

A PRELIMINARY STUDY ON RUSSIAN PILGRIMAGE TO PALESTINE

Part 1

Václav Ježek



**Diecezjalny Ośrodek Kultury Prawosławnej
ELPIS**

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Author:

doc. ThDr. Václav Ježek, PhD. et PhD.

Reviewers:

prof. ThDr. Ján Šafin, PhD.

doc. ThDr. Štefan Pružinský, PhD.

doc. ThDr. Ján Husár, PhD.

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Motto:

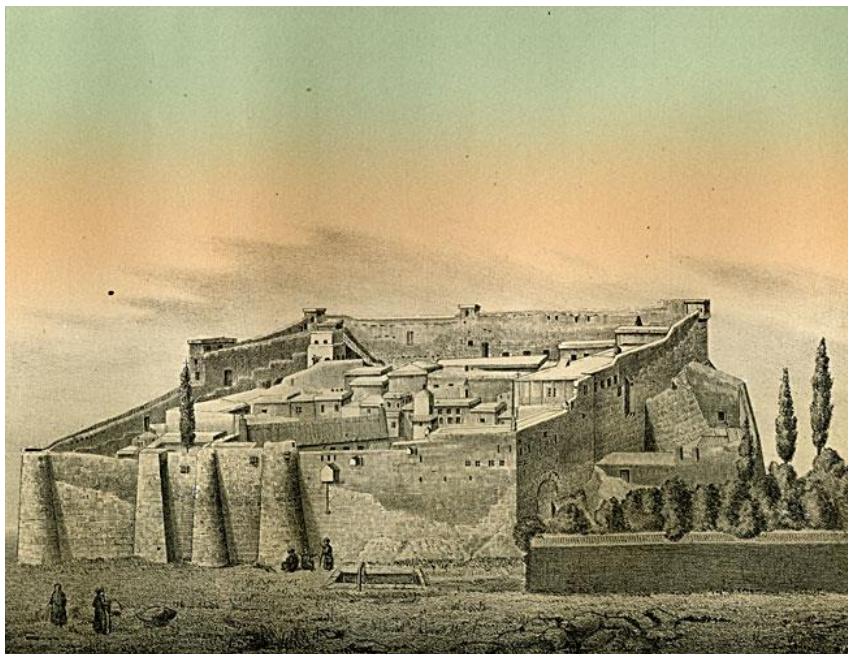
"You yourselves have decided thus, why are you better than we, what you; but we are the same as you are."

("Что вы сами такъ изволили, чѣмъ же вы лучши насъ, что ты самъ; а мы вѣдь сами таковы жъ, какъ и вы").¹

"To receive new strength"

(„получить новую силу“)

¹ Николаевский, П.О., Къ исторіи сношеній Россіи съ востокомъ въ половинѣ XVII столѣтія, in: *Христианское Чтеніе*, Санкт Петербургъ 1882, часть 1, pgs. 245-267, here 247. See also Статейный списокъ Арсенія Суханова въ связкѣ греческихъ дѣлъ 27, дѣло Но. 8. Арсеній Сухановъ. Российский государственный архив древнихъ актов (RGADA).



Mt. Sinai 1857, Porphyriy Uspenskiy drawing.

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Introduction

The present work is a preliminary study and does not aspire to anything more at this stage. The topic of Russian or Ukrainian pilgrimage into Palestine is a complex topic deserving a multi volumed monograph. The study offered here which is a mere introduction will be followed by a complex treatment of the topic of pilgrimage to Palestine from the former Russian Empire in the future.

The Middle East is a melting pot of various cultures, ethnic groups, religions etc. The various states or political formations, which have existed in this region where often conglomerates of various different religious or ethnic groups. Our modern way of thinking in terms of centralised nation states is often an obstacle for the appreciation of historical diversity in various earlier political and religious formations.¹

This exposition is an exploration of how this diversity and cultural richness was emphasised and explored by pilgrims from Russia, within their own historical contexts. It is increasingly being apparent in scholarship that pilgrimage and pilgrims with their experiences, can be a source of important historical, cultural and other forms of information, which can be used and utilised in a number of disciplines. Pilgrim accounts provide a picture a living picture a moment in history of a given area. By *Russian pilgrims* and *Russia* in this study we do not imply an ethnic or national origin but a general designation, involving the political context of the Russian area of influence and governance.

In terms of Russia, pilgrimage accounts are gaining in popularity among scholars, because these are appreciating their value as sources for multidisciplinary scholarship. Editions of pilgrim accounts are increasingly being published, new archival material is being studied all also depending on the gradual opening of the Russian archives. Surprisingly, one of the first works about pilgrims in terms of studying them as an independent genre was the book of И. М. Борн, Краткое РУКОВОДСТВО к российской СЛОВЕСНОСТИ, Санкт Петербург 1808. This book looked at among other things earlier pilgrim accounts within the confines of literary history. Later further studies began appearing about

¹ For an account of diversity in the Levant see Leil Tarazi Tarazi Fawaz, *An Occasion for War: Civil Conflict in Lebanon and Damascus in 1860*, University of California Press, California 1994.

pilgrims and their accounts. This included Пономарев С. И. Иерусалим и Палестина в русской литературе, науке, живописи и переводах. СПб., 1877 (With bibliographical material). Приложение к XX-му тому записок императорской Академии наук. A study with bibliographical material was published by Хитрово В. Н. Палестина и Синай. ППС. Ч. 1, вып. 1. СПб., 1876. In western scholarship Russian pilgrimages also attracted attention, but since western pilgrimage is a giant field in its own right, attention was more concentrated on the various Russian societies associated with pilgrimage. Of course, the other problems is that many of the studies are now out-dated, due to the new influx of material. In the area of the Czech republic not many studies of pilgrims have been made. The topic is treated within an overall study of Russian literature. However, interestingly enough, the work of Norov, a pilgrimage account of the nineteenth century was published in Czech.¹

Scholars often however find the issue of pilgrimage accounts as a difficult task in its own right. This is so, because of many reasons. Foremost is the methodology to follow. Even this study had to face problems of this kind. The greatest challenge is how to classify the great variety of material how to choose or not to choose relevant material. If one was to offer a complete and complex analysis this would of course entail a multi-volume work, which would have to include everything and classify everything, a task at present which would require long term work and perhaps team work. In any event it was obvious, that a historical background is needed, and for this reason the study offers a general picture of the Russian Greek relationships within the confines of an ecclesial background.

We decided in the end to offer a typological approach giving an „idea“ or „feel“ of the pilgrim and his or her account. This also entailed a detailed approach towards the texts themselves and we desired to „let them speak out or themselves“ so to speak. We did not choose a special taxonomic criterion for the pilgrim accounts, because this would lead to

¹ Norov, A., *Putování po Svaté Zemi*, nakladatelství Václava Řivnáče, Praha 1851. Of other general studies we can note Nykl Hanuš, *Náboženství v Ruské kultuře*, Pavel Mervart Praha 2013; Boček Pavel, *Stát a Církev v Rusku na přelomu 15. a 16. stol.* Masarykova Univerzita, Brno 1995.

problems as to why this was chosen and not something else. Thus in the end we have chosen an approach which is related to social history. We of course, had to choose only some accounts and leave out the rest. In this case we chose the ones which were deemed the most „representative“ ones. Any scholar dealing with the pilgrims has to of course face the challenge, that many pilgrim accounts especially in relation to Jerusalem repeat themselves and the topography of the Holy Sites seems to be repeated itself many times in the accounts.

The study focuses on the Holy Land and pilgrimage to the Holy Land, but it is obvious that a pilgrimage to the Holy Land entails much more, that is it entails all „the areas around“, that is at least for the Orthodox pilgrim from Russia, the pilgrimage also could have meant a pilgrimage through the Holy Mountain and Constantinople. Later an important site on the pilgrimage itinerary was Bari, where the popular remains of Saint Nicholas were deemed to lay.

The Russian pilgrims or pilgrim could have taken many routes to reach the Holy Land. Later when there was a railway network developed this provided for new opportunities in terms of travel. The key city for travel was Kiev, Odessa, and Constantinople. The routes could however change.

The first part of the study is more or less an introduction into the historical context of pilgrimage, and why it emerged in the first place. The second part of the study is an analysis of some of the main pilgrimage accounts, with a typological analysis.

The Russian pilgrim accounts provide for many methodological challenges. In the contemporary period more and more literature related to pilgrimage is published. This literature however mostly consists of the publication of the accounts themselves or the sources themselves, without an assessment. The complexity of the accounts is beginning to resemble the situation of the Chronicles of the Venetian Republic, where we have numerous accounts often repeating themselves and differing in minute detail. Until now scholars have not found an adequate method to study the Venetian Chronicles in order for them to yield systematic historical evidence. A similar situation is evolving in terms of pilgrimage accounts. Here we are faced with accounts offering multifaceted information which needs to be sifted.

There are a number of methodological possibilities towards the material. One such methodology would be to provide a concordance with a comparison of the accounts, which would however entail a monumental endeavour. Another possibility would be to study the accounts according to various themes, which is however difficult, because it is not simply possible to pick one or another theme out from the material, without neglecting other important features.

In this study we initially desired to focus on the Holy Land especially in the nineteenth century. Preliminary research has however shown that a focus only on Jerusalem or the Holy Land will in the space of a small study such as this, simply not yield expected results. The study would be reduced to a simple comparison of material and things that the "pilgrims saw", which is pretty much the same. In terms of Jerusalem and the Holy Land, the accounts from the nineteenth century often repeat themselves, with one traveller describing pretty much what the others are describing.

It was soon obvious that for some analysis it would be rather preferable to focus on themes which are not only related to the Holy Land, but still belong to the orbit of what we may term Holy Land pilgrimage. Thus we have incorporated accounts of pilgrims to the Holy Land with an emphasis on their journey as such. Much material can be gained by traveller's accounts in the "side areas" such as Mt. Athos and Constantinople, or Russia itself. Thus in order to provide for a more in depth analysis of the character of the accounts we decided in the end to focus also on other areas along the way, which the pilgrims explore. This in fact gives us a better idea of the differences between the accounts than if we would simply concentrate on the repeating descriptions of the Holy Sepulchre or any other notoriously known structure in the Holy Land.

Again in order to sift through and emphasize the uniqueness of the pilgrim literature it was necessary to offer a more general context. This general context is here not because we are diverting from our main theme but on the contrary since we desire to concentrate on the differences and specifics of pilgrimage in the context of the nineteenth century.

Undoubtedly, what distinguishes the Russian pilgrim accounts is what we may term as social history. The emphasis on Diary literature,

dreams, impressions, emotions as well as a description of the “other” is what makes the pilgrimage account unique. This description of the mechanics of interaction is of great multidisciplinary interest and yet to be appreciated.

Pilgrimage is not a new thing, and in a way pilgrimage was a way of life in the ancient period. Constant travel was a necessity in order to gain educational possibilities to visit shrines and perform and seek out other rituals and healing. In the Mediterranean world travel enabled furthering ones education by seeking out good teachers or philosophers; it meant the possibility of being cured in some shrine or gaining information about ones future. Just as the ancient pilgrim so the Christian pilgrim did not know what to expect on this journey and what characterised the Ancient pilgrim and the Christian pilgrim was the „unexpectedability of what to expect“. In contrast to other travels, the pilgrimage did not have a clear goal (even if there was a geographical goal), it did not have a clear structure. The pilgrim set out with an „open mind“. In any case the pilgrim set out to gain something to be healed.

The attraction of Holy sites and of works of art where a feature from the ancient times. Already Pausanias in his famous *Guide to Greece* presents us with an enticing guide to Greece.¹ Here we can mention Aelius Aristides, a rhetorician of the second century, who travelled around the Mediterranean as a pilgrim in one way or another and wrote interesting rhetorical treatises with pilgrimage themes.

The central point of interest of the Christian pilgrim was of course Jerusalem, which had a rich and difficult history. Jerusalem was a centre of all Christianity and not only geographically but spiritually. As the “centre of the world” it not only attracted the currents but also emanated them out from the centre for all to dwell in.

Jerusalem lost much of its significance after 70 when it was renamed Colonia Aelia Capitolina and essentially transformed into a garrison town where many Jews left. Hadrian expelled Jews from Jerusalem. Soldiers of the tenth legion were there, the so-called Legio X Fretensis.

¹ See *Pilgrimage in the Middle Ages, a Reader*, Brett Edward Whalen, edit., University of Toronto Press, 2011.

The fortunes of Jerusalem improved later on. Macarius the bishop of Jerusalem (was a saint and bishop from 312 to 335) succeeded in reaffirming the prestige of the see in Jerusalem, perhaps in relation to other competing sees such as that of Caesarea. Cyril of Jerusalem also helped to increase the status of the Church in Jerusalem. Cyril became bishop of Jerusalem in 350. The itinerary of Egeria (4th century) and the anonymous pilgrim of Bordeaux (early fourth century), which belong to one of the earliest accounts of Christian pilgrim literature testify to the growing popularity of the city. The prestige of Jerusalem and its see was finalised during the period of Juvenal (422-58). The Armenian lectionary and the pilgrimage of Egeria give us indication of the liturgy in those times in Jerusalem. The latter indicates that the celebration of the foundation of the Church of the Holy Sepulchre (*encaenia*) was an important event as well as the Holy Week itself.

Constantine the Great made a true mark of inundating the Empire with Churches as is evidenced also by Eusebius in the Life of Constantine.¹ According to Eusebius of Caesarea, Constantine wrote a letter to Malarias the bishop of Jerusalem ordering him to build the Church of the Holy Sepulchre in Jerusalem.² It was to face old Jerusalem and be a symbol of the “New Jerusalem of Christ”. The old one, being destroyed by the sins, of those who rejected Christ.

It is important, for our purposes to mention some features of the Holy Land and pilgrimage in the earlier period, which would also play a role later. The business with relics³ soon took on a great impetus. Cyril of Jerusalem emphasised the importance of the cross and the fact that it had spread throughout the world. Its pieces were distributed throughout (Cataphesis. IV., 10, X, 19,13, 4). Cyril also spoke of a miracle which occurred when the body of Eliseus was brought in. A life was restored of a corpse which came into contact with the relic. Cyril writes: “But it is impossible, someone will say, that the dead should rise; and yet Eliseus twice raised the dead-when he was alive, and also when dead. Do we then believe that when Eliseus was dead, a dead man who was cast upon him and touched him arose and is Christ not risen? But in that case, the dead man who touched Eliseus, arose, yet he who raised him

¹ Eusebius of Caesarea, *Vita Constantina*, 3.25-40, 3:41-43, 3:51-53.

² Ibid. 3, chapter 33.

³ Latin-*reliquiae*, Greek- *leipsana*.

continued nevertheless dead: but in this case both the dead of whom we speak Himself arose, and many dead were raised without having even touched Him. For *many bodies of the Saints which slept arose, and they came out of the graves after His Resurrection, and went into the Holy City Matthew 27:52-53, (evidently this city, in which we now are,) and appeared unto many.* Eliseus then raised a dead man, but he conquered not the world; Elias raised a dead man, but devils were not driven away in the name of Elias. We are not speaking of evil of the Prophets, but we are celebrating their Master more highly; for we do not exalt our own wonders by disparaging theirs; for theirs also are ours; but by what happened among them, we win credence for our own. (Catechetical lecture 14: 16)¹.

Further He writes: „to show that even though the soul is not present a virtue resides in the body of the saints, because of the righteous soul, which has for so many years tenanted it and used it as its minister”. Further, “Let us not be foolishly incredulous as though the thing had not happened, for if handkerchiefs and aprons which are from without, touching the body of the diseased, have raised up the sick, how much more should the body itself of the Prophet raise the dead? (Cat. Xviii, 16). In his *Catechesis* (17: 16) Cyril speaks of those flocking to Jerusalem from the entire world. These statements of Cyril among other things provided for the theological background for the increasing importance of relics. Interestingly, in this regard, the relics were not so important in southern Christian areas such as Ethiopia.

Very early on a new form of literature developed, which viewed the increasing popularity of Jerusalem with caution. It was obvious to many, that the expectations of pilgrims from the Holy Land and Jerusalem were often unrealistic if not downright silly and often led to disaster. Jerusalem was not any holier than other cities. Gregory of Nyssa visited Jerusalem and stated that the place is full of sin (in the 380s), (Epistle, 2:10 The letter was written in 379 and addressed to an unknown Censor (Κηνσίτορι), Περί τῶν ἀπιόντων εἰς Ἱεροσόλυμα, Κηνσίτορι “To those travelling to Jerusalem”. In another letter however

¹ Cyril of Jerusalem, Catechetical Orations, in: Pilip Schaff, *Nicene and Post-Nicene Fathers Series II*, volume 7, pg. 106, Grand Rapids Michigan 1867.

he considers it to be also a place of good people see his epistle 3:1).¹ Ambrose of Milan also viewed the pilgrimage issues with caution. In the west the cult of the relics was also very popular and increased gradually.

There was a Bubonic plague in 541-542 in Palestine. This caused a severe decrease in population in the area.² It is important to note that there were conversions of Arab tribes to Christianity after Constantine the Great, which would establish their presence until our century. Thus for example around 422, Euthymius of Terebon, healed the son of Aspebet the chief of a tribe. This followed a large scale conversion. Aspebet became the bishop of of the tents (*Parembolai*). For this and other information we can consult Cyril of Scythopolis, and Sozomen.

As we have seen pilgrimages or for that matter religious pilgrimages are an ancient phenomenon. In terms of the Christian tradition the mother of Constantine the Great Helen is undoubtedly a paradigmatic pilgrim. She was not only a pilgrim who revered sacred sites and visited them to venerate them and admire them, but she was also a “religious collector” on an outstanding scale.

Jerome was another author who realised the negative aspects of pilgrimages in the Early Church. Much of his criticism could just as well be valid for the period much later, which we will discuss. In his letter to Paulinus of Nola, he discourages him from travelling to the Holy Land. He cites some negative aspects of Jerusalem implying that it is not holier than any other city.³ Further that it is not the issue where one worships God, but how. Even though in this context Jerome is writing to Paulinus with other ecclesial issues at hand and the Holy Land is not the only theme, we may infer that he did want to emphasise to Paulinus that

¹ For an overview of the antipilgrimage literature see Brazinski Paul, Earl Christian Anti pilgrimage Literature: The Case of Gregory of Nyssa,s Letter 2, in: *Hortulus*, <https://hortulus-journal.com/journal/volume-12-number-1-2015/brazinski/>.

² Broshi, M., The Population of Western Palestine in the Roman Byzantine Period, in: *Bulletin of the American Schools of Oriental Research* BASOR, 236, George Washington University Washington, 1979, 1-10, here 7.

³ Jerome epistle 58, to Paulinus around 395. <http://www.newadvent.org/fathers/3001058.htm>.

Jerusalem as any other city does not guarantee salvation. In fact an escape to the desert would be desirable.¹

Paula and her daughter Eustochium were admirers of Jerome and they travelled on a pilgrimage to the Holy Land. She left Rome in 382. From Bethlehem where they ended up living they wrote a letter to Marcella a noble Roman woman depicting the beauty of pilgrimage to the Holy Land. And that even though there are holy regions elsewhere many people have an urgent desire to visit this place.²

The features already witness in the Early Byzantine world were the same feature which could have been found later on in the pilgrimage literature and world. The growing importance of relics, the business opportunities this offered, and the psychosis of the holiness of Jerusalem and the Holy Land were just as valid paradigms of thought in the later period as they were in the early period.

The Holy Land was dominated by the Islamic powers very early on. After the eighth century Jerusalem was controlled by non-Christian powers (if we neglect the brief control of the Crusaders). Pilgrimage provided income for these and there were periods when only a miracle saved the Holy Sepulchre. Earlier on just as later money was to be a feature of the Holy Land and its Christian sites. But the money was not only a temptation for the Muslims but also for the Christians themselves. Later for example, in the nineteenth century В.Н.Хитрово argues, that half of the earnings of the Patriarchate of Jerusalem went to bribe or support the Turkish administration and its officials. These Turkish authorities then often supported the Latin missionary endeavours. The other half was usually left without control or account and disappeared among the brotherhood of the Holy Sepulchre.³

In Russia the phenomenon of pilgrimage developed early on after the Christianisation of the Empire. Pilgrimage entailed not just pilgrimage to the Holy Land, but pilgrimage in Russia itself, a feature which would dominate Russian culture. In the Russian context there was a de-

¹ Trout D., E., *Paulinus of Nola, Life, Letters, and Poems*, University of California Press, Los Angeles 1999, 96.

² Paula and Eustochium to Marcella, *About the Holy Places*, translated Aubrey Stewart, Palestine Pilgrims text society, London 1896.

³ Хитрово В.Н., История Русской Духовной Миссии в Иерусалиме, in: В. Н. Хитрово, *Собрание Сочинений и Писем*, том 2, Составление, Н. Н. Лисового, Издательство Олега Абышко, 2011, Москва, 2011, 83-202, here 88.

signation for "professional" pilgrims. "Калики" or "Калеки переходящие". These "professional" pilgrims could travel to Jerusalem, Constantinople Athos and then travelled in Russia itself.

As commented on by some literary scholars, the genre of the pilgrimage account is interesting in its own right, since it is very "personal" in its nature. The pilgrimage has an "author" and in comparison to other forms of literature offers an interactive form.¹ The pilgrim accounts thus offer a personal history within a broader perspective offering multidisciplinary possibilities.

In terms of spelling of Russian names. I indicated in the study only the Russian forms of names if the name is not frequently mentioned in scholarly literature, otherwise well known names are not transcribed. Further, I have left the Russian forms of Greek or other foreign names without changing them into their Greek or English equivalents. For example I do not change Alexiy into Alexios if this is not in the Russian text.

¹ Левшун, Л. В., *Очерки истории восточнославянской средневековой книжности: эволюция творческих методов*, Европейский Гуманитарный университет, Минск, 2000, 138.

1 The Eastern Patriarchates, Greeks and Russia

In terms of Christianity, Russia and Byzantium were linked together already in 867 when the patriarch Photios mentions the efforts of the Christianisation of the Rus. Only a couple years before there was an attack by the *Ros* in 860. There was a delegation from the *I Ros* (οἱ Ρῶς) appearing in Constantinople perhaps around 838.¹ As is well known the *Ros* are mentioned as a people in Constantine Porphyrogenitos and are mentioned in the homilies of Photios.² The relationship however was not easy from this period onwards and in some cases fraught with wars such as in the period of John Tzimiskes (969-976). Saint Olga visited Constantinople in 957 and became a Christian. Vladimir, her grandson, married the sister of Basil II in 989. This period of course coincided with a great strengthening of the Byzantine Empire. Unfortunately not many literary documents survived documenting this period in terms of ecclesial and political relations since many were destroyed in the periods later.³ However, importantly, the Russian primary Chronicle from the eleventh century makes no doubt about the later orientation of Russia and about its conversion under Vladimir. It is obvious that the Christianisation of Russia developed in stages and there must have been contacts in the form of southerners coming to Russia to advise and teach.

Various surviving objects testify to the lively political and economic contacts between Russia and the south for the period of the tenth to eleventh centuries. However, it needs to be said, that we do not have sufficient information about the character of the trade between Russia and Byzantium at least in terms of volume and importance for the developing Russian empire and state. Nor is the information we possess systematic in nature.

¹ Dolger F., *Regesten der Kaiserurkunden des Ostromischen Reiches*, vol. I, Berlin 1924, pg. 54.

² See Constantine Porphyrogenitus, *De Administrando Imperio*, Gy. Moravcsik, English translation R. J. H. Jenkins, Dumbarton Oaks, 1967; *The homilies of Photius, patriarch of Constantinople*, transl. commentary, Cyril Mango, vol. 3, Dumbarton Oaks, 1958.

³ The information for the earlier period (for 1315 to 1402) can be reconstructed partly by the famous Patriarchal register published in Vienna in 1862. Now a new edition is available. It is a collection of about 900 documents from the patriarchal Chancery. The documents were purchased by the Austrian ambassador at the Sultans court, by Ogier Ghislain de Busbecq in the sixteenth century.

In any event it is certain that Kiev as a city played a crucial role in this interaction. A cathedral was built in the eleventh century in Kiev in Byzantine style and dedicated to Saint Sophia with the help of Greek masters. The cave monasteries in Kiev, which were instrumental in the establishment of Russian monastic life, had relations with the *Studios* monastic concept, but also with monastic traditions of the Holy Land. In the ninth and tenth centuries Byzantine objects were part and parcel of the Kiev economical stratum.¹ But there are other areas which contain a significant presence of Byzantine objects, such as for example, Gnezdovo (Гнездове), located around ten km from Smolensk.²

Around 1001 we have the tradition of Vladimir Svyatoslavich of Kiev sending merchants who were at the same time ambassadors throughout the Mediterranean region. These were sent to Egypt, Rome, the Holy Land and elsewhere, to “learn the local customs”.³ This coincided with the gradual consolidation of Christianity in the area of Russian influence. It is likely that there were further contacts through military service. The Byzantines employed mercenary forces, and the eleventh century was a busy military period for the Byzantines and people from the north were involved generally. They also employed such figures as Harald Hardrada (1015-1066), the King of Norway, who fought battles for the Byzantines on many fronts. He previously fought for Kievan Rus and then travelled south (he was involved in many battles in various areas of Europe). His activities in the Holy Land incorporated soldiers from the Kievan Rus area also.

The glory of the Vladimir period was slowly subsiding after the death of Yaroslav in 1054, which coincided with the new schism in the church. In 1046 Constantine IX Monomachos perhaps gave his daughter in marriage to the son of Yaroslav. The emerging areas loosely connected to Kiev after this period make establishing contacts with the south more difficult to trace.

¹ Каргеп М. А., *Древний Киев*, Том. 1, Москва, 1958, 215.

² Ениосова Н., В., Пушкина Т. А., Находки византийского происхождения из ранне-городского центра Гнездово в свете контактов между Русью и Константинополем в X в. in: *Сугдейский Сборник*, вып. 5., 2012, 34-85.

³ See Том XIII, *Летописный Сборник именуемый Патриаршею или Никоновскою летописью*, in: *Полное собрание русских летописей*, ред. С. Ф. Платонов, Санкт Петербург, 1904.

The period of the rise of Christianity in Russia, attracted attention for obvious reasons in various later sources and contexts. The theme of the victory of true divine faith was an important one. Thus, Christian armies were successful, since they had God as a helper. There were legends such as the one from Vladimir, which stated that the *knyaz* of Vladimir, Andrey Bogolyubskiy (Андрей Боголюбский) had defeated on the 1st of August 1164 the pagan Bulgarians. Due to divine sanction on the same day according to this legend Manuel Comnenos had attained a victory over the Saracens. The legend was incorporated into the *Степенная книга царского родословия*. It became a part of the story of *knyaz* Андрей Боголюбский.¹

This legend is one of others linking the Byzantine and Russian ideal of both defeating pagans and upholding a Christian empire. Thus for example, also in the fourteenth century the *knyaz* Ivan Kalita (Иван Калита) is compared by an anonymous author with Constantine, Justinian and Manuel Comnenos in the work "Praises of the ruler" – *Похвалы князю*.²

The earlier period is also illustrated by literary sources, which found their way into such areas as the Sinai (the Slavic manuscripts where initially analysed in the Sinai monastery by Porfiry Uspenskiy during his visit in 1845; later they were looked at by the famous Augustine Kapustin again in 1870). The material found in Sinai is of course related to the Bulgarian and Serbian environments, but it is likely that the colony of monks from the Slavic countries which appeared in Sinai at some early point included people from the area of Rus.³ Later of course the monastery itself had intense relations with Russia, but also before that it had relations with Moldavia. Apart from Russia there were relations with Jerusalem and the south in other important

¹ In the Archangelsk church of the Moscow Kremlin there is a portrait of Michael Paleologos oddly enough among the rulers of Vladimir. See Самойлова Т.Е., Кто из византийских императоров изображен на фреске Архангельского Собора? in: *Россия и Христианский Восток*, выпуск II-III, Индрик, editors С.Н. Кистерев, Д.Н. Рамазанова, Б.Л. Фонкич, Д. А. Яламас, Москва, 2004, 128-135, here 131.

² Седельников, А. Д., Эпическая традиция о Мануиле Комнине in *Slavia*, го. 3, 1924-1925, стр. 606-618; Воронин Н.Н., Сказание о победе над болгарами 1164 г. И праздник Спаса, in *Проблемы общественно-политической истории России и славянских стран*, Москва, 1963, pg.88-92.

³ See Сперанский, Михаил Несторович, *Славянская письменность XI-XIV вв. На Синае и в Палестине*, Ленинград 1927, 59.

orthodox countries such as for example Serbia (thus for example in the library of the Patriarchate of Jerusalem there is a Serbian *Triodion* from the fourteenth century commissioned in Sinai for the Serbian church of the archangel Michael in Jerusalem). The Primary Chronicle tells us of translations begun under Yaroslav the son of Vladimir. By the tenth and eleventh centuries the basic liturgical texts were available and even others were translated such as the Topography of Cosmas the Indicopleustas and the Physiologos. Through the Bulgarian mediation Byzantine legal texts were made available, such as the Ecloga and others.¹

The relationship between Russians and Greeks in terms of the Orthodox ecclesial context can be termed as a loving one, but at the same time an extremely mistrustful relationship. The Russians always admired the Byzantine tradition and Greek culture and undoubtedly always realised that they were the "younger brother" in terms of the Church and culture generally. Historically the Russians struggled to ascertain their place in cultural and religious history in relation to the Greeks. The relationship can be characterised as a younger brother-older brother one. As scholars as Kapterev note, the Russians were convinced that the Greeks were somehow "holier" than they were.² As is obvious, the Christening of Russia was not an event which immediately changed the country into a Christian one. It took a long time for Christianity to become a strong alternative for the religious makeup of the country. Thus the Russians had to draw inspiration and guidance from the traditional Byzantine world which meant that the relationship was never a black and white one.

Historically, the Byzantines for their part did not make things easy for the Russians and often adopted a typically Byzantine cultural superiority mode of thinking. Even during the reign of the enlightened and missionary orientated Patriarch Photios (9th century), who realised the need for a policy of enculturation and wholeheartedly supported it, it was a given fact, that the Byzantine Church and culture will always be a superior force and guiding principle for all other Christian Churches.

¹ Meyendorff J., *Byzantium and the Rise of Russia*, St. Vladimirs Seminary press, Crestwood New York, 1981, 18.

² Ibid., 4.

The others whether they liked it or not belonged to the Byzantine *oikoumene* to use Obolenskys favourite definition.¹

In terms of religious mentality soon there was a rift emerging between the Russians and Greeks. The Greeks viewed the Russian Church with respect due to its long and stringent fasts, its emphasis on long prayer etc., but criticised the lack of education and depth in Russian piety and substance in the rituals. The Russians on the other hand viewed the Greeks as superficial and undisciplined.² Analogously it was like a relationship based on a kind of Roman concept of *levitas* and *gravitas*. The Greeks being designated as those belonging to the Roman idea of *levitas*, whereas the Russians belonging to a *gravitas* mode of thinking.

At least later the reputation of the Greeks was hindered by the widespread business of donations. „By the end of the seventeenth century, the two leading Orthodox peoples, Greeks and Russians, had lost much respect for each other.“³ Zernov observes: „The Eastern Christians in their dealings with the Russians....found endless devices, tricks, and frauds by which to extract as much money as possible (from) their northern protectors. They were not only ready to sell the relics of the most venerated saints and the ancient miracle-working icons, but were also prepared to fabricate these relics and icons if the demand exceeded supply“. This unique commerce flourished especially in the towns of Moldavia and Ukraine which were situated along the main road from Constantinople to Moscow.⁴

Even though the Greeks had a superiority complex they were not naïve and realised there are differences amongst the Christian nations. There are indications that the Greeks or Byzantines generally realised the different levels of education and tradition in their surrounding neighbours, which is suggested by the fact that in their correspondence with the Russian environment they could have used a different style of language, a much more simpler form of Greek, which is the case of for

¹ See Obolensky D., *The Byzantine Commonwealth: Eastern Europe 500-1453*, Praeger publishers, New York, 1971.

² Кантрев, Н. Ф., *Характер Отношений России к православному востоку в XVI и XVII столетиях*, Изд. Втор. Сергиев Посад, 1914. 431; See also Stavrou G., T., *Russian Interests in Palestine, 1882-1914*, Institute for Balkan Studies, Thessaloniki, 1963, 15.

³ Stavrou G., T., *Ibid.*

⁴ Zernov N., *Moscow the Third Rome*, London, 1937, 58-59.

example one of the documents from the Patriarchal register, the letter of the Patriarch Philotheos Coccinos to the metropolitan Alexey of Kiev.¹ The structure of language used in this Byzantine tradition respected the audience of the addressee of correspondence. Philotheos himself was a theologian and it seems that some of his works were being translated into Slavonic.²

In the period of the fourteenth century the Byzantine spiritual tradition was itself undergoing interesting developments in relation to Hesychasm and this influenced the Byzantine liturgical tradition which in turn influenced the Russian liturgical developments. After this the Jerusalem *Typicon* assumed a central role and was viewed as in line with the constitution of the saint Savva monastery in the Holy Land. Philotheos Coccinos himself supported this development which is seen in his works Διάταξις τῆς ἱεροδιακονίας (in the famous Goar edition) and Διάταξις τῆς Θείας λειτουργίας.

Generally, the Russians did not and could not realise the difficulties and complexities of the Middle Eastern situation and this was due to many reasons. This misunderstanding on the part of the Russians often led to a simplification of the issues and the Greeks were often portrayed as unreliable, not sincere and ready to compromise especially with the Western Church. A suspicion which seemed to have been confirmed by the Council of Florence in 1439 and by the role of the then Greek Metropolitan of Russia Isidore at this Council. People like Simeon Suzdalskiy (Симеон Сузда́льский), who were also present at the council in Florence make no qualms about the future role of Russia in terms of Orthodoxy. He indicates how the pope was told to postpone the beginning of the Council until the arrival of the Russian metropolitan Isidor, since he came from an important "Christian

¹ Gastgeber C., Aspects of Variations in Byzantine Greek documents, of the Patriarchal chancellory of Constantinople (14th. Century), in: *Open Linguistics*, 3, De Gruyter, Berlin, 2017, 342-358, here 356.

² Thus for example, there is an excerpt from the slavonic translation of the Eucharistic Diataxis of Philotheos Coccinos, see Zheltov M., *A Slavonic translation of the Eucharistic Diataxis of Philotheos Kokkinos from a lost manuscript, Athos Agiou Pavlou 149*, in: https://www.academia.edu/1982003/A_Slavonic_Translation_of_the_Eucharistic_Diataxis_of_Philotheos_Kokkinos_from_a_Lost_Manuscript_Athos_Agiou_Pavlou_149_.

superpower".¹ At that time people like John VIII Palaiologos did everything they could to forge some sort of alliance with the West. The Byzantines were prepared to make compromises at the council in Florence, and as A. Sadov notes, in view of possible concessions the Byzantine Emperor asked the Patriarch to award special rights to the delegates at the council. However at the same time the Emperor took the critical person in the figure of Mark of Ephesus to the Council, which demonstrates the fact that the emperor was not willing to compromise at all costs.²

However, there was a deep psychological suspicion in the population towards any alliances with the West. The Byzantine cry that it is better to fall into the hands of the Turks than the Franks is a notable feature of the complex mentality of the Eastern Church and environment.³ The hatred towards the Turks was only matched with hatred towards compromises in culture and theology. Thus even compromises for the sake of a political and military solution which were undertaken before the fall of Constantinople were viewed with hatred. The historian Ducas stated, that the people refused to visit Hagia Sophia after the attempts for union were made by the last ruler of the Palaiologos dynasty (12 December 1452). That people refused to have anything to do with Uniates.⁴

It was very easy to view the defeat in Constantinople as some kind of consequence of divine fate. Even the Greeks themselves were prone to see in some form of sign. Undoubtedly, the Ottoman invasion was also ideologically motivated. People like the former metropolitan of Kiev Isidor, who became a Roman Catholic cardinal or Leonard of

¹ There are other interesting works in relation to the council in Florence, such as for example, Исхождения Авраамия Суждальского на осмый собор с митрополитом Исидором в лето 6945. See Кириллин В. М., *Хождение на Ферраро Флорентийский Собор, 459-469, История древнерусской литературы, языки славянских культур*, Москва, 2008.

² Садов А., *Виссарион Никейский. Его деятельность на Ферраро-Флорентийском соборе, богословские сочинения и значение в истории гуманизма*, Санкт Петербург, 1883, 15. See also Черепнин Л., В., *К вопросу о русских источниках по истории Флорентийской унии*, in: *Средние века*, т. 25, Москва, 1964.

³ Ducas, *Historia byzantina*, Corpus script. Hist. Byz. Bonnae, 1834, 39; 290.

⁴ Ibid.

Chios the Archbishop of Mytilene¹ saw in the fall of Constantinople a religious and ideological issue. Perhaps Leonardo was even motivated by his participation in the siege of Constantinople. He then fled to Chios. Leonardo wrote a letter to the Pope from Chios about the situation and this was published in 1544. (Another eyewitness was Godefridus Langus, who also wrote an account 1594). Both Isidore and Leonardo saw the necessity for a crusade. Interestingly, Pope Pius II, wrote a letter to Mehmed II in 1461 encouraging him to convert to Islam (never actually sent to Mehmed).² Mehmed II attained the image for example in Ducas as a cruel tyrant.

The Russians viewed the Greek religious conundrums with suspicion and perhaps realised the opportunity of gaining independence in one way or another. There is an issue whether the Russian metropolitan Iona (Иона) travelled to Constantinople even before the election of the Greek Isidor as metropolitan of Russia. Iona (Иона) desired to gain acknowledgement as metropolitan even before Isidor the Greek was elected.³ It seems, that indeed Iona (Иона) did come to Constantinople as a chosen candidate of the Moscow Velikiy *Knyaz* for the position of metropolitan of Russia, but the place was "suddenly" occupied by someone else.⁴

The Fall of Byzantium seemed to have confirmed the loss of true direction by the Greeks and was seen by the Russians as a form of Divine intervention if not outright punishment of the Greeks. This was by the way also the case for many Western Roman-Catholic thinkers who also saw in this event a Divine sanction of the Roman Catholic

¹ See *De Capta a Mehemethe II Constantinopoli*, Didot le Jeune for Charles Stuart, Paris, 1823. See also J. B. Falier-Papadopoulos, 'Η περί Αλώσεως τῆς Κωνσταντινουπόλεως Ἱστορία Λεονάρδου τοῦ Χίου, in *Epitiris Etairias Byzantinon Spoudon*, 15, Athens, 1939, 85-95; J. R. Melville Jones, *The Siege of Constantinople: Seven Contemporary Accounts*, Amsterdam, 1972, 11-42.

² See Aeneas Silvius Piccolomini, (Pope Pius II), *Epistola ad Mahometem II* ed.trans. Alber R. Baca, New York, Peter Lang, 1990.

³ There are sources which seem to testify to the visit of Iona to Constantinople. These include for example, the letter of Vasilii II to Constantinople, written in the period 1441-1453, the letter of Iona himself to the Lithuanian clergy in 1448 and to the Kiev *knyaz* Alexandr Vladimirovich in 1450, and in collections of the Russian chronicles.

⁴ Кистерев С. Н., Источники о пребывании Рязанского епископа Ионы в Константинополе, in: *Россия и Христианский Восток*, выпуск II-III, С.Н. Кистерев, Д.Н. Рамазанова, Б.Л. Фонкич, Д. А. Яламас (eds), Индрик, Москва, 2004, 41-69, here, 65.

supremacy in the Christian world (a notion which would appear in the seventeenth century during Unionist controversies).¹ Kapterev mentions how the fall of Constantinople led to some authorities in Russia to interpret this as a consequence of the departure from the truth. This is the purport of the message of the first Russian appointed metropolitan Iona (Иона appointed in 1448), who wrote in 1458 in his letter to the Lithuanian bishops, that the fall of Constantinople was a form of divine punishment. The fall of the city is a result of the absence of good works, which leads to punishment and the realisation that there is one God.² The metropolitan Philip in 1471 similarly, deciding to be faithful to Moscow and not to the Lithuanians, which the Novgorod authorities were speculating to turn to, draws on the example of Constantinople and the punishment for its unfaithfulness. The monk Philotheos is convinced that the reason for the fall of Constantinople was its betrayal of orthodoxy and turning to the Latin faith.

The constant 'betrayals' of the Greeks led to obvious conclusions. Perhaps the Divine authority now burdened Russia with this new responsibility of being the "Third Rome". Interestingly enough, the concept of the Third Rome is not really a Russian idea as some would stress, since Byzantine political ideology already formed the idea of succession in terms of Christian power and empire. Even though obviously, the idea of Russia being this heir to Byzantium was stressed in Russian literature, the mechanics of succession of empire and religion is a purely Byzantine *topos* and is related to Byzantine political ideology seen even in some form in the missionary work of saints Cyril and Methodios in Great Moravia. The idea of succession *in* truth and religion was promulgated already in the period of Constantine the Great in the vision of Eusebius of Caesarea.³

¹ See the activities, thought and historical context of such Roman Catholic figures as Peter Skarga. See Bain N. R., *Slavonic Europe, A political history of Poland and Russia from 1447 to 1796*. Cambridge, 1908.

² "И о сем сами весте, сынове колику прежде беду подъя Царствующий град от болгар, также от персов, яко в мрежах дръжаще его семь лет, но подръжаху донел еже сынове, благочестие ничтоже, град пострадавши; (егда же) своего благочестия отступи, весте, что пострадавши каковаго пленение и смерти различный быша о душах, же их весть Бог един." Ibid. Кистев С. Н, 7.

³ See Geanakoplos Z., *Church and State in the Byzantine Empire*, in: *Church History* 34, Columbia University, Columbia, 1965.

The Greeks themselves for various reasons also began to stress to the Russians that their Russian faith is good and pure, which only confirmed to the Russians their convictions. The Metropolitan Theodosiy wrote in his letter to the Novgorod and Pskov peoples about the donations to the Holy Sepulchre in 1464, where he emphasised that the Patriarch of Jerusalem, heard of the preserved pure faith of the Russians from the period of Saint Vladimir. He further stated that due to the sins of the Christians, the Turks were able to attack the Greeks, Serbs, and others.¹

The Russian monk Philotheos in a well known account formulates the idea of Russia assuming the "Roman responsibility". The idea was also practically entrenched by the marriage of Ivan III to a Byzantine princess Zoe (Sophia) Palaiologos in 1472, the niece of Constantine XI and daughter of Thomas Palaiologos the Despot of Morea. The finance minister of Ivan III, Giovanni Battista della Volpe from Vicenza was to inspect the bride.² The marriage came after the fall of Constantinople and it all seemed natural in terms of continuity with Byzantium. The idea of marriage came from none other than cardinal Bessarion.

Manuel Palaiologos (1350-1425) had six sons, the younger one of which Thomas was later the Despot of Morea and the father of Sophia Palaiologos. His older son John married the Russian princess Anna, who was the daughter of the *velikiy knyaz* Vasiliy Dmitrievich. Manuel Palaiologos is also mentioned in the *Stepennaya kniga* (Степенная книга).³ The *Stepennaya kniga* (Степенная книга) even records a version that it was actually Manuel the Emperor himself who married Anna and not John and that she had six sons with him. In relation to this D. Nastas observes, that the copyists of the sixteenth century in their writings who knew the fact of the fall of Constantinople did not associate the fall of Constantinople with 1453 but with the end of the rule of Manuel II

¹ "Патриарх Иерусалимский слышав истинную нашу святую веру непоручную, юже от богопросвещенного Владимира в русских землях от многих лет просиявшу и в Божией воли исполнену и благочестием цветущу якоже и свет солнечный и тако уповаю от сих на благое". Cited in Каптерев, Н. Ф., *Характер Отношений России к православному востоку в XVI и XVII столетиях*, Изд. Втор. Сергиев Посад, 1914, 10.

² Angold, M., *The Fall of Constantinople to the Ottomans*, Routledge, New York, 2012, 47.

³ *Полное Собрание Русских летописей*, Т. 21, ч. 1, Санкт Петербург, 1908, 423, 424, 524.

Palaiologos. After him we are told the 'line of the Christian rulers is continued by the Moldavian rulers'.¹

This was the period when there was tension between the Patriarchate of Constantinople Dionysios I (1466-1471) and the Russian church due to a failure of the Russians to refer ecclesial appointments to Dionysius for conferral. Ivan III accused Dionysius of being under the subjection of the Muslim Sultan.² In any event, the Metropolitan Zosimos in his explanation of the substance of the feast of Easter in 1492, calls Ivan III the Emperor of the new (Third) Rome.³ It is obvious, that the centralising forces of the Russian state called for a new ideology which would help to unite the state. There are opinions that this new ideology was an ideology of a *translatio imperio* in relation to the Byzantine ideal (an idea already formulated by V. Soloviev). On the other hand some authors dispute Byzantine notions where at play for the centralisation processes within the Russian Empire, since they state it was more or less a natural development. And therefore that the centralisation of power in Russia was not influenced by Byzantine ideals.

Until recently little research has been done in terms of the influence of the Byzantine state ideals and structures and judiciary systems on Russia. It further appears, that paradoxically, Byzantine law systems were more clearly present in other Slavic contexts than in Russia. We can even speculate that the Byzantine liturgical and ecclesial aspects were more influential on Russia than the Byzantine legal systems.

As we have indicated historically, the Byzantines did have a tendency to clone their political ideology on other states, teaching them according to their own models. Thus for example, the Byzantine understanding of the position of the Emperor is well summarised in the letter of the Patriarch Anthony to the *knyaz* Vasiliy Dmitrievich (1389), where it is stated that the Christian Emperors (of Byzantium) had a special role above and over other rulers, they were the guardians of faith

¹ Настасе Д., Заметки об имперской идее на Руси до 1453 г. Из: Рим, Константинополь, Москва, Сравнительно-историческое исследование центров идеологии и культуры, Москва, 1997, 255.

² See Angold, M., *The Fall of Constantinople to the Ottomans*, Routledge, 2012.

³ The literature regarding the concept of the Third Rome is extensive, there are indications of this theory for example in the Повесть о новгородском белом клобуке from the fifteenth or sixteenth centuries.

and they convoked the Holy Councils, they affirmed canon law and fought heresy. There is no possibility of the Emperor not being revered. There is no possibility of not having at the same time an Emperor and a Church. There can be only one Christian true Emperor (this is an important statement), even though there could be other Christian rulers.¹ The Litsev Letopis (Лицев Летопись/Голицинский том) even goes as far as to state, that Ivan Manuilovich was convincing the Pope at the Ferrara Council, that the Russian *knyaz* Vasilii Dmitrievich in whose realm Orthodoxy "stands high", calls himself "only" *knyaz* and not Emperor out of humility.²

If Russia was to adopt a clear cut ideology of the Byzantine state one would expect a greater influence of Byzantine legal frameworks on Russia, but this happened elsewhere but not in Russia itself, which is strange. There are indications of a kind of Byzantine model of the Tsar being responsible for issues of faith. Thus for example, in the letter of Metropolitan Makariy of Russia to Ivan the Terrible in 1547, Makariy implies, that the Russian Tsar is responsible for issues of doctrine. Generally Metropolitan Makariy appears as a staunch advocate of the important role of the Russian Emperor and the Russian Church in the world. The *Stoglavi Sobor* as well as other similar events in this context were means of delineating the position of the Church *vis a vis* the state in Russia. Makariy developed these ideas already earlier on in his Epistle to the *velikiy knyaz* Vasilii Ivanovich when he was still only the Archbishop of Novgorod. Here he stressed the role of the Tsar in

¹ "Святой царь занимает высокое положение в церкви, но не то, что другие поместные князья и государи. Цари вначале упрочили и утвердили благочестие во вселенной; цари собирали вселенские соборы, они же подтвердили своими законами соблюдение того, что говорят божественные и священные каноны о правых догматах и благородстве христианской жизни, и много подвизались против ересей. На всяком месте, где только имеются христиане, имя царя поминается всеми патриархами и епископами, и этого преимущества не имеет никто из прочих князей и властителей. Невозможно христианам иметь церковь и не иметь царя. Ибо царство и церковь находятся в тесном союзе и общении и невозможно отделить их друг от друга. Они только царь во вселенной, и если некоторые другие из христиан присвоили себе имя царя, то все эти примеры суть нечто противоестественное и противозаконное." Cited in Дьяконов М., *Власть московских государей, Очерки из истории политических идей Древней Руси до конца XVII века*, Санкт Петербург, 1899, 21-22.

² Российская национальная библиотека F IV., 225. Л. 481 об.

doctrinal matters.¹ The issue of true faith is of course intrinsically linked with unity in the state a notion only very well understood in Russia just as it was understood in the Roman Empire.

As is well known, it was the monk Philothei from Pskov (born 1465), who was writing to Grand Duke Vasiliy III (around 1523) who formulated the idea of the Third Rome associating it with Moscow. The ruler is at the centre of Christendom just as the Orthodox faith is at the centre of all religions.² At the same time this was happening Vasiliy III was under the influence of the astrologist Nikolay Bulev (or Liuev), who was his personal doctor and a Roman Catholic emissary. Bulev was disliked by Maxim the Greek. Perhaps Philothei based his ideas on the work called the *Chronograph* which was composed by a certain Pachomiy Logothete who was a Serb and who wrote this history for the Northerners in 1442 and which is full of references to Byzantine/Slavic relations.

The Greek cultural and intellectual representatives on their part, being obviously desperate and despondent after the fall of Byzantium also suggested that various rulers or states both in the West and East could assume the role of Rome. Some even (as George of Trebizond) suggested that the Ottoman Empire itself with the Sultan could become a new Rome. Thus George of Trebizond wrote a letter to the Sultan Mehmed II in 1453 to this effect.³ The Greeks did not cease to believe in liberation after the fall of Byzantium often expecting help from all possible sides, as for example from Gustavus Adolphus of Sweden (died 1632).

Just as the Byzantines developed the notion of the relationship of Constantinople with the apostle Andrew to counter the claims of the Petrine primacy and Rome, so Russians began to utilise the apostle Andrew legend to claim their spiritual ancestry and in a way superiority to the Greeks. Thus during the discussion of the Jesuit Possevin

¹ Вальдценберг В. Е., *Древнерусские учения о пределах царской власти*, Europe printing, California University press, 1966, 58.

² Zernov N., *Moscow the Third Rome*, London, 1937, 36. See also in this regard H., Schaeder, *Moskau das Dritte Rom*, 2nd ed., Darmstadt, 1957, further Н. Ф. Каптерев, *Характер Отношений России к православному востоку в XVI и XVII столетиях*, Изд. Втор. Сергиев Посад, 1914.

³ See G. Zoras, *George of Trebizond and His Efforts for Greco-Turkish Cooperation*, in Greek, Athens, 1954.

(Антоний Поссевин) with Ivan the terrible, when the former desired to convince the latter to accept the union with Rome, Possevin argued that the Greeks had accepted the Latin faith in Florence. Ivan reportedly exclaimed that the "Greeks are not Gospel for us, that we do not believe in Greeks but in Christ", and that the faith in Russia is as old as that one in Rome, and is linked with the work of the apostle Andrew.¹ As we have indicated, there are other sources for the theory of Russia being the heir (the legend of the Titschvin icon of the Mother of God moving from Constantinople to Russia before the fall of the city; the above mentioned Story of the white hat/ сказание о белом клобуке/ about the Pope Silvester foreshadowing the role of Russia in Christendom; the sending of imperial regalia by Constantine Monomachos). As we have implied above, the transference of power is seen in Metropolitan Zosimas account of 1492, where in his commentary on Easter he commemorates the city founded by Constantine, and exclaims that Ivan Vasilyevich is the New Constantine in the New Constantinople.²

The Russians of course also observed the situation in Byzantium itself before the fall of Constantinople where there was constant infighting and betrayals amongst the Byzantines themselves. For example, the Byzantine author Manuel Bryennios writing in the period shortly before the fall of Constantinople argued, how the wealthy in Constantinople insist on building three storey houses while the fortifications are being destroyed, and thus there was no concern for military defence in the capital. Another Byzantine author Demetrios Kydones summed up the situation in the following words: "And within the City the citizens, not only the ordinary, but indeed also those who pass as the most influential in the imperial palace, revolt, quarrel with each other, and

¹ "Греки для нас не Евангелие, мы верим не в греков а в Христа; мы получили христианскую веру при начале христианской Церкви, когда Андрей, брат апостола Петра, пришел в эти страны; чтобы пройти в Рим; таким образом мы на Москве приняли христианскую веру, в то же самое время, как вы в Италии, и с тех пор досели мы соблюдали ее ненарушимую" Cited in Каптерев Н., Собрание Сочинений, 1, Дарь, Москва 2008, 58.

