









????????? ?????? ?????????? ??????????, ? ??? ?????????????? ?????????? ??????????  
????????? ?????? ?????????????? ??????????????. ?????? ?????????? ?????????? ?????????? ? ??????????????  
????????? ?????????? ??????????[27], ? ?????????? ?????????????? ?????????? ?????? ?????????????? ??????????????  
?????? ?????????? ?? ?????????????????? ??????????. ? ??? ???? ???? ?????? ?????????????????? ?????????  
????????????? ?????????? ?????????????? ?????????????????? ?????????????????? ?????????? ?????????? ? ??????????  
????????? ? ?????? ?????????????????, ??? ?????????? ?????????? ? ?????????? ?????????? «????????? ? ??????????  
????????»[28]. ??? ?????? ?????? ?????????? ?????????? ?????????????????? ? ?????????? ? ??????????[29].

?? ??? ?? ?? ?????????? ?????????? ?????????, ????? ?????, ??? ?????????????? ??????, ??? ????? ??  
????????????? ?????????? ?? ??? ?????????? ? ?????????? ?????????? ? ?????????????????? ?????????????????? ?????? ?  
???? ? ?????????????? ?????????????????? ?????????????? ?????? ??????????????????. ?????????????? ?????? (691–692)  
????????? ??? ?????????? ? ?????????????????????? ?????????????? ?????????? ? ?????????, ?? «????????????????? ?????????  
????? ?????? ?? ?????? ??? ?????? (pinpricks)», ?????????? ?????? ?????????????????? ?????????? ?? ??????????????  
?????? ? ?????????????????? ??????????[30].

? ??? ???? ?????????? ?????????????? ?????????????? ??? III ?????? (717–741) ? ?????? ?????? ??????????  
????????????????? ?????????????????? ??? ???? ?????????????? ?????? ?????????? ?????????? ? ?????????????????? ?????????  
(????????????????? ? ?????????????????? ? ?????????? «?????????????»). ?? ? ???? ???? ?????????? ??????????,  
????????????? ?????????????? ??? ???? ?????????? ????, ?? ? ?????? ?????, ?? ?????????????? ? ?????????, ?????????????  
????????????? ?????????????? ?? ?? ?????????????????????????[31]. ?????? ??????????, ??? ??????????????  
????????????? ?????????? ?? ?????????????? ?? ?????????? ? ?????????????????????? ?????????? ??? ????? III  
????????[32].

????? ??????????, ??? ? ?????? ?????????????? ?????????????????? ? ?????????????????????????? ? ?????? ??? ?????????? ?  
????????? ?????????????? ?? ?????????? ??????????????????, ? ?????????????? ?????? ?????? ?????????????????? ? ??????????????  
????????? ? ?????? ?????? ?????? ?? ??????????????. ??? ?? ??????, ? ? ?????? ?????????????? ??????????????  
????????????????? ?????, ?????????????????? ?????????? ? ??????????????????, ? ?????????? ? ?????????? ?????????????? ??  
????????????? «?????????????????» ? ?????????? ? ?????????????????????? ? ?????????????????????? ??????????????????  
????????????????????? ??????????. ??? ??????, ? ??????????????, ?? ?????? ?????????????? ?????????? I (867–886) ?  
????????? ?????????? (919–944), ?????????? «????????????????? ?????? ?????????????? ?????????? ?????, ??????????????????  
????????????? ?????????????? ?????????? ?????? ??????????»[33], ?? «? ?????? ?????????????? ?????????? ?? ??????????????»  
[34].

????????? ?????????????? ?? ?????????????? ?????????? ? ?????????? XI–XII ???. ??? ?? ??????????. ? ?????? ??????????,  
??? ??????????????????, ??? ? ?????? X ? ?????????????? ?????????? ?????????? ??????????????, «????????? ??????????????  
?????????» ?????????????? ??????, ??? ?????? ?? ?????????? «????????????????????? ?????????????????? ?????????? ??????????????  
????????????????????? ?????????????????? ? ?????????», ?????????????? ?????????????????????? ?????? ?????????????????? ?? ??????????, ?  
????????? ?????????????? ?????????? ? ?????????????????????? ?? ?????????? ??????????????????: «????????????? ? ?????????? ?????? ?  
?????, ? ?????? ? ??????, ??? ? ?????????? ?????????????????????? ??????????????»[35]. ?????? ??????????????????????  
????????? «????????????? XI ?.» ? ?????? ?????????? «????????????????????? ?????? ?????????? ?????????????? ?????? ?????????? ?  
?????????????, ?????????? ?????????? [?????????????] ?????????????????? ?????????? ?? [?????????????] ?????????, ?????????  
??? ?????????????? ?????????????????????? ??????????????»[36].

? ?????? ?????????, ?????????? ?????????????????? ? ?????????????? ?????????? «?????????????» ??????, ? ???  
?????, ??? ?????? ?????????????? ?????????????? ?????????? ??????[37], ?????????????? ?? ??????????????  
????????????? ?? ??????, ?????????????? ? ?????????????? ?????????? ? ?????????, ? ?????????? ?????? ??????????????  
????????????? ?????????????????????? ?????????????? ? ?????????[38].

????????????????? ?????????? ? ?????????? ?????????????????????? ?????????????? ?????????????? ?????????????????? ?????? ?.



????? ????????, ?? ??? ??????? ? ??????????, ??? ?????, ?????? ?????? ?????????  
??????????, ?? ????????? ?????????????????? ??????. ? ??? ?????????? ?? ?????? ?? ?? ?  
?????????, ??? ? ?????????. ??????? ??????? ?????? ?????????????? ? ?????????? ? ?????????  
?????????. «????????????????? ?????????» ??????? ? ??, ?? ?????????? ????????? ??????, ???????  
?????? ?????????, ? ??????? ?????? ?? ?????? ? ??? ??????????????. ?? ??????? ?????? ??????????? ?  
?????? ? «?????????????????» ?????????????, ?? ?????? ?. ?????????, «????????? ? ?????????????». ???  
?? ?????????? ? ?????? ?????????????????? ? ?????????????????? ??????? ?? ?????? ??????????????, ??  
?????? ?????????????? ?????????????????????, ? ?????????????? ?? ???????????. ?????? ? ?????????,  
????????????? ?????? ?????? ?????? ?????????????? ?????? ?????? ?????????????????? ??????, ? 392 ?.

????????? ?????? ? ?????? ?????? ?????????? ?????????? ??????? ?????????? ?????????? ? ??????????  
????????????? ?????????? ? ??????? ? ?????????????????? ?????????????? ??????? ??????????????, ??? ???????  
????????????????? ?????????????????? ? ?????????????????? ?????????????? ?????? ?????????????? ??????????????  
?????????????????. ?????????????????, ?? ??????, ?? ?????? ?????????? ?????? ?????????????????? ?  
????????????? ? ?????????? ?? ?????????????, ? ?????????? ?????????? «????? ?????? ??????» ???  
????????? ? ?????????????????? ?????????????????? ??????, ?????????????? ?? ?????? ?????????????? ??????.  
??????????, ??? ? ??????? «?????????» ?????????????????? ?????? ?????????? ?????????? ?????? ?????????  
????????? ? ?????????????????????????? ??????????????. ??????, ?? ??????, «?????????????????»  
????????????????? ? ??????? ?? ?????? ??????? ?????????????? ?????????? ?? ?????????, ?? ?????? ???????,  
?? ?????? ?????????????????? ?????? ?????????? ??????? ?? ?????????? ?????????????????? ?????????? ?  
????????????????????????? ??????????.

? «?????????????????» ??????? ??????????, ?????????, ??????? ?????????? ?????????? ?? ??????.

?.????? ??????? ? «????? ?????????» ?????????????????? ?????????????????? ?????????? ? VI–VII ??<sup>[51]</sup>  
. ??? ??? ??????? ? ?????????? ?????? ? ?????????????? ?????????? ?????????????? ? ??????????????  
????????????? ?????? ?????, ??? «????? ?????????????????? ? ?????????? ?????? ?????? ? ?????  
?????????»<sup>[52]</sup>.

