

THE COIMBRA JESUIT COURSE IN 18TH-19TH CENTURY RUSSIA: TRACES OF CROSS-CULTURAL CONNECTIONS

IULIIA NIKITENKO¹

Abstract: This article is aimed at examining the impact of Jesuit philosophical education, particularly the *Coimbra Jesuit Course*, on the intellectual culture existing during the 18th and 19th centuries in the Slavic territories now part of Belarus, Russia, and Ukraine. We have sought to trace the movement of Coimbra Aristotelianism to the East and discern the most promising directions for further research. Although any direct references to the Coimbra Jesuit Course made by Russian-speaking intellectuals of the period are hard to find, we propose an examination of the circulation and provenance of the volumes themselves as a means of establishing the link between Slavic thought and Coimbra Jesuit Aristotelianism.

Keywords: Aristotelianism; Conimbricenses; Russian intellectual culture; Jesuit studies; history of education

Resumo: O presente artigo visa examinar o peso da educação filosófica jesuíta, em particular do Curso Jesuíta de Coimbra sobre a cultura intelectual existente nos séculos XVIII e XIX em territórios eslavos que hoje integram a Bielorrússia, a Rússia e a Ucrânia. Procurámos rastrear o movimento do

Résumé: Le présent article vise à examiner l'influence de l'éducation philosophique des Jésuites, notamment de Cours jésuite de Coimbra, sur la culture intellectuelle existant aux 18^e et 19^e siècles dans les territoires slaves qui aujourd'hui font partie de Biélorussie, de Russie et d'Ukraine. Nous

¹ I&D Research Unit Institute for Philosophical Studies (Faculty of Arts and Humanities of the University of Coimbra) Email: Iuliia.Nikitenko@anciens.univ-paris1.fr ORCID: 0000-0002-9446-8530

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aristotelismo de Coimbra para Leste e identificar vias promissoras para pesquisas futuras sobre este tema. Embora as referências directas ao Curso Jesuíta de Coimbra por parte de intelectuais russófonos da época sejam difíceis de encontrar, propomos que se faça uma investigação sobre a circulação e a proveniência das obras propriamente ditas como forma de se estabelecer a relação entre o pensamento eslavo e o aristotelismo jesuíta de Coimbra.

Palavras-chave: aristotelismo; Conimbricenses; cultura intelectual russa; estudos jesuítas.

essayons de suivre le mouvement de l'aristotélisme de Coimbra vers l'Est et de discerner les pistes prometteuses pour la future recherche de ce sujet. Bien que les références directes au Cours jésuite de Coimbra faites par les penseurs russophones de l'époque soient difficiles à retracer, nous proposons comme le moyen d'établir le lien entre la pensée slave et aristotélisme Jésuite de Coimbra une enquête sur le mouvement et la provenance des livres eux-mêmes.

Mots-clés: aristotélisme; Conimbricenses; culture intellectuelle russe; études jésuites.

1. Introduction

The remarkable influence of the *Coimbra Jesuit Course* on European philosophy has been widely acknowledged and can be traced with some precision and certainty, although the exhaustive study of its role in the history of philosophy is yet to be accomplished. The advancement of studies on Late Scholasticism and of the *Coimbra Jesuit Course* in particular is palpable in the international as well as in the Russian-speaking academic community. This is proven by the works of Galina Vladimirovna Vdovina² and Dmitry Viktorovich Shmonin³, both focusing on the history of Late Scholasticism.

² For example: Galina Vladimirovna Vdovina. *Language of unobvious. The theories of signs in XVIIth-century Scholasticism* (Moscow: Thomas Aquinas Institute, 2009) (In Russian) = Галина Владимировна Вдовина. *Язык неочевидного. Учения о знаках в схоластике XVII века* (Москва: Институт Фомы Аквинского, 2009); Galina Vladimirovna Vdovina, "Reality, speech and alphabetic writing in the Scholastic tradition", *Problems of Philosophy* 6 (2014), 95-103 (In Russian) = Галина Владимировна Вдовина, "Реальность, речь и алфавитное письмо в схоластической традиции", *Вопросы философии* 6 (2014), 95-103; Galina Vladimirovna Vdovina, "Francisco de Oviedo and the XVIIth-century semiotic discourse", *History of Philosophy Yearbook*, 2008, 101-115. (In Russian) = Галина Владимировна Вдовина, "Франсиско де Овьедо и семиотические дискурсы XVII века", *Историко-философский ежегодник*, 2008, 101-115.

³ Dmitry Viktorovich Shmonin, "Second Scholasticism, XVIth – early XVIIth centuries: Cultural context, metaphysical foundations, place in the history of thought" (Dissertation for the degree Doctor of Philosophy : 09.00.03. Saint-Petersburg, 2003), 429. (In Russian) = Дмитрий Викторович Шмонин, "Вторая схоластика, XVI — начало

In her fundamental monograph exploring XVIIth-century semiotics, Galina Vdovina introduces Russian-speaking readers to the *doctrina signorum* found in the Coimbra Jesuit Course⁴. In the conclusion of the volume, Vdovina underlines that, in Late Scholasticism, the sign and representation were regarded as a universal cognitive instrument, not restricted in its application to grammar and formal logic, as it was during the Middle Ages, but relevant for the analysis of natural causality, social institutions, artistic production, cognition, and communication. In other words, the doctrine of signs served as a philosophical method employed for understanding the human being in both natural and social aspects. On the one hand, it provided a key for understanding the relation between the intellect and reality; on the other, it was crucial to the understanding of the *esse morale*, of the moral life as being determined and structured by signs and meanings.