² "Прославил Бог...благоверного и христолюбиваго великаго князя Ивана Васильевича, государя и самодержца всея Руси, новаго царя Константина новому граду Константинову –Москве и всей Русской земли и иным многим землям государя "Вилинбахов Г. В., Легенда о "знамени Константину" в символике русских знамен XVII-XVIII веков In: Труды Государственного Эрмитажа, Ленинград, 1983, том. 23, pg. 23.

strive to occupy the highest offices. Each one is eager to devour all by himself, and if he does not succeed, threatens to desert to the enemy, and with him besiege his country, and his friends".¹

¹ See Necipoğlu Nevra, *Byzantium between the Ottomans and the Latins*, Cambridge, 2009; Kydones Demetrios, Loenartz R., J., edition, vol. II, no. 308, lines 17-18, Vatican city, 1960, 142.

2 The Eastern Patriarchates and Russia in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries

The sixteenth and seventeenth centuries were of paramount importance in terms of the development of Russia and its relationship with the Near East. It was a period when the Eastern Patriarchates were developing under new circumstances being part of the Ottoman world. Just as Russia was undergoing important political developments, so the Eastern Patriarchates were undergoing a period of self-reflection which was coupled by the complex developments in Europe related to the development of Protestantism in many forms. Regardless of the captivity of the Greek Church under the Ottomans, lively ecclesial contacts continued between Russians and Greeks and the Russians respected the ecclesial position of the Patriarchate of Constantinople. The respect for the Byzantine tradition is demonstrated by the fact that notable Greeks were invited to Russia, such as the well-known Maxim the Greek (Μιχαήλ Τρίβολης) to share in Russia's theological and liturgical development.¹ In fact, it seems that after some doubts in the period of the Metropolitan Isidor the respect for the Eastern Patriarchates in Russia gradually grew in the centuries following the fall of Constantinople, which was also conditioned by the new developing and lively contacts.

Further research is needed into the religious mechanics of the period especially in relation to the issue of heresy, orthodoxy and theology. In this regard what is interesting is how the Russian state gradually developed its understanding of "orthodoxy" and the true faith, especially in the complex religious tapestry of the period. Of course, Maxim the Greek, was instrumental in the development of the discussions on orthodoxy in Russia.

2a Multiformed relationship

After the Fall of Byzantium Greeks offered their services as interpreters and generally assumed the role of middle men in Russian dealings with the Ottoman world. The Patriarch of Constantinople

¹ Geanakoplos, Deno J., 'The Post Byzantine Athonite Monk Maximos the Greek: Reformer of Orthodoxy in Sixteenth century Muscovy in: *Greek Orthodox Theological Review* 33, Boston 1988, pgs., 445-468, here 456.

found himself in the middle of the Russian/Ottoman relationship. Stavrou writes: „This role of the Patriarch was important, because at the time Russian diplomatic agents in the Ottoman Empire did not carry the prestige they did in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. The Greek interpreter Anastasios, rendered great Services in the relations of Russia and Turkey, and the Turkish representative to Russia, Ali Agas, was a personal friend of the Ecumenical Patriarch, Loukaris.“¹

The contacts and relationships between the Greeks and Russians, were also developed in terms of the exchange of material and other goods. The Russians brought in various objects. In this regard the Moscow Kremlin holds many important objects testifying to the Greek-Russian relationship.² These include for example the *mitre* of the Patriarch Paisiy presently located in the Holy Sepulchre. It was blessed in 1657 and was supposed to be given to the Tsar Alexey Michaylovich. There is some controversy as to whether this was really supposed to be a gift but whatever the case the *mitre* belongs to the period of intensive contacts.³

In the collection of state regalia of the Armoury in the Kremlin there is a sceptre, and diadem of Tsar Alexey Michaylovich. According to the income-outcome books of the Treasury for the period of 1664-1665, the sceptre and diadem were made in Constantinople upon the order of Alexey Michaylovich and brought to Moscow by Ivan Yuriev (Иван Юрьев) in 1662.⁴ The purchase from Constantinople came at a time of greater co-operation between the Russian and Greek Churches and symbolised this new reality, which is also displayed by the

¹ Stavrou G., T., *Russian Interests in Palestine, 1882-1914*, Institute for Balkan Studies, Thessaloniki, 1963, 11., See also a view on Loukaris, Diomedes Kyriakos, *Geschichte der Orientalischen Kirchen von 1453-1898*, Leipzig, 1902, 97-103.

² Моршакова, Е.А., Коллекция произведений афонской резьбы по дереву в Московском кремле, in: *Россия и Христианский Восток*, выпуск II-III, editors С.Н. Кистерев, Д.Н. Рамазанова, Б.Л. Фонкич, Д. А. Яламас, Индрик, Москва, 2004, 222-229.

³ See Фонкич Б.Л., *О современных методах исследования греческих и русских документов XVII века*, Озон, Москва, 2012.

⁴ Русский Государственный Архив Древних Актов, РГАДА. Ф. 52. Оп.1.1662 г. Д.16.Л.37,41 cited in Мартынова М. В., Бармы царя Алексея Михайловича, in: *Россия и Христианский Восток*, выпуск II-III, editors С.Н. Кистерев, Д.Н. Рамазанова, Б.Л. Фонкич, Д. А. Яламас, Индрик, Москва, 2004, 363-376, here 364.

illustrations on the Diadem, where pictures of Constantine and Helen are depicted.

Oddly enough in terms of iconography there was a crisis both in the south and in Russia. The realities of Ottoman life and the influence of the West provoked a crisis of "the iconographic image" in the Eastern Patriarchates. In Russia the early beautiful and mystical iconography based on Byzantine traditions coupled with Russian influences was for still unexplained reasons slowly subsiding in the seventeenth and later centuries, to be replaced by something of a mixture of western styles and a new form of *kitsch*.

The Eastern Patriarchs were increasingly placed under pressure not only from the dominating Ottomans, but also from the increasingly aggressive Protestant and Roman Catholic interests in the Holy Places. Not to speak of the constant economic hardships of the Patriarchates. Thus the Patriarch of Jerusalem Dositheos (1690-1707) for example, needed Russian help to win back the control of the Holy Sites in Jerusalem, which by a *firman* from the Sultan in 1689 were given to the Catholics.¹ Dositheos also sought Russian support for the printing of Greek works (such as the *Panoplia Dogmatike* by Euthimios Zygabenos).² Dositheos was also closely tied with Russia and according to Kapterev, Dositheos was for decades serving the interest of Russia.³

2b Centralisation of power in Russia and the Russian Patriarchate

Of course, the gradual centralisation of political power in Russia and the coronation of Ivan the Terrible as emperor helped by the Metropolitan Makariy also provoked a political desire for acknowledgement which could be achieved through a new and important international role. Ivan sent the archimandrite Theodoret from Suzdal to Constantinople seeking the affirmation of his new role as Emperor in line with the Byzantine tradition together with a hefty gift. In 1562 the Metropolitan of Evgrippia brought a letter from the Patriarch of Constantinople Joasaph II confirming the title of Emperor to Ivan and

¹ Stavrou G., T., *Russian Interests in Palestine, 1882-1914*, Institute for Balkan Studies, Thessaloniki, 1963, 13.

² See Miladinova N., *The Panoplia Dogmatike by Euthymios Zygadenos: a study on the first edition published in Greek, in 1710*, Brill, 2014.

³ Н. Ф. Каптерев, *Характер Отношений России к православному востоку в XVI и XVII столетиях*, Изд. Втор, Сергиев Посад, 1914, 300.

affirming his relation with Anna the sister of Vasiliy "the purple born", that is that he was of royal bloodline. Importantly, Ivan based his claims on numerous saints in his family lineage.¹

A following letter stated that the Metropolitan of Evgriippia as an Exarch of the Patriarch was to repeat the blessing confirming him as Emperor over him. Needless to say these concessions from the Byzantine Patriarch are unprecedented and cannot be underestimated. However, while Ivan was happy to receive the confirmation of his emperor hood and lineage he did not give assent to the idea of the Byzantine Patriarchs playing the same role as the Roman Popes in the west in terms of coronation and the legitimisation of rulership. Further ironically the Metropolitan of Evgriippia was accused of sympathies towards the Latins when he travelled to Moscow, since in Lithuania he reportedly venerated some cross made in the Latin tradition (perhaps an invented accusation).² This example gives us a very accurate picture of the Russian relationship to Constantinople which was one of respect but at the same time was a relationship based on the increasing realisation of the great power of Russia. This more or less characterised the relationship until modern times.

As Kapterev shows in his book the acknowledgment of Russia as the protector of Christianity was acknowledged by the other Eastern Patriarchs. Thus Meletius Pigas the Patriarch of Alexandria affirms this (in his letter to Tsar Theodor Ivanovich; later in 1698 the Patriarch of Jerusalem Dositheos affirms this and so on).³ Even the Archbishops of the Church of Cyprus and Ochrid affirmed this role of the Russian emperor (Chariton of Ochrid wrote this in 1645). At the same time in this period the Russians made all possible effort to observe the Liturgical traditions of the Eastern Patriarchates.⁴

As we would probably expect the idea of a Russian Emperor was linked with a desire for the Metropolitan of Moscow to be elevated to the rank of Patriarch an idea which was presented by the Russians in

¹ Н. Ф. Каптерев, *Характер Отношений России к православному востоку в XVI и XVII столетиях*, Изд. Втор, Сергиев Посад, 1914, 300.

² Ibid.

³ Ibid.

⁴ See Medlin, W., K., Patrinelis C., G., *Renaissance Influences, and Religious Reforms in Russia, Western and Post-Byzantine Impacts on Culture and Education, (16th-17th Centuries)*, Libraire Droz, Geneve, 1971.

1586 to the Patriarch of Antioch Joachim V, who was then on a visit to Russia. This was not surprising given the fact that the Patriarchate of Antioch was always more prone to fulfil the various requests of the Russians. The Patriarchate of Antioch with its more complex ethnic mixture as well as its more problematic relationship with the Ottoman Empire was always more congenial to Russian requests than any other of the other Patriarchates. The Antiochians were under greater pressure from the Ottomans, since they neither had the income of the Patriarchate of Jerusalem (due to the Holy sites and pilgrims), nor did they have a homogenous ethnic and religious structure. However, for obvious reasons while the Greeks were ready to acknowledge the title of Emperor for the Russian Tsar, they were very uncomfortable in acknowledging any Russian titles of Patriarch.

Coinciding with this period of Russian ambitions, was the sudden and unexpected visit of one of the most important hierarchs in the history of Constantinople, the brilliant patriarch Jeremias II of Constantinople (c. 1530-1595) who visited the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth and Russia and who would exercise a profound influence in ecclesiastical affairs of the Russian Church. When he appeared in Moscow, he was prevented in seeing any foreigners and he was surrounded by spies and various suspicious characters who followed him everywhere. The Metropolitan of Monemvassia Hierotheos complained about the constant harassment Jeremias was subjected to.¹ This excellent hierarch of the church was born in Anchial in 1536 and was Patriarch in 1572-1579, 1580-1584 and 1587-1595. He was a great reformer and enlightened individual. He was exiled by the Turks to Rhodos in 1584. During this time there were suggestions even from the Catholics of how to liberate him and even move the Patriarchate to Poland or elsewhere.²

The period was an important one in terms of Russian ecclesiastical history since it was a time, when there were efforts to establish an independent Patriarchate in Russia, which was finally achieved in 1589, partly due to the efforts of Jeremias II. The other Eastern Patriarchates followed suit in recognising the establishment of a Russian Patriarchate, obviously realising the importance that the Russian church had for their

¹ Kapterev, *ibid.*, 42.

² See Крижанівський О. П., Плохий С.М. *Історія церкви та релігійної думки в Україні*, Кн.3. Київ, 1994.

wellbeing. It is also important to mention here, that the Greeks respected the authority of the Russian church since Greek hierarchs where consecrated also in Russia and their consecration was deemed valid, testifying to the fact that the Greek concessions where not only "for show". Thus for example, the Metropolitan of Moscow Theodosiy had consecrated the *protosynkellos* of the Jerusalem Patriarchate Joseph as the Metropolitan for Cesarea Philipi (at the request of the Patriarch of Jerusalem).

Jeremias II travelled to Moscow in 1588 in order to gain funds for the Patriarchate. His voyage was long and interesting and took him through the territory of Poland. His first passage through Poland is accounted by Arsenios the Archbishop of Ellasson who in 1586-1588 taught Greek at the Lvov brotherhood school.¹ Jeremias II apparently desired to convoke a council in Vilna the date of which he set on the 8th of September 1588. In the end he stayed ten months in Moscow and acknowledged the metropolitan Iov (Иов) as the first Patriarch of Moscow on the 26th of January (5 February) 1589.

The above mentioned companion of Jeremias II in Moscow, metropolitan Hierotheos offers us an interesting account of how the Russians allegedly used trickery to achieve their aims. While initially Jeremias did not want to hear anything about the Russians having their own Patriarchate, it was suggested to him by the various Russian spies assigned to him during the visit, that he himself can be the Patriarch of Moscow. According to Hierotheos, it was the plan of the Russian spies and courtiers to initially convince him of his own candidature for the Patriarchate and once Jeremias would agree to this, this would be the first victory on the way of establishing the Patriarchate in Moscow. Hierotheos then indicates, that the Russians knew all along that they did not want the candidature of Jeremias and they wanted their own Russian Patriarch. Thus when Jeremias agreed to the idea of becoming the Russian Patriarch, they did everything they could to discourage him, and for example did this by saying that he would have to move to

¹ The diary of the journey was published many times. For example, Старчевский А., *Historiae Ruthenicae Scriptores exteri saeculi XVI*, Т. II. No. XX., Moskva, 1842, 369-384; See also *Diplomata Statutaria a Patriarchis Orientalibus Confraternitatis Stauropigianae Leopoldensis a 1586-1592 data*. no. IX Leopoli 1895, 41; *Собрание древних грамот и актов городов Вильна, Ковна, Троков, православных монастырей, церквей и по разным предметам*, Вильно, 1843.

Vladimir as Patriarch, which according to Hierotheos was no better than the last "hole" in Greece. No better than "Kukos".¹

It appears, that the Russians indeed speculated whether it would be possible to consecrate a Greek as Patriarch of Russia or even to move the throne from Constantinople to Moscow (actually an idea also shared in the west at that time. In the West there were calls to move the throne of Constantinople to some western city). The fact that Jeremias or others were contemplating staying north etc., just shows what dire circumstances must have been in Constantinople for the Patriarchate. In any case, Jeremias reportedly stated in his speech, which confirmed the establishment of the Moscow Patriarchate that all the previous Romes have fallen. That Constantinople is occupied by foreign powers, and that the Russian Tsar is the only Christian ruler left. As the glorious representative of Christendom, the Russian Tsar now has a Patriarch.² Of course, what is fascinating in the speech is how the idea of Tsardom is linked with the Patriarchate. As if there is no other possibility than a conception of dual power, the Church and the State. Further interestingly, it is emphasised that there is no other Christian ruler with the supreme authority, except for the Russian Tsar. It is also important that the concept is spiritualised by reference to prayers of Russian saints, thereby spiritually legitimising the establishment of the Patriarchate.

Jeremias meddling into Russian ecclesiastical affairs was more or less successful even though he did mistakes, which were the consequence of his minimal experience of Russian ecclesial conditions. As is well known Jeremias also decided to settle other ecclesial problems while on his journey for which he had the support of Sigismund III. He defrocked the Metropolitan of Kiev Onisifor "Девочка" and replaced

¹ Каптерев, Н. Ф., *Характер Отношений России к православному востоку в XVI и XVII столетиях*, Изд. Втор, Сергиев Посад, 1914, 45; See Метрополит Макарий Булгаков, *История Русской Церкви*, 12 томов, Санкт Петербург, 1883.

² "Так как ветхий Рим пал, от Апполлинариевой ереси, а второй Рим, Константинополь, находится в обладании, у безбожных турок, то твое, благочестивый царь, великое российское царство, Третий Рим, превзошло благочестием все прежние царства, и все благочестивые царства соединились в твое царство, и ты один теперь именуешься христианским царем во всей вселенной, поетому и превеликое дело (учреждение патриаршества) по Божию Промыслу молитвами чудотворец русских по твоему царскому прошению, у Бога, и по твоему совету исполнится." Ibid.

him with Michail Ragoza. Importantly, in Vilna (21 July) he wrote a decree condemning the practice of multiple wives of priests and on the 1/11 of August he wrote to Michail Ragoza forbidding Greek clergy to fulfil their duties on the territory of Russia. Jeremias "meddling" also clearly demonstrated that there were indeed differences between the Russians and Greeks in terms of liturgical practice.

Another important person linked to Jeremias II was the already mentioned Arsenios the Archbishop of Elasson.¹ He was born in 1550 and just as his other brothers was tonsured in the 1580s and then became bishop of Elasson and Dimonik. Arseniy visited Russia for the first time in 1586 as an emissary to the Tsar Fedor Ivanovich from the Patriarch of Constantinople Theoleptos II. He accompanied Jeremias II to Moscow in 1588-1589. Arsenios wished to stay at the court in Moscow and the Tsar Fedor Ivanovich enabled him to do so and later he was entitled as the Archbishop of Archangelsk and was attached to the Church of Archangelsk. He participated in all the important events of the period. He met the false Dmitriy I on the *Lobnom* place in 1605 with other clergy and placed the hat of the Monomachos on his head. He also participated in the defrockment of the Metropolitan Iov. He also helped to send offerings to the East, that is, to the Holy land, to Sinai etc.

The role of Eastern Patriarchs in Russian affairs is also exemplified by the Patriarch of Jerusalem Theophanes, who already visited Moscow as a priest in 1603 and who received an invitation to come after the period of troubles (1604-1613). He visited Moscow again after becoming Patriarch and after experiencing an adventurous journey. His authority was highly regarded by the Russians and he attended the Council of 1619 acting as its president and ordained the father of Tsar Michael as the Patriarch Philaret of Moscow. The oath exemplifying respect for Eastern Patriarchs taken by Philaret was possibly written by Theophanes and included the words: "Whatever they (the Patriarchs) accept I also accept and maintain, whatever they reject I do reject too."² Theophanes was also involved in the ecclesiastical problems of the Kiev

¹ See for example, *Дмитриевский, А., Архиепископ Елассонский Арсений и мемуары его из русской истории*, Киев 1899.

² *Ibid.*, Pg. 38.

context.¹ The intense relationship was also dominated during the patriarchates of Joachim (1674-1690) and Dositheos (1690-1707).

Another figure whose name was also Jeremias was the Metropolitan of Pelagonia who in 1622 travelled to Russia and is an example of the type of contacts in the period. At the border with Russia it was stated, that he came to seek help and that to this effect among other letters he also carried a letter from the Metropolitan of Kiev. He carried a letter of Theophanos the Patriarch of Jerusalem to the Patriarch of Moscow (dated 12 May, 1621). The interesting thing is that in this letter Theophanos describes how he spent periods of time and years in the various regions close to Russia. How he stayed in Volocha (Волохахъ). He describes the dynastic relations of the local rulers of the ruler close to Volocha, a region called Mutyani (Мутяны). He offers information on who is Patriarch in Constantinople and elsewhere. That in Constantinople the patriarch is Cyril.² Interestingly, Jeremias describes how he was pushed out by the Turks from his former Metropolitanate until he moved to Hungary, where he took over an "abandoned Metropolitanate". The circumstances of the Metropolitan Jeremias are typical of the period. Various hierarchs seeking help, and mercy travelling around, staying here and there for many years outside of their original *cathedra's*.

Similarly in 1623 a certain Metropolitan Joachim came from the Silistria monastery of the Archangel. He again in a typical way complains how his lands were taken over by the Turks. He stated, that he was fifteen years a Metropolitan in Silistria, then the Turks came and sought to destroy all, he had to pay the Turks twelve thousand thalers,

¹ See Chrysostomos Papadopoulos, *Οἱ Πατριάρχαι Ἱεροσολύμων ὡς πνευματικοὶ χειραγωγοὶ τῆς Ρωσσίας κατὰ τὸν 17ον αἰῶνα* (The Patriarchs of Jerusalem as Spiritual Leaders of Russia during the seventeenth century, Jerusalem, 1907, pgs. 47, further see Н. Ф. Каптерев, Сношения Иерусалимских патриархов с Русским правительством с половины XVI до середины XIX столетия., in: *Православный Палестинский Сборник*, XLIII, Санкт Петербург, 1895, 32.

² Муравьев А. Н., *Сношения Россіи съ Востокомъ по дѣламъ церковнымъ*, часть 2, Санкт Петербургъ, 1860, 2. The kind of "stuff" he got from the Emperor as a donation was "В Москвѣ дано было, на прїѣздѣ Жалованья государева: Метрополиту Иереміи: кубокъ серебряный, золоченый, съ покрывшкою въ три гривны, двѣнадцать аршинъ, пятнадцать аршинъ обрѣяри багровой, сорокъ соболей, въ сорокъ рублей, и пятьдесятъ рублей денегъ; Иеромонаху Нилу: сорокъ соболей, въ двадцать пять рублей, кармка смирная, денеть пятнадцать рублей, *ibid*.

to spare the city and the monastery, and that later he heard about the great mercy of the Patriarch of Moscow and the Moscow Tsar.

An interesting figure in this context is a certain Ioannikios the Greek (Иоанникий Грек 1619-1630-cellarer at the monastery), who was the former cellarer of the Brotherhood of the Holy Sepulchre in Jerusalem. He came to Russia in 1619 as part of the entourage of Theophanes III. He stayed in Russia and became in turn the cellarer of the Novospasskiy monastery. He was an important intermediary between the Greeks and Russians in Russia. Little is known of him but he is credited with the so called work "A report of the Novospasskiy cellarer Ioannikios, about the monasteries of Constantinople, Jerusalem, and all of the Greek region", which was written around 1622 or 1629.¹ It's a small insignificant work but was written to prepare a Russian embassy in Constantinople consisting of Ivan Kondyrev (Иван Кондырев) and Tikhon Bormosov (Тихон Бормосов). It sought to determine the type of monasteries and assistance needed there.

The increasing importance of donations and assistance provided room for fraud. Thus in 1623 two different people from the monastery of Zographou came to seek assistance in Moscow. Each had given a different name of the *igoumenos* of the monastery, so it was obvious that one of them was a thief. The authorities in Moscow later did find out, which one of them was the thief, and which one of them was the true person with authority to seek assistance.² There are many such accounts, of various frauds regarding donations and other intrigues related to donations.

For instance there was a controversy surrounding the Metropolitan of Veria Averkios. Thus in 1630 in a letter sent to the Tsar, the Patriarch of Jerusalem Theophanes wrote against this Metropolitan. The Patriarch claims that he had intentionally attempted to destroy the reputation of the various people in the Patriarchate including himself Theophanes. The letter and subsequent correspondence is full of innuendos relating to a fear of losing access to donations based on false accusations and reputations.³

¹ Thomas D., Chesworth, J., Benett C., Demiri L., Frederiks M., Grodž, Pratt, D., *Christian-Muslim Relations, a Bibliographical History*, Leiden, Brill, 2009, 850

² Ibid. 25.

³ Ibid. 121

The period of the seventeenth century was becoming especially disastrous for the Eastern Patriarchs. At the end of the seventeenth century due to the pressure from western European powers, the Ottomans gave away rights to many of the Greek orthodox churches in the Holy Land to the western Churches setting a foothold in Palestine. This was coupled generally by the challenges from the Reformation and increasing Roman Catholic pressure to counter the Reformation, which resulted in the Roman Catholics seeking to strengthen their position by taking over Orthodox areas. For their part the Russian rulers where not always staunch defenders of the Orthodox cause (for example we can mention Peter the Great here).

The Eastern hierarchs of the southern Patriarchates where not just people looking for money. In fact, the two centuries after the fall of Byzantium, produced some outstanding theological figures as embodied by these Patriarchs. Perhaps there was still some intellectual continuity with Byzantium in this period two hundred years after its fall, which enabled to produce important theologians, who were also high hierarchs of the church. There are many indications that in their letters the southern hierarchs not only begged for alms but offered other suggestions and plans. For example, in his letter given to the priest monk Joseph, written by Cyril, the Patriarch of Alexandria, for his visit in White Russia, he does not speak only about money and donations but also about the need for authentic and pure teaching and the promulgation of orthodoxy.¹

It was realised, that a lack of resources and books is producing problems for the Eastern Patriarchates. Thus for example, the Patriarch Cyril Lucaris after his second election on the throne in Constantinople (1624), began the project of building a printing press in Constantinople to produce essential liturgical books. The Jesuit order rather unsurprisingly, began convincing the Ottoman authorities that the Greeks are in fact producing books against the Ottomans and thus sought to close down the printing press.

¹ Муравьев А. Н., Сношения Россiи съ Востокомъ по дѣламъ церковнымъ, часть 2, Санкт Петербургъ, 1860, 7.

2c Patriarch Dositheos

In terms of the Russian relations with the south east, one of the most important and interesting characters of the period is the Patriarch of Jerusalem Dositheos (Patriarch from 1669). He is an example of one of those outstanding hierarchs of the period who were interested in theology and in the cultural and theological renewal of the Church. Thus in his letter to Peter the great of 20th of June 1698, he observes, that the duty of the Patriarchs is to preserve Christianity at all costs and throughout the world.¹ In modern scholarship, not enough attention is placed on the issue of the tacit co-operation between the Ottoman authorities and western powers and their missions in the goal of destroying the power and presence of the Orthodox in the Holy Land. Thus for example, Dositheos, in 1705 in his letter to Peter the Great mentions a plan of how the French Roman Catholic missionaries were attempting to convince the Ottomans to destroy the Holy Sepulchre and build a new one instead. Obviously this would then more easily fall into the control of the Latins.²

Dositheos wrote a work called "The History of the Patriarchs of Jerusalem" which was translated into Russian and became a sourcebook in Russia. In this book he claims that the specific duty of the Patriarchs of Jerusalem was to protect holy Orthodoxy. Dositheos fought on many fronts. He was a theologian, fighting against what he saw were heresies, he was also asking for donations to support the Patriarchate, and he had to deal with the difficult conditions set on by the Ottomans. He had to fight heresies, which appeared also in the Orthodox environment and for example in 1672 he condemned the *Catechesis* of Lukaris, and instead approved the *Catechesis* of Peter of Mohyla.

In 1692 he asked the Russians to place pressure on the Ottomans, so that elected Patriarchs of Constantinople would have the right to remain in their seats for life and not be subjected to the whims of the Ottoman administration and be deposed at will. He is of course, not only interested in Greek matters but fights for Orthodoxy in other contexts. In 1706 he calls on the various rulers in question to make sure, that when there is peace with the Poles a consideration is made for them to

¹ Каптерев Н. Ф., *Сношения Иерусалимского Патриарха, Досифея, с русским правительством, (1669-1707 гг.)*, А. И. Снегиревой, Санкт Петербург, 1891, 56.

² Ibid. 57

stop attacking the Orthodox. His respect and constant praise of the Russian tsars as protectors of Christianity is seen everywhere. His monarchic ideology seems to go even further than the Byzantine Roman concept. Thus in 1692 he states, that after God, the Russian Tsars are the protectors of Orthodoxy.¹ In 1698 he encourages the Tsar to fight the Ottomans at all costs. This is courageous from him since this of course placed him in great danger with the Ottoman administration. He was not afraid of the consequences that his support of the Russians would have in relation to the Christian orthodox existence in the Holy land.

He was however also critical towards the Patriarch Joachim for his motives and criticizes him for supporting the idea of subjecting the Kiev Metropolitanate See to the Moscow Patriarchal See.² This criticism of Joachim's policy is very interesting and shows, that regardless of his

¹ Каптерев Н. Ф., *Сношения Иерусалимского Патриарха, Досифея, с русским правительством, (1669-1707 гг.)*, А. И. Снегиревой, Санкт Петербург, 1891, 57.

² "Некий верх злых нас сокрушате у нас сушат церковная смущения и бури, самолюбие же и зарватное, и несытость славы, и женалние чуждих, которое зло не токмо ныне zde преизлишствует, но достигнуло даже и до вас. Братская твоя любовь рукоположил еси митрополита в Киев и возвещаяши, яко нужда бяше быти тако: и когда бы было по смотрению сие дело добре тое сотворил еси. И ты бы просил единую грамоту прощенную о бывшем деле и другую грамоту на епископы- да покоряются митрополиту; и аще бы наипаче было советом всея Церкви могли бы сие сотворити удобнее_И не довлеет еже быть митрополия Московская патриаршей престол, даде же и Церковь волю, да рукополагается от своего Собора и почитается всеми патриаршескими чины; но еще ищите взяти и чуждую епархию. И какую благословную вину можете ре-щи пред Богом и человеки? Аще убо Московский патриарх ставит в Киев митрополита – казаки будут стояти добре, и аще ставится от Константинопольскаго патриарха – не будут стояти добре; наипаче же отчуждение епархии сотворит великая зла христианом, живущим в Польше, и яко аще пришлют из Польши или Украины и попросят другого митрополита, тотчас поставят другого, - и сие бы не было. Что вина да оттерзаете чуждую епархию? Не есть ли стыд от людей, не есть ли грех от Бога? Да присылаете деньги и из ума людей выводите, берете грамоты сопротивны Церкви и Богу. Сказывал нам посланник ваш, яко письма от вас не привез, токмо приказали ему дати нам милостыню, аще дадим ему письмо, якоже хочет; и аще не дадим ему, и он нам да не отадаст. И аще бы нечто нужно быти сему, еже просите, мы и Иерусалим бы сотворили епископиею, и ноги бы ваша мыли, якоже Христос сотворил ко устроению Церкви. Но, кроме нужды, для чего да движутся пределы отеческия? И кто может сия да просит?...Аще хотите имети хотение свое, ведайте, яко церковная воля не есть, якоже и мы не хотим, да не причастимся сему гречу, також не хотим ниже вас, да будете подлежащий в сем гресе". *Архив Юго-западной России*, ч 1, том 5, Киев, 1872, 144-145.

flattery and praise of the Moscow ruler and Patriarch he is completely sober in relation to other things and does not sacrifice his principles for gain. He speaks of evils coming into the Church, of people interested in their own affairs and glory. He was politically astute and wise, stating that the Moscow Patriarchate should not seek to control the Bishops in Kiev, since this will bring only divisions, and wars between the Orthodox. He is surprised as to the motives for all this behaviour, since is it not enough that in Moscow there is a Patriarch that it has all the honour it needs? Further the letter clearly indicates that an attempt was made to bribe him to sanction such a move by promise of alms, and that if he was not to give this blessing no alms would be given. This extraordinary letter clearly implies that Dositheos is distancing himself from any politically expedient acknowledgements of the Russian claims to the southern areas, calling it outright a sin, and Dositheos is wandering where did humility go, the kind of humility that the Saviour displayed in Jerusalem washing the feet of his disciples instead of claiming power and other things. Pastorally Dositheos asks himself, whether anyone thought of the negative consequences this will have on the Christians in the area of Poland or for that matter Christians anywhere. The move will only create problems.

In his famous *Confessions*, Dositheos points out, that one of the reasons for heresies is the misinterpretation of the Gospels. Thus, while people claim to have the same Gospel, it is not the problem of the Gospels, but the problem of their misinterpretation. The infallibility of the Churches interpretation of the Gospel does not stem from individual truths or arguments but from the Holy Spirit. The argument of the *Confessions* is also aimed at among other things the doctrine of predestination. The Calvinist position is referred to. Dositheos does not offer simple arguments and his theology is of a high standard. His distinction between the reality in heaven and the here and now is important in his overall understanding of the Church.

As part of his program of publishing anti-western theological treatises he also wanted to publish the work *Panoplia Dogmatike* of Euthymios Zygadenos.¹ Dositheos embarked on a project of supporting the creation of printing presses to publish the various books of the Orthodox church. There was a printing press established in Moldova in

¹ See the *Panoplia Dogmatike* of Euthymios Zygadenos, Miladinova Nadia, 2014, Brill.

1682 and Wallachia in 1690. As we have written Dositheos wrote a monumental work related to the Patriarchs of Jerusalem (*Dodekabiblos*). Dorotheos sent many important manuscripts to Moscow.

Dositheos had a rich correspondence with Peter the Great. In one such letter there are indications of the emphasis placed by Dositheos on the role of the Tsar as the protector of Orthodoxy by virtue of being an Orthodox Tsar. He further implies, that Peter is one of a kind perhaps as if he was the "only Orthodox Tsar". There are some indications of some form of betrayal to which Dositheos replies that „they have shown their true colours“. Dositheos in this letter is very smart, since he uses the event with the Tsars enemies to state that this is all related to Gods plan to reveal to the Tsar that all friendship and alliances are based on the Divine will and plan. It is a way of encouraging the Tsar to have and display faith in God. Dositheos was obviously aware of the possible lax attitude to faith of Peter the Great. All movements of the enemy will appear, since that which is hidden in the heart will show itself. True friends are not those whose love wanders around, but whose love is reliable.¹ The final paragraph of the letter is also important since Dositheos links the Tsar to the „most Orthodox of emperors.“

2d Greeks in Russia

The reputation of the Tsars and Russians being generous also reached the important area of the Holy Mountain. In the beginning of the sixteenth century the practice of regular visits from the Holy Mountain Athos can be observed. Obviously, Russia was increasing in its political and economic might while the Eastern Orthodox Churches

¹ "Εἰς αὐτὸ δὲ ὅπου ὀρίζει ἡ μεγίστη τῆς βασιλείας πῶς οἱ διο κοῦνες σύμμαχοι ἀφέθησαν ἀπὸ τὴν κοινὴν συμφωνίαν καὶ τὴν ἄφησαν μόνην, λέγομεν εἰς τοῦτο ὅτι ἐκεῖνο ὅπου εἶχον κρυφὰ εἰς τὴν καρδίαν των, τὸ ἔδειξαν καὶ φανερὰ μὲ τὸ ἔργον, ὥσαν [...] πάντοτε οἱ τοιοῦτοι μῆτε ἦτο, μῆτε εἶναι, μῆτε γενήσονται φίλοι ἀληθινοὶ τῶν ὀρθοδόξων αὐτοκρατόρων, ἔξω μόνον ἂν κανένα περιστατικὸν τοὺς ἀναγκάσῃ νὰ μὴ φανερώσωσιν ἄχρι τέλους τὴν πεπλανημένην ἀγάπην. Καὶ φαίνεται μας ὅτι τοῦτο εἶναι ἔργον τῆς Θείας Προνοίας, διατὶ ἂν καλὰ καὶ οἱ σύμμαχοι εἶναι μεγίστη βοήθεια κατὰ τὴν ἀνθρωπίνην ὑπόληψιν, ὅμως θέλει ὁ ἅγιος Θεὸς νὰ δείξῃ εἰς τὸν κόσμον ὅτι τὸν θεῖον του σκοπὸν δὲν εὐχαριστῆτε νὰ τὸν τελειώσῃ μὲ ἄλλους παρὰ μόνον μὲ ὀρθοδόξωτατον αὐτοκράτορα, διὰ νὰ φανῇ πῶς εἶναι τὸ ἔργον ἐκ μόνης τῆς ἀγαθῆς...Θελησεως καὶ νὰ φανερώσῃ καὶ τὴν Θεότητον ὑμετέραν ἁγίαν βασιλείαν, μόνον ὀρθοδόξωτατον ἐν τοῖς βασιλεῦσιν, Российскій государственный архив древних актов, РГАДА, Ф. 52, Оп. 1, 1701, г. Д.1.1.13-14.

were perhaps in the same degree losing their economic and political power. These visits from Athos were organised in order to raise funds for the monasteries and the churches in need. Thus we have information about Russian monks coming to visit from the monastery of Saint Pantaleimon, or Greek monks coming from the Great Lavra of Athanasius or Vatopedi to Moscow for alms.¹

A special relationship was also established with the monastery of Chilandar on Mt. Athos just as there was a special relationship with the monastery of saint Pantaleimon. In 1550 representatives of Chilandar came to Moscow to seek financial assistance and alleviation of payments made to the Ottomans. A letter of Ivan the Terrible from 1551 to the Sultan discusses the issue of payments made by the monasteries and their possible alleviation.²

From 1509 onwards when the *velikiy knyaz* Vasiliy III became the *ktitoros* of the monastery of Saint Pantaleimon, regular donations were sent, sometimes through the mediation of Russian emissaries who travelled to the Middle East on missions. Chilandar also gained a representative building in Moscow partly because of the royal links between the Russian and Serbian dynasties. The wife of the *velikiy knyaz* Vasiliy III, Elena Glinskaya on her mother's side came from the important family of Yakshitchey Якшичей, who were relatives of the ruling Serbian families.³ The various favours made by the rulers of Moscow were rewarded by various relics from the monasteries. For example, the monastery of Chilandar in 1550 offered an icon of the saints Symeon and Savva of Serbia in a silver frame, a cross with relics of saint Savva and relics of saint Stephen; in 1605 it was the relics of the great Martyr Theodoros Stratilatus and others.⁴

Various petitions for donations could have appealed to the importance of the sites for which the money was to be used. This was the case of the monastery of saint Euphemia in Chalcedon, where the ecumenical Council of Chalcedon took place. Thus, for example, the Metropolitan

¹ Муравьев А. Н., *Сношения России с Востоком по делам церковным*, ч. 1, Санкт Петербург, 1858, 12-13.

² Ibid., 68.

³ Тихомиров М.Н., *Исторические связи России со славянскими странами и Византией*, Москва, 1969, 86.

⁴ Муравьев А. Н., *Сношения России с Востоком по делам церковным*, ч. 1, Санкт Петербург, 1858, 106-108.

Gabriel of Chalcedon in one of his letters to Russia in the seventeenth century appeals to the importance of the donations sent, and points to the evil designs of Satan, who wants to destroy all. The idea of the importance of finances to improve the conditions of the church is nicely stated.¹

The increasing intensity of the Greek Russian relations, resulted in the development that in Russia itself, there was a growing presence of Greeks, who came either for a temporary visit or simply stayed permanently. The Bogoyavlenskiy (Богоявленский) monastery in Moscow was one centre where Greeks and Russians met. In this monastery Aleksiy was tonsured as a monk and later became the Metropolitan of Moscow. Many Greeks and other guests stayed at the monastery.² The monastery stood at the beginning of the colonial presence of Greeks in the area of Kitay Gorod (Китай Город). Later it was the Nikolo-Grechski (Николо-греческий) monastery and the area of Nikolska (Никольска) street, which from the period of the XVII to the beginning of the XX century became the area of the Greek diaspora.³

In Moscow, there was a Greek area called Grecheskaya Sloboda (Греческая слобода) in the historical area of Zayauzya (Заяузыя), which was located close to the Spaso-Andronikov (Спасо-Андроников) monastery. This monastery was founded by Metropolitan Alexiy after he returned from Constantinople (in the period of the 1360s). This was the period of Theophanes the Greek who was an icon painter of the Macedonian school, and who came to Russia to work. One of his contemporaries was Andrey Rublev. The influence of Byzantine spiritual traditions on art and spirituality in Russia was significant in this

¹ Καὶ διαδόσεως χρημάτων ὅπερβαλλούσης τῆς ἐφέσεως τυχόντες, πέρας τοῦ ἐκ βάρων ἀνακαινισμού ἐδεξάμεθα· φθόνῳ ὅμως τοῦ πονηροῦ, πρὸς τοὺς κρατοῦντας διαβολῆς περιεπέσαμεν δεινότητι, ὡς τὴν ἐκκλησίαν μεγέθει αὐξήσαντες καὶ πολυεϊδέσιν ἐγκοσμήσαντες τεχνοθρήμασι...Χαλκηδόνος Γαβριὴλ τοῖς Βασιλεῦσι, f.179v.. Cited in Медведев, Н. П., Переписка греческих иерархов с русским правительством и патриархией в конце XVII в., по данным рукописи Кесария Дапонте, in: *Россия и Христианский Восток*, выпуск II-III, editors С.Н. Кистерев, Д.Н. Рамазанова, Б.Л. Фонкич, Д. А. Яламас, Индрик, Москва, 2004, 493-517, here 501.

² Никодим, епископ, *Описание Московского Богоявленского монастыря*, Москва, 1877.

³ Шахова А., Д., Греки в Москве в XVI-XVII вв., in: *Россия и Христианский Восток*, выпуск II-III, editors С.Н. Кистерев, Д.Н. Рамазанова, Б.Л. Фонкич, Д. А. Яламас, Индрик, Москва, 2004, 186-202, here 192.

period.¹ The name of Zolotoy Rozhok (Золотой Рожок/golden horn) of the stream associated the place symbolically with Constantinople and its Golden Horn. The monastery was also associated with Greek monasticism and book production and in the XVII century, there was the monk Nikifor the recluse "затворник" who lived there.² The area received a further Greek cultural impulse by the appearance of migrants from Constantinople in the XVII centuries. However, the fact that the Greek area was at that time located beyond the city administrative limits demonstrates, that there were suspicions against the Greeks which seem to have increased after the events of the fall of Constantinople and the Unionist problems with the Roman Catholics.

In the seventeenth century the area of Grecheskaya (Греческая свовбода) contained people from Constantinople and elsewhere, who where also prone to work for the Russian state. Шахова states, that the archival materials offer us a pretty accurate picture of the mechanics of Greek integration into Russian society. One of the conditions, for being accepted into service for the Russian state, was the exclamation, that the candidate was persecuted by the Turks and that he or she was forced to accept the Muslim faith. Some Greeks came, through the mediation of Russians in Constantinople, who also informed them of the congenial conditions in Russia.

Some Greeks came even via the west. For example, through Archangelsk. One such Greek Kirijs Albertus came to Russia from England, where he had lived for seven years or a certain Yuriy Trepezon came from Germany. Upon their arrival the Greeks where required to produce evidence of their family background and status. The documents mention many migrants from the higher classes. Some of them where from more important families. For example, in 1637 a certain Dimitriy Palaiolog came from Constantinople. In 1628 came the Kirijs Yoanis Albertus from "боярского роду из королей долматцких" (noble family of Dalmation kings) and in 1645 the Serbian *knyaz* Yuriy Lazrev, (Юрий Лазарев сын Великомиров/son of

¹ Strezova A., Hesychasm and Art, The appearance of New Iconographic trends in Byzantine and Slavic lands, in the 14th and 15th centuries, Ausralian national university press, 2014, 183

² Каптерев Н. Ф., Характер отношений России к православному Востоку в XVI and XVII веке. Сергиев Посад, 1914, 10.

Velikomirov).¹ Before anyone could enter the Russian services he had to provide evidence of the orthodoxy of his or her faith and stay in one of the Russian monasteries to "improve the Orthodox Christian faith", ("для исправления православные христианские веры"). The period in which Greeks had to learn the Orthodox faith could vary from months to a year. They had to learn the writings of the fathers according to the "rule of the particular day" ("уставу в указные дни").² In the seventeenth century the issue of Orthodoxy, especially in relation to the form of baptism applied to the individual was an important one.

A Synod, which took place in 1620 in Moscow, dealt with the conditions that one had to meet if one was to be united with the Orthodox Church. Interestingly, even in relation to the Ukrainians and the Belarussians there were special prescriptions in this regard in place. Those that did not have full immersion (three times) were automatically required to be rebaptised again. It appears, that for the Greeks the rules relating to the ascertaining of their "Orthodoxy" were very strict (in the event of their desire to become subjects of the Russian Empire). There were no exceptions and they had to be approved as to their faith by the local ecclesial authorities. They had to undergo a process of очищения/purification. The religious aspect was very important and the Greeks were often portrayed as those escaping from the Islamic state and faith. One of the many formulas expressing the desire to live in an Orthodox country was for example: "To engage in a true Orthodox Christian faith" (для береженья истинныя православныя крестьянские веры) or a more flowery confession "The desire not to serve the Basarman Turkish Tsar and to die for the Tsar and the Orthodox Christian faith" ("и не хотя служити басорманскому турскому царю и хотя умерети за государя и за православную крестьянскую веру")³

¹ РГАДА Ф. 52; 150. Cited in Шахова А., Д., Греки в Москве в XVI-XVII вв., in: *Россия и Христианский Восток*, выпуск II-III, editors С.Н. Кистерев, Д.Н. Рамазанова, Б.Л. Фонкич, Д. А. Яламас, editors С.Н. Кистерев, Д.Н. Рамазанова, Б.Л. Фонкич, Д. А. Яламас, Индрик, Москва, 2004, 186-202, here 199.

² Ibid. РГАДА, ф. 210. Cited, Шахова, 200.

³ РГАДА Ф. 52. Оп. 1.1632 г. Но 14. Л. 20, Cited in Опарина Т. А., Исправление веры Греков в Русской церкви первой половины XVII, в., in: *Россия и Христианский Восток*, выпуск II-III, editors С.Н. Кистерев, Д.Н. Рамазанова, Б.Л. Фонкич, Д. А. Яламас, Индрик, Москва, 2004, 288-325, here 293.

Greeks could have joined the various military formations or serve as translators. At the end of the seventeenth century the rights of the Greeks or for that matter the quarters in Grecheskaya Svoboda, (Греческая слобода) were curtailed. Alexey Michailovich issued a decree on emptying the Greek area of the *sloboda*. In 1671 a decree forbade them free movement and without permission they could not have entered Moscow. Apparently, there were many Greeks who did not occupy themselves with their crafts but with deception and thievery. "There are many more Greeks in Moscow than before...they live here for 7,8, or 9 years not for their industry but for thievery" ("Греков на Москве преде прежним гораздо больши...и живут по 7,8, и 9 лет...не для своих промыслов, но для воровства").¹ It is possible, that this rather negative attitude towards the Greeks in this period was also linked to the general problems of the Church in Russia. Interestingly, it was the reforms of Nikon, which alleviated to an extent the rather cold attitude towards the Greeks for obvious reasons.

It is also important to mention, that the Russians had many people in Constantinople from the Greek environment, which furthered their interests. A story of co-operation is offered by Metropolitan of Chalcedon Daniel (Dionysios Naltsabasmats?) who was an intense representative of Russian interests in Constantinople. He came to Russia in 1642. The motives for cooperation of such figures with Russia is not at all clear.²

Another important way of co-operation between the Russian environment and the Greek environment was in the form of establishing a Greek press in the Russian territories. This idea is present for example, during the journey of the metropolitan of Paleopatras Theophanes to Russia in 1644. The journey of Theophanes is interesting in its own right, since on the way to Russia he arrived in Iasi in 1645, where the Patriarch of Alexandria Nikiforos gave him authority to represent as an Exarch, the Patriarch of Constantinople Parthenios II, with a letter to the Tsar with a request, to give some funds to the Patriarchate of Con-

¹ Ibid. РГАДА Ф. 159 Cited Шахова, 202.

² See В. Г. Ченцова, Халкидонский Митрополит Даниила (Дионисий Налцабасмат?) и его переписка царем Алексеем Михайловичем (40-50-е гг. VII в.) in: *Россия и Христианский Восток*, выпуск II-III, editors С.Н. Кистерев, Д.Н. Рамазанова, Б.Л. Фонкич, Д. А. Яламас, Индрик, Москва, 2004, 326-362.

stantinople. Theophanes initial goal was to acquire funds to buy the ancient church of the Apostle Andrew from the Ottoman administration.¹

Theophanes belonged to one of the most enlightened figures of the period. His journey and efforts were not limited to financial matters. His proposition to the Russians, was based on a realistic assessment of the situation of the Greek Churches and especially with a realisation of the increasing propaganda and onslaught of the western Christian confessions against the Orthodox Church. It was obvious to him, as was obvious to anyone, that one of the ways of combating this situation was to reprint and print the Greek patristic and theological heritage. However, the Ottoman authorities did not want to allow the Greeks to form functional printing presses on their territories. Thus the idea of Theophanes and others was to build printing presses for the Greeks in Russia, and at the same time to promote Greek studies in Russia itself, by sending Greek teachers and educators to Russia. In this period there was a printing press established in Iasi and in Bucharest, which was also supported by the local rulers.

The relationship between Russians and Greeks was intensifying later on, after the seventeenth century, perhaps the only obstacle in this context being, that the Russians now and then entered into conflicts with the Ottomans. Undoubtedly, due to the increasingly larger numbers of Russians arriving in Palestine and the increasing economic strength of Russians the relationship with the Orient was undergoing various phases. The number of Russians willing to travel to Palestine and the south was gradually increasing, just as conditions of travel improved. This new intensive contact seems to have brought into the fore a latent cultural antagonism between Russians and Greeks (which was there even before in this regard but not to such an extent). In terms of mentality there was a gulf between the Russian and Greeks which projected itself into a situation of cultural delineation. The Russians began to build their own identity *vis a vis* the Greeks.² The mutual issues

¹ See РГАДА Г. 52 Оп.2. Но.215; Ф.52.Оп.2.но 229. Cited in: Б.Л. Фонкич, Попытка создания греческой типографии в москве в конце XVII в., in: *Россия и Христианский Восток*, выпуск II-III, editors С.Н. Кистерев, Д.Н. Рамазанова, Б.Л. Фонкич, Д. А. Яламас Индрик, Москва, 2004, 465-471, here, 465.

² Ibid. 431.

where surely indicative of a superficial mutual understanding than of a more substantial character, but they did increase antagonism. The Greeks (understandably given their dire economic situation) saw in the Russians wealthy patrons and customers. This had projected itself into the business of relic selling and unsurprisingly relic fabrication and falsification by some merchants and others all along the pilgrim route.

2e Antioch

The relationship between the Russian Church and the Patriarchate of Antioch is not well documented before the period of the seventeenth century.¹ An interesting anecdotal fact is that one of the Latin patriarchs of Antioch was the Czech (named Václav Gerardův z Buřenic “králík” rabbit 1397). Of course, sooner or later the Patriarchate of Antioch had to understand the potential that Russia offered in terms of assistance. In the sixteenth century the emissaries of the Sinai monastery of Saint Catherine the *startsi* Joseph and Malachiy who came to Moscow in January 1558 to ask for money also informed the locals, that the Patriarchate of Antioch is in a bad financial situation.²

In September of 1558 Ivan IV sent a huge amount of money with the Sophia emissary the archdeacon Gennadios and the merchant Vasiliiy Pozdnyakov (Василий Поздняков). One of the beneficiaries of this was the Patriarch of Antioch Ioachim ibn Dzuma (1543/4-1576) and he received a decree which is the first of its kind in term of Russian-Antiochian relations.³ "To the most Holy Patriarch Joakim, of the great

¹ See in this regard *The Travels of Macarius: Patriarch of Antioch, Paul of Aleppo*, Archdeacon, 1836, <https://archive.org/details/travelsmacarius01pauluoft>.

² See Муравьев А. Н., *Сношения России с Востоком по делам церковным*, Санкт Петербург, ч.1, 1858, 88-94.