????? ??????? ?????????????????? ?????????? ? VIII ?. ?????? ? ?????????? ?????????????? ?????? ??????  
????????????? ?????????????? ??????? ? ??????????????????. ? ??? ?????? ?????????????????????? ?????? ??????????  
?????? ? ?????????????????????? ? ?????????????? ??????????????????, ? ?????? ?????????? ?????????? ?????  
?????????????, ?? ?????? ?????????? ?????? ?????????????? ?????????????????? ??????. ? ?????????? ??????  
?????????????, ? ?????? ? ?????? ? ?????????? ?????????? ?????????????????? ??????, ?????????????? ?????????????? ?  
????????? ?? ?????? ?? ??????????????. ??? ?? ?????? ?????????????????? ?????????? ?????????????? ?????????? ??  
????? ?????????????? ??????????????, ?????????? ??????????, ?????? ?????????? ? ?????? ?????? ???  
????????????? ?????????????<sup>[53]</sup>.

?????? ? ?????????? ?????????????????? ?????????????????? ? ?????????? ? IX ?, . ?????? ?????????, ???  
????????? ?? ?????????? «????????????????? ??????????» ?????????????????? ?????????? ?????????? I ? ????? VI. ?  
?????????, ?????????? ? ?????????? ?????????? ??????????, ?????? ?????????, ??? ?????, ??????  
????????? ?? ?????? ?????????????????? ? ?????????, ?????????????, ??? ?????????????????? ?????????  
????????????????? ??????? ?????????????? ? ?????????????? ?????????, ? ?????????????? ?????????? ???????  
????? ?????????????????? ??????. ?????????????????? ?????????? ?????????, ?? ?????? ?????????? ?? ?????? ?????  
?????? ?????????????????????? ? ?????????????????????? ?, ??????? ??????, ??? ?????????? ?????????????? ???????  
<sup>[54]</sup>. ? ??? ? ?????? «????????? ??????????????» ??????? ?????????????, ?? ?????? ?. ?????????, ??? ?  
?????? ?????????????? ??????????, ?? ? ?????????????? «????????????? ??????????» ? ??????????????<sup>[55]</sup>.

????????? ?????????????? ?????????????? ??????? ? ?????????? ? ?????? ?????????????????????? ??????? ?????????, ?  
XIII–XV ??., ???????, ?? ?????? ?. ???????, ?????? ??????. ??? ?????? ?????????????? ?????? ??????????????  
????????? ?????? ?????. ?? ?????????, ? ?????????? ??????, ??? ?????????????????? ?????????? ?????? ??????  
?????????????, ??? ?????????? ? ?????????? ? ??????, ?? ?????????, ??? ?????????? ?????? ??????????????????  
????? ?????????????????????????? ?????????<sup>[56]</sup>. ?????? ?????, ?????????? ?????? ??????????????????  
????????????? ? ?????????? ?? «????????????????????? ??????????????» (intellectual tolerance), ?? ?????, ???





?????? ??????, ????? ? ????????? ??????. ????? ????????? ? ??? ????????????? ??????????  
????? ?????????, ?????, ????????????? ??????????. ??? ?????????????? ??. ?????????????, «?????  
????????? ? ?????? ??? ?????? ?????», ? ????????? ?????? «???????? ?????? ????????????? ??????,  
?????? ??? ????????????? ?????????????????????? ??????????. ?? ??? ?????? ?? ?????????? ?? ???  
????????????? ? ?????????? ?? ????????? ?????????????? ??????????, ?? ????????? ?????????????? ?? ?????  
???????????? ?????????? ?????? ? ?? ????????? ?????? ?????? ?? ?????? ?????????????? ??????. ?????????? ??  
????????? ?????????????? ?????????? ? ?????????????? ?????????????????????? ??????????????????»[64].

? XIV ?. ? ?????????? ? ??????? ?? ?????? ????? ?? ????????? «????? ??????????????????», ? ?????????  
????????????? ?????????? ??????? ?????????????? ?????????????? ??????????. ?????????????? ?????????????? ?????? 1360 ?.  
??????? «????????????????????». ?????????? ?????? ?????????, ??? ??????? «????????????????????» ????? ??????????  
????????? ?? ??????? ??????????????, ????? ??? ?????????????? ??????, ??????? – ?????????????? ? ??????????????,  
????????? – ?????????????????? ??????. ?? ?????? ?????????????, ????? ? ????????? ??????????????»[65].

????????????? ? ?????????? ? ??????? ? ??????? ?????????????? ?????????????????? ?????????? ??????? ?????? ?? ?????  
?????, ??? ? ??????? ??????? ?????????????????? ?????????????????? ??????. ??? ? ? ??????????, ? ??????????????????  
?????? ??????? «????????????????????» ??????????????????, ??? ?????????, ?? ??????????  
?????????????????????»[66].

### ????????? ????

????????? ?????????????????????????????? ?????????? ?????????????? ?????????????? ?? ?? ?????????? ?? ?????????? ??????  
????????? ? ?????????? ?????????????????????? ?????? ? ?? ?????????????? ? ?????????? ? ??????????

? ?????????????? ?????????????????? ?????? ??????? ?????????????? ?????????????????? ?????????????? ? ?????????????? ? ??????????  
????? ?????????????????? ?????????????????? ?????????????? ?????????????????? ??????????»[67]. ??????????????????????  
?????? ??????? ? ?????????????????? ?????????????????? ?????? ? ?????????????????? ?? ?????????????????? ?????? ?  
?????????????????, ? ?????????????? «????????????????????????? ? ??????????????????, ? ?????? ??????????????????»[68]  
????????????????? ?????????????????????? ?????????????????? ?????????????? ? ?????????? ??. ?????????, ?????????????????? ???????  
? ?????????????? ?????????? ?????????????????????? ?????????????? ? ?????????????? ?? ??????????????????????  
?????????????»[69].

??? ?????? ?????????? ? ???, ?????????????????? ?? ? ?????????????? ?????? ?????????????? ?????????, ??????????  
?????????????????????. ?????????????? ?????????????? ? ?????????????? ?????????????? ?????????????? ?????? ?????????????  
????????????? ? ?????????????? ??????????????»[70].

? ?????????????? ?????????????????? ?????????????????? ??????, ??? ?????????? ?????????????????? ?? ?????? ? ?????????????? ??????  
[71]. ? ?????????????? ?????????????? ?? ?????????? ??????????»[72]. ?????????? ?????????????????? ?????????????????? ??????????  
????????????????? ?????????????????????? ? ??????. «? ??????, ? ??? „?????????????????» ?????????, ?????? ??????????????????  
????????????????? ??????????????, ?????????????????? ?????? ?????????????? ? ?????????????????? ??????, ? „?????????????» ???  
„?????????????????» („????????????????») ??????»[73], ??? ?????? ?????????????????? ?????????????? ??????????????????????  
????????????????? ???, ?????????????? ?????????????????? ?. ?????????? ?. ?. «????????????????? ??????????» X ?.  
[74], ?? ?????????????? ?????????????, ??? ? ?????? ?????????????????? ?????????, ?????????????????????? ??????????????????????  
????????????? ? ?????????????????????? ?????????????????? ??????????. «????????????????? ?????????, ?????????, ??????????  
????????????????????????? ?????????????? ?? ?????????????????? ??????, ? ??? ?????? ? ??????, ? ?????????????????????? ???????  
?????????????????. ?????????? ? ?????????????????? ?????????????? ?????????, ?????????? ?????????????????????? ?????? ?????????, ?? ??????  
?????? ??? ?????????????, ?????? ?? ??? ?? ?????? ?????????????? ??? ?????????????????????? ?????????????, ??? ??  
????????? ??? ??????????????????»[75].

?????? ?????????????? ?????????????????? ?????????????? ?????????? ?? ?????? ?? ??????????????????. ?????? ?? ?????? ?? ??????  
?????? «?????????????» 1113 ?., ?? ?? ??????. ?? ?????????? ?????????, «????????????? ?????????????? ??????» ?????????????? ???  
1146 ? 1151 ??. «????????????????? ??????????» ? «????????????????? ??????????»[76].