The PhD dissertation of Dmitry Shmonin aims at defining the place and role of the Second Scholasticism in the history of philosophical thought and explores the key topics and problems in the philosophical teachings of most important representatives of the Second Scholasticism, paying noteworthy attention to the socio-cultural and historical context. Among the keystones of the Second Scholasticism Shmonin refers to the heritage of the Salamanca School of Theology, following its influence on the development of posterior scholasticism. Furthermore, he undertakes a historical-philosophical analysis of the main directions and characteristics of the moral-theological, socio-philosophical, and metaphysical doctrines of the Society of Jesus' philosophers. Finally, he turns to the philosophical system of Francesco Suárez, the most complete and comprehensive of those created during the Second Scholasticism. In his analysis of the historical context, different currents and schools of the Second Scholasticism and its aspects, Shmonin parti-

XVII в.: Культурный контекст, метафизические основания, место в истории мысли” (Диссертация на соискание степени доктора философских наук: 09.00.03. Санкт-Петербург, 2003), 429; Shmonin, Dmitry. “European Scholasticism in Orthodox Thought: The Reception of the Scholastic Tradition in Eighteenth-century Russia.” *Jaarboek 20* (2000): 31-41; Dmitry Viktorovich Shmonin, “Second Scholasticism, XVIth – early XVIIth centuries: Cultural context, metaphysical foundations, place in the history of thought” (Abstract of the dissertation for the degree Doctor of Philosophy : 09.00.03. Saint-Petersburg, 2003), 429. (In Russian) = Шмонин Д.В. Вторая схоластика (XVI — начало XVII в.): Культурный контекст, метафизические основания, место в истории мысли: автореф. дис. на соискание степени док. филос. наук. Санкт-Петербург: 2003. URL: <https://www.plato.spbu.ru/DISSERTATION/shmonin.htm>.

⁴ *Commentarii Collegii Conimbricensis e Societate Iesu. In universam Dialecticam Aristotelis Stagiritae...* Lugduni: Sumptibus Horatii Cardon, 1607.

cularly points out the innovative and transitional character of *Coimbra Jesuit Commentaries* and of Pedro da Fonseca's works which provided a link between medieval and early modern philosophical style. As it pertains to *Coimbra Jesuit Course*, Shmonin specifically highlights the significant breakthrough in the understanding of space achieved by the *Conimbricenses* and Suárez. More precisely, the traditional Aristotelian/Scholastic conception of space as a container was incorporated into a new theory combining two types of space: a real or physical, and an imaginary or metaphysical. Consequently, according to Shmonin, this shift provided a solid foundation for a consistent and relatively non-contradictory XVIth century worldview.⁵

However, if we turn to the history of Russian thought, the task of tracing the impact of the *Coimbra Jesuit Course* will turn out to be more complex, as we will hardly find any direct reference to it in the texts of Russian philosophers of the XIX-XXth centuries. It is not surprising that Russian philosophy, emerging relatively late, was more attentive to the ideas of Enlightenment and German idealism than to the fruits of previous ages. Nevertheless, even admitting this, we cannot conclude without further inquiry that the *Coimbra Jesuit Course* did not have any influence on Russian thought. The existence of studies proving the influence of Scholastic doctrines on XVIIIth-century thinkers working in the western parts of the Russian empire⁶, makes the subject of the present study even more promising. Consequently, if there was such an influence, we should begin by asking what are the ways if not to discern its traces, then at least to point out the direction in which they can be sought. Such is the aim of the present essay.

2. The Society of Jesus and the Russian state

To outline the possible traces of the *Coimbra Jesuit Course* would mean to find the reader of the texts. Certainly, the most precious testimony of the text being read is contained in the references or polemics generated by the text. But in the absence of that, we may choose another strategy and search for the books themselves, as the physical copies were a *sine qua non* condition for the existence of the reader, at least in the ages prior to the worldwide web.

In the first place, we suppose that being an influential philosophy textbook in the Jesuit curriculum, the *Coimbra Jesuit Course* should appear in

⁵ Shmonin, 2003.

⁶ Shmonin, 2000.

the book collections of the Jesuit institutions existing on the territory of the Russian state⁷.

Accordingly, let us briefly overview the relations between the Society of Jesus and the Duchy of Moscow, which later evolved to be the Russian Empire. The first contact between the Jesuits and the Grand Duchy of Moscow was made during the reign of Ivan IV the Terrible, through an embassy headed by Antonio Possevino⁸ (1581). The ambassadors departed the following year, shortly after the peace between Moscow and the Polish-Lithuanian commonwealth was secured. Ivan prohibited the Catholics from all kinds of religious activities on his territory. Catholic priests and missionaries were permitted to come to Moscow only as a part of embassies and trading companies. A little more than a hundred years later, in 1684 Carlo Maurizio Vota arrived in Moscow as an ambassador of the Austrian emperor and organized a Jesuit mission aimed at helping the Catholics who lived in the Ger-

⁷ In the present study, while discussing Jesuit activities on Russian territories, we will focus on the period from 1772 to 1820, that is, from the First partition of Poland under Catherine II to the expulsion of the Society from the Russian empire under Alexander I. In 1772–1797, the following regions fell successively under Russian authority: all the Polish territory east of the line formed roughly by the Dvina and Dnieper rivers (1772); the major remnant of Lithuanian Belorussia and the western Ukraine, including Podolia and part of Volhynia (1793); Courland, all Lithuanian territory east of the Neman (Niemán) River, and the rest of the Volhynian Ukraine (1797). Later, Alexander I acquired the Białystok Department as a result of the Treaties of Tilsit in 1807, and the east-central territory of the Duchy of Warsaw, reestablished as the Congress Kingdom of Poland in 1815 as a result of the Congress of Vienna.