³ "Святейшему патриаху Иоакиму великого града Антиохия, пастырю и учителю православных велений. Слышали есмя от иноков Синайские горы бываемые тебе скорби и тесноты от насилования турского. И жалея ваша скорби, послал есми к тебе с архидьяконом софейским Генадьем шубу бархат на соболях, да рухлядь на двесте золотых угорских. И ты б молил Господа Бога и пречистую Его Матерь и всех святых о мне и о моей царице Анастасие и о наших детех царевичех Иоанне и Феодоре и о всем православном христианстве, и чтоб господь Бог царство наше сохранил от враг непоколебимо. А ошедших к Богу отца нашего великого великого государя Василия и мать нашу великую княгиню Елену написал их во вседневный синодик и поминати их велел во вседневных службах. Cited in Панченко К.,А., *Россия и Антиохийский Патриархат: Начало диалога (середина XVI – первая половина XVII в.)*, Cited in pgs. 203-221. in: *Россия и Христианский Восток*,

city of Antioch, the pastor and teacher of orthodox people (велений). From the monks of Sinai I have learned of your sadness and strained circumstances from the Turkish violence. Feeling pity for your sadness I have sent to you with the Sophia archdeacon Gennadius sable furs/velvet, (шубу бархат на соболях) and other "stuff" worth two hundred Hungarian gold pieces (да рухлядь на двесте золотых угорских). And so that you will pray to the Holy Mother of God and all the saints about me and my empress Anastasia, and about our children the tsarevich Ioann and Feodor and about the entire orthodox world, and so that God would firmly preserve our kingdom from its enemies. I have also ordered that in the every day *synodicon* and in the everyday services be commemorated those who left us to God, our father the great *rocydap* Vasiliy and our mother the great *knyagina* Elena. So that you would convey Your blessing to us through the archdeacon Genadiy. This was written in our realms (?) the court of the city of Moscow in the summer of 7067 in the month of September".¹

Triphon Korobeynikov (Трифон Коробейников) came back from the new Patriarch of Antioch, Joakim ibn Ziyade (1593-1604- Joakim VI) with a letter giving thanks for the support. This was a period when the Russians were giving much to the southern colleagues perhaps as a way of thanking for the support given to the Russian election of Job (Иов).

As Панченко correctly observes, the money sent was relatively much lower than to other Patriarchates or even monasteries.² In his reply, Patriarch Joakim mentioned a monastery and an icon of the Mother of God related to the type made by the apostle Luke and that this icon is miraculously producing holy oil. According to Joakim, the monastery was located below Damascus. Perhaps he was speaking about the monastery in Saydnaya, where there is a miraculous icon of the Mother of God reportedly painted by the apostle Luke himself. The area generally is rich in churches and monasteries, and was an important place for pilgrims. The patriarch asked for support. Here we see a typical and clever manoeuvre, appealing to the Russian respect

выпуск II-III, editors С.Н. Кистерев, Д.Н. Рамазанова, Б.Л. Фонкич, Д. А. Яламас Индрик, Москва, 2004, 203-221, here 204.

¹ РГАДА, Ф.52. Оп.1.Кн.1.Л. 142-143 об. Ibid.

² Ibid.

towards miraculous relics and icons especially towards the Mother of God.

Among the surviving testimonies of visits from the Patriarchate of Antioch we can mention the Archimandrite Isaiah and his deacon who came from Antioch in 1584 and the visit of Joachim Day who was the first Patriarch of Antioch to come to Russia (in 1586). Joachim Day (former metropolitan of Tripolis Dorotheos), was involved in a conflict over his Patriarchate and there was some controversy. He was also accompanied by metropolitan Isa, who apparently wrote a poem about Russia, which was popular in the Arab east (now lost). Metropolitan Isa is mentioned in the Travels of Makarios Patriarch of Antioch, as among other things predicting the fall of the Tartars, who will be destroyed by the Russians in defence of the Christians.¹

Paul of Aleppo offers us an account of the journey of the Patriarch of Antioch Makarios (Alprox or Beit Azzaim 1648-1672) to Moscow. Makarios visited Russia two times (1654-1657 and 1666-1668) during the Tsar Alexey Michaylovich. Pavel of Aleppo was an Archdeacon and son of the Patriarch (died 1699).

Interestingly, Paul of Aleppo, states that after it was enquired as to why do the Russians not take a more active role in destroying the Tatars, it was stated that the Tsar is afraid of engaging this issue on a more grander scale, because he is afraid that the treacherous Poles would invade, once the Tsar would enter battle with the Tartars.² In any event the account of Paul of Aleppo, the son of Macarius the Patriarch of Antioch is an interesting account of how the Antiochians saw Russia, which they visited due to the dire financial situation of the Patriarchate of Antioch.

Macarius visited Russia twice (the second time he was accompanied by the Patriarch of Alexandria Paisiy) and the fact that he was respected there, is displayed by the fact that he was asked to assist during the crisis surrounding the Patriarch Nikon. His first trip took place in 1652 to 1659. The account describes how the mass is performed with incredible reverence and it is obvious that the Antiochians admire the Russian liturgical and spiritual tradition. "The mass in this country

¹ Paul of Aleppo, *Travels of Macarius*, trans. F.C. Belfour, London, vol. 2, 1836, 70.

² Ibid.

is performed with all possible reverence, awe, and veneration...."¹ Further: "The officers of the bishopric, from every Priest newly ordained, received a dman, for the Episcopal Treasury and so from every person desiring to be married they took a piaster for the marriage-certificate, and for entering his name then register. This is an excellent regulation, for thus no one dares to take a wife, throughout the whole jurisdiction of the bishopric, but by then permission. They exercise a very great severity in regard to the seven degrees of consanguinity; not allowing that promiscuous intercourse prevalent among the Wallachians and Modavians, who copulate like brute beasts and in every part of Muscovy this discipline is observed."²

The account of Paul of Aleppo indicates to us the issues which plagued the Patriarchate of Antioch throughout its history. Just as the Patriarchate of Constantinople, the Patriarchate of Antioch was plagued with issues of simony, bribery etc. Large sums of money had to be brought in when a new Patriarch was to be elected. The Synod of Ras Baalbek (June 1628) treated this issue among other things.³

The Journey further speaks of the passage from the land of the Cossacks, where after the appearance of the *heytman* Chmelya (Хмеля) there are wars and consequently many orphans. The account notes, that in the land of the Cossacks, almost all were able to read including women and girls. Everybody was well versed in liturgical rules. It states, that the local priests where specific black dresses, and in church and in front of the bishop the priests do not have their heads covered. The liturgical services are admired, and the visitors are fascinated by the long length of the services, where *ektenias* are very long and sung for a long time.

They came to a city called Lisinka (Лисинка/Лисянка) close to which there was the army of the Chmelya (Хмеля) *heytman* Zinovio (Зиновию). Every household has around ten children with white hair, the land is full of delightful things and is very rich in every resource. In the city of Boguslafi (Богуслафи /Богуслав) the Patriarch met Chmelnitskiy who came down from his horse, wore simple weaponry,

¹ Paul of Aleppo, *Travels of Macarius*, trans. F.C. Belfour, London, vol. 2, 1836, 312.

² *Ibid.*, 317.

³ Raheb Abdallah, *Conception of the Union in the Orthodox Patriarchate of Antioch (1622-1672)*, Beirut, 1981, 26.

kissed the hand of the Patriarch, two times the clothes of the Patriarch and the cross. Chmelnitsky is described as a humble person full of devotion. The Patriarch presented supplications of the Walachian nobility and the Moldavian nobility that Chmelntisky does not bother them with an invasion. The Patriarch conveyed their requests. Chmel-nitsky promised he would not attack them, and stated that he will fuilll any wish of the Patriarch. They gave him a stone from Golgotha with a drop of the blood of Christ, further they gave him *myro*, various foodstuffs, including coffee. They drank hot vodka. In Kiev high quality masters and artisans are mentioned.¹

Coinciding with this period there was increasing pressure from the Roman Catholic missionaries in the territory of Antioch. In 1625 Missionaries from the Touraine Capouchins arrived in Aleppo and founded a monastery there.² The Franciscans where installed in Allepo already in 1571. It is necessary to remark, that there were also internal battles and divisions among the Roman Catholic orders in the Middle East. The Franciscan Adrian of Barbantia for example, denounced two Jesuit missionaries who came to Allepo, to the Ottoman authorities.³

Later the contacts between Russia and Antioch continued, but they were usually based on issues of money since the Antiochians were constantly plagued by debts (As for example the letter sent by Ignatius III Atiyah patriarch in 1619-1634).

2f Cyprus, Sinai

Throughout the medieval period and later, the island of Cyprus was also very important in terms of Christian politics and influence in the Mediterranean. Russian chronicles mentioned Cyprus in 1366 in the context of a victory of the famous Peter I Lusignan, where he managed to take the city of Alexandria in Egypt (1365).⁴ Cypriots where present throughout the Christian East and in all the Eastern Patriarchates. There is a well known letter of the Cypriot priest Nikephoros Xenakios testi-

¹ See also Муркос Г. А., *Путешествие Антиохийского Патриарха Макария в Россию в половине XVII века описанное его сыном архидиаконом Павлом Алеппским*, Москва, 1900.

² Ibid.

³ Ibid.

⁴ See Никоновская летопись, том. 9, 7 Полное собрание Русских летописей, and Троицкая летопись, реконструкция текста, Прищёлков М. Д., , Ленинград, 1950, 382-383.

fying to the presence of Cypriots in Russia.¹ It was written on the 27th of February 1623 in Yaroslavl. The letter is a complaint about the unfair incarceration of Nikefor with his fellow Cypriot George and is addressed most probably to Ioannikos the Greek, whom we mentioned, and who was the Cellarer of the Novospaskiy monastery.² He was previously the Cellarer of the Holy Sepulchre and came with the Patriarch of Jerusalem and remained in Moscow where he had a large influence and was the friend of Tsar Michail Fedorovich and the Patriarch Philaret. Ioannikos the Greek (died in Moscow between 1631 and 1632) was an important supplicatory for various Greeks who found themselves in Russia.

Regardless of its relatively small size the Church or monastery of Sinai, developed links with Russia, links which seemed to have intensified at the end of the seventeenth century.³ The Sinai monastery further had a lot of dependencies and other agencies all around and it seems that the monks where experienced collectors of funds. The contacts with Russia had already began in 1519, when there was for the first time a delegation coming to Russia asking for alms.⁴ Then there is another one which came in 1558. In February 1687, there was also a delegation of Sinai monks who came to Russia.

As Kapterev indicates, a rather comical situation emerged when in 1623 the Sinai metropolitan Jeremias, came to Moscow with the recommendations of the Patriarch of Jerusalem Theophanes. He received much funds, but apparently as Kapterev notes, wanted to gain even more. So he devised a story that he had a dream with Sergey of

¹ The letter of Nikeforos is located in the RGADA Российский государственный архив древних актов, Фонд Сношения России с Грецией, (фонд 52, оп. 2, но. 11). Published also in in Б.Л. Фонкич, Кипрский священник в ярославле и москве, Из истории Кипрско-Русских отношений в первой четверти XVII в, editors С.Н. Кистерев, Д.Н. Рамазанова, Б.Л. Фонкич, Д. А. Яламас, in: *Россия и Христианский Восток*, выпуск II-III, Индрик, Москва, 2004, 238-247.

² Ibid. 238.

³ A comprehensive edition of the history of the Sinai monastery is located in Бенешевич В. Н., *Памятники Синая археологические и палеографические*, Вып. 1. Ленинград, 1925.

⁴ Каптерев, Н. Ф., *Русская благотворительность Синайской обители в XVI, XVII, и XVIII столетиях*, Москва, 1881, in: *Чтение в обществе любителей духовного просвещения*, Октябрь-ноябрь, Москва, 1870, 6.

Radonezh who appeared to him as a bishop (this was obviously a lie, since Sergey of Radonezh was not a bishop).

His misfortunes where further increased since there where witnesses that stated, that he was deposed and that he went to Rome and served with the Pope. This was awkward, since he had the recommendations of the Patriarch of Jerusalem and the Russians did not know what to think of this. He then stated, that he was unfairly treated by the Patriarch of Constantinople, since he was formerly a Metropolitan of Rhodos and the Patriarch of Constantinople wanted to extort money from him so he decided to go to Sinai. He also travelled to India to gain some money bequeathed to the monastery by some rich person. Then he stated, that he was to collect money from Roman Catholic figures in Spain and in Italy. However, his fellow colleagues accused him of lying since it was forbidden to gather money for the monastery from Roman Catholics. As Kapterev notes, this episode then resulted in the incredible doubts, that the Tsar and Patriarch developed in terms of whom to trust, since obviously Jeremias had the recommendations of the Patriarch of Jerusalem..¹

The importance of the year 1687 cannot also be underestimated, since in this year the Archbishop Ananeus of Sinai came up with a project of transferring the Sinai monastery to the direct care of Russia.² The transferal of the monastery to the jurisdiction of the Patriarchate of Moscow surprisingly met with opposition from the Patriarchate of Jerusalem. In any case in the year 1689 a precious gift was sent from Russia in the form of a silver coffin for the martyr Catherine the Great. It appears, that there were some fears in the seventeenth century of the monastery being subjected to Roman Catholic influences. This is stated in one of the letters of Ananias "Please consider spilling mercy on us, and bless the possibility of taking our monastery into your custody, and

¹ Каптерев, Н. Ф., Русская благотворительность Синайской обители, 7-9.

² Ibid. It is necessary to state, that some doubts about the full transferral of the monastery to the Russian jurisdiction have been justly raised, especially based on the rereading of the available documents. See Пятницкий, Ю. А., Жалованная грамота 1689 г., Монастырю Св. Екатерины на Синае, in: *Россия и Христианский Восток*, editors С.Н. Кистерев, Д.Н. Рамазанова, Б.Л. Фонкич, Д. А. Яламас, выпуск II-III, Индрик, Москва, 2004, 434-450.

do not let this Holy Site to be transferred due to poverty into the hands of the Romans..."¹

2g Schools and theology

The fall of Constantinople meant, that the schooling system and higher education for the Byzantine Orthodox Christian world was virtually destroyed. This problem related to higher education became increasingly apparent in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. The various Eastern patriarchates, which relied on the educational facilities in Constantinople for the training of their priests, and all other teachers found themselves in a precarious situation. The various Eastern patriarchates had their own institutions of education, but their quality fluctuated according to the conditions set by the Ottomans.

The Reformation and Counter Reformation resulted in the fact, that in the West, partly thanks to the Jesuits, a new and very successful form of education was introduced. This was of course combined with a renaissance of the arts and education which was partly stimulated by migrants from Byzantium to the West. However, just as in the west education was improving in the same degree education was declining in the East. The problem was even more complex in Russia, which had to develop its own educational system in this period, and the Russians were caught in the middle of western and eastern influences. The authorities in Russia realised the potential of new western models of education, but where at the same time aware that these in terms of the Jesuit context carried with them dangers related to theological ideology of the west, which Russia was not obviously prepared to subscribe to.

The problems increased in the Near East in the sixteenth century and especially in the seventeenth century since, the decreasing level of education available in the Eastern Patriarchates, coincided with a well prepared and aggressive onslaught of western missionary activity, which obviously realised the potential of education in the area. The Easterners where caught unprepared, demoralised and this was

¹ "Пожалуйте, излейте на нас милосердие, благословите нашу святую обитель взять в свое государское попечение, и не дайте той святой и православной обители от скудости прийти в римские руки, потому если мы, государи, от великое скудости прийти в римские руки,..." Каптерев, Н. Ф., Русская благотворительность Синайской обители в XVI, XVII, и XVIII столетиях, Москва, 1881, in: *Чтение в обществе любителей духовного просвещения*, Октябрь-ноябрь, Москва, 1870, 8.

coupled with the incredible problem of not having even printing presses and other facilities.

In Russia, there was an explosion of schooling in the eighteenth century, which as Вознесенская argues, meant the emergence of everything possible from diocesan grammar schools close to the archbishopric houses, Latin Jesuit schools, German schools, medical schools, navigational schools, and later academies. Until then the Moscow Slavic-Greek-Latin Academy/ Славяно-Греко-латинская Академия was dominating.¹

It is important to note in this context, that it was Peter the Great, who established or reformed theological higher education in Russia, in the form of Spiritual Academies *Duchovnoe akademie* a special form higher theological institute. In any case it is obvious, that in the period of Peter the Great and later the Church was instrumental in providing supervisions and substance in education. In terms of the Moscow Slavic-Greek-Latin Academy (Славяно-Греко-латинская Академия) the report from 1722 demonstrates that among the Aristocracy, academic education was not so popular. The rector of the school Gedeon Grembetskiy (Гедеон Грембецкий), offers us a realistic assessment of the talents of the aristocratic pupils after six years of study. "After six years of study, the rector Gedeon Grembetskiy summarised, that some had dropped out on their own accord, some turned out to be dumb, and even though some had reached the school of rhetorics, they still were untalented in philosophy or theology, and some desired the service in the Imperial administration since they have reached the required age".²

The tendency to find some middle ground in educational possibilities is shown around 1576 when under the patronage of *knyaz* Konstantin Konstantinovich Ostrozhskiy a school was established in western Russia, which was called "The Ostrozh Greek-Slavic-Latin college for the education and bringing up of many pupils" (Острожская

¹ Вознесенская Н. А., Московская Славяно-Греко-Латинская Академия в Первой Трети XVIII в., in: *Россия и Христианский Восток*, выпуск II-III, editors С.Н. Кистерев, Д.Н. Рамазанова, Б.Л. Фонкич, Д. А. Яламас, Индрик, Москва, 2004, 518-524, here 518.

² „Через 6 лет обучения ректор Гедеон Грембецкий сообщал, что "некоторые самовольно отстали, а иные явились тупы, и хотя из них некоторые достигли школы риторики, обаче и к философии и к богословию не могут быть угодны, иные же сами требуют императорской службы понеже лета довольные", *ibid*, 520.

греко-славяно-латинская коллегия для воспитания и образования многих ученых). It was one of the first schools in this area which combined the tri-lingual Erasmus of Rotterdam model and attempted to find a middle ground between the western and eastern models. Ostrozhskiy is associated with wars in Volyn, and the Poles accused him of attacking Uniate and Roman Catholic leaders.¹ Ostrozhskiy just as many figures of his period initially speculated about supporting Unionist tendencies. Just as he so the schools of this period attempted to find compromises.

Local brotherhoods of believers where also instrumental in founding schools. This brotherhood schools where famous and partly reacted to the incapability of ecclesial institutions in providing a high quality education. Similar institutions where founded in Lvov organised by the local brotherhood. The schools could have functioned as centres of national enlightenment for the Ukrainians. The Lvov brotherhood school was a successful instution and people like the Alexandrian Patriarch Cyril Lukaris wrote a letter to the brotherhood in 1614 emphasising the important role of music in education.²

One of the most important events in the relationship between Russia and the Greek environment was the call to establish a Greek-Slavic school in Moscow in 1630. The Tsar Michail Fedorovich and the Patriarch Philaret sent a letter to the patriarch Cyril Lukaris in 1632, through the agency of the archimandrite Amphilochiy who was the political agent of Russia in the Balkans.³ Coinciding with this request the priest/monk Joseph came to Moscow in the same year (he was designated as a monk from Mt. Athos and the *protosynkellos* of the Patriarch of Alexandria).⁴ He visited Russia previously and from one reason or another was immediately involved in the project of this

¹ Gordon, L, *Cossack Rebellions*, New York University press, 1983, 173.

² See Ю.Э. Шустова, Школа львовского успенского ствропигийского братства в конце XVI- начале XVII в.: взаимодействие греко-славянских культурных традиций in: *Россия и Христианский Восток*, выпуск II-III, editors С.Н. Кистерев, Д.Н. Рамазанова, Б.Л. Фонкич, Д. А. Яламас, Индрик, Москва, 2004, 163-185.

³ Фонкич Б.Л., Греко-Славянские Школы в Москве в XVII веке, Языки славянских культур, in: *Россия и Христианский Восток*, вып. 7, editors С.Н. Кистерев, Д.Н. Рамазанова, Б.Л. Фонкич, Д. А. Яламас. Индрик, Москва, 2009, 100-163.

⁴ Фонкич has argued, that in reality he was of Slavic origin born in the Ukraine, but with an excellent command of the Greek language. Ibid. 13.

school. He was to teach children Greek and translate Greek books into Slavic with a particular interest in those which describe the Latin heresies. Needless to say this request has to do with the emerging danger of the various Latin theological influences and the Latin propaganda as such. The Russians quickly realised the need for a greater cooperation with the Greek areas and their role in this new "spiritual battle". Cyril Lukaris later sent the anti-latin work of Gennadios Scholarios, the book *Varinos* and three books of Meletius Pigas. The books were obviously well aimed, since Meletius Pigas, who was the Patriarch of Alexandria (1590-1601) was a staunch anti-catholic author and among other things desired a full union between the Coptic and the Greek Orthodox Church.¹

The anti-Latin educational movement was becoming all the more acute, since at the end of the seventeenth century, the Patriarchate of Jerusalem, lost much of its control over the most important Christian sites in Palestine due to the pressure and propaganda of the Western powers and their pressure on the Ottomans, who in order to comply to this pressure decided to limit the power of the Greek Orthodox Patriarchate over these sites. Thus the establishing of printing presses and schools was one of the essential ways of combating increasing Latin pressure.

In 1681 a middle school was opened and in 1685 an Academy was opened (The Slavonic-Greek-Latin Academy). In the academy subjects were taught in Greek but also in Latin a fact that would later be important. An important figure in terms of the earlier "typographical" school was Timofey the Greek (Тимофей "Грек"). His name is associated with the period after 1658, when Nikon left the Patriarchate and there were efforts to calm down the situation. He was a Russian, who knew Greek well and stayed in the south for extensive periods of

¹ Τσωγα Β., Χ., *Μελετιος Πηγας, (1550-1601), Πατριάρχης Αλεξανδρείας, Βιος, Δραση, Εργογραφία, Καποδιστριακό πανεπιστήμιο Αθήνα, 2009.* Dissertation. Compare Μελετιος Πηγας: Στρώματεύς, Του μακαριωτάτου πάπα της μεγάλης Αλεξανδρείας κυρίου Μελετίου λόγος περί του τίς εστιν η αληθής καθολική Εκκλησία και ποία εστίν η γνησία και αληθής κεφαλή αυτής και κατά της αρχής του πάπα της Ρώμης εκφωνηθείς προς τόν αγιώτατον Σύλβεστρον τόν προκάτοχον και γέροντα αυτού.

time. He was a trusted person by the Patriarch of Jerusalem Dositheos.¹ He was the one who informed the Tsars such as Theodore Alexeyevich about the bad situation of the Christians in the Holy Land and its vicinity.

2h Theological controversies

The seventeenth century was a period of intense theological controversies and not only in terms of the Roman Catholic-Orthodox-protestant environments, but also in the Orthodox Church itself. Thus for example, in the seventeenth century there was the heresy called the "bread revering" heresy (хлебопоклонная ересь). Some of the students of the Greek-Latin Academy where involved in the theological debates and translated some important anti-Latin tractates, such as the work *Akos* of the Lichud brothers (Ioannikos Lichud died in 1717 and Sophronios Lichud died in 1730).

The Greek Lichud brothers where sent to Moscow to teach by the Metropolitan Dositheos in order to combat what was perceived to be the nascent heretical leanings of the situation in Kiev. In 1690, they wrote an interesting work, called the *Spiritual Sword* (Мечец Духовный, Ἐγχειρίδιον πνευματικόν). The work was also produced within the context of the discussions with Jesuits that the brothers hand on their way to Russia.²

The polemics against the Calvinist, Roman Catholic and other forms of Protestantism where dominating the period and there were some notable figures who were involved in these controversies. As we have implied, Dositheos who was an important figure of the period, and the Patriarch of Jerusalem (died in 1707) was also involved in the issues. His polemics against the teaching of Calvin and the Roman Catholics, are interesting in their own right, since he often used terms from Roman Catholic theology to combat Latin heresies and Calvinistic heresies (his ideas where in conformity with the doctrines set about in the council of

¹ Фонкич Б.Л., Греко-Славянские Школы в Москве в XVII веке, Языки славянских культур, in: *Россия и Христианский Восток*, вып. 7, editors С.Н. Кистерев, Д.Н. Рамазанова, Б.Л. Фонкич, Д. А. Яламас. Индрик, Москва, 2009, 100-163, here 103.

² See Смельовский А. Лихуды и направления теории словесности в их школе, in: *Журнал министерства народного просвещения*, ч 45, отд. V, Санкт Петербургъ 1845, 31-96.

Trent). His work “Confessions” (Ἐγχειρίδιον) was accepted by the council of Jerusalem in 1672.

From the Greek theologians and figures another important person of the period, is Ioannis Kariofilis, (Ιωάννης Καρυφύλλης, born around 1600)¹, who together with other figures such as Gabriel Seviros (Γαβριήλ Σεβήρος), Maximos Margounios (Μάξιμος Μαργούνιος), Meletios Pigas (Μελέτιος Πηγάς), Kirilos Loukaris (Κύριλλος Λούκαρης), Mitrofanis Kritopoulos (Μητροφάνης Κριτόπουλος, we are sure of his dates 1623-1627 in terms of his involvement with Cyril Lukaris), where involved in dogmatical issues of the Greek Orthodox Church in relation to Calvinism, Protestantism and the Roman Catholic Church.

Apart from theological controversies generally, Ioannis Kariofilis was well known as a person related to Russian Greek relations in the context of the theological controversies surrounding the Nikon reforms. In terms of theology Ioannis Kariofilis argued against the Roman Catholic doctrine of transubstatio (μετουσίωσης). The seventeenth century in Constantinople was not only interesting in relation to the Greek-Russian relationships, but also in terms of the relationships between the Roman Catholics, Anglicans and other forms of Protestantism, who were represented in Constantinople itself, with their representatives, embassy staff and other figures.

People like Mitrofanis Kritopoulos faced serious pressure from German theologians who claimed that unity with Orthodoxy is possible. The well-known figure of Cyril Lukaris is associated with battles against the Roman Catholics in terms of the doctrine of the papacy and other doctrines. In terms of Cyril Lukaris there is some controversy in relation to his leanings towards Calvinism or Protestantism (whether he was the author of the pro-Calvinist work *Confessions* remains a question). Cyril Lukaris studied in the west and was sent to the council of Brest.

The important figure Meletios Syrigos (1585-1664) wrote a letter from Constantinople (15 December 1644, old calendar) to the Moscow Tsar. Here he states, that he composed a book in Iasi with the metropolitan of Kiev about heretics and argued against Calvinist doctrines.

¹ Ιωάννης Καρυφύλλης, Χρυσόστομος, αρχιεπίσκοπος Αθηνών και πάσης Ελλάδος (Χρυσοστόμου Α. Παπαδοπούλου), Βιβλιοθήκη εκκλησιαστικού Φάρος, Αλεξανδρεία, 1918.

He was originally from Crete and studied maths and literature in Italy and was condemned in Venice. He was part of the synod in Iasi, which examined the profession of faith by Lukaris. He also composed a service for the saint Makarios of Kios, who was martyred in Russia in 1590.

2i Middlemen

After the fall of Constantinople, migrants from Byzantium spread all over Europe. Intellectuals from Byzantium were seminal in establishing the renaissance mode of thought in Western Europe. Italy was closer than Russia for these intellectuals, and perhaps this geographical and cultural proximity resulted in the popularity of this destination for the migrants from Constantinople. We here dramatic stories of how aristocrats and others fled from Constantinople after its fall, and of the constant betrayals and in-fighting among the Byzantine ranks before the fall.¹

In terms of Russia we have indications of many figures, who worked in Russia and who originated from Byzantium. Thus for example, there is John Paleologos Rhallis (Ralev), who came to Russia in 1485, and his two sons Manuel and Demetrios the doctor, who were employed in the diplomatic core of Ivan III in Western courts.² Other nobleman and diplomats included Theodoros Lascaris, and his son Demetrios who came to Russia in 1495 and served as diplomats. Then there was Andreas Tarchaniotes, an astronomer and doctor, and his relative Yuri or George Tarchaniotes, who was very active and in the service of the father of Sophia Thomas Palaiologos. This Yuri accompanied princess Sophia to Russia and just as for example others such as Manuel Doxas, was commissioned to seek artisans and craftsmen to come to Russia.³

The role of middlemen was an important one especially after the fall of Constantinople and their careers, which saw them moving between the Ottomans, Russians and Byzantines was an interesting one in its own right. In relation to the period, an interesting example of a career middleman is offered by the figure of Foma Cantacuzene

¹ See Necipoğlu Nevra, *Byzantium between the Ottomans and the Latins*, Cambridge, 2009.

² Medlin W., K., Patrinelis, C. G., *Renaissance Influences, and Religious Reforms in Russia*, Geneve, 1971, 43.

³ Ibid.

(Фома Кантакузин). The career of Foma Cantacuzene, was not a typical career for a member of a subjugated nation but developed out of the desire of the Ottomans to approach the Russian Empire and improve relations.¹ It also coincided with the new fresh impetus which developed in the Patriarchate of Constantinople itself, which was embodied by the Patriarch Cyril Lukaris (1620-1638), who was confronted by the dangers of Roman Catholic expansionism and Protestant aggressiveness. A possible Russian-Ottoman alliance against Poland seemed like a good idea to the Patriarch.²

The name of Foma Cantacuzene for the first time emerges in the spring of 1621, on the 21st of April 1621, when the French ambassador de Sezi told his government that the Great Vizier being frightened at the prospect of the closer ties between Poland and Russia, listening to the advice of a Dutch ambassador and the Patriarch Cyril Lukaris, decided to send to Moscow an ambassador offering alliance.³ He is described as of being from Pera and of noble birth. The Russian sources of the thirties of the XVII century speak of his brother Yuriy (Юрий),⁴ in the Russian context called Юрием Константиновичем Кантакузинным. His words about his ancestors were recorded in the Embassy orders in 1620.⁵ He named his grandfather as Alexander Shaytan oglu (Son of Satan). This nickname was known as the nickname of the very rich person Michael Cantacuzene, who was punished by the Osman's in 1568 and his wealth confiscated. Earlier, good policy regarding marriages, which included most probably his son Alexander, which meant marriage to good noble families helped the Cantacuzenes to gain great influence in the two

¹ Б. Н. Флоря, Фома Кантакузин и его роль в развитии Русско-османских Отношений в 20-30-х гг. XVII в. in: *Россия и Христианский Восток*, выпуск II-III, editors С.Н. Кистерев, Д.Н. Рамазанова, Б.Л. Фонкич, Д. А. Яламас, Индрик, Москва, 2004,, 248-288, here 248.

² See Hering, G. *Ökumenisches Patriarchat und eurapäische Politik (1620-1638)*, Wiesbaden, 1968.

³ See *Акты исторические, относящиеся к России Санкт Петербург*, 1842, том. 2, 413; Б. Н. Флоря, Фома Кантакузин и его роль в развитии Русско-османских Отношений в 20-30-х гг. XVII в. in: *Россия и Христианский Восток*, выпуск II-III, editors С.Н. Кистерев, Д.Н. Рамазанова, Б.Л. Фонкич, Д. А. Яламас, Индрик, Москва, 2004, 248-288, here 250.

⁴ РГАДА, Ф. 89, Сношения России с Турцией, 1632, г. Но. 3. Л., 244; 1635 г. Но. 2. Л.177. Б. Н. Флоря, Ibid.

⁵ РГАДА, Ф. 52. Оп. 1. 1620 г. Но. 2. Л.7. Б. Н. Флоря, Ibid.

Danube realms (Here a bit confusing why Alexander is called son of Satan and not Michael).

The father of Foma and Yuriy, Constantine was "among the rulers" of the Moldavian *voevods* Peter the lame (1577-1591), and Yuriy himself "served... with ten horses" one of his successors- Stephen of Tomsha (1611-1616). It seems, that Foma true to his family tradition also sought to align himself with the Danube principalities. In 1621 he named his father in law the Walachian *voevod* Radu Michnya.¹ Radu Michnya in the second decade of XVII century on many occasions occupied important state posts in both principalities. Radu Michnya was also a friend of Lukaris for many years and his protector that is certainly one of the reasons why Foma Cantacuzene was chosen by the Patriarch.² The historical sources would imply that Foma Cantacuzene quickly proceeded to form another marriage aligning himself with the aristocrats from Danube principalities after the death of his first wife.³

In the middle of the XVI century, Michale Cantacuzene received from the Sultan a monopoly for merchant activities with furs/bags (мехами) with Russia.⁴ His great grandson Yuriy, also maintained relations with Russia. He was furnishing the Russian envoys in Istambul, P. Mansurov and S. Samsonov with money and to regain this money he visited Moscow in the autumn of 1619.⁵ Foma followed the tradition of the family but focused more on embassy type of duties.⁶

While Foma appears in Moscow as an official envoy in 1621, he was possibly present in Russia already in 1608-1610 and was somehow connected to some uncertain Ottoman plans in relation to Imposter Dimitriy Lzhe Dimitrii II (Лжедмитрию) and his movement.⁷

¹ РГАДА, Ф. 89. Кн. 4. Л. 136. Об. О родимцах Ф. Кантакузена в Волошской земле, см. ГРАДА Ф. 89. 1627 г. Но. 1. Л. 424. Б. Н. Флоря, Ibid., 251.

² Jorga N. *Byzance après Byzance*, Bucurest, 1971, 160-161.

³ Б. Н. Флоря, Фома Кантакузин и его роль в развитии Русско-османских Отношений в 20-30-х гг. XVII в. in: *Россия и Христианский Восток*, выпуск II-III, editors С.Н. Кистерев, Д.Н. Рамазанова, Б.Л. Фонкич, Д. А. Яламас, Индрик, Москва, 2004,, 248-288, here 251.

⁴ Jorga N., *Byzance après Byzance*. Bucurest, 1971, 119.

⁵ РГАДА. Ф. 52. Оп. 1. 1620 г. Но. 2. Л.1, 8. Б. Н. Флоря, Ibid. 251.

⁶ Ibid.

⁷ The fact is even more interesting given that the Ottoman vassals such as the Crimean Chanate, was in union with Vasily Shuyskim (Василий Шуйский) and had provided him with military support against the Tushins (Тушинцев). Б. Н. Флоря, Фома

We do not have any letters of Cantacuzene in relation to his embassy work. In the archival *дело дело* however, there is a note stating: "Ask Nikola, if the vizier had in fact issued these decrees, which he carried from Foma" (Спросить Никола, видал ли везир те грамоты, что привез от Фомы".¹ This note makes sense if we realise, that by this time in Moscow they realised that many letters written from the Greek hierarchs were actually written or dictated by the Sultan or the government officials and therefore could not be completely trusted.

An important suggestion by Foma was that the Tsar have a permanent envoy in Istanbul as the French do, which would give certain advantages for commerce, a preposition possibly suggested by the Greek merchants interested in better commercial conditions between Russia and the Ottomans. Thus it was argued, that the French have achieved the goal that those who travel to *Tsargrad*, do not have to pay customs just as the subjects of the Ottoman Empire are liberated from customs who live in France.²

In February 1628 together with Foma Cantacuzene, the Russian envoys S. Yakovlev and P. Evdokimov were sent to Stambul for the confirmation of the mutual agreement between Moscow and the Sultan. There were negotiations from September 1628 to July 1629. The long standing nature of the discussions had to do with internal instability in the Ottoman Empire, and the changing situation. The *kapitan pasha* Hasan was powerful in this context. Foma was also instrumental in the establishment of a contact between Bethlen Gabor and the Russian envoys. On the 10th of November 1628 he suggested to the Russian envoys S. Yakovlev and P. Evdokimov to meet with the ambassador of Bethlen who came to Stambul, M. Toldalagi³.

Another interesting episode is linked with 29 February 1629, when Foma Cantacuzene told the ambassadors, that the Sultan "ordered Kapitan Pasha Hasan on behalf of his request to make a golden crown with expensive stones in the style of previous Greek rulers" (29 февраля 1629 г. Ф. Кантакузин сообщал послам, что султан "приказал... ка-

Кантакузин и его роль в развитии Русско-османских Отношений в 20-30-х гг. XVII в. in: *Россия и Христианский Восток*, выпуск II-III, editors С.Н. Кистерев, Д.Н. Рамазанова, Б.Л. Фонкич, Д. А. Яламас, Индрик, Москва, 2004., 248-288, here 251.

¹ РГАДА. Ф.89. 1624 г. Но. 2. Л.195; Б. Н. Флоря, *Ibid.*, 254.

² РГАДА. Ф. 89. 1627 г. Но. 1. Л. 427-429; Б. Н. Флоря, *Ibid.*, 256.

³ РГАДА, Ф. 89. 1628 г. Но. 3. Л. 127/128. Б. Н. Флоря, *Ibid*, 259.

питан-паше Хасану по его прошению сделать корону золоту с камнем дорогим с прежних греческих великих царей образца"), and to be sent to Tsar Michael. According to his own words to make this crown he bought expensive stones worth "two thousand five hundred *efimkovs*" (на две тысячи пятьсто ефимков).¹ It is possible to see in this another initiative of Foma.

In summer of 1629 Foma Cantacuzene again travels from Istambul as the envoy of the Sultan. The two main issues where that the Ottomans sought support from Russia in relation to the enemy of the Ottomans Iran, and also Poland. There were suggestions of mutual military help. Also there was the issue of the attacks of the Don Cossacks on the Ottoman territory.

It seems, that in his discussions with the Patriarch Philaret (there are five discussions from June 1630)², Foma downplayed the Ottoman request for military assistance against Iran, even though it played a large part in the Ottoman decrees. Thus Foma disobeyed in a way the instructions from his government. On the other hand he overemphasised the preparedness of the Ottomans to attack Poland. Thus for example, on the first debate on the 2nd of June he went beyond the orders of the Sultan in the decree. If the document talked about the march against "the dneprov thieves" (днепровских воров), Cantacuzene talked about expressed the idea that the Sultan is sending military units against "the polish king" (на полского короля) and once the chief of the Ottoman forces Huseyn pasha will take Russian cities, taken by the poles, he will overturn them to "the ruler with all" (государю со всем).³

Foma used all sorts of means to persuade the Russians to declare war on Poland and the fact that this in fact did happen in 1630 was undoubtedly part of the efforts of the diplomat (even if not the sole reason). Foma also protected the Patriarch Lukaris in Moscow regardless of the various heretical accusations against him brought about especially from abroad. Thus the Patriarch Filaret believed in the unsubstantiated nature of the criticisms against Lukaris.⁴

¹ РГАДА. Ф. 89, 1628 г. Но. 3. Л. 178. Б. Н. Флоря, Ibid., 260.

² РГАДА Ф. 89. 1630 г. Но. 1. Л. 111. Б. Н. Флоря, Ibid., 261.

³ РГАДА. Ф. 89. 1630 г. Но. 1. Л. 109-110. Б. Н. Флоря, Ibid.

⁴ РГАДА, Г. 89, 1632 г. Но. 6. Л. 328-330. Б. Н. Флоря, Фома Кантакюзин и его роль в развитии Русско-османских Отношений в 20-30-х гг. XVII в. in: *Россия и Христиан-*

From the Ottoman officials Foma praises *Kapudan pasha* Hasan. Foma also suggested that Russia take care of the military situation on the Don. He was motivated by a desire for more direct commercial possibilities between Greek merchants and Russia (thus avoiding Poland on the route).¹ There were some mutual suspicions and antagonisms between Foma, and the Transylvanian diplomats. Regardless of these problems and other problems Foma faced and the antagonisms, his main goals were accomplished. There are indications that the Russian government representatives including Philaret thought of building a fortress on the Don, which would also motivate the Cossacks from thievery.² However, the Cossacks later refused to fight on the side of the Turks against the Poles and Fomas schemes went to nothing. On the 5th of October 1630, on Fomas journey to Kerch (Керчь) a letter was sent to Foma by Hasan Pasha that he was going to Istanbul for negotiations for peace with the Polish envoy Alexander Pyasechinski (Александр Пясечинский).³ Later on the 3rd of November that in fact peace has been established.⁴

Foma also recommended the services of Zulfikar Agu (Зульфикар-ага) in his discussions with Philaret on the 10th of June 1630, who was converted to Islam at a young age, a "*mozhar* of the Greek faith" (можара греческие веры).⁵ The Russians sent a gift to Zulfikar and he rendered many years of service for the Russians. He rendered valuable information to the Russians which included showing the Russian envoys the plan of the Sultans decree to the Tsar,⁶ and submitted information about the dealings of Husein Aga in 1631 in Lithuania who wanted to achieve peace with Sigismund III.

The career of Foma was linked with the historical period of the negotiations between Poland, Russia and the Ottoman Empire. His desire to find common ground between Russian and the Ottomans in

ский Восток, выпуск II-III, editors С.Н. Кистерев, Д.Н. Рамазанова, Б.Л. Фонкич, Д. А. Яламас, Индрик, Москва, 2004, 248-288, here 261.

¹ Ibid., 264.

² РГАДА, Ф. 89, 1630 г. Но. 2. Л. 222-223. Б. Н. Флоря, Ibid., 267.

³ РГАДА. Ф. 89. 1630 г. Но. 4. Л. 34-35. Б. Н. Флоря, Ibid., 267.

⁴ РГАДА. Ф. 89. 1630 г. Но. 4. Л. 52. Б. Н. Флоря, Ibid., 267.

⁵ РГАДА, Ф. 89, 1630, г. Но. 1. Л. 159. РГАДА. Ф. 89. 1630 г. Но. 4. Л. 34-35. Б. Н. Флоря, Ibid., 269.

⁶ РГАДА Ф. 89. 1630 г. Но.4. Л.181, Ibid.

the end failed, but it is an interesting testimony of Russian Ottoman relations and the role of mediators. The enmity with Poland was ironically an occasion or possibility for closer ties between the Ottoman Empire and Russia an alliance, which seems to have been doomed by the peace made around the river Polyanovka (village Semlevo) between Russia and Poland. The Ottomans were further occupied with Iran.

3 The period of the *Raskol* and Eastern Patriarchates

As we have indicated, the seventeenth century was marked with theological controversies related to the Lutherans and Calvins but also as traditionally to the Roman Catholics. The period was marked by endless depositions and scandals in the Patriarchate of Constantinople. It is in fact a crucial period, which gives us much insight into the mentality and realities of the post-Byzantine situation of Eastern Christendom. The religious confusion and various influences led in the end also to religious turmoil in Russia itself, with the reforms linked to the Patriarch Nikon.

It is important to state, that these reforms of Nikon were also partly developed as a response to the perceived Latin influences in the Russian Church. Further, the idea of liturgical and spiritual reform in Russia, was obviously linked to a new and greater necessity of intensive contacts and influences with the south and the Eastern Patriarchates. From the seventeenth century onwards, the Eastern Patriarchates needed the assistance of Russia more and more and the Russians given the influences of the West had to sort out their own theological and ecclesial position. This of course in a way provided a new network for pilgrimage.

3a Patriarchs of Constantinople

The period of the seventeenth century was a point where the full brutality of the Ottoman realities towards the Eastern Christian leadership was exemplified. For example, Patriarch Cyril II (Kontaris) was deposed and sent to exile on the island of Tenedos (11 October 1633) only to return again later as Patriarch in March 1635 and then again being sent to exile to Rhodos in June 1636. Patriarch Cyril II was executed by hanging on June 24th in 1640 after refusing to save his life by converting to Islam. Dionysios Metropolitan of Larissa (1593-1601) was skinned alive in 1611 for allegedly instigating a rebellion. Gabriel II was killed after he was accused of baptising a muslim child and refused to reject his faith and was killed in 1657.

Generally, more research has to be done in relation to the everyday life of the Orthodox Church in the lands occupied by the Ottoman rule. In some cases the Orthodox administration, on the level of lower clergy

functioned more or less uninterrupted by the Ottoman leadership. For example, the town of Serres in Greece itself was conquered already in 1383 by the Ottomans and more or less ten years after the conquest saw its ecclesial administration fully restored. Or we can mention the case of Crete, which was more or less ecclesially "liberated" by the Ottomans after centuries of Latin rule and this enabled the Orthodox Church to establish their own hierarchy on the island, which was not permitted by the Latins previously.¹

In-fighting in the Patriarchate of Constantinople itself was growing. There were conflicts between Metropolitans and one of them even converted to Islam. It seems, that political problems inside the Ottoman state were usually followed by problems for Christians. The Metropolitan of Nazaret Gabriel in his report to Alexey Michailovich stated that when he came to Constantinople on the 24th of November 1716, he saw a bad mood among the Busurmans (Muslims living in a Christian majority) and Christians. The Busurmans killed the old empress and some people in the Rulers house. They also started fighting amongst each other. There were conflicts between the Metropolitans and mutual denunciations to the Islamic authorities.

Much of this material of the life in the Ottoman capital reached Moscow and we have information also from Russian sources. The former Metropolitan of Rhodos who aligned himself with the Muslims brought forward many accusations against the Patriarchs of Jerusalem, Constantinople and others.² Further the Russian archives inform us, that more information would be forthcoming from the spiritual son of this Metropolitan, the Greek Isaiah Eustafiev (Исаия Евстафьевъ).³

The Russian sources indicate further, that the Metropolitan of Chalcedon Gabriel wrote about the death of Parthenios and that his

¹ Zachariadou E. A., *Glances at the Greek Orthodox Priests in the Seventeenth Century*, in: *Living in the Ottoman Ecumenical community*, Brill, Leiden 2008, 307-314, here 309. Recently there are many emerging studies, which portray the Ottoman environment in a more positive respect especially in relation to the perceived multicultural character of the Empire. However, caution needs to be adopted in this regard, since more studies are necessary to reveal the true complex social character of the Empire.

² Ezzati A, *The Spread of Islam*, Islamic College for Advanced Studies press, 2002, 101.

³ Архив Министерства Иностранных дел, Связка 30 Б. Дѣло но.21. Донесеніе Гаврііла метрополита назаретскаго послано съ грекомъ Саввою Дмитріевымъ и товарищами, и получено въ Москвѣ 29 апрѣля 1652 г.

death was the result of the actions of the rulers of Moldavia and the Mutyansk (Мутьянск) ruler, because he did not follow their will and that he hosted the emissaries of Chmelnický and served a *moleben* for them. They sent 30000 *efimkovs* (ефимковъ) to Constantinople to get rid of him. He was deposed by a Greek Michail, who however in turn was also killed by hanging in front of the gates of the Patriarchate. The testimony of the Metropolitan of Chalcedon Gabriel was confirmed by the Greeks in Moscow who also accounted about the death of Parthenios. They stated that he was deposed because of the *Voevod* of Мутян Mathew and the Moldavian ruler Vasiliy, who sent money to get rid of him. "And as this was made known to the Sultan and the Vizier, they ordered the murderer to be punished; ten people were killed; just people, who were sent by the *voevods* were also killed. They killed the Patriarch in the following manner, they put him in a kayak, before that they took out his eyes, they smashed him by an axe between his shoulders and arms; they hit him into his stomach with a *kinzhal* and the dead body was thrown into the see."¹ He died on the 15th of May 1651.

Similar alternations occurred with other Patriarchs such as Cyril I (Lukaris) and others, the list of Patriarchs from this period is a list of constant exiles and depositions.² Cyril I (Lukaris) in 1628 abandoned the system of dating used in the East, which reckoned years from the "creation of the world". Thus the year 7136 was replaced with 1628. On June the 27th 1638, Cyril I was taken on a ship and after the ship sailed he was strangled by jannisaries for allegedly corresponding with Russia to instigate a rebellion.

The Patriarch Parthenios II was accused of conspiring with Russia and was also strangled on a ship (killed 1651). Parthenios III was accused of conspiring with foreign powers against the Sultan and even though this proved false he was executed anyway to set an example for the future (Hanged in 1657). The Patriarch of Constantinople Parthenios

¹ "А какъ про то стало извѣстно султану и визирю, и они убійцѣ велѣли казнить; и ихъ убито человекъ десять; честныхъ людей, посланныхъ воеводами, тоже побили. А убили патриарха такимъ образомъ: взяли его въ каюкъ, прежде ему глаза выняли, потомъ ушибли топоромъ межъ плеч; и по лбу; потомъ ударили кинжаломъ въ брюхо и мертвого кинули въ море". Архив Министерства Иностранный дел Связка 29 Б, дѣло но. 39.

² For the history of the Patriarchates see Kiminas Demetrius, *The Ecumenical Patriarchate*, The Borgo Press, Athens, 2009.

I, was deposed on the 1st of September 1644. Some Patriarchs could have faced opposition from their own colleagues who sought their deposition. This was the case with Jeremias III. The period was also marked with financial problems which plagued the Patriarchate of Constantinople.

As we implied during all these fluctuations the Russians were informed about the situation. The election of Parthenius II was referred to the Russian Tsar Michail Theodorovich by the Greek Ivan Petrov Barda (Иванъ Петровъ Барда) in his report. He stated, that the deposed Patriarch Parthenius I was accused of greediness and ignorance of the poor and that he forbade the bishops to stay in their areas.¹ The election of the new Patriarch was marked by exclamations of *anaxios* (unworthy). He continues stating: "On that day a great disturbance occurred on the court of the Patriarch, and they wanted to get rid of the old Patriarch and so they wrote to the *knyaz Voevod* Vasiliy, what does he think of this; Vasiliy the *Voevod*, wrote to them, not to disturb him in any way, only to send him to Cyprus. On the 12th of November, a new Patriarch was commissioned by the Sultan who placed his hands on him, and on his nine people conferred *kaftans*. The Great Church thus gained a debt of 120,000 *efimkovs*; and the *Voevod* Vasiliy helped them by paying 42, 000 *efimkovs*, the other money was lent from the Jews and the Bursurmans; now they are thinking of sending to your Greatness the Metropolitan of Nicomedia Cyril, who was previously the Archimandrite of the Holy Sepulchre, who was here previously visiting your Greatness from the Patriarch Theophanes with the Turkish emissary Muli agi; From then on he did not return and became a Metropolitan of the Church of Constantinople, and now he is travelling with letters from the Patriarch of Jerusalem, and from the *knyaz* Vasiliy so that you Your Greatness would assist them in getting rid of their debts, and Your highness will do what God wills. On the same day when the new Patriarch was installed, letters came from Vasiliy the *Voevod*, so that the new Patriarch would make a proclamation about the faith, regarding the beliefs and baptisms of the Calvinists and the Lutherans, and these letters were sent by the king whose son is with you, to the king of Lithuania, and the king of Lithuania sent these letters to the *Voevod*

¹ Николаевский, П.О., Къ исторіи сношеній Россіи съ востокомъ въ половинѣ XVII столѣтія. In: *Христианское Чтеніе*, часть 1, Санкт Петербургъ, 1882, 245-267, here 247.

Vasiliiy so that he would sent these to Constantinople. These were sent to Constantinople by the *Voevod* Vasiliiy as to allow the Calvins and Lutherans not to be baptised twice".¹ This very interesting excerpt summarises the period and its specifics. We see the Ottoman involvement in the elections of the Patriarch and other ecclesial figures. We can see, that elections implied sums of money which had to be paid by the Church to the state and how this led to debts. And how all this was going on in the context of issues related to the Lutherans and Calvins.