????????? ?????????? ?????????? ? ????? ?????? ? «?????????????» ?????, ?????????????????  
????????????? ? ????????????????? ?????? ?? ? ????????? ????? ?????????????? ??, ? ?? ?????????? ? ??? ?  
????????????????? ?????????? (? XV ?.), ??.????? ??????????, ??? «????????????? ?????? ?  
????????????????? ?????????? ????? ? ? ?????????????????????? ? ????????? ?????? ?????????? ????? ??????????  
?? ? ?????????????????? ?????, ?? ? ??????????, ?? ? ?????????? ?????????? ?????, ?? ? ?????????????????  
????????????? ?????????????????? (? ? ?????????????????) ??????????????»[77]. ??? ?? ?????, ??? ??????  
????????????????? ??? ?????????????????, ??? ?????????? ?????????? ?????? ?????????? ?????? ? ??????????????  
????????? ?????. ?????? ?? ?????????????????? ? ????? ?????????????? ?????? ? ??????????

?????????? ?????????????????? ?????????? X.????????? ?????????? ?????? ?????????? ?????? ?????????????????? ???????,  
??? ??? ??????????, «??? ? ?????? ??? ? ??????» , ?????????????????????? ? ?????????????????? ??????????  
????????????????????? ?????????????? ? ?????????????????????????????????? ?????????? ? ?????????? ?????? ??????????????, ???  
????? ??? ? ?????? ?? ??????????????????[78]. ?? ?????????????? ?????????????? ?????? ? ??????????????????  
????????????????? ? ?????????????????????? ??????????????, ?????????????? ?????????? ?????? ? ? ?????? ??????  
????????? ?????????????? ??????????, ? ????? ? ?????????? (? ?????? ?? ? ??????????), ?? ?????????? ??????  
«?????????????????», ?????????? ?????????? ?? ?????????????????????????????? ?????? ? ?????? ? ??????????????????  
????????????????? ??????????????, ?????????????? ? ??????. ?????? ?????????????? ??????????, ?? ?????? ?  
«?????????????????, ?????????? ? ??????????»[79] ? ?????? ?????????? ?? ??????????????, ?? ??? X.  
?????????? ?????? ?????????? ? ?????????????????????? ?????????????? (?????????, ??????, ?? ??????????????  
????????????????? ? ?????????????????????????? ?????? ? ??? ? ??????, ?? ?????????????????? ??? 1113 ? . ? ??????  
??? ?????????????????? ??????, ?? ??????????, ?? ?????????????????????????? ?????? ?????????? ?  
????????????????????????????? ?????? ?????? 1238–1240 ??. , ??? ??????????? ? ? ??????????, ? ? . ?.).  
?????? ? ? ? ?????????????????? ?????????? ??????????, ?? ?????????? ?????? ? ?????? ??????????  
?????????????, ?? ?????? ?????????? ??????????[80], ?????????? ?????? ? ?????????? ??????  
«?????????????????» ?????????????????? ?????????????? ?? ?????????????????? ?????????? ?????????????????, ?? ?  
????????????? ?????????? ?????????????????????? ? ?? ??????, ?????? ?????????? ? ?????? ??????????????????  
?????????? ? ??? ?????????????????? ?????????? ?????????????????????????????? ??????. ?????? ? . ?????? ? ??????????  
????? ?????????? ?????? ? ?????????[81] ?????????????????????? ?????? ?????????? ?????????????????? ?  
????????????????? ?? ?????????????????, – ? ??????????, ?????????? ?????????????? ?????? ? . ??????????????  
?????? ? ?? ?????????????? ??????????[82].

### ????????????? ????

????????????????? ?? ?????????? ?????? ? ?????? ?????????? ? ?????? ?????????? ??? XIV–XV ?? .?  
????? ? ???? ?????????? ?????? ?????????? ? ????????? ??????, ??????, ?? ???, ?? ??? ??????????  
????????? ??????????, ?? ??? ? ???? ??????????, ?????? ?? ? ?????????? ? ??????. ??? ??????????  
????? ?????????? ?????????, ?? ? ?????????????? ?????? ? ?????????????? ?????? , ?????????, ?? ?????????? ?  
?????? ? ?????????? ?????? ? ?????????? ?????? ? .????????[83], ? ? ?????????? ?????? ?????? ??????  
?? ?????? ?????????????????? ?????????????? ? .? ??????????[84].

????????? ?? ?????????? ? ??? ?? ??? ?????????? ?????????? ?????????? ? ?????????? . ??????????,  
?????? ?????????? ??? ?????????? ?????????????? ??????????????????, ?????? ?????? III ? ?????? ?? ??????  
????? ?????????? . ?????????? ?????? III ? ?????????? ?????????, ?????????? ?????????? ?????? ??????????????????  
????????????? ?? ?????? ? ?????????? ? ?????? ?????????? «?????????????», ?? ?????? ??????????????????, ?? ?  
????????????? ? ?????????? . 1490 ? . ?????? ?????? ?????????????????? ?? ? ?????? ?????? ?? ?????????? ?????  
????? («????? ?????????»), ?????????? ??????????, ?? ?????? ?????????? ?????????????????????? ?????? . ??????  
?? ?????, ?????? ?? ??????. ?????????? ?? ?????? ?????????? ?????????? ?????? ? ?????? ??????????????  
????????? ? ??????????[85].

????? ??????????????????, ?? ?????????? ?????????? ?????? ?????? ? ?????????? ? ?????????????? ? XVI ? .  
????????????????? ?????? ?????????????? ?????? ?????????????? I ? ?????? IV, ?????????????? ? 1539 ? ., ?? ??????????  
?????, ?? ?????? ?????????? ?????????? ?? ?????????? ?????? ? ?????????? . 1545 ? ., ?????????? ??????????????  
????????, ?????? ? ?????? ?????? ?????????? ?????????? ?????????? ?????????? ??????????????????

????????, ?? ?? ????????? ?? ?????? «????», ??? ?? ??? ????????? ????????? ? ??????. ?  
???? ????????? ????????? ????????????? ?????? ?????? ? ??????? ????????? ?????? ????????? ?  
???????? ?? ????? IV ?????, ??????? ????? ????????????? ? ??????????????. ? ?????? ??????, ?? ?????  
???????????? ?????? ? ??????? ??????? ??????? ????????????? ?????????????, ?? ????? ??????  
???????????????????? ?? ?????? ????????????? ?????? ?????? ??????????????????. ??????? 1503 ?. ?????????  
??????, ? ??????? ????? ?? ? ??????? ??????????? ?? «????» ?????? ?? «????» ?????? ?????????  
???????????? ??????????????. ?? ? ? ?????? ????????????? ? ?????????????? ??????????[86].

?? ????????? ??????? ????????? XVI ? ?????? XVII ?, ??? ?????????? ?? ?????? ????????????? ??????,  
???????? ? 1584 ?. ????????????? ? ??????? ?? ?????????? ??????. ? 1576 ?. ?????????? ????????? ?  
???????????? ??????, ??????? ????????????? ????????????? ??????????, ?????????? ?????? ? ?????? ?????????????.  
?. ??????? ?????????????????, ?? ?? ???? ????????????? ?? ?????? ????????????? ?????? ??????, ?????????????  
???????? ?? ??????. ? ?????? ?? ??????? ????????????? (?? ??????????????????) ?????? ????????? ?????????????  
?????, ????????????? ? ??????? ??????? ? ?????????????? ??????????. ??? ??????????, ?? ?????? ???????  
???????????? ? ??????? ??????? ? ??????? ????????????? I. ?????? ?????????????? ?????????????, ??????? ???????  
? ???, ??? ? ? ?????????????? ?????? ?????????? ????????????? ? ?????????[87].

? 1632 ?., ?? ?????? ?????????????? ?????? ?????????? ? ?????????? ?????? ?????? ?????? ?????????  
???????????????? ?????????? ? ?????? ??????. ?? ?????????????? ????????????????? ?????? 1634 ?., ? ??????????  
???????????? ? ??????? ??????? ?? ?????????????, ?????? ??? ??????????????, ?? ? ????????????? ??????????, ??  
??? ?? ?????????? ?? ?????????????? ?????????? ? ??????. ?????????????? ?????? 1635 ?., ?????????????  
????????, ????????????? ? ??????. ?? ?????? ?????????????????????? ??????? ? ?????? ?????????? ? ??????.  
?? ?????? ?????????????? ?????? ?????????????, «?? ? ? ?????????????????, ? . ? ??????, ? ?????? ?????????????, ??  
????????????? ??????????????, ??????? ?????? ??? ?????????? ?? ?????? ? ??????, ?????????? ?????????????????»  
[88], ? . ?., ?? ??????, ?????????????????? ?? ?????????????? ?? ?????????? ?????????????????? ? ?????? ??????.