⁸ As it was pointed out by Mário Santiago de Carvalho, Possevino highly esteemed Coimbra commentaries. In his *Bibliotheca Selecta Coimbra* commentary on Ethics is called a «culmination of a long bibliographical history related to the study of ethics». Cf. Mário Santiago de Carvalho, “Philosophy at the Geopolitical Service of Mission: The Coimbra Jesuits’ “Wirkungsgeographie” (1542–1730)”, *Engaging Sources: The Tradition and Future of Collecting History in the Society of Jesus* (Proceedings of the Symposium held at Boston College, June 11–13, 2019), Ed. by Cristiano Casalini, Emanuele Colombo, and Seth Meehan; accessed February 04, 2022, URL: https://jesuitportal.bc.edu/publications/symposia/2019symposium/symposia-carvalho/#_ftn42 That’s what Possevino wrote in the first edition of *Bibliotheca selecta* about the value of the *Cursus: Collegium Societatis nostrae Conimbricense in Lusitania philosophiae curriculum novissime edidit, quo nescio an quidquam vel acriori iudicio, vel aptiore dicendi, vel sinceriori philosophandi genere unquam ad nos manarit* (i.e. Coimbra College of our Society [of Jesus] in Portugal most recently issued a course which I don’t know whether anything of sharper discernment, or of the more suitable manner of expression, or of purest manner of philosophizing was ever put forward). Antonii Possevini Societatis Iesu *Bibliotheca selecta qui agitur de ratione studiorum ...* (Romae: ex typographia apostolica Vaticana, 1593), 28.

man Quarter of Moscow. Next year, the mission founded a school where the children of Moscow Catholics and of some Orthodox noble families were trained in Latin. In 1689, Peter the Great expelled the Jesuit mission. The school went under the administration of Moravian priests, not belonging to any Catholic order. In 1698, Bohemian Jesuits who came to Moscow as a part of the Austrian embassy established a school where they taught Latin, German, and mathematics. Besides Catholic children, the descendants of some prominent noble houses (Golitzin, Kurakin, Apraksin, Mussin-Pushkin, Naryshkin, etc.) were among the students. In 1706, official permission for the presence of Jesuits in Russia, as well as their passage to China through Russian territory, was issued. In 1719, prince Alexei, the son of Peter the Great, fled to Austria, resulting in a confrontation with the Austrian crown and the banishment of the Jesuits from Russia.

The steadiest presence of Jesuits on Russian territory is related to the First Partition of the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth in 1772. According to the *Orthodox Encyclopedia*, after this event 20 out of 90 Jesuit institutions working on the territory of Poland came under Russian authority⁹. Marek Inglot provides more precise numbers. According to him, in the Polish territories that became part of the Russian Empire in 1772 there were 4 Jesuit colleges (in Polotsk, Oroscha, Vitebsk, and Dinaburg) with higher schools; 2 residencies with secondary schools (in Mohilev and Mstislavl); and 9 missionary houses (in Lozovitsa, Kaunata, Dagda, Indritsa, Laukeza, Preili, Pushcha, Uzhvald, Varakliany)¹⁰. Describing the number of Jesuits coming under the authority of the Russian empire, M.A. Petrova remarks that 97 priests, 49 Scholastics, and 55 coadjutors, i.e. 201 Jesuits, were working in the above-mentioned institutions.¹¹ In 1773, after the dissolution of the

⁹ A.V. Kuzmin and V.V. Tiushagin, “Jesuits”, in: *Orthodox Encyclopedia*, Vol. 21, 217-245, accessed February 04, 2022, https://www.pravenc.ru/text/293585.html#part_18 (In Russian) = А. В. Кузьмин и В.В. Тюшагин, “Иезуиты”: в: *Православная энциклопедия*. Т. 21, 217-245.

¹⁰ Marek Inglot (S.J.) *La compagnia di Gesù nell’Imperio Russo (1772-1820) e la sua parte nella restaurazione generale della Compagnia* (Roma: Editrice Pontificia Università Gregoriana, 1997), 137 = Инглот М. Общество Иисуса в Российской Империи (1772-1820) и его роль в повсеместном восстановлении Ордена во всем мире (М.: Институт философии, теологии и истории св. Фомы, 2004), 138. For an updated version of Marek’s dissertation, see Inglot S.J., Marek. *How the Jesuits Survived Their Suppression. The Society of Jesus in the Russian Empire (1773-1814)* / ed. and trans. D.L. Schlafly. Philadelphia: Saint Joseph’s University Press, 2015.