Parthenios II was a good friend of Moscow and he sent the Metropolitan of Paleopatras Theophanes to convey to Moscow his election as Patriarch and with a request for assistance. Theophanes came to Moscow in March 1645 also with a letter asking for assistance. In Moscow he was told how the Russians want to establish their own printing and schooling, and then he described the dire situation of education in the east, and that the Germans and Latins are printing the Fathers and also informed about the constant belittlement of the Greeks. On his way back Theophanes met the Archimandrite Benedict in Kiev, who taught Greek at the academy of Peter Mohyla. This same Benedict

¹ "И въ тотъ день учинилась великая смута на патріаршескомъ дворѣ, а стараго патріарха хотѣли извести и писали о томъ къ князь Василью воеводѣ, какъ объ немъ придумаетъ; и Василей воевода писалъ къ нимъ, чтобъ его ничѣмъ не вредили, только бы ево сослали въ Кипрскій островъ. Ноября въ 12 день былъ новой патріархъ у салтана у руки и надѣлъ салтанъ на него и на его людей на девяти человекъ каттаны. И одолжала великая церковь 120,000 ефимковъ; а Василій воевода помогъ имъ въ томъ долгу, заплатилъ 42,000 ефимковъ, а достальные заняли они у бусурмановъ и у жидовъ; и нынѣ думаютъ они прислать къ великому вашему царствію митрополита никомидійскаго, именемъ Кирилла, что былъ прежь сего архимандритомъ гроба Господня, и пріѣзжалъ онъ напередъ сего къ великому вашему царствію отъ ерусалимскаго патріарха Ѳеофана съ турскимъ посломъ тъ с Муллы агою; и съ тое поры отсталъ онъ отъ Ерусалиму и учинился митрополитомъ подъ повелѣніемъ царегородскаго патріарха; а нынѣ онъ ѣдетъ съ соборными грамотами іерусалимскаго патріарха и отъ князь Василья съ грамотамижъ, чтобъ великое наше царствіе пожаловали вспомогнутися имъ и освободити отъ такова долгу, а царствіе ваше сотворитъ, якоже тебѣ Богъ извѣститъ. Да въ тѣхъ же дняхъ, какъ съѣлъ новый патріархъ, пришли грамоты отъ князь Василья воеводы къ новому патріарху, чтобъ ему сыскъ учинити о вѣрѣ и о крещеніи лютеремъ и кальвиномъ; а тѣ де грамоты прислалъ король, которой имѣетъ сына своего у васъ, къ королю литовскому; а король, литовской прслалъ тѣ грамоты ко князь Василью воеводѣ, чтобъ ему князь Василью послать во Царьгородъ; и князь Василей тѣ грамоты послалъ во Царьгородъ къ патриарху, чтобъ имъ пріискать будетъ мочно лютеремъ и кальвиномъ во вторые не креститца..." Ibid. 248.

then came to Moscow in march 1646 with letters of recommendation from Metropolitan Theophanes, which stated among other things that he is the *protosynkelos* of the Alexandrian Patriarch.

On January the 27, 1649, the Patriarch of Jerusalem Paisios came to Moscow. He greeted in a humble way and placed in humble stone accommodation. The Russians were suspicious of him and it seems did not initially believe it was him. This was because the Russians were often tricked by unscrupulous Greeks.¹ But also because they heard about Paisios how he blessed Bohdan Chmelnický for a war with the Poles. The Patriarch also informed about the Descent of the Holy Fire on Great Saturday in Jerusalem and how the Turks made sure the fire was not hidden somewhere.² In Moscow Paisios became good friends with the Archimandrite Nikon. Nikon later became the Metropolitan of Novgorod. Perhaps Paisios saw in Nikon a powerful future hierarch, which could have been useful for him. On the 8th of May 1649 the Patriarch received 4000 roubles/sobols, which was the same sum received by his predecessor Theophanes.³

3b Patriarch Nikon

While this was happening in the Eastern Patriarchates in Russia the rise of Nikon as Patriarch heralded a new era. The famous historian Golubinskiy argued that the Greeks lost trust amongst the Russians after the council in Florence, and that Russia saw itself as the one which has to take care of liturgical purity. Nikon is also important for our context as a fanatical admirer of Palestine since he desired to imitate the topography of the Holy Sepulchre and its surroundings and rebuild it in Moscow. On the 12th of June 1654, Nikon wrote a letter to Paisios the Patriarch of Constantinople, where he clearly expresses his fear of loosing touch with the correct dogmas of the Church due to wrong translations. As part of this project of course, there was the idea of the correction of the contemporary liturgical books used in Nikons day by comparing them to the Greek but also ancient Slavonic versions. All the monasteries and all institutions of the Church were obliged to send their manuscripts of Slavic liturgical texts so that they could be used in this

¹ Николаевский, П.Θ., Къ исторіи сношеній Россіи..., 254.

² Ibid.

³ Ibid. 257.

project. However, it was realised that there is not a sufficient number of these ancient Slavic texts and it was necessary to send people to collect the ancient Slavic manuscripts from such places as Mount Athos.

Instrumental in this regard was Arseniy Suchanov (Арсений Суханов) who was the builder of the important Bogoyavlenskiy (Богоявленский) monastery in Moscow. He was later the celarer of the Trinity Sergey Lavra. He travelled to the south east in 1649-1650 when he visited only Moldavia and Walachia and then in 1651-1653, he visited all the Eastern Patriarchates continuing his journey to Athos to collect liturgical books in order for them to be used in the liturgical reforms in Russia. His name appears in the preface of the printed form in the Nikon revised *Sluzhebnik* published in 1655. Here it is mentioned, that Suchanov was sent to Athos, to among other things gather Greek manuscripts, and returned to Moscow with 500 such manuscripts.

His work *Fights with Greeks about faith* (Преній съ греками о вѣрѣ) was published after Suchanov's experiences with the Greeks on his trip to Walachia and Moldavia. He also wrote a *Proskinitarion* (Проскинитарий) containing a description of his travels to the south east and the description of Jerusalem. This work *Proskinitariy* is a unique work and is considered one of the most important pieces of literature amidst the pilgrimage and general literature of the period.¹ Other works are also attributed to him. He was an experienced traveller travelling around ten years even to such regions as Georgia. Interestingly enough he was told to bring drawings of the Holy Sepulchre from Jerusalem, so that Nikon would build an exact copy of the Church of the Holy Sepulchre in Moscow. The monastery of New Jerusalem was begun in 1656.

The seventeenth century was a period when there were discussions about the authenticity of "Greek faith" in Moscow. This went on in the context of the self reflection of the Russians and the tradition of seeing themselves ideologically as protectors of Orthodoxy. Thus the biographer of Prepodobniy Sergey Radonezhskiy, the Serb Pachomiy of Mt. Athos, states that "From where didst emerge this source of light? From Jerusalem? Or from the Sinai? No, from the Russian lands, which only recently emerged from the cloud of paganism, and with its piety

¹ See Кочеляева Н. А., Проскинитарий Арсения Суханова в контексте строительных деятельности Арсения Суханова, in: *Никоновский Сборник*. 2004, Москва, 55-89.

have superseded many lands, which had previously accepted enlightenment."¹

As we have indicated the period was characterised by the issue of the accuracy of liturgical translations and rituals in the Russian Orthodox Church. The Russians did not have enough competent scholars to be able to produce translations and other scholarly works of higher quality. Paisios left one of his companions Arseniy the Greek in Moscow to help with this work. Further Arseniy Suchanov (Арсеній Сухановъ) was sent to the Middle East together with the group of Paisios to study the liturgical practices there and gain further experience and knowledge about the local Orthodox traditions. Arseniy Suchanov did not like the Greek sense of supremacy and Greek liturgical pride, which possibly provoked his reaction in the form of emphasising the worthiness of the local Russian Orthodox liturgical and theological tradition. In 1653-1655 Suchanov visited Mt. Athos also to study the manuscripts there, for future revisions. His work "Fighting with Greeks about Faith" (Прения с греками о вере)² which as we have indicated is a description of his debates with "Greeks" in Moldavia and Walachia with its the negative attitudes towards the Greeks or rather to the recent reforms of the Greeks drew the attention of the Old Believers.

In the "Fighting with the Greeks about the Faith" (Прения с греками о вере), there is an account mentioning Arseniys stay in Vaslu a Serbian monastery in Moldavia, which was a *metochion* of the Athonite Zographou monastery. There he was told of a conflict on Athos between "Greeks" and a certain Serbian *staretz* who used "Moscow books". The Serbian *Staretz* made the sign of the cross according to the Moscow books that is *according to the tradition* of Cyril of Jerusalem.

A council was convened and the Serbian *staretz* replied to accusations against Cyril of Jerusalem, basing himself on Theodoret, Meletios of Antioch and Maxim the Greek. The Greeks accused the Moscow books as being heretical. He stated, that the Serbian books (basing

¹ "откуда восіялъ такой свѣтильникъ? Не изъ Іерусалима ли? Не съ Синаи ли? Нѣтъ Изъ русской земли каторая недавно вышла изъ мрака идолослуженія, а превзошла уже благочестіемъ многія страны, издавна пріявшія просвѣщеніе" Cited in С. А. Белокуров, Арсений Суханов, Москва, 1894, 168.

² See the edition С. А. Белокуров Арсений Суханов, Москва, 1894. Belokurov also discusses the complex situation relating to the manuscript tradition. We do not have the space here to discuss the issues related to this problem.

himself on old Serbian writings) taught about the sign of the cross in the same way as the books in Moscow. The Greeks did not agree and burned the Moscow books of the writings of Cyril of Jerusalem, the book of Psalms and some other service books. The *igumenos* of the monastery who accounted this story to Arseniy then stated: "This *igumenos* stated, the Greeks are proud and from ages on hate us Serbs."¹

Even more fascinating is the story then recounted. The *igumenos* stated, that Saint Cyril was persecuted by the Greeks for trying to translate liturgical books into Slavonic, and that he received a blessing for this translation only by going to Rome to Hadrian. And that Hadrian established Methodios as bishop of Pannonia.²

The Russians in this period where constantly trying to establish a correct tradition of liturgical and dogmatical worship. For example, a letter was sent to Parthenios II, with a question, whether it is possible to serve the Eucharist with two chalices if there are more celebrants present. Parthenios replied, that only one chalice should be used according to the example of Jesus Christ.³

¹ "Да тот же игумен говорил: греки де горды и нам сербом из давных веков ненавистны."

² Белокуров, С. А, Арсений Суханов, Москва, 1894.

³ Архив министерства иностранных дел, Связка 29, дѣло но. 8, Грамота ii. The letter was translated in Moscow on the 8th of December 1719.

4 Russia and the Eastern Patriarchates in the context of the nineteenth century

As we have implied, after the fall of Byzantium, it was the Patriarchate of Constantinople who dominated Eastern Christendom even though the other important Patriarchates, such as the Antiochian and Jerusalem Patriarchates theoretically had equal rights. Further a moral problem emerged, that the Patriarch of Jerusalem and Antioch resided in Constantinople itself.¹

In the period of the eighteenth until the nineteenth century there were many dramatic changes in relation to the Eastern Patriarchs and also towards Russia. In this regard we have to mention the classical work of Sokolov, which has not lost its value for this period till today.² Of course, after 1821, unsurprisingly the Ottoman administration viewed the Greeks with suspicion. Some of the higher positions after this period were not occupied by Greeks anymore but by Armenians and Bulgarians. An important date was 1856, when there was a law passed giving equal rights to all subjects in the Empire. Further after the Russian Turkish war of 1877-1878, the rights of the Patriarchate of Constantinople were gradually being eroded.³

The end of the nineteenth century also highlighted the possible problems related to ecclesial politics mixed up with the idea of national states. The ecclesial relations and the emancipations of nations brought new challenges. Thus in this regard there was the important Bulgarian crisis, which brought to the fore the dangers of a mixture of national aspirations and ecclesial politics. The Bulgarians lost their ecclesial independence after 1393, when Trnovo was conquered. Bulgarian ecclesial affairs were taken care of after this date by Greeks. The

¹ Recently there is growing research in terms of the sources for the Patriarchate of Constantinople, in the context of Ottoman archival material. The Ottoman archival material has unfortunately been neglected, perhaps due to the language barrier. Important information can be found in the Prime ministerial Ottoman Archives in Istanbul, Başbakanlık Osmanlı Arşivleri. From these are important the Piskoposluk Kalemi Belgeleri Bishop offices documents, Piskopos Mukataasi Defterleri, Notebooks of Bishops, Mukâta'a Bishops notes.

² Соколов И. И., *Константинопольская Церковь в XIX веке, том 1, приложения*, Сервиев посад, 1914.

³ See Русско-Турецкая Война: Русский и Болгарский взгляд, 1877-1878, Яуза, пресс., Р, Михнева, Р. Г. Гагкуев, editors, Москва, 2017, 23.

Greeks viewed sceptically the growing emancipation of the Balkan nations, which meant ecclesial independence from the influence of the Patriarchate of Constantinople. The Russians supported these emancipatory movements, which provided ground for conflict. In the so-called "Bulgarian schism", the Patriarch of Jerusalem Cyril did not sign the document accusing the Bulgarians (therefore supporting the Russian position) and was deposed by his fellow hierarchs in Jerusalem.

The Bulgarian ecclesial crisis was also related to the rise of the Phanariotes, which is a term designating powerful and rich Greek families, who started to infringe on the ecclesial offices. A disgusting practice developed of the selling and buying of ecclesial appointments in the Patriarchate of Constantinople, which created moral problems. These Phanariotes further, had also intended to limit the autonomy of the surrounding Orthodox churches so that these could be also controlled. Thus for example, due to this policy, the Patriarchate of Pecs also lost ground in Serbia in 1766-1777, and also the Archbishopric in Ochrid. This was related to the emerging Greek national emancipation which started to appear more intensively in the beginning of the nineteenth century. It was linked to the idea of the *Megali idea*, "The Great idea" which saw a new unification of all Greeks under the auspices of a state similar to the Byzantine Empire. The rising Greek self-awareness brought alarm to other ecclesial contexts, and people like Paisiy of Chilandar drew their attention to this rising danger for the other non-Greek churches. There was a developing crisis which for example saw its first fruits in 1838-1839, when there was a petition sent to the Porte and Patriarchate of Constantinople to change the Metropolitan of Veliki Trnovo the Greek Panaret for a Bulgarian bishop. The crisis developed gradually until 1870, when on the 27th of February, a *Firman* was issued establishing a Bulgarian Exarchate. However, this did not resolve the matter and an ecclesial crisis broke out in 1872. The Patriarchate of Constantinople was further losing ground and in 1833 the Greek church of mainland Greece declared independence (recognised in 1850), while the Romanians in 1865 (recognised in 1885).

The Patriarchate of Constantinople was undergoing gradually transformations itself. The year 1763 (May) was an important one, since in this year a new system was introduced called Γερωντισμός which meant that the Patriarch lost supreme rule over the church since the

Patriarchal seal was divided into four parts the other three being held by elder Metropolitans. This ended a tradition going on from 1454. This meant that if the Synod decided that the Patriarch was unworthy it could petition the Ottoman authorities for his deposition.¹ Later in July 6/18, 1860 saw a new system introduced yet again. The laity now could have participated in the elections of the Patriarchs and the system of elderism was abandoned. After 1878, the rights of the Patriarchate of Constantinople were being slowly eroded by the Ottoman authorities and the Ottomans started to claim the right to also decide about schooling and issues of hereditary rights, which until then in terms of the Orthodox Christian population was the prerogative of the Patriarchate of Constantinople (*Pronomiakon zitima*/ issue of law). The Russians initially supported the Patriarchate of Constantinople in ascertaining its rights (like for example in the case of Joachim III who abdicated in 1884). Of course, traditionally the Patriarch had every right to form a petition.

The Patriarchates of Alexandria, Jerusalem and Antioch also underwent various complex developments in the nineteenth century. The Patriarchate of Jerusalem attracted particular attention, because of its revenues and other important roles in Christendom. Recent research in Ottoman archives has opened up new avenues of thought. These show the great amounts of cash, and other forms of donations (land, livestock in other areas of the Balkans and elsewhere) flowing into the Patriarchate. The *Berats* and other Ottoman documents show, how the Patriarchs of Jerusalem complained about the interference of Ottoman administrators with this flow of property. It appears, that the possessions in Walachia and Moldavia, where especially important. The various stipulations make provisions for various and regular alms begging journeys made by the Patriarch himself or others in his staff.²

The Patriarchate of Jerusalem was constantly plagued by debts. In the nineteenth century there was fighting between the Patriarchate and the brotherhood of the Holy Sepulchre, which controlled vast amounts of money from the entire Orthodox world. The archimandrite of the brotherhood was more or less independent of the Patriarch and

¹ Kiminas Demetrius, *The Ecumenical Patriarchate*, The Borgo Press, Athens, 2009, 19.

² <http://etheses.bham.ac.uk/3968/1/Colak13PhD.pdf>. 249.

exercised great influence over the bishops and other members of the Patriarchate due to his financial resources.¹

To alleviate its bad financial situation the Patriarchate of Jerusalem had given various monasteries or properties for sale or for rent. People who rented out these monasteries were supposed to help the monasteries and develop their wellbeing but in reality these people used the resources of these monasteries behaved in atrocious ways and after their period of governance ended they left. These people often provoked scandals behaving in these monasteries as debauched people. Nikodimos I apparently wanted to improve the situation when he became the Patriarch of Jerusalem, but in 1888 there was an attack carried out against him by a monk of a monastery near the Jordan. The fortunes of the Patriarchate in terms of land ownership fluctuated in the complex period of the nineteenth century, when the Ottoman Empire suffered losses and the dependencies of the Patriarchate were in different territories. Thus even the lands of the Patriarchate and of the monastery of Sinai were endangered in Greece itself when in 1834 under the orders of king Otto, the monastic lands were “lent” to various individuals often provoking a land grab.²

One such *Berat* related to Parthenios (renewed in 1755 on the 20th of February under the sultanhip of Osman III),³ stipulates how moneys collected should remain under the supervision of the Patriarch of Jerusalem, and according to *sharia* law. The Patriarch should govern and exercise authority in all matters except those which pertain to *sharia law*. He is to be Patriarch over his dependencies and according to custom of his *baseless rite* (‘âyin-i âtilalari). Importantly, he has the right to replace a Metropolitan or bishop or to install one as he wishes.

¹ Дмитриевский, А., А., Современное русское паломничество в св. Землю, *Труды Киевской Духовной академии*, Т. II, Киев, 1903, 274-319; Дмитриевский, А. А., *Деятели Русской Палестины*, составитель, Н.Н. Лисовой, Издательство Олега Абышко. Москва, 2010, 123-168, here 154.

² Çolak Hasan, *Relation between the Ottoman central administration and the Greek Orthodox Patriarchates of Antioch, Jerusalem and Alexandria: 16th- 18th centuries*, University of Birmingham, 2012. <http://etheses.bham.ac.uk/3968/1Colak13PhD.pdf>. 249.

³ Ibid. BOA.KK. d.2540,/2, 77, 20th february 1755,. 165.

4a G. P. Begleri

A fascinating glimpse into the situation in Constantinople during the nineteenth century is offered by the correspondence of G. P. Begleri (1850-1923; Г.П. Беглери) with I. E. Troitskiy (И. Е. Троицкий) a Russian Byzantologist. Begleri was an agent of the Russian trading and shipping company in Constantinople. He started to correspond with Troitskiy after the treaty of St. Stefano in 1878.¹ The letters imply the weakening of the Patriarchate of Constantinople, due to the increasing suspicions of the Ottoman government, which based these on Russian interests in the area, which was also related to the Bulgarian Schism.

Begleri informs us that in his period the Ottoman government had various issues and faced possible rebellions. The Russians are viewed as a source of "peace". He writes: "I was thinking that while the strong Russian army was present in our capital city, we had peace, but as soon as they left the usual Barbaric scenes began- murders, persecution and so on. Seven young people, which I knew, and who supplied the Russians with animal food were murdered on their return home. Eye witnesses yesterday told a story in the marketplace that they have seen in the fortress and around soldiers who have fallen on the villagers and murdered them only because they happened to be non-believers. And this around us, and inside the capital happens, at first glance resembling a military city. The soldiers occupy the Bosphorus and Constantinople, and it is not uncommon that violence occurs. A few days ago we almost had a rebellion here, if it not for the government of Gazi Osman Pasha (because he is the strong one in these days, consequently the ruler) who managed to arrest the first hundred conspirators, but as things are

¹ See Русская народная Библиотека, ОР. Ф. 790, Д. 13-23, письма Г. П. Беглери к И. Е. Троицкому, 1878-1898 гг; Российский Государственный Исторический Архив, Ф. 2182, отзывы К. П. Победоносцева на письма Г. П. Беглери; Храм святых Апостолов и другие памятники Константинополя по описанию Константина Родия. Од. 1896; Русский Археологический ин-т в Константинополе, Византийский Временник, 1897, Т. 4. Вып.1, 303-305; Заметки по топографии Константинополя, там же 1898. Т. 5. Вып. 4, 618-625. Межевой знак владений Дексикрата и Урвикия, Bibliotheca Chersonessitana, (ИРАИК), 1899, т. 4. Вып. 2, 105-108, Печать Трапезундского императора Давида, *ibid.* 1900, т. 8, Вып. 3, 247-248, Святая София, *ibid.* 1902, т. 8, вып. 1/2, 116-118.

turning out it appears likely that in the future an anarchy seems unavoidable.”¹

Interestingly enough not many people associated with the Patriarchate could have spoken Russian. Begleri speaks about the appointment of the former head of the old Jerusalem *podvorye* in Moscow Gregoriy Palama to a position in Constantinople to be head master of a national lyceum in Constantinople. He was appointed officially from the 1st September 1878. Palama studied at the Chalki higher theological school, then in France and stayed at the University of Leipzig from 1864-1868. He is according to Begleri at this time one of only two monks who speak good Russian.²

In the correspondence between Begleri and Troitskiy, there is constant referral to book exchanges. Ecclesial intrigues are also discussed, the issue of Russian Greek relations being an important aspect. Begleri writes: Today I am sending you to the address of the Spiritual Academy, a rare book: Illustrated description of the Holy City of Jerusalem (Живописное описание Св<ятого> гор<ода> Иерусалима), which I managed to obtain through the Archimandrite Gregory Palama. In relation to the article about Gregory Palama-with great sorrow I read in the <Церк<ов>-ном> Вестнике> in number 39 how a prestigious journal attacks his respectability. Since I know you personally your

¹ „έννωῶ εἶχομεν περίξ τῆς προτενουσῆς μας τὰ κραταῖα Ρώσσιχα στρατεύματα εἶχομεν καὶ ἡσυχίαν, ἀλλὰ μόλις καὶ ἔφυγαν πάραυτα ἤρξαντο αἱ συνήθειες παρὰ τοῖς Βαρβάροις σκηναὶ - σφαγαὶ, διώξεις κ.λ.π. Ἑπτὰ νέοι, οὓς ἐγνώριζον, καὶ οἵτινες ἐπρομύθηον ζωτορφοῖος παρὰ τοῖς Ρώσσοις καθ' ὃν καιρὸν ἐπέστρεφον οἶκαδε καθ' ὁδὸν τοὺς κατέσφαγον. Αὐτόπται δὲ διηγοῦντο χθὲς ἐν μέσῃ ἀγορᾷ ὅτι εἶδον ἐν Πύργῳ καὶ περίξ στρατιώτας ξεφερῇ νὰ ἐπιπτώσι κατὰ τῶν χωρικῶν καὶ νὰ κατασφάζωσι αὐτοὺς ἐπὶ μόνῳ τῷ λόγῳ ὅτι τυγχάνουσι καὶ οὗτοι ἄπιστοι. Καὶ ταῦτα περίξ ἡμῶν, ἐντος δὲ τῆς πρωτεύσης σημβάνει νῦν τι, ὅλως πρωτοφανές, ἡ πόλις μας κατέστη πόλις στρατιωτῶν. Βόσπορος καὶ Κωνσταντινουπόλις κατεπλημμυρίσθη ὑπ' αὐτῶν καὶ οὐχὶ σπανίως ἐπιδίδονται εἰς φανεράς βιαιπραγίας, προτίνων ὑμερῶν μάλιστα θὰ εἴχομεν καὶ ἐπανάστασιν ἐάν δεν προελάβανεν ἡ κυβέρνησις τοῦ Γαζὶ Ὑσμὰν Πασσᾶ (διότι αὐτὸς σήμερον εἶναι ὁ ἰσχυρὸς τῆς ἡμέρας, ἐπομένος καὶ κυβερνήτης) νὰ συλλαβῇ περὶ τοὺς 100 ἐκ τῶν πρώτων συνωμοτῶν, ἀλλ' ὅπως καὶ ἂν ἔχη τὸ πράγμα ἢ φορὰ τῶν πραγμάτων δεικνύει ὅτι τὸ κακὸν αὐτὸ ἐπὶ τέλους Θὰ καταστῇ ἀναπόφεκτον καὶ μίαν τῶν ἡμέρων ἔξωμεν ἀναρχίαν.“ Βεγλερι, Γ. Π; *Россия и Христианский Восток, Константинопольский Патриархат в конце XIX в. Письма Г. П. к проф. И. Е. Троицкому, 1878-1898*, Л. А. Герд editor, Олег Абышко, Санкт Петербург, 2003; Папка Но. 13. 1878/1880 гг. Л. 1., 1. 50.

² Ibid., Папка Но. 13. 1878/1880 гг. Л. 1., 1. 50.

excellency and respect You, I took the courage to express my regrets regarding the opinion, expressed against his respectability- I thought, that you knew the causes, which led his successor through a known to me person in Saint Petersburg to describe in unpleasant terms the reasons for his departure from Moscow; not taking heed to all of this, I can vouch for Gregory Palama, who now, is the only one among the Phanariote clergy, who is the defender of the Russian Orthodox Church. Lastly, he even expressed a wish publicly, to see in the national lyceum the teaching of the great Russian language. It appears to me, that in contrast to the *Cerkovniy Vestnik*, it is necessary to /list. 9 ob/ to regard this appointment of archimandrite Gregory Palama (the director of the national lyceum) with great satisfaction, and not to understand this appointment as a demonstration against the Russian government, which accompanied him out of Moscow not because of his hatred to the Russian government nor to the Russian Orthodox Church, but simply because his successor Nikodim in relation to personal revenge was successful in manipulating this "document" from the Patriarch of Jerusalem....".¹ Further: "Now, I dare to ask your eminence not to

¹ "При сем посылаю сегодня на имя Духовной академии книгу весьма редкую: Живописное описание Св<ятого> гор <ода> Иерусалима; вследствие ее редкости выхлопотал ее через Архимандрита Григория Паламу. Кстати о Гр. Паламе-с величайшим прискорбием я прочитал в <Церк<овном> Вестнике> под но. 39 Вашего многоуважаемого журнала нападки против ево преподобия. Зная лично Ваше превосходство и уважая Вас, осмеливаюсь высказать свое сожаление о мнении высказанном против его преподобия-я думал, что Вам известны были причины, побудившие его преемника выхлопотать через известную мне личность в С.-Петербурге его удаление из Москвы самым непристойным образом; несмотря на все это, я в стоянии разуверить Вас, что Гр. Палама в настоящее время единственный в среде фанариотского клира защитник Русской православной церкви. В последнее даже время он выражал свое желание публично видеть в национальном лицее преподавание и великорусского языка. Мне кажется, что, напротив, <Церковному Вестнику> следовало /л. 9 об. относиться к этому назначению арх. Гр. Паламы (директором национального лицея) с великим удовольствием, а не считать назначение его демонстрацией против русского правительства, которое выпроводило его из Москвы не вследствие его враждебности к русскому правительству, ни к Русской православной церкви, а просто потому что его преемник Никодим вследствие личной мстительности успел выхлопотать эту <грамоту> от Иерусалимского патриарха...." Беглери, Г. П., *Россия и Христианский Восток, Константинопольский Патриархат в конце XIX в. Письма Г. П. к проф. И. Е. Троицкому, 1878-1898*, Л. А. Герд editor, Олег Абышко, Санкт Петербург, 2003; Папка но. 13.1878-1880 гг., Л. 9, 52.

embitter a person, who not only due to his qualities now appears to be a champion of I say of the just requirements of the Russian Church amidst the uneducated Phanariote clergy and further to educate this clergy satisfactorily and to inform it regarding the issues surrounding the Russian Church. I dare to ensure you that father Gregory Palamas is one of the few distinct and educated members of our clergy, and his qualities appear to be beyond comparison, (letter 10), having qualities superseding those of his predecessor, and therefore was honoured by the Great Church, to be the director of the Great School of our generation, and otherwise I am satisfied to ensure you that one of the reasons for his selection was due to his talents relating to Russia-not one of our clergy knows the Russian language as he does. Thus having known this the Great Church had sought to have him nearby, which is archimandrite Gregory Palamas.¹ Begleris criticisms of the Phanariote setting would indicate a rather primitive Patriarchal setting, which according to him all the more should stimulate the Russians to help and admire those that display intelligence or a command of Russian.

Begleri writes:² "The great activity of Joachim III, appears to be something out of the extraordinary, since his reforms will have salvific

¹Νῦν ὁμῶς τολμῶ νὰ παρακαλέσω τὴν ὑμετέραν ἐξοχότητα ὅπως μὴ πικραίνητε ἄνθρωπον, ὅστις οὐχὶ μόνον χάρις τῶν προσόντων αὐτοῦ διατελεῖ νῦν ἀλλαίσμα καὶ πρόμαχος οὕτω νὰ εἴπω τῶν δικαίων αἰτήσεων τῆς Ῥωσικῆς Ἐκκλησίας ἐν μέσῳ τοῦ ἀγροικοῦ φαναριωτικοῦ κληρικοῦ, ἀλλ' εἰσέτι καὶ ἱκανὸς νὰ διδάσκη αὐτὸν καὶ διατηρῶ ἐνήμερον ἐν γένει τοῦ ὀφορῶσι τὴν ὀρθόδοξον ῥωσικὴν Ἐκκλησίαν. Τολμῶ νὰ Σας διαβαιώσω ὅτι ὁ Γρ. Παλαμᾶς τγγχάνει σήμερον εἰς ἐκ τῶν μάλλον διακεκριμμένων καὶ εὐπαιδευτῶν κληρικῶν μας, τὰ προσωπικὰ αὐτοῦ προσόντα, ἅτινα ἀσυγρίτῃ τῷ λόγῳ εἰσὶ λίαν/λ. 10 ὑπέρτερα τῶν τοῦ προκατόχου τοῦ δικαίως ἐκτιμμένα ὑπὸ τῆς Μεγάλης Ἐκκλησίας προσκάλεσεν αὐτὸν καὶ ὄρισεν διευθυντὴν τῆς Μεγάλης τοῦ Γένους Σχολῆς, ἄλλως τε εἶμαι ἱκανὸς νὰ Σας διαωβαιώσω ὅτι μία αἰτία τοῦ διορισμοῦ τοῦ ὑπῆρξεν καὶ ἡ περὶ τὴν Ῥωσικὴν δεινότης αὐτοῦ-οὐδεὶς ἐκ τῶν κληρικῶν ἡμῶν ἐπίσταται τοσοῦτον καλῶς τὴν ῥωσικὴν γλῶσσα. Αὐτὸ τοῦτο γινώσκουσα, ἡ Μ<εγάλη> Ἐκκλησία ἐζήτησεν νὰ ἔχη πλήσιον τῆς τοιοῦτον, οἷος τγγχάνει ὁ ἀρ. Γρ. Παλαμᾶς."

² Ἡ μεγάλη δραστηριότης τοῦ Ἰωακείμ Γ' παρουσιάζει τι ὅμως ἑκτακτον, αἱ ὑπ' αὐτοῦ εἰσαγόμεναι μεταρρυθμίσεις ἔξουσιν ἀποτελέσματα σωτήρια ὅσον ἀφορᾷ τὴν οἰκονομικὴν κατάστασιν τῶν πατριαρχείων, ὡσαύτως καὶ τὸ διοικητικόν. Ἡ Ἱερὰ Σύνοδος προεδρευόντος τῆς α<ντοῦ> θ<ειότητος> π<ατριάρχου> ἐχακολουθεῖ νὰ ἐργάζεται νυχτήμερον, ἐν τοῖς πατριαρχείοις ἐξέλιπον ἤδη ἀσιατικὰ ἐκεῖνα ἡθὴ καὶ ἔθιμα τῶν ἐπιδειξιώσεων - ῥιζικαὶ μεταρρυθμίσεις ὡς καὶ ῥιζικὴ ἐπισκευὴ τοῦ σεσαθρωμένου οἴκου τῶν πατριαρχείων".Беглери, Г. П., *Россия и Христианский Восток, Константинопольский Патриархат в конце XIX в. Письма Г. П. к проф. И. Е.*

consequences, for the economic situation of the Ecumenical Patriarchate, just as the administrative ones also. So also the Holy Synod under his leadership, works day and night; and the Patriarchate has rid itself of those Asiatic characteristics, ethos and customs which were demonstrated-Root reforms and reconstruction of the decaying house of the patriarchate."... "On Monday on the day of my visit there was an entire meeting of the Synod regarding the establishment of the ecclesial periodical, which was accepted.¹"

As we have indicated the letters of Begleri often related to books and other material which was exchanged with Begleri and Troitskiy. For example,² "I have sent you the edition of the *Syllogos* and the collection of the Patriarchal decisions; The edition of the *Syllogos* consists of all volumes excluding the first one which you have, the second volume I inform you is of great rarity and for no money is it possible to buy it."..."I am also sending you a rare book called *Tà Ζαγοριακά*".

Begleri relates in his letters to the complex political situation at the end of the nineteenth century, where Russian interests, Ottoman interests and ecclesial policy provided for a problematic situation:³ "The

Троицкому, 1878-1898, Л. А. Герд, editor, Олег Абышко, Санкт Петербург, 2003; Л. 7 об. (4.), Папка но. 13.1878-1880 гг., 55.

¹ Τῇ δευτέρᾳ, ἀκριβῶς, ἡμέρᾳ τῆς ἐπισκέψεώς μου ἐγένετο λόγος ἐν πλήρῃ Συνόδῳ περὶ συστάσεως ἐνὸς ἐκκλησιαστικοῦ τῶν πατριαρχείων περιοδικοῦ, ὅπερ καὶ ἐγένετο δεκτόν.

² Издан<ие> Силлогоса и сборник патриарших указов отправлены; издан<ние> Силлогоса состоит из всех томов, исключая первый, который у Вас есть, второй том, предупреждаю Вас, сост<авляет> большую редкость, и его ни за какие деньги достать нельзя. ...Также посылаю Вам весьма редкую книгу "Τὰ Ζαγοριακά" Издан<ие> Силлогоса и сборник патриарших указов отправлены; издан<ние> Силлогоса состоит из всех томов, исключая первый, который у Вас есть, второй том, предупреждаю Вас, сост<авляет> большую редкость, и его ни за какие деньги достать нельзя. ...Также посылаю Вам весьма редкую книгу "Τὰ Ζαγοριακά". The same letter mentions a book called Τόμος ᾽Αγάπης, which according to Begleri is difficult to find. Папка Но 13, 1878-1880 гг., Л.18, {6}, 59.

³ Τὰ τελευταῖα μόνον γεγονότα, τὰ ἐν Ἀνδριανουπόλει, ἐλύπησαν πάντας. Ἄξιός ἀγχόνης ἐὰν ἦτο ὁ Ἀνδριανουπόλεως, ὡς ἄτομον, δὲν ἔπρεπε πῶσως νὰ ἐρέθῃ ὁ ὄχλος τοσοῦτον ἐλεύθερος...Οἱ Ὀθωμανοὶ-Λέγουσι εἰ διεγείρουσι οὕτω τὰ πνεύματα, ὅτι τοιοῦτον συμβάν λαμβάνει χώραν μόνον ἐπὶ ῥωσσοκρατίαν ὡς καὶ ἐπὶ τῆς ἐποχῆς τῶν γιαντισάρων...κτλ., παραδειγματικὴν μόνον ποίνη θὰ ἐλαφρύνει τὴν ἐν Ἀνδρινουπόλει Ῥωσικὴν ἀρχήν. Ἡ αὐτοῦ παναγιότης ἅμα τῇ ἀγγελίᾳ τοῦ θλιβεροῦ τούτου συμβάντος ἀνέκραζεν: <Ὁ τῆς δυστυχίας! Καὶ τοῦτο ἐν στιγμαῖς καθ' ἃς διεννοοῦμεθα νὰ αἰρώμεν τὸ σχίσμα>, -μοι εἶπον, ἀλλὰ δὲν ἤξεύρω

last events in Adrianople had saddened all. Even if as a person the Metropolitan from Adrianople deserved this treatment/hanging, it was not proper to let the crowd to do whatever it wants. The Ottomans/state that this kind of spirited behaviour or arousal of passions is only possible under Russian rule or during the epoch of the janissaries. ..and so on., only exemplary punishment can elevate the guilt of the Russians in Adrianople. As soon as his all Holiness heard of this tragic event, he shouted: "O what misfortune! And precisely on this moment, when we were contemplating to raise the schisma" –they told me. I cannot confirm it completely, but they state, that His All Holiness expressing his sorrow also added to those present: "He who has committed this act of hatred, will have a weight on his soul (psyche), general Ignatieff...>. The tensions between the Patriarchate, Ottomans and Russians are fully highlighted by Begleri. As we have seen general Ignatieff is mentioned, who was involved in the Bulgarian ecclesial schism and initially during his career supported the Patriarchate of Constantinople.

In another letter Begleri reacts to the issue of the acceptance into the Orthodox church of Bulgarian clergy who found themselves in the territory united with Serbia and the answer of the Russian Orthodox Church and its Synod to this issue. These issues where often discussed in the Russian press (for example in Восток, no. 39 Голос no. 85).¹ "The articles printed in Новое Времени (New Age), in May and September and which were written in an antagonistic fashion towards the Ecumenical Patriarchate, where sent from Saint Petersburg in translation to His Holiness the Ecumenical Patriarch, and in the letter it is stated, that that they were written by the *ober* secretary of the Holy Synod Polonskiy (Полонский), after they were approved and ordered by one high cleric, who is famous in the Russian Orthodox environment

βέβαια ὅτι ἡ αὐτοῦ παναγιότης καθ' ἣν στιγμήν ἐξέφρασεν τὴν λύπην τοῦ εἶπεν εἰς τοὺς παρεστώτας καὶ τάδε: <Θὰ ἔχη βάρος ἐν τῇ ψυχῇ τοῦ ὁ αἴτιος ἐκεῖνος τοῦ μίσους τοῦτου, ὁ στρατηγὸς Γυνάτιεφ...>Ibid., Папка no. 13., 1878-1880 гг., л. 18, 6; 62.

¹ Статьи, напечатанные в <Новом Времени> в мае и сентябре месяце и писанные в враждебном духе против Вселенского патриархата, прислали из Петербурга в переводе Вселенскому патриарху, и в письме, где говорят, что они написаны обер-секретарем Св. Синода Полонским по одобрению и поручению одного высокого духовного сановника, известного в русском духовном мире тем, что лекции одного знаменитого русского иерарха он издал несколькими отдельными книгами и выдал за свои."

for having stolen lectures of one great Russian hierarch and printed them as his own under various volumes." Further:¹ "Earlier on I have written to you and asked you, that you write two rows regarding /letter 28 the decision taken by the Friends of Spiritual enlightenment in Saint Petersburg about the invitation to Russia of the Ecumenical Patriarch and other Patriarchs. Now I read in the New Age (Новое Времени), in the number 1472 3/15 April (in the chronicle) the following. It is interesting, from where did the newspapers of Constantinople have reached this testimony about future events and reforms in our Church-in the outer measure we do not know anything about this. That is why I run to you to ask once more, if you could remind about this; the newspapers of Constantinople took this information through me from the newspaper East <Восток> number 33, page 53, 2nd column, and from the Ecclesial Communal Monitor (Церковно-общественного Вестника), no. 15, page 3, column 2."²

In letter 30³ there is some discussion about the fact that the Patriarch showed to Begleri some articles which were related to Murkos a well known Arab agitator in Moscow, who wrote favourably in relation to the Bulgarians and their ecclesial issues, taking sides of the Bulgarians.⁴ Begleri mentions how it is difficult to send material to Russia and that there is a lot of censorship on the way in Russia.⁵

¹ "Недавно писал Вам и просил, чтобы написали две строки по поводу/л.28 решения, принятого членами О<бществ>а любителей духовн<ого> просвещения в С.-Петербурге о приглашении в Россию Вселенского и прочих патриархов. Теперь я читаю в <Новом Времени> за Но 1472 3/15 апреля (в хронике) следующее. Интересно знать, откуда газеты Константинопольские добыли эти сведения о будущих делах и реформах в нашей Церкви-по крайней мере, у нас об этом ничего да этих пор неизвестно. Поэтому спешу Вас просить и еще раз, если возможно, упомянуть об этом; газеты же константинопольские взяли это известие через меня из газет <Восток> Но. 33, стр. 53, 2-й столб. И <Церковно-общественного Вестника> Но. 15, стр. 3, столб. 2."

² Ibid., Беглери, Г. П., *Россия и Христианский Восток, Константинопольский Патриархат в конце XIX в. Письма Г. П. к проф. И. Е. Троицкому, 1878-1898*, Л. А. Герд editor, Олег Абышко, Санкт Петербург, 2003; Л. 27, (11), 14 апреля 1880, Константинополь, Папка но. 13, 1878-1880 гг, 65.

³ Л. 30 (13), 20 ноября 1880, Константинополь, Папка Но. 13, 1878-1880, 66.

⁴ "Мнение православных арабов о греко-булгарской распре"/ Московские Ведомости, сентябрьская книжка журнала Православного обозрения.

⁵ Л. 32, (14), 4 декабря 1880, Константинополь, Папка Но. 14, 1881-1884, 68.

5 The Holy Land and foreign aspirations

Much has been said about the relationship between the state and Church in Russia. On closer inspection it needs to be stated that this relationship was not homogenous and the Russian state did not see itself as an ideological champion of Orthodox Christianity. Especially in the nineteenth century while Russian policy touched on many aspects of the Church, in fact, Russian foreign policy was not determined by the needs of the Church. Rather as many have commented the religious card played a side role in the policies of Tsarist Russia. Writers such as Жигарев even stress that on many levels Russian foreign policies were not even in the national interest, that they disregarded the interests of the common people and that the policies towards the Turks were in many respects against the interests of the Russians generally.¹ On the other hand during the rule of Peter the Great, Catherine the Great, there was a policy of religious pluralism. Russian policies of course had a relationship with the possibilities of pilgrimage.

The Treaty of Carlowitz 1699, marked a new phase of Russian interest in the Near East and indirectly the plight of Orthodox Christians in the East. During the negotiations the Russian representative in Vienna P. V. Voznitsyn insisted on religious questions being part of the agenda and on the return of the Holy Sepulchre to the Greeks. At this time the Serbs needed also protection from the Jesuits. Carlowitz enabled a treaty between Russia and Turkey in 1700, which confirmed the treaty of 1681, by which Russian clergy and laity received free passage, without taxation, to Jerusalem and the Holy Places.²

Peter the Great it seems, used the religious question when it would help him in his political aspirations, but this does not mean that he was primarily interested in religious issues. Thus for example, during the Pruth campaign against the Ottomans in 1711, he emphasised religious issues in a hope to stir a Christian revolt.³ However, during the

¹ Жигарев С. А., *Русская политика в восточном вопросе*, Москва, 1896, 348.

² The 1681 agreement of the Treaty of Bachchisarai, was the first occasion when holy places were mentioned in a Russian and Ottoman setting.

³ Peter sent a message to the Montenegrins hoping for their support. Stavrou G., T., *Russian Interests in Palestine, 1882-1914*, Institute for Balkan Studies, Thessaloniki, 1963, 20.

negotiations of 1711-1713, there were no discussions of religious issues.¹ Of course, another important event was the treaty of Kutchuk Kainardji under Catherine the Great (1774).² Russia would now be represented in Constantinople by a minister. There was the Turkish promise „to protect constantly the Christian religion and its churches, and it also allows the Ministers of the Imperial Court of Russia to make, upon all occasions, representation, as well as in favour of the new church at Constantinople.“ The new church in Constantinople, a public church of the Greek rite and in addition to the chapel in the minister’s residence, was to be „always under the protection of the Ministers of that (Russian) Empire, and secure from all coercion and outrage“. There also were promises for the welfare of the Russian pilgrims in Article VIII of the Treaty, which stipulated that „The subjects of the Russian Empire, laymen as well as ecclesiastics, shall have full liberty and permission to visit the Holy City of Jerusalem and other places deserving of attention. No....tax shall be exacted from those pilgrims and travellers by anyone whatsoever, either at Jerusalem or elsewhere, or on the road; but they shall be provided with such passports and firmans as are given to the subjects of the other friendly powers. During their sojourn in the Ottoman Empire, they shall not suffer the least wrong or injury; but on the contrary, they shall be under the strictest protection of the laws.“³

The Austrian Minister to Constantinople baron Thugutt, characterised the treaty as „a model of competence, on the part of Russian diplomats, and a rare example of stupidity on the part of the Turkish negotiators.“⁴ Another plan revealed to Joseph II of Austria in 1782, saw the creation of a Byzantine empire in the Balkans, under the rule of Catherine’s grandson Constantine who was born in 1779.⁵

Generally however, in the eighteenth century there was a deterioration in the relations with the Christian East and Russia. It appears that the state was moving away from a symbolic idealism which

¹ Stavrou G., T., *Russian Interests in Palestine, 1882-1914*, Institute for Balkan Studies, Thessaloniki, 1963, 15.

² Hurewitz, J. C., *Diplomacy in the Near and Middle East, A Documentary Record, 1535-1914*, New York, 1956, I., 54-61.

³ Ibid., 56-57.

⁴ Stavrou G., T., *Russian Interests in Palestine, 1882-1914*, Institute for Balkan Studies, Thessaloniki, 1963, 22.

⁵ See Vernadsky, G., *Political and Diplomatic History of Russia*, Boson, 1936.

characterised much of the post-Byzantium period. The donations and gifts to the Eastern Christians originated from receipts of the estates of dioceses, defrayed from property of the Russian Church, in contrast to the practice in the seventeenth century, when aid came from government sources.¹

Earlier on, the Tsars were handing out gifts personally. It seems, that the earlier Tsars were more involved on the ideological and emotional level towards the East than later on. Thus, on one occasion in the more distant period the Tsar upon hearing the oppression of the Christians under Ottoman rule, promised to the representatives of the Eastern Churches, that he would employ all his army, adding his own blood to the last drop, „but I shall try to free them“.²

Recently however, more scholars are reminding us, that the policies of religious tolerance inaugurated by Catherine the Great, were one of the prime reasons, why Russia in comparison to the west was so successful in enticing Muslim populations and regions into its Empire. In any event this religious tolerance was also seen in Russia's missionary attitude generally. The Russian missionary style of non-aggressive enculturation was a revolutionary concept unseen in the world of aggressive colonialism and outright racism which developed later also with Darwinism. This phenomenon of a soft and unobtrusive style of mission is yet to be fully appreciated. Even though Alexander I, closed down the Russian Bible society in 1824, efforts of understanding and learning native languages and cultures as part of missionary efforts were well under way. This produced outstanding scholarship, in Asian studies.³

In terms of state and religious policy in Russia in the nineteenth century we cannot speak of a clear cut and obvious policy. Religious policy (as controlled and determined by state interests) just as other facets of political thought was often contradictory and in a way directionless. In terms of religious life undoubtedly one of the key figures was Konstantin Petrovich Pobedonostsev (Константин Петрович

¹ Igor Smolitsch, Zur Geschichte der Beziehungen zwischen der Russischen Kirche und dem Orthodoxen Osten, in: *Ostkirchliche Studien*, VII March-June, Wurzburg, 1958, 6.

² Жигарев С. А., *Русская политика в восточном вопросе*, Москва, 1896, 91.

³ Geraci, R. P., Khodarkovsky M., *Of Religion and Empire*, Cornell University press, Cornell, 2001, 277.

Победоносцев 1827-1907) often portrayed as a prime example of conservative ideology. He was the Ober procurator (Обер Прокуратор) of the Holy Synod (1880-1905). Importantly, he was a representative of the idea of a state/national Church which would have dominance in the state just as there was one monarch in the state. His conservative and centristic views however, are not as primitive as they appear on first glance.

The centrist policies and ideology promulgated by Pobedonostsev turned out to be unrealistic given the developments later. Thus for example, after the year 1905 when a greater degree of religious tolerance was established it turned out that many chose to be outside of the official state Church. One commentator gives the figure of 170 936 people who after 1905 chose to enter the Roman Catholic Church (But this could have been the result of some segments of the population to re-join the Roman Catholic Church). Of course, generally the decades before the revolution of 1917 were marked by the explosion of mystical and philosophical movements and there was also and a tendency against religious centralisation.¹

What is interesting for our purposes is Pobedonostsevs idea of the Greeks generally. Of course the nineteenth century was a period of increased national awareness of the Greeks all over the Mediterranean. Pobedonostsev clearly disliked the Greek hierarchy and it seems, viewed it in terms of stereotypes, which portrayed the Greek hierarchy as backward, only interested in money and influence. The Greeks allegedly were further full of intrigues.²

Pobedonostsevs prejudices towards the south and Greeks was one stream of thought that undoubtedly determined Russian attitudes towards Palestine. However overall, it is clear, that the majority of

¹ Полунов А.Ю. Национальное и религиозное в системе имперского управления: к вопросу о деятельности и политических взглядах К.П.Победоносцева. Государственное управление. *Электронный вестник*, Выпуск но, 34, Октябрь 2012 г., 2. <https://istina.msu.ru/workers/509317>

² See Российский государственный исторический архив/РГИА. Ф. 1604. И.Д. Делянов. Оп.1. Д.515.Л.177об (письмо от 3 октября 1895 г.); ОР РГБ.Ф.126. Новиковы-Киреевы. К. 8479.Д.18.Л.14-14об. (письмо О.А. Новиковой, 1899); Письма Победоносцева к Александру III.Т.1.С.190-191 (письмо от 4 августа 1888 г.). РГИА Ф.796. Канцелярия Святейшего Синода. Оп. 205.Д.629.Л.16 (письмо от 26 мая 1884 г.), cited in Полунов А.Ю. *ibid*.

people involved in Palestine from Russia took a more positive approach to the Greeks and the Eastern Patriarchates. Certainly this attitude is the one adopted by the various Russian endeavours in Palestine represented by various organisations which did indeed have a genuine interest in the all-encompassing development of the Greek Church and its survival. It is certainly not the case that the Russians had an interest in decreasing the Greek element by for example supporting the Arab-Orthodox Christians as some commentators seem to suggest.

The Russian Turkish War in 1828 was successful for Russia and the nationalists expected some other positive results. The army was commanded by Diebitsch and looking back some commentators argued that because the army was commanded by a foreigner and policy was led by another foreigner Nesselrode, possible Russian ambitions for Constantinople were destroyed.¹ After the Vienna Congress a Holy Alliance was established, including Russia, Prussia, and Austria, which aimed to protect Christian values. After the 1830s Russian policy and culture was at a crossroads and more national values were appearing.

5a Western missionary activity in the Holy Land

The nineteenth century itself was a turning period for the religious and political developments in Palestine. Aggressive Roman Catholic and Protestant activities in the Holy Land provided a new challenge to the Orthodox. This was coupled with other religious movements and issues related to Judaism. The Roman Catholic missionary aggressiveness was not only a result of a new ideological relationship with the Holy Land, but was also the result of the simple fact, that in the beginning of the nineteenth century the Roman Catholic presence in Palestine almost collapsed due to problems in Europe.²

The Protestants were attacking the Roman Catholics also. Generally the Protestants viewed the Orthodox Churches as extremely backward. Thus Christian Fallscheer wrote in 1877, that many Christians in the country had "left the superstition and bigotry of these Eastern Churches".

¹ Покъвишнев М.Н., *Дневник* in: *Русский Архив*, Москва, 1911, том 2, 1911, 202-203; Ingle Harold N., *Nesselrode and the Russian Raproachment with Britain 1836-1844*, University of California Press 1976, 29.

² Van der Leest C., *Conversion and Conflict in Palestine, The Missions of the Church Missionary Society and the Protestant Bishop Samuel Gobat*, Leiden, 2008, 153.

ches", but that they [i.e. the Protestant missionaries] wanted "real conversions [...] men who saw the heavenly light with their Spiritual eyes".¹

The Orthodox could no longer afford to pursue things as they did previously. The Russians soon realised the dangers facing the Orthodox presence in the Holy Land. There was also a traditional tension in the relationship between Greeks and Christian Arabs in the Middle East, which could have resulted in loss of Christian Arabs from the Orthodox Church. The Uniate missionaries utilised these traditional problems to gain ground, but in some instances lost ground themselves, like for example thanks to the introduction of the Gregorian Calendar into the Uniate Church in 1858, which was met with widespread rejection among the Uniate believers. Even the Uniate Patriarch Clement exiled himself into a monastery and received petitions from congregations that if the Gregorian calendar will be introduced into the Churches then Old Style priests will be brought into the Churches by force.² There were conversions from the Uniates to the Orthodox Church and the Russians played a key role in the successful conclusions of these conversions, since the Arabs did not trust the Greeks. In this regard the Russians had a traditionally strong role in the Patriarchate of Antioch.