? ????????? XVII ?, ? ?????? ?????????? ?????????? ??????, ? ??????? ????????????? ? ?????????? ??????????  
?????????????. ?? ?????, ? ?????????????, ?????????????????? ?????????????? ??????? ?? ?????????????????? ?????????.  
????????????????? ??????? ??????? ?????? ?????? ? ??????. ?????? ?????????? ?????????????? ??????? ??????,  
??????, ?????????????????? ?????????????? ? ?????????????, ?????????????? ? ??????????????. ? 1659 ?. ? ?????? ??  
????? ??????? ?? ?????????????????????? ?????????????????, ?????????? ?????????????????? ?????? ? ?????????????? ??????,  
?????????????????, ?? ? ??????? ?????????????? ?????????????? ?????? ??????. ??, ?? ? ? ?????????? ??????????????,  
????? ?????????? ? ??????. ?? ????? ? . ?????? ?????????????????, ?? «????????? ?? ??????? ?????? ??????  
????????????? ??????, ?????????????????? ?????????????????? ??????? ???????; ?????????????? ?????? ? ??????  
????????????????????????? ? ?? ?????? ??????????????. ?????? ???, ?? ?????????? ?????????????????, ?????????????????  
?? ??????????»[89].

?? ??????? ????????? XVII ?. ?????????????? ??????? ? ?????? ??????? ?? ?????????????? ??????????????????. ?  
?????? ?????????????? ? ?????????????? ?????? ?????? 1648–1667 ??. ?????????? ?????????????? ?????????????????  
?????? – ??????????????, ?????????????????, ?????????? ?????????????? ? ??????????????.

????????? ?????????????????? ?????????????? ?????????????? ?????????? ?? ?????, ?? ?????????? ? ??????. ?? ?????  
? ?????????????????????? ?????? ?????? ??? ?????????????? ?????????????????? ??????????????. ? ?????????????? ??????????  
???????? ? 1673 ?. ?????????? ?? ?????????????????, ?????????????????? ??????????. ?? ?????????? ?? ??????????  
????????????? ?????????? ? ?????????? ?? ??????. ? ?????????????? ?????????? ?????????????? ? ??????? ?????? – ??????  
????????????, ?????????????? ??????????. ?? ??????? ?????????? XVII ?. ?????????????? ?????? ?????????????? ?????????  
????????????? ?????? ?????, ?????????? ?????????? ? ?????????????? ?????????????????????? ??????????????. ? ??????  
?????????, ??? ??????, ?????????? ??????? ?? ?????????? ? ?????????????? ??????, ?? ??????? ?????????????  
?????????????, ?? ?? ?????? ??????. ??? ?????????????? ??????????, ?? ? ? ? ? ?????? ?????? ?????????????  
[90].

????? ??? ?????????????? ?????????????????? ?????????????? ? ?????????? ? ?????????? ?????????? «?????  
?????????????????»[91] ?????????????????????, ?? ?????????? ?????, ?? ?????????????????????? ??????????  
????????????????? ? ?????????????? ?????? ? ??????????. ?? ?????????? ?????? «????????????????????», ?? ????? ???

????? ?????????????, ?? ? ? ?????????? ???? ? ? ?????????????????, ? ? ?????????????????  
????????? ? ?????????.

???????????? ? ?????? ? ?????? ????? ? 1525 ?., ? ?????????, ?????? ?????????? ?  
????????????, ?????????? ? ?????? ?????????????, ?????? ?????????? ??????????, ?????????? ? ??,  
?????????, ?? «„?????????» ?????? ?????????? ? ??????, ??? ? ? ???? ?????????? ? ??????,  
? ? ? ?????????? ? ? ???? ?????????? ???? ?????? ?????? ?????????? ? ??????????, ??? ? ? ? ????  
????????? ?????? ???? ?????? ??????»[92]. ? ?????? ? ???? ???? ?????? ??????????????  
????????? ? ?????, ?????????? ?????????????? ?????????????????? ?????????????????? ? ??????  
«????????????????» ?????? ?????? ? «????» ??????, ?????????? ?????? ??? ????[93]. ?????????  
«????????? ??????» ? ?????????? ?????????? ?????????? ?????????? ? ??????  
????????[94]. ? ?????? ?????? ?????? ?????? ?????????? ???? , ?? ?????? ? ? ?????? ? ?????? ? ? ?  
???????? ? ? ??????, ? ? ?????????????????????? ?????? ?????? ?????? ?????????? ??????  
«????????????».

????????????? ?????????????? ?????????? ?????????? ?????????? ? ?????? ?????? ? ?????? ?????? IV ? ?  
????????? ?????????? ?????? ? ?????????? ?????? ?????????????? ?????????????? II ????????? ? ?  
????????????????? ?????????? ?????? ? ? ?????? ? ??????. ?????? ?????????????????? ??????????: «? ???  
?? ?????? ??, ?????? ?????? ?????? ?????????? ?????? ? ???? ?????????????? ? ? ??????, ? ? ? ???? ?  
?? ?????? ?????? ???? ??????????, ?????????? ???? ? ? ?????? ?????? ???? , ??? ?????? ?????? ? ? ?  
????????????????? ?????????? ? ?????????? ?????? ? ???? ?????????????? ?????????? ? ?????? ?????? ??????  
????? ??????; ? ???? ???? ?????? ??????, ?????? ?????? ? ???? ???? , ?????? ???? ?????? ?????????, ? ?  
?? ?????????????????? ?????? ?? ? ? ? ? ?????????... ? ? ? ? ???? ?????????????? ?????? ?????? ?????? ? ?  
?????, ?????? ? ?????? ?????????????? ???? ?????????? ?????? ? ? ?????, ? ?????? ???? , ?????? ? ? ?  
?? ? ???? ?????????????? ???? ? ? ???? ? ?????? ???? ?????????? ?????????? . ? ? ? , ???? ? ? ? ,  
?????? ? ?????? ? ? ? ? ? ??????»[95]. ?????? ???? , ?? ???? ?????? ?????????????? ? ?????? ?????????  
????????????????? ? «????? ?????????????????», ? ?????????? «????????? ??????» ? «????? ? ? ? ? ?  
????????? ?????????????????? ?????????? ? ???? ?????????????????? ? ? ?????.

????? ?????????????? ?????????????? «????????????????????? ??????????????????» ?????????? ?????????  
????????????????? ?????????? ?????? ?????? ? ? ???? ?????????? ??????. ? ? ?????????????????? ?????????????,  
? 1563 ? . ??? ? ?????? ???? ? ? ???? ? ? ???? ? ? ?????? «? ???? ?????? ?????????, ? ????  
???????? ? ?». ?????????? ?????????????? ???? ??????????. ?????? ? ?????? ???? ?????????? ? ??????  
????????????????[96]. ? . ?????? ?????? ? 1915 ? . ?????????? ? ???? ?????????? ?????????? ? ? ??????  
????????????????? ?????????????? ?????????????????? ?????????????????? (????????? ?????????????? ??????????) ? ?  
????? ??????, ?????????????????? ? ?????????? ?????????????[97]. ?????? ? ? ?????????? ??????????  
????????? ? 1579 ?., ? ? ? ? 1580 ? . ? ?????? ?????????? ?????? ?????????????????? ??????????  
????????[98].

?? ? ?????????????? ?????? XVII ? . ?????????? ?????????????????, ?? ? ?????????? ? ?????? ? ?????????? ????  
????????????????? ?????????????? ? ?????????????????. ?????? ?????? ? ? ?????????????????????? ??????????  
????????????, ??? «????????? ?????? ?????? ?????????? ??????????... ?????????? ?????????? ??????????  
?????????, ??????, ??????, ? ??????, ? ???? , ? ?????? ?????????? ?????????????, ? ?????? ? ? ? ? ? ?  
????????? ?????? ??????». ? ?????? ? ? ?????????? ?????????? ?????????????? ? ? ?????? ?????????????, ? ?  
????????????? ? ? ???? ????????? ? ? ? ? ? «????????? ?????? ? ? ?????????????? ??????  
?????????»[99].