¹¹ M.A. Petrova, “The attitude of Catherine II and her closest associates towards the Jesuits”, in: *Russia and the Jesuits. 1772-1820* (Moscow : Nauka, 2006), 68. (In Russian) = М.А. Петрова, “Отношение к Иезуитам Екатерины II и ее ближайшего окружения”, в: *Россия и иезуиты. 1772-1820* (М.: Наука, 2006), 68.

Society of Jesus by the Pope, Russia became the only country where Jesuits were officially recognized and permitted to continue their activities on a full scale.

At the beginning of the XIXth-century, Jesuits were actively moving forward into the inner lands of Russia. In 1803, they were setting up missions on the banks of the Volga river. The headquarters of the mission was established in Saratov and the congregation consisted mostly of German Catholics¹². In 1804, under the patronage of Emmanuel de Richelieu, governor of Odessa and Novorossiya, a Jesuit mission was established in Odessa. Missionaries were also preaching in the nearby cities and villages. Among other southern centers of Jesuit missionary activities were Astrakhan (1805) and Mozdok (1806).

After the official recognition of the Society of Jesus by the Pope, in 1814, the attitude of the Russian government towards Jesuits radically changed. The order started to be regarded as a mean of foreign influence. For that reason, in 1815, Alexandre I banished the Jesuits from Moscow and St. Petersburg, and in 1820 they were banished from the Russian empire. The property of every Jesuit college, including the books, was appropriated by the state.

3. Jesuit educational establishments on Russian territories

As stated by Marek Ingot, the success of the Jesuits in the Russian empire was due to their focus on educational activities. It was precisely their teaching skills and the perfection of their teaching system that came to be highly appreciated by the Russian government and brought the Society of Jesus governmental support.¹³

The largest Jesuit educational institution on the Russian territory after 1772 was Polotsk College, later transformed into an academy. According to Marek Ingot, the teaching of philosophy in Polotsk College dates from 1649, and of theology from 1737, with an interruption from 1773 until 1780 (for theology) and until 1782 (for philosophy) due to the abolition of the Society of Jesus by Clement XIV. Referring to the Jesuit inventory of persons and their positions in Mazovetsk province,¹⁴ Ingot mentions the names of the tutors. Theology was taught by Ignace Dombrovsky, Carol Borkovsky, Ian Gertsyk, Ian Borkovsky. The last one together with Michael Borovsky, Christoph Iakel and Agostino Maniani relaunched the teaching after the

¹² Marek Ingot. *La compagnia di Gesù* (in Russian), 180-181.

¹³ Marek Ingot. *La compagnia di Gesù* (in Russian), 140.

¹⁴ Catalogus Provinciae Poloniae Maioris et Mazoviae Societatis Iesu ex Anno 1772 in Anno 1773(Neszvizh, [1772]).

interruption. Before the abolition, philosophy was taught by Francis Careu, Michael Borovsky, Shimon Bukovetsky, and Emmanuel Veigl. Afterwards, the teaching was continued by Michael Piotuch.¹⁵

In 1796 and 1811, in Polotsk, there were 244 and 441 students, respectively. For the poor citizen's children, a primary school was established, where students learned reading, writing, the basics of Latin (and Russian, after the First Partition), plus catechism. Besides that, there was a boarding school for young nobles (*Collegium Nobilium*), where 30-73 boys were studying from 1802 to 1818, as well as a boarding school for the poorer nobles, which in 1819 accommodated 21 boys.¹⁶ However, these numbers do not mean that all the students were acquainted with the *Coimbra Jesuit Course*, as logic, ontology, cosmology, physics, and ethics were studied only in the sixth grade by the smallest part of the students, most of whom were pursuing a religious career.¹⁷

As we know from M.A. Morozova's article, among the students at Polotsk College there was the youngest son of George Browne, governor of Livonia, as well as the future vice-president of the Russian Academy of Arts, Fedor Petrovich Tolstoy (1783-1873)¹⁸. Although from his memoirs we see that Tolstoy had an unfavorable attitude towards Jesuits, he kept warm memories about his school years in Polotsk.¹⁹

Even though the short reign of Paul I (1796-1801) was auspicious to the propagation of the Society of Jesus, it was not until the reign of his son Alexander I that any consequences became evident. In 1812, Polotsk Jesuit College was transformed into an academy, and new missions were opened in the south of the empire, to wit, in Mozdok (1806) and the Siberian cities of Irkutsk (1811) and Tomsk (1815). Nevertheless, it was Paul who accepted the project of setting up an academy in Polotsk and gave permission to the Jesuits for settling and opening institutions in the metropolis.

In 1813, when the lectures in the newly proclaimed Polotsk academy began, there were three faculties: one of theology, another of philosophy and science, and the other of ancient and modern languages; in the school year of 1814/1815, the academy received 136 students (25 in the first faculty, 69 in the second, and 49 in the third). In 1820, when the Society of Jesus was banished from the empire, there were about 700 students²⁰.

¹⁵ Marek Inglot. *La compagnia di Gesù* (in Russian), 140.

¹⁶ Marek Inglot. *La compagnia di Gesù* (in Russian), 140.

¹⁷ Marek Inglot. *La compagnia di Gesù* (in Russian), 144.

¹⁸ Marek Inglot. *La compagnia di Gesù* (in Russian), 71.

¹⁹ Fedor Petrovich Tolstoy *Memoirs of the count Fedor Petrovich Tolstoy* (Moscow: RGGU, 2001), 61 (In Russian) = Федор Петрович Толстой, *Записки графа Федора Петровича Толстого* (М.: РГГУ, 2001), 61.

