all three volumes of the work 'Emblematic Parnassus' by the theologian Pastor Laurentius Wolfgang Woyt (1672–1739) published in 1727–28 in Augsburg.³⁴ The books were kept in the library of the theological seminary. Each book contains about 1500 different symbols and emblems with their interpretation. This 'theological baroque' was not unfamiliar to the Yaroslavl and Rostov writer and preacher St. Demetrius (Dimitri), Metropolitan of Rostov. Even more so, the emblems and allegories were studied in the theological education of Ukraine for a long time, in the Kyiv-Mohyla Academy. In Germany, a new trend developed at that time – pietism "grown up based on Lutheranism and associated with the names of Philipp Spener, August Hermann Francke and Nicolaus Zinzendorf".³⁵ The collection of the museum contains the work of the pietism predecessor in East Prussia, German theologian Georg Friedrich Rogall (1701–33), as well as the founder of pietism and genealogy and a connoisseur of *heraldry* Jacob Spener (1635–1705).³⁶ There are also works of such 'icons' of pietism as Augustus Hermann Francke and Johann Arndt (six books of 'True Christianity'), in Russian translation. As the leading Protestant theologian of the 20th century, Josef Hromadka wrote: "The German theology of that time set the tone for theology as a whole – not only continental, but also the English one. Deservedly or undeservedly, but until recently it was

³³ Die europäische Fama, welche den gegenwärtigen Zustand der vornehmsten Höfe entdeckt. I Teil, 1702 bis XII Teil, 1703; Neues Zeitungen von Gelehrten Sachen auf das Jahr 1719. Erster Theil. Leipzig, bey Joh. Christian Martini; Hamburgerisches Magazin. Bd. VIII, Stück 1-6, Hamburg, bei Georg Christ. Grund, und in Leipzig bei Adam Heinr. Holle, 1751; Ideenmagazin für Liebhaber von Gärten, Englischen Anlagen und für Besitzer von Landgütern. Works of the Swedish Royal Academy of Sciences – Abhandlungen der Königl. Schwedischen Akademie der Wissenschaften (aus der Naturlehre, Haushaltungskunst und Mechanik) auf des Jahr 1741, aus dem Schwedischen übersetzt, von Abraham Gotthelf Kästner. Bd.III., Hamburg, bey Georg Christian Grund und Adam Heinrich Holle, 1750.

³⁴ Woyt M. *Laurentius Wolfgang. Emblematischer Parnassus... in einem Gefilde von 1500...Sinn-Bildern. Erster Theil. Augdburg, in Verlag Jeremias Wollfs, Kunsthändlers seel. Erben, 1727.*

³⁵ Veber M. *Protestantskaia etika i dukh kapitalizma* [Protestant Ethic and the Spirit of Capitalism]. Ivano-Frankivsk, 2002, p. 135.

³⁶ Rogall Georg *Friedr Hern alter und neuer Lieder, so in dennen Königl. Preußischen und Chur. Brandenburg. Landen gebräuchlich sind... Königsberg, druckts und verlegts Joh. Heinrich Hartung, 1757; Catalogus verhandener Bücher... des D. Philipp Jacob Speners.*

the leading Protestant theology".³⁷ However, in the reality of the civilization of the 18th and 19th centuries, the ideological world of which was influenced by Descartes, Newton, Spinoza and Kant, the biblical thinking 'degraded'. Hans Sedlmayr called that era the age of an autonomous person. Everything that pertained to the transcendent reality ceased affecting thinking. Therefore, several works on economy, politics and geography, law and anatomy appeared in the collection. Among them, the anatomical tables compiled by Dr. Johann Adam Kulmus, *'Naturgeschichte des Mineralreichs mit besonderer Anwendung auf Thüringen'* by Johan Wilhelm Baumer, lavishly illustrated books about beetles, butterflies, flowers, etc. are of some interest.

In the second half of the 18th century and early 19th century, the books on travel, picturesque places and lyric poetry became popular. A valuable book in the collection is *'Triumph-Lied von den herrlichen Siegen der Deutschen über die Französer und ihrer groß gewesenenen Exkeiser Napoleon'*,³⁸ originating from the imperial home library in Berlin.

Conclusion

In the 19th–20th centuries, the library space was taken up with the shelves of law books, works on natural sciences, literary works of such iconic writers as Goethe, Schiller, Kotzebue, Novalis and authors who are not well-known today. The 'disenchantment of the world' takes place, as part of the grandiose process of rationalization and the evolvement of modern science. All the German books, mentioned above, which originate from the monastery library, the theological seminary and private collections, testify to the gradual and irreversible changes in the secular outlook, the transition from medieval and the religious contemplation in the early modern period, didacticism in practical mastery of the real world. According to the famous American Protestant theological ethicist of German origin, Helmut Richard Niebuhr, "cultures are always striving to unite piece with prosperity, justice with order, freedom with prosperity, truth with beauty, and scientific truth with moral welfare... Among such a variety of values, there is room for Kingdom of Heaven as well, however hardly as the value of utmost importance".³⁹ The enduring value of German books from the collection of the Yaroslavl Museum-Reserve is not only in the diversity of knowledge facets that they touched upon, however also in the history of their existence and belonging, in the special German 'architecture' of the book, preservation of the 'barba-

³⁷ Gromadka J.L. *Perelom v protestantskoi teologii* [A Turning Point in Protestant Theology]. Moscow, 1993, p. 29.

³⁸ *Triumph-Lied von den herrlichen Siegen der Deutschen über die Französer und ihrer groß gewesenenen Exkeiser Napoleon*. Leipzig, 1814.

³⁹ *Khristos i kul'tura. Izbrannye trudy Richarda Nibura i Rainkhol'da Nibura* [Christ and Culture. Selected Works of Richard Niebuhr and Reinhold Niebuhr]. Moscow, 1996, pp. 40–41.

rian' Gothic type and the remarkable engraving on metal and wood. Undoubtedly, the German printed books contributed to Russia entering the European literary medium, played the role of cultural transition and influenced Russian Baroque. The latter (unlike Western Baroque) had a life-asserting character and differed in its educational character. In our opinion, a more detailed study (quantitative examination, repertoire, records, etc.) of the book collections at the seminaries, monasteries and priest's libraries of the Upper Volga, is quite promising. This would give a more detailed answer to the question of the degree of impact of the Protestantism in Germany on Russian theological views and secular science, on the organization of pedagogical processes in religious and secular educational establishments and identify the circle of representatives of the church hierarchy who would be the readers and collectors of the German books.

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