? ?????? ? ?????? ???? ? ?????????? ? ?????????? ?????????????????? ?????????????? ??????: «?????  
????????????? ?????? ? ?????????????? ??????????????». ? ? ? ? ?????????????? ???? ?????????? ? ??????  
????????? ?????????? (????? ?????????????? ?????????? ??????????), ? ?????????????? ?????????? 1610 ? . [100]

????????, ?????? ? ? ?????? ? ?????????? IV ?????????? ?????????? ?????? ? ?????????????? ?????????  
????????? ?????????????? ?????????????? ? ??????, ?????? ?????????????? ?????????????? ?????????? ??????, ? ? ? ? ? ? ? ,

«???? ?????? ? ?????? ? ?????? ? ?????? ????????? ?????????? ?????????? ? ??????». ? 1638 ?.  
???????? ?????? ? ?????? ????? ????????????? ?????????????, ????? ?????? ?????? ????? ??????????  
???????????? ? ??????[101]. ?????? ?????? ?????, ??????, ??? ??????? ????????????????????? ?  
???????? ?????? ? ????? ??????? ????????????? ?????? ? ?????????.

? ????????? XVII ?, ? ????? ? ?????? ????????????? ??????, ????????? ????????? ?????? ? ??????????  
???????????? ?????????? ????????? ?????????????? ???? ????????????? ? ??????????. ?????? ??? ???? ??????  
???????? ????????? ?????????? ?????: «????? ? ?????????????? ? ? ?????? ? ????????????? ??????????????  
????? ??? ????????????? ??????????????; ???, ??? ?????????? ??????? ????????????? ?????????????,  
???????????? ?????? ?????? ??????????» [102].

? ?????? ????????? XVII ?, ? ?????? ?????????, ?????????? ? ?????? ?????? ?????? ?????????????, ???  
? ?????????????????? ??????. ??????? ?????????? ??? ?????????? ? ?????????????? ?????? ? ??????????????  
?????????, ??? ???? ?????? ?????????????? ?????? 1682 ?. ?????? ??????, ????????? ??????, ??? ????????? ?  
?????????????, ????????????? ?????? ?????????????? ? ??? ?????, ??? ? ??? ???? ? ??????????. ???? ??????  
????? ? ??? ????????????? ?????????????????[103]. ????????? ?????????? ?????????????? ?????????  
?????????????, ? ??? ???? ?????? ?????? ? ?????? ?????? ????????????? ?????????????[104].

??? ????? ? ?????? ?????????????? ? ?????????????? ?????????????? XVI–XVII ?? ????  
?????? ?????? ??? ??????, ??? ??????, ??? ?????? ? ?????? ?????? ? ?????? ??????????????  
???????????? ?????? ??? ?????????????? ?????? ?????? ?????????????????? ?????? «???????? ?????? ??????»  
????? ? ?????????? ??????? ?????????????? ??????. ? ?????????? ??????? ?????? ??????????  
????? ?????? ?????. ???? ??????, ???? ??????, ???? ??????, ???? ??????, ???? ??????, A.M.????? ?  
??.?????[105]. ??? ?????? ??? ?????????? ??????? ???? ?????? ?????? ??? ??????????: ???? ??????,  
? ?????????? ?????????????????????? ?????????????? ?????? ? ?????????? ?????????? ???? ??????????  
????????????? ?????????????? ??? ?????????????????? ?????????????????? ?????????????? ??????????  
«?????????????» ?????????????? ???? ??????; ???? ??????, ? ?????? ?????????????????? ?????????,  
???????????? ? ?????????????????? ?????? ??????????????, ??? ? ?????????? ??????????????, ???????  
????????????? ?????????? ?????? ?????? ? ?????????????????? ? ?????????????????? ??????????????  
????????????????? ?????????????? ??????????????. ?????????? ? ?????????????? ?????? ?????? ??????  
????????????? ?????????????????? ?????????????? ??? ?????? ?????????? ?????????????.

????????? ?????????????? ?????????? ?????????????? ???? ?????? ?????????????, ??????, ???, ??? ?  
?????, ?????? ?????????????????? ???? ?????? ? ??????. ??? ?????????????? ?????, ??????????  
????????? ?????????????? ???? «????????????? ?????????????? ??????», ??? ?????????, ? ??????????, ???????  
????????????? ?????? ?????? ?????????????????? ???? ?????????????? ? ??????, ? ?????????????? ?????? ??????? ?  
????????????? ?????????? ?????????? ? ??????????[106].

????????? ??? ?????? ?????? ??????, ?????????????? ??????????, ??? ???? ???? ???? ???? ?????????? ?  
????????? ?????????????? ?????? ?????. ?????????????????????????? ?????????? ???? ???? ??????????????  
?????? ??????, ??? «??? ???? „????????????? ??????», ?????????????? XVI ? XVII ???? , ?????????????? ?  
?????????????», ???? ??????, ??? ???? ?????????? ?????????????? «????? ?????????????????? – ???? ? ? ??????  
????????????? ?????? ?????? ? ?????? ? ???? ?????, ? ????? ?????? ?????????????? ?????????? ???????  
?????????????????, ?????? ?????? ?????? ???? ?????? ???? ?????? ?????? ?????? ?????? ?????? ???? ??????  
? ?????????????? ?????? ?????? ???? ???? ?????? ??????, ? ?????? ???? ?????? ?????? ????????????? ?  
????????????????? ??????????????» [107].

????????????????, ?????????????????? ?????? ?????????, ?????????? ???? ? ??????????????, ??? «?? ?????????????????,  
?? ?????????? ???? ?????? ?????? ?????????? ? ??????, ?????????? ?????? ???? ?????????????? ??????????  
????????????? ?????? ?????????? ?????????????? ? ??????» [108]. ?????????? ???? ?????????????? ?  
????????????? ?????? ??????, ???? ???? ???? ???? ?????? ?????????, ?????????? ?????? ??? ?????? ???? ????.

### ???????? ? ????????????? (?????????)

???? ????? ? ?????????????? ?????? ?????? ? ?????????? ?????????????? ?????????? ?  
????????? – ?? ??, ?? ?????????? ??????? ? ?????? ? ?????????? ?????????????? ?????? XIV–XVII  
??.

????????? ?????????????, ?? ?????????? ??????????? ? ?????????????? ?????????, ??  
????????????????? ?????? ??????? ? ?????????????????????? ?????? ? ?????????? ??????????????  
????????????[109]. ??????????, ?? ? ? ?????? ???? ? XIII–XIV ?? . ? ?????????? ?????? ? ? ? ??????  
????????????? ?????????? ???????[110].

????????????????? ? ??????? ???? ?????????? ?????????? ?????? ? XV ? . ? ? ?????????? ??????????. ? XVI –  
?????? ?????????? XVII ?? . ?? ?????????? ?????? ? ?????? ?????????? ?????????????? ??????  
????????????? ? ? ??????. ? ?????????? ?????????? ? ? ?????? ?????????? ? ? ?????????? ?????????????? ?  
????????? ?????????? ??????? ???? ?????????????. ???? ? ? ?????????? ?????????? ?????????? ?????????? ?  
???, ?? ?????????????? ?????????????? ?????????????? ?????????? ?????? ? ?????? ? ???? ?????????? ???????????  
?????? ?????????????????????? ?????????? ??????? ?????????????? ???????[111].

????????? ??????????? ? ???????????, ??????????? ??????????? ????????? ? ?????????? ??????????????? (????,  
????????, ????????? ? ??????) ? 4 ??? . ? 1569 ? . ? 51 325 ? 1648 ? . ? ????????? ? ??????, ? ?????????  
? ?????????? ?????????????? ? 1648 ? . ???? 54 ??? . ???????[112], ? ? ?????? ? ? ? ????????? ?  
????????????? ?????? ?????????????? ?????? – ? 170 ? 480 ??? . ?????? ? ? ???? ???? ?????????????? ? 1648  
? .

?? ? ? ???????, ? ?????????????? ?????????? ?????????????????? ?????? ? ?????????????????? ?????????? ?  
?????? ?????? ? ??????????????, ? ?????????????? ?????????? ?????????? ?????????? ??????????  
????????????????, ???? ?????????????, ??????? ?????????? ?????????????? ?????? ??????, ?????? ??????  
?????????? ?????????????? ?????????????????? ?????????????????? ?????????????????? ?????????? ??????  
????????????????????????? ?????????? ? ?????????? ??????? ? ? ?????????? XVII ? . ?? ? ? ? ? ? ? ? ? ?  
?????????????????  
????????? ?????????????????? ?????????????? ?????????????? XVI – ?????? ?????????? XVII ? . [113]  
????????????, ?  
???????????????? ? ? ??????? ?????????????????????????????? ?????????????????? . ??????? ??????????? ? 1660 ? ?? . ?  
?????????? ?????????? ??????????? ? ??????????? ??????????? ??????????? ?????????????????? «????????  
?????????????»[114]. ?????????? ??????????? ?????????? ?????????????????? ?????????? ? ??????????  
????????????????? ?????????????????? XVI – ??????? ?????????? XVII ?? .

