

Echoes of Francysk Skaryna's Editions in Western Europe: Teseo Ambrogio, Pietro Paolo Vergerio and Jacques Lelong

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ANNOTATION. The article examines works of West European scholars containing references and quotations from Skaryna's editions in the context of their epoch. The analysis of this very context lets us trace the circumstances and connections of Skaryna's appearance in West European literature from the early 16th to the early 18th century. An intellectual history approach allows us to reconsider the citing of Skaryna's editions in the work of the Italian linguist Teseo Ambrogio degli Albonesi, where we can presuppose the presence of multiple transliterated quotations from the books of Skaryna's Bible. Clarification of the sources of citations, their filiation, and the history of editions, reveals the necessity to reinterpret sources such as Pietro Paolo Vergerio's testimony (and subsequently of the French bibliographer Jacques Lelong) on the role of Skaryna's Ruthenian edition, and the unity of all Slavic biblical translations, and to assess Skaryna's oeuvre for the dissemination of Knowledge by Szymon Starowolski.

KEYWORDS: Francysk Skaryna; Bivlia ruska; Teseo Ambrogio degli Albonesi (Theseus Ambrosius ex Comitibus Albonesii); biblical translations; Pietro Paolo Vergerio; Szymon Starowolski.

The influence of Skaryna's editions on the development of Slavic printing is a well-known fact in Belarusian, Lithuanian and Russian historiographies¹. At the same time, the question of the circulation of Skaryna's books in Western Europe is still quasi-obscure.

We receive the first notion on the texts printed by Skaryna and known in circles of West European scholars from Josef Dobrowsky², who wrote in 1815 that Theseus Ambrosius, ex Comitibus Albonesii (Fig. 1), cited in his book a long passage from Skaryna's Book of Reigns.

This fact resurfaced in the work of Vitaut Tumaś³ and Evgeni Nemirovsky, who referred to Dobrowsky, stating that Teseo Ambrogio (La. Theseus Ambrosius) on folio 53 "demonstrated brief and far from accurate information about the Cyrillic alphabet", while citing Ambrogio as such: "We read here: 'Macedonians, Goths, or Rusians, inhabitants of the great Scythia and one part of Sarmatia [...] Bulgares and Serbes who use the same alphabet with changing merely three or four letters'; 'the names of thirty nobles and brave men who were with David, the Goth or the Ruthenian writes as follows'. And then the quotation from the 23rd chapter of the second Book of Reigns follows"⁴.

¹ For studies on the the influence of Skaryna's editions on East Slavic printing, see: Георгий Голенченко, *Идейные и культурные связи восточно-славянских народов в XVI-середине XVII в.*, Минск: Наука и техника, 1989; Тамара Самайлюк, "Берасцейскія друкарні XVI ст.: крыніцазнаўчы і гістарыяграфічны аспекты", in: *Беларуская кніга ў кантэксце сусветнай кніжнай культуры: гісторыя і сучаснасць, склад.* Л.І. Доўнар, Т.А. Самайлюк, Б.У. Святлоў, Мінск: Беларус. дзярж. ун-т культуры і мастацтваў, 2011, p. 120–139; Владимир Конон, "Франциск Скорина и Иван Федоров: преемственность просветительских и эстетических традиций", in: *Иван Федоров и восточнославянское книгопечатание*, ред. И.Я. Науменко, М.Б. Ботвинник, А. Ф. Коршунов, Минск: Наука и техника, 1984, p. 13–29; Виктор Шматов, *Искусство белорусской старопечатной книги (XVI–XVIII вв.): Автореферат на соискание докторской диссертации по искусствоведению*, Москва, 1990.

² Josef Dobrowsky, "Anhang von der Skorinischen Bibel- Übersetzungen", in: *Slovanka: zur Kenntniss der alten und neuen slawischen Literatur, der Sprachkunde nach allen Mundarten, der Geschichte und Alterthümer*, Prag: Herrl, 1814–15, p. 155.

³ Вітаўт Тумаш, "Бібліяграфія скарыніяны", in: *Запісы. Кніга 5: Scoriniana 1517–1967*, München: Беларускі Інстытут Навукі ў Масцтва, 1970, p. 203 (note No 103 on Teseo Ambrogio), 208 (note No 154 on Dobrowsky).

⁴ Евгений Немировский, *Франциск Скорина: жизнь и деятельность белорусского просветителя*, Минск: Маст. літ., 1990, p. 13–14, with notes on Teseo Ambrogio and Dobrowsky, not accurate and not complete, No 20 and No 21.



Figure 1. Title page, Theodosius Ambrosius *Introductio in Chaldaicam linguam, Syriacam, atque Armenicam, et decem alias linguas, characterum differentium Alphabeti, circiter quadraginta, et eorundem invicem conformatio; mystica et cabalistica quamplurima scitu digna. Et descriptio ac simulachrum Phagoti Afranij. Theseo Ambrosio ex Comitibus Albonesii I. V. [J. U. = Juris Utriusque] Doct. Papiensis Canonico Regulari Lateranensi, ac Sancti Petri in Caelo Aureo Papiae Praeposito, Autore. MDXXXIX* (Papiae: Ioannes Maria Simoneta Cremonensis, 1539)

This information cited in Nemirovsky's monograph (1990) and recent collection of 2017⁵ is significant, but still remains surprisingly vague and inaccurate, beginning from the manner of naming Teseo Ambrogio by the name of his native place, and then referencing and ending with total disregard for the historical and textual context to which the text of Teseo Ambrogio belongs.

Teseo Ambrogio degli Albonesi (1469–1540) printed his *Introductio* in 1539. It was his lifelong work, through personal sufferings, labours and war losses (he lost almost all his manuscripts and materials, and then unexpectedly found them a few years before his death). Ambrogio not accidentally chose the name Teseo (La. Theseus) as his pseudonym. Just like the mythical Greek Theseus, he sought to find a fundamental thread unifying all interwoven human knowledge⁶. His *Introductio* was seen as a holistic attempt to provide

⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 14; Idem, "Открытие изданий Франциска Скорины", in: *Кніжная спадчына Францыска Скарыны = Книжное наследие Франциска Скорины = Book heritage of Francysk Skaryna*, рэд. Р. С. Мотульский, А. А. Суша, науч. конс. Г. Я. Голенченко, т. 21: *Вяртанне = Возвращение = Returning*, Мінск: Нацыянальная бібліятэка Беларусі, 2017, p. 28; Александр Суша, "Наследие Франциска Скорины в мире", in: *Кніжная спадчына Францыска Скарыны*, p. 138.

⁶ Theseus Ambrosius, *Introductio in Chaldaicam linguam, Syriacam, atque Armenicam, et decem alias linguas*, f. 4v.

Perennial Philosophy with proof of human linguistic unity based on the sacredness of the Hebrew and Chaldean languages and linguistic lineages⁷. Out of this context, his book may seem almost incomprehensible and unintelligible to today's reader.

Linguistic by its form, it abounds in references to Cabbalistic and Hermetist traditions, Horappolo's fashion, to Johann Reuchlin, Pico della Mirandola, Gregor Reisch, and other contemporary Neoplatonic thinkers, with constant allusions to the Sun and the Moon in conjunction (*Sol et Luna steterunt in habitaculo suo*⁸), symbolising divine consciousness and the human soul:

That visible Sun which we see with our bodily eyes sun [...], and the flame of the great Phoebe [OS: mostly as a moon symbol] enlightened, the ancients, both Theologians and Philosophers, ingeniously as well as learnedly, said that there is nothing else at all since the truth and expression of that Sun, which is comprehended by intelligence and reason, (if to speak divine law) an image. Therefore, just as the very sun flowed as the ruler and master of the times, in total, refined variety distinct and shining, (which the Greeks call κόσμον [κόσμος, cosmos⁹]),

⁷ Johanna Drucker, *Inventing the Alphabet: The Origins of Letters from Antiquity to the Present*, Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2022, p. 112.

⁸ Theseus Ambrosius, *op. cit.*, f. 127.

⁹ On κόσμος, the concept of the Platonic and Neoplatonic traditions, see: Daniel Vázquez, "Time and the Cosmos in Plato and the Platonic Tradition", in: *Time and Cosmology in Plato and the Platonic Tradition*, edited by Daniel Vázquez and Alberto Ross, (Brill's Plato Studies Series, vol. 9), Leiden: Brill, p. 1–21; Cristina D'Ancona Costa, "Porphyry, Universal Soul and the Arabic Plotinus", in: *Arabic Sciences and Philosophy*, 1999, vol. 9, issue 1, p. 47–88; Thomas Kjeller Johansen, "Why the Cosmos Needs a Craftsman: Plato, Timaeus 27d5–29b1", in: *Phronesis, the Journal of Ancient Philosophy*, 2014, vol. 59, issue 4, p. 297–320. On the notion of *cosmos* and conjugation of Plato's ideas in Lutheran thought, see: Gábor Almási, "Rethinking Sixteenth-Century 'Lutheran Astronomy'", in: *Intellectual History Review*, 2014, vol. 24, issue 1, p. 5–20. On Cabbalistic tradition and the search for the "proto-language" in the Renaissance, see: Michel Jourde, "Qu'y a-t-il d'imaginaire dans le Thresor de l'histoire des langues de cest univers de Claude Duret (1613)", in: *Cahiers du GADGES*, 2018, No 15: *L'imaginaire des langues: Représentations de l'altérité linguistique et stylistique (XVIe-XVIIIe siècle)*, ed. par Sabine Lardon, Michèle Rosellini, Genève: Droz, 2019, p. 163–181; Marie-Luce Demonet, *Les Voix du signe. Nature et origine du langage à la Renaissance (1480-1580)*, Paris: Librairie H. Champion, 1992; Idem, "La langue primitive et les débuts de la conscience linguistique Européenne en France", in: *Gênese e consolidação da ideia de Europa*, 2009, vol. IV, *Idade Média e Renascimento*, ed. Nair de Nazaré Castro Soares, Santiago López Moreda, Coimbra: Imprensa da Universidade de Coimbra; Cáceres: Universidad de Extremadura, p. 147–170.

in the various and different conditions of the times, and in many forms of the same state, various also, and often monstrous in their fiery number, but yet bringing the effects of life-giving heat. In the same way the Sun is here in astonishing and a certain hidden way, in that microcosm, in various and diverse times and centuries, he brings forth various talents, new and unheard-of faculties and activities of intellect. Insomuch as in former times they call to the liberal arts. Astrology or Grammar, Rhetoric, Dialectic, Geometry, Arithmetic, Music¹⁰.

Ambrogio's text should be considered in the context of the Renaissance search for a unified Perennial Philosophy that would combine human knowledge received from God by the Ancient Egyptians, Hebrews, Greeks and the biblical prophets.

This is why the main examples for Ambrogio's compendium are the Psalms (almost 80% of its citations), seen by him as the most ancient vestiges of the Divine: "In whatever language, almost all the philological discussions centre around textual dissension among the various translations of the Songs of King David"¹¹.

Starting with vowels in Chaldean, Ambrogio goes on to ancestry, and deduces the lineage of vowels in other languages, including Cyrillic:

¹⁰ Original: "Solem istum visibilem [...], qui corporeis oculis, magnum Phoebea sua face illustrare cernimus mundum, veteres cum Theologi, tum Philosophi, scite pariter ac docte, nihil aliud omnino esse, quoniam veram ac expressam solis illius, qui intelligentia et ratione comprehenditur, (si dicere fas est) imaginem, dixerunt. Pro indeque quemadmodum Sol isse temporum dux ac moderator, in magno, varietate distincto atque lucenti, (quem Graeci χόσμον vocant) mundo, in variis quoque et diversis temporum conditionibus, multiformique eorundem statu, varios etiam, ac monstrosos saepe numero igneo suo, atque vivifico calore producit effectus. Eodem modo Sol hic mirabili quodam ac latenti modo, in microcosmo isto, in variis diversisque temporibus, ac saeculis, varia ingenia, novas atque inauditas ingenii et intellectus educit operationes. In prioribus namque saeculis, ad liberales, quas vocant, artes. Astrologiam seu Grammaticam, Rhetoricam, Dialecticam, Geometriam, Arithmeticam, Musicam", in: Theseus Ambrosius, *op. cit.*, f. 2. On the sun / moon Symbolism in Neoplatonic spirit in European tradition, see: Olga Shutova, "Francysk Skaryna's *Bivlia ruska* as a Holistic Humanist Project: Pursuit of Knowledge and Aesthetic Ideas of the Renaissance", in: *Theatrum Libri: Book Printing, Reading and Dissemination in Early Modern Europe*, ed. by Milda Kvizikevičiūtė and Viktorija Vaitkevičiūtė, Vilnius: Lietuvos nacionalinė Martyno Mažvydo biblioteka, 2022, p. 166–189.

¹¹ Virgil B. Strohmeyer, *The Importance of Teseo Ambrogio degli Albonesi's Selected Armenian Materials for the Development of the Renaissance's Perennial Philosophy and an Armenological Philosophical Tradition*, Yerevan: Armenian Philosophical Academy, 1998, p. 17.

“The Macedonians, and the inhabitants of Greater and Lesser Mysia, who are called merely Bulgarians and Serbs, whose printed books are spread, and the Dalmatians, who also have their own shape, but the same name, of the letters [the alphabet] as aforesaid, and whose books were likewise printed by the care of chalcographers, although even among those Dalmatians, there are other shapes of the letters still not having been imprinted, they have ten vowels in number, you may see [...]”¹².

From this passage, we learn that Ambrogio knew or had in his possession Macedonian, Bulgarian and Serb (printed) books; but for Dalmatian ones the situation is complicated, because he states that the Dalmatians also have another (non-Cyrillic) form of letters, obviously Glagolitic, and that their (Glagolitic) books are also printed. This is confirmed by the fact that the Biblioteca nazionale Marciana preserves a unique exemplar of the Glagolitic *Brevijar po zakonu rimskoga dvora*, printed in 1491 with handwritten marks by Ambrogio¹³, which explains that he noted several Glagolitic letters in his book, e.g.  for “фрьтъ” (f. 69v), and  for “ца” (f. 74). We can affirm also that Ambrogio knew or had in his possession an edition of the First Croatian primer from 1527 (Venice: Andrea Torresani) or *Kožičičev Bukvar* (Psaltira abecedarija) (Rijeka: Šimun Kožičić, 1530), because he states for the letter “ца” (f. 74r) expressly that it is in “*in alphabeto iam publicato*”¹⁴.