²⁰ Marek Inglot. *La compagnia di Gesù* (in Russian), 160.

Another important center of Jesuit education was the Jesuit College in St. Petersburg, the capital of the empire. From 1800 until 1815, St. Catherine's Catholic Church, built in 1783 on Nevsky Prospect, was given to Jesuits²¹. For 15 years, the church hosted the *Collegium Petropolitanum Paulinum*, a college with a 6-year study program where foreign languages, including Latin, science, philosophy, and theology were taught. Two years after, in 1803 the *Collegium Nobilium* was inaugurated, a boarding school attended by 60-70 sons of the foremost noble families. The general study course was to be completed in six years, with one supplementary year being permitted for the study of philosophy and theology.²² In other words, whereas in the College for the general public both philosophy and theology were included in the six-year curriculum, in the *Collegium Nobilium* they were excluded from the general course and were taught as a supplement in the additional year. The names of two key figures of the golden age of Russian literature, Alexandr Pushkin and Piotr Viazemsky, are connected to the *Collegium Nobilium*. Viazemsky, a former student of the *Collegium*, mentions it in his memoirs and poems²³. Pushkin was about to be sent to the *Collegium Nobilium* when, at the last moment, the preference of his parents was given to the newly founded Tsarskoselsky Lyceum.

4. The *Coimbra Jesuit Course* outside Jesuit institutions

We should also remark that the Jesuit colleges were actually not the only sources of propagation of Jesuit education and particularly of the *Coimbra Jesuit Course*²⁴. As it was stated by A.M. Shishkov, the *Cursus* was widely used in the teaching process of two non-Jesuit educational institutions

²¹ Cf. Marie Joseph Rouët de Journal, *La Compagnie de Jésus en Russie: un collège de Jésuites a Saint-Petersbourg, 1800-1816* (Paris: Perrin, 1922).

²² Marek Ingłot. *La compagna di Gesù* (in Russian), 167-168.

²³ Cf. Piotr Andreevich Vyazemsky, Complete works: in 12 vols. Vols. 9-10 (Saint-Petersburg: Stasiulevich, 1883-1886) (In Russian) = Петр Андреевич Вяземский, Полное собрание сочинений: в 12 томах. Т. 8-10 (СПб: типография Стасюлевича, 1883-1886). For ex.: Piotr Andreevich Vyazemsky, *Complete works*, Vol. 9, 1883, 286.

²⁴ Certainly we should not forget that there were other philosophy textbooks besides the *Coimbra Jesuit Course* in the Jesuit curriculum, for example, works of Pedro da Fonseca (*Institutionum dialecticarum libri octo*, Lisbon: 1564; *Isagoge Philosophica*. Lisbon: 1591), Francisco Suárez (*Cursus philosophicus in quatuor tomos distributus*. Conimbricæ., 1651). Among other commentators of Aristotle we may name Francisco de Toledo, Valentin Carvaglio, Grégoire Ferrari, Gaspar Knittel, Cosme de Magalhães, Francesco Pavone, Etienne Petiot etc. Cf. Augustin De Backer and Aloïs De Backer, *Bibliothèque des écrivains de la Compagnie de Jésus...*(Liège: Imprimerie de L. Grandmont-Donders, 1854).

that brought up many Russian intellectuals of the time, namely, the Kievo-Mohilanskaya Academy in Kiev (1615)²⁵ and the Slavic Greek Latin Academy (1687).

These institutions and their curricula were organized in the manner of Jesuit colleges and largely used both the *Coimbra Jesuit Course* (1592–1606) and the *Ratio atque institutio studiorum Societatis Iesu* (1599)²⁶. It is known that Greek brothers Ioannikios Leichoudes (1633–1717) and Sophronios Leichoudes (1653–1730) who established the Slavic Greek Latin Academy in Moscow, between 1685 and 1694, were also using parts of the Coimbra Jesuit Aristotelian Course in their works²⁷. Among students of Kievo-Mohilanskaya Academy it is worth mentioning a poet, priest and statesman of Peter's Russia, Feofan Prokopovich (1681-1736), and the Ukrainian philosopher Grigory Skovoroda (1722-1794). There and later, in the Slavic Greek Latin Academy, studied the pioneer of Russian science and literature, Mikhail Lomonosov (1711-1765). Among other students of the Slavic Greek Latin Academy were also the poet Antioch Kantemir (1708-1744) and the first Bishop of Eastern Siberia, Innocent of Irkutsk (1680-1731). It is probably among the students and teachers of these two institutions that we may find more noticeable traces of the impact of the *Coimbra Jesuit Course* on XVIIIth-century Russian intellectuals, who were more receptive to the Scholastic tradition than their XIXth-century counterparts.

Notably, in the inventory of the books left after the death of Innocent of Irkutsk, we find a copy of *Commentarii Collegii Conimbricensis in libros de generatione et corruptione*. Among more than 400 books of the Bishop, the Coimbra commentary is mentioned under No. 95²⁸. The inventory was publi-

²⁵ For more information Cf. Etienne Gilson, *Index Scolastico-carthésien* (Paris: F. Alcan, 1913) ; Serhii Wakúlenko, “Algumas reflexões acerca do lugar dos autores religiosos portugueses na vida intelectual ucraniana dos séculos XVII e XVIII”, in: *Para a História das Ordens e Congregações Religiosas em Portugal, na Europa e no Mundo*, ed. José Eduardo Franco, Luís Machado de Abreu, vol. I. (Prior Velho: Paulinas, 2014), 222.