????? ?????????????? ? ????????? ? ?????????? XVI ? . ?????????????????? ?????????, ?????????? ?????????????  
?? ? ?????????? ???? ?????????, ?????????????? ? ? ?????????????????, ? ?????? ????????? ? ?  
????????[115], ? ?????????? ? ? ? ? ?????????????? ???????????, ? ? ?????????????? ???????????, ? ?  
«?????????????????????» ? ? . ? .

«????????? ??????  
????????????????? ???????????, ?????? ? ? ?????????? ? ? ?????????? ?????????????????? ?????????????????? ??????  
????????????????? ???????????[116].

????????? ?????????????? (????????????) ? ?????????? ? ??????? ?????????? ?????????????????? ??????» (1588)  
[117] ?????????? ? ? ??????? ? ???????????????-?????  
? ? ??????????????  
????????????? «?????????????????» ??????????. ?  
????????? ? ? ?????????? ?????????????? ? ? ?????????? ?????? – ?  
????????????? ??????? ???????, ? , ?  
????????? [118].

????????????? ?????????? ? 1593 ? . ?????? ?????????????????? ? ?????????????? ?????????????? ??????????????????  
????????? ?????????????????????????? ?????????????? ?????????? ???????[119], ? ?????????? ? ? ? ? ? ? ? ? ? ?

????????? ? ????? ????????????????? ?????? ??????? ?????????????????.

????????? ?????????? ??? ?????????????????? ??????? ?????? ? ?????????? ?????????????????? ?????????? ?????  
????????????? ?????????????? ?????????????? ?????????????? ?????????????? ?????????????? ?????????????? XVI ?.[120]  
. ?????????????? ? ??? ??????????????????, ??? «?????????????????» ?????????????? ?? ?????????? ?????????????????????? ?  
????????????? ?????????????????? ?????????????????? ?????????????? ?????????? ?? ?????????? ?????????????? XVII ?., ?????  
????????????? ?? ?????????? ?????????? ?????????????????? ? ?????????? ?????????????? ??? ? 1560 ? ??.  
[121].

????????????????????, ????????????????????? ?????????? ?????????? ?????????????????????? ? ?????????????????, ?????????, ????? ??  
?????, ? ?? ?????????????????? ?????????????? ?????????????? ?????????????????? ?????????????? ?????????? ?????????? XVII ?.  
[122], ? ?? ?????? ?????????????????? ?????????????, ?????????? ?????????? ?????????????????????? ? ?????????? ?????????  
????????? ?????????????????????.

? ???, ?????? ?????????? ?? ?????????? ?????????????????????? ? XVII ?. ?????? ?????????????????? ??????????????????,  
????????????????? ?????????? ?????? ?????????????????.

? ?????? ?????????????????? ?????????????? ?????????????????????? ?????????, ??? ?? ?????????? ?? ??????, ?????? ?????????? ??  
????????/????????? ?????????????????????? ? ?????????????? ?????????????????????? ?????????? ?????????????????? ?????? ?????????????????? ?  
????????????? ?????? ? ? ?????????? ?????????? ??????????, ? ?????? ? ??? ??? ?????????????? ??????????, ??? ??????????  
????????????? XVII ?. ?????????????????????? ??? ? ?????????????, ??? ?????????????? ?????????????????????????? ?????????????????? ?  
?????????????

\* \* \*

????????????? ??? ??????, ?????? ?????????? ??? ?????????? ??? ??????????????????

?? ?????????, ?????, ??? ? ?????????? ?????????????????? ?????????????? ?????????????? ? ?????????????????? ??????????  
????????????? ?????????? ??????????????????, ?? ?????????????????? ??????????, «????????? ??????».

?? ?????????, ?????????????????? ?????? ?????????? ?????????? ? «????????? ??????» ?????????????, ?? ?????? ??????????????, ??  
????????? ??????????????, ?????????? ?????????????? ?????????????????????? ?????????????????? ??????????????, ?? ?????? ???, ???,  
????????????????? ?????????????????????? ?? ?????????????????? ? ?????????????? ? ?????????????????????? ??????????????  
????????????????????? ??????????

? ??????????, ?????????????????????? ?????????????????????? ?????????????? ?????????????????? ? ?????????? ? ?????????????? ?????????????????? ?  
????????????????? ?????????????????????? ?????????????? ?????????? ?????? ?????? ?? ?????????????? ?????????????????????? ?????????????????? ?  
????????????????????? ? ?????????????????????? ??????????????????

[1] ??????? ??????? ??? ? ?????????? ?????????? ??? ?????? ??????? ??? ?????? ? ?????????? ??? ?????????? ?????????????? ?????? ??????????????????. ??????????  
A.M.???????, ?????????? ?????????? ?? ??? ? ?????? ?? ?????? ?????????? ??????????????

[2] ??: *Weinryb ?*. L'antisémitisme en Russie soviétique // Les Juifs en Union Soviétique depuis 1917 / Ed. par L. Kochan. Paris: Calmann Levy, 1971. P. 390–394.

[3] *Langmuir G.I.* Toward a Definition of Antisemitism. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1990.

[4] ??: *Klier J.D.* Imperial Russia's Jewish Question, 1855–1881. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995. P. 417–449 (Chapter 18, «The occult element in Russian Judeophobia»).

[5] «The anti Jewish stereotypes mentioned thus far, which I shall call xenophobic stereotypes, all had a kernel of truth all had a kernel of truth (It should be remembered that, so long as it was safe, Jews always acknowledged that Jesus should have been killed as a heretic). But now a new kind of stereotype

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appeared, which I shall call chimerical. These chimerical stereotypes had no kernel of truth; they depicted imaginary monsters, for they ascribed to Jews horrendous deeds imagined by Christians that Christians had never observed Jews committing» (*Langmuir G.I. Toward a Definition of Anti-Semitism*. P. 306 ? *passim*). «The theory I have advanced does identify an unusual quality of hostility toward Jews: there has been socially significant chimerical hostility» (Ibid. P. 351, ??, ????? P. 334–338, 341 ? *passim*).

[6] «If we continue to use that literally most misleading term, we, as social scientists, should free „anti-Semitism» from its racist, ethnocentric, or religious implications and use it only for what can be distinguished empirically as an unusual kind of human hostility directed at Jews. This case we should distinguish between xenophobic „realistic» hostility (universal) and irrational hostility when Jews are converted in a symbol „the Jews» (Ibidem. P. 351–352). «If by „anti-Semitism» we mean not only its racist manifestation but all instances in which people, because they are labeled Jews, are feared as symbols of sub-humanity and hated for threatening characteristics they do not in fact possess, then anti-Semitism in all but name was widespread in northern Europe by 1350, when many believed that Jews were beings incapable of fully rational thought who conspired to overthrow Christendom, who committed ritual crucifixions, ritual cannibalism, and host profanation, and who caused the Black Death by poisoning wells – even though no one had observed Jews committing any of those crimes. Unknown to the ancient world, anti-Semitism emerged in the Middle Ages, along with so many other features of later Western culture» (Ibidem. P. 301–302).

[7] *Vauchez A. La société chrétienne et les Juifs // Histoire du christianisme des origines à nos jours. Apogée de la papauté et expansion de la chrétienté (1054–1274) / Sous la dir. de A. Vauchez. Paris: Desclée, 1993. Vol. 5. P. 702.*

[8] ??.: *Blumenkranz ?.* Augustin et les Juifs, Augustin et le judaïsme // *Blumenkranz ?.* Juifs et Chrétiens. Patristique et Moyen Age. London: Variorum Reprints, 1977. P. 225–241.

[9] ??.: Ibid. P. 238.

[10] *Vauchez A. La société chrétienne et les Juifs... P. 709–710.*

[11] Ibidem. P. 711–712.