What is more, Ambrogio states here that there are also “other” Dalmatian letters (obviously Cyrillic) that he has not seen in printed form (therefore,

¹² Original: “Macedones, et maioris, ac minoris Misiae incolae, qui Bulgari, atque Serviani modo appellantur, quorum impressi libri circu[m]feruntur, et Dalmatae qui etiam proprias literarum figuras, eadem tamen nomenclatura, cum suprascriptis habent, et quorum pariter libri chalcographorum cura impressi habentur, quamquam etiam apud Dalmatas aliae sint, nec dum impressae, literarum figurae, decem numerant vocales, vide licet [...]”, in: Theseus Ambrosius, *op. cit.*, f. 11v–12r.

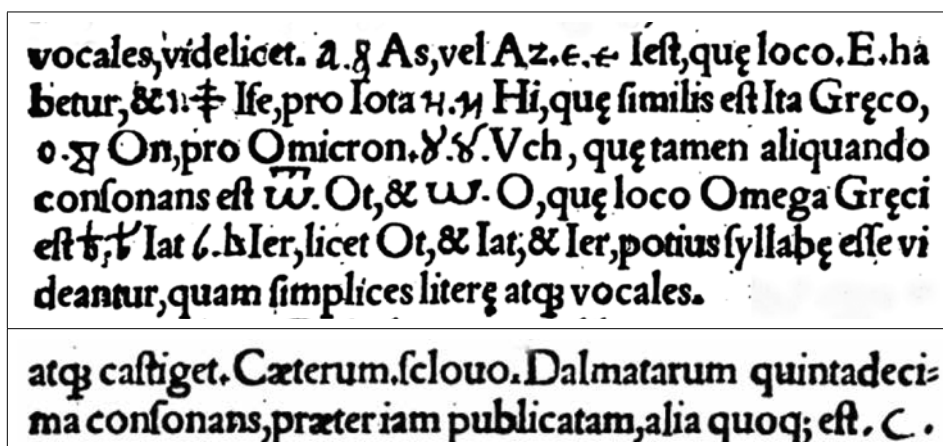
¹³ Anica Nazor, “Hrvatskoglagojske inkunabule u povodu 500. obljetnice brevijara Blaža Baromića (1493–1993)”, in: *Croatica*, t. 23–24, Nr. 37–39, 1992–1993, p. 229–257; Idem, *Brevijar po zakonu rimskog dvora, 1491. Faksimil (faksimilna reprodukcija) jedinoga sačuvanoga originalnog orimjerka, Venecija, Biblioteca nazionale Marciana, Breviario glagolitico, Inc. 1235*, ed. by Marija-Ana Dürriegl and Anica Nazor, Zagreb: Hrvatska akademija znanosti i umjetnosti, 1991, p. 5–8.

¹⁴ On Glagolitic incunables and paleotypes, see: Андрей Круминг, *Сводный каталог старопечатных изданий глаголического шрифта 1483–1812 гг.*, ред. Ирина Полонская, Москва: Российская государственная библиотека, 1998; Josip Leonard Tandarić, “Prva hrvatskoglagojska početnica 1527”, in: *Slovo*, 1982–1983, t. 32–33, p. 255–261.

he knew them from manuscripts); this is confirmed by his text, because throughout the pages he argues that he has not cast out one or another letter of the Dalmatians (as for “B”, “T” or “X”, f. 51v, 68r, 70v) because they “*nec dum publicatam*”. Besides, from Ambrogio’s statement further on, we can suppose that he also disposed of Macedonian *Troparia* and *Condacia* (as he calls them himself), from which he cited the names of the saints as examples of the letters, and even knew that the New Year opened for them with September and not with January (f. 69v)¹⁵.

From the very beginning, Ambrogio notes Cyrillic letters, and later on even for the Dalmatians demonstrating the Cyrillic font (with very rare exceptions of the Glagolitic one, as as is shown above), as for the letters “C”, “Ц”, “III” and “Ц” (Fig. 2).

Figure 2. Cyrillic vowels, Theseus Ambrosius, *Introductio*, f. 12r, 64v, 73v



¹⁵ Ambrogio’s sources remain quasi-enigmatic: his manuscripts and typefaces were lost or scattered; after seven years, he found by chance, among the wrapping papers, his Syriac manuscript, and began to prepare typographical work in Ferrara. Then again, in 1537 he had to move all his materials to Pavia. A small part of his collection is situated in the Biblioteca Universitaria di Pavia, Fondo Aldini, but this part represents primarily the Armenian and Hebraic manuscripts. It does not contain Cyrillic sources, cf.: Luigi De Marchi, Giuseppe Bertolani, *Inventario dei Manoscritti della R. Biblioteca Universitaria di Pavia*, vol. I, Milan: Ulrico Hoepli, 1894, p. 96–100, 190–191, 386. Also, the Biblioteca nazionale Marciana has one copy of the Glagolitic *Brevijar po zakonu rimskog Dvora* (1491) with Ambrogio’s handwritten notes.

**hac litera, & sequenti Chief. Hăc etiā Dalmatz, hoc modo
figurāt 24 & Ci. appellāt. ¶ Vigesima prima cōsonans,**

**Sca, ш, & p. Scin. Hebræo sumit. Hanc Dalmatz. Sa.
siue. Sai. appellāt, & eandē ferē figurā hēt. ш, quā & Sa.
Macedonica, Dalmaticaq; iam impressa. ш. eo dūtaxat**

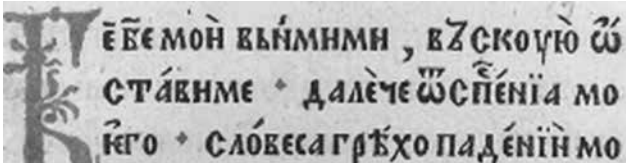
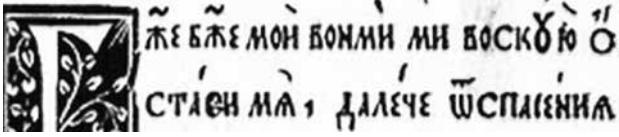
Here, as in numerous places in the text, we can ascertain that Ambrogio had access to *printed* Macedonian, Bulgarian, Serbian and/or Dalmatian books. We can exclude *Търговишко евангелие*, 1512 (The Four Gospels of Târgoviște), because he never cites the New Testament, only examples from the Psalms and the Old Testament. For Glagolitic letters (printed, as he states himself), he certainly had the Breviarium of 1491 and probably *Bukvar* of 1527, or *Kožičičev Bukvar* of 1530. For Cyrillic ones (likewise, printed by the Macedonians and *Ruscij*, as is affirmed later by Ambrogio), in Ambrogio's time (i.e. up to 1539), there were three editions that he could quote as examples of Cyrillic script: *Псалтирь с воследованием* (Цетинье: Тип. Джурджа Црноевича, печ. Макарий, 1495), *Псалтир с последовањем* (Венеција: Божидар Вуковић, 1519–1520) and the serial edition of Francysk Skaryna's *Бивлия руска* (Прага, 1517–1519).

Following the text of Ambrogio, when he describes the genealogy of consonants, we find numerous examples of passages from these Psalters.

Citing Psalm 22 (21):1, "*deus deus meus respice ad me, quare dereliquisti me*" (My God, my God, why hast Thou forsaken me?¹⁶) for the "*Indorum consonantibus*", Ambrogio also evokes Macedonian and Dalmatian versions, while clearly using (one or both) above-mentioned Psalters for the Macedonian (*Boge Boge moi vienmimi, viescuii ostauime*) but evidently not for the Dalmatian (*Boge Boge moi vanmimi vschuii me ostau*), since *me* is not in its place. We can also rule out the possibility that in these quotations Ambrogio used Skaryna's Psalter of 1517 (Fig. 3).

¹⁶ The English translation of Biblical verses is given according to the King James version.

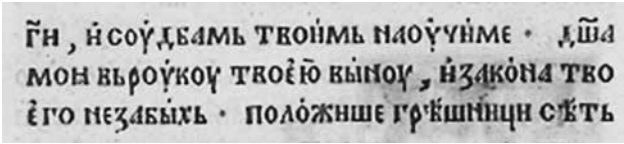
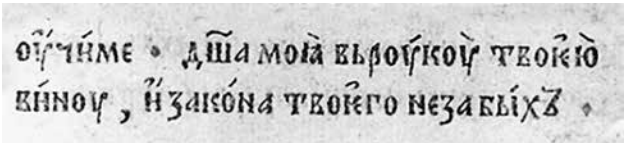
Figure 3. Ambrogio’s transliteration of the Macedonian and Dalmatian versions of Psalm 22 (21):2

Theseus Ambrosius, <i>Introductio</i> , f. 38v and 39r	zis.hoc est deus deus meus respice ad me, quare dereli quisti me.Idem quoq; & Macedones referunt cum aiunt. Boge Boge moi vienmimi.viefcuiu oftaui.me. Idem ferè & Dalmatz dicentes.Boge Boge moi vānmimi vſchuiū me oftaui:Græca etiam interpretatio habet. Но theos,ho
Псалтирь с восследо- ванием, Цетинье: Тип. Джурджа Црноевича, печ. Макарий, 1495, 21:2	 Ѣ БЖЕ МОИ ВЪНМНИ ВЪСКОУ Ю ѠСТАВѢМЕ . ДАЛЕЧЕ ѠПЕН ІА МОЕГО СЛОВЕСА ГРѢХОПАДЕ
Псалтир с последо- ванъем, Венеција: Бо- жидар Вуковић, 1519- 1520, 21:2	 Ѣ БЖЕ МОИ ВЪНМНИ , ВЪСКОУЮ Ѡ СТАВѢМЕ * ДАЛЕЧЕ ѠСПЕНІА МО ЕГО * СЛОВЕСА ГРѢХОПАДЕНІИ МО
Псалтырь, Прага: Франциск Скорина, 1517, f. 20r	 Ѣ БЖЕ МОИ ВЪНМНИ МИ ВОСКѢЮ Ѡ СТАВѢМА , ДАЛЕЧЕ ѠСПАКЕННА

Citing Psalm 119 (118):109 “*anima mea in manibus meis semper*”¹⁷ (My soul is continually in my hand), Ambrogio not only gives the “Macedones” and “Dalmates” transliterations, but also pays special attention to the fact that the Chaldeans, Syrians, Indians, Arabs, Phoenicians, Numidians and Macedonians translate the expression *manu tua* as “your hand”, in the second person, while the Hebrews follow the source, as well as the Greeks, Latins and Dalmatians, who interpret this verse as “my hand”. Then Ambrogio gives examples of this locution of the “incorrect” Macedonians and the “true” Dalmatians. As we can see from Figure 4, he does not cite the printed version of Božidar Vuković’s Psalter, because it also has “*tvoeu*”, as well as Skaryna’s.

¹⁷ Theseus Ambrosius, *op. cit.*, f. 42.

Figure 4. Ambrogio's transliteration of the Macedonian and Dalmatian versions of Psalm 119 (118):109

Theseus Ambrosius, <i>Introductio</i> , f. 42v	sequunt & macedones dicētes . Dufa moia virucu tuoieiu vinu, idest anima mea in manu tua semper . Hebręor; vero fontem, & Gręci, & Latini sequuntur, qui etiam & Dalma ta, qui hunc versiculum verbis istis interpretantur . Dufa moie vrucu moieiu vinu, hoc est, anima mea i manu mea semper . Q uod autē dixi Indū eisdē penē literis animā in-
Псалтирь с восследо- ванием, Цетинье: Тип. Джурджа Црноевича, печ. Макарий, 1495, 118:109	
Псалтир с последо- ванием, Венеция: Божидар Вуковић, 1519- 1520, 118:109	
Псалтырь, Прага: Франциск Скорина, 1517, f. 109v	

Further, in the chapter on Jacobite and Coptic consonants, Ambrogio gives numerous associations between Greek, Macedonian, *Rufiorum*, Dalmatian, and eventually Bulgarian letters (f. 48v-49v).

While giving (repeatedly) the information that the Macedonians, Goths, or “*Rufiii*” actually, as well as the Bulgarians and Serbs, all have almost the same alphabet, except for three or four letters, and 24 consonants, like the number of Homer’s books, Ambrogio begins with the consonant “B”. Here he gives a Cyrillic transliteration (without specifying, which version, which, however, in the context of the previous phrase, can be attributed equally to Macedonian, Bulgarian and *Rufium* examples) of the expression from Psalm 133 (132):2 “in barbam barbam aaron”¹⁸ (upon the beard, even Aaron’s beard) (Fig. 5).

¹⁸ Theseus Ambrosius, *op. cit.*, f. 51.