The new activities in the Holy Land finally also led to the decision of the Patriarch of Jerusalem to personally abide in Jerusalem, which was until then not the case and of course provided grounds for moral problems, not least that it let the brotherhood of the Holy Sepulchre to be pretty much in control in Jerusalem. From 1843 the Patriarch of Jerusalem moved from Constantinople to Jerusalem. Pope Pius IX ordered the Latin Patriarch of Jerusalem to actually move to Jerusalem. An analogous situation was also related to the Patriarch of Antioch. The interconfessional tensions continued and there where constant battles over the Holy sites and various intrigues ensued. For example, there

¹ Ibid, 171; Fallsheer to the CMS, "Report of the quarter ending June 30th 1877", Nablus, 22 June 1877, Birmingham/UL, C M/O 24/3.

² Архив Русской Духовной Миссии в Иерусалиме (further АРДМ), дело Но, 1015, Переписка по делу воссоединения униатов. Cited by Архимандрит Никодим (Ротов). История Русской Духовной Миссии в Иерусалиме in: *Богословские Труды Сборник Двадцатый, Сборник посвящен Митрополиту Ленинградскому и Новгородскому Никодиму (+ 5 сентября 1978)*, Издание Московской Патриархии, Москва, 1979, 15-83, here 32.

was a scandal when a Silver Star with engraved arms of France was stolen from the holy Manger in Bethlehem where it hung.¹

In the period of the 1840s king Frederick William IV of Prussia was also concerned about the situation of the Christians in Palestine. Unsurprisingly, he was mainly interested in the plight of the Protestants. He proposed more or less secretly to the Church of England that together with the Prussian Evangelical Church they should form a Protestant bishopric in Palestine.² In 1842 the first Prussian Vice Consul was appointed in Palestine Dr. Gustav Ernst Schultz.

On the 12/24 February, 1841 the Prussian government sent a circular to the five great powers offering the establishment of a kind of Christian protectorate in Palestine. This happened in the context of a conservative movement in the Prussian government and the desire for closer ties with Britain.³

More will be stated later, but we have to mention here the controversial Count Nesselrode (1780-1862) who had a brilliant political career in Russia serving for 59 years under five different rulers (baptised as Anglican). Nesselrode was not the type of person to subscribe to Russian imperialism in line with Catherine the Great. Thus in any of his actions regarding the Russian presence in Palestine we cannot look for national motives. In this regard in 13th of June 1842 Nesselrode called in his report for the establishment of a Russian spiritual figure in Palestine to facilitate the development of the Orthodox Christians there and to counter the western propaganda which had turned the life of the local Orthodox Christians into something unbearable. In any case he called for an inconspicuous presence of a Russian clergyman of lower rank who would gather information being at the same time unobtrusive and not provoking the other powers in play. This obviously seems strange. Nesselrode could hardly have been interested in any spiritual matters or

¹ Peretz Don, *The Middle East Today*, sixth ed. Praeger publishes, 1994, 87.

² Van der Leest Charlotte, The Protestant Bishopric of Jerusalem and the Missionary Activities in Nazareth: the Gobat years, 1846-1897, in: *Christian Witness Between Continuity and New Beginnings, Modern Historical missions in the Middle East*, M. Tamcke, M., Marten (eds), Lit Verlag, Berlin, 2006, 199-213.

³ Hirschfeld Y., Some Findings on Prussian and Ottoman policies in Palestine during the 1840s Based on the writings of Dr. Gustav E. Schultz the First Prussian Vice-Consul to Jerusalem 1842-1851, in: *Palestine in the Late Ottoman Period*, Kushner D. edit., Brill, Leiden, 1986, 263-280 here 264.

in any form of an Orthodox mission, but perhaps his response and new policy was provoked by the establishment of the protestant bishop in Palestine or due to the increasing political interests of the western powers. Nesselrode and his ideas of a an inconspicuous Orthodox clergyman were obviously naïve. The document also had a note, which implied the "leadership role" of the Russian diplomatic agents in these matters related to the Church.

The battle was fought on many fronts and there was animosity between the Protestant and Roman Catholic missionary organisations. It seems, that French diplomacy was very successful in promoting the Roman Catholic cause. The degree of animosity is well expressed in the following statement: "A pompous French embassy is now entering this country with an Italian Jesuit in its train; and, like all loyal subjects to the Pope, we have little reason to doubt that every member of that Embassy will be likely to exert himself to the utmost here to extend the power and influence of the "man of sin".¹

As we have implied the "sudden" interest in Palestine also saw the establishment of the Latin Patriarchate by Pius IX. It had been established in 1099 after the crusaders captured Jerusalem but after the defeat of the crusaders it had fallen into oblivion. In 1847 it had been re-established with a resident "Patriarch" Joseph Valerga. Needless to say this was a direct affront to the Greek Orthodox Patriarch. In 1853 Latin pastoral work was begun with the establishment of the parish Beit Jala which was the first to belong to this Patriarchate. Then Latin schools where founded. The same year 1847 a concordant was signed with the Vatican by the Tsarist government, where the Roman Catholic Church was able to fill vacant episcopal seats in Russia, Poland and Lithuania. This agreement was slowly eroded especially after the Polish uprising when the Pope sided with the rebels. The Latins had problems amongst each other also and it appears that the dominant Franciscan presence not always found common ground with the representatives of the Holy See. The Franciscan presence was strong in the period around the fifteenth century. The Franciscans managed to manoeuvre themselves into various Christians Shrines including the Holy Sepulchre. Of course, all these Latin acquisitions where made possible by various intrigues, bribery and cooperation with the local Islamic authorities. Interestingly

¹ See Perkins, J., *The Missionary Herald*, vol. I, Boston, 1840, 273-274.

enough until today there is a lack of self-criticism on the part of some Roman Catholic commentators and the Franciscan presence is portrayed as being the victim of persecution by other Christians, notwithstanding the fact that their own presence in the Holy Land was intrusive in the first place.¹ Earlier on the Western powers took the Franciscans under their wing and supported their claims. Thus Pope Urban VIII issued a bull in 1623 urging the protection of the Franciscans in the Holy Land. As is well known generally this period was beset by "unionist" movements in Europe. In 1622 the *Congregatio de Propaganda Fide* was formed to oversee the effectiveness of Roman Catholic missionary work. Similarly in 1619 the Capuchins were interested to oversee the return of the Coptic Christians in Egypt to the Roman church.² Chitrovo argues, that the Franciscans used the Holy Sites for self-profit, to enrich their order, while the Patriarchates members used the finances to support their relatives and other figures.³

Sometimes the Western efforts were comical in terms of their rather unspecific goals. Thus the idea was to bring the "Bible" to the locals in Palestine. Even the Pope realised this "Biblical" potential and called on a greater emphasis on the Bible (Pope Leo XIII and his encyclical *Providentissimus Deus*/1893). This was undoubtedly at least partly influenced by the Protestant successes in emphasising the central role of the Bible in their missionary efforts.

In any event other formations emerged such as the *Sisters of the Rosary*. Sultane Marjam Rattas (born October 4, 1843) was from a family of devout Arab Christians from Jerusalem and Al-Karim. The family served as interpreters to the Franciscans and were fundamental in their congregational activity. In 1874 she started to experience miraculous visions of Mary. These in part urged her to found a new congregation of "the Rosary" of native nuns.

¹ See for example, the site <http://www.custodia.org/default.asp?id=427>. It portrays the Franciscans as innocent victims of Greek Orthodox who "moved to Palestine" after the Franciscans!!!

² See Meinardus O. F.A., *Christians in Egypt, Orthodox, Catholic and Protestant Communities Past and Present*, The American University in Cairo, press, 2006, 75.

³ Хитрово В.Н., История Русской Духовной Миссии в Иерусалиме, 83-202, in: В. Н. Хитрово, *Собрание Сочинений и Писем*, том 2, Составление, Н. Н. Лисового, Издательство Олега Абышко, Москва, 2011, here 124.

The Russian presence in the Holy Land especially in the period from the latter half of the nineteenth century coincided with a period in which this area was a melting pot of cultures, political aspirations, and educational development. It needs to be said, that the Ottoman Empire at that moment unconsciously or consciously contributed to the conditions, which enabled this multiculturalism in this period. This kind of multiculturalism was encapsulated by for example a young Jewish lawyer by the name of Shlomo Yellin, who in 1909 addressed a gathering of Ottoman notables in Beirut. „Born and raised in the Old City of Jerusalem, Yellin was the quintessential polyglot Levantine: he spoke Yiddish with his Polish father, Arabic with his Iraqi mother, Hebrew with his Zionist older brother, and Judeo-Spanish with his Sephardi Jewish neighbours; he wrote love letters in English to the schoolgirl niece he later married, and he jotted notes to himself in French. At the same time, the fez- and suit wearing „Suleiman Effendi“ was the perfect Ottoman gentleman: at the prestigious Galatasaray Imperial Lycée in Istanbul, he studied Ottoman Turkish, Arabic, and Persian language, literature, translation, and calligraphy; Ottoman and Islamic history; hygiene, math, science, philosophy, geography, and French literature. After a brief stint at a German university, Yellin graduated from the Ottoman Imperial Law Academy with certification in Islamic law, Ottoman civil and criminal law, and international commercial and maritime law.“¹

In a way extraordinary are the contents of the speech of Yellin encapsulating an interesting consciousness of being an Ottoman. Yellin stated to his audience, „The noble Ottoman nation, is made up of different groups who live together, who for the sake of the homeland (*vatan*) have shaped themselves into one mass. In the Ottoman Empire the different peoples are equal to one another and it is not lawful to divide according to race; the Turkish, Arab, Armenian, and Jewish elements have mixed one with the other, and all of them are connected together, molded into one shape for the holy *vatan*. Each part of the nation took upon itself the name of „Ottoman“ as a source of pride and an honorable mark. The responsibility and (illegible) of our holy *vatan*

¹ Central Zionist Archives, A412/29. Cited in Campos M., U., *Ottoman Brothers, Muslims, Christians and Jews in Early Twentieth-Century Palestine*, Stanford University press, Stanford, 2011, 1.

must be our sole aim, and it is necessary to be ready every second and every minute to sacrifice out lives for it.....Now we keep (the homeland) deep in our hearts as a basic foundation of our national education. The life of the homeland is bound up with that of the nation.”¹

The changes of the Ottoman land laws in the 1850s meant also that a number of Christian groups came to Palestine, which included Germans, Americans and Swedes and who purchased land. Various Jewish groups also came and there was an increase in Jewish emigration in the last half of the nineteenth century.² The question of the existence of Old Believers in Palestine is also an interesting one.³ There are indications of their efforts to establish themselves in the Middle East.

In Jerusalem itself, beginning in the 1850s various religious groups including Jewish Philanthropic societies and Christian religious institutions purchased land providing for mostly closed and homogeneous neighbourhoods especially in the area of the New City. The Old city was more mixed up in its parts.⁴ Undoubtedly, possibilities of land purchase also played a role in the Russian presence, which was increasingly illustrated by new buildings and lands belonging to Russia in the Holy Land.

¹ Central Zionist Archives, A412/21. „Noble Ottoman nation“ = Millet-i Osmaniyye necibeyi; „different peoples“ = mil-i muhtelif; „divide according to race“ = tefrik-i cinsiyet. Cited in Campos M., *ibid.*, 2.

² Campos M., U., *Ottoman Brothers, Muslims, Christians and Jews in Early Twentieth-Century Palestine*, Stanford University press, Stanford 2011, 12.

³ See reference to the Old Believers in the Русский Государственный Исторический Архив, f. 796, op. 120, d. 806-Русская духовная миссия в Иерусалиме, 1839-1842; Kane E., M., *Pilgrims, Piety and Politics, The Founding of the First Russian Ecclesiastical Mission in Jerusalem, 177-199*, in: *Christian Witness Between Continuity and New Beginnings, Modern Historical missions in the Middle East*, M. Tamcke, M., Marten editors, Lit Verlag, Berlin, 2006, 179-199, here 189.

⁴ *Ibid.* 17.

6 Russian contacts with and travel to Mt. Athos, Constantinople and the Holy Land

6a Biblical themes in Russian literature

Further research is needed to assess the nature of the Russian relationship with the Holy Land in the period immediately following the conversion of st. Vladimir. Information about Russian contacts with Palestine relate predominantly to the period after the important events of 1009 when the Arabs seriously damaged Christian buildings in Palestine. Yahya of Antioch writes: "And the Cranium was destroyed and (the basilica) of Saint Constantine and all, and everything located in the area and completely destroyed where the holy relics. And Ibn Zachir desired to destroy the tomb and extinguish its trace from the earth destroyed a great part of it and destroyed it."¹ It is possible that the area of the tomb was restored during the reign of Constantine Monomachos.

The Russian Chronicles mention elements relating to Palestine. However, it is difficult to draw chronological information on Palestine itself from these chronicles, since these are primarily interested in describing events within a Russian Chronological framework.

In the Russian Primary Chronicle there is a story how Vladimir asked the Jews, where are their lands. The replied that these were in Jerusalem and allegedly added that God had become angry due to their sins, and had dispersed them all over and that their lands were given to the Christians. Russian scholars such as Соловьев² have suggested that the Christians mentioned here were not original Christians of Palestine, but actually Crusaders. Thus this statement could have been testimony to one of the first redactions of the Chronicle in the aftermath of Jerusalem being taken by the crusaders in 1099.

Continuity between the Russian environment and the Holy Land for the early medieval period can be seen in literature. There are similarities between the Russian Primary Chronicle and the text of George Hamartolos (the work of George Hamartolos was very influential in Russian historiography), Παλαιός (this Byzantine work

¹ Розень, В. Р., *Императоръ Василий Болгаробойца, Извлечения из летописи Яхьи Антиохийского*, Санкт Петербург, 1883, 34.

² Соловьев С., М., *Писатели Русской Истории*, I, прим. Москва, 1893, 241.

was adapted in Russia) and the Slavic version of John Malalas on the Babylonian tower. The *Palaios* is also close to the work of Cosmas Indicopleustas. Benjamin of Tudela also mentions the Babylonian tower. The Laurentian Primary Chronicle states: "After the confusion of the tongues, God overthrew the tower with a great wind and the ruin of it lies between Assur and Babylon. In height and in breadth it is 5400 and 33 cubits, and the ruin was preserved for many years."¹ In this context we can mention also the book of Jubilees preserved in Ethiopian where there is a similar reference. It is strange, that there is a coincidence between the Ethiopian version and the Russian one, as if the Russian one was dependent on the Ethiopian one. In fact strange as it may appear it seems that the Russian version is directly dependent on the Ethiopian one. Herodotes (History I,181) also mentions the dimensions of the temple of Baal. It seems these dimensions are similar to those given by Kosmas Indicopleustas for the Babylonian tower. For the Babylonian tower see also the references in Cyril of Alexandria, (*Contra Iulianum*, I, I.), and Eusebius of Cesarea (*Praeparatio Evangelica* IX). See also the visit of Saint Paula (4th century) and Theodosius (around 580). A certain aristocrat of Babylon deacon Eudokiy speaks of the impossibility of living in Babylon due to snakes.²

The *Laurentian Letopis* (41) also mentions the story associated with the making of the Golden Calf (Exodus). It was apparently seen by Epiphanius (9th century), further the Russian pilgrim Vasilii Poznyakov and others visiting Sinai, where this cast for the Golden Calf was reportedly located (в долине Шуэйбъ), холмъ Гарунъ. (Хоневтиріон Аарона). Did this Russian work rely on Ephiphanius in terms of the place of the Golden Calf? Similarly there is the mention of the mountain where Moses died.³ See in this regard Deuteronomy (32: 49 and 34: 1) in the Septuagint. There is a relationship with the famous IV century pilgrim Sylvia of Aquitaine. She saw a church, where Moses body was laid by angels, and the "burial place of Moses still remains a secret" (Mount Navay; Нававъ). Antonino Piacenza also has an account of this

¹ *The Russian Primary Chronicle, Laurentian text*, trans. Samuel Hazzard Cross, Olgerd P. Sherbowitz-wetzor, the medieval academy of America, Massachusetts, Cambridge. No publishing date given, 5, 52.

² Tobler, T., *Itinera et descriptions Terrae Sanctae*, Geneva, 1877.

³ Полное Собрание Русских Летописей, *Лаврентьевская летопись*, I, 41, Санкт Петербургъ 1846.

purport (around 570).¹ He places the area of death of Moses eight miles from the Jordan. (See also Sossi/Coci, *Voyage en Terre Sainte*, I., 289; Titmar 1217).

As we can see the literature is interested in Biblical sites such as the Temple and other things associated with it, which would imply a symbolical and real interest in these central features of the Judeo/Christian tradition.

For New Testament themes we can draw here on the Tver Chronicle, where there is talk of the Well where the Annunciation took place. There are similarities between the voyage of Daniel and the Tver chronicle about the well. Saint Paula speaks about this place, that the Mother of God took water from here; Also mention of this is found in Sylvia of Aquitaine, Arkuluf, Bede, Foka, Zebulf (1102-1103). The Chronicle of Novgorod mentions a board taken from the Holy Sepulchre (year 1134) and brought to Russia (доска оконечная), which could have been part of the destroyed tomb of Christ, which was destroyed during the arab invasion in 1009. Some Russian figures are also compared to Biblical figures. In the interesting work called "Life of Alexander" Alexander Nevskiy is compared to the Biblical Joseph and the Roman Vespasian but also to Samson and Solomon.²

6b Monastic contacts

One of the important episodes in the early phases of the Russian/south-eastern relationships was the connection between the monastery of the Kievo Pechersk Lavra in Kiev and the Holy Mountain on Mt. Athos. The connection with Mt. Athos is an important one, since through Mt. Athos there could have been links with Palestine and the monastic tradition therein.

One of the founders of the Russian monastic tradition Antoniý of Pechersk was also associated with the Holy Mountain. The Russian Primary Chronicle (Повесть временных лет) speaks about him and his association with Athos. According to the Chronicle of the Pereyaslavlya Suzdal (Переяславля-Суздальская) the secular name of Antoniý was

¹ Tobler-Molinier, *Itinera Hierosolym*, I, Genevae, 1879.

² Čiževskij, D., *History of Russian Literature, From the eleventh century to the end of Baroque*, Mouton and Co, The Hague, 1971, 138.

Antipa.¹ It states further, that he was from the city of Lyubtscha (Любча) and that he heard from some local cleric who possibly originated from the south about the Holy Mountain.² Further we learn, that "He walked around and saw a monastery here and enlivened the monastic form of life".³

In the *Letopis* under the year 1051, we read, "There was a certain man with the secular name from the city of Lyubtscha called Antipa⁴, and God placed a desire in his heart to go and visit the Holy Mountain, and seeing the various monasteries here he enlivened the monastic form of life, and he came to this monastery and begged the *igumenos* to accept his desire to become a monk. He listened to his request and tonsured him, giving him the name of Anthony, giving him instructions and teaching him about monasticism, and he told him: go to Russia again, taking with you blessings from the Holy Mountain, and there will be many monks from you, he gave him his blessing, told him "peace be with you".⁵ Thus we are told, that the person Antipa, came to the Holy mountain and desired to be a monk. After a while he was tonsured as a monk with the name Antoni and he was sent back to Russia by the local *Igumenos* of the monastery on Mt. Athos.

The so called *Beginnings of the Pechersk Monastery* ("о зачале Печерского монастыря") attributed to Nestor, in its second more extensive version states, that Antoni went to Athos twice. That he came to Kiev after his tonsure in 1013, and that after the death of Boris and Gleb (1015) and also after Yaroslav became *velikiy knyaz* (1015), he left for Athos again. Antoni again came to Kiev again after Ilarion became Metropolitan in 1051. The situation in this period is itself interesting

¹ *Летописец Переяславля-Суздальского*, Москва, Университетская типография, 1851, 45.

² ПСРЛ. Т. 2. *Летопись по Ипатскому списку*, Санкт Петербург, 1871, 110.

³ "виде ту манастирь сущи и обиходивъ, възлюбивъ чернечьскый образъ" ПСРЛ. Т. 1. *Лаврентьевская летопись*, -Л. Издательство АН СССР, 1926/28г., 157; edition 1846 *ibid*.

⁴ "Бе некий человек именем мирскимъ, от града Любча, по имени Антипа Супральская летопись 164.

⁵ „и възложи жему Богъ в сердце в страну ити; он же устремися в святую Гору, и виде ту манастиря сущая, и обиходив, възлюбив чернечьскый образ, приде в манастирь ту, и умоли игумена того, дабы на невзложил образ мнишьскый. Он же послушав его, постриже, и нарек имя ему Антоний, наказав его и научив чернечьскому образу, и рече ему: иди в Русь опять, и буди благословение од Святыхъ Горы, яко от тебе мнози черньци быти имут" благословий и отпусти его, рек ему: "иди с миромъ" *Ibid.*, *Лаврентьевская Летопись* 152, 153.

since Yaroslav staged a naval campaign against Constantinople in 1043, and after peace was established (and after he took some Byzantine possessions in the Crimea and Chersonsus) he married his son Vsevolod I to one of the daughters of the Byzantine emperor.

However, it is difficult to reconstruct the whereabouts of Antoniyy on Mt. Athos. The association of Antoniyy with the monastery of Esphigmenou on Mt. Athos is an Athonite tradition of a later date and there are doubts about this association.¹ Perhaps the association with Esphigmenou was occasioned by the desire on the part of the monastery to link itself with Russia in order to gain access to alms.

From the monastery of the caves in Kiev there were other pilgrims including Nikon (Никонъ), who travelled to Mt. Athos due to the advice of *prepodobniy Antoniyy*², also Varlaam (Варлаамъ), (*igumenos* of the monastery of the martyr Dimitriy, built by *knyaz Izyaslav*) who travelled to Jerusalem and Constantinople and purchased some necessary things for his monastery.³ Further a certain Ephrem (Ефремъ), who went to Constantinople.⁴ Contacts between the Caves monastery and the south are testified in other parts of the *Kievo Pechersk paterikon*, and there is also a story of masters coming to Kiev from Constantinople to Antoniyy and Theodosiyy to build a church in Kiev, commissioned by an empress from Blachernae, who also sent relics and who foresaw the time of death of Antoniyy and Theodosiyy. The empress wanted to build a church in Rus. In the thirteenth century we have information about a monk living in the Theodosiyya cave, whose name was Amoniyy (Аммоній), and who visited the Holy mountain and Jerusalem.

6c Journeys in the period of Abbot Daniel

Of course, one of the earliest pilgrims of higher rank is the *Knyagina* Olga herself who travelled to Constantinople in the tenth century. An anonymous writer of the fifteenth century wrote about this journey: "Gods providence from above has illuminated the mind...she (Olga) desired to go on a journey to the city of the Tsar, and see on her very own eyes the beauty of the Christian service there, and to hear the

¹ Соловьев С.М., История России с древнейших времен, кт. 1, изд. 2, 255.

² *Патерикъ Печерскій*, Киево-Печерская лавра, Киев, 1760, 93.

³ Ibid. 99

⁴ Ibid. 100, 101.

words of salvation and to comprehend the Orthodox faith",... "as a good vessel of faith searching for the precious Christ".¹

One of the most famous and well known travellers was the *igumenos* Daniel (travelled between 1106 and 1108). His life context is more or less unknown. He was possibly a monk of the Kiev Pechersk Lavra monastery. Perhaps he was later after his return the bishop of Yurevo (Юрьево, from 1113 and died in 1122).² Daniel travelled extensively and he visited most of the "important sites" in the Holy land. He may have led a group to the Holy Land. He is also interesting in that he describes his encounter with the Latin king Baldwin. He is informed by a mysterious monk from the monastery of Saint Savva in Palestine who was a saint and educated person (Свята и стар денми и книжна вельми).

Daniel addressing king Baldwin writes: "My *knyaz* my master, I implore you, for God and for the Russian *knyaz* (plural), help me to place a candle on the saintly tomb for the entire Russian land (for all of our *knyaz*-plural for the entire Russian land, and for all Christians)".³ Later at the end of his writings he writes: "And God listened to this, and mentioning on the Tomb of the Lord as well as in other places, all the names of the Russian *knyaz* (plural), and *knyagin* (plural) their children, bishops, *igumens*, *boyars*, and my spiritual children, and of all the Christians I have not forgotten any, I have commemorated all of them, I have prostrated myself first for all the *knaz* (plural) and then prayed for my own sins."⁴

¹ "Но о Божія промысла свѣше свѣтомъ разума осиаема....восхотѣ (Ольга) шествовати путь къ царствующему граду тамо своимъ очима жъ слаще видѣти красоту службы христіанскія и слышати слово благочестія и разумно увѣдати православную вѣру", "яко добрый сосудъ вѣры ищущи безцѣннаго бисера Христа" Рукопись Московской Духовной Академии, XV в. Но. 198, *О желаніи шествія въ Царь градъ блаженныя Ольги*, л. 105 об.-106.

² Карамзин Н. М., *Исторія государства Россійскаго*, типография Эдуарда Праця, /репринт, Русский язык, 1989, изд. Пятое, т. II./ Санкт Петербургъ 1842, 225.

³ "Княже мой, господине мой, молю ти ся, бога для и князей для русскихъ, повели ми, да бых и аз поставил свое кандило на Гробе Святем от всея русьскыя земля /за вся князя наша и за всю русскую землю, за вся христіяне/".

⁴ "И Бог тому послух, и святыи Гроб Господень яко во всех местех святых не забыв имен князь русских, и княгинь, и детей их, епископ, игумен, и бояр, и детей моих духовных, и всех христіан николиже не забыл есмь, но во всех святых местах поминал есмь, первее покланялся есмь за князей за всех и потом о своих гресех помолился есмь.", "Житѣе и хоженѣ Даниила. Русьскыя земли игумена, 1106-1107

Daniel is important as a writer in that he offers us a paradigmatic pilgrimage account resembling a hagiographic *topos*. This would later slowly disappear in the pilgrimage literature. Thus his primary concerns (within a hagiographic *topos*) include the emphasis on intercessionary prayer, as we saw above his pilgrimage is actually a pilgrimage of all, since he commemorates the Tsar etc, and all possible Russians. Thus through his prayers, the absent people from Russia are "actually present" with him in Jerusalem. This commonality of the community expressed through solidarity in prayer is an important mark of Orthodox spirituality. He is motivated to go to see all the important places associated with the Bible. To "relive" all that is from the Bible. Importantly, Daniel believes, that all his liturgical activity in Palestine, is somehow "experienced" elsewhere by everyone. There is a collective tinge to all his activity.

He mentions all the important saints of the Palestine setting, mentioning also saints associated with the Aegean islands at the same time giving accurate geographical distances. However, importantly, he does not recommend this journey for all "Many who would come to these holy places and to the Holy city of Jerusalem and having raised their minds, as if they did in fact do something good, loose the reward for their actions".¹ He constantly compares the natural characteristics of Palestine and other areas with Russia. Thus a kind of symbolic connection is established. Daniel believes, that in the Holy Sepulchre, there is centre of the earth and that the Holy Sepulchre contains the skull of Adam.

In the same century we have the travels of Efrosinia, *Knyazhna Polotskaya igumeness* of a monastery located on Seltse (Сельцѣ) around Polotsk. She died in Palestine and was buried in the monastic foundation (обител) of *prepodobniy* Theodosii. Efrosinia Polotskaya (Евфросиния Полоцкая) became a saint (преподобная) in the eyes of the Church and was called Predslava (Предслава) before she became a nun and was related to Vladimir the "equal to the apostles". She was

г., in: *Православный Палестинский Сборник* Вып. III, и IX, Санкт Петербургъ, 1885, 128 and 139-140; One of the earliest versions Русская Народная Библиотека, Q. XVII, 88, 1495, g. Л. 1-48; Русская Государственная Библиотека, Рум., no 335, XV-XVI vv.

¹ "Многие же, дойдя до мест этих святых и до святого города Иерусалима и вознесшись умом своим, будто нечто доброе сотворили, теряют награду за свой труд" Правос. Палест. Сбор. Ibid. 170.

the daughter of the *knyaz* Georgiy Svyatoslav Vseslavich (Георгий Святослав Всеславич). According to her wish she died in Jerusalem on the 24th of May 1173. She is also associated with giving a precious cross to the Church with pieces of the true cross. According to the *Life* there was a *knyaz* in the city of Polotsk called Vseslav (Всеслав), who had many sons. He also had a son called Georgiy (Георгий), the father of Eufrosinia (Еуфросинии).

Eufrosinia was beautiful and regardless of the great interest of prospective suitors she decided to become a nun. Eufrosinia desired to furnish one of her Churches with an icon. The *Life* states: "Seeing that two great monasteries were built and rich, and said to herself: "Praise to You, *Vladyko*, I thank Thee, Holy! What I desired you gave me, and you have fulfilled Lord, the wishes of my heart". Then she said: "Have mercy on me Lord, and fulfill my wish, that I will see the Mother of God *Hodegetria* in this Holy Church." And she sent her servant Michail into Constantinople, to the Emperor, called Manuel, and to the Patriarch Luke, with many gifts, asking from him the holy icon three copies of which were made by Luke during his lifetime one of which was located in Jerusalem, the second in Constantinople, and the third in Ephesus. She wanted the one from Ephesus, of the Mother of God.¹ She received the icon and then expressed a desire to visit Jerusalem and to venerate the Holy Sepulchre and to die there.²

In a small pilgrim excerpt located in a Collection published together with the Imperial Public library in 1894 and which speaks about

¹ "Видевши же блаженная монастыря два устроена превелика зело и пребогата, и рече в себе: "Слава Тобѣ, Владыко, благодарю Тя, Святый! Что есмь восхотѣла, то дал ми еси, и скончал еси, Господи, желание сердца моего". И паки рече: "Помилуй мя, Господи, и скончай прошение мое, да бых видѣла пресвятую Богородицю Одигитрию в сей святей церкви". И посла слугу своего Михаила в Царыград к цареви, нарицаему именем Мануиуду, и к патриарху Луце з дары многочисненными, просящи от нею иконы святыя Богородица, еже бе еуагалист Лука написа 3 иконы еще при животе святыя Богородица и постави едину во Ерусалиме, а другую во Цариграде, а третью в Ефессе. Она же с прилежением прошаше Ефеския иконы святыя Богородица." Месяца мая в 24 день. *Повесть жития и преставления святыя и блаженныя и преподобныя Еуфросинии, игуменьи монастыря святого Спаса и пречистыя Ея Матере, иже в Полотыске граде. Благослови, Отче!* Edition Уладзімір Арлоў, Еўфрасіння Полацкая, Мінск, Мастацкая літаратура, 1992, 189.

² Ibid.190.

the events from 1163 to 1877 there are two accounts of pilgrims going to Jerusalem.¹ "In the year 6671 (=1163). John was archbishop of Novgorod. During this period there were pilgrims going to Jerusalem during the *knyaz* of Russ (русьемъ) Rostislav (died 1168). From the Great Novgorod from the church of Saint Sophia, 40 men pilgrims undertook the journey to Jerusalem and to the tomb of the Lord. And they kissed the tomb and where happy. And they went to receive blessings from the Patriarch and holy remains (мощи). And they came to the Great Novgorod to saint Sophia. Having placed the holy remains into the church for *vладыка* John to use for the consecration of churches, and having given the Church of Saint Sophia a *копкар* (копкаръ/perhaps some sort of chalice difficult to ascertain the meaning, perhaps from the greek *καυκάλιον*, calix or a cup with oil for blessing above the tomb of Christ²; The dictionary states: Скопкаръ/скорбаръ/ есть и до сихъ поръ "деревянная посуда в родѣ братины, жбана, енды, изъ коей пьютъ пиво, медъ, брагу, чорная потаковками; скобкаръ родъ чашки съ двумя ручками /скобами/, бываетъ въ дѣлѣ на мірскомъ пивѣ, въ кануны, в большіе праздники и хранится въ церкви, Даля Толковый словарь живого великорусскаго языка, т. IV, 1882, 204), for ages sustenance, and gaining for ages glory to themselves. And the saintly *vладыка* Ivan, and the entire clerical congregation blessed these forty men. And moving around the cities with great happiness, praising God. Having come to Russia (Русь) to the holy Boris and Gleb; where there is a church, they gave it other remains of the saints, and next to Saint Boris and Gleb there are six guards, and others, giving them *skatert* (скатерть) sustenance for ages. And the forty men were blessed parading through the city. And having come to the city of Torzhok to the Holy Savior; where there is a church, of the Saviour and they gave them holy remains for consecration of churches; there are twelve men

¹ *Отчетъ Императорской Публичной Библиотеки* (Х.М.Лопарева) за 1894 годъ, 113-115. Also in *Сообщение Православного Палестинскаго Общества 1897, августъ*, Санкт Петербургъ 1898, 499-502.

² Antonios of Piacenza speaks of a *lucernam eream* which stood at Christ's tomb, and from which they took some oil for blessing exchanging it with oil they brought/ex qua benedictionem accepimus et recomposuimus eam, see Tobler Titus, Molinier Augustus, *Itinera Hierosolymitana*, Genevae, 1880. Thus "копкаръ" could have been such a vessel standing over the tomb of Christ for oil for blessing.

standing guarding in the Saviour and they gave them their cup (чашу свою) for sustenance for ages."¹

An interesting tale speaks of the bishop of Novgorod John, travelling to Jerusalem on a demons back. John (first archbishop of Novgorod 1163-1186). According to the story, bishop John found a demon in his hand wash basin in his room. After entrapping it with his prayer he commanded the demon to take him to Jerusalem and to the tomb of the Resurrection. Similarly, there is a legend of Caesarius of Heisterbach (born around 1170 monk of a Cistercian monastery near Bonn)² who wrote about a knight who due to some form of disease started hating his wife. A demon offers him transportation in spirit (leaving his body at home due to illness) to Rome to obtain a divorce and they also visit Jerusalem. During the journey the knight notices his neighbour being robbed and he warns him about this and when the knight wakes up he is restored and loves his wife again.

In the first quarter of the 13th century we have the pilgrimage of the Archimandrite of the Kiev-Pechersk Lavra Dosithey (Theodosiy) to Athos (died in 1219). He wrote his sparsely preserved account as a reply to questions about the life of monks on Athos. The Novgorod Archbishop Antoni (Dobrynya Adrenkovich, Добрыня Адренкович) before being an archbishop travelled to Constantinople seeing the Church of Saint Sophia before it was destroyed by the Crusaders. He states, that he saw a liturgical vessel/bowl of the *Knyagina* Olga inside

¹ "Се ходиша изъ Великаго Новагорода отъ святой Софѣи 40 мужъ калиици ко граду Иерусалимоу ко гробу Господню. И гробъ Годпедень целоваша и ради быша. И поидоша, взявше *благословеніе* у патріарха и *святыя мощи*. И придоша, въ Великій Новгородъ къ святей Софѣи. И *даша святыя мощи* въ церковь владыки Іоану святымъ церквамъ на священіе, а собору святыя Софѣи *даша копкаръ*, во веки имъ кормленіе а собѣ во вѣки славы оукоупиша. И святыи владыка Иванъ и весь соборъ священническій благословиша ихъ всѣхъ 40 моужь. И поидоша по градамъ съ великою радостию, славящи Бога. Придоша въ Русу къ святому Борису и Глѣбу; аже сидеть соборъ, ины даша имъ святыя мощи; а оу святого Бориса и Глѣба стоятъ 6 мужъ притворянь и ины даша имъ *скатерть* во веки имъ кормленіе. И благословишася оу собора вси 40 моужъ и поидоша по градомъ. И придоша в градъ Торжокъ къ святому Спасу; аже сидеть соборъ, сватого Спаса священники; они же даша имъ святыя мощи святымъ церквамъ на освященіе; аже стоятъ у святого Спаса 12 моужъ притворянь, ины даша имъ *чашу свою* во веки имъ кормленіе". Притворянамъ (=сторожамъ). Чашу или скатерть.

² *The Dialogue on Miracles* V,37, George Routledge and Sons, New York, 1929, I, 368-370.

the Church of Saint Sophia, and an icon of Boris and Gleb close to the altar.

There are the travels of Antoniу Dimskiy (Антоній Дымскій) who was a member of the Chutynsk monastery (Хутынск), who spent five years on Mt. Athos, being sent there by the brothers in Russia due to some ecclesial mistakes. Possibly also Vasiliy the archbishop of Novgorod (1331-1352) also visited the Holy Land. See his epistle to Theodor the *Vladyka* of Tver.

Around 1370 there was the pilgrimage of Agrefeniy (Агрефеній, there are versions as Агриппа, Агрипинь или Агриппний, Григентий, Грефений, Парфений etc.), who was an archimandrite of the Smolensk Mother of God monastery.¹ He visited Jerusalem and Constantinople.

A certain Athanasiy igumen of the Vysotsky monastery (founded by Sergey of Radonezh) travelled to Constantinople in 1382 and spent there twenty years. From Constantinople Athanasiy sent translations of Greek theological and liturgical books as well as was helpful in the transmission of the Byzantine book art form and iconography into the Russian environment. There was also a certain Ilarion one of the *igumenos* of a Novgorod monastery, who went to Athos and returned in 1397 and a certain Sava, founder of Visherskiy monastery under Tver who also travelled to Athos for information about the life of monks etc. (perhaps the second decade of the XV century (1411-1414)).² Then there was a certain Efrosin (Евфросинъ) who founded a monastery around the Pskov lake (+1481).

The Ipatiev Letopis (Ипатьевская летопись) also mentions a certain Войшелк. Voyshelk (Vaišvilkas) was a *Velikiy Knyaz* of Litva and was Orthodox by confession. The author of the part in this letopis speaking about Voyshelk was himself a contemporary of Voyshelk.

¹ Хождение архимандрита Агрефеня обители Пресвятыя Богородицы, in: *Православный Палестинский Сборник*, XLVIII, Санкт Петербург, 1896, 89-156; Жожение архимандрита Грефеня, обители Пресв. Богородицы, во Святую землю, публ. Я. И. Горожанского, РФВ, 1884, no. 4, 251-312; 1885, no. 1, 1-43; Прокофьев Н. И., *Хождение Агрефения в Палестину: Текст и археогр. Примеч.* Литература Древней Руси, М. 1975, вып. 1, 136-151, Санкт Петербург, тр. МГПИ, вып. 1.

² А. И. Соболевский, *Южно-славянское влияние на русскую письменность в XIV-XV вв.*, Санкт Петербург, 1894, 29.

Voyshelk died in the period 1267 or 1268.¹ He was the son of Mindovg. In one tradition he is associated with the Mount Sinai where he supposedly accepted the monastic form of life.²

Already in the period of Daniel problems with pilgrims and begging began to emerge as is testified by the bishop of Novgorod Nifont (Нифонт), who in the twelfth century had criticised pilgrims which were only beggars (bishop in 1131-1156). This type of "бродячей Руси" who "абы порозноу ходяче ясти и пити" was only here to exploit things. This Nifont was generally a very informed person about the traditions of the East, which suggested to some that he was of Greek origin. He was a monk of the Kiev Pechersk cave monastery in Kiev.

His life was written around 1558 by Varlaam Vasiliy. He died in 1156 in prison after rejecting to acknowledge Clement (Smoliatich) as metropolitan of Kiev. He was also a great defender of the rights of the Patriarchate of Constantinople, especially in relation to the Russian Church.³ This is emphasised by his biographer who went out of his ways to emphasise his allegiance to Constantinople.⁴

We also have the important work known as the "Wanderer" of Stephen of Novgorod (От странника Стефанова Новгородця). It contains an important description of Constantinople from the period after the Mongol conquest of Russia.⁵ But it also apparently had a part now lost of the continuation of the journey to Jerusalem. He visited Constantinople perhaps in the years 1348 or 1349. Constantinople is also described in the work Book of a Pilgrim from Antoni of Novgorod (Книга Паломник from Антоний of Новгород). Little is known of this author except that he lived around 1232 and just as Stephen he aimed to go to Jerusalem but did not reach it. He travelled to Constantinople

¹ Огицкий, Д. П., Великий князь Войшелк, Страница из истории Православия в Литве, in: *Богословские Труды*, сборник двадцать четвертый, Московская Патриархия, Москва, 1983, 56-89.

² Полное Собр. Лѣт., т. V, под 1265 г. Санкт Петербург, 1851.

³ Лихачев Д. С., "Софийский временник" и новгородской политической переворот 1136 г., in: *Исторические записки*, no. 25, Москва 1948, 240-265.

⁴ Bushkovitch, P., *Religion and Society in Russia, The Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries*, Oxford University, press, New York, 1992, 28.

⁵ Majeska George P., *Russian Travelers to Constantinople in the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Centuries*, Dumbarton Oaks, Washington 1984, 15. Сахаровъ, *Путешествія русских людей*, II, Санкт Петербургъ, 1837, 7-28.

around 1200 and importantly describes the miracle which took place in the Church of Hagia Sophia on the 21 of May 1200.

He was an eyewitness of this miracle when one of the giant crosses "of Justinian" at the altar of Hagia Sophia flew above and returned to its place without extinguishing its lamps which were located on its sides. His descriptions are of immense importance since they were written just before the Latin takeover. Thus for example he is only one of sources describing the *catapetasma* (a Greek term describing the veil separating the Holy of Holies from Holies of the Old Testament Church), which in his day was a veil at the altar table of Hagia Sophia.¹ Stephen mentions his encounter with the Patriarch of Constantinople Isidor, who loves Russia. He mentions how the icon made by Luke was carried out in procession. He states that the Church of Hagia Sophia has 365 doors.

There is also an anonymous description about Constantinople formed by two accounts called *Discussion about the shrines of Tsargrad and a description of the holy places in Constantinople* (Беседа о святынях Цареграда and Сказание о святых местах и о Константинограде).² In this discussion of the sanctuaries and other worthy monuments of Constantinople/Tsargrad there is the conversation of a bishop of Venedia or Renedia with the Tsar which is related to Constantinople and its buildings..³ From the excerpts we can speculate that the Tsar travelled to Palestine, Sinai and Alexandria while the bishop of Venedia waited for him in Constantinople. The text dates probably to the fourteenth century and is interesting in that it follows a hagiographical line, opening with the emphasis on the city and its miraculous icons, relics of saints and other similar things. Thus according to the author you can see in Hagia Sophia, the doors from the ark of Noe, the chain

¹ Lidov A., The Catapetasma of Hagia Sophia and the Phenomenon of Byzantine installations, in: *Convivium* 1, 2014, (2), 40-57. Here 42.

² The Беседа о святынях Цареграда was published by Майков Л. Н., in: *Сборник Отделения Русского языка и Словесности*, т. 51, no. 4, Санкт Петербург, 1890. Сказание о святых местах и о Константинограде was published by Сперанский М. Н., *Из старинной Новгородской литературы XVI века, Памятники древнерусской литературы XIV века*, вып. 4. Ленинград, 1934.

³ Беседа о святынях и других достопамятностях Цареграда, Майков Л. Н., *Сборник отд. Русск.яз.и слов.* Императорской Академии Наук, т. LI, No. 4. Ibid above Майков.

cuffs worn by Apostle Paul, and above the entrance an icon of the Saviour. The emphasis is on healing everyone experiences here. He speaks of the monastery of Studios where there are bodies of saints Savva and Solomonida, which are not corrupted. The church of Demida is mentioned where there is the "table of Christ". An apocalyptic suggestion is made by reference to two icons from Leo the Wise, who reportedly painted them and which describe the amount of emperors until the fall of Constantinople.

From 1330 there is the journey of a certain Grigoriy Kaleyka (Григорій Калѣйка or Калѣка), who was a priest of a church of saint Kosma and Damian on *na Cholopiy Novgorod* ("на Холопыи" Novgorod), who became the archbishop of Novgorod-Vasiliy. About his journey there is little known, but that he travelled is confirmed by his name Калѣка.¹ It is possible that he had written a work called *Беседа о святынях Царьграда*, which could have been from a Novgorod provenance of the fifteenth century.

Together with the work *Сказание о святых местах и о Константинограде* it could have been a reworking of the anonymous *Хождения в Царьград* of the end of the 13th to the beginning of the 14th centuries. The work describes a debate between a bishop and the Tsar about Constantinople and it expresses the fact that the monk was tonsured as a monk in the monastery of st. Andrew in Constantinople. The Tsar expresses a desire to visit Constantinople.

It often appears, that at least in the medieval period there were not so many pilgrims from the higher classes. There is one indication of a pilgrimage by the Tsar in the so called *Бесѣда о Царьградѣ*, where it is written: "After a few days, desiring to be a pilgrim in Jerusalem, the Tsar taking over much gold and hiding his identity, went with them to Jerusalem, living there for two years visiting the Holy Places and then going to the Mt. Sinai, spending one month there, and then spending one year in Alexandria."²

¹ *Полное собраніе лѣтописей*, т. III, стр. 75, Санкт Петербург, 1847.

² "По мале же дни и Божиимъ изволеніемъ идущимъ страннымъ во Иерусалимъ, царь же вземъ злата многа и утаився всѣхъ, иде съ нима во Иерусалимъ і пребысть тамо два лѣта и по Святымъ Мѣстомъ походи и оттуду иде на Синайскую гору і бысть тамо 1 мѣсяць, и по сихъ иде на Александрию лѣто едино" Майков Л. Н., *Материалы и исследования по старинной русской литературе*, *ibid*, т. LI, no. 4, стр. 24-28, Санкт Петербург 1890.

A certain Carp Danilovich (Карп Данилович) *Воевод* of Pskov (1341) is referred to as a pilgrim (калек) in the Pskov Letopis.¹ In the first Pskov *letopis* we read: "People wailing from Pskov young people, going to battle *Zaporovuya* with fifty men about the *kalejka* Carp Danilovich" ("Псковичи пѣшцы, молодые люди, поидоша воевать Заноровья 50 мужъ о калекѣ о Карпѣ о Даниловичѣ").²

There is a reference to a certain Alexander *dyak* (Александр *дьякъ*) who was in Constantinople (around 1391). He came to Constantinople twice as a merchant. During the reign of the emperor Manuel 1389-1390 and then during the office of Patriarch of Constantinople Anthony 1391-1397.

From the fourteenth century we have the travel of Ignatiy Smolyanin (Игнатій Смоляннинъ) who travelled to Constantinople in 1389, and who was a deacon, later monk. He remained in Constantinople until 1393, then visiting Jerusalem, and from 1396 he remained in Athos, and died there in 1405. He described the coronation of Manuel II as emperor in 1392.³ He starts his account mentioning his journey with the metropolitan Pimen to Constantinople in 1389. Along the way Metropolitan Pimen has trouble with Genoese bankers to whom he apparently owed money. A scuffle broke out in Azov where the moneylenders reached Pimen extorting money from him, since they believed that now since he became the Metropolitan he had the money to pay. Ignatiy describes a great deal of the journey which went through Russia. Importantly, Ignatiy mentions a visit to the monastery of Saint Prodromos, where *there where Russians living there*. Extraordinarily later Pimen dies in Chalcedon and is buried in Constantinople. Further interestingly Ignatiy describes the political wars in the Byzantine capital with infighting and how foreign Frankish troops were used by all the sides to help win the throne. There is a description of the coronation, how the emperor entered the sanctuary and two guards stood in front

¹ See *Русский биографический словарь в 25-ти т.* - Изд. Под наблюдением председателя Императорского Русского Исторического Общества А.А.Половцева., - Санкт-Петербург: Тип. И.Н.Скороходова, 1896-1918.

² *Полное Собр. Лѣт.*, т. IV, 181, 1341, Санкт Петербург, 1848.

³ Majeska George P., *Russian Travelers to Constantinople in the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Centuries*, *Dumbarton Oaks*, Washington, 1984,50; Игнатій Смоляннинъ in: *Прав. Пал. Собр.*, XII, 78-99, Санкт Петербург, 1887.

of the Holy doors. The emperor was crowned by the Patriarch and the Patriarch then crowned his wife.

Deacon Arseniy Solunskiy (Арсений Солунский) lived in Palestine for seventeen years. As his name suggests he also served as a deacon in Salonika.¹

6d Travel in the fifteenth century

One of the disciples of Sergey of Radonezh Epiphaniy, monk Epiphaniy the wise (Епифаний, the monk Епифаний Премудрый), who died in 1420 was also the hagiographer of Sergey of Radonezh. He travelled to Constantinople and Mt. Athos. He travelled in the years 1415 to 1417. He also visited Jerusalem.²

Another interesting traveller of this period is Zosima (Зосима) who was a monk of the Troitsko Sergeev Lavra. Zosima (Зосима) was one of the last pilgrims to visit the Byzantine capital before its fall. In 1414 he accompanied the *knyagina* Anna Vasilievna (daughter of *knyaz* Vasilii Dmitrievich), who was betrothed to the future Byzantine Emperor John VIII Palaiologos. Altogether he visited Constantinople twice and in the years 1419-1420 he visited the Holy Land and Constantinople the second time. This journey to the Holy Land found its account in his work *Stranik* (Странник).³ The betrothal of Anna coupled together with the marriage of Ivan III with Sophia Palaiolog where two important political events linking the two areas.

The important scholar A. I. Sobolevskiy (А. И. Соболевский)⁴ discerns an important relationship between the development of the

¹ Адрианова В. П., Жождения Арсения Селунского, *Известия отделения Русского языка и словесности*, т. 18, кн.3, 1913, 195-224; Сахаровъ, *Сказания рус. Народа*, т. II, кн. 8, стр. 74, Санкт Петербург, 1849.

² *Прав. Пал. Сборн.* XV, I-II, Санкт Петербург, 1887; Zenkovsky Serge A., ed., *Medieval Russia, Epics, Chronicles, and Tales*, revised edition, New York 1974; *Quaestio Rossica*, no. 3, 2014, Uralskiy Universitet.

³ Книга, глаголемая Ксенос, сиречь Странник, списанный Зосимом диаконом о русском пути до Царяграда и от Царяграда до Иерусалима in: *Прав. Пал. Сбор.* XXIV, стр. I-III, Санкт Петербург, 1889.

⁴ Южнославянское влияние на русскую письменность в XIV-XV ввках: Рѣчь, читанная на годичном актѣ Археологического Института 8 мая 1894 года, проф. А.И. Соболевским, Санкт Петербург, 1894.; *Из истории русской культуры*, том. II, кн. 1., *Киевская и Московская Русь*, А. Ф. Литвина, Ф. Б. Успенский, языки славянской культуры, Москва, 2002.

Russian language in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries and the intense connections with the south at that time. He writes: "It is obvious, that between the half of the fourteenth and half of the fifteenth centuries, Russian literature had fallen under a very strong influence from the southern Slavic literature and in the end submitted to this influence. This happened due to the strengthening ties with Mount Athos and Constantinople."¹ From the half of the fourteenth century contacts between Russia and Constantinople increased. This was witnessed by the increasing numbers of Russian monks and pilgrims. Russian monks were living in monasteries in Constantinople. For example, in the Studite monastery (John the Forerunner), and its neighbouring monastery Perivleptos. As we have seen Ignatiy Smolyanin mentions Russian monks in Constantinople in 1389, in the Studite (John the Forerunner) monastery. "И упокоиша ны добрѣ ту живущи русь".² As Sobolevskiy observes however, Stefan from Novgorod who visited Constantinople in around 1350 does not mention any Russian monks in the Studite monastery (according to Sobolevskiy the manuscript tradition of the account of the journey where it is said that there is a meeting with two people from Novgorod in Constantinople Ivan and Dobrilo and found in the edition of Sacharov is not authentic).³

From 1430 we have Afanasiy Rusin (Афанасий Русин), who purchased a Gospel in the monastery Pantocrator on Athos. Sobolevskiy also mentions some sort of person called Evsevi/Efrem/Rusin (Евсеви-Ефрем-Русин) who travelled to Constantinople in 1421.⁴ Others include the *igumenos* of Ugresh (Угрѣшский) monastery Ion (Ион)⁵ from this period. Varsonophiy (Варсонофий) is another important pilgrim within

¹ "Ясно, что между половиной XIV и половиной XV века русская письменность попала под очень сильное влияние южнославянской письменности и в конце концов подчинилась этому влиянию. Это произошло благодаря усилившимся сношениям России с Константинополем и Афоном.", Москва, 891.