²⁶ Aleksandr Mihailovich Shishkov, “Scholasticism in Rus”, in: *Problems of philosophy*, 2020 (9), 166-177 (In Russian) = Александр Михайлович Шишков, “Схоластика на Руси”, в: *Вопросы философии*, 2020 (9), 166-177.

²⁷ Cf. Nikolaos Chrissidis, *An Academy at the Court of the Tsars: Greek Scholars and Jesuit Education in Early Modern Russia* (DeKalb, IL: Northern Illinois University Press, 2016).

²⁸ Russia. Synode. Archive. *Description of the documents and acts being preserved in the Archive of the Holy Synode* (Saint-Petersburg: Typography of Synode, 1868-1914). Т. 28 : 1748, 1916, кол. 201 (In Russian) = Россия. Синод. Архив. *Описание документов и дел, хранящихся в архиве Святейшего правительствующего синода* / [сост. Комис. для разбора и описания арх. Святейшего правительствующего синода] (Санкт-Петербург: Синод. тип., 1868-1914). Т. 28: 1748 г., 1916, col. 201.

shed as a part of the “Act on the Demise of Right Reverend Innocent, Bishop of Irkutsk, and the belongings he left behind”, No. 99/93, April 28/12, 1760 (Дело о кончине Преосвященного Иннокентия, епископа Иркутского и об оставшихся после него пожитках)²⁹. We also dispose of the inventory of books possessed by Feofan Prokopovich and published by Dmitro Chizhevski³⁰. Among Feofan’s books, there was no edition of the *Coimbra Jesuit Course*, although we may find there editions of Aristotle’s proper texts, as well as commentaries written mostly by English, German and Dutch authors. The reconstruction of Lomonosov’s book collection by German Korovin also reveals no trace of the *Coimbra Jesuit Course*³¹. Being aware that the data is too scarce to draw any conclusions, we have to pay attention to the fact that Innocent, who was thirty years older than Prokopovich and Lomonosov, owned a volume of the *Coimbra Jesuit Course*. Could this be a sign of a change in the younger generation’s scientific interests? However we should admit that the absence of any edition of the *Coimbra Jesuit Course* among the books owned by Stefan Yavorsky (1658-1722), another former student of Kievo-Mohilanskaya Academy³² contradicts this hypothesis. Unfortunately, as we said, the data is far too limited to reach a conclusive answer, and since we are contracted by the purpose of our study, for the time being this question should remain unanswered.

5. Some notes on the copies of the *Coimbra Jesuit Course* in Ukrainian and Russian libraries

Let us now follow another thread of our inquiry and see what the copies of the *Coimbra Jesuit Course* currently held in Russian and Ukrainian public and university libraries will tell us about their former owners. A certain corpus of works is held at the Russian State Library (RSL), in Moscow, and the National Library of Russia (NLR), in Saint-Petersburg. Apart from that, a copy of *De Generatione et Corruptione*³³ is held by the Irkutsk University

²⁹ Russia. Synode. Archive. *Description*, col. 193-218.

³⁰ Chizhevsky D. *Ukrainian literary Baroque : collected works on ancient literature* (Kiev: Oberegi, 2003), 469-478. (in Ukrainian) = Дмитро Чижевський, *Українське літературне бароко: Вибр. праці з давньої л-ри.* (К.: Обереги, 2003), 469-478.

³¹ Cf. German Mihailovich Korovin, *Library of Lomonosov* (Moscow ; Leningrad: USSR Academy of science, 1961). = Герман Михайлович Коровин, *Библиотека Ломоносова* (М.; Ленинград: Изд-во Академии наук СССР, 1961).

³² Cf. Sergei Ivanovich Maslov, *Stefan Yavorsky’s library* (Kiev: Meinander, 1914) (In Russian) = Сергей Иванович Маслов. *Библиотека Стефана Яворского* (Киев: тип. М.Т. Мейнандера, 1914).

³³ *Commentarii Collegii Conimbricensis Societatis Iesv, In Libros De Generatione*

Library. This book may come either from the library of the Jesuit mission in Irkutsk or from the library of the Jesuit mission in Beijing that was conferred by the last head of the mission to his Russian colleague and supposedly transported to Irkutsk³⁴. Unfortunately, the catalog entry is rather short and does not contain any information about the previous owners or the provenance of the book.

Apart from that, five volumes of the *Coimbra Jesuit Course* are currently held by the University library of the Odessa national university.³⁵ These are commentaries on Aristotle's *Ethics*, *Physics*, *Meteorologica*, *De coelo* and *Parva Naturalia*. All the books were printed in Köln by Lazare Zetzner in 1596. In this case, the catalog entries are more comprehensive, enabling us to obtain some information about their provenance. Notably, we can notice that the commentary on Physics has the inscriptions “*Ex Libris Stephani Bukownichi* [or probably Bukownicki – *my suggestion, Y.N.*] *Anno 1658* ; Іларіон Епископ П. [Ilarion Episkop P.]”, as well as the stamp of Novorossiisk University Library (later turned into the University of Odessa). It is difficult to identify with precision who was Bishop Ilarion (Hilarion), as there were several Bishops with that name. However, we suppose it to be Hilarion (Grigorovich), Bishop Krutitsky (Saransky and Podonsky) (1696-1760). Himself a former student of Kievo-Mohilanskaya Academy, in 1721 he was appointed to teach there. In the same year he moved to Kharkov College where he was teaching rhetoric and philosophy and administrating the college³⁶.