Figure 5. Ambrogio's transliteration of Cyrillic versions of Psalm 133 (132):2

Theseus Ambrosius, <i>Introductio</i> , f. 51	<i>unum, & ibidem. Sicut unguentum quod descendit na bradu, bradu aaroniu, in barbam barbam aaron. Et in omni</i>
<i>Псалтирь с воследованием</i> , Цетинье: Тип. Джурджа Црноевича, печ. Макарий, 1495, 132:2	 ѦННН УТО ДОБРО ННН УТО КРАСНО, ННН ЕЖЕ ЖНТН БРАТН ВЪКОУПѢ. ИКО МЪРО НАГЛАВѢ СХОДЕЩЕ ННН НАБРАДОУ БРАДОУ ЯАРОНЮ. СХОДЕЩЕ ННН НАШМЕ
<i>Псалтир с последованием</i> , Венеција: Божидар Вуковић, 1519-1520, 132:2	 ѦННН УТО ДОБРО ННН ЧТО КРАСНО, ННН ЕЖЕ ЖНТН БРАТН ВЪКОУПѢ. ИКО МЪРО НАГЛАВѢ СХОДЕЩЕ ННН НАБРАДОУ БРАДЪ ЯАРОНЮ. СХОДѢ
<i>Псалтырь</i> , Прага: Франциск Скорина, 1517, f. 118v	 Е КОЛЬ ДОБРО ИКОЛЬ КРАСНО, ЖНТН БРАТН ВЪКОПѢ. ИКО МИРО НАГЛАВѢ, СХОДЩЕ НАБРАДУ БРАДУ ЯАРОНЮ. ЕЖЕ ИСХОДИТЬ НАШ

It is noteworthy in this passage (Fig. 5, and subsequently Fig. 8) that Ambrogio, who is usually meticulous in the transfer of letters, shows the vowel оукъ only in the Ѧ form, exactly according to Francysk Skaryna's single ligature form (cf. Skaryna's Ѧ) in contrast to the diagraph form in Макарий's (1495) оуѣ and Вуковић's (1520) оуѣ versions. This last uses the ligature-type form Ѧ, but very rarely, preferring the diagraph form almost overwhelmingly. It is also notable that earlier, in folio 12, twice (first describing Cyrillic vowels in general, and then saying that some people mistake the Cyrillic "y" for a consonant), Ambrogio shows the оукъ form in exactly the same manner as in Skaryna's Psalter, preserving its writing in ligature Ѧ form, and naturally rendering it in a single "u" transliteration (Fig. 6). This makes Skaryna's Psalter this time a quite possible candidate as a source for Ambrogio's quotes.

Figure 6. Ambrogio's transliteration of оукъ

Theseus Ambrosius, <i>Introductio</i> , f. 12 (two examples at the same page)	Ѹ.Ѹ.Vch Ѹ.Vch
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We can assume with a certain degree of certainty that Ambrogio used Skaryna's Psalter. Moreover, in several places, as in the quotation on "Aaron's beard", while he does not specify exactly which Cyrillic fonts he is talking of, giving these letters after a general list of Slavic nations (*including Rofii vel Rufii*), Ambrogio lets us think that the terms "Ruthenian", "Macedonian" and "Dalmatian" languages relate to each other in the following order: Ruthenian as a general, while both Macedonian and Dalmatian as particular cases: "Macedonians and Goths, or *Rofii* or *Rufii* actually, inhabitants of Greater Scythia, a part of Sarmatia"¹⁹. After that follows an example from Psalms 132:2, taken, we can suppose, from Skaryna's Psalter.

It is also of particular interest that Ambrogio persists throughout the whole text in using the terms *Rufiorum* (when speaking about the languages and alphabets that are mentioned in his book) (f. 1v), *Rufium*, *Rufios* or *Rufij* (Fig. 7) with a single *f*. He *never* uses the conventional term in his epoqe *Ruthenian*²⁰, everywhere employing the derivative terms from *Rufcij* exactly as Skaryna himself explicitly indicated in the prefaces to the books of the Bible (including the Psalter)²¹. This singularity is even more eloquent when he speaks

¹⁹ Original: "Macedones et Gotij seu mauis Rosii vel Rusii, Scythiae maioris, unius ve Sarmatiae partis incolae", in: Theseus Ambrosius, *op. cit.*, f. 51.

²⁰ On the use, evolution and historiography of the question, see: Stéphane Mund, "Constitution et diffusion d'un savoir occidental sur le monde 'russe' au Moyen Âge (fin Xe-milieu XVe siècle), (2e partie)", in: *Le Moyen Age*, 2004, No 3, t. 90, p. 539-593.

²¹ See also the "standard" application of the terms "Ruthenian" and "Russian" in sources from the late 15th to the early 17th century (still relevant to our study as reflecting the scope of the term), e.g.: Maciej Miechowita, *Tractatus de duabus Sarmatiis Asiana et Europiana et de contentis in eis*, Kraków: Haller, 1517: Ruffia, Ruteni, Rufforum, Rutenorum; Sebastian Münster, *Cosmographia. Beschreibung aller Lender durch Sebastianum Münsterum: in welcher begriffen aller Voelker, Herrschaften, Stetten, und namhafftiger Flecken, herkommen: Sitten, Gebreüch, Ordnung, Glauben, Secten und Hantierung durch die gantze Welt und fürnemlich Teütscher Nation*, Basel: durch Henrichum Petri, 1544: Reiiffen; Idem, *La cosmographie universelle de tout le monde La cosmographie vniverselle, contenant la situation de toutes les parties du monde, avec leurs proprietéz & appartenances [...]*, [Bazel]: Henry Pierre, 1556: Rufsie, Ruthenie; Idem, *Cosmographiae uniuersalis Lib[ri] VI. in quibus, iuxta certioris fidei scriptorum traditionem describuntur, Omniu[m] habitabilis orbis partiu[m]*

about the punctuation, mentioning the Greeks, Latins, Macedonians, Illirians, Dalmatians (Craeci, Latini, Macedones, Illirici, Dalmatae) *in the plural* and “Rufcij” (as from Skaryna’s unmissable **ИРЪСКИИ ЯЗЫКЪ**) *in the singular tense*²² (as having, except the Illyrians and Dalmatians) “books, in their letters and language, which have already been published by the Chalcographers” (Fig. 7).

situs, propriaeq[ue] dotes [...], Basileae: apud Henrichum Petri, 1550 and 1552: Ruffis, Rufsia, Ruthenia; Idem, *Sei Libri Della Cosmografia Vniuersale, ne quali secondo che n’hanno parlato i piu ueraci scrittori son disegnati, I siti de tutte le parti del mondo habitabile & le proprie doti [...]*, [Basileia]: Henrico Pietro, 1558 (lib. IIII): Rufsia, Ruthenia; Idem, *La cosmographie universelle de tout le monde*, edition by François de Belleforest, vol. 1, Paris: Michel Sonnius, 1575: Ruffie, Ruthenie, Ruffiens, Rutheniens; Sigismund von Herberstein, *Rerum Moscoviticarum commentarii*, Wien: Aegidius, Hans Kohl, 1549: Ruffia, gentilater Rufsi, Latine Rhuteni appellati, Rhutenica lingua; (Albert Pighius) (Alberto Campense, Albert of Kampen), “Lettera d’Alberto Campense intorno le cose di Moscovia, al beatissimo padre Clemente VII, pontefice massimo”, in: Giovanni Battista Ramusio, *Delle Navigationi et Viaggi in molti luoghi corretta, et ampliata, nella quale si contengono la descrizione dell’Africa [...]*, vol. 2, Venezia: Tommaso Giunti, 1559, f. 127r: Rofsi, dapoi i Lituani; Rofsia, Mofcoviti Rufsi, overamente Rhuteni; *Pauli Jouii Novocomensis libellus de legatione Basilii magni principis Moschoviae ad Clementem VII. Pontificem Max caeterum ostenditur error Strabonis, Ptolemei, aliorumque Geographiae scriptorum [...]*, Basileae: Johann Froben, 1527, p. 15: “nam Lithuaniae partem, Ruffiam appellant inferiorem, quum ipsa Mofchovia Ruffia Alba nuncupetur”; Idem, *Paulii Iovii Novocomensis Episcopi Nucerini Elogia virorum bellica virtute illustrium veris imaginibus supposita, quae apud Museaum spectantur. Volumen digestum est in septem libros*, Florentiae: In officina Laurentii Torrentini Ducalis Typographi, 1551, (lib. VI), p. 277: “Mofchi ad Polonis et Lithuanis, modo Rutheni, modo Mofcovitae vocati”; Johann Faber, *Ad serenissimum principem Ferdinandum Archiducem Austriae, Moscouitarum iuxta mare glaciale Religio, a D. Ioanne Fabri aedita*, Basileae: Ioannis Bebelius, 1526: univserorum Ruthenorum, Rutheni; Theodorus Bibliander, *De ratione communi omnium linguarum et literarum commentarius Theodori Bibliandri*, Tigvri (Zurich): Christoph Froschauer, 1548: Ruffia, Rutenorum, Ruteni; André Thevet, *La cosmographie universelle d’André Thevet, illustrée de diverses figures des choses plus remarquables veuës par l’auteur et incogneuës de noz Anciens et Modernes*, vol. 2, Paris: Pierre l’Huillier, 1575, (livre XIX, chap. VIII): Ruffie, Ruffiens; Idem, *Les vrais pourtraits et vies des hommes illustres grecz, latins et payens en 8 vol.*, vol. 2, Paris: I. Kervet et G. Chaudière, 1584: Ruffien; Claude Duret, *Thresor de l’histoire des langues de cest univers: contenant les origines, beautés, perfections, décadences, mutations, changemens, conversions et ruines des langues*, Paris: Pyramus de Candole, 1613: Ruffiens.

²² Original: “Et Craeci quoque, ac Latini, sua habent punctorum genera, ad id quod dictum est demonstrandum reperta, quae a Graecorum, Latinorumque Grammaticis sunt petenda. Macedones etiam et Ruscij [my italics, O.S.], ac utriusque Misiae incolae, nec non Illirici et Dalmatae, imperfectos, perfectosque sententiarum sensus, in punctando declarant, ut in libris in eorum literis ac lingua, à Calcographis iam dudum publicatis cernere licet”, in: Theseus Ambrosius, *op. cit.*, f. 211v.

Figure 7. Ambrogio's use of the term *Rufiorum* in different forms, including *Rufcij*

Theseus Ambrosius, <i>Introductio</i> , f. 1v	Rufiorum.
Theseus Ambrosius, <i>Introductio</i> , f. 49	Rufium
Theseus Ambrosius, <i>Introductio</i> , f. 49v	Rufi
Theseus Ambrosius, <i>Introductio</i> , f. 51	Rofii vel Rufii
Theseus Ambrosius, <i>Introductio</i> , f. 59	Rufios
Theseus Ambrosius, <i>Introductio</i> , f. 211v	Rufcij

This clearly indicates that Ambrogio had a linguistic source before his eyes, from which he took this term (*Rufcij* and other derivated forms): the biblical prefaces of Francysk Skaryna. At the same time, he himself states at the end of his book: “And the Greeks also, as well as the Latins, have their own kinds of punctuation, noticed to demonstrate what has been said, which are to be sought from the Greek and Latin Grammarians. Macedonians also and *Rufcij* [my italics, O.S.], and the inhabitants of both Mysia, and also²³ Illyricians and Dalmatians, declare the imperfect and the perfect tenses of sentences in punctuation, as you may see in the books in their letters and language, published a little time ago by Calcographers” (for the original, see footnote 22).

Furthermore, Ambrogio speaks about *libri* in the plural, which can be extrapolated to mean *Rufiorum* books. Indeed, a close reading of his work supposes the numerous examples transliterated from Skaryna's books.

The first is that famous discovery of Dobrowsky, where Ambrogio gives a parallel list of David's Mighty Men. It is important that this passage is preceded by Ambrogio's explicit statement: “Another consonant is called *dobro* [like Latin] ‘d’ as it is grasped in Psalm 105 or otherwise 106: ‘The earth opened up and swallowed up Dathan’ [The earth opened and swallowed up Dathan and covered the company of Abiram, Psalm 106:17], about which much has been said in the [chapter] on consonants of the Indians. *Rofius* or actually more accustomed *Rufius*, use this letter for ‘d’ as it may be clear to us, from

²³ “nec non” = and also, as well as, in: *A Latin Dictionary. Founded on Andrews' edition of Freund's Latin dictionary, revised, enlarged, and in great part rewritten by Charlton T. Lewis, Ph.D. and. Charles Short, LL.D.*, Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1879.

the penultimate chapter of the Books of Samuel [2 Samuel 23: 24–39], which is considered by them [*Rufius*] as the second [Book] of Kings. In which are listed after David and Eleazar the son of Ahoi [the son of Dodo, the Ahohite] and Shemma [Shammah] the son of Agee the Hararite [...]”²⁴.

After this introduction follows a passage from Skaryna's second Book of Reigns, noticed by Dobrowsky (Fig. 8).

Figure 8. Ambrogio's transliteration of the names of David's Mighty Men from Skaryna's second Book of Reigns

Theseus Ambrosius, *Introductio*, f. 53

SYRIACAM ATQ. ARMEN. 53

filium Agge, de Arari, & Abisai fratrem Ioab, filium Saruiz, & post Banaian, filium Ioiaed, quem fecit sibi David auricularium à secrete, triginta nobiles & fortes viri, qui fuerūt cum David, quorum nomina Gōtius siue Rufus hoc ordine describens exprimit, videlicet. Azael brati Ioauoui mezi tridictmi myzmi. Elianani fini diudi ciarius Davidoua onihleoma. Samma ot Ararij. Elichau ot Arodiu. Gelijsi ot Phaltj. Girai fini Accjefoui ot theciā Auiezeri ot Anatota. Mouonai ot Vzati. Selmoni Ago idcij. Macharai Metophacisij. Elephi fini Vanaoui ioti teze. Metophacisij Ithai fini Riuaui zieuatiā ot sinoui venaminouchi. Vanai Pharatonisicij. Geldai ot potocy Gaafa. Awiatou Arbachiisij. Azamauehi ot Beronyma. Eliau ot Sauonima. Sinouiat Isenou ot Souatani, i Narani. Samani Znorodi. Gaiani fini Saraui. I Arani Arochisicij. Elepheshechi fini Azzuaui fina Machacisoua. Geliam fini Achitopheleui Elonicicij. Efrai Zearme liu. Pharai ot Arbiju. Gaal fini Nathanou ot Souaiu. Vomiati Zgaddiju. Seilechi Zi Ammona. Narai Verochisicij muzi nolnustij oruzie Ioauouo fina Saruina. Girai Etrianicij. Garebi oniteze Etricij. Vriju Eithesicij. Vleschi fichi myzei filnubi biloefti tridictie i sedmi, hoc est.