² Ibid, above, Палестинское Общество, 7.

³ Южнославянское влияние на русскую письменность в XIV-XV вв.: Речь, читанная на годовичном актѣ Археологическаго Института 8 мая 1894 года, проф, А.И. Соболевским, Санкт Петербург, 1894.; *Из истории русской культуры, том. II, кн. 1., Киевская и Московская Русь*, А. Ф. Литвина, Ф. Б. Успенский, языки славянской культуры, Москва, 2002, 892.

⁴ Ibid.

⁵ *Прибавление къ твор. Св. Отцев*, 1848, VI, 137.

this context, who after his pilgrimage became the spiritual father of the bishop from Novgorod and later became the *igoumenos* of Beltschitsa (Бѣльчицким) in Polotsk. In 1456 he went to Palestine and Jerusalem and in 1461-1482 he visited Egypt the Sinai and Palestine again.¹ Varsonofios account is especially valuable because he is one of the first to describe the Sinai and Egypt from Russia. It is also interesting, that he does not mention any obstacles thrown at him by the Muslims in Egypt, which suggest a change of attitude on the part of the locals to the Russian pilgrims. The famous Nil Sorsky born in 1433 spent some time in the Kyrilo Belozerskiy monastery and together with his disciple Innokentiy (from the boyar aristocratic family of Ochlebinich/Охлебининых) also visited Athos.²

Mitrophan Bivaltsev (Митрофан Бывальцев) and his name appear within the context of saint Iosif Volotskiy (преподобный Иосиф Волоцкий) who in 1478 visited saint Makariy (преподонный Макарий (Kalyazinsky/Калязинский/born 1400). *Prepodobniy* Makariy settled 18 versts from Kashina (Кашина) where he built a *skete*. In this context Mitrophan Bivaltsev who "returned from Athos after nine years" and stated that "Without reason and success I have gone to the Holy Mountain not seeing Kolyazinskiy monastery. Since those living in it can attain salvation: everything is done here in its kelias as in the monasteries of the Holy Mountain".³

In this milieu we have to mention Pachomiy the Serbian, who died after 1484, who is not a traveller as such, but testifies to contacts with the South. He received his education on Mt. Athos, and came to Russia in the fifteenth century. He wrote many writings, including services for saints, and to various holy people.

From the fifteenth century there is the *The Pilgrimage of the visitor Vasiliy into Small Asia, Egypt and Palestine 1465-1466* (Хождение гостя Василия в Малую Азию, Египет и Палестину-1465-1466 г.). The author begins by stating with an important hagiographical *topos*. "In

¹ Варсонофий, *Православный Палестинский Сборник*, т. XV, вып. 3, Москва, 1896.

² 11 слово и письмо к Иннокентию; Арх. Филаретъ, *Исторія русской церкви*, Черниговъ, 1862, 161.

³ "Напрасно и без успеха прошел я такой путь во Святую гору мимо Колязинского монастыря. Ибо могут спастись живуще в нем: здесь все творится подобно тому, как в киновиях (общежительных монастырях) Святой Горы", *Русский Патерик, Жития великих русскии святых*, редактор Т.Н. Терещенко, Москва, 2017, 67.

6974 (1466), under the great *knyaz* of Moscow and all of Russia Ivan Vasilyevich, a pilgrimage was accomplished. In the name of the Father, Son and Holy Spirit, I the servant of God and all sinner Vasiliy, desired to see the holy places and city, and God enabled me to see and venerate the Holy sites. Through the prayers of the Holy Fathers, the Lord Jesus Christ, the Son of God, have mercy on us.¹ The intention of the journey is set out, as the desire to pay respect to the holy places all of which has to be undertaken only due to the blessings of God. What makes the journey unique, is the route taken, and the description of the Ottoman mainland. He apparently wanted to open up trade routes and diplomatic ties with Mameluk Egypt. Some of his descriptions reveal important details of the Christian population in the area. Thus for the city of Homs (Хомс), he states that there are not many Muslims living there, that there are two main churches there, that of the Mother of God and that of the Great martyr George.² He offers a down to earth description of Jerusalem and other areas and interestingly in the Church of the Holy Sepulchre mentions a place where Jesus Christ had led Adam and Eve from hell.

Around 1475 a work emerged attributed to Afanasiy Nikitin (Афанасий Никитин), *A sinful journey beyond the three seas of Afanasiy Nikitin* (Грешное жожение за три моря Афанасия Никитина),³ which as the name implies, describes a long journey reaching India. He travelled from Tver and through the then Persia. While he is not so interesting in our context it is necessary to state, that similarly to other pilgrims God is on his mind and even though he was a merchant and not a religious pilgrim as such. He constantly affirms his love and respect for Russia. Russia and God go hand in hand. He was robbed and therefore started travelling, since the creditors at home desired his fortunes. He is well educated and displays a knowledge about the main

¹ "В 6974 (1466) году, при великом князе Московском и всея Руси Иване Васильевиче, было совершено путешествие. Во имя отца и сына и святаго духа Вот я, раб божий и многогрешный Василий, пожелал видеть святые места и города, и сподобил меня бог видеть и поклониться святым местам. За молитвы святых отцов, господа Иисуса Христа сына божия, помилуй нас."

² *Хожение гостя Василия в Малую Азию, Египет и Палестину-1465-1466 г. Записки русских путешественников XI-XV вв.* Москва, 1984.

³ Кистерев, С. Н., *Афанасий Никитин и его "Хожение" на Руси, Жожение за три моря Афанасия Никитина*, Тверь, 2003.

cultural centres of his period. "They have their *butchana*-that is their Jerusalem, it is the same thing for the Busurmans as Mecca; he raised his right hand on high-as Justinian the Emperor of Tsargrad."¹

6e Travel in the sixteenth until eighteenth centuries

There are indications of travels of a certain *inok* Sergiy the son of the Ukrainian hero XVI Michail Cherkashenin (Михаил Черкашенин) who was taken captive by Crimean Tatars. This is described in the work *A word about a certain starets* (Слово о нѣкоемъ старцѣ /XVII century possibly written or copied in 1640). This work mentions an *inok* Sergey who travelled to Jerusalem and Egypt from Crimea possibly around 1569-1589.²

Then there is the work *The Story of a journey to Jerusalem and to Constantinople with the Patriarch of Jerusalem Paisiy* "Повѣсть и сказаніе о походе во Иерусалимъ и во Царьградъ со Иерусалимскимъ патриархомъ Паисѣмъ". Written by a certain Ion Malenkiy (Иона Маленький ("small")). Ion speaks about his travels in Moldavia, Palestine, and Anatolia. During a visit of the Patriarch of Jerusalem Paisios in Moscow he decided to travel with the Patriarch to Palestine for which he received permission from Tsar Alexey Michailovich (1649). Also Arseniy Suchanov accompanied them (Арсений Суханов) who wrote his *Proskinitarion* (Проскinitарион). Iona stayed with the Patriarch in a Moldavian monastery Tergovishtche for a period of around two years and then he went to Jerusalem with a *staretz* Ioakim, who was an Arab from Jerusalem. He departed from Tergovishtche on the 25th of march 1651 and came to Jerusalem on the 10th of may. He

¹ "У них бутхана-то их Иерусалим, то же, что для бесермен Мекка; руку правую поднял высоко и простер- как Юстиниан, царь царьградский".

² In this regard see the important work describing other relevant documents *Обстоятельное Описание Славяно-Российскихъ рукописей хранящихся въ Москвѣ въ библиотекѣ тайново совѣтника сенатора двора его императорского величества дѣйствительнаго каммергера и кавалера графа Федора Андреевича Толстова*, изд. К. Калайдовичъ, П. Строевъ, С. Селивановскаго, Москва, 1825, 407. "Слово о нѣкоемъ старцѣ купившемъ десять хлѣбъ и десять ксестій вина и десять литрѣ мяса, зѣло полезно". *Сборникъ отд. Русск. Яз. И слов. И. Акад. Н., т. LI, в. 2, 2, 11-12, Санкт Петербург, 1890.*

stayed there for a period of fourth months and returned to Moscow through Constantinople.¹

An interesting account is offered by *The court scribe Triphon Korobeynikov* (Дворцовый дьяк Трифон Коробейников), who travelled twice in 1582 visiting Constantinople and in 1593 he travelled to Constantinople and Jerusalem.² What is fascinating is that Triphon relatively accurately identified the remains of ancient Troy.³ He described the journey and the days it took. He mentions Cyprus and its "fortress Nikosia". The account is fair and straightforward with many practical details and interesting notes. On the road to Damascus he mentions the miraculous icon of the Mother of God, associated with John of Damascus, who painted it as gratitude for the healing of his hand.⁴ Triphon Korobeynikov is also an example, of the role of these people as bearers of funds sent from Russia to support the local Christian churches. Thus in 1593 he carried funds and other things to the Eastern churches, accompanied by Michail Ogarkov (Михаил Огарков).

There are other traveller's accounts with indirect relation to the Holy land. We can mention Fedot Kotov (Федот Котов (1623-1624) who was a merchant.

A viral traveller who visited all four patriarchates was Vasilii Pozdnyakov (Василий Поздняков). He was in Egypt in 1559 and in Jerusalem in 1560, where he spent three months. He brought with him among other things gifts to the Antiochian Patriarch.

An interesting account is offered by Gagara Vasilii Yakovlyevich (Гагара Василий Яковлевич) in his *Life and Journey into Jerusaalem and Egypt of Vasilii Yakovlyevich Gagara from Kazan* (Житие и Жожение

¹ See Коркунов, 1836 later Сахаров, according to a manuscript from the XVII century in: Сахаров И.П., *Сказаниях русского народа*, том. II, Санкт Петербург, 1841, (reprint 2013) 159-168. Also see Греков, *Русские паломники, Правосл. Палест. Общ. Энциклопедический словарь Ф.А.Брокгауза и И.А. Ефрона*, Санкт Петербург, 1890-1907.

² *Прав. Пал. Сборн. XXVII*, *ibid.*, 1889; *Путешествие московского купца Трифона Коробейникова с товарищами во Иерусалим, Египет и к Синайской Горе*, Тип. П. Кузнецова. Москва, 1826.

³ *Ibid.*, 1826 Edition, 7.

⁴ *Ibid.*, 10.

в Иерусалим и Египет казанца Василия Яковлева Гагары).¹ This is because Gagara states, that he was a sinner and due to his sins his merchant activities took a downturn and he decided to travel to the Holy Land. He travelled to the Holy Land also because of the grief upon the death of his wife. His merchant background is betrayed in his account since he describes things which are of interest to a person who is not necessarily religious. He mentions that he was saved from an attack of savages when he was bathing in the Jordan. He mentions the descent of the Holy Fire in Jerusalem. His journey was interesting and full of surprises. He was arrested being mistaken for a Russian emissary in Turkey Afanasiy Boukov. In 1637 at home he visited the Kiev Pechersk monastery where he met Peter Mohyla.² His account is interesting since he was one of the first to visit Jerusalem after the *Smuta* period.

There were travellers such as Meletiy Smotritskiy (Мелетій Смотрицький) the bishop of Polotsk and Mogilev who travelled to the East in the years 1624-1626. He had a theological purpose and his journey is to be seen within the confines of the Uniate/Orthodox tensions. He travelled to study the Greek theological and liturgical texts and to consult the Ecumenical Patriarch Cyril Lukaris about his Catechetical composition, which aimed to find grounds between the Uniates and the Orthodox. In a letter to the Ecumenical Patriarch Cyril Lukaris dated from August the 21st 1627 he mentions: "I travelled to the East in order that, through your healthy advice and life giving teaching my soul could be enlightened and healed from the many doubts, which trouble it, and soil it like moths."³ In his Apology he further continues, "I went to our father the patriarch and to the elders of our eastern church with the intention of learning from them the dogmas of piety, about the faith of our hope.I was forced to travel to the East due to the errors and heresies, which were brought into our Russian Church by

¹ *Хитие и хождение в Иерусалим и Египет казанца Василия Яковлевича Гагары*, Санкт Петербург, 1891.

² Thomas D., Chesworth, J., Benett C., Demiri L., Frederiks M., Grodž, Pratt, D., *Christian-Muslim Relations, a Bibliographical History*, Leiden, Brill, 2009, 859.

³ Изучение византийской истории, II, 25-26. "Я ѣздилъ на Востоку для того, чтобы здравымъ совѣтомъ и животворнымъ учениемъ твоимъ облегчить и исцѣлить мою душу отъ множества сомнѣній, которыя волнуютъ ее и грызутъ, какъ моль." Метрополит Макарій, История Русской Церкви, XI, кн. II, Москва, 1883, 340.

its new theologians: Zizanii, Filaret, the cleric Ostrozhskiy, Ortolog and others, which make her suffer".¹ Above we have mentioned the figure of Аресений Суханов, who is an important figure of this period. Suffice it here to remind us that his *Proskinitarion* (Проскинитарий) is of special significance, just as his other works and life story.

The period of the eighteenth century was a period of tension between the Ottoman Empire and Russia and so it is interesting to reflect on whether there were pilgrimage contacts with Russia. The period was a difficult one since the wars of Catherine the Great did not do much good to enable travel to the area of the Holy Land. In 1772 for example, we know of only a certain S. Plescheev (С. Плещеев)² who travelled to Nazareth.

In 1707 Ipolit Vishenskiy (Ипполит Вишенский) embarked on a journey to Jerusalem and in 1708 came to the monastery in Sinai. He was greeted with prostrations and kisses, and taken to the Church of the Transfiguration, where the priest took on an epitrachelion and vestments. The brothers sang *Axion Estin* "Достойно есть", and where sprinkled with water.³ He was there at the same time as Barskij, another example of a pilgrim from this period. In terms of Vishenskiy it is interesting that he described the Islamic mosque and Roman Catholic churches/chapels located at the Monastery of Saint Catherine's (These Roman Catholic churches were built in various periods on the vicinity of the monastery). He mentions a Franciscan chapel built on the mountain of Saint Catherine.

¹ Я ходилъ, пишеть онъ, къ отцу нашему патриарху и къ старѣйшинамъ нашей восточной церкви съ тѣмъ намѣреніемъ, чтобы узнатьъ отъ нихъ и научиться о догматахъ благочестія, о вѣрѣ нашего упованія"...Меня, заставили путешествовать на Востокъ заблужденія и ереси, которыя внесли въ нашу русскую церковь ея новыя богословщиики: Зизаній, Филаретъ, клирикъ Острожскій, Ортологъ и другіе, и которыми она страдаетъ." Метрополит Макарій, *Исторія Русской Церкви*, XI, кн. II, Москва, 1883, 249-250.

² *Дневныя записки путешествія изъ Архипелагскаго Россія принадлежащаго, острова Пароса, въ Сирію и къ достопамятнымъ мѣстамъ въ вѣдѣлахъ Иерусалима находящимся съ краткою исторіею Алибеевыхъ завоеваній, Россійскаго флота Лейтенанта Сергѣя Плещеева въ исходѣ 1772 г.* Санкт Петербургъ, 1773.

³ Пелгримация или путешественникъ честнаго иеромонаха Ипполита Вишенскаго, постриженца святыхъ страстотерпцевъ Бориса и Глеба катедры архиепископии Чернеговской в святыи градъ Иерусалим. *Православный Палестинскій Сборникъ*, вып. 61, 1914., 1.

The travels of Ignatyi (Игнатий), which took place in 1766 until 1776 offer also an interesting account.¹ In 1766 he reached Kiev, where he paid respects to the local saints of the caves. He wanted to be tonsured as a monk, but he was unsuccessful in fulfilling his desire. He travelled with some kind of priest monk and spent some time with Zaporozhian Cossacks. He met a merchant in Constantinople, who asked him where he was from and he replied that he is from Kursk. He states, that Constantinople is perfectly clean, that the Sultan has everything under control. That the police and military have their own places to sleep and do not annoy the local inhabitants. That there is a five room structure housing twenty thousand jannissaries.² He stated that there are only twenty orthodox churches in Constantinople and that the orthodox pay a huge amount of money to the Turks. He states, that there are no surviving relics, except for two in the Patriarchal church, that is of saint Pulcheria and Euthimia. He meets Paisiy Velichkovskiy in the *skete* of Saint Elijah, and states that he was very happy to listen to a Russian and that he has at least three hundred disciples of various nationalities.³ His descriptions of the Jerusalem are similar to other accounts, and he also describes the ceremony of the holy Fire. He stays with a Russian for six months.

The same period saw the travels of priest Ioan Lukyanov (священник Иоанн Лукьянов). The work attributed to him is entitled *Travels into the Holy Land of the priest Ioan Lukyanov* (Хождение в святую землю московского священника Иоанна Лукьянова (1701-1703)).⁴ This work is interesting since it belongs to the milieu of the Old Believer literary context notably to the genre of the type of writing of the famous work of Prototop Avaakum. The author seems to betray some form of Old Believers background due to his criticisms of the Greek rites. He believes, that the Greeks and Bulgarians are not suffering under the Osmans, but he does state that the Osmans use every occasion to extort

¹ Описание, Путешествія отца Игнатія въ Царьградъ, Афонскую гору, Святую Землю, и Египетъ, 1766-1776 гг., *Православный Палестинский Сборникъ*, Томъ XII, выпускъ третій, Санкт, Петербургъ, 1891.

² Ibid., 3.

³ Ibid.9.

⁴ Дилеев, М. И., К вопросу об авторе Путешествия во Св. Землю 1701-1703 г., московском священнике Иоанне Лукьянове, или старце Леонтии, in: *Чтения в историческом обществе Нестора леонтиисца*, т. IX, Отд. 2, Киев, 1895, 25-41.

money "in ignorance with the Ottoman Russian agreements." The literary style of the Prototop Avaakum is betrayed by Ioanns simple language style descriptions of Jews, Egyptians and others. He describes Jerusalem and its surroundings. The work could betray some political aspirations given the context of the period. In any case he does praise Russians who are welcoming to pilgrims.

The priest Ioan Lukyanov (священник Иоанн Лукьянов) began his journey on the 17th of December 1701. In this earlier period we can witness the importance of having the right recommendations for travel. Thus Ioann comes to Kiev, where he is told that he needs to produce a document (*указ*) for his journey. Ioann offers a nice depiction of the Russian empire and gives some details of the various cities he passes in the Russian empire itself, before he reaches the southern areas. Once Ioann reaches Constantinople he prays and gives with his companions thanks to God.

What is interesting in Ioanns account are his descriptions of the social realities of the areas he visited. He offers a lively analysis of what he sees. Thus he describes how he was taken by some person to the patriarch of Constantinople. The Patriarch inquired where he came from and he replied that from Russia. Ioann and his companions wanted a *kelia* from the Patriarch, and the Patriarch insisted that he give him some gifts in exchange. Ioann got angry, thinking that he is a poor pilgrim and that now the Patriarch is simply extorting gifts from him. Ioann sends him to hell, and is angry with the Patriarch "Let him the cursed one go to hell with his *kelia*! Around our patriarch the courtiers are more apt in their requests! And this one wants not something insignificant- but presents! I hope he falls/that is nothing; yes sure he will fall down!"¹ Ioan was very angry with the patriarch because he continued to insist that without any gifts there will be no accomadation. The Patriarch asked whether Ioann did not bring at least a "small Russian picture or icon". Ioann replied that he did not bring anything, and the Patriarch said that he should go to the monastery of the Sinaites,

¹ "Провались, мошь, онъ окаянной и с кельею! У нашего, мол патриарха и придверники искуснеѣ того просять! А то етакому какъ не сором просить-та подарков! Знать, мошь, у него пропасти-та мало; мол, такъ и то пропадет!" *Хождение в Святую землю московского священника Иоанна Лукьянова (1701-1703)*, Бычков М, Н., Ред. Л. А. Ольшевская, С. Н. Травников, Москва, Наука, 2008. 56.

where the Russians have contacts and ask for accommodation there. Ioann goes there in the end, only to find out again, that he will not have any accommodation and that instead he should go to the representatives of the Patriarchate of Jerusalem, "since he is going to Jerusalem", and they are responsible for this area. Even more interesting is the following passage. "My lovely Russia! Not only no food, no accommodation, where to lay down from the journey. This is how the Greeks are merciful! Even if there is some poor *starets* of some age falling ill by himself-there is no place for him; not speaking of ten-would create a complete commotion! And as whore's children, thieves hanging around all these years in Moscow-thirty people seeking alms, and they receive good accommodation and sustenance from the Ruler. And these thieves come to Moscow, and cry before the Ruler, in front of the government and the *boyars*: *We are persecuted from the Turks!* Then they collect money in Moscow and come to Tsargrad, and by themselves the office of a Metropolitan from the local Patriarch. This is how.." ¹ They all do it, and cry: "Persecuted from the Turks!" if this is indeed so, the elders seem to forget that they are wearing cassocks of pewter damascus, made of cloth costing 3 roubles for an *arshin*. Regardless of the fact that the damascus cloth costs three roubles for an *arshin*. Just as it is unfair from these Greek elders to accuse the lovely Turk of being evil. We saw on our own eyes that they do not face any danger from the Turks: not in faith nor in anything else. All lie about the Turks. If they were persecuted, they would not wander around in these pewter Damascus expensive cassocks. In our area, we stare at those wearing the pewter ones, otherwise normally our people walk around in simple ones. That is the persecution from the Turks! As soon as they appear in Moscow they walk around in simple cassocks. They have no

¹ "Миленкая Русь! Не токмо накормить, и места не дадут, где опачнуть с пути. Таковы-то греки милостивы! Да еще бѣдной старецъ не в кои-та веки забредет адинъ- инъ ему места нетъ; а когда с десятокъ- другой, такъ бы и готово-перпутались! А какъ сами, блядины дети, что мошенники, по вся годы к Москве-то человек по 30 волочатся за милостиею, да им на Москве-та человек по 30 волочатся за милостиею, да им на Москве-та отводят места хорошая ди и кормъ государевъ. А, приехав к Москве, мошеники плачутъ пред государем, пред власти, пред бояры: "От турка насилом отягачены! А набравъ на Москве денегъ да приехав в Царьград, да у потриархов иной купит митрополитство. Такъ- то они". Ibid., 43.

shame. There they never were simple cassocks."¹ Later Ioann goes to the monastery of the Patriarchate of Jerusalem, where he is finally accepted and given accommodation. He is given food and welcoming hospitality. He exclaims that butter and bread are cheaper here in Constantinople than in Moscow. Ioann meets a Russian merchant in Constantinople who helps to arrange some business transactions and the selling of goods. This shows that Ioann was not as poor as we would probably think. In this regard the Old Believers were traditionally commercially very astute people. He visits Saint Sophia, and his Turkish guide takes a piece of marble and gives it to him like a souvenir, and Ioann is full of praise of the Turkish guide. Ioann states that there are 8000 mosques in Constantinople, and that they are made from a special local stone, which cannot be found in Moscow.

He states that the Russian women are popular in Turkey and that the Sultan takes exclusively Russian women. Ioann's account is full of interesting information about the ecclesial structures of the Greek churches. Among other things he mentions that Greeks do not take their hats off when they enter the church, that un-ordained people open and close the holy doors of the *iconostasis* and that in some cases women enter the altar area and light up the incense burner. He offers sarcastic comments towards the Greek liturgical tradition showing how it is in some respects poorer than the Russian one, and he comments on how the Greeks do not have many things that the Russians have in the liturgy. That they do not sing the entire canon in matins, and so on. He further observes "With the Turks they are completely mixed up and are harshly subjugated: when the Turk walks on the street, the Greeks rather move away, suppressing their pride! These (Turks) are actually good people. Since they behave peacefully to this nation lacking

¹ "Так-то они все делают, а плачут: "Обижаны от турка!" а кабы обижены, забыли бы старцы простыя носить рясы луданья, да камчатя, да суконныя по 3 рубля аршинъ. И напрасно миленкова камчатя, до суконныя по 3 рубля аршинъ. И напрасно миленкова турка тѣ старцы греческия оглашают, что насилует. Мы сами видели, что им насилия не в чем нету: и в вере, и в чем. Все лгут на турка. Кабы насилены, забыли бы старцы в луданных да в камчатых рясах ходить. У нас так и властей зазирают, луданную кто наденетъ, а то простыя да так ходят. Прямо, что насилены от турка! А когда в Москвѣ приедут, такъ-та в каких рясах худых таскаются, будто *стыда* нет. А там бывши, не заставишь ево такой рясѣ носить". Ibid., 43.

humbleness. If God would reverse the situation and the Greeks would rule over the Turks, they would not allow them even to breath, they would immediately force them into work. This is how the Greeks are not firm and full of trickery; they are only dear Christians in name, but do not possess grace! The books are printed in Venice, Venice is of course the Popes domain, and the Pope is the main enemy of the Christian faith!"¹

Ioan obviously does not like the Greeks, and even goes as far to state that not only are the Turks better than Greeks but even the Jews are better than the Greeks.² The Greek Patriarch walks around as a common person, so that you would not recognise him as a Patriarch. The Greek women are more or less liberated, because whenever they desire a divorce they basically receive one, since it is sufficient to blackmail the Patriarch in granting a divorce, since the women will always exclaim, that unless she gets a divorce she will go to the Turkish authorities and state that she is a Turkish woman/subject. To "finish off" the Greeks, Ioan offers us a list of things the Greeks do in contrast to the practice of the Orthodox churches. Thus the Metropolitans and the clerics smoke tobacco, play cards and chess.

Ioann is very critical of the Arabs whom he meets in Egypt comparing them to pure devils, and that their young women walk around naked. Ioann in his account mentions many terrible experiences he had with the Arabs. The worst possibly being, when he was almost killed before entering Jerusalem. He offers a very detailed account of his journey to Jerusalem. A special section is devoted to the Holy Sepulchre. Here he offers some interesting details apart from the usual descriptions. Thus he states, that the marble stone which is found in the church and which is reportedly the stone where the body of Christ was laid by Joseph and Nicodemus before being placed in the tomb, and

¹ "А с турками во всѣмъ смесилися и зѣло порабощены: какъ турокъ идѣтъ улицею, то все ему грекъ лутчее мѣсто уступает, а гордостию таки еще дышуть! Да еще добры люди, что еще милостиво поступаютъ надъ такимъ непокоривымъ родомъ. Кабы да грекомъ такъ Богъ попустилъ турками владѣть, отнюдъ бы такъ греки туркамъ свободно не дали жить – всѣхъ бы въ работу поработили. Таковы греки непостоянны и обманчивы; толко милые христіане называются, а и слѣду благочестія нѣтъ! Книги печатаюту в Венеціи, а Венеція пожежская, и папа-головный врагъ христіанской вѣрѣ" 70.

² "Турки милостивея грекъ, и жида нравами милостивея грекъ и лутче ихъ."

where he was wrapped when he was taken down from the Cross, is not the original stone, since the original one was sold by some Turk to a French person earlier on.

He states, that the French are great deceivers, since they start playing beautiful organ music, in the church, when the believers go by and through this manner they managed to convert many orthodox Christians to their „vile faith“.¹ He mentions the traveller Korobeynikov, and that he mentioned an underground tomb of Christ but adds that now the Greeks have forgotten where it is. He states, that the reason that the Holy Sepulchre still stands is because the Turks fear the miraculous fire which comes down every year.

The early years of the eighteenth century seems to have produced other accounts of pilgrimage as well. Another such pilgrimage is offered by the work *The journey of the priest/ monk Makarios and Sylvester from the Monastery of the all merciful Saviour of Novgorod Seversk into the Holy city of Jerusalem to venerate the tomb of the Lord in 1704* (Путь нам иеромонахам Макарию и Сильвестру из Монастыря Всемиловитового спаса Новгородка Северского до Святого града Иерусалима поклониться гробу Господню 1704 г).² The account is a pilgrimage made by two monks Makarios and Silvester from the interesting in its own right monastery of Spaso-Preobrazhenskiy, Nogovorod Seversk (Спасо Преображенский, Новгород Северский монастырь), which occurred in 1705. They are astounded that in the Holy Sepulchre in Jerusalem there are all sorts of heretics who have their altars there and serve the liturgy. The Ottomans are described as cunning and that they desire money. The pilgrims are constantly harassed in order for them to pay taxes. There are areas in Jerusalem and elsewhere where it is difficult for a Christian to go and visit the areas since he or she can be threatened by the local Muslims. There is mention of a certain ambassador Pyotr Andreevich Tolstoy (Пётр Андреевич Толстой)³, who helps pilgrims who are unable to pay taxes and who resides in Constantinople. There is a mention of a miracle in a village called Skudelniche (Скудельниче /Field of

¹ Ibid, 113.

² Паломники-писатели петровского времени. In Чтение в императорском обществе истории и древностей Российских в Московском университете под заведованием О.М. Бодянского, книга 3, Июль-Сентябрь, Санкт Петербург, 1873, 1-26.

³ Попов Н. А., Граф Петр Андреевич Толстой, Биографический очерк (1645-1729) in: Древняя и Новая Россия, no. 3, Санкт Петербург, 1875, 226-244.

blood, Akeldama or Hakl-ed-damm) where pilgrims who die are not buried since just miraculously after 40 days their bodies decay to the bone.

Related to this ambassador (Пётр Андреевич Толстой) we have mentioned, is the account of the priest Andrey Ignatieff (Андрей Игнатьев), and his brother Stefan (Стефан), who were in his proximity. The account is called *Journey to Jerusalem and to Mt. Sinai of the priest working in the proximity of the Russian emissary, count Petr Andreyevich Tolstoy, of the priest Andrey Ignatieff and his brother Stefan in the year 1707* (Путешествие в Иерусалим и Синайскую гору, находившегося при российском посланнике, графе Петре Андреевиче Толстом, Священника Андрея Игнатьева и брата его Стефана, 1707 году).¹ The work was compiled seven years after the completion of the journey. Interestingly the work is the kind which attempts to prove the veracity of the Biblical account by associating the various miracles of the Bible with the testimonies available for the pilgrim to see. The Ottomans are accused of supporting heresy by stimulating the presence of Franks and Westerners. It is interesting that in the accounts from the early eighteenth century there is a tendency to emphasise the growing problems with the Western presence in the Holy land. The account gives an interesting description of the Copts. He accuses them of being disgusting heretics, who defile the area of the Holy Sepulchre.

The Copts are highly unsympathetic to this Ignatieff, and he goes as far as to say that in Alexandria there are no Christian houses left. He also accuses the Syrian Christians of defiling the area of the Holy Sepulchre. He admires the Holy areas, all the more being angry when they are defiled by the presence of the various infidels or heretics. He mentions miraculous things associated with the Holy sites, such as an object from the Ark of Noe found in the cave where the Mother of God and Joseph had hidden. In line with the sacral imagery he emphasises prostrations and bowing. On the day of Orthodoxy in the above mentioned village of *Skudelniche* (Скудельниче Field of blood, Akeldama or Hakl-ed-damm bought by the money of Judas betrayal),

¹ Паломники-писатели петровского времени. Из Чтения в императорском обществе истории и древностей Российских в Московском университете под заведованием О.М. Бодянского, книга 3, Июль-Сентябрь, Санкт Петербург, 1873.

there are litanies for Peter the Great, *Heytman* Mazepa, The Volosh ruler Constantine and the translator of the Turkish sultan Shkarlat.

6f Vasiliy Grigoryevich Barskiy

Vasiliy Grigoryevich Barskiy (Василий Григорьевич Барский 1701-1747) is an example of a tireless adventurer and pilgrim. He travelled for 24 years visiting the area of the Middle East. His journey is extraordinary due to the challenges he had to face. He had a sick left leg and suffered from various misfortunes and diseases and other experiences on the way. Furthermore his pilgrimage took place in a difficult period full of political tensions between Russia and the Ottoman Empire. Regardless of the fact that he was not wealthy and had to settle with basic supplies he managed to write a very important account of his travels.

On the 20th of July 1723 he departed from Kiev, and came to Poland in the beginning of 1724 and was sent to a Jesuit school in Lvov. In April of the same year he began to travel by walking to the Holy Places through Italy, Hungary and in Vienna he saw the emperor Charles VI. In July he came to a town called Loreto (where according to belief the Virgin Mary's house was miraculously transported from Palestine) On the 28th of July he came to Bari. Passing through Barletta he suffered from fever. In August he came to Neapoli and on the 18th of August he reached Rome. Through Florence he reached Venezia and on the 25th of March he travelled to Corfu (where there were the relics of saint Spirydion of Trimythus) and then reached the island of Chios where the Patriarch of Jerusalem Chrysanthemus was visiting. He then went to Thessaloniki and visited the Holy Mountain. In in the beginning of 1726 he travelled to Thessaloniki again and then on the 1st of September he travelled to Jerusalem.

After visiting the notable monasteries in Palestine there on the 26th of April 1727 he travelled to Cyprus. He then travelled to Egypt and to Cairo. On the 20th of March 1728 he continued to Sinai, where he saw the Patriarch of Constantinople Jeremias and then returned to Cairo. In 1729 he is back in Jerusalem. Until 1731 he was at the school of Tripolis in the meantime travelling through Syria. He further desired to learn Greek. In 1734 he was tonsured as a monk by the Patriarch Sylvester of Antioch in Damascus. And according to his wish to pursue further

studies he was sent to Patmos. He travelled there in 1735 and 1736 describing all of the monasteries in Cyprus at the same time. He came to Patmos in 1737 living there six years until 1743.

A certain G. Veshnikov (Г. Вѣшниковъ) a resident of Constantinople invited him to stay. There in 1745 he again travels to Mt. Athos describing all the monasteries there. He then travelled to Epirus, Crete and Livadia in 1745. In 1746 he came to Constantinople, where he did not meet the previous resident but met a new one called G. Neplyujev (Г. Неплюевъ) who was not so congenial to him. There was a danger he would be sent to Russia to be punished on false accusations, but he left through the mainland. Through Fumelia, Bulgaria and Valachia, Moldavia and Poland, he came to Kiev on the 2nd of September 1747. There he managed to live in his homeland for a bare 35 days and then fell ill with an inflamed leg dying on the 7th of October 1747. He was buried in the Kiev/Brashskiy Bogoyavlenskiy uchilische monastery. The manuscript of his travels was guarded by his mother. A letter translated into Slavic was placed in his tomb. The letter was from Chrysanthem the Patriarch of Jerusalem,

He wanted to travel to Sinai in 1727 but after a storm at sea he spent three months in Cyprus.¹ He also travelled with companions and as we read in his account often relied on offerings and help from local Orthodox believers or priests. Sometimes even Jews helped him. Jews are often mentioned and they are all over the areas travelled by Barskiy including for example Ancona. His travels entailed the fact of being constantly dependent on mercy from other people. There where difficulties during the sea voyages, where there was little or no food.² The fact that that Barskiy is often helped by priests at various Greek orthodox Churches along the way but also at other churches displays the great degree of solidarity of the people of that period. He often even received free passage on ships.

When in 1727 he visited Egypt he visited also Rosetta. He describes the places he had seen and speaks of the pyramids. Barskiy describes

¹ *Пѣшеходца Василія Григоровича Барскаго Плаки Албова Уроженца Кіевскаго Монаха Антіохійскаго путешествіе къ святымъ мѣстамъ въевропѣ, Азіи и Африкѣ находящимся претрїашио въ 1723 и оконченное въ 1747 году, имъ самимъ писанное.....*, Санкт Петербург 1778. His works were also published in 1885/1886 under the editorship of Барсуков Н.

² Ibid.116.

how his travels coincided with the reign of Peter the Great, and the Kiev Metropoitan Joasaph Krokovskiy (Иоасафъ Кроковскій (1708/1718), after which there was the Archbishop Varlaam Vanashovich (Варлаам Ванашовичь),¹ and that he studied in schools in Kiev and at the Kiev Academy. During that period the *rector* was Theofan Prokopovich (Феофан Прокопович). He studied rhetoric and philosophy.² He states that his father taught him things relating to Church music and liturgics because his father was knowledgeable regarding the Russian writing and singing. ("Отецъ бо мой, былъ книженъ точію въ россійскомъ писаніи и въ церковномъ пѣнїи").

His father was a simple man, and despised scholarly people, because they were "plagued by envy, pride and other evil characteristics". He had problems with his leg, and no medical doctor in Kiev could cure this ailment so he decided to travel to Lvov with his fellow colleague to find better treatment but also to advance his studies. On the 20th of July 1723 he departed from Kiev being "around twenty two years old". They visit the "Uniate" monastery of Pochaev, visit a city called Brodi and fall victim to "Jewish cunningness". They reach Lvov/Lember, where Barskiy with his companion rented a house. Barskiy leg was quickly cured by the local medical doctors. The people where all good, not forcing anyone to enter the "Union" because secretly they were Orthodox. Barskiy give an account of Lvov stating that it was built around 1280 by the Russian Lev Danilovich the *Velikiy Knyaz*. It took its name from him. The city has three bishops, a Roman Catholic one, Armenian one, and a "Rusouniate" one.³ Barskiy and his friend Justin are expelled from the Roman Catholic Jesuit College in Lviv, since they were accused of coming from Kiev and not being Roman Catholic. They visit the *Rusyn* Uniate Bishop Antony Sheptitskiy who helps them by claiming they are from his diocese which enables them to be accepted in the Jesuit College.

¹ See also Бантыш Каменский Дмитрий, Николаевич, *Исторія Малой Россіи*, часть третія, Москва, 1830.

² Пъшеходца Василя Григоровича Барскаго Плаки Албова Уроженца Кіевскаго Монаха Антіохійскаго путешествіе къ святымъ мѣстамъ въевропѣ, Азіи и Африкѣ находящимся препріяшо въ 1723 и оконченное въ 1747 году, имъ самимъ писанное....., Санкт Петербург 1778. 1.

³ Ibid.3

On the sixth of May 1724 they reach the Beskyd mountains. Then on the 7th of May they reach the city of Humenne (Гумменое), and Straske (Страское), Klechanov Bidovce (Клечановы Бѣдовцы), and then they come to Kosice (Кошицы).¹ Barskiy describes Kosice in detail, stating that it is a well-guarded city, that they were questioned, and that it is a clean city with nice stone houses and other information. He even describes in detail the column in the centre of the city built in 1624 with a depiction of the Mother of God and offers a detailed transcription of its content. They come to a village called Haniska (Ганиска), where they are offered local beer and since there was no Orthodox Church went to the Roman Catholic Church to participate in the Latin mass of the feast of the Ascension. They come to Eger and Buda. In Buda on the 23-24th of May 1724 they stay at the house of an Orthodox Serb, which is cause for great merriment and drinking beer.²

On the 27th of June 1724 they reach Venezia. Here they visit the local Greek Church and are cordially met by the local "Protopop" priest. He enquires about their origin and once he found out that they were Orthodox Russians he was very happy (Since "they like Russians") and gave them some offerings. With his companion Justin he reached Bari on the 28th of July 1724. They enter the hotel of Saint Nicholas which stood next to the Church. Interestingly in contrast to the account of the later scholar Dmitrievskiy, who wrote in the nineteenth century, Barskiy does not describe Bari as the area full of thieves and tricksters preying on pilgrims. He states that he was offered accommodation for three days including food and other support and that the hospitality was very good. At first Barskiy and Justin did not see the the relics of Saint Nicholas, since as he exclaimed, the Roman Catholic tradition does not display these on a regular basis. However after many petitions, they were allowed to view the relics but just as Dmitrievskiy would write later, he was disappointed at what he saw, since the relics where unidentifiable, the remains mixed up with limited access. He states that they, where given offerings from a Roman Catholic monk which was very surprising given the "Roman mentality".³

¹ 12.

² 18.

³ Ibid., 49.

Barskiy takes extra care to describe the liturgical habits of the places he visits. An interesting account is his description of the liturgical tradition in the Greek Church in Venice.¹ Here he meets Rubim Gurskiy (Рувим Гурский) who tells Barskiy "the story of his life". How he came from a Polish aristocratic background, that he was tonsured as a monk and that he was helped by Metropolitan of Ryazan, Stefan Yavorskiy (Рязанский Стефанъ Яворский) who ordained him as priest. He then went to the Tichvin monastery invited by Tsarevich Alexej Petrovich. However there were various court intrigues and Gurskiy decided to flee on the 24th of October to Poland. Gurskiy accompanied Barskiy further but died during the journey on the island of Chios.

As we have implied Barskiy visited Mt. Athos, and in the Monastery of Zographou Barskiy had some trouble since the *igoumenos* was angry with him because Barskiy did not follow the usual protocol.² He describes in detail the liturgical services, rules and architecture of the monastery. A very interesting account relates to the Saint Panteleimon monastery, where Barskiy notes the depraved situation there. The monastery is nice and has a lot of possessions and lands but is in a terrible state. The money is "mismanaged" by those that control it and the monks are forced into hard agricultural labour working on the fields and vineyards in very difficult conditions. According to Barskiy monks in Russia in comparison to the monks here live in paradise. Many Russians run away.³

On the 1st of September 1726, Barskiy boarded the ship to Jerusalem. On the way he also visited Cyprus. In Jaffa Barskiy notes that there are many Arabic Orthodox Christians together with Greek Orthodox Christians there. The Arabs have their own liturgical texts in Arabic but written not printed. Travelling through Ramla, Barskiy notices how every ethnic group holds together, Armenians, Greeks, Ethiopians and others.⁴ He describes, how the various ethnic groups behaved during their journey. Speaks of the Ethiopians and Arabs travelling how people ate only water with dried bread, and the number

¹ 101.

² Ibid. 140.

³ 151.

⁴ Ibid., 176.

of thieves and other dangers on the way.¹ Barskiy offers a staggering critique of Arabs likening them to the worst possible ethnic group in the world. He states that in Russia you cannot find a worse ethnic group than Arabs who are on the level of animals.² He discusses the differences between Arabs and Ethiopians and the influence of the Christian faith on these.³ He offers a description of Jerusalem and its areas. In terms of the monastery of Saint Savva he states that the monks are on a terrible low level of education.⁴

6g Other accounts of the eighteenth century

Around the middle of the eighteenth century we have another account involving Egypt and the Sinai, which is written by Father Ignatiy/Ivan Denshin (Отец Игнатий (Иван Деншин). The work *Description of the travels of the monk father Ignatiy, to Tsargrad, Mt. Athos, Jerusalem, Egypt, Alexandria and Arabia* (Описание путешествия монаха о. Игнатия в Царьград, на Афонскую гору, в Иерусалим, в Египет, в Александрию и в Аравию) relates to a journey in the decade of 1766. It appears, that he was an Athonite monk and then a monk of Sarov.⁵ The account is important in itself, since in the period of Catherine the great pilgrimages to the Holy land and other activities are for obvious reasons rare. One such account was that of S. Pleshcheev (С Плещеев) in 1772, which we have inferred to above, and which was however rare in itself and consisted of a brief visit to Nazaret. Published as *Diary of the journey from the Archipelago, belonging to Russia, island of Paros, into Syria and some notable places around Jerusalem together with a short history of the Alibey battles of the officer of the Russian fleet lieutenant Sergey Pleshcheev in 1772* (Дневные записки путешествия из Архипелагского, России принадлежащего, острова Пароса, в Сирию и к достопамятным местам в пределах Иерусалима находящимся с краткою историею

¹ 179-186.

² 185.

³ 186.

⁴ 209.

⁵ Кобищанов Ю. М., *Встреча Христианских цивилизаций в святых местах Палестины и Египта (Глазами Русских Паломников XV-XVIII веков)*, Институт Африки Российской Академии Наук, Москва, 1999; Хитрово В., *Описание путешествия монаха о. Игнатия в Царьград, на Афонскую гору, в Иерусалим, в Египет, в 1766-1777 г.*, http://www.vostlit.info/Texts/Dokumenty/ByzanzXVIII/1760-1780/Putes_ignatija/text.htm.

Алибеевых завоеваний Российского флота Лейтенанта Сергея Плещеева в исходе 1772 г. Санкт Петербург, 1773.).

The information from Sarov speaks about the fact that Ignatiy was accepted as monk into the Sarov area in 1766. Ignatiys travels coincided with the tensions between Russia and the Ottoman Empire. He meets the First Archipelago Russian expeditionary force at the island of Paros, which stayed there from 1770 to 1775. The Sarov archives state that he was from Kursk and desired to travel south with some Greek monks, in 1765, which he did but encounter war activities between Russia and the Ottomans. He could not have returned so he went to Athos, to a place devoted to the birth of the Mother of God (Мавровыр). There he was to stay for a while, but fell severely ill and on his own wish was tonsured as a monk, in the end spending there altogether seven years. After his return to Russia he stayed in the Sarov pustyn (Sarov пустынь) where "he was incapable of integrating fully due to his consistent illnesses". After 1788, there is no more information of his whereabouts. His account is relatively short with only a brief description of Jerusalem, where he mentions that the Patriarch was surprised to see him there (as a Russian given the periods problems). He mentions also the village of Skudelniche (Скудельниче) (Field of blood, Akeldama or Hakl-ed-damm), which for some reason is popular in these accounts. He states the lack of water in the area of Jerusalem, and relates to Theodore of Sykeons miracle in this context. In Egypt he falls ill, and desires to visit Sinai, but the road was dangerous. His description of Mt. Athos is more extensive, commenting on the various forms of manual work done by the monks there. In Jerusalem he mentions the miracle of the Holy Fire.

From the eighteenth century we have the accounts of the traveller Leontiy (Леонтий), whose work, has been preserved under the title *History of the young Grigoryevich* ("История жизни младшего Григоровича") and until recently was basically unknown (Here Leontiy intentionally used the designation "younger Grigoryevich", in terms of his respect to the traveller Barskiy, who was a Grigoryevich also).¹ He was born in the area around Poltava in a small village in 1726. His fathers name was Stepan Yacenko (Степан Яценко) but he signed his

¹ His work is still preserved largely unpublished in *История жизни младшего Григоровича Архив Внешней политики российской империи (Фонд 152)*. The thirteenth volume of the work is found in the *Российский государственный архив древних актов*,

name under the name of his great-grandfather Zelenskiy (Зеленский). Leontiy (Леонтий) was his monastic name. In 1764 he visited Jerusalem. He then travelled to Constantinople and due to the fact that the local Russian chaplain at the embassy fell ill was offered his place as an embassy priest. There he stayed for decades and his life is an extraordinary example of a Russian cleric who had the opportunity in this period to spend time in the heart of the Ottoman Empire. He was buried as a protestant when he died in 1807 in Pera. This was so, since during the Russian Ottoman war of 1806-1812, the Russian interests were represented by the Danish ambassador Baron Joseph Hubsch von Hrosta. The Patriarch of Constantinople Gregory V, refused to bury Leontiy unless the Danish ambassador would give him the possessions left after Leontiy. Since the Danish ambassador refused, the Patriarch did not want to bury him, and therefore the Danish ambassador had to bury him as a Danish subject and then later gave the possessions of Leontiy to the Russians.¹

Leontiy wrote his account in a cultivated literary style, and projects a self-assured and self-praising attitude. He is critical of the Arabs and Muslims portraying them as representatives of an uncivilised nation, and on one occasion when he was in the Sinai, he states that the Bedouins gathered there, displaying their primitive nature, and their appalling appearance, and that he felt as a sheep among wolves.² He often describes how he was deceived by Arabs, which provokes a sharp reaction from Leontiy and he calls them unscrupulous gypsies.

Leontiy in comparison to the other Russian pilgrims of his period interacted with the local Arab population more intensely. Thus in terms of his companion Mahmud who accompanied him to Sinai, he praises him for his care and compassion to his needs.³ Then again he describes how he was assisted and helped close to Sinai, being invited to the local camp of Arabs.⁴ As a cleric he cannot "help notice" the beauty and

¹ Попов, А. П., *Младший Григорович, Новооткрытый паломник по св. Местам XVIII века*, Кронштадт, 1911, 38.

² Кирилина, С.А., *Хождение иеромонаха Леонтия в Египет и Палестину в 1763-1766 гг.: Ислам и его носители в "истории младшего григоровича"* in: *Исторический Вестник*, том двадцатый, июнь, 2017, Москва, 190-218, here, 203,

³ Ibid., 205.

⁴ Ibid.206.

naturalness of the local Arab women, and then descends into describing the "natural inclinations of women".¹

At the end of the eighteenth century there is the account of Meletiy (Мелетий), who stayed in Palestine in the years 1793-1794. He was also from Sarov and later became an Archimandrite. His account called *Travels to Jerusalem* (Путешествие в Иерусалим) was rarely published, and contains information about the Copts and their presence in the Holy Land. His work is also interesting in that he was interested in studying the manuscripts located in the Holy Land. He describes a scene when an Ethiopian person was being thrown out of the Holy Sepulchre Church by a French Arab Christian. Mentions the negative impact of the Franciscans there.² Meletiy (Мелетий) and his journey to Palestine, which took place in 1793, is a very interesting one, since it gives us information about the miracle of the Holy Fire, which according to him does not come from the rooftop, but stems from the tomb of Christ itself, which is also as he reminds us theologically more correct. He relies on the words of the archbishop Misail, who served when the miracle happened during his visit. He stated, that when he enters the tomb, to "collect" the fire, on the tomb, he can see a light in the form of spilled soft pearls, there are initially sparks of red, white, light blue colours and other colours, which then produce the fire which begins to redden. The length of the prayer of forty times *Kyrie eleison*, is the time when the Holy Fire does not burn. This Holy Fire does not burn or otherwise burn people. His description of Jerusalem and the Holy Sepulchre is unique in its own right, since it was the last one to be made before the great fire in the beginning of the nineteenth century, which engulfed the Holy Sepulchre. He stated that the Golgotha was located inside the city, and not outside of the city borders, but inside the fortress of Sion. He remarks that the term for Golgotha in the Gospels is not a designation for some form of mountain but for a place of executions. He also remarks that the garden of the elder Joseph, could not have been located next to the place of execution. Golgotha was named a hill when it was filled with earth later and a temple of Venera was built on its top. Meletiy tells us, that many Arab Christians (in the period of the

¹ Ibid., 208.

² *Путешествие во Иерусалим Саровския общежительныя пустыни иеромонаха Мелетия в 1793 и 1794 годах*, Москва, 1800.

miracle of the Holy Fire) came to the church, and begged to be allowed to enter and not pay some money.

The fire, which destroyed the Church of the Holy Sepulchre in 1808 as if made a symbolic end to the previous centuries and heralded a new chapter in the Russian relations with the Holy Land and the south.

7 Russia and the Holy Land in the nineteenth century

7a Religious formalism

Russia was experiencing upheavals in terms of ambitions and policies especially after the period of Peter the Great. All these upheavals would prove consequential for the later periods including the nineteenth century. These were related to the Church and in turn affected the Churches structures and relations with other countries including the Holy Land.

In 1721 Peter the Great replaced the Russian Patriarchate with the Holy Synod. The Synod was organised in the same fashion as government departments. The Synod had an ecclesiastical president, two vice presidents, four counsellors and four assessors who were effectively controlled by the office of the lay Ober-Procurator. The Ober-Procurator was in fact the head of the Church administration.¹ These new developments were later important in how things were organised in relation to Palestine. The Spiritual Regulation of 1721 with its supplement was influential in the Russian Orthodox Church until 1917.² As the Spiritual Regulation indicated, „the common people do not understand how spiritual authority is distinguishable from the autocratic....they imagine that such an administrator is a Second Sovereign, a power equal to that of the Autocrat, or even greater than he.“³ The spiritual Regulation also dealt with the issue of superstition.⁴ The author of the section dealing with laity in the Regulations was Bishop Feofan Prokopovich (1681-1736). He was trained in the Kievan Academy heavily influenced by the Jesuits.⁵ The idea of superstition was closely linked with proclaiming false miracles.⁶

¹ In Basil Dmytryshyn, ed., *Imperial Russia A Source Book, 1700-1917*, third ed. Holt, Rinehart and Winston, Inc. Washington, 1990, 34.