It could be assumed that the copies of the *Coimbra Jesuit Course* arrived at the University of Odessa from a Jesuit mission, although against such a conjecture runs the absence of any possessor's marks of Jesuit scho-

Et Corruptione Aristotelis Stagiritae. Hac secunda editione graeci contextus (Moguntiae: in Officina Typographica Ioannis Albini, 1606).

³⁴ Cf. Ruomei Liu, “Survey about the Catalog of Books from the Northern Cathedral (Beitang) Library Stored in the Archive of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Russia”, *Vestnik of Saint Petersburg University. Asian and African Studies*, 2019, 11(2), 140-151 (In Russian) = Жуомей Лю, “Изыскания о каталоге книг библиотеки Северного собора (Бэйтан) из собрания архива Министерства иностранных дел РФ”, *Вестник Санкт-Петербургского университета. Востоковедение и африканистика*, 2019, 11(2), 140-151. I.L. Karmanovskaia, “Treasures of the Russian Ecclesiastical Mission in Beijing”, *Problems of the Far East*, 1990, 5, 195. (In Russian) = И.Л. Кармановская, “Сокровища Русской духовной миссии в Пекине”, *Проблемы Дальнего Востока*, 1990, 5, 195.

³⁵ *Catalogue of XVIIth-century editions. From the collection of Scientific library of Odessa National University* (Odessa, Astroprint, 2005), 70-71 (In Russian) = *Каталог изданий XVI века. Из фондов научной библиотеки ОНУ им. И.И. Мечникова* (Одесса: Астропринт, 2005), 70-71.

³⁶ Russian biographical dictionary of A.A. Polovtsov. T. 8 (1897), 80-81 (In Russian) = *Русский биографический словарь* А. А. Половцова. Т. 8 (1897), 80-81.

ol or mission library. If we identified Bishop Hilarion correctly, it follows that he possessed the book after Stephan Bukownichi. If so, it was not through Jesuit missionaries but instead through a former student of the Kievo-Mohilanskaya Academy that this copy of the *Coimbra Jesuit Course* made its way.

A number of volumes of the *Cursus* are currently kept in the Russian State Library in Moscow (RSL) and the National Library of Russia in St. Petersburg (NLR). Among them, commentaries on the texts of Aristotle on the natural sciences (*De anima*, *De generatione et corruptione*, *De coelo*, *Meteororum*) are predominant. There is not much diversity as regards typographies and places of publication. Moscow and St. Petersburg books, same as those held in Odessa, were printed either in Köln, Mainz, or Lyon, and come from the same publishers. How to explain this fact? Does this simply mean that the Polish Jesuits favored working with certain publishers, or is the range of publishers and locations to be explained some other way?

If we look at the biographic data of the printers and publishers involved, we will see that they do not have much in common. A considerable number of the editions were printed by Lazare Zetzner and his heirs working in Köln. As the catalog of Zetzner's printing house testifies, he was also publishing books on alchemy, combinatory art, and esoteric philosophy. Editions from Lyon were issued by the press of Horace Cardon, who gained a distinction taking part in the Lyonnais fight against the Catholic League (1562). Finally, the Mainz editions come from Johann Albin, who was an official typographer for the Prince-Elector and Mainz cathedral.³⁷

We suppose that most of the RSL and NLR books came to Russia through Poland. At least, provenance marks on NLR editions are highly favorable to this conjecture. All institutions that were former possessors of the *Coimbra Jesuit Course* NLR editions are Polish. It is worth mentioning that, as Serhii Wakúlenko has shown, in Poland not only the *Coimbra Jesuit Course* itself was present, but also has a significant influence as a source for such authors as Andrzej Novak (1570-1629) and Martim Śmiglecki (1562-1618) who after getting acquainted with Portuguese Jesuit texts in the Collegio Romano, incorporated Coimbra texts in their Lithuanian lessons to boost a religious identity, a "filum doctrinae".³⁸ Six NLR editions (7.28.2.5, *Commentary on Physics*; 7.28.2.4, *De gen. et corruptione*; 7.24.2.1, *De anima*; 7.30.2.3, *Physica*, *De Caelo*, *Meteorologicos*) were originally owned by the Jesuit

³⁷ The information about the printers is taken from CERL Thesaurus.URL: https://data.cerl.org/thesaurus/_search (Accessed: 09.03.2022). For more information see: Mário Santiago de Carvalho, "Philosophy at the Geopolitical Service", 8.

³⁸ Cf. Serhii Wakúlenko, "Projecção", 355-360; Serhii Wakúlenko, "Algumas reflexões", 234.