Skaryna, 2nd Book of Reigns, f. 114v-115

О҃ХА СВОЕГО • ИМЕНА ПАКѢ ТЫХЪ МУЖЕИ СИЛНЫХЪ
ИХЪЖЕ ИМЕА ЕСТЬ ЦАРЬ ДАУИДЪ ТРИДЦЕТИ ИСѢДМЪ
СИМЪ СУТЬ • ЯЗЕЛЪ БРАТЪ ІОАВОВЪ МЕЖИ ТРИДЦЕ
ТМИ МУЖИ • ЕЛИАНАНЪ СЫНЪ ДАИДЪ ЦАРЬ ДАУИ
ДАЕЛЪ ШИДЛАГОМА • ГАИММІА ШЯРАНИ • ЕЛИ
ХАВЪ ШЯРОДИ • ГАИНИСЪ ШФАЛТИНЪ • ГИРАИ
СЫНЪ ЯАКІЕСОВЪ ШДЕКУМЪ • ЯБІЕЗЕРЪ ШНАТО
ТА • ИЛОВОНИ ШЪЗАТЫ • ГАЕМОНЫ ЯГОИТСКІИ •
МАХИРАИ МЕТОФАЦСКІИ • ЕЛІФЪ СЫНЪ ВАИНСОВЪ
ИТОНЪ ТЕЖЕ МЕТОФАЦСКІИ • ИДАНЪ СЫНЪ РИСЕВЪ
ЗЪЕВЪХА ШСЫНОВЪ ВЕИМІИНСОВЪ • ВАНИНЪ ФА
РАТОНІИСКІИ • ГАЕЛДАНЪ ШПОТОКУ ГАЛСА • ЯОН
АТОНЪ ЯРЕЛУХІТСКІИ • ЯЗМАЛЕВЪ ШБЕРОНИМА •
ЕЛИАВА ШСАВОНИМА • ГЫНОЕТЪ ІАСЕНОЕН ДВА ЕНА
ТАНЪ • ИНАРАНЪ • ГАИМАНЪ ЗНОРОДИ • ГАИМЪ
СЫНЪ ГАРАЕВЪ • ИЯРАИЪ ЯРОХІТСКІИ • ЕЛІФЕ
ЛЕХЪ СЫНЪ ЯЗЕЛЪ СЫНА МАХИРОВО • ГАИМЪ
СЫНЪ ЯХИТОФЕЛЕВЪ ЕЛОНІИСКІИ • ЕСРАИЪ ЗКАИ
МЕЛО • ФАРАИ ШЯРАИ • ГАІАЛЪ СЫНЪ НАДНОИ
ШБОВАЛЪ • ВОИТИНЪ ЗГАДІИ • БЕИЛЕХЪ ЗЪ
ЯММОА • НАРИНЪ ВЕРОХІТСКІИ МУЖЪ ПОСАДІИ
ОРОЖІЕ ІОАВОВА СЫНА ГАРАНИНА • ГИРАИ ЕТЕ
ИСКІИ • ГАРЕВЪ ОНА ТЕЖЕ ЕТРИИСКІИ • ОРИНЪ
ЕДІИСКІИ • ВСЕХЪ СИХЪ МУЖЕИ СИЛНЫХЪ БЫЛО
ЕСТЬ ТРИДЦЕТИ ИСѢДМЪ •

²⁴ Original: “Alia consonans dicitur dobro ~~et~~ pro .d. capitur, ut in psalmo .105. alias .106. Aperta est terra et deglutivit dathana & [vel] dathan, de qua in Idorum consonantibus satis abunde dictum fuit. Rosius quoque seu mavis Rusius, hac utitur litera pro .d. ut clarum nobis esse potest, ex capite penultimo libri Samuelis, Regum sci licet secundi; In quo recensentur post David et Eleazarum filium Ahoi et Semma filium Agge de Arari [...], in Theseus Ambrosius, *op. cit.*, f. 52v–52r.

Nevertheless, Ambrogio's quotations from Skaryna do not end with this folio. *Just after* this list of David's Mighty Men (from Skaryna's second Book of Kings [2 Samuel 23: 24–39]), Ambrogio gives the beginning of an analogical passage in Latin, specifying that the same names appear in the first chapter of the Chronicles among the Greeks, Latins, Macedonians and *Rufiis* (which allows us to make the cautious hypothesis that Ambrogio knew this one, which is absent to us, the book of Skaryna). Afterwards, he repeats his traditional formulation on the sameness of “*Graecis et Latinis, Macedonicis, Rufiis et caeteris variarum linguarum literis*” (f. 53), and then, in a burst of ardent literary eloquence, invites the reader to follow the logic of the amazing musical instrument *phagotus*²⁵, invented by his uncle Afranio degli Albonesi, which would have brought together the voices of all musical instruments to better understand the concordances of *Rufiorum convenient literae* (f. 54). *Right after that*, he continues, straightaway without a transition, to the letter “Ж” (живѣте, as Ambrogio explains, this consonant “*Civite sive Scivite*” is to be pronounced as between the Latin “C”, “S” and “Z”), he gives “*Blacemi musi ize*” (f. 54v), *this time undeniably* from *Rufiorum* letters from Skaryna's Psalter, Psalm 1:1²⁶ (see Fig. 9).

²⁵ Ambrogio illustrates this instrument with two chalcographies (f. 178v, 179r). The phagotus appears also in art: Master of the Twelve Apostles, *Jacob and Rachel at the well* (Giacobbe e Rachele al pozzo), oil on canvas, Fondazione Cassa di Risparmio de Ferrara, for detailed description see: Mauro Gioielli, “Nihil difficile volenti. Il phagotus, la prima cornamusa a mantice”, in: *Utriculus*, 2007, vol. 44, p. 5–19.

²⁶ Original: “Organum quoque ipsum seu phagotum, ne dum sedenti verum etiam deambulanti, et in eo cantanti, digitosque ludendo discapedinanti musico, usui esse potest. Simili modo et illorum illustrium virorum superius recensita nomina, literarum conformationem scire cupienti demonstrare poterunt, si quibus Rusiorum convenient literae, quaerens .ad ea tanquam ad scopum, firmissimumque illarum exemplar oculus converterit. Totius enim alphabeti literas, ibi comprehensas intvebitur, et latinis conformibus respondere facillime cognoscet, et tandem ad reliquas consonantes explicandas revertatur. Quinta igitur sequens consonans Civite siue Scivite appellatur, et litera quaedam media est inter .c. et .s. et .z. nostrum, et linguae intra dentes submissa extremitate, sic pronuncianda est, ut vix discernere quaeas utram ex tribus suprascriptis literis proseras, ut in psalmo primo. Blacemi musi ize, idest Beatus vir qui, in quibus dictionibus litera ista reperitur, et iccirco illam cum tribus latinis literis scripti”, in: Theseus Ambrosius, *op. cit.*, f. 54r–54v.

Figure 9. Ambrogio's transliteration of the letter “живѣте” with a quotation from Psalm 1:1, and a comparison with the Cyrillic versions (including Francysk Skaryna's Psalter)

Theseus Ambrosius, <i>Introductio</i> , f. 54v	teris proferas, vt in psalmo primo. Blacemi musi ize, idest Beatus vir qui, in quibus dictionibus litera ista reperitur,
Псалтирь с воследо- ванием, Цетинье: Тип. Джурджа Црноевича, печ. Макарий, 1495, 1:1	 БЛАЖЕНЬ МОУЖЬ ИЖЕ НЕ ИДЕ НАСВѢТЪ НЕУБѢСН ВѢНХЪ • ИНА ПОУТН ГРѢ ШНИНХЪ НЕСТА • ИНА СѢДАЛИЩН ГОУБЕНТЕЛѢ НЕ СѢДЕ • ИНА ВЪЗАКОНѢ ГНѢ КОЛѢ СГО • ИНА
Псалтирь с последо- ванием, Венеція: Божидар Вуковић, 1519-1520, 1:1	 БЛАЖЕНЬ МОУЖЬ ИЖЕ НЕ ИДЕ НАСВѢТЪ НЕЧЕ СНИВѢНХЪ • ИНА ПОУТН ГРЕШНИНХЪ НЕСТА • ИНА СѢДАЛИЩН ГОУБЕНТЕЛѢ НЕ СѢДЕ
Псалтирь, Прага: Франциск Скорина, 1517, f. 5r, 1:1	БЛАЖЕНЬ МОУЖЬ ИЖЕ НЕИДЕ НАСОВѢТЪ НЕЧЕ СНИВѢНХЪ, ИНА ПОУТН ГРЕШНИНХЪ НЕСТА, ИНА СѢДАЛИЩН ГОУБЕНТЕЛѢ

Then Ambrogio moves to other Cyrillic consonants, from “како”, “сѣло” to “покои”, specifying the examples in Greek, Hebrew, Chaldean, Dalmatian and (less often) Macedonian (but this time not *Rufinum*).

Nevertheless, speaking of the letter “κακο” (Ambrogio: *caco*, which he mistakes for “c”, f. 58r), he points out something that he “could not pass over in silence”: that among the Dalmatians, Macedonians and *Rufios*, the name Caesar is “usurped” for the title of kings in general (f. 59r).

Afterwards, for the letter рѣци, Ambrogio states that “Macedonians, Dalmatians and *Rufii* call a slave “*rabi*” (as we see from the list of David’s Mighty Men, for a Cyrillic transliteration of “ерѣ” Ambrogio uses “i”), “*servum, vocant Rabi*”²⁷ and immediately after gives the example from Psalm 18 with the expression “*raba tvoego*”. The following table indubitably shows that from three candidates for this quotation of Ambrogio’s, Skaryna’s Psalter is the most plausible (Fig. 10).

Figure 10. A comparison of Ambrogio’s quotation and Cyrillic sources (including Skaryna’s Psalter) for *raba tvoego*

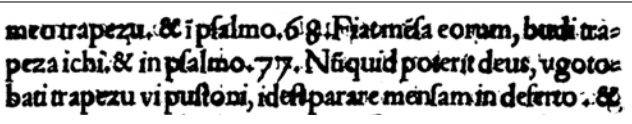
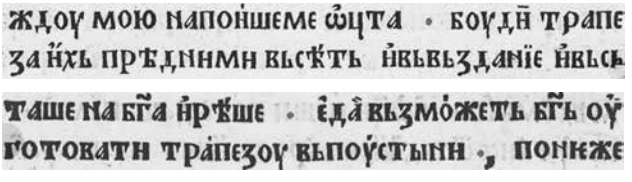
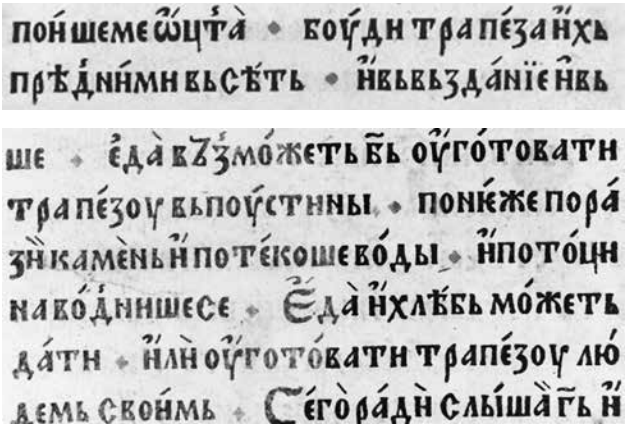
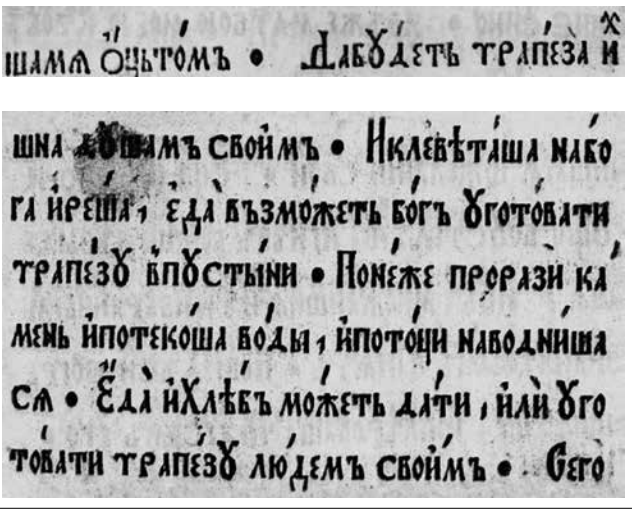
Theseus Ambrosius, <i>Introductio</i> , f. 63r	ait, Ozecharon la rabi, Ceterum Macedones, Dalmatae, Rufii, servi, vocant Rabi, in psalmo. 18. Etenim rabi, id est servus, & p̄d̄em. Et ab alienis parce raba tvoego, id est fer uo tuo. Et quod Gr̄eci pro mensa trapezan vocant, eod̄e
Псалтирь с восследо- ванием, Цетинье: Тип. Джурджа Црноевича, печ. Макарий, 1495, 18	ѸЕ МЕДА НСЪТА • НБѠ РАБѢ ТВОЕХЪ ХРАНИТЬ ИХЪ ВЪНГДА СЪХРАНИТИ ИХЪ ВЪЗДАНІЕ МНОГО • ГРЕХО ПАДЕНІА КТО РАЗОУМѢЕТЬ • Ѡ ТАИНЫ ХЪ МОИХЪ ѠЧИСТИ МЯ • Н Ѡ ТОУЖДНХЪ ПОЩЕДИ РАБА ТВОЕГО • ЯЩЕ МНѠ НЕ ОУДОЛЖИЮТЪ • ТѢ
Псалтир с последо- ванъем, Венеција: Божидар Вуковић, 1519-1520, 18	Н СЛАЖЬША ПАЧЕ МЕДА НЗСЪТА • НБѠ РА БѢ ТВОЕХЪ ХРАНИТЬ ИХЪ ВЪНГДА СЪХРАНИТИ ИХЪ ВЪЗДАНІЕ МНОГО • ГРЕХО ПАДЕНІА КТО РАЗОУМѢЕТЬ • Ѡ ТАИНЫХЪ МОИХЪ ѠЧИСТИ МЯ • Н Ѡ ТОУЖИИ ПОЩЕДИ РАБА ТВОЕГО •
Псалтырь, Прага: Франциск Скорина, 1517, f. 5r	НБѠ РАБѢ ТВОЕХЪ ХРАНИТЬ ИХЪ, И ВО СОХРАНЕНІИ ИХЪ ВОЗДАНІЕ МНОГО • ГРЕХО ПАДЕНІА КТО РАЗОУМѢЕТЬ, Ѡ ТАИНЫХЪ МОИХЪ ѠЧИСТИ МЯ И Ѡ ТОУЖДИХЪ ПОЩЕДИ РАБА ТВОЕГО • ЯЩЕ