² Muller Alexander V., ed. and trans., *Spiritual Regulation of Peter the Great*, University of Washington Press, Seattle, 1972, 16.

³ Muller Alexander V., ed. and trans. *Spiritual Regulation of Peter the Great*, University of Washington Press, Seattle, 1972, 10, 16.

⁴ *Ibid.*, 19.

⁵ 18.

⁶ 20.

The state wished to control the parish and stipulated how many households are needed to constitute a parish.¹ „The extensive preoccupation with the clerical issue was reflected in the name of the main synodal committee charged with parish reform issues, „The Special Commission on Affairs of Orthodox Clergy“ followed a similar measure of the eighteenth century regulating the parishes so as to produce sufficient income for priests (later revoked due to uproar in 1885).²„The word for parish (*prikhod*) in Russian did not convey the same notion as its Greek counterpart, *paroikia*, which meant those living near or beside one another.“³ The People were represented on parish level mainly through the church elder and parish guardians.⁴

The formalisation of religion brought about through this development after the period of Peter the Great was not very good for the future life of the Church. For instance in 1774 a directive delegated to local civil officials the responsibility of making sure that people attended church on Sundays and major feast days.⁵ This of course produced an environment just as the period itself, of control, of ordering and classification. One of the reasons or consequences of the explosion of pilgrimage to Palestine in the nineteenth century was also related to an unconscious and conscious desire to "break away" from this religious formalism and control, which was so dominant especially in the nineteenth century in Russia.

It is necessary to bring to attention here the already mentioned figure of K. P. Pobedonostsev, who was the ober-procurator of the Holy Synod and had a vision of close co-operation between state and church.⁶Constantine P. Pobedonostsev (1827-1907), was a constitutional lawyer, who taught civil law at Moscow State University from 1860 to 1865, and then became a member of the Senate (Russia's Supreme Court), then a member of the Council of State (Consultative body that

¹ 21.

² 22.

³ 23.

⁴ Малевинский, А., Инструкция церковным старостам, изысканная указами Св. Синода, Сводом законов, распоряжениями Епархиальново Началства и церковной практики, Санкт Петербургъ, 1912, pars. 8-18, 24.

⁵ Полное Собрание законов Российской Империи, сер. I, vol. 19, 1774, no. 14231, 1. сер. 45 том., 1830, 2 сер, 55 том., 1830-34, 3rd сер. 28 том. Санкт Петербургъ, 1911, 17.

⁶ Ibid., 26.

advised the Tsar in legislative matters), and from 1880 to 1905 he acted as Procurator of the holy Synod. He was also a tutor in law of Alexander III and Nicholas II and was very influential between 1881 to 1905.¹

Pobedonostsevs ideas on democracy are interesting in their own right, being conservative as they are. Against this background, the pilgrimage movement can be seen as a mass liberation, a way of democratic freedom enabled by the very fact of travel and the encounter with different cultures. For example, Pobedonostsev argues, that the more people have the right to vote, the lesser power in reality each person has. The more people who have the vote means less equality and freedom, since freedom and equality is distributed in such a way where they are fragmented in many individuals resulting in the fact that there is not true equality or freedom and power in any individual person. „We may ask in what consists the superiority of Democracy. Everywhere the strongest man becomes master of the State; sometimes a fortunate and resolute general, sometimes a monarch or administrator with knowledge, dexterity, a clear plan of action, and a determined will, in a Democracy, the real rulers are the dexterous manipulators of votes, with their place-men, the mechanics who so skilfully operate the hidden springs which move the puppets in the arena of democratic elections. Men of this kind are ever ready with loud speeches lauding equality; in reality they rule the people as any despot or military dictator might rule it“²

The Russian fate on the international level in the beginning of the nineteenth century was fluctuating and generally the Russian policy abroad was marked by a lack on conception, missed opportunities, chance wars but also a naive desire to behave in a gentlemanlike manner in a world of colonial opportunism and lack of ideology. Russia had to keep its prestige in international politics a prestige which had somewhat suffered after the London conventions in 1840 and 1841, which had largely decreased Russia's role as the protector of Christians in Turkey, awarding this role instead to the five powers. This was

¹ Basil Dmytryshyn, ed., *Imperial Russia A Source Book, 1700-1917*, third ed. Holt, Rinehart and Winston, Inc. Washington, 1990, 382.

² Pobyedonostseff, K. P., *Reflections of a Russian Statesman*, translated Robert Crozier Long, London, Grant Richard, London, 1898, 23-30, 32-46, 52-54, 62-74; Basil Dmytryshyn, ed., *Imperial Russia A Source Book, 1700-1917*, third ed. Holt, Rinehart and Winston, Inc. Washington, 1990, 383.

coupled by the opening of the doors in the East towards non-orthodox propaganda.¹ This set the stage for a new impetus towards the Holy Land.

7b Fact finding missions to the Holy Land

The literature relating to pilgrims and contacts with Palestine is extensive for the nineteenth century. It is not possible, for us here to give an extensive account of the developments. We will concentrate only on the crucial points of contact between Russia and Palestine. One of the main specifics of pilgrimage literature and literature related to the Holy Land in the nineteenth century is its goal and purpose. Whereas previous accounts of pilgrims were informative, the pilgrimage literature of the nineteenth century was increasingly being directed to a concrete purpose and goal. This sense of purpose and goal is valid especially for the well-known account of the journey of Muraviev.

Perhaps due to the realisation of the necessity of greater involvement in the south, after the Russian Turkish wars in 1838, there was some effort to reach out to the situation in the Holy land. As part of this effort the kamергер A. N. Muraviev (камергер А. Н. Муравьев 1806-1874 a talented individual)² travelled to the East to find out about the possibilities there for Russia. He made a journey to Egypt, Cyprus, Palestine and Constantinople in 1830. His account is very important and belongs to one of the earliest and substantial accounts of the nineteenth century.

His popularity is also witnessed by the fact that the Holy Synod of the Patriarchate of Jerusalem gave him various awards, even calling him the knight of the Holy Sepulchre. He worked further for the foreign department and was instrumental in supporting the Russian presence on Mount Athos and stimulated the construction of a *skete* there in 1849-1850. He was also the Ober-secretary of the Holy Synod. It is important

¹ Архимандрит Киприан., О. Антонии Капустин, архимандрит и начальник Русской Духовной Миссии в Иерусалиме (1817-1894 гг.), Белград, 1934, 114-115; Архимандрит Никодим (Ротов), История Русской Духовной Миссии в Иерусалиме, с. 15-83 in: *Богословские Труды*, сборник двадцатый, Сборник посвящен митрополиту Ленинградскому и Новгородскому Никодиму († сентября 1978), Издание Московской Патриархии, Москва, 1979, 16.

² Муравьев А., Н., *Путешествие ко святым местам, в 1830 г., 1835*, Москва, репринт, Индрик, Москва, 2006.

to emphasise, that people like Muraviev were very well educated having various interests. Muraviev also wrote prose and poetry. This is important to emphasise so that we have an idea of the kind of people who were involved in the endeavour in Palestine. Certainly we cannot speak of some ideologically motivated dreamers engaging themselves in Palestine as has been commented on by some commentators.

In his report to the ministry of foreign affairs Muraviev wrote the following: "Just as the French Kings had designated themselves as the protectors of all Franks, who abide in the East...and all Catholic communities, even though in the majority of cases the monks only share their faith with them but are not their direct subjects, it would only be fair and beneficial and propitious for Eastern matters, if the Russian Tsar, would see fit to take under his own special patronage, protection the holy sites, even if only the Church of the Holy Sepulchre, the Cave of the Mother of God in Gethsemane and the Bethlehem Church. We are speaking here not of the Greek area (па́йе), the clergy or laity, but only about the Holy buildings, which is much more humble than the French ambition to protect all Catholics, regardless of their nationality.....It is necessary to obtain from the Sultan either as a gift or acquisition a small mosque (the Sion) of the Last Supper and the Descent of the Holy Spirit, which was previously a Christian monastery,... and which in the early centuries was called the Mother of all Churches, since it was there that the first bishopric was created of Jerusalem under the personal leadership of Jacob the Lord's brother. As soon as this mosque will be in our hands, it can become the centre for the establishment of the Russian Mission, consisting of an archimandrite, some monks and reappointed every three years just as the Catholics do....If for some reason out of misfortune, we will not be able to get our hands on the Sanctuary of the Last Supper from the unbelievers the home of the archimandrite should be located in the strengthened monastery of the Cross, which is located two versts from Jerusalem, and which belongs to the Greeks, who will happily delegate it to us with this aim in mind, in any case there is no reason to ignore this beautiful monastery, its beautiful church and extensive accommodation possibilities, which is especially suitable for pilgrims, who should be guided by an Archimandrite, who should also guide all the Russian monks living in Jerusalem. Just as after the visit of Russia by the Archbishop Favorskiy (Фаворский) in all our Churches

groups were established in which offerings are placed for the Holy Sepulchre, and the collection reaches every year 40 thousand roubles in remittances, a part of these collections could be used to support the Jerusalem Mission, especially if these are placed into the mosque of the Last Supper, which can be transformed into a Church. The rest of the collections of the groups could be in the first case placed for the Holy Sepulchre, but not in any other way than through the hands of our archimandrite. The Archimandrite would decide how the money would be spent."¹ As we can see the report is pretty much straightforward.

¹ "Как Французские короли объявили себя покровителями всех франков, поселившихся на Востоке, и всех католических общин, хотя, в большинстве монахи только их единоверцы но не подданные, было бы справедливо и благоприятно для восточных дел, если бы русский император удостоил принять под свое особое покровительство святые места, хотя бы только храм Гроба Господня, пещеру Богородицы в Гефсимании и Вифлеемскую церковь. Речь идет не о греческой рае, духовенстве или мирянах, а только о священных зданиях, что гораздо скромное притязания Франции покровительствовать всем католикам вообще, к какой бы нации они ни принадлежали....Необходимо получить от султана маленькую мечеть (Сионскую) Тайной Вечери и Сошествия Св. Духа, бывшую раньше христианским монастырем, в виде дара или приобретения... Эта мечеть, прежняя церковь, называлась в первые века матерью всех церквей, ибо там было установлено первое иерусалимское епископство в лице Иакова брата Господня. Как только эта мечеть будет в наших руках, она может быть месторепребиванием Русской Миссии, состоящей из архимандрита и нескольких монахов и назначаемой вновь каждые три года по примеру католиков...Если, к несчастью, мы не в состоянии будем вырвать из рук неверных святыни Тайной Вечеры, месторепребивание архимандрита должно быть перенесено в укрепленный монастырь Креста, находящийся в двух верстах от Иерусалима и принадлежащий грекам, которые охотно уступят нам его с этой целью, и во всяком случае не следует пренебрегать этим прекрасным монастырем, по красоте церкв и обширному помещению весьма пригодным для паломников, руководство которым, ка и всеми русскими монахами, живущими в Иерусалиме, должно быть поручено архимандриту. Так как после посещения России архиепископом Фагорским во всех наших соборах установлены кружки, в которые опускают подаяния на Гроб Господень, и сбор этот ежегодно доходит до 40 тысяч рублей ассигнациями, часть этих подаяний можно было бы расходовать на поддержание Иерусалимской Миссии, особенно если она поместится в мечети Тайной Вечери, которую придется переделать на церковь. Остальная часть кружечного сбора могла бы получить свое первоначальное назначение на Гроб Господень, но не иначе, ка проходя через руки нашего архимандрита. Распределение этих денег возвысило бы нашего архимандрита." Безобразов, П. В., О сношениях России с Палестиной в XIX веке. in: *Сообщения Императорского Православного Палестинского Общества*, т. XXII, вып. II, Санкт Петербург., 1911, 185-187.

Muraviev advanced the Russian presence also on Mt Athos, where he was instrumental in the acquisition of the *Skete* of Saint Andrew.

The Russian authorities were very slow to react to the possibilities and challenges related to foreign policy towards the Holy Land. It needs to be said, that the Russian government was hardly the bastion of Russian Christian Orthodoxy, since apart from other reasons it also included a variety of people from a Protestant or other background in its ranks.

In the first half of the nineteenth century, the efforts for more intensive contacts with the Holy Land depended on various issues, which were indirectly related to pilgrimage. On the other hand the latter half of the century was determined by issues of pilgrimage but also of other more scholarly and ecclesial aspects. The political situation and pressure from the West in the Holy Land led people like Count Karl Robert Nesselrode who was a Protestant himself to see the necessity of some form of Russian action in the ecclesial sphere. Nesselrode who is a well-known figure had an ambivalent policy towards the Ottoman Empire, a policy, which also had effects on his attitudes towards the Holy Land. Again contrary to common opinion, the Russian state and Tsars in the 19th century were rather clumsy and slow to react to the political possibilities and economical possibilities offered to the Russians by playing effectively the Christian card in the Middle East. There was no systematic approach and there was no idealistic rush to protect “Orthodox Christianity” by the state either.

The state progressed step by step and even extraordinarily did so, in order not to “antagonise” the French or other European powers. Such a rather strange cautious and humble approach to asserting political might could also be seen in the issue of Greek independence. Thus while Russian public opinion was sympathetic to the Greek cause, the Tsarist policy was slow to react and people like the foreign minister Count Karl Robert Nesselrode even called for caution in supporting Greek independence since this would undermine “moral” values.¹

¹ Nesselrode circular dispatch, Laibach, Mar. 18, 1831, *VPR* (1990): 70-1, xii, 35 cited in: Frary L. J., *Russia and the Making of Modern Greek identity, 1821-1844*, Oxford, 2015, pg. 35.

Nicholas I seems further to have been a pacifist disliking rebellion and war.¹

In June 1842 the vice-chancellor (вице-канцлер) Nesselrode (Нессельроде) in his report to the Tsar portrayed a bleak picture of the situation of the Orthodox in Palestine, citing immense aggressiveness from the Catholics and Protestants, apart from the usual problems from the Muslims. He calls for the establishment of an ecclesial presence in Palestine, which would also support morally and practically the Greek Orthodox presence there. The vice-chancellor calls for the presence of a clerical type such as for example an archimandrite who would proceed carefully, slowly without endangering diplomatic balance etc.² He observes: "But it is also important to realise, that if a cleric is sent to Jerusalem and this is manifested publicly, this could represent certain inconveniences, which could partly proceed from various political causes and partially from the suspicious nature of and personal opinions of the higher Greek clergy. And therefore in the first instance it would be perhaps good to limit oneself to a so-to speak educational role. Having this in mind it would be good to choose a humble, judicious, hopeful priest monk or archimandrite, but not above this rank, and send him to Jerusalem in the capacity of a pilgrim. After he arrived there he could, after fulfilling all the requirements of a pious person, try to gain the trust of the local priesthood, gradually infiltrating the situation of the Orthodox Church, and to discern on ground, what would be the useful measures to adopt in order to support Orthodoxy, and to convey this to the Russian Government and through the mediation of our consul in Beirut and according to the latter's advice as required give some beneficial suggestions to the Greek clergy from his own "private" personal position and in brotherly love, while at the same time confirming to the clergy the pious solidarity of the most high court with those sharing our faith. When experience shows, that the presence of a Russian agent from the ranks of the clergy, could bring substantial

¹ For Nicholas I, see С. С. Татищев, *Внешняя политика императора Николая I*, СПб, тип. И. Н. Скороходова, 1887, 137-8.; also by the same author *Император Николай и иностранные дворы*, СПб, 1889. Still one of the most brilliant analysis of the rule of Nicholas I.

² Каптерев, Н., *Сношения Иерусалимских патриархов в текущем столетии (1815-1844 гг.)*. In: *Православный Палестинский Сборник*, т. XV. Выпуск первый, СПб., 1898, с. 679-681.

benefits to the Orthodox Church, then taking regard to circumstances, it could be perhaps possible to keep him there under some useful pretext and furnish him with some positive instructions relating to the future possibilities of action. Until then it is necessary that he consult with our consul in all matters, since he is more proficient in terms of the political circumstances, with which spiritual endeavours should be harmonised."¹ Obviously the purport of this message is ambiguous and

¹ "Но нельзя не сознаться, что гласное отправление духовного лица в Иерусалим имеет также свои неудобства, которые могут проистекать от разных политических соображений, а отчасти от недоверчивости и личных видов греческого высшего духовенства. А потому на первый случай можно было бы ограничиться мерою, так сказать, испытательною. С сею целью надлежало бы избрать кроткого, благоразумного, надежного иеромонаха или архимандрита, но никак не выше сего сана, и отправить его в Иерусалим в качестве поклонника. По прибытии туда он мог бы, исполняя все обязанности богомольца, стараться снискать доверие тамошнего духовенства, постепенно вникать в положение Православной Церкви, сообразить на месте, какие всего удобнее принять меры к поддержанию православия, доносить о том Российскому Правительству и через посредство консула нашего в Бейруте по руководству сего последнего делать при случаях некоторые полезные внушения греческому духовенству от собственного своего имени и с братской любовью, стараясь при том убедить его в благочестивом соучастии высочайшего двора к единоверцам нашим. Когда же опыт укажет, что пребывание русского агента из дуцховных может действительно принести существенную пользу Православной Церкви, тогда смотря по обстоятельствам, можно будет продлить его там пребывание под каким-либо благовидным предлогом и снабдить более положительными наставлениями касательно дальнейшего образа действий. До того же времени необходимо, чтобы он во всем совещался с нашим консулом, ибо ему больше известны политические обстоятельства, с какими надлежит согласовать и духовные дела". (Но нельзя не сознаться, что гласное отправление духовного лица в Иерусалим имеет также свои неудобства, которые могут проистекать от разных политических соображений, а отчасти от недоверчивости и личных видов греческого высшего духовенства. А потому на первый случай можно было бы ограничиться мерою, так сказать, испытательною. С сею целью надлежало бы избрать кроткого, благоразумного, надежного иеромонаха или архимандрита, но никак не выше сего сана, и отправить его в Иерусалим в качестве поклонника. По прибытии туда он мог бы, исполняя все обязанности богомольца, стараться снискать доверие тамошнего духовенства, постепенно вникать в положение Православной Церкви, сообразить на месте, какие всего удобнее принять меры к поддержанию православия, доносить о том Российскому Правительству и через посредство консула нашего в Бейруте по руководству сего последнего делать при случаях некоторые полезные внушения греческому духовенству от собственного своего имени и с братской любовью, стараясь при том убедить его в благочестивом соучастии высочайшего двора к единоверцам нашим. Когда же опыт укажет, что пребывание русского агента из дуцховных может действительно принести

confusing at least for the ecclesial personages it was supposed to deal with. This has been noted by other commentators such as the cited N. Kapterev and Nikodom Rotov.¹ The statement calls for action in Palestine while at the same time calling for secrecy, which is strange. It is as if the Russian government is scared to provoke someone, even though Western missionary propaganda was in full swing at that time. In any case the document views the Church with little regard, viewing it as a useful tool for government policy. The document was handed over to the Holy Synod to deal with it.

7c Porphyriy Uspenskiy as pilgrim and head of the Russian spiritual mission

In any event, the Russian Synod on the 26th of June 1842 designated Archimandrite Porphyriy (Archimandrite Porphyriy Konstantin Alexandrovich Uspenskiy Архимандрит Порфирий Константин Александрович Успенский) to fulfil this task, as called in by the above document. He was chosen because of his knowledge of Greek, and because of his experience dealing with non-Russian Orthodox Christians. He was at that time the priest for the Embassy in Vienna. Uspenskiy came to Sankt Peterburg on the 11th of October 1842, where on the 4th of November, there was a meeting of the Holy Synod which dealt with him and his goals: "The present plan of sending the archimandrite Porfyriy to Jerusalem in the capacity of a pilgrim and with the goal of revealing the current needs of Orthodoxy in Palestine and to establish a liaison between the Greek clergy and the Church leadership in Russia and with the task to oversee that the gifts offered serve the benefits of the Orthodox Church in those areas is hereby

существенную пользу Православной Церкви, тогда смотря по обстоятельствам, можно будет продлить его там пребывание под каким-либо благовидным предлогом и снабдить более положительными наставлениями касательно дальнейшего образа действий. До того же времени необходимо, чтобы он во всем совещался с нашим консулом, ибо ему больше известны политические обстоятельства, с какими надлежит согласовать и духовные дела". Каптерев, Н., Сношения Иерусалимских патриархов в текущем столетии (1815-1844 гг.). in: *Православный Палестинский Сборник*, т. XV. Выпуск первый, Санкт Петербург., 1898, 679-681.

¹ Архимандрит Никодим (Ротов), История Русской Духовной Миссии в Иерусалиме, in: *Богословские Труды, сборник двадцатый, Сборник посвящен митрополиту Ленинградскому и Новгородскому Никодиму († сентября 1978)*, 15-83, Издание Московской Патриархии, Москва, 1979, 18.

established temporarily, and if it is to become permanent this will depend on the insights and fruits, which will stem from it."¹

Porfiry Uspenskiy was undoubtedly an incredible figure and is one of the dominant personages of the Russian Holy land relationship of the nineteenth century. He was born in 1804 in Kostrom in the family of psalmist. In 1829 he finished the Sankt Petersburg Spiritual Academy after which he became a monk and was ordained later. The same year he became a teacher of the Holy Scripture in the Second Petersburg Cadet corps (2-й Петербургский Кадетский корпус) and in 1831 he taught the same at the Rishlev Odessa lyceum (Одесский Ришельевский лицей). In 1834 he became an archimandrite and received the function of the head of Odessa Uspensky monastery of the second grade. In 1842 he became the priest for the embassy in Vienna.

Uspenskiy kept a daily journal which provides fascinating reading and offers rich information about the social and other contexts of nineteenth century Palestine. It reveals many aspects of Russian spirituality and other aspects of religious life and world view. The journals themselves deserve an independent scholarly monograph. The journals begin from his period in Vienna.

The entry for the 3rd of May 1841 in this diary offers us a typical prayerful beginning of a future journey to Russia and then later to Palestine. A *moleben* is served in front of the icon of Alexander Nevsky, and Porphyriy full of emotion sheds tears and is full of eagerness to fulfil Gods will. He then embarks on a tedious and difficult journey which is "tiresome". As he states, after the river Dvina, the inhabitants of the country live in poor conditions, barely speaking Russian, living in poor houses and it is obvious that Great Russia ends here (4-7 of May

¹ "Предстоящее отправление архимандрита Порфирия в Иерусалим в качестве поклонника и в видах обнаружить настояще нужды православия в Палестине и установить посредство между греческим дучовнством и духовным начальством в России и ближайшее наблюдение за действительным употреблением в пользу Православной Церкви в тамошних местах пожертвований предпринимается ныне в виде временной меры, обращение которой в постоянную будет зависеть от открытий и плодов, каеки окажутся во испытании оной". Каптерев, Н., Сношения Иерусалимских патриархов в текущем столетии (1815-1844 гг.), in: *Православный Палестинский Сборник*, т. XV. Выпуск первый, Санкт Петербург, 1898, 679-681, here 685.

1841).¹ On the 8th of May 1841 Porphyriy arrives in Vilna, where he is met by the Archimandrite Platon, who is "popular there". At five there was dinner at the governor's office Semenov. "Behind the table sat the Polish rulers and administrators and talked with a great voice. Wide is the throat of these men!"² The most jovial of all was Count Kreyts (Граф Крейтцъ) who exclaimed that he loves the Slavs, and that he is of Slavic origin and that even the Greeks are Slavs.³

The bishop Iosif (Иосифъ) served the Liturgy and Porphyriy was surprised to see that during the Great Entrance all the Eastern Patriarchs of the Middle East were commemorated. He was told that this was on account of the united Uniates. When the Uniates expressed a desire to re-unite with the Orthodox, the Roman Catholics asked them "Do you desire to join the Universal Church or a local Church?. The Uniates stated, that they are not joining only with the Russian Church but with the Universal Church, hence this liturgical element was introduced. After this the Orthodox Archbishop Iosif stated that the Roman Catholic officials perpetually ignore invitations for lunch or other events hosted by the Archbishop.⁴

Porphyriy then travels to Brest-Litovsk, and the area between Vilna and Brest Litovsk is according to him inhabited by poor people, poor peasants, and he writes that there where many jews living in this area. The peasants here are lazy, not happy, whereas in Greater Russia the peasants are happy and love to do their work. The peasants are prone to alcoholism and the area is completely controlled by Jews, who exploit the local population.

Porphyriy however does not blame the Jews for the desperate conditions, but on the contrary blames the situation on corruption, and a lack of spiritual life. In another entry Porphyriy contemplates about the Jews not being sure whether he likes them or not. As he states, one part of him points to the cunningness, trickery, deviousness of the Jews

¹ Книга Бытія Моего, Дневники и Автобіографическія записки, Епископа Порфирія Успенскаго, том 1., ред. П.А. Сырку, Санкт Петербург, 1894. 1-3.

² "За столомъ вельможные и чиновные поляки говорили весьма громко. Широко горло у этихъ господъ!". Ibid.

³ Ibid. 3.

⁴ Ibid. 5. See the important study Pelesz, *Geschichte der Union der ruthenischen Kirche mit Rom*, II. B., Würzburg Wien, 1881; *Annales Ecclesiae Ruthenae* Михаил Гарасевич (Michaelis Harasiewicz), Михаил Малиновский, Львов, 1862.

and the other part draws his attention to Philo and the fact that this nation confessed the one nature of God. In the end Porphyriy pities the Jews as being living debris.¹

Generally, Porphyriy's attitude and opinion towards different nationalities undergoes development during his travels. Thus as he remarks elsewhere, he was told by Greeks how Arabs are lazy, but during his travels in Samaria and Galilee he had to change his opinion, seeing well-kept fields of Arabs and cultivated areas of the Arabs neatly taken care of.² Elsewhere he states, that the Arab hospitality is the only thing left from their ancient high culture. He is invited by one such Arab for food since he sees his tent close to his.³

From the outset, it seems, there was conflict of interest between the ecclesial authorities and the State in terms of Porphyriy's mission. Thus Porphyriy was getting different instructions from the ecclesial Ober-Prokurator and different from the state.

In the entry for the 15th of May (1843) Uspenskiy in his diary wrote that he was given 1500 roubles for travel expenses and read the report of the Vice Chancellor to the Tsar (titled "Concerning Archimandrite Porphyriy"), under which the Tsar signed "approved". The 1500 roubles came from the ministry of foreign affairs (Asian department). He was also told that new instructions would be given in the embassy of Constantinople. He met the Ober-prokurator who showed distaste towards Uspenskiy mocking him for being impossible, since Uspenskiy managed to get himself robbed in his house. The tone of the Ober-prokurator showed a lack of faith that Uspenskiy would be successful in his mission.⁴

For the journey to Palestine Archimandrite Porphyriy left on the 22nd of May 1843 from Saint Petersburg to Odessa. He planned to stay in Odessa for a while "to refresh his Greek". On the 20th of September he departed from Odessa and the 22nd of September he was already in Constantinople. On the 15th of October he departs to Syria from Constantinople. In Syria he sees the depleted state of the Orthodox

¹ 16, May, 1841, 15.

² *Книга Бытія Моего, Дневники и Автобіографическія записки, Епископа Порфирія Успенскаго, том 1., ред. П.А. Сырку, Санкт Петербург, 1894, 16 April, 1844, 653.*

³ 3 may, 1844, pg. 21, *ibid.* Том II.

⁴ *Книга Бытія Моего, Дневники и Автобіографическія записки, Епископа Порфирія Успенскаго, том 1., ред. П.А. Сырку, Санкт Петербург, 1894, 128-133.*

Church, which lacks in resources, priests being dirt poor and this coupled with problems with Uniates and others. Porphyriy realises, that if something is not done the Orthodox will be destroyed in the Middle East. Porphyriy believes as others, that the establishment of a Spiritual mission in Jerusalem will enable the following:

"a) to promote visible unity of the Jerusalem, Antiocheane and Russian Churches and with this a mutual exchange of information; b) To control the money and its whereabouts which is sent from Russia; c) To take care of the Russian pilgrims; d) To furnish all the village churches in Syria and Palestine with icons. The Mission should have iconographers and a school of iconography; e) For the acceptance and the sending of gifts from Russia to the places for which they were meant, since this does not take place now; f) To find out where, and in which villages there are Arabs, who were turned into Muslims from Christians and where they commemorate the past Christianity, where they have respect to our saints and holy people, so that it would be possible after the next Orthodox celebration to start in those villages with missionary activity and the conversion into the Christian faith; g) To give beneficial advice regarding the construction of national schools and seminaries, and Academies in the Patriarchate itself".¹.

Porphyriy was also aware that to a certain extent the Greek clergy could be suspicious of the Russian activity. According to the Archimandrite, the Greeks were afraid: "a) that all the Orthodox Slavs will go to the Russian Church and will look up to the Russians as to their guide. There is a danger here of losing income and the influence on the Slavs, b) They were afraid of the emergence of criminal activity,

¹ "а) для видимого единения Церквей Иерусалимской Антиохийской и Российской и для взаимных известий; б) для наблюдения за расходами денег, высылаемых из России; в) для наблюдения за русскими паломниками; г) для снабжения всех сельских церквей Сирии и Палестины иконами. При Миссии должны быть иконописцы и школа иконописания; д) для принятия и отсылки подаяний из России в назначенные места, ибо теперь этого не делают; е) для наблюдения, где в каких деревнях арабы обращены в магометанство из христиан и где они помнят прежнее христианство, где имеют почитание к святым нашим и пр., дабы при будущем торжестве православия начать с этих деревень миссионерство и обращение в христианскую веру; ж) для подания полезных советов при устройстве школ народных и семинарий, и академии в самой Патриархии" *Пребывание преосвященного Порфирия Успенского на Св. Земле*. in: *Сообщения Императорского Православного Палестинского Общества*, т. XV. Выпуск 4. Санкт Петербург, 1905, 281-282.

c) they were afraid that the Russians little by little will place Palestine under their influence¹ and that the Greek clergy will lose its autonomy.

Uspenskiy came to Jerusalem in 1844 more or less as a humble pilgrim. His goals consisted of establishing ways to help the Orthodox Christians in Palestine and ways of achieving this. He believed that a Russian Consulate should be established in Jerusalem and that a monastery should be established there, which would coordinate Russian activities. Chitrovo states that he actually used the term "monastery" because the term "mission" was somehow to novel.²

On the 30th of August 1844, during the entire gathering of the Synod of the Jerusalem Patriarchate, the representative awarded Porphyriy a golden chest cross with the relic of the most Life-giving Wood on a purple ribbon. After this on the 7th of August Porphyriy goes to Constantinople from Jerusalem, and in Constantinople he writes for two months two treatises on the situation of Orthodoxy in Syria and Palestine. These were: "On the situation of the Palestinian Church and about the measures to uphold it" (О состоянии Палестинской Церкви и о мерах поддержания ее") and "Concerning the arguments between Greeks, Latins and Armenians in the Holy Places and about the possibilities of bringing about peace" (О спорах, греков, латин и армян на св. Местах и о способах водворения тут мира"). He then goes to Egypt, Sinai and Athos. On the way back he went through Moldavia and Valachia. He was travelling for two years and in September 1846 he entered his homeland and on the 19 of October he arrived in Petersburg.

In his entry for the 7th of January 1844, Porphyriy expands on what he had written above and makes some notes on what should be done in Palestine. 1, with the exceptions of two *epitropos*, the bishops should live in their eparchies and dioceses, 2, to build a seminary at the Patriarchate and to teach young students there 3, these students should be Greek, Arab and Russian to maintain a good balance 4, to decrease the number

¹ "Греки, по мысли о. Порфирия, боялись: "а) что все славяне православные будут ходить в русскую церковь и смотреть на русских, как на образец. Тут есть опасение лишения доходов и влияния на славян, б) боялись открытия злодеяний, в) боялись, что Россия мало-помалу подчинит своему влиянию Палестину и греческое духовенство потеряет свою автономию. Епископ Порфирий, Книга бытия моего....", т. II, Ibid. 379.

² Ibid. 110.

of priests being at the same time monks, this goes for the Patriarchate of Jerusalem and the Patriarchate of Constantinople, 5, to increase the number of monks in the monasteries of Palestine, 6, to improve the conditions of the village priests in Palestine, 7, to build national schools at the various metropolinates, 8, to repair and restore the village churches 9, the patriarchate is rich everything else is poor, 10, let the treasury of the Holy Sepulchre be one and undivided but the expenditures be divided between the village priests and churches, 11, to count the number of village churches, and compare this to the visible donations of the Russian Church, other non-visible donations to the treasury of the Holy Sepulchre, 12, there are too many village priests, it is a pitiful site to look at the poor parish priests, it is better to have one priest in a village, 13, until a desirable result is achieved in terms of mission, no need to limit the number of village churches or to join them to neighbouring ones, 14, establish a Russian mission in Jerusalem, a), to unify the Aniochian, Jerusalem and Russian Churches and to enable more effective exchange of news, b) to take care of the donations sent from Russia c) to take care of the Russian pilgrims d) to furnish all the churches of Palestine and Syria with icons the mission should have iconographers and an iconographic school e) to direct donations from Russia to concrete places since this is not done yet f) to find out which of the villages where converted from Christianity into Islam, and where they commemorate their previous Christian affiliation, where they have reverence to our saints etc, in order to utilise the next feast to start a missionary campaign there to convert them to Christianity, h) to offer guidance in building schools seminaries, and academies at the Patriarchate, 15) build the Russian mission at the Mt. of Olives, or in the last resort at the monastery of the cross, or the Prophet Elijah, 16) In order to buy the Mt. Olives or the place of the Ascensions collect donations in Russia, 17) concentrate on Russian pilgrims who come to Jerusalem twice or thrice, since they often live without rules, engaging in commerce living without guidelines.¹

Porphyriys ideas on the unification of the Orthodox presence in the Holy Land was a good thing but perhaps given the situation was not so realistic. Things where not simple and in one instance a certain deacon

¹ Книга Бытія Моего, Дневники и Автобіографическія записки, Епископа Порфирія Успенскаго, том 1., 7 january 1844, ред. П.А. Сырку, Санкт Петербург, 1894, 360.

Anthem expresses his opinion that the Russian presence in Palestine is not so good, because if there is a conflict between the Russians and the Greeks, the enemies of the Church could use this to gain ground, or on the other hand if there is a war between Turkey and Greece, the Greek brotherhood and all associated with it could be severely punished.¹

Porphyriy engaged in many relations with various figures in Palestine and sometimes experienced friction with such figures as the French and other Western state representatives. His account is a wealth of information on the social and ecclesial situation of Palestine of his period. Thus On January 11th 1844 he is brought some books by a deacon from the Patriarchate who had praised previous Patriarchs and complained about the contemporary one, and about his bishops. As he stated the previous Patriarchs of Jerusalem, contemplated, wrote books, prayed, fasted, and the contemporary ones just drink and eat sweats,- Money-that is their philosophy.²

In one instance, Uspenskiy quotes a Greek proverb Θεωρίαν τε Ἰωνᾶ, Καρδίαν δὲ μύλονᾶ, „By appearance Jonah, by heart a miller“, and states, that the Greek hierarchy is like this, having the outward appearance of humble, pious people but, in the inside they are interested in profit and are cunning and smart as millers.³ Porphyriy gradually learned how to deal with locals and the customs of the area. In a conversation with a bishop Dionysios, Uspenskiy learns about the reason for a long standing feud between the inhabitants of Bethlehem and a village called Evfrafa (Εβφραφα). The conflict began over a girl born to poor parents, who was left behind and became an orphan. She was taken in by the *epitropos* Kyril, the archbishop of Lyddia. She was under the supervision of his *ierontissa*.

When she was 14 the Archbishop decided to marry her to a person from Evfratha where she was also born. She found this person inadequate to fulfil the duties of a husband and ran off back to the Archbishop, who managed to gain a divorce for her from the Turkish authorities. The *Ierontissa* found her untouched. Uspenskiy was then asked by the Archbishop to marry her to a brother of an old man Chana from Bethlehem. The other priests refused to marry her even when

¹ 20 january, 1844, 379.

² Ibid., 367

³ Ibid., 373, 16, January 1844.

orderd by Uspenskiy and so she lived in the house of Uspenskiy. She then told Uspenskiy that either he should do something or that she would go off to the Turks and accept their faith. Uspenskiy decided to marry her himself to the son of Channa. However her earlier husband had heard about this and this provoked a huge hatred to the archbishop Kirill and to Uspenskiy.

This then resulted in a inter village feud and a great battle, where women were throwing stones at each other from both villages and the men also, the men being careful to avoid the women since it was considered dishonourable to strike a woman. The fighting was stopped by a servant of the Turks Osman, who scared the fighters with a story of the incoming Turkish soldiers, which was a story he made up to stop the feud. However, there where further attempts to kill the second husband of the girl. Later a payment was required instead. However, Uspenskiy thought about the issue and realised that the real problem was that the Archbishop of Lyddia had sexual intercourse with her, the *ierontissa* probably lied about her virginity and this was the reason why nobody wanted to marry her off from the priests and the reason why the Archbishop was so ardently demanding a divorce.¹

Uspenskiy often notes other scandalous stories. While visiting the monastery of Saint Elias the *igumenos* did not want to let Uspenskiy into one particular room, since there where women sleeping their and also one child. Osman the servant of the monastery than told Uspenskiy that the *igumenos* Ioachim was born in a village called Nichor on the Bosphorus. His brother sued beautiful coats for the Patriarch Athanasios and others, and so he placed him into the Patriarchate. When his head was "covered" with a *kamilavka*, he asked for a position of *igumenos* in the monastery of Saint Elias.

The Patriarch could not refuse the request of the great coat maker and contrary to habit placed him as *igumenos* disregarding the fact that an *igumenos* was already installed there. The previous *Igumenos* was given a different position and an agreement was reached that he could sell the wine and other produce that he gathered from the monastery. As Porphyriy remarks there was a scandalous situation and "In the tradition of the Eastern Fathers the *igoumenos* brought with him a fine cocoon with daughters and even a husband". The husband was then

¹ 22 january 1844, pgs. 411-415.

sent to the monastery of saint Sabba, because he was deemed crazy. There he died. The deputy of the Patriarch Kyril bishop of Lyddia had his fingers in this, because he was interested in one of the daughters. This girl now lives in the Patriarchate in the arms of the bishop of Lyddia, and the mediator between the bishop of lyddia, the *igumenos*, and her mother was the bishop of Neapolis. A new child was sent to this monastery not long ago,-the son of the bishop.¹ According to Porphyry these concubines of the hierarchs behaved terribly and hit the local deacon-monks and others with their shoes on their faces, commanded them like servants and let them carry their urine and so on out.²

In another story Porphyriy mentions a Bulgarian person who celebrated his wedding in Bazardzik (Базарджик). He loved his wife and she loved him. However she fell ill. At that time a Roman Catholic mission appeared in that area and one of the Roman Catholic missionaries stated that if the man would convert to Roman Catholicism he would cure the lady. However, the Bulgarian refused these offers since he was a loyal Orthodox and went to the local Orthodox Bishop for advice. The Bishop told him to travel to Jerusalem with his wife. His wife was cured in Jerusalem, but when they returned home she fell ill again, and the bishop stated that this is a sign that they should stay in Jerusalem. They came to Jerusalem again and the wife was cured once more, but the man decided to return home. They did not even manage to get outside of the city when the women fell ill again, so the man returned and asked the Patriarchate for help, with accommodation. However as Uspenskiy notes these "evil men" where so evil as not to feel any sympathy for this pair and while having numerous houses they did not let them stay without asking for huge rent. In the end they gathered some money and opened a coffee shop the women being perfectly cured.³

The scandalous situation according to Porphyriy did not reach only the Orthodox higher hierarchy. Money was also the means how Protestant missionaries converted Orthodox families as was the case with families in the area of Petsal. Some families could have even used

¹ Ibid., 26 january, pgs. 435.

² 436.

³ Ibid., 438-439, 31 january 1844.

the issue of money to blackmail the representatives of various churches threatening to convert from one church to another unless given assistance.¹

Porphyriy in a conversation with the Metropolitan on one occasion finds out the following about the conditions of the Patriarchate of Jerusalem: a) there were problems because the bishops were offended because they were not invited to lunch on the name day of Patriarch Athanasios. As bishop Dionysios added, if I had known this, I would have gone straight home in the morning after coffee, excusing myself as being ill b) only the *epitropi*, the monk Anthim, and the Archimandrite Nikofoor, occupy themselves with the issues of the Synod and the treasury of the tomb of the Patriarchate; the other members know about these things to the degree that my novices know about these things, that is about the content of the box on top of which you are sitting, c) all the hierarchs receive food from the Patriarchate, one *raso* once a year, they live thanks to the offerings of the pilgrims, they take confessions, they serve *obedni* and *panychidas*; apart from this every bishop has a monastery for his disposal, where pilgrims visit, the hierarch has the right to dispose of the income of this without necessarily offering the accounts of his management, d) the hierarchs would have loved to go to their eparchies, but in order to do that it is necessary to build diocesan buildings, schools, churches furnish these etc. Porphyriy remarks that he was surprised to hear that the hierarchs would have loved to go away. The Patriarch gives out a part of the money from Constantinople, which was for example used to build the Church in Bethlehem. But the major part of the income from Moldavia and Walachia disappears in a bottomless barrel f) it appears that the metropolitan of Bethlehem did not know that the money from Russia was not sent to the Patriarch but through the Beirut Consulate directly to the Patriarchate g) there is a common fear that the Patriarchate of Constantinople would need some money to support its seminary. Thus all sorts of excuses are presented so that no money would be sent to Constantinople for this purpose. Thus it was stated that a teacher of Greek pagan lore was brought in to teach pagan myths to the monks of the Patriarchate, that a teacher was sent to teach Arab children etc. h) The metropolitan of Bethlehem was deposed from the position of deputy because he

¹ Ibid. 368, 12 january, 1844.

criticised the practice of fourteen year old cocoons filling the harems of the bishops and was sent on his own wish to the diocese, i) the Patriarchate is scared to death about the possibility of a Russian mission due to the following reasons 1) to abolish the situation of fourteen year old cocoons and the aim of transforming the Patriarchate from a harem into a monastery 2) the fear of the unification of the Bulgarians with the Russians, since the Bulgarians would start to go to the Russian church and the income would therefore decrease, 3) If there would be a war between Turkey and Russia this would spell the end of the Holy Sepulchre.¹

In one of Porphyriy's discussions with the monk Anthim, the discussion turns about the question when did the various denominations gain their possessions in Jerusalem. The Armenians with their deviousness and cunningness gained the former possession of the Copts and Abyssinians. Their role decreased when the Turks destroyed the Armenian kingdom earlier in history but still the powerful Armenian families in Constantinople still wield a lot of power. Anthim mentions a note given to Dashkov in 1820, which was shown to the Tsar Alexander I. Here Porphyriy is informed about a conflict which broke out between the Catholics and the Orthodox regarding some stone which fell off in the Holy Sepulchre and needed repairs.²

Interestingly, Porphyriy is also critical about the Orthodox stating that the reason why the Roman Catholics and the Uniates have such a hold in Palestine is because of pastoral reasons. The moment the Orthodox mission is effective and is able to convert the faithful into Orthodoxy, the sooner the Roman Catholics will lose their excuse in staying there.³ On other occasions Uspenskiy is shocked by the level of antagonistic and evil forms of Western propaganda against the Orthodox. In one particular entry he notes that the Anglican mission attempts to portray the Russian Orthodox Church as backward and the Orthodox Church generally as a terrible place and this is systematically

¹ Книга Бытія Моего, Дневники и Автобіографическія записки, Епископа Порфирія Успенскаго, том 1., 23 january 1844, ред. П.А. Сырку, Санкт Петербург, 1894, 419-420.

² Ibid., 17-18 April, 1844, 656.

³ Ibid., 18, april, 1844, 656.

being implanted into the younger generation of monks in the Patriarchate.¹

Uspenskiy notes that the missions such as the Anglican mission is much worse than the Roman Catholic one, since the Anglicans use a different strategy of enticing the others by money, good words etc. In this particular entry the conversation is even more interesting since it in conversation with Uspenskiy one of the persons speaking with Uspenskiy stated that the education of the young monks lacks quality, that the lack of catechesis is creating problems and that there is a new trend of being more interested in Demosthenes, Homer than in the Church Fathers. These leads Uspenskiy further to stress the need of the Russian help here in establishing seminaries and other educational activities. This trend is historically true, since as part the Greek emancipation, nationalistic themes based on previous history became part and parcel of Greek education in a kind of mixed *kitsch* style of schooling combining western modes of education with traditional ecclesial traditions.

Uspenskiy is a keen observer and is a scholar. During his various travels he takes notes and studies places he has visited in a scholarly fashion. In his journey around Hermel for example he studies the topography of the areas linking it with ancient Biblical sites in relation to the various archaeological remains he sees and studies. He offers etymological analysis and other types of analysis in his works. In one instance he travels from Ziph to Hermel. Hermel was according to Uspenskiy a collection of city structures facing Maon.² Around Hermel Uspenskiy noted some remains, he went to Juttah and attempted to confirm his theory that this place was where Elisabeth met Mary.³

Uspenskiy served a service at the Holy Sepulchre on the stone which was moved at the tomb of Christ. He saw a great silver piece with the inscription that this was given by the *Heytman* Joann Mazepa. He wondered that while in Russia this figure is hated here people pray

¹ 13 May 1844, *Книга Бытія Моего, Дневники и Автобіографическія записки, Епископа Порфірія Успенскаго*, том 2., ред. П.А. Сырку, Санкт Петербург, 1894, 83.

² 3 May 1844, *ibid.*, 19.

³ *Ibid.* 22.3 May 1844.

for him and wonders whether the hatred will prevail or the love will prevail.¹

For the entry of the 25th of January, there is the interesting speculation on the future of Europe. Uspenskiy notes, that in the future Ecclesial Christianity will cease to exist which will be followed by the fall of kingdoms and tsars. This will then mean the destruction of civilisation as we know it and that a new form of society will emerge prone to various dangers, where the Gospel will be the prime enemy, the Gospel, which is the prime expression of humanity and love. There will be a society governed by some sort of bishops who will manage a common treasury.²

Porphyriy Uspenskiy left some other accounts of his travels including his travels to Egypt.³ He visited the monastery of Saint Savva the Sanctified in Alexandria, and was told that the monastery was built on the spot where the Great Martyr Catherine was imprisoned. Porphyriy attempts to reconstruct the history of the monastery, stating that it was built by Alexandrian Christians after 640 after the Arabs and Copts took their churches away, on the spot where there possibly could have been a temple to Neptun, as indicated by the columns there.

Porphyriy through a translator consults Arab manuscripts about the local history of the monastery. The Arab manuscripts refer simply to the place as the "Greek church". Porphyriy concludes that the monastery was originally a parish church not a monastery. He mentions that the chanter Iioannis Nikolaidis is a good singer since he does not sing "through the nose". Porphyriy finds out that according to the Monastery records there is a church in Rosetta (Saint Nicholas) and Damietta (Saint George).⁴ Porphyriy is told that Egypt has around five million inhabitants and that in Alexandria there are 250 Orthodox families, according to the local priest who visits the houses during Pascha. There are many Orthodox coming in and out for trade. Mehmet Ali Pasha according to Porphyriy has transformed the city into a cheerful city. Interestingly, Porphyriy notes the town Naucratis, in Egypt, which he

¹ Ibid., 14 May, 1844, 85, tom. II.

² Ibid. Tom III, 25, january, 1847.

³ *Путешествіе по Египту, и въ монастыри Святаго Антонія Великаго, и Преподобнаго Павла Фивейскаго, въ 1850 году, Архимандрита Порфирія Успенскаго, Въ типографіи Императорской Академіи Наукъ, Санкт Петербург, 1856,*

⁴ Ibid. 11-14.

mentions as one of the oldest Greek colonies in Egypt. It was not until 1884 that Flinders Petrie had discovered and excavated the site.¹ Porphyriy offers an extensive description of the city and its history commenting on its main temple called "Elinion". Mentions Athenaeus, and his *Deipnosophists*. Athenaeus as originating from this area.

Apart from his various descriptions Porphyriy goes on to collect other material and artefacts, as he travels around. Thus in the monastery of Saint George he receives some old manuscripts of an *akathist* to the Archangel Michael and other material.² He offers maps and other drawings of the places he visited in studied. Thus he offers the layout of the *podvorye* of the Sinai monastery in Cairo for example.³

In no way less interesting are Porphyriy's accounts of his travels to Mt. Athos.⁴ His account begins with his reflections on why the Slavs are not united in one state or ethnic nation. How poignant given the division on Mt. Athos. In any event he goes on to quote the Polish poet Adam Mickiewicz and his work *L'Église officielle ou Messianisme*. Here Mickiewicz states, that the Assyrians were Serbs, and that the name Nebuchadnezzar is actually a Slavic term Небо-одно-царь, that is the one Tsar replaces Heaven and God, which is the reason why God punished the nation. According to Porphyriy the Slavs are religious but not sufficiently patient in searching for truth.⁵ On the fifth of August, Porphyriy states that the entire commerce in Thessaloniki is in the hands of the Jews. He also mentions a monk from Jerusalem collecting money in Thessaloniki. The account is full of details, and Porphyriy like a true archaeologist records various inscriptions on the way etc.

As we have seen Porphyriy is of course, linked to the establishment of the Mission in Jerusalem, the first of its kind from Russia. In his entry for 31st of July 1844 he writes, how the Holy Synod referring to the decisions of the *Ober prokur*, decided to establish the mission. It was stated in the document of the Synod that a letter should be sent to the Patriarch of Jerusalem, that Porphyriy simply desired to return to the

¹ Ibid., 51-52.

² Ibid. 83.

³ Ibid. 109.

⁴ *Первое путешествие въ Афонскіе монастыри и скиты, архимандрита, нины Епископа Порфирія Успенскаго в 1845 году. Часть I-я, типографія В.Л. Фронцкевича, 1877, Кіевъ, 1877.*

⁵ Ibid., 2.

Holy Land and his bringing some people with him. His elevation according to his own account was entirely unexpected.¹ A dream Porphyriy has portrays him as the one bringing education to the East.

In any event Porphyriy is a controversial figure and he had and has many critics. Хитрово does not depict him in favourable terms stating that he was an impractical person and that his appointment was the idea of the Ministry for foreign affairs and only then presented to the Holy Synod. In a comical statement Chitrovo implies that it was the "lax" discipline of the Russian monastic tradition in contrast to the Latin one which created such persons as Uspenskiy. This of course a little strange, since the Russian monastic tradition is not known to be lax, but betrays an interesting self-understanding on the part Chitrovo and others like him.²

The basic criticism against Uspenskiy consisted in him being more of an unpractical scholar type of person. He understood his work for the Mission as a personal scholarly enterprise which was often associated with his impractical nature of not being able to gain funds. He was accepted it seems by the Greek Patriarchate, since he was viewed as a harmless scholar.³

His famous diary among other things is characterised by his constant love of describing his dreams. Interestingly enough, in one of

¹ In July 1842 in Vienna, he had a prophetic dream, where the Ruler Alexander I appeared and stated: «Ты знаешь, что в первые годы моего правления Грузия присоединена к моему царству?» - «Знаю, Ваше Величество!»-отвечался.- «Там, на Востоке,- продолжал он,-люди живут, как в Авраамов век: им нужно образование». Месяц спустя он получил отношение о вызове в Петербург и лишь там узнал о своей новой, палестинской командировке. Порфирий Успенский, Книга Бытия Моего, Санкт Петербург, 1896, том 3, pgs. 299-301. "Did you know that during the first years of my rule, Georgia was united with my kingdom? – I know you Highness! I stated. There in the East, he continued, people live, as in the period of Abraham: they need education. Only a month after this dream, he received information about his summoning to Saint Petersburg, and only there he found out about his knew mission."