[12] *Cohen J. The Friars and the Jews: the Evolution of Medieval Anti-Judaism. Ithaca, 1982; Cohen J. The Jews as Killers of Christ in the Latin Tradition from Augustine to the Friars // Praditio. Vol. 39. (1983.) P. 1–27*

[13] *Moore R.I. The Formation of a Persecuting Society. Power and Deviance in Western Europe, 950–1250. New York: Basil Blackwell, 1987; Moore R.I. Anti-Semitism and the Birth of Europe // Christianity and Judaism / Ed. by D. Wood. Oxford, 1992 (=Studies in Church History Vol. 29). P. 33–57.*

[14] *Gow A. The Red Jews: Antisemitism in an Apocalyptic Age: 1200–1600. Leiden: Brill, 1995 (=Studies in Medieval and Reformation Thought. Vol. IV).*

[15] *Kriegel M. Les Juifs à la fin du Moyen Age dans l'Europe méditerranéenne. Paris: Hachette, 1979.*

[16] *Vauchez A. La société chrétienne et les Juifs... P. 711.*

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[30] *Baron S.W. A Social and Religious History of the Jews... Vol. III. P. 175.*

[31] Ibid. P. 176–177.

[32] *Sharf A. Byzantine Jews... P. 67*



- [33] *Baron S.W. A Social and Religious History of the Jews...* Vol. III. P. 179 («were tempted to cut the Gordian knot by putting a violent end to the Jewish communities of their Empire»).
- [34] *Sharf A. Byzantine Jewry...* P. 91–92 («the general social position of the Jews had not changed»).
- [35] *De Lange N. Jews and Christians in the Byzantine Empire...* P. 23 («a remarkable revival began, with considerable Jewish immigration and a renewal of cultural life. It would be wrong to over emphasize the negative aspect of the treatment of the Jews by the Byzantine state. There was a positive side as well: the moments of persecution were exceptional, and in general the law offered the Jews, individually and communally its protection and a certain stability. Indeed, the Jews were generally treated no worse, and often better, than other non Orthodox subjects»).
- [36] *Sharf A. Byzantine Jewry...* P. 118 («the return of that peculiar relationship between Jews and non Jews which marked off Byzantine Jews from those living under western Christian regimes»).
- [37] «And yet the effect of all the legislation was undoubtedly to give them the status and the consciousness of second class citizens» *De Lange ?.* *Jews and Christians in the Byzantine Empire...* P. 23).
- [38] ??: *Bowman S.B., Cutler A. Anti Semitism // The Oxford Dictionary of Byzantium.* Vol. 1. Oxford, 1991. P. 122.
- [39] *Bowman S.B. The Jews of Byzantium...*
- [40] *Baron S.W. A Social and Religious History of the Jews.* New York: Columbia University Press, 1980. Vol. XVII. Byzantines, Mamelukes and Maghribians.
- [41] ??: *Ibidem. ?.* 41 («The old discriminatory and segregationist laws, summarized in the codes of the earlier Middle Ages to be sure, still retained their formal force, although we have little evidence of their practical application»).
- [42] *Bowman S.B. The Jews of Byzantium...* P. 39 («The condition of the Jew was constantly improving»). ?? ??????????: «In Byzantium proper, the economic position of Jews changed markedly for the better under the sponsorship of the imperial government; their influence perhaps reached the high levels of government circles, and various officials were accused of succumbing to their power»).
- [43] *Bowman S.B., Cutler A. Anti Semitism...* P. 122–123.
- [44] *Baron S.W. A Social and Religious History of the Jews...* Vol. XVII. P. 43.
- [45] ??: *De Lange N. Jews and Christians in the Byzantine Empire...* P. 24 («It is clear that with the Latin conquest of 1204, Western attitudes to the Jews were introduced into Byzantium by Western Christians, and some of them survived the restoration of a Greek state, co existing with older Greek attitudes»).
- [46] *Baron S.W. A Social and Religious History of the Jews...* Vol. XVII. P. 41 («In the West European lands – where the Jewish question was subject to much open debate; where churchman after churchman wrote diatribes adversus Judaeos; where Christian preachers often fulminated against their Jewish compatriots, particularly during the Easter period; where princes and city councilors heaped ordinance upon ordinance regulating the ever shrinking areas of Jewish activity; and where the populace at large believed in the demonic nature of its Jewish neighbors and hurled against them accusation of ritual murder, desecration of the host, and poisoning of wells, if it did not indeed resort to violence, even massacres – there the Jewish problem evidently was an important, sometimes a burning issue. None of this is recorded in the declining Byzantine Empire»).
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- [52] ??: *Baron S.W. A Social and Religious History of the Jews...* Vol. III. P. 175.
- [53] ??: *Ibidem.* P. 178–179.
- [54] *Ibidem.* P. 181.
- [55] ??: ??????? B.H. ? ?????? ?????????? ?????????? ?????????? // ??????? ??. ????????? ? ?????? ? ??????? ????????? ?????????? ???????, 1995. ?. 1. ?????? ??? ?????????????? ?? ?????. ?. 347
- [56] ??: *Bowman S.?. The Jews of Byzantium...* P. 27–40 («The widespread toleration for Jews in the 14th century by the secular rulers of the Balkans, whether Byzantine, Bulgarian, or Ottoman can be seen through the spread of Jewish settlements and, as well, by the influence of Jews in the economic and religious spheres. The extent of this toleration is further evidenced by the futile attempts of the various Orthodox churches to curb the settlements themselves or the spread of various Judaizing heresies. The Church, to be sure, was more concerned during this period by the potential threat of Roman Catholics, Armenians, and the continuing heresy of the Bobomils, rather than by Jews... That this attitude toward Jews was partly due to the self interest of the rulers is evident from the practices of Andronikos II and the marital relations of John Alexander. It may also, in part, have been due to the well known toleration of Jews in the powerful neighboring Ottoman state» (*Ibidem.* P. 40).
- [57] *Ibidem.* P. 36 («To it, the Jews were still déicides, as defined by church traditions»).
- [58] *Baron S.W. A Social and Religious History of the Jews...* Vol. XVII. P. 42 («On the whole, the tenor of these writings lacks the heat and venom which often characterized the Western polemical literature in the Late Middle Ages»; «in trying to prove the superiority of Christianity over its mother faith even the Byzantine Jew baiters do not depict the contemporary Jew as the „demonic alien», as he often appears in the parallel Western letters of the period»).
- [59] ??: *Congourdeau M. H. Le judaïsme, coeur de l'identité Byzantine...* P. 26–27 («Cette proximité... a t elle influencé la différence de traitement des Juifs

par les chrétiens d'Orient et d'Occident? La prégnance de l'Ancien Testament a-t-elle court-circuité la construction du Juif imaginaire de l'Occident médiéval, qui n'a grand chose à voir ni avec le Juif réel ni avec le Juif exclusivement biblique de l'imaginaire byzantin? Ces questions restent ouvertes»).

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[66] ??.: *Podskalsky G.* Juifs et Chrétiens dans la littérature orthodoxe des Balkans (Moyen Age – XVI<sup>e</sup> siècle) // Les Chrétiens et les Juifs dans les sociétés de rite grec et latin. Moyen Age – XIX siècle. Actes du colloque organisé les 14–15 juin 1999 à la Maison des Sciences de l'Homme (Paris) / Textes réunis par M. Dmitriev, D. Tollet et E. Teiro. Paris: Honoré Champion Editeur, 2003. P. 115–121. ??