Then, continuing, Ambrogio admits that the term “table” (*mensa*) in all those languages cited above with *Rufii* closing up the list, takes its source

²⁷ Theseus Ambrosius, *Introductio*, f. 63r.

from the Greek *trapesan*, and gives an example from Psalms 68 (69): 23 and 77 (78):19 (Fig. 11)

Figure 11. A comparison of Ambrogio’s quotation and Cyrillic sources (including Skaryna’s Psalter) for the *trapezu*

Theseus Ambrosius, <i>Introductio</i> , f. 63r	
Псалтирь с воследованием, Цетинье: Тип. Джурджа Црноевича, печ. Макарий, 1495, 68 (69): 23; 77 (78):19	
Псалтир с последованием, Венеција: Божидар Вуковић, 1519-1520, 68 (69): 23; 77 (78):19	
Псалтырь, Прага: Франциск Скорина, 1517, f. 69r	

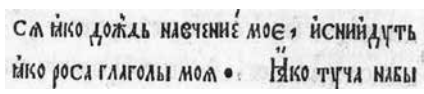
Ambrogio gives another example of the use of the Cyrillic “P” based on the Song of the Three Holy Children in the Psalter as “*Пение триехъ отрокъ*”, Песнь 8), indicating that we can find the same Song *apud Daniele prophetam* (Daniel 3:23). Then, indeed, he cites this example, this time combining not only a transliteration but also giving an *actual translation* in Latin: “*Benedicite imber, i rhosa et ros et paulo post. Benedicite rosa, ros, et pruina domino*” (Bless the rain and *rosa* and the dew and a little below. Bless the *rosa*, dew, and rime divine). In none of the variants known to us (Dalmatian or Macedonian) could we find the word “divine” immediately after “rime”. It could only be in Skaryna’s Book of the Prophet Daniel, as he himself indicates in each page header (Книги Данила пророка), as Ambrogio also notes. Accordingly, we can presume that Ambrogio (after mentioning *Rufii*) also had this book of Skaryna.

Figure 12. A comparison of Ambrogio’s quotation and Cyrillic sources for *rosa* and *pruina domino*

Theseus Ambrosius, <i>Introductio</i> , f. 63r	<i>apud Daniele prophetam. Benedicite imber, i rhosa & ros, & paulo post. Benedicite rosa, ros & pruina domino.</i>
Псалтирь с воследованием, Цетинье: Тип. Джурджа Црноевича, печ. Макарий, 1495, пѣснь , ѿ . сѣиныхъ трѣхъ ѿтрокъ	ЗНОСНТЕ ЁГО ВЪВѢКЫ • Б ЛСВНТЕ ВСАКЪ ДѢЖДЪ НРОСА НВЕСН ДСН ГѢ , ПОИТЕ НПРѢВЪ ЗНОСНТЕ ЁГО ВЪВѢКЫ • Б ЛСВНТЕ ѿГНѢ НЗНОН , ЗНМА НВАРЬ ГѢ , ПОИТЕ НПРѢВЪЗНОСНТЕ ЁГО ВЪВѢКЫ • Б ЛСВНТЕ РОСА НННЫЕ , ЛЕДЫ НМРАЗЪ ГѢ , ПОИТЕ НПРѢВЪЗНОТЕ ЁГО
Псалтир с последованьем, Венеција: Божидар Вуковић, 1519-1520 Пѣніе , сѣиныхъ трѣхъ ѿтроки	ПОИТЕ НПРѢВЪЗНОСНТЕ ЁГО ВЪВѢКЫ • БЛВНТЕ РОСА НННЫЕ , ЛЕДН НМРАЗЪ ГѢ
Книга пророка Даниила. Прага: Франциск Скорина, 1519, f. 13v	пойте и превозносите его во вѣки • блѣнте всакии дождь и роса гдѣ , пойте и превозносите его во вѣки : благославите вси дуси гдѣни гдѣ , пойте и превозносите его во вѣки • блѣнте оиѣ изнон гдѣ , пойте и превозносите его во вѣки • благославите зима и лето гдѣ , пойте и превозносите его во вѣки • благославите Росы и ныне гдѣ , пойте и превозносите

Continuing for *rosa*, Ambrogio gives another example from the Song of Moses (Deuteronomy 32:2) (he mistakenly indicates cap. 19): “*fluat sicut ros eloquium meum*” (My speech trickles like the dew), with a transliteration of Cyrillic (Fig. 13).

Figure 13. A comparison of Ambrogio’s quotation and Cyrillic sources (including Skaryna’s Psalter) from Deuteronomy 32:2

Theseus Ambrosius, <i>Introductio</i> , f. 63r	Книги второго закону Моисеова. Прага: Франциск Скорина, 1519, f. 61r, 32:2
idem habes in cantico Moyses, Deuteronomij cap. 19. I enidmi iaco rhoia. idest fluat sicut ros eloquium meū.	

For the consonant “C” (*Sclovo*, as Ambrogio calls it, f. 64v), Ambrogio states that by this letter Ecclesiastes begins his book, and then follows *dicent* (they say)²⁸, returning us to the list of various Slavic languages just before the quotation from this “*incipit*”.

As far as is known, the book of Ecclesiastes in handwritten form was not common among the southern Slavs²⁹ and was not printed in Ambrogio’s time. Contemporary researchers note the “rather ‘marginal’ status of the book of Ecclesiastes in the Slavic tradition”³⁰. Our further judgment is based on the work undertaken by Lyubov Osinkina in 2008, who analysed extant versions

²⁸ Original: “Et librum suum Ecclesiastes ab hac litera incipit dicent”, in: Theseus Ambrosius, *op. cit.*, f. 64v.

²⁹ Robert Mathiesen, Handlist of Manuscripts Containing Church Slavonic Translations from the Old Testament, in: *Пола́та книгописна́я. Polata Knigopisnaia: an Information Bulletin Devoted to the Study of Early Slavic Books, Texts and Literatures*, Nijmegen: William R. Veder, Vakgroep Slavistiek, Katholieke Universiteit, 1983, p. 3–48; *Текстология славянской Библии = Textgeschichte der slavischen Bibel*, ред. Анатолий Алексеев, Санкт-Петербург: РАН. Ин-т рус. лит. (Пушк. дом), Славян. библейс. фонд., Дмитрий Буланin (ДБ), 1999, p. 67, 93, 98, 110: “Notably, that for Ecclesiastes there are only East Slavic manuscripts”.

³⁰ Любовь Осинкина, “О ветхозаветной книге Екклисиаст в Сборнике Матфея Десятого в сравнении с другими коллекциями библейских книг”, in: *Славянская Библия в эпоху раннего книгопечатания: К 510-летию создания Библейского сборника Матфея Десятого*, ред. Анатолий Алексеев, Флорентина. Панченко, Вера Подковырова, Варвара Ромодановская, Санкт-Петербург: Издательство Пушкинского Дома, 2017, p. 206.

of Slavonic manuscript translations of Ecclesiastes: “Two Church Slavonic translations of Ecclesiastes are extant: one, attested in Cyrillic manuscripts, survives in three distinct types: a continuous version of the text (32 manuscripts of the 15th-17th centuries), a fragmentary commentated version (1 manuscript of the 16th century), a fragmentary commentated insertion (8 manuscripts of the 15th-16th centuries). The other translation is a Croatian Church Slavonic version in Glagolitic breviaries (17 manuscripts of the 13th-16th centuries)”³¹. The Croatian Church Slavonic breviary tradition, while pointing unambiguously to a Latin original, reveals the word *t’čšina* instead of *sueta* as borrowed from a Croatian linguistic background (cf. The modern Serbo-Croat word *taština*, for vanity)³². For Cyrillic manuscript translations, Osinkina resumed it from the text of the Gennadian Bible (“GB is chosen as a base text for the edition in Appendix 1. The main reason for doing so is pragmatic, for it offers as complete a text as is available to us”³³). This example shows a completely different opening of the first chapter of Ecclesiastes (Fig. 14)

Figure 14. Incipit of Ecclesiastes in the Gennadian Bible, 1499³⁴

Книгы рекомыѣ еклисиасѣ сборникъ цѣа соломона.

Глава . а .

1:1 Гли (слова) сборника, сѣа двѣа цѣа илѣва въ іерлѣмѣ 2. сѣе’ сѣетьствѣа. вса чѣскаа
счета 3. что изъовиѣе чѣкѣ, въ всемъ спѣшени своемъ. еже спѣшитъ по’слѣньнѣю; 4. ро’

Manifestly, the only possible source for Ambrogio in his example from Ecclesiastes could be the printed (which he himself repeatedly points out) *Rufcij* edition of Francysk Skaryna *Эклесиастесъ или Соборникъ премудраго царя Соломона* (1518).

Ambrogio demonstrates literally transliteration of the incipit of Ecclesiastes, which reveals, if not a fully accurate, but still a very close formulation of Skaryna’s book. The beginning is almost identical, varying from Skaryna’s

³¹ Lyubov Osinkina, *The textual history of Ecclesiastes in Church Slavonic*: PhD Thesis, University of Oxford, 2008.

³² Lyubov Osinkina, *op. cit.*, p. 185.

³³ Lyubov Osinkina, *op. cit.*, p. III.

³⁴ Cited from Lyubov Osinkina, *op. cit.*, p. 213.

only by *eclesiasta* and *cesara* (as a reminder, the very title Екlesiасецъ as a header is present on every recto of Skaryna's book; therefore, in the quote, Ambrogio could replace Соборникова by *eclesiasta*, expressly with one "c", as in Skaryna's header: above in the text, talking about the consonant "како", Ambrogio explained that it can be rendered in Latin by "c" or "k" (f. 58); also, Ambrogio remarked that the name of Caesar was "usurped" for the title of kings in general by the Dalmatians, Macedonians and *Rufios* (f. 59r). At the same time, the expression *sueta sueti* is different from Skaryna's *cyema над cyетаму*. Still, if we consider Ambrogio's quotation further, he states, after the translation proper in Latin that Salomon begins by this word in his *Proverbs*, and then follows the transliteration from Cyrillic, actually matching Skaryna's *Притчи*. This is also here where Ambrogio could find "*sueta sueti*", as this expression is situated at the very beginning of the book (Fig. 15)

Figure 15. A comparison of Ambrogio's quotation and Skaryna's versions of Ecclesiastes and Proverbs

Theseus Ambrosius, <i>Introductio</i>, f. 64v	Et librum suum Ecclesiastes ab hac littera incipit dicens. Slouofa eclesiasta sina dauida cesara erusolimscago sueta sueti recie eclesiasti esuni esuni i vfa esuni. hoc est. Verba Ecclesiastes filij David Regis Hierusale, vanitas vanitatu, dixit Ecclesiastes, vanitas vanitatum, & omnia vanitas. Salomon quoq; Prouerbia sua, in hec verba incipit. Prutcie Salomune sina Davidoua Ciesara Izraelua, idest, Parabole Salomonis filij David cesaris. quod sane est, Regis Israel.
Экlesiасецъ или Соборникъ премудраго царя Саломона, Прага: Франциск Скорина, 1518, f. 3r	 Лова Соборникова бына дѣла Царя Ѳрѹсалимскаго • СѢТА НАДЪ СѢТА МИ, РЕЧЕ СОБОРНИКЪ • СѢТА НАДЪ СѢ ТАМИ ИВЕС СѢТНО, ЧТО ИМАТЬ КОЛЕЕ ЧЕ ЛОВЕКЪ СОВСЕГО ТРУЖАНИА СВОЕГО • ОНЪ
Притчи премудраго Саломона царя Изнаилева, Прага: Франциск Скорина, 1517, f. 5r	 Притчи Саломона сына Давида Царя Израилева • Къ познанію мѡдрости и наказаніи, и къ разуменію словъ разу мности, и къ припѣтію набоженіа оумѣ ниа сѡдѹ исправленности и истинны:

Притчи премудраго Саломона царя Изнаилева, Прага: Франциск Скорина, 1517, f. 2v	
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Such a transliteration is entirely consistent with the very spirit of the biblical translation by Francysk Skaryna, who himself carefully indicated the Hebrew, Greek and Latin *transliterations* in each preface to his translated book of the Bible.

This way, we can state with cautious certitude that Skaryna's editions already by 1539 had come across the Alps as far as Italy, and the Italian scholar Teseo Ambrogio degli Albonesi, whose life goal was to create "*literarum multigenarum concinnandam harmoniam*" framed in a Neoplatonic spirit, with references to Cabbala, astrology, Hermetism and Perennial Philosophy, had in his possession (or could work with) not one, but several, of Skaryna's editions: Books of Reigns, Daniel, Psalter, Deuteronomy, Proverbs and Ecclesiastes.

PART 2. THE DISSEMINATION OF FRANCYSK SKARYNA'S EDITIONS: FROM POLEMIC TREATISES TO SCHOLARLY WRITING

The scope of the distribution of Skaryna's editions is evidenced by the famous French historian Jacques Lelong.

In 1709, the meticulous archivist and bibliophile Jacques Lelong, who is considered to be a founder of the modern Library Science in France³⁵ (mostly due to his *Bibliothèque historique de la France, contenant le catalogue de tous les ouvrages tant imprimez que manuscrits qui traitent de l'histoire de ce royaume ou qui y ont rapport, avec des notes critiques et historiques*, Paris: Impr. G. Martin, 1719), in his book on the history of the Bible editions, states:

³⁵ Pim den Boer, *History as a Profession: The Study of History in France, 1818-1914*, transl. Arnold Pomerans, Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1998, p.13-14.