² "Историческая судьба нашего монашества не приучила его к той дисциплине, к которой привыкло латинское монашество и которая составляет силу сего последнего. Нас же, светских людей, очень обыкновенная и нисколько не поражающая вещь невольно приводит в изумление, когда мы ее встречаем среди монашествующих." Хитрово В.Н., История Русской Духовной Миссии в Иерусалиме, 83-202, in: В. Н. Хитрово, *Собрание Сочинений и Писем, том 2*, Составление, Н. Н. Лисового, Издательство Олега Абышко, 2011, 100.

³ Ibid. 137.

his diary entries he states that the Ottoman Ibrahim wanted to disprove the miraculous descent of the Holy Fire and expressed a desire to be present when this fire comes down in the inner sanctuary of the Holy Sepulchre. If he was to be proven wrong he would pay a huge amount of money to the Church, if not, then the Church would have paid the money. The council of bishops met and allegedly Misail of Petro Arabia confessed that he lit the fire from a fire burning behind a removable marble icon of Christ. The council decided to request Ibrahim not to mix in ecclesial affairs and to conceal this deceit.¹ While this passage has been cited numerous times in sceptical accounts, it can be said, that Porphyriy was often critical towards many ecclesial traditions. But this somehow contrasts with his "esoteric" interests as displayed in his diaries, which are full of his dreams and their relation to the reality he experiences. This would somehow disapprove the notion that Porphyriy was an ecclesial rationalist set out to destroy ecclesial traditions. Further the account is not conclusive, since the story of the Holy Fire being a fraudulent event could have been a fabrication on the part of the bishops which in this way desired to keep the Ottoman authorities out of the Church, who would thus loose interest in coming to the Church to the sacred area once it was shown that the whole event was a fraud.

Uspenskiy as a writer deserves greater attention, especially given the various opinions about him expressed in different areas. Chitrovo continued to make jousts at him stating that he managed in his short time in Vienna to spend his time curing himself of some disease and managing to build up a huge debt on books.

But Uspenskiy was not comical himself, but it seems that the entire plan of the Russians for Palestine had numerous comical moments. The amusing circumstances were even further highlighted by the fact that what was to be a secret mission turned out to be more or less obvious to everyone. Further Uspenskiy was waiting for many months in Sankt Peter without clear instructions. His mission was also linked to the existence of the Anglican bishop in Palestine. However, while the Anglican bishop received 15000 roubles a year, Uspenskiy only around 3000 roubles.² The Ministry of foreign affairs according to Chitrovo

¹ Порфирий Успенский, *Книга Бытия Моего*, том 1, Санкт Петербург, 1894, 105.

² Ibid. 104.

continued with its comical *fiasco* and even refused to give Uspenskiy an official passport so that his "secret mission" would not be known and even commanded him to travel directly to Pera in Constantinople avoiding the summer residence of the ambassador in Buyuk, so that his mission would be secret even to the Russian authorities.

Uspenskiy then travelled to Athos and Sinai. He wanted to stay longer in Athos to study but his request was refused. In 19 October 1846 he again came to Sankt Peterburg. There were instructions issued approved by the ministry for foreign affairs and the Holy Synod. Again as Chitrovo implies their goals and means were somehow awkward. The instruction from the 28th of August 1847 gives some instructions on how the future Russian mission with the Archimandrite should behave. The point is that it was still supposed to have a low key more or less inconspicuous role, coordinating for example pilgrims and not drawing attention to itself. Chitrovo mentions the irony of the instructions since it requires an inconspicuous presence but at the same time stipulates that the archimandrite was to move around in a "group" of sojourners.¹ Chitrovo criticises these various instructions and states that the idea of the Russian mission and its goals were vague. Its powers undefined and even its name as Russian Mission undetermined.

7d The Russian Spiritual mission in Jerusalem and pilgrimage

There were a number of reasons for the growing interest in Palestine by the Russians in the nineteenth century. One of these reasons was linked with the desire to help the plight of the Orthodox Christians in Palestine. This problem especially became a serious issue because of the increasing activity of foreign Protestant and Roman Catholic missionary activities there, which indirectly or directly were slowly eroding the Orthodox presence. As we have seen this was very much the message given by K. V. Nesselrode in June 1842.

Of course, we can argue that Nesselrode just as the Russian government were not only concerned about the well-being of the Orthodox Christians. Nesselrode just as the Russian government

¹ Хитрово В.Н., История Русской Духовной Миссии в Иерусалиме, 83-202, in: В. Н. Хитрово, *Собрание Сочинений и Писем, том 2*, Составление, Н. Н. Лисового, Издательство Олега Абышко, Москва, 2011, 115.

wanted to use the Orthodox Christian issue to further their political influence in the political game of that period, especially when other Western European powers had begun to use the issue of the protection of the Christians for their own political reasons. The issue is of course in a way tragi/comical because such countries as France which was becoming increasingly more secularised and antagonistic towards the Church in the period of the nineteenth century with great fervour "fought" for the rights of the Roman Catholic Christians in Palestine. Greek scholarship often links Russian political aspirations in the period with the idea of Panslavism but this can hardly be the prime motive for Russian political endeavours. In terms of Palestine Panslavism hardly played a role.

Nesselrode upon consultations with the Ober procurator of the Holy Synod Protasov, and with Uspenskiy, on the 11th of February 1847 presented a proposition to the Tsar, calling for the establishment of a Spiritual Mission in Jerusalem (Русская Духовная Миссия). This was approved and the first mission would consist of Archimandrite Porphyriy, the priest monk Theofan (Govorov), (Феофан Говоров), who was later a bishop and Vishenskiy Zatvornik (Вышенский Затворник), two students, who graduated from the Petersburg seminary, N. Krilov (Н. КРЫЛОВ) and P. Solovev (П.СОЛОВЬЕВ). Obviously, the mission was low key and underresourced for the goals it was to achieve.

The decree of the Holy Synod from 31 July 1847 proclaimed that the Russian Spiritual Mission in Jerusalem was officially established. On the October 14th of 1847 the mission departed from Petersburg and on the 17th of February 1848 it reached Jerusalem.

The backing of the mission was inadequate and the financial backing of the mission was according to many commentators on the verge of being ridiculous. Thus in terms of a yearly budget the Archimandrite was to receive 3000 roubles, the Priest Monk 2000, Other lower clergy 1000, Accommodation payed to the Patriarchate 300, hiring of a help 300, mercy towards pilgrims 300, assistance to beggars 100, maintenance of the Church 500. As Chitrovo indicates this was a ridiculous sum, which would hardly be able to counter the thousands thrown by the West for propaganda and that this sum would not only not help the Greek Patriarchate, but would be inadequate to maintain

the Russian presence.¹ Even this small sum provided room for controversy and neither the Holy Synod nor the Ministry of Foreign affairs wanted to pay it. Money was contributed by the Duchovnoe Vedomstvo, which was a philanthropic endeavour linked to the Church (Духовное Ведомство) which provided funding and which in turn was given a sum through the assistance of the Metropolitan of Novgorod. The mission was plagued by financial problems with apparently little interest or coordination from the Russian embassies especially in Constantinople.

The mission appeared in Jerusalem on the 18th of February 1848. The missions members lived in the area of the Archangel monastery and the Patriarch of Jerusalem gave a blessing with the holy Synod allowing the Russian mission to move there (16 august 1848). Unsurprisingly it became soon apparent that the accommodation of the mission was not adequate and efforts where begun to improve the situation. Generally it appears that the Russian presence far from "supporting" the Patriarchate of Jerusalem was more or less receiving assistance from it.

Plans for some kind of building or enlargement of the existing premises were begun. These plans again unsurprisingly depended on a whole range of issues. The permission of the Ottoman authorities. The Latins of course would not sell a centimetre of any of their lands. The Greek Patriarchate while congenial to the idea and even offering assistance had no interest in the Russians being too close to the Holy Sepulchre and while giving their support rather preferred any improvements or a building to be further away. Plans were drawn to build a structure close to the Archangel monastery, while the Greek Patriarchate suggested a structure behind the monastery of the Archangel, the Russians suggested one next to it, facing the Patriarchate.

As Chitrovo observes: "If there were problems with accommodation, even more so there were problems in accommodating a school, especially for Arab and Greek resident students, even though the care of the father Archimandrite was displayed by him writing a letter (21 February 1850) to the Holy Synod before going to Sinai, «to learn construction, rituals, ecclesial traditions and the history of the Eastern

¹ Хитрово В.Н., История Русской Духовной Миссии в Иерусалиме, 83-202, in: В. Н. Хитрово, *Собрание Сочинений и Писем*, том 2, Составление, Н. Н. Лисового, Издательство Олега Абышко, Москва, 2011, 118.

Church together with a knowledge of languages such as the Chaldean, Armenian, Syrian, Arabic, Persian, Coptic and Ethiopian, which means that we need 12 students of our seminaries-this should be the goal of the Russian mission which is staying in the Holy City». (In an ironic tinge Chitrovo continues): "This entire goal, which did not provoke anyone to think about it or to concern themselves about it, finally resulted in 1851 with the purchase of the Archimandrite of a small Abyssinian Frumentius, whom Porphyriy intended to prepare for consecration to the priesthood for the Abyssinians. But even this small bondman of the Russian Mission later disappeared without a trace-is he alive, or does he live in his far away country remembering about the Russian Mission. Who was ever interested in this in any way?"¹

Under the advice of Porphyriy the Patriarch decided to establish and build a new Greek-Arab educational institute at the Holy Cross monastery in 1849, the *eforos* (ефор) of which was chosen to be Porphyriy himself. He was also chosen to be the caretaker of all the Patriarchal schools. He managed to support the resurrection of many educational institutions in Palestine including the Patriarchal school in Jerusalem.

In 1853 Porphyriy travelled often to Lydda (Лидду), "where he wanted with a fiery desire to open a parish educational institute" and into Nablus (Наблус), into Яффа (Yaffa) and again into Lydda. Looking back on his second visit to Lydda and to its school, when he examined the students, he wrote: "Praise to God! Among the local Arab nation there is a dawn. Is it for long? It is a difficult question for me. I do not

¹ "Если не было где самой поместиться, трудно было найти помещение для училища, а в особенности для арабских и греческих пансионеров, хотя увлекающийся о. Архимандрит Порфирий еще 21 февраля 1850 г. Перед отправлением своим на Синай писал Святейшему Синоду: «Изучить зодчество, обряды, церковные обычаи и историю Восточных Церквей с запасом знания языков халдейского, армянского, сирийского, арабского, персидского, коптского и эфиопского, для чего потребно 12 питомцев наших семинарий, -такова должна быть задача Русской Духовной Миссии, водворенной в Святой Град». Вся эта задача, о которой никто не дал себе труда подумать и даже ответить, окончилась покупою в 1851 г.о.архимандритом маленького абиссинца Фрументия, которого Порфирий предполагал приготовить в священники для абиссинян. Но и этот маленький невольник Русской Миссии исчез затем бесследно-умер ли, живет ли в своей дальней родине вспоминая о Русской Миссии. Кто об этом когда-либо интересовался?" Ibid. 135.

want to answer it. My work is to prepare the ground and to sow the seeds, and the growth depends on God".¹

Porphyriy was an open person attempting to have good relations with everyone and with every confession. He even managed to abolish the Abdallah harem on the roof of the Holy Sepulchre. Porphyriy arranged meetings with various people from various denominations not always with a good result. Thus on his recommendations and request, Patriarch Cyril met with a protestant missionary the German Gil (Гил), and was prepared to engage him in a civil conversation. On this occasion Porphyriy with sadness writes about this visit of this German snob: "18 (March) Thursday. At two o'clock I introduced to the Patriarch Kyrilos this above mentioned Gil. He appeared silent, as a fish: he sat, (почеченился), smoked some tobacco, said something behind his teeth, that he read the writings of John Damascene, and this much only, he did not ask about the situation of the Orthodox Church in Palestine, since his Blessedness upon my advice, was prepared to give him the proper understanding about Eparchies, about monasteries, about educational institutes, and about the preaching of the word on the Greek and Arabic language. One can only burst into anger when one realises that these people who come from afar instead of asking us about the situation of the Orthodox Church, ask about it any casual bystander and defiant person and then write personal fantasies."²

In his writings Porphyriy comments on the educational activities of the members of the mission of their translations and other work. He himself was also plagued by illnesses. He writes: "During the time when

¹ "Слава Бору! Среди здешнего арабского племени показался рассвет. Но надолго ли? Тяжел для меня этот вопрос. Не хочу и отвечать на него. Мое дело готовить почву и сеять, а выращивание семени зависит от Бога". Епископ Порфирий, *Книга бытия моего....*, т. V, 149.

² "18 (марта) четверг. В два часа пополудни я представил Патриарху Кириллу вышепереченного Гиля. Он оказался молчалив, как рыба: посидел, почеченился, покурил табуку, проговорил сквозь зубы, что читал Богословие Иоанна Дамаскина и только, а о состоянии Православной Церкви в Палестине не спросил, тогда как Ево Блаженство, по совету моему, готов был дать ему надлежащие понятия и об епархиях, и о монастырях, и об училищах, и проповедании Слово Божия на языках греческом и арабском. Право, досадно на этих господ, которые издаലെка приезжают к нам и вместо того, чтобы от нас узнать состояние Православной Церкви, расспрашивают о ней всякого встречного и поперечного а потом пишут небылицы в лицах", Епископ Порфирий, *Книга бытия моего....*, т. III, 252-253.

I was curing the eyelid of my right eye by means of fire desinfection and with 11 operations I was unable to do what I planned to do; In the minutes when attempting strenuously to see, after each operation and in order to calm myself down in sadness I translated from the Greek into Church Slavonic the ancient Akathistos of to the saints Archangels Michael and Gabriel, which was composed at the Athonite monastery of Dochariou and I read the encomium of saint Gregory the Nazianzen to Saint Athanasius the Great and the works of Plato in the original".¹

After dealing with the therapy of his eye in Constantinople he reaches Jerusalem, and then goes to Sinai (1850) and Egypt, accompanied by the missionary members. The journey began in Jaffa on the 22nd of March. After a brief pause in Alexandria they reached Cairo and were met by the Alexandrian Patriarch Hierotheos II, (Иерофей). They visited many of the Coptic monasteries and Sinai, where Porphyriy studied the Codex Sinaiticus.² The journey ended on the 17th of august 1850.

7e Realities after the Crimean War

The Crimean war complicated things and the mission departed on the 8th of May 1854 from Jerusalem after six years of productive work. On the way back Porfphyriy visited the Pope in Italy and on the 2nd of October 1854 the members of the mission reached Petersburg. After its return the mission continued to produce many works of a scholarly manner.

After the Crimean war a new chapter begins with the mission. A decree was sent to the Emperor by the minister for foreign affairs. The minister wrote: "In the contemporary period, all the half measures are not only to no avail, but actually contribute to the destruction of our Mission in Jerusalem, hurting its dignity....It is necessary to designate the contemporary aim of the Mission, before it is sent, so that it could be

¹ "Я при лечении века правого глаза моего прижиганиями и 11 операциями не мог делать того, что предполагал сделать; в минуты пытаясь силы зрения после каждой операции и для утешения себя в скорби перевел с еллинского языка на церковнославянский древний акафист свв. Архангелам Михаилу и Гавриилу, сочиненный на Афоне в Дохиарском монастыре, и читал похвальное слово св. Григория Назианзина св. Афанасию Великому и творения Платона в подлиннике", Епископ Порфирий, *Книга бытия моего*...., т. III, 69.

² Епископ Порфирий, *Книга бытия моего*...., т. IV, 57.

valuable for the East, because it cannot continue as before....Our goal, our efforts, consists of establishing peace among the various ethnic groups fighting each other in the East, and this is possible especially since the Russians are loved here equally by the Greeks, Arabs of the same faith, not speaking about the Slavs, and even the Latins of other faith and Armenians, Copts, Syrians, Chaldeans, who all happily share the company with them (with Russians), and who avoid Greeks, as their staunch enemies...We have to create peace among those in animosity, and to uphold the Arabs, in order for them not to be enticed by the union by the actions of the Latins". The document calls for the establishment of an episcopacy there since all denominations have one, and an episcopate would "bring a strong beneficial impression not only in Jerusalem, but also in Constantinople, because they have never seen a Russian hierarch there, nor the magnificent ways of our liturgies....The good efficacy of our liturgies is especially needed in Jerusalem, since this holy city is the central spiritual point not only of the East, but also of the West, and to which the attention of all Europe is forwarded and from which our Mission could have a beneficiary influence on the neighbouring Patriarchates and the Sinai."¹ The pre-

¹ "В настоящее время, всякая полумера не только не принесет пользы, но даже послужит ко вреду нашей Духовной Миссии в Иерусалиме, уронив ее достоинство...Необходимо определить настоящую цель Миссии, прежде нежели послать ее для того, чтобы она могла быть полезна Востоку, ибо на прежнем основании ей уже трудно будет оставаться в Иерусалиме....Наша цель, наше стремление должны состоять в примирении враждующих племен Востока, ибо русских здесь равно любят и грек, и араб, ему единоверный, не говоря уже о славянах, даже иноверные латины и аряне, копты, сирийцы и халдеи охотно сближаются с ними, чуждаясь греков, как закоснелых своих врагов...Мы должны примирять враждующих и поддерживать арабов, чтобы их не завлекли в унию благодетельства латинов"....(приезд русского епископа на Восток), "сильное, благодетельное впечатление не только в Иерусалиме, но и в Царьграде, потом что там еще никогда не видели архиерея русского, ни великолепных обрядов нашего богослужения...Благолепие богослужения особенно необходимо нам в Иерусалиме, ибо сей святы град есть центральный духовный пункт не только всего Востока, но и Запада, на который устремлено внимание всей Европы и откуда наша Миссия может иметь благодетельное влияние на соседние патриархаты и Синай" *Архив Русской Духовной Миссии в Иерусалиме* АРДМ. Дело Но1. Копия доклада Министерства Иностранных Дел императору Александру II; Архимандрит Никодим (Ротов), *История Русской Духовной Миссии в Иерусалиме*, 15-83 in: *Богословские Труды, сборник двадцатый, Сборник посвящен митрополиту Ленинградскому и Новгородскому Никодиму († сентябрь 1978)*, Издание Московской Патриархии, Москва, 1979, 28. See also Свящ. Ф.

sence of a Russian bishop in Palestine would be even more pronounced since the Jerusalem Patriarch was residing in Constantinople at that time.

The document also states that the Mission should found hospitals and engage in philanthropic activity in Palestine. On the 23rd of March 1857 the document was sanctioned by the Emperor and in this way the Mission was established again and was officially recognised by the *Porte*.¹ The aims of this second mission differed from the previous one. It was pointed out that there is animosity between the Arab and the Greek Orthodox Christians, and that the Uniates and Roman Catholics are partly using this to attract Arab converts into their Churches. Since the Russians are loved by everyone the goal should be that Russians should alleviate the situation reconciling all sides with the goal of strengthening Orthodoxy.² The mission realised the necessity of building a hospital and of establishing a consulate in Jerusalem. Interestingly in one of his reports, the later chief of the mission Kyril Naumov wrote that the Jerusalem Patriarchate has some sort of internal hatred towards the Arabs and that in the future the Antiochian or Alexandrian Patriarchates could be more congenial in relations with the Arabs.³

Due to various intrigues and conflicting policies, the next head of the mission was not Porphyriy but Kirill Naumov. Among other problems Porphyriy fell into disfavour with Count Tolstoy, who was the/Ober Procurator of the Holy Synod. This was also related to the friendship Uspenskiy had with Count Vorontsov, the head of the area around Odessa and who was not in a good relationship with Count Tolstoy. Further there were other issues. Another reason was the alleged "free thinking" character of Porphyriy, who according to Tolstoy "ate

И. Титов, *Преосвященный Кирилл (Наумов), епископ Мелитопольский, бывший настоятель Русской Духовной Миссии в Иерусалиме, Киев, 1902, 108, 113.*

¹ Архимандрит Никодим (Ротов), *История Русской Духовной Миссии в Иерусалиме, 15-83 in: Богословские Труды, сборник двадцатый, Сборник посвящен митрополиту Ленинградскому и Новгородскому Никодиму († сентября 1978), Издание Московской Патриархии, Москва, 1979, 28.*

² *Архив Св. Синода по канцелярии обер-прокурора Св. Синода за 1857 г. Но. 373.*

³ *Отчет Миссии за 1858 г. Дело по канц. Обер-прокурора Св. Синода за 1858 г. Но. 389; Дмитриевский, А.А., Императорское Православное Палестинское Общество и его деятельность за истекшую четверть века 1882-1907, репр. Императорское Православное Палестинское Общество, Санкт-Петербург, Издательство Олега Абышко, Москва, 2008, 90.*

meat" in Palestine. Porphyriy himself is scandalised by Tolstoy's criticisms of his "meat eating" and expresses wonder at this criticism which seems so ridiculous.¹

There was an agreement between the Ministry of foreign Affairs and the *Ober procurator of the Synod*, about the Archimandrite Kiril (Naumov), (Василий Николаевич Наумов 25, 12, 1823) being the head of the mission with the elevation to bishop. Naumov was from a deprived ecclesial family background, and finished the Saint Petersburg Spiritual Academy and taught moral theology. He was a regular correspondent of the main periodical of the Academy "Christian reading", (Христианское чтение).

The mission headed by him left from St. Petersburg to the Holy Land on the 3rd of November 1858. In comparison to the first mission which consisted of four people including Archimandrite Porphyriy and with a sum of seven thousand roubles, the second mission entailed eleven people, and received only twice the money of the first mission and thus was underfunded as well.

The members of the mission, did not comprise a formidable force. It consisted of the priest-monk Yuveneraliy Polovtsev (Ювеналий Половцев), priest-monk Leonid Kavelin (Леонид Кавелин). The deaconmonk Evkarpiy (иеродиакон Евкарпий) and six singers. Another one person was joined to the mission thanks to the bishop Kirill and who was a deacon monk (иеродиакон).² The mission was very humble given the goals it was expected to fulfil. The Ministry of foreign affairs did not even bother consulting the Patriarch of Jerusalem about sending the bishop there which ran counter to Church canons. Later Patriarch Cyril of Jerusalem complained with sourness that bishop Kiril from Russia was introduced only due to the order of the *Porte*.³ It is strange that even

¹ Епископ Порфирий, *Книга бытия моего*..., т. VI, 46.

² Архив Русской Духовной Миссии АРДМ, Но 4, Указы о назначении состава Миссии Cited in Архимандрит Никодим (Ротов), *История Русской Духовной Миссии в Иерусалиме*, 15-83 in: *Богословские Труды, сборник двадцатый, Сборник посвящен митрополиту Ленинградскому и Новгородскому Никодиму († сентября 1978)*, Издание Московской Патриархии, Москва, 1979, 29.

³ Архимандрит Порфирий, *Второе путешествие по св. Горе Афонской*, Москва, 1880, 12-13.

the Russian Holy Synod did not protest at this interference in Church protokol.¹

Kirill had to work on his relationship with the Patriarch of the same name Cyril and had to gain his trust. Kiril Naumovs work can be characterised by his emphasis on improving education, which perhaps was an obvious problem for the Orthodox Church in Palestine. From Kirill Naumovs day the spiritual mission continued its work, supporting and expanding schools, building schools and other buildings for the Greek Jerusalem Patriarchate. The Greeks where helped by the Russian mission and money was raised for the Greek Church and other projects.² Kirill wanted to build a missionary basis with a school in Damascus and bought a house there. However it was burnt down by fanatical Muslims but (interestingly) the Turks reimbursed the Mission with all expenses.³ The Mission offered comprehensive care for pilgrims and even organised hospital care and a surgical cabinet.⁴

Help was also directed to the Patriarchate of Antioch. Kiril managed to build a Church in Tyre. He built a house for the Metropolitan of Seleucia, a school in Tripolis, where Protestant propaganda was especially strong. And there was help for many churches and schools. The Mission hired a catechetical teacher for the Beirut school. The Patriarchates monasteries, male Belement (Белементский) and female Sednai (Седнайский) also benefited.⁵ Kiril also sent money to Damascus, so that the local representative of the Consulate could use it for

¹ Архимандрит Никодим (Ротов), История Русской Духовной Миссии в Иерусалиме, 15-83 in: *Богословские Труды, сборник двадцатый, Сборник посвящен митрополиту Ленинградскому и Новгородскому Никодиму († сентября 1978)*, Издание Московской Патриархии, Москва, 1979, 30.

²For these activities and donations see АРДМ, дело no 1013- Переписка с русским консулом в Дамаске по вопросу о различных пожертвованиях Антиохийской Церкви; АРДМ, дело no 1204- Дело о пожертвованиях Антиохийской Церкви; АРДМ, дело no 1205- Дело о посылке митрополиту Тиро-Сидонскому Герасиму архиерейского облачения и митры; Rotov...pg. 32.

³ АРДМ, дело no 1695- Переписка по делу миссийского дома в Дамаске; Rotov...pg. 32.

⁴ АРДМ, дело no 1215- О хирургических инструментах; Rotov....pg. 32

⁵ Архимандрит Никодим (Ротов), История Русской Духовной Миссии в Иерусалиме, 15-83 in: *Богословские Труды, сборник двадцатый, Сборник посвящен митрополиту Ленинградскому и Новгородскому Никодиму († сентября 1978)*, Издание Московской Патриархии, Москва, 1979, 31.

almsgiving.¹ Apart from money, books and icons where sent to Syria for the use of Churches.² Already from Jerusalem bishop Kirill sent episcopal vestments and a *mitra* to the Metropolitan of Tyre Sidon Gerasim, whom he considered a useful hierarch in the matter of the reunification of the Uniates.³

Rotov correctly observes that the Uniates where strengthened by the hatred between the Greeks and the Arabs, and that it was obvious to Kiril Naumov and others that as long as the Greeks control matters in the Patriarchates and elsewhere all beneficial pastoral activity will be doomed.⁴ The Uniate cause was severely dented by the introduction of the Gregorian Calendar into the Uniate Church in 1858, which was met with widespread rejection. Even the Uniate Patriarch Clement exiled himself into a monastery and received petitions from congregations that if the Gregorian Calendar will be introduced into the Churches Old Style priests will be brought into the Churches by force.⁵

The Greeks and especially the Patriarch of Antioch Hierotheos did not miss the opportunity to welcome efforts from the Uniates to reunite with the Orthodox. Hierotheos left all matters relating to the Greeks to the bishop Kiril.⁶ Hierotheos even lost the trust of the Uniates due to the the long standing Greek-Arab ethnic feud. Metropolitan of Moscow Filaret heard about these efforts on the part of the Uniates to reunite and suggested to form an independent former Uniate-Melkite Metropolitanate, which however for obvious canonical reasons was a shaky idea. On the 19th of February 1860, the head of the Egyptian Melkites archimandrite Gabriel Dzibara visited Jerusalem after his visit to Syria to find out about the dispositions of his Syrian Christian counterparts and Kiril talked with him. Kiril went to Syria for talks with the Uniates

¹ АРДМ, дело но 1013. Переписка с русским консулом в Дамаске по вопросу о различных пожертвованиях Антиохийской Церкви. Архимандрит Никодим (Ротов), Ibid., 32.

² АРДМ, дело но 1204. Дело о пожертвованиях Антиохийской Церкви, Ibid. Ротов.

³ АРДМ, дело но 1205. Ibid., Ротов.

⁴ Ibid., Ротов.

⁵ АРДМ, дело но 1015. Переписка по делу воссоединения униатов. Архимандрит Никодим (Ротов), История Русской Духовной Миссии в Иерусалиме, 15-83 in: *Богословские Труды, сборник двадцатый, Сборник посвящен митрополиту Ленинградскому и Новгородскому Никодиму († сентября 1978), Издание Московской Патриархии, Москва, 1979, 32.*

⁶ Ibid., Ротов.

and made clear that any future reunified Uniates would base themselves on the Orthodox catechetical book published by Patriarch Methodios in Arabic.

Soon after the visit of Kiril in Syria, on the 23th of October 1860, representatives of the Uniates which sought reunification with the Orthodox submitted a petition to the Four Eastern Patriarchs in Constantinople with the conditions under which they would accept Orthodoxy. One of the main conditions was that in the Syrian environment bishops and priests would be drawn from the Arab Christians. On the 9th of November a Council of Four Patriarchs and members of the Constantinopolitan Synod accepted the conditions, and on the 26th of November Huri Hana (Хури-Хана) and the archimandrite Gabriel Dzibara in the name of five thousand Uniates in front of four Patriarchs-Joakim of Constantinople, Calinikos of Alexandria, Hierotheos of Antioch and Cyril of Jerusalem, in front of a council of bishops and a lot of people read out their rejection of Catholicism and its thought (papal supremacy, Filioque and the belittlement of Church canons) and testified to their exposition of Eastern Orthodoxy, as its dogmas and canons.¹

Kirils relationship with the Catholics was not bad, notably with the Franciscans. However understandably with the Latin Patriarch Valerga it was worse. Valerga adopted a lot of measures to maintain the Uniates as Catholics. Interestingly during Kirils leadership, there were some conversions into Orthodoxy from Catholicism (two secular people in 1862, the Abbot Pinnelli and the Franciscan monk Constantine).²

During the presence of Kiril in Palestine, an interesting letter was sent to the Eastern Patriarchs and the Holy Synod by two Anglican bishops and many presbyters, in which it was stated that "Bishops and presbyters located in England, Scotland and Ireland, and all those belonging to their communities, state, that they fundamentally reject the missionary efforts of the Anglican bishop of Jerusalem, which is aimed towards proselytism, and the separation of believers from the Orthodox

¹ АРДМ, дело но 1015. Переписка по делу воссоединения униатов. Архимандрит Никодим (Ротов), История Русской Духовной Миссии в Иерусалиме, 15-83 in: *Богословские Труды, сборник двадцатый, Сборник посвящен митрополиту Ленинградскому и Новгородскому Никодиму († сентября 1978)*, Издание Московской Патриархии, Москва, 1979, 33.

² АРДМ, дело но 102,1455,1456. Ibid, 34. Ibid.

Church into Anglicanism". This seemed to them to run contrary to the principles of the Archbishop of Canterbury laid out in 1841, when the Jerusalem episcopacy was founded. The tone of the letter suggested that in substance there is no difference between the Anglicans and the Orthodox, and that the efforts of the Jerusalem bishop do not reflect the disposition of the Anglican Church.¹

However it seems this was more of an exception to the rule, and the protestant propaganda continued in full force in Palestine. Much later in 1957, there was a reform of the Anglican administration in the Holy land. The Jerusalem bishop received the title of Archbishop and Metropolitan of all Anglican Churches in Syria, Lebanon, Egypt, Sudan, Iraq, Iran and all of the areas of the Near and Central East, where Anglicans are located. A vicariate of a bishop was set up and a bishop was an Arab.²

Liturgies were conducted in Church Slavonic by the mission, and pilgrimages were organised, with caravans to Holy places which on some occasions was headed by Kiril himself.³ The Mission undertook to spiritually cater for the pilgrims and their parish needs-to baptise them and marry them.⁴ There were instances in which pious pilgrims with the blessing of the Holy Synod, were elevated in Jerusalem into various orders and consecrated.⁵ Kiril also helped people who had trouble with

¹ "Епископы и пресвитеры, находящиеся в Англии, Шотландии, Ирландии, и все причисляющиеся к их обществу, заявляют, что они в корне осуждают миссионерскую деятельность англиканского иерусалимского епископа, направленную к прозелитизму, на отторжение в англиканство от Православной Церкви ее чад." АРДМ, дело по 1035. Копия англиканского послания с подписами. Архимандрит Никодим (Ротов), История Русской Духовной Миссии в Иерусалиме, 15-83 in: *Богословские Труды, сборник двадцатый, Сборник посвящен митрополиту Ленинградскому и Новгородскому Никодиму († сентября 1978)*, Издание Московской Патриархии, Москва, 1979, 34.

² *Christian news in Israel*, Jerusalem, 1957, November, 17.

³ АРДМ, дело по 887. Переписка о путешествии епископа Кирилла караваном в Назарет. Архимандрит Никодим (Ротов), История Русской Духовной Миссии в Иерусалиме, 15-83 in: *Богословские Труды, сборник двадцатый, Сборник посвящен митрополиту Ленинградскому и Новгородскому Никодиму († сентября 1978)*, Издание Московской Патриархии, Москва, 1979, 35.

⁴ АРДМ, дело по 1505, Инструкции в случаях бракосочетаний, Ibid.

⁵ АРДМ, дело по 261-263, О разных попстригах, 1015. Переписка по делу воссоединения униатов. Архимандрит Никодим (Ротов), История Русской Духовной Миссии в Иерусалиме, 15-83 in: *Богословские Труды, сборник двадцатый, Сборник*

documents and lost their money and so on. Russians also sent requests from other countries for help.¹ The mission also established a small hospital with a surgical cabinet.² However, soon after its establishment it was transferred under the jurisdiction of the Russian consul in Jerusalem under the requirement of the Ministry of foreign affairs.³

посвящен митрополиту Ленинградскому и Новгородскому Никодиму († сентября 1978), Издание Московской Патриархии, Москва, 1979, 35.

¹ АРДМ, дело no 1106. Прошения паломников о помощи, Архимандрит Никодим (Ротов), История Русской Духовной Миссии в Иерусалиме, Ibid., 35.

² АРДМ, дело no 1215. О хирургических инструментах. Ibid.

³ АРДМ, дело no 1217, Отношение из Азиатского департамента Министерства Иностранных Дел от 29 января 1860 г., за no 426. Ibid.

8 Pilgrims and Russian Institutions in Palestine

The period of Naumov brought about a new phenomenon, which was related to a new mass explosion of pilgrimages from Russia and a new growing interest in Palestine on the part of various societies, individuals but also people wanting to make a profit. The Russian Spiritual mission faced new competition from new emerging Russian societies with interest in the area. The fact that these other societies were also supported by the government or other state individuals, clearly shows, that the Spiritual mission founded in 1847 or the Church as such, was not of primary concern for the State or other segments of state policy.

Of the other societies and developments we can mention the establishment of the Palestinian Committee (1859-1864 Палестинский Комитет), the Palestinian Commission (1864-1889 Палестинская Комиссия), and from 1882 the establishment of the influential Imperial Orthodox Palestinian Society (Императорское Православное Палестинское Общество /ИППО).

Soon a conflict of interest emerged and the various rival societies competed among each other, and undoubtedly pilgrim money played a role in the motivation for these conflicts. This included the ongoing tension between the Russian state representatives abroad and the Russian Spiritual mission. Nevertheless it is possible to state, that the competition between the various Russian societies and interests produced some positive results. In this regard the acquisition of land (Palestinian Committee) was positive.

The influx of pilgrims into Palestine from Russia, led to an assessment of the political and economic possibilities this would present. What is important is that in 1858 a Russian Consulate was established in Jerusalem. Further, the agency called 'The Russian Society of (Steam) shipping and Commerce (Русское Общество Пароходства и Торговли-РОПИТ) was also established. The head of the Consulate and the agency of (Steam) shipping and commerce was one and the same person Vladimir Ipolitovich Dorgobuzhinov (Владимир Ипполитович Доргобужинов). He participated in the Crimean War, and was helped into these new functions by B. P. Mansurov (Б. П.

Мансуров). He was part of the land acquisition project which was begun in the period (notably around the Jaffa gate).

The Русское Общество Пароходства и Торговли (Russian Society of Steam shipping and Commerce) was established on the 3rd of August 1856. This company was formed with Governmental support and capital. The government promised to share the costs of the tickets sold for the route in the Mediterranean for a number of years. The company was also supposed to provide competition against the other companies operating in the Mediterranean. The company was good business since the state provided assistance to the company and other concessions.¹ It needs to be said, that the company was not created only with pilgrims in mind, but was a new endeavour by the state to improve exports south. One third of the shares of the company belonged to the Russian government. The Government however had to support the company substantially and the Consulates abroad were forced to support it. Later it turned into a viable company and catered for commerce between Egypt, Constantinople and Russia (Odessa).²

Later Boris Pavlovich Mansurov (Борис Павлович Мансуров), who was an important figure in the new phase of Russian involvement in Palestine produced a report later published in a shortened version which basically praises the company and supports a purely non-political and non-antagonistic role for Russia. He also controversially calls for donations from believers to be given also to the company. His views calling for more extensive powers for the company proved highly controversial. He was the one who also called for a close association of the Consulate in Jerusalem and the Company. He believed that the Company would be a better manager of financial affairs and donations since it is in the interest of the Company to support and promote pilgrimages into Palestine.

In 1858 Mansurov travelled to Palestine with an entire group of people, to study the possibilities in improving the plight of the pilgrims in Palestine. Mansurov was instrumental in acquiring lands in Jerusalem and Palestine. He is especially associated with the Elizabeth and Marinskiy areas, which were acquired by Russia.

¹ See *Морской Сборник* Но. 12, октябрь, Санкт Петербург, 1856, 60-65.

² Дьков Н. Н., Иванов С. М., Султанов Т. И., *Россия запад и мусульмасский восток в колониальную эпоху*, Санкт Петербург, 1996, 78-79.

In 1858 thanks to the blessing of the Tsar Alexander II, the Palestinian Committee (Палестинский Комитет) was established and its chairman was the brother of the Tsar, *Velikiy Knyaz* Konstantin Nikolayevich, who trusted Mansurov. There were efforts in collecting money and funds for the issues relating to pilgrimage to Palestine. The fund raising efforts brought success and in 1864, the Православный Комитет had a capital of 1003 259 roubles, 34 kopecks.¹

In the period of 1858 new tensions began to emerge between bishop Kiril and the representative of the Russian Society for Steam Transport and Commerce (Русское Общество Пароходства и Торговли), who was at the same time Consul, Dorgobuzhinov (В. И. Доргобужинов). On the 28th of April 1859, the *Knyaz* Konstantin Nikolayevich (Константин Николаевич) with his wife and son Nikolay Konstantinovich (Николай Константинович) landed in Palestine and where later met by the Patriarch of Jerusalem Cyril.² The visit was witnessed by Archimandrite Leonid³ who stated that when the Patriarch greeted the *Knyaz* at the gates he pronounced a short speech in which he stated that this visit was the first of its kind from an Imperial house from the period of Emperor Heraklios who also came to Holy Sepulchre where the doors miraculously opened in front of him so that the Patriarch knew that a person of this rank had come. Apart from other things the visit was full of liturgical events and participation in liturgical services.⁴ The Palestinian Committee bought a number of properties.

The visit in April of 1859, of the Grand *knyaz* Konstantin Nikolaevich (великий князь Константин Николаевич) who was the chief of the Palestinian Committee, was of paramount importance. The *Grand knyaz* did not hide the fact, that the mixing of functions of the Mission and the Consulate was creating problems.

¹ Дмитриевский, А.А., Памяти Б. П. Мансурова, *Сообщения ИППО*, 1910, Т. XXI, Вып. 3, 446-447 in: *Деятели Русской Палестины*, А. А. Дмитриевский, Составитель и автор предисловия, Н. Н. Лисовой, Издательство Олега Абышко, Москва, 2010, 51-63, here 55.

² See Паломничество вел. Кн. Константина Николаевича в Иерусалим и Святую Землю, in: *Петербургские Ведомости*, no. 180, Санкт Петербург, 1859.

³ The archive of Leonid Kavelin is a large collection underresearched material. It is presently found in the Российская Государствена Библиотека.

⁴ Кащеев, А.А., Записки о пребывании великого князя Константина Николаевича на Святой земле: Материалы из архива Архимандрита Леонида (Кавелина), in: *Обсерватория культуры*, т.1. no.1, Москва, 2016, 112-121.

From now on there would be a separation of roles, and the role of the head of the Mission was reduced to "the moral, spiritual teaching of all of the Russian flock, on being an ecclesial representative, carrying on liturgical services, the leadership of the Spiritual Mission, pastoral care and supervision for Russian pilgrims, and the supervision of their moral conditions, giving advice and stipulations in the matter of offering hospitality to Russian believers, sharing the thoughts on these matters with the Consulate, and helping it with the improvement of the conditions of the pilgrims; on the other hand the Consulate had a role in relation to representing and directing the political, diplomatic, citizen issues and the directing of police matters, the acquisition of land and houses, of the maintenance of buildings, the hospital, on the basis of instructions which it received from the Palestinian Committee."¹

The Grand *knyaz* clearly indicated that there should be no conflict between the Mission and the Consulate and importantly, more or less gave the Palestinian Committee the responsibility for land acquisition, building, etc., and in this the Committee according to him would 'closely cooperate with the Russian Consulate' in these matters. The Mission was reduced to "spiritual care", which is obviously unclear and strange because the work of the Mission inherently was necessarily linked with issues of buildings etc."² The other result of the visit of the Grand *Knyaz* Constantine Nikolaevich in Jerusalem was the purchase of a large portion of ground towards the west from the Damascus gate close to the Jerusalem walls-that is on the Meydam square. Generally

¹ "Нравственное и духовное назидание всей русской паствы, церковное представительство, производство богослужения, управление Духовной Миссией, пастырское наблюдение за русскими поклонниками и всеми нравственными условиями их жизни, участие советами и указаниями в деле призрения русских богомилцев, передача консулу своих замечаний по сему предмету и содействие ему в улучшении быта поклонников; к обязанностям же консула должно было относиться все политическое, дипломатическое, гражданское и полицейское представительство и управление, приобретение земель и домов, все хозяйственное заведывание постройками, госпиталем на основании инструкций, которые он имел получать от Палестинского Комитета". АРДМ, дело no 936. Дело о приезде великого князя Константина. Архимандрит Никодим (Ротов), История Русской Духовной Миссии в Иерусалиме, 15-83 in: *Богословские Труды, сборник двадцатый, Сборник посвящен митрополиту Ленинградскому и Новгородскому Никодиму († сентября 1978)*, Издание Московской Патриархии, Москва, 1979, 35.

² АРДМ, дело no 936. Дело о приезде великого князя Константина; Ротов, 35.

the task of acquiring land was not always successful. This was the case of the site of Myra, associated with saint Nicholas. The Russians made many attempts to acquire the land there, but were unsuccessful due to the Turkish suspicions of Russia's true intentions.¹

Mansurov was instrumental in the land acquisitions made in Jerusalem in 1857-1860. He had a long career which was somewhat controversial and died on the 20th of June 1910. He studied law and in 1854 began working for the Marital Ministry. He was sent to Palestine in 1856 by the Grand *Knyaz* Konstantin Nikolayevich. He gave him an extensive report later published in a shortened version.² Dmitriyevskiy criticised Mansurov for his enthusiasm for the Russian Society for Steam Transport and Commerce (Русское Общество Пароходства и Торговли), which was subjected to criticism for its lack of any positive results for the Church but also for its lack of concern for the safety of the pilgrims, which it transported.³

As we have indicated Mansurov was a trusted figure of the chairman of the Orthodox Committee (Православный Комитет) the brother of the Tsar Konstantin Nikolayevich. Mansurov later became the head of the Orthodox Commission (Православная Комиссия). Once the Imperial Orthodox Palestinian Society emerged, Mansurov wanted to play a key part in its activities. This was not supported by his colleagues. Later he rather played a role of an antagonist towards the ИППО and even wrote scholarly material criticising some of its scholarly activities and conclusions. This was the case especially in relation to the excavations of IPPO. This provoked a sharp battle between Mansurov and V. N. Chitrovo.⁴ Later Mansurov became the

¹ Дмитриевский, А. А., Юшманов В., *Святая Русь и Италия у мироточивой гробницы Святителя Николая Мирликийского, Бар-граде*, Санкт Петербург 1915 in: *Деятели Русской Палестины*, А. А. Дмитриевский, Составитель и автор предисловия, Н. Н. Лисовой, Издательство Олега Абышко, Москва, 2010, 169-224, here, 178. See also Lora Gerd, *Russian Policy in the Orthodox East, The Patriarchate of Constantinople (1878-1914)*, De Gruyter open, 2014.

² Мансуров Б.П., *Православные поклонники в Палестине*. Санкт Петербургъ, 1858, 2-3.

³ Дмитриевский, А.А., Памяти Б. П. Мансурова, *Сообщения ИППО*, 1910, Т. XXI, Вып.3, 446-447 in *Деятели Русской Палестины*, А. А. Дмитриевский, Составитель и автор предисловия, Н. Н. Лисовой, Издательство Олега Абышко, Москва, 2010, 51-63.

⁴ Мансуров Б.П. wrote among other things *Басилика императора Константина во Св. Граде Иерусалиме*. М., 1885; *Русские раскопки в Св. Граде Иерусалиме пред судом Русского Археологического Общества*, Рига, 1887; *Die Kirche des Heiligen Grabes zu*

vice president in the commission for the construction of the Church of Christ the Saviour in Moscow.

The Orthodox Committee (Палестинский Комитет) was later in 1864 turned into the Orthodox Commission at the Asian department of the Ministry of foreign affairs (Палестинская Комиссия при Азиатском Департаменте МИДа). This happened after the main land purchases took place.

Tensions where increasing gradually between the interests of the state and the interests of the Church or we can state there was a divide between how the Church wanted things done and how the Consulate wanted them done. There where issues of money. As we indicated the Palestinian Commission was headed by Mansurov. As head of the Commission Mansurov was responsible for example for the consecration of the Church in honour of the empress Alexandra, which took place on the 28th of July 1864. The priorities of the Commission were also outlined by the government. Thus the *Velikiy Knyaz* pressed for funds of the Commission to be used for the completion and furnishing of the Church of the Life beginning Trinity (Живоначальной Троицы). The Church was consecrated with the participation of the Grand *Knyaz* Nikolay Nikolayevich the elder, Herzog Maximilianovich Lichtenburg and the princes Alexander and Konstantin Petrovich Oldenburg (28th October 1872).¹

There where issues with the dwindling amounts of funds and the inadequacy of the buildings built for pilgrims, which where already insufficient in the year they were built. Whether he liked it or not Mansurov was forced to deal with the (Русская Духовная Миссия) to help find new places for pilgrims, which proved a source for conflict. It seems that the priorities of the Commission consisted of amassing capital, without however taking sufficient care of the pilgrims.²

Ierusalem in ihren ältesten Gestalt., Heidelberg, 1888. These where criticisms against the excavations made at the Russian area close to the Holy Sepulchre made by Archimandrite Antonin.

¹ Дмитриевский, А.А., Памяти Б. П. Мансурова, *Сообщения ИППО*, 1910, Т. XXI, Вып.3, 446-447 in *Деятели Русской Палестины*, А. А. Дмитриевский, Составитель и автор предисловия, Н. Н. Лисовой, Издательство Олега Абышко, Москва, 2010, 51-63, 60.

² Ibid. 61.

The Spiritual mission was completely side-tracked from these various activities, and the negative situation was obvious to Kirill Naumov and the representatives of the Church. The Church supported Kirill, when he doubted the reasons for the presence of the Russian society for (Steamship) Transport and Commerce in the Holy Land, where there was "no commerce or shipping". He asks: "What does the (Steam) ship society do or wants to do?-Well it is uncertain what it wants to do. It wants to build a Church, accommodation and hospital for the pilgrims. But is this not rather the area of the Spiritual Mission, rather than of the Agency/Society for (Steam) Ship and Commerce? And further, the Agency/Society for (Steam)Ship Transport and Commerce has the money collected for philanthropic institutions in Jerusalem in its hands and occupies itself, as for the future, to gain as much of this money in its hands as possible".¹

The amassing enemies of Kiril continued their fight against the mission. In May 1863 the Ministry of Foreign Affairs received a message from the Jerusalem consul Kartsev (Карцев) about the personal character of Kiril and the temptations or scandalisations he brings about by his conduct, and that he became the toy for Greeks, who use him for his connections with Constantinople and Russia. The message was lacking factual evidence about alleged Kirils misdemeanours. In any case the message was brought to the Emperor who decided that Kiril cannot remain in his function.

The Holy Synod in its meetings of the 19 and 21 June (1864 year-Rotov note) decided to relieve him from his position in Palestine and appoint him to a function under the leadership of the Archbishop of Kazan (since it did not have a free bishops see) with the role of overseeing the Kazan Spaso-Preobrazhenskiy monastery. The Synod also decided that from now on an archimandrite and not bishop should head the mission. The stipulation of the Holy Synod from the 23rd of

¹ "Что делает или хочет делать пароходное общество?-Но видно. Оно хочет строить церковь, помещения и больницу для поклонников. Но это не больше ли принадлежит Духовной Миссии, нежели Обществу Пароходства и Торговли? А между тем деньги, собираемые на богоугодные заведения в Иерусалиме, Общество Пароходства и Торговли имеет в своих руках и заботится, как бы и впредь в большом количестве получать их в свои руки". *Собрание мнений и отзывов Филарета, митрополита Московского и Коломенского, по делам Православной Церкви на Востоке.* Санкт Петербург, 1886, 378-379.

November 1864 chose the priestmonk Leonid (Kavelin), (Леонид Кавелин) from the Optina Pustyn, to become an archimandrite and head the mission. This was the same Leonid who in 1858 accompanied Kiril to Jerusalem and stayed there a year.¹ On the twelfth of May 1864 the new group came to Jerusalem.

After his arrival Leonid gave back to the Patriarchate the church of the Archangel monastery, which was rather premature, since even though the Missions Church was built and finished it was not yet consecrated and the members of the mission had to serve anywhere possible. When Leonid came, the building of the Mission with a house Church was finished and Leonid accommodated himself inside. The celebration of the consecration of the first Russian church was on the 28 of June 1864. The consecration of the Church as such was moved indefinitely to an indefinite date. As such the construction of the Church was finished however.² A stipulation ordered to finish some works only after there will be a specific collection.

There is not much information about Leonid and his work, which was the usual spiritual care of pilgrims, more or less rare tonsuring of monks as during Kirill's period, and receiving of various offerings.³ It seems Leonid gave monetary help to a school for Arabs, which was organised close to Jerusalem in a village called Bet Dzala (Бет-Джала), with a woman called Bodrova (Бодрова), who came from Russia. Later the Palestinian Society on the basis of this school built a women's teaching seminary. It appears that Leonid did not gain the support of anyone.

On the 13 of April 1865, the Jerusalem Patriarch Kiril sent a letter to the Holy Synod, stating that Archimandrite Leonid is behaving unlawfully and dishonourably and that due to this the pilgrims are unsatisfied

¹ Архимандрит Никодим (Ротов), История Русской Духовной Миссии в Иерусалиме, 15-83 in: *Богословские Труды, сборник двадцатый, Сборник посвящен митрополиту Ленинградскому и Новгородскому Никодиму († сентября 1978)*, Издание Московской Патриархии, Москва, 1979, 37.

² АРДМ, дело по 1669. Переписка об окончании строительства здания Миссии и церкви во имя святой мученицы Александры на Русских Постройках в Иерусалиме. Архимандрит Никодим (Ротов), Ibid., 38.

³ АРДМ, дело по 262-263, Дела о паломниках. Указы о назначении духовенства и певчих в Русскую духовную Миссию в Иерусалиме. Архимандрит Никодим (Ротов), Ibid.

and asked that he be replaced.¹ A reply to this letter was sent on the 25th of June 1865, from Saint Petersburg in the name of the first of the Metropolitans in the Synod Isidor. The letter included, that "this man who after leaving this world for a long time without doubt carried himself honourably in the monastic habitation, above all known by its spiritual riches, in the short time of his stay in Jerusalem, was accused of dishonourable behaviour and unlawful behaviour currently without a definitive charge: until it is known who is the accuser, what are the unlawful activities he carried on and whether the accusations are founded by lawful proofs".²