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- [78] ??: *Birnbaum H.* On Some Evidence of Jewish Life... P. 225 («these sources, as we might expect, testify to considerable anti Jewish sentiments among the indigenous East Slavic population, thus revealing contemporary attitudes towards the small Jewish community in medieval Russian society»; «early manifestation of Slavic anti Semitism [deliberately using the term here with its modern, that is, racist, implication, and not merely its connotation of religious intolerance]»).
- [79] *Ibidem.* P. 254 («intolerance, envy and hatred»).
- [80] ?? .?. ?????? ?.?. ?????????? ? «????? ?? ?????????? ??????????»: ?????????? ?.?. ?????????? ?????????? ? ?????? ?? ?????????? ??? ?????????? ??????? // ?????????? – ?????? – ?????? ? ?????????? ? ?????????? ?????????? ?????????? ?????????? ?????????? / ???. ???. ?.?. ?????????? ?.. ??? ?????????? ??????, 2004. ??. 84–103.
- [81] «A comparison with contemporary Europe is revealing. The murderous frenzy of the Crusades never communicated itself to Kievan Rus'. There was no Russian equivalent to the Western European and Polish charge that the Jews poisoned wells and spread the plague... Russia lacked the popular identification of the Jews with the Devil, which became a significant cultural phenomenon in the West. There were no Russian equivalents of the anti Jewish stereotypes which appeared in the medieval miracle plays, or in Church art and architecture. Despite the recurrent Byzantinist theme of the opposition of the Old and New Testament, Russian churches did not carry the Western motifs of „Ecclesia” and „Synagoga” common in medieval cathedrals in the West» (*Klier J.D.* Russia Gathers her Jews: the origins of the «Jewish question» in Russia. De Kalb, 1986. P. 24).
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- [84] ??: ?????????? ?.?. «????? ?????? ?????? ?????????????...»: ??? ? ? ?????????? ?????????????? ?????? ?? ? ?????????? ? ?????????????? . 1659 ? .// ?????????????? ??????. 2005. ? 1. ? . 198–202; ?????????? ?. 3. ?????? ? ?????? ? XVII–XVIII ?? . (?? ?????????? ??????) // ?????? ??????????: ?? . ?????? ? ?????????????? ?.., 2003. ? . 311–325; ?????????? ?.?. ?????????? ?????? ? ?????? XVII ?.: «????? ?? ?????? ? ?????? ? ?????????????? ?????????????? ?????? ?????????? ?????????? ? ?????????????? ??? ?? ?????????? ?????????????? ??????» 1672 ?., ????? 5 / ?????????? // ?????????? ??????. ?.., 2003. ??? . 12. ? . 9–12; ?????????? ?.?. «????????? ??????» ?????????????? ??? ?????????? ??????: ????? ?????????? ?????? ? . ?????????? ??? ?????????? ?????????????? ? 1666 ? . (????????? ? ? . ??????????) / ?????????? // ?????????? ?????????????? ?????????????? . 2001. ? 6 (24). ? . 349–366; ?????????? ? . 3. ?????????? ?????? ?????????? ??????: ?????????? ?????????????? ??? 1666 ??? (????????? ? A.M. ??????????) / ?????????? // ?????? ??????????: ?? . ?????? ? ?????????????? ?.., 2003. ? . 326–338; ?????????? ?.?. ? ?????? ?????????? ?????????? ?????? ? ?????????? ?????????????? XVII ? .// ?????????? ?????? ?????????? ?????????? . 2005. ? 4. ? . 21–27; ?????????? ?.?. ?????? ?????????? ? ?????? ?????????? ?????? ? ?????? ?????? ? ?????? ?????????? XVII ? .// ?????????? ?????????? ? ? ?????? ?????????? ?????????? ?????? ?????? ?????? ?????? ?????? ?????? ?????? .?: ??????????, 2009. ? . 148–152.
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- [89] ??? ?? . ? . 161.
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- [92] ?????? ?????? ?????? ? ?????????? ?????????, ?????????? ?????? ?????????????, ? ??? ? ????????? VII / ??? . ?.?. ?????? ? ?.?. ?????????? // ?????? ? ?????? ?????????? XVI ??? : ?????? ?? ??????. ? : ?????? ??, 1997. ? . 279.
- [93] ?????? ?. ?????? ? ?????????? ?????????? XV–XVIII ?? . ? . 12–13. ? ?????? ?????? ?????? ?????, ?? ?? ?????? ?????? ? ??, ?? ?? ?????? ?????? ?????? ?????? ?????, ?????????, «????????? ?????????? ?????????? ?????? ?????? ?????? ?????? ?????? ?????? ?????? ??????», ?? «?????????, ?? ?????? ?????? ?????????? ?????????? ?? ?? ?????????? ? ??????» (????? ?. ?????? ?? ??????. ?????? ? ?????????? ?????????????? ? ? ?????? ?????? // ?????? ??????. 1913. ? 9. ? . 36).
- [94] ?????? ?. ?????? ? ?????????? ?????????? XV–XVII ?? . ? . 13. ??????. ?????????? ??????????, ?? ?????? ??????????, ?? ?????? «? ?????????? ?????? ?????? ?????????????? ?????????? ?????? ??????, ?? ?????????? ?????????????? „?????» ??????????».
- [95] ??? ?? . ? . 16.
- [96] ??? ?? . ? . 17.
- [97] ??: ?????? ?. ?????????? ? ?????? ?????????? ? ?????????? ?????????? ?????? ? ?????? // ?????????? ??????????. 1915. ? . 7. ? . 175. ?????? . 1.
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- [99] ?????? ?. ?????? ? ?????????? ?????????????... ? . 155.
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[118] «????? ?????????, ?? ????? ? ????????????? ?????????? ????????????????? ?????????????????, ?????????? ?? ?????????, ????? ?? ????????? ??????, ?????????? ?? ?????? ?? ?????????? ? ?????????? (?. ?. ?????????? – ?.?) ?????? ?? ????????????????? ?????? ? ?????????? ?????????? ?????? ?? ?????????? ?? ??????. ? ? ?????????? ?????????? ?????? ??????????» (????????? ?????????????? ? ?????? ?????... ??? 622–623).

[119] ?????????? ?????????? ?????????????? ?????? ?????????????????????, ? ?????????????? ?????????????? ? ?????? ??????. ?? ??????, ? ?????????? ??????????, 1593. (????????????? ?????? ?????? ?????? ?????????????? ?????????? ?????? ? ?????? ??????????????)

[120] ?????? ?????? ?????????? ?????? ?????????? ? ?????????? ?????? ?????? ?????? ?????? ?????? ?????? ?????? ?????? ?????? ? ?.?. ?????????? ? ?.?. ??????.

[121] ?.?. ?????? ?????????? ?????????????? ? ?????????? ?????????? ? ?????????? ?????????????? 1560 ? ??., ??????? ? ? ?????? ????? ? ?????? ?????? ? ?????? 1980 ? ?? (?:. ?????????? ?.?. ? ?????? ?????????????????? ?????????? ? ?????????????????????????? ?????? ?????? ?????? ?????? ? 60 ? ?? XVI ?. (????????????? ?????????? ?????????????????? ?????????????? ?? ?????????? ?????? ?? ?.?. ?????????? ??????) // ?????????? ? ?????????????? ?????????????? ?????? ? ?????????? ?????????????? ? ?????????????? ?????? ?????? ?????????????? ?????????? ?????????? ?????????? IV ?????? ?????? ?.?. ?????????? ?.?. 1986. ? 6–8; ?????????? ?.?. ? ?????????? ?????????????????? ?????????????? ?????????????? ?????????? ?????? ?????? ?????????????? ?????? ?????? ?????????????? XVI ?. // ?????????? ?????????????????? 1989. ? 2. ? 15–26). ?????????? ?????? ?????????? ?????????????? ?????????? ?????? ?????????? «?????????» ?. ?????? ?????? ?????????? ??????????, ?????????? ?????????????????? ?????????? ??????, ?? ?????? ?????? ? ?????? ?????? ?????????????? «?????????» ?????????????? ?????????? ? ?????????????? ?????????????? ?????????? ??????.

[122] ?????????? ?????????????? ? ?????????? ?????????? ? ????? 1595 ?. ?????, ?? ?????? ?????????? ?? ?????????? ?????, ?????????? ?????? ?????? ? ?????????????? ?????????? ?????? ??, ?? ?????? ?????????? «?? ?????????????????? ?????»; ?????????? ?????? «????? ? ?????????? ?????????????? ?????, ?????? ?????? ?????????? ?????????? ?????? ?????????? ?????????????? ?????», ?????? ?? ?????, ?????????? ?? ? ?????, ?? ?????? ?? ?????????? ?? ??????. «????? ? ?????? ??????, ? ?? ?????? ?????????? ?????????????? ?????? ?????????????? ?????????? ?????????? ?? ??????????, ?? ?????????? ?????????? ??????? ?????????? ?????? ?????????? ?????? ?????? ?????? ?????? ?????? ??????» (Documenta Unionis Berestensis eiusque auctorum (1590–1600) / Ed. A.G. Welykyj. Romae, 1970. ? 47. P. 86–87).

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