Biblia Ruthenica, mentioned by Petrus Paulus Vergerius in his book in Italian³⁶, published in 1559 with the title “*A gl’inquisitori che sono per l’Italia. Del catalogo di libri eretici*”, page 46: “This is ‘To the inquisitors who are in Italy on the catalog of heretical books.’ Yet, the books of the Bible have been now translated and already printed in the Ruthenian language by somebody many years ago. I saw them in Vilna in Lithuania. You can register this translation in your catalogue. I then arranged for the Gospel of St Matthew to be translated into the language used by the peoples in Carinthia and Carniola. To sum up, Holy Scripture is translated into the elegant language and for the use and enjoyment of many people, which would be printed in a short time”³⁷.

Of which books in the *Ruthenian language*, seen by Vergerius in Vilna in Lithuania, could Lelong be talking? Naturally, our first thought goes to the Francysk Skaryna Bible: “in Ruthenian words and in the Slavic language” (рускими словами а словенским языком). This hypothesis should be developed in the spirit of intellectual history.

Jacques Lelong was a highly erudite scholar, he devoted his entire life in the name of Knowledge, joining the Ordre de l’Oratoire. His grandiose project of the *Bibliotheca sacra* aimed to “bring together in the form of a catalogue all the authors who have written on Holy Scripture up to now”³⁸. He forged close ties with famous scholars and librarians of major collections in Europe, collecting information on Bibles printed everywhere: “Everything that is printed, or is not yet, enters my project”³⁹. Among his correspondents were Bernard de

³⁶ Pietro Paolo Vergerio, *A gl’inquisitori che sono per l’Italia. Del catalogo di libri eretici, stampato in Roma nell’anno presente* (Tubingen [Roma]): Ulrich Morhart/Gruppenbach, 1559.

³⁷ Original: “Biblia Ruthenica, quorum meminit Petrus Paulus Vergerius in libro vulgari anno 1559 edito cui titulus: “A gl’Inquisitori che sono per l’Italia del catalogo de libri eretici” pag. 46. Hoc est “Inquisitoribus Italiae de catalogo librorum haereticorum”. “Sed Biblia nunc versa sunt & excusa jam à quibusdam annis in lingua Ruthena. Illa Vilnae in Lithuania conspexi. Recensite nunc hanc translationem in catalogo vestro. Deinde S. Matthaei Evangelium convertere seci in eandem linguam, qua utuntur quoque populi in Caria & Carniola [in the 2nd edition, 1723, ‘Carinthia & Carniola’, p. 441]. Denique traducta est sacra Scriptura in linguam elegantiores & in usum plurium gentium, quae brevi tempore typis subjicietur”, in: Jacques Lelong, *Bibliotheca sacra seu Syllabus omnium ferme Sacrae Scripturae editionum ac versionum*, Parisiis: A. Pralard, 1709, p. 292.

³⁸ Bruno Neveu, *Érudition et religion aux XVIIe et XVIIIe siècles*, Paris: Editions Albin Michel, 1994, p. 45.

³⁹ Original: “Tout ce qui est imprimé, ou ne l’est pas encore, entre dans mon projet”, in: Bruno Neveu, *op. cit.*, p. 45.

Montfaucon, Ludovico Antonio Muratori, and Lorenzo Alessandro Zaccagni. He used the catalogues of the greatest libraries in Florence, Venice and Padua, of the Queen of Sweden, and of cardinals Pietro Ottoboni, Francesco Barberin, and Jean-Gautier Sluze. Moreover, he used, as he admits himself, the *Index librorum prohibitorum*: “I take the liberty of asking you to know the editions of the Bible up to 1592 because there are a number of them placed in the *Index librorum prohibitorum* of which I have no knowledge”⁴⁰.

In 1888, Petr V. Vladimirov, agreeing with Johann V. Bacmeister, believed that Lelong did not know Skaryna’s Bible⁴¹. In 1990, Evgeni Nemirovsky, another authority on Skaryna, claimed that Lelong mentioned information about Skaryna’s books, but that he obtained this information from Szymon Starowolski: “On the books by Skaryna, Lelong knew *only* (my italics, O.S.) from mentions of Szymon Starowolski”⁴².

Apparently, Nemirovsky was deceived by a fact discovered by Josef Dobrowsky, who wrote in a letter to Václav Fortunát Durych on 16 February 1793 (we publish it here in its original form, with certain inaccuracies proper to Dobrowsky’s letter): “It is a great error to write that the memory of Scorina and the works published by him were first discovered by Bacmeister, p. 65 Опытъ Трудовъ, because at the work of Szymon Starowolski titled «Scriptorum polonicorum Εχαστοτνάς» [as it is in Durych’s original], Francof. 1625 in quarto, margin No. 39: ‘In the year 1430 we saw many books of Holy Scripture translated into Slavonic by him [Joanne Glogoviensi] in Muscovy, and they were printed at the expense of J. Haller, a citizen of Cracow, who had contributed all his faculties to this very purpose, so that better letters in different languages and characters might be disseminated for the use of the North. Similarly, we met the books by Doctor Francisco Scorina of Polotsk, translator, printed in Prague”⁴³.

⁴⁰ Original: “Je prends la liberté de vous demander la connoissance des éditions de la Bible jusqu’à 1592 parce qu’il y en a quantité de marquées dans l’*Index librorum prohibitorum* dont je n’ay point de connoissance”, in: *Ibid.*, p. 46.

⁴¹ Петр Владимиров, *Доктор Франциск Скорина: его переводы, печатные издания и язык*, Санкт-Петербург: Тип. имп. АН, 1888, p. ii.

⁴² Original: “О книгах Скорины Ле Лонг знал лишь по упоминаниям Шимона Старовольского”, in: Евгений Немировский, *op. cit.*, p. 16, 19.

⁴³ Original: “Scorinae memoriam et operum ab illo editorum a Bacmeistero primum factam fuisse magno errore scribitur p. 6^{ta} Опытъ Трудовъ, nam ex Simonis Starovolscii opere

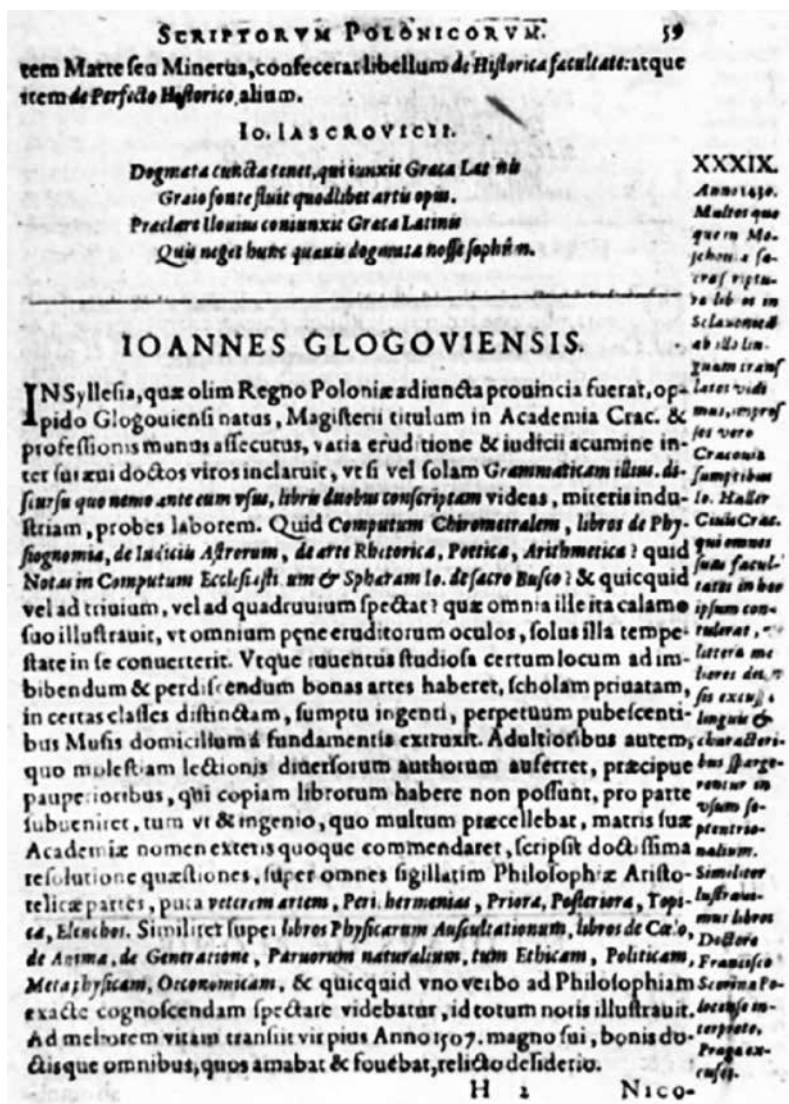
Apparently, Nemirovsky was deceived by the information given by Václav Fortunát Durych in his letter to Josef Dobrowsky on the 16 February 1793 (we publish it here in its original form, with certain inaccuracies proper to Durych's letter): "It is a great error to write that the memory of Scorina and the works published by him were first discovered by Bacmeister, p. 65 Опытъ Трудовъ, because at the work of Szymon Starowolski titled «Scriptorum polonicorum Εχαιτορνάς» [as it is in the Durych's original], Francof. 1625 in quarto, margin №. 39: "In the year 1430 we saw many books of Holy Scripture translated into Slavonic by him [Joanne Glogoviensi] in Muscovy, and they were printed at the expense of Jo. Haller, a citizen of Cracow, who had contributed all his faculties to this very purpose, so that better letters in different languages and characters might be disseminated for the use of the North. Similarly, we met the books by Doctor Francisco Scorina of Polotsk, translator, printed in Prague"⁴³.

This excerpt from the work of Starowolski (1588–1656) in Dobrowsky's correspondence is of vital importance. Durych cites it from the first edition of Starowolski's *Scriptorum Polonicorum*, 1625⁴⁴, while he notes that the passage is written not in the body of the text, but is printed in the margins (Fig. 16).

inscripto «Scriptorum polonicorum Εχαιτορνάς» (Durych's own quotation from Starowolski, with certain inaccuracies here and below), Francof. 1625 in 4^{to} margine ad N. XXXIX: "Anno 1430 multos in Moschovia parachr. typogr. sacrae Scripturae libros in *sclavonicam* ab illo [Joanne Glogoviensi – *comment from Dobrowsky*] translato vidimus, impressos vero Cracoviae sumptibus Jo. Haller, civis Cracov., qui omnes suas facultates in hoc ipsum contulerat, ut literae meliores diversis excussae linguis et characteribus spargerentur in usum Septemtrionalium. Similiter lustravimus libros doctore Francisco Scorina Polocense interprete Pragae excusos". Durych to Dobrowsky, 16/01/1793 in: *Sbírka pramenů k poznání literárního života v Čechách, na Moravě a v Slezsku. Třída české akademie císaře Františka Josefa Pro vědy, slovesnost a umění v Praze*, skupina druhá: *Korrespondence a cizojazyčné prameny. Díl. I. Vzájemné dopisy Josefa Dobrovského a Fortunata Duricha z let 1778–1800*, upravil Adolf Patera, Praha: Česká akademie císaře Františka Josefa, 1895, p. 264–265.

⁴⁴ Simon Starovolscius, *Scriptorum Polonicorum 'EKATONTA'Σ Seu centum illustrium Poloniae scriptorum elogia et vitae*, Francoforti: Sumptibus Iacobi de Zetter, 1625, p. 59.

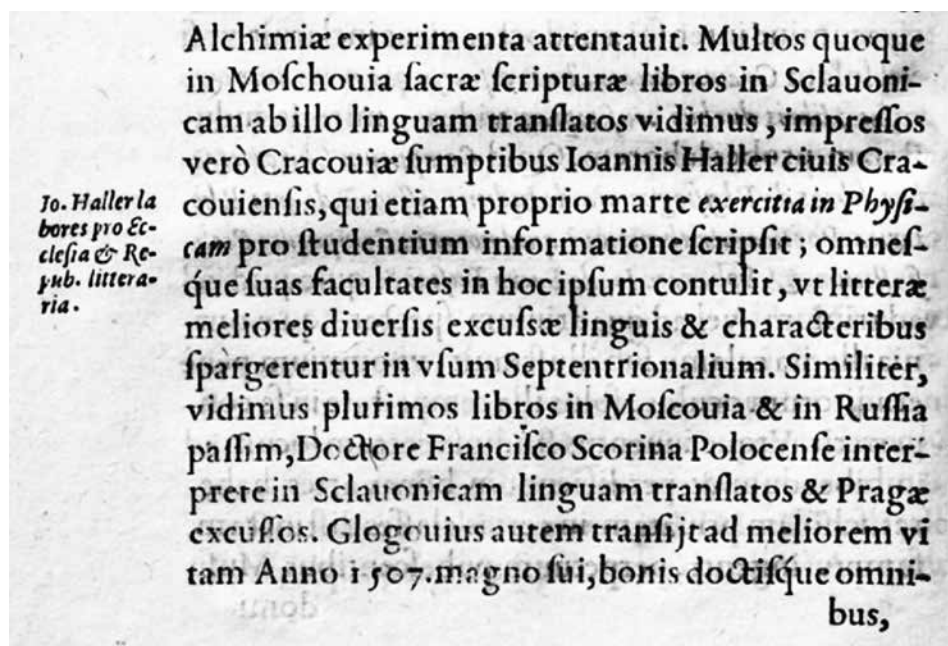
Figure 16. Starowolski's page on Skaryna from the first edition of *Scriptorum Polonicorum*, 1625 (in marginem)



This shows that Starowolski recalled the detail about the “books in Muscovy” after finishing the work, added it in the margins, and then a careless typesetter left it on the edge. The author himself was not satisfied with this work, because he revised it, corrected errors, and republished it in the second edition in 1627. He also changed the text on Skaryna. It is clear that he noticed

that he did not express himself clearly in the previous edition⁴⁵. The next time, in 1627⁴⁶, Starowolski omits the date 1430, and includes the entire passage in the body of the text (Fig. 17).