College in Kalisz (Poland) established in 1574. After the Second Partition of Poland (1793), the city came under the authority of Prussia and came under Russian control as a result of the Congress of Vienna in 1815. Eight editions are connected to Warsaw. Four of them bear manuscript *ex libris* of the Jesuit College in Warsaw (7.24.2.8 *De Coelo, meteorologicos et parva naturalia*; 36.6.2.74-76, *De gen. et corruptione*, 36.6.2.75 *De anima*, 36.6.2.76 *De coelo*); another one (36.6.2.40 *Physica*) was given to the college by Bishop Załuski; two editions come from the Library of Warsaw Cathedral (36.6.2.38 *Physica*, 36.6.2.39 *De coelo*), one more (7.24.2.8, *De Coelo*) comes from Warsaw Lyceum, whither it probably came from the Jesuit College in Lublin, as the manuscript *ex libris* testifies, although there is also an inscription from a church in Koniecpol. One edition of the *Physica* (7.44.9.13) comes from the Cistercian Monastery in Łąd.

Among the private persons whose marks we find in our copies, the most notable is Bishop Josef Andrzej Załuski (36.7.2.4 *De gen. et corrupt.*; 36.6.2.36, *De anima*). Załuski's library, impounded by the Russian government after the Second Partition of Poland, became a foundation for the later collection of the National Library of Russia. Załuski's copy of the commentaries on *De anima* (36.6.2.36), a Lyon edition of the Coimbra commentary on Aristotle's *On the Soul*, also carries an armorial *ex libris* of the noble Parisian family Pasquier de Valgrand³⁹. Another notable name that can be found on the NLR copies of the *Coimbra Jesuit Course* (36.6.2.33 *De anima*; 36.6.2.34 – *De gen. et corrupt.*) is Łukasz de Bnin Opaliński. Although the name is remarkably reputed, it is not easy to identify the precise owner, for there were two notable contemporaries bearing that very same name. One of them is the marshall and nobleman Łukasz de Bnin Opaliński (1581–1654), Castellan of Poznań. However, a more compelling alternative is the poet and politician Łukasz de Bnin Opaliński (1612–1666), a bibliophile who owned one of the largest private book collections of his days in Europe and also authored the textbook of morals *De officiis*, used in Jesuit educational establishments⁴⁰.

Among other former owners of the NLR copies of the *Coimbra Jesuit Course* is Stanislaus Szuberth (7.27.2.42 *De gen. et corrupt.*, *Meteororum*), who can probably be identified with Stanisław Andrzej Shuberth, a Norbertine who joined the order in 1683 and since 1703 served as a priest in Polotsk⁴¹. Another name appearing on the marks of the old possessors is

³⁹ Cf. Armorial des principales maisons et familles du royaume T.2, (Paris: chez H.L Guérin et L. Fr. Delatour, Laurent Durand, la veuve J.B.T. Le Gras, 1757), 42.

⁴⁰ Michael J. Mikoś, *Polish Baroque and Enlightenment literature: an anthology* (Columbus, Ohio: Slavica Publishers, 1996), 110.

⁴¹ Cf.: *Catalog druków XV i XVI wieku w zbiorach Biblioteki Uniwersyteckiej w Warszawie*. T. 8: Zbiorcy indeks proveniencyjny (Warszawa: Wydawnictwa Uniwersytetu

Nicolai Zytkevich. He probably can be identified with the magistrate Mikołaj Zytkevich, a former student of the Jesuit College in Kalisz who received his bachelor's degree from the Krakov academy in 1700.⁴² That is all information on the provenance of the copies of the *Coimbra Jesuit Course* found in Russian and Ukrainian libraries.

Without any doubt, this matter requires further data collection and study, deserving deeper and more thorough research. Nevertheless, even at this stage of our inquiry, we can reach some conclusions. First of all, looking for copies of the *Coimbra Jesuit Course* on the territory of the former Russian empire, one should dig in the catalogs of the state or university scientific libraries in the cities where Jesuit colleges or missions were formerly established. Secondly, many copies which ended up in the Imperial Public Library (the former name of the National Library of Russia) were previously in the possession of Jesuit colleges in Poland, which were providing teachers and programs for the opening of colleges on Russian territory. Thirdly, the copies of the *Coimbra Jesuit Course* were owned not only by institutions but also by individuals educated in Jesuit colleges. Finally, it was not only in the Jesuit educational establishments that Russian intellectuals could get acquainted with the *Coimbra Jesuit Course*, as shows the case of Innocent of Irkutsk. Taking into account that Kievo-Mohilanskaya Academy and Slavic Greek Latin Academy closely mirrored the example of the Jesuit colleges and used the *Coimbra Jesuit Course* in their teaching, it turned out that some of their students were bringing the *Cursus* to their personal libraries even after graduation.

In consideration of all the above, we suppose that the most promising direction for further investigation would be to examine the writings of the alumni of the two academies just mentioned who pursued a career in the church. We believe that it is more likely that one will find traces of the impact of the *Coimbra Jesuit Course* on Russian intellectual culture by taking this path than by looking at the writings of the former students of the Jesuit colleges. This is particularly due to the fact that the network of Jesuit colleges spread on Russian territory relatively late, in the early XIXth-century, at a time when the intellectual fashion was already in a different trend. Furthermore, the students of Jesuit colleges were often Orthodox and descendants of noble families who neither pursued thorough studies in philosophy nor were preoccupied with philosophy in their statesmanship or military careers.

Warszawskiego, 2007), 446.

⁴² Jan Orzechowski. *Księgi metrykalne kościołów radomskich z lat 1591-1795: Kościół św. Jana Chrzcziciela, 1591-1637* (Radomskie Towarzystwo Naukowe, 2006), 114.

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