Figure 17. Starowolski's page on Skaryna from the second edition of *Scriptorum Polonicorum*, 1627



This time Starowolski states:

We also saw many books of Holy Scripture in Muscovy translated into the Slavonic language, printed in Cracow at the expense of Ioannis Haller, a citizen of Cracow, who also wrote exercises in physics for the information of students; and he contributed all his faculties to this very purpose, so that better letters in various languages and characters might be disseminated over the whole North. Similarly, we have seen many books in Muscovy and disseminated throughout Russia,

⁴⁵ Karol Estreicher, Günter Zainer i Świętopelk Fiol. Rozprawa napisana w celu uzyskania stopnia doktora filozofii przez Karola Estreichera. Z 5-ma Tablicami, Oddruk z Biblioteki Warszawskiej, Warszawa: W drukarni Gazety Polskiej, 1867, p. 43–46.

⁴⁶ Simon Starovolscius, *Scriptorum Polonicorum* 'EKATONTAS, Seu centum illustrium Poloniae scriptorum elogia et vitae, Venetiis: Haeredes Damiani Zenarij, 1627, f. 102.

translated by Doctor Francisco Scorina of Polotsk into the Slavonic language and published in Prague⁴⁷.

It is obvious that in the editions of 1625 and 1627, the passages about Skaryna are different. In the first, Szymon Starowolski says that he saw many books of Holy Scripture in Muscovy (which, according to him, John of Głogów/Jan z Głogowa translated and were printed by Haller), and in Muscovy there are also books translated by Skaryna and published in Prague. Two years later, in 1627, Starowolski reinforced the passage about Skaryna with two important details: he had seen *many* books published by Skaryna in Muscovy and Russia [Ruthenia] (adding Russia purposely). However, the key word for us in both passages is the word *similiter/similarly*. It is evident that Starowolski extrapolates here the importance that he attaches to the publishing activity of Jo. Haller (on the dissemination of Knowledge among the people of the north) also to the work of Francysk Skaryna.

A phrase that Starowolski “saw in Moscow, as well as everywhere in *Russia*, many books translated into Slavonic by doctor Francisk Skorina, printed in Prague”⁴⁸, that Nemirovsky quotes, firstly, is taken from the second edition of Starowolski’s *Scriptorum* (and not from the first of 1625, as it is indicated in Nemirovsky’s work, note No 35). This is significant, because in this second edition Starowolski revised and added information on Skaryna with the words “*many*” [books], “*and disseminated throughout Russia*”. Secondly, *in the context of the entire* statement by Starowolski on the great esteem of Haller’s publishing activities and “similarly” one by Skaryna, the passage on Skaryna acquires a new sound, and this recognition in itself is of great value.

However, Nemirovsky is mistaken when he writes that it was Szymon Starowolski who was the source used by Jacques Lelong for his *Bibliotheca sacra*. In the excerpt on “Ruthenian books” cited above, Lelong himself very

⁴⁷ Original: “Multos quoque in Moschouia sacrae scripturae libros in Sclauonicam ab illo linguam translato vidimus, impressos vero Cracouiae sumptibus Ioannis Haller ciuis Cracouien-sis, qui etiam proprio Marte exercitia in Physicam pro studentium informatione scripsit; omnesque suas facultates in hoc ipsum contulit, vt litterae meliores diuersis excussae linguis et characteribus spargerentur in vsum Septentrionalium. Similiter, vidimus plurimos libros in Moscouia et in Russia passim, Doctore Francisco Scorina Polocense interprete in Sclauo-nicam linguam translato et Pragae excussos”, in: Simon Starovolscius, *op. cit.*, p. 102.

⁴⁸ Евгений Немировский, *op. cit.*, p. 16.

clearly gives us the name of his source: Pietro Paolo Vergerio (1498–1565) and his work *A gl'inquisitori che sono per l'Italia. Del catalogo di libri eretici, stampato in Roma nell'anno presente* (Tubingen [Roma]: Ulrich Morhart/Gruppenbach, 1559), scrupulously indicating even the page number.

We quote here the entire passage from Vergerio's polemical work, which served as a source for Lelong:

The Slavic language is understood in more parts of the world than any other, it occupies, I believe, the fourth part of Europe, all those peoples use it, who remained after the conquest of the Vandals and who now live on the side of the river Elbe towards the north, the Poloni, the Bohemians, the Lusatians [Lusacij/Sorbs], the Silesians, the Moravians use it, and the inhabitants near the river Vagro [Vergerio probably refers here to the Ugrian language or to the River Ugar in Bosnia] in Hungary use it, the Kashubians, the Ruthenians, the Muscovites, the Circipanes, the Rasciens, the Serbs, the Vlachs, the Bulgarians and others, who live in all that territory up to Constantinople, the Dalmatians, Bosnians, Croatians and Istrians use it, the Carnians, Carniolans, Carinthians [Slovenians] up to the river Drava and the Styrians up to the Danube and many others. The Bible is therefore translated and printed, already some years ago in the Ruthenian language, I had it in the Ruthenian language in the city of Vilna in Lithuania, where I saw a large church of Ruthenians and many, finally, beyond Borysthenes [the River Dnipro] they are. So go and add this translation to the catalogue. Then I have translated the Gospel of St Matthew into that language which is most in use in Carnia and Carniola. Then the same M. Primo Trubero Carno [Primus Truber, or Primož Trubar, Slovenian] (again something to place in the catalogue) has translated the New Testament, which he has printed in Tübingen. Finally, the entire Bible is already translated into a more elegant language and that will be more commonly used and printed without long delay. So go and add these other three [translations] and I have to tell you another one, which you will need to add⁴⁹.

⁴⁹ Original: "La lingua schiava c'intesa in piu parti del mondo, che ogn' altra, ella occupa, credo, la quarta parte dell' Europa, l'usano tutti quei popoli, iquali già furon le reliquie, o gl'avanzamenti de Vadali e ora abitano di la del fiume Albi verso settentrione, l' usano i Poloni, i Boemi, i Lusacij, i Moravi, e gl' abitanti appresso il fiume Uagro nell' Ungheria, l'usano i Cassubi, i Ruteni, i Moscoviti, i Circassi, i Rasciani, i Serviani, i Valachi, i Bulgari et altri, che abitano in tutto quel tratto fin à Constantinopoli, l' usano i Dalmatini, Bosnesi,

These vehement words of Vergerio are best understood in their historical context. Born in the Italian enclave of Capodistria located on Slovenian territory (Capo d'Istria was then part of the Republic of Venice), Vergerio kept this duality of Italian origins and Slovenian atmosphere all his life⁵⁰. He obtained his doctorate in law from the same University of Padua as Skaryna (12 years later, in 1524⁵¹). A brilliant young jurist, Vergerio thrived in the humanist environment, and entered a circle of great figures of his time, such as Pietro Bembo, among others. However, after the premature death of his young wife in 1526, he chose an ecclesiastical career⁵². As Apostolic Nuncio to Ferdinand of Habsburg in Wittenberg, Vergerio became acquainted with Martin Luther. Although at the beginning he did not share the ideas of Protestantism, it was because of his connections that he began to have problems with the Inquisition. At this time, he established extensive relationships with the humanist circle and ecclesiastical intellectuals. Among the latter were the Catholic theologian and Cardinal of Vienna Johann (Johannes) Faber ("Fabri" in Russian historiography). Later the paths of Faber and Vergerio parted in opposing directions: Faber, at the beginning sympathising with Protestantism, became one of the most active opponents of the Lutherans, while Vergerio, after multiple accusations from the Inquisition, became a preacher of Protestantism in Slovenia. With a certain probability, Johann Faber, who in precisely 1525 wrote his treatise on religion in Muscovy *Ad Serenissimum Principem Ferdinandum Archiducem Austriae, Moscovitarum*

Croati, Istriani, l' usano i Carni, Carniolani, Carintiani fin' al fiume Dravo e gli Stiriani fin' al Danubio e altri assai. La Bibbia adunque è tradotta e stampata, già qualche anno fa, nella lingua Rutena io l'hebbi nella città di Vilna in Lituania, ove vidi una gran chiesa de Ruteni e moltissime, infin oltre al Boristene, ne sono. Andate adunque ad aggiunger questa traduzione nel catalogo. Poi ho fatt' io tradur l' Evangelio di San Matteo in quella lingua, che piu serve alla Carnia e Carniola. Poi nella medesima M. Primo Trubero Carno (ancor queste porrete nel catalogo) ha tradotto il nuovo Testamento, il quale e' stampato in Tubinga. Finalmente e' tradotta già tutta la Bibbia in una lingua piu elegante e che piu comunemente servirà e stamparassi senza lungo indugio. Andate ad aggiunger ancor quest' altre tre e n' ho da dirvene un' altra, la qual bisognerà, che vi mettiate", in: Pietro Palolo Vergerio, *A gl'inquisitori che sono per l'Italia. Del catalogo di libri eretici, stampato in Roma nell'anno presente*. Tubingen (Roma): Ulrich Morhart/Gruppenbach, 1559, f. 46v-47r.

⁵⁰ Anne Jacobson Schutte, *Pier Paolo Vergerio: The Making of an Italian Reformer*, Genève: Librairie Droz, 1977, p. 22.

⁵¹ Anne Jacobson Schutte, *op. cit.*, p. 30.

⁵² *Ibid.*, p. 42.

iuxta mare glaciale Religio, a D. Ioanne Fabri aedita (Basileae [Basle]: Ioannis Bebelius, 1526), at the time of their friendship, could have inspired Vergerio to reflect on the ideas of Slavic-language books (and their printing)⁵³.

When Vergerio was writing his pamphlet *A gl'inquisitori che sono per l'Italia* (1559), this theme, on the approval of books by the Church, in the context of the Council of Trent, was again on the front burner: the prohibition of translations not authorised by the Church, and therefore categorised as heretical, had already become a reality, for which in 1525 Faber called, and against which in 1559 Vergerio fought vehemently.

Briefly narrated by Jacques Lelong, the testimony of Petro Paulo Vergerio closely read in *its entirety* is very informative and important, revealing several levels:

⁵³ In his treatise, with a purpose to combat “Protestant heretics”, Faber shows a quasi-idealistic image of Muscovites (above all, he relied on the accounts of the Muscovite ambassadors). As an argument for the purity of their Christian faith, Fabri indicates, among other things, that “Qui vero ditiores sunt, est quorum facultatibus est magnos pro ijs sumptus posse facere, *Ruthenicis literis imbuti* [my italics, O.S.], libros orationum sibi comparant, earum solum tum quae ab ecclesia receptae sunt, cuiusmodi apud Oratores vidimus” (Those who are really rich and whose means are large enough to spend large sums and who know the Ruthenian alphabet, procure prayer books, those which are approved by the Church; this type [of book] that we saw in the ambassadors’ room). Further below in the text, Faber tells us about the episode when he was in the room of the Muscovite ambassadors one day where he saw: “Ad sinistram autem mensa, qua positus erat liber iustae magnitudinis, Ruthenicis literis, et quo dicebatur ducem quotidie orationes suas quasi pensum solvere” (To the left of the table was also placed a truly magnificent/majestic book, in Ruthenian letters, through which the mentioned duke makes his prayers, as a duty). These quotes from Faber’s treatise reveal significant facts. Russian historiography translates Faber’s work (Кудрявцев Олег (ed.), “Трактат Иоганна Фабри Религия московитов” [1525 г.], in: *Россия и Германия*, вып. 1, отв. ред. и предисл. Б.М. Туполев, Москва: Изд. РАН ИВИ, 1998, p. 10–45.) by diverting Faber’s Latin and transforming “*Ruthenicis literis*” into “Russian letters” (русские письма), while Faber throughout his treatise uses the term “*Ruthenorum*” (Ruthenian) for the general sense, like the East Slavs. The translation of Faber’s work into French, published by Augustin Galitzin in 1860, was also tendentiously inaccurate, and the “Ruthenian letters” were completely omitted: “Ceux qui ont quelque fortune achètent des livres de prières, approuvés par l’Eglise, qui ne le cèdent guère à ceux de nos meilleurs maîtres” (in: Augustin Galitzin, *La religion des Muscovites, traduit du latin de Jean Faber*, Paris: Libraire A. Franc, 1860, p. 23). The term *comparant* (procure), which Faber uses, and not *emunt* (buy), also attracts attention, which indicates a certain difficulty in having these books. The last nuance in this passage on “books in Ruthenian letters”: Faber uses the epithet *iustae magnitudinis*, which was translated into Russian as “the large book”, but can also be translated as “the truly majestic book”, which brings us back to the Psalter printed by Francysk Skaryna.

(1) Vergerio esteems highly the importance of the translation of the Bible into the Slavic language, because he speaks of its extent (“a quarter of Europe”), lists the Slavic peoples who understand the language *schlava*, and then states that the Bible is translated and printed in Ruthenian (thus returning us to the idea of the generalising role of this language in Theseus Ambrosius’s *Introductio in Chaldaicam linguam*);

(2) The Bible was already translated and printed in the Ruthenian language before 1559, and Vergerio saw it in Vilna in large numbers and beyond the River Dnipro. Of course, these Bibles could only be the books of Skaryna (Ruthenian language + Vilna);

(3) The sarcastic challenge “Go ahead and add [this translation] too [in the ‘Catalogue of heretical books’]” indicates that at least in 1559 the books of the Skaryna Bible are not included in the Catalogue;

(4) After the first Bible in Ruthenian, Vergerio produced himself (or rather he contributed to the production by Primus Truber, 1508–1586)⁵⁴ in Slovenian and wrote several texts of prayers, and a translation of the Gospel of Matthew into Slovenian (1555);

(5) Then the *same* Truber (i.e. it is Truber who also made the Gospel of Matthew) published the translation of the New Testament (Tubingen, 1557);

(6) It is important that all these three parts (the Ruthenian version, the Slovenian Gospel of St Matthew, and the Slovenian New Testament) are linked in Vergerio’s consciousness, because he gradually describes them in stages, and then summarises “Thus the entire Bible was translated”, and challenges: “Go and add these three to the catalogue also”;

(7) Ultimately, Vergerio predicts a wide circulation, and new editions “will be more commonly used and printed” soon of this entire translated Bible.

Vergerio could have seen the “Ruthenian books” of Skaryna in Vilna during his mission (1556) for the negotiations between the parties of the Protestant Jan Łaski (John a Lasco) and the Catholic nuncio Luigi Lippomano, Albert of Prussia, and local Lithuanian and Ruthenian aristocrats (e.g. the Calvinist Miłkołaj Krzysztof Radziwiłł the Black)⁵⁵. On his return from this trip, Vergerio,

⁵⁴ Luka Ilic, “Slovenian Luther”, in: *Lutheran Quarterly*, vol 22, No 3, 2008, p. 270–271.

⁵⁵ Hypothetically, we even think that Vergerio could have met Skaryna in Prague before 1556: being an alumni of the University of Padua (like Skaryna), Vergerio was also present in

a fervent supporter of Protestantism, well aware of the power of the printed word, appealed to the Slovenian pastor Primus Truber. At that time, Truber had already realised several publishing projects in Slovenian (Rothenburg ob der Tauberg, Tübingen, 1550, *Catechismus* under the pseudonym Phipatridus Illyricus, and *Abecedarium*).

In 1555, Truber published several books, including the Gospel of St Matthew, translated into Slovenian with *Oratione de persecutati et forusciti* written by Vergerio⁵⁶ (and namely Vergerio refers to this edition as the second “episode” in the series of Bible translations). Then in 1557 followed the four Gospels and the Acts of the Apostles, which constitute the New Testament that Vergerio talks about at the end of this excerpt. Apparently, Vergerio fully understood that Skaryna’s books were issued much earlier, because he utilises the adverb *poi* when he talks with reference to his oeuvre with Truber (the Gospel of St Matthew and the New Testament), *poi ho* and *poi nella*.

Nevertheless, even if the Slovene vernacular translations of which Vergerio talks were completed no later than 1559 (the date of Vergerio’s pamphlet), it should be noted precisely that although they were made in Slovene, they were printed in *Latin characters*. The preparation for the actual *Cyrillic* printing, the search for the font, as well as making movable type, was a complicated process; the graphic design of characters is difficult without knowing the language itself⁵⁷.

Prague and Vienna as a Papal diplomat (Anne Jacobson Schutte, *op. cit.*, p. 56–69), i. e. in the time between Skaryna received the *Pragmatica sanction* in 1532 and Ferdinand’s letter of 22 May 1535 (Францыск Скарына ў дакументах і сведчаннях, уклад, Алесь Жлутка, Мінск: Беларуская навука, 2020, p. 167–170).

⁵⁶ Robert A. Pierce, *Pier Paolo Vergerio the Propagandist*, Roma: Edizioni di Storia e Letteratura, 2003, p. 84.

⁵⁷ While Josef Dobrowsky suggested that typefaces of *Bivlia ruska* were created in Venice and their design was similar to those of Bojidar Vukovich (Dobrowsky to Durych, 23/05/1791, in: *Sbírka pramenů k poznání literárního života v Čechách, na Moravě a v Slezsku. Třída české akademie císaře Františka Josefa Pro vědy, slovesnost a umění v Praze, skupina druhá: Korrespondence a cizojazyčné prameny. Díl. I. Vzájemné dopisy Josefa Dobrovského a Fortunata Duricha z let 1778—1800*, s. 200), Vladimirov insisted that “for the Skorina script we do not find a direct source in previous Church Slavonic editions”, and that Skaryna may have imitated “semiuncial script of Church Slavonic manuscripts of southwest Russia (the Ruthenian lands of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania) from the 15th century” (Петр Владимиров, *op. cit.*, p. 73, 152). Nemirovsky states that Skaryna’s characters are absolutely original, they do not resemble the characters of Schweipolt Fiol (Sebald Veyl), or those of

Seeking to find a solution to the typeface problem for the edition of the Cyrillic Catechism, Vergerio had to inform Truber of the already-existing Cyrillic typefaces. In Truber's correspondence, in the letter addressed to his patron Hans von Ungnad, he speaks of a certain *maister Hanns* who founded the cyrulisches characters according to the models of the *venetisches und ruthenisches* texts⁵⁸. Behind the name *venetische*, we discern the place of the Serbe editions of Božidar et Vićenco Vuković, who started printing in Venice in 1519. And naturally, behind *ruthenische* the Ruthenian books of Skaryna.

In 1888, Vladimirov (and Serbian scholars to the present day), noticed the resemblance between the Cyrillic characters of Truber and Skaryna⁵⁹ (Fig. 18).

Figure 18. Primus Truber's Latin and Cyrillic characters. Left: *Catechismus In der Windischenn Sprach, sambt einer kürtzen Ausslegung in gesangweiss. Item die Litanai vnd ein predig vom rechten Glauben, gestelt, durch Philopatridum Jlliricum. Anu kratku Poduuzhene skaterim vsaki zhlouik more vo nebu pryti*, Rothenburg ob Tauber: Ulrich Morhart, 1550. Right: Катехисмыс, Urach: Hans Ungnad von Sonnegg, 1561

Serbian printing houses. "The spelling of certain characters (ч, ж, ю) has no analogies at all." It is also claimed that the font of its characters is close to Belarusian semiuncial writing, in: Евгений Немировский, *op. cit.*, p. 260. On the initials of *Bivlia ruska*, see also: Ольга ШUTOVA, "Изучение интеллектуального пространства "Бивлии" Франциска Скорины в контексте Ренессанса: Сюжеты, персоналии, философско-эстетические влияния и оформление", in: *Францыск Скарына: факты – новыя ідэі*, уклад. Аляксандр Груша, Мінск: Беларус. навука, 2021, p. 66–116; Idem, "Francysk Skaryna's Bivlia ruska as a Holistic Humanist Project: Pursuit of Knowledge and Aesthetic Ideas of the Renaissance", p. 185–187.

⁵⁸ Theodor Elze, *Primus Trubers Briefe*, Tübingen: H. Laupp Jr., 1897, p. 148–155, letter No 23: An freiherrn Hans Ungnad. Urach, 4 November 1561.

⁵⁹ Pavle Jović, "Prispevek Primoža Trubarja in njegovih sodelavcev k reformi cirilice", in: *Slavistična revija*, 2009, Vol. (Letnik) 57, issue (številk) 1: *Trubarjeva številka*, p. 406.



Already in the early 16th century, the Italian linguist Teseo Ambrogio degli Albonesi, who aspired to create a comprehensive compendium of languages that would come from a single source, the sacred Knowledge given to mankind by God himself, with references to astrology, Hermetism, Cabbala and Perennial Philosophy in a Neoplatonic spirit, had in his possession (or could have had access to) several of Skaryna's editions: Books of Reigns, Daniels, Deuteronomy, Ecclesiastes, Proverbs, Psalter). Several decades later, Pietro Paolo Vergerio sought to spread the Holy Scripture for the Slavs, and insisted on the unity and filiation of all translations, pointing to the first Ruthenian translation of Francysk Skaryna. Following him, in the late 1620s, Szymon Starowolski reported on the role of Skaryna's translation and publishing activities in disseminating Knowledge among the "northern peoples". A century after this, Jacques Lelong did not simply mention the existence of the Ruthenian translation printed, but assumed Vergerio's idea of the continuity of the Slavic translations of the *entire* Holy Scripture, inscribing Skaryna's oeuvre in it as the first phase, with the future projection of disseminating and reediting.

These sources not only demonstrate the broader scope of the diffusion of Francysk Skaryna's editions as it was thought earlier, but also the significance to, and influence of his editions on, the development of Slavic printing, as well as Skaryna's involvement in the European intellectual environment.

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Echoes of Francysk Skaryna's Editions in Western Europe: Teseo Ambrogio, Pietro Paolo Vergerio and Jacques Lelong

Summary

The article (re)considers the first testimonies containing references and quotations to and from Skaryna's editions that appeared in Western Europe from the early 16th to the early 18th century. The author focuses on a contextual analysis of the circumstances and conditions of the appearance of transliterated fragments of Skaryna's *Bivlia ruska* in the compendium of the Italian linguist and erudite Teseo Ambrogio degli Albonesi (the first-known testimony of the circulation of Skaryna's editions in Western Europe as early as the beginning of the 16th century). A close reading of Ambrogio's text, in the context of his idea to provide systematic proof of a filiation of all the languages descending from those of Holy Scripture and originating from the sacred Knowledge given to mankind by God himself, with references to astrology, Hermetism, Cabbala and Perennial Philosophy in a Neoplatonic spirit, reveals multiple mentions of the *Rufium* language, along with Macedonian and Dalmatian. A comparison of different extant versions of the printed books and the manuscript traditions allows us to put forward a hypothesis of the presence of multiple transliterated fragments of Skaryna's Bible (along with Dalmatian and Macedonian ones also based on their translations of the Psalter and the Old Testament) in Ambrogio's compendium. At the same time, Ambrogio emphasises the similarity and common origins of the Slavic languages (although he does not use this term, he was the first to foresee this very unity). The Slovenian Protestant publisher Pietro Paolo Vergerio gives us a testimony of the same awareness of the unity, continuity and filiation (from Skaryna's editions) of Slavic biblical translations in a passage analysed in the article in its broader context. It is also argued that it was subsequently this pamphlet of Vergerio's that served as a source for the paragraph on the Ruthenian Bible in the work of the famous French bibliographer Jacques Lelong. The testimony of Szymon Starowolski, reexamined from the point of view of its evolution through its two successive editions, reflects the recognition of the role of Francysk Skaryna in the dissemination of the Knowledge among the "northern peoples" by Starowolski. The author expects that the article will contribute to a broader understanding of Francysk Skaryna's oeuvre as belonging to an interconnected intellectual

mosaic, typical of the book culture at the time of the Renaissance and the Early Modern period.

KEYWORDS: Francysk Skaryna, Bivlia ruska, Teseo Ambrogio degli Albonesi (Theseus Ambrosius ex Comitibus Albonesii), biblical translations, Pietro Paolo Vergerio, Szymon Starowolski.

OLGA ŠUTOVA

Pranciškaus Skorinos leidinių atspindžiai Vakarų Europoje: Theseo Ambrogio, Pietro Paolo Vergerio ir Jacques'as Lelongas

S a n t r a u k a

Straipsnyje pateikiamas naujas žvilgsnis į pirmuosius šaltinius, kurie Vakarų Europoje pasirodė nuo XVI a. pradžios iki XVIII a. pradžios ir kuriuose esama nuorodų į Skorinos leidimus ir / ar citatų iš jų. Straipsnio pagrindą sudaro kontekstinė analizė, kurią autorė sutelkia į aplinkybes ir sąlygas, lėmusias *Bivlia ruska* transliteruotų fragmentų atsiradimą italų kalbininko ir erudito Theseo Ambrogio degli Albonesi kompendiume (tai pirmas žinomas liudijimas apie Skorinos leidinių sklaidą Vakarų Europoje jau XVI a. pradžioje). Atidžiai skaitant Ambrogio tekstą ir turint omenyje jo sumanymą pateikti sisteminių įrodymų, jog visos kalbos yra susijusios ir atsiradusios iš šventųjų biblinių kalbų bei kilusios iš „šventojo žinojimo“, kurį žmonijai suteikė pats Dievas, su autoriaus nuorodomis į astrologiją, hermetizmą, kabalą ir amžinąją filosofiją neoplatoniškuoju supratimu, galima aptikti daugybę *Rufium* kalbos paminėjimų kartu su makedonų ir dalmatų kalbomis. Lyginamoji analizė, apimanti įvairias išlikusias spausdintų knygų versijas ir rankraštinės tradicijos šaltinius, leidžia kelti hipotezę, kad Ambrogio kompendiume yra keletas transliteruotų Skorinos Biblijos fragmentų (kartu su dalmatiškaisiais ir makedoniškaisiais Biblijos fragmentais, kurie yra pagrįsti atitinkamais Psalmyno ir Senojo Testamento vertimais). Kartu Ambrogio pabrėžia slavų kalbų panašumą ir bendrą kilmę. (Nors ir nevartoja „slavų kalbų“ termino, jis yra vienas pirmųjų, išvelgęs tokių jų vieningumą.) Tokio pat slaviškų Biblijos vertimų vienovės, tęstinumo ir giminystės (pradedant nuo Skorinos leidinių) suvokimą mums liudija Slovėnijos protestantų leidėjo Pietro Paolo Vergerio ištrauka, kuri straipsnyje analizuojama įtraukiant platesnį kontekstą. Taip pat įrodinėjama, kad vėliau būtent šis Vergerio tekstas tapo garsaus prancūzų bibliografo Jacques'o Lelongo veikalo pastraipos apie rusėniškąją

Bibliją šaltiniu. Simono Starovolskio (Szymon Starowolski) liudijimas, iš naujo išnagrinėtas žvelgiant į jo raidą vienas po kito paskelbtuose dviejuose leidimuose, parodo, kad jis pripažino Pranciškaus Skorinos vaidmenį skleidžiant Dievo žmonijai per Šventąjį Raštą suteiktą „žinojimą“ tarp „šiaurės tautų“. Autorė tikisi, kad straipsnis prisidės prie siečio suprasti Pranciškaus Skorinos darbus platesnėje perspektyvoje – kaip intelektinių tarpusavio ryšių mozaikos, būdingos Renesanso ir ankstyvųjų naujųjų laikų knygos kultūrai, sudedamąją dalį.

REIKŠMINIAI ŽODŽIAI: Pranciškus Skorina; rusėniškoji Biblija; Teseo Ambrogio degli Albonesi, Theseus Ambrosius ex Comitibus Albonesii; Biblijos vertimai; Pietro Paolo Vergerio; Szymon Starowolski, Simonas Starovolskis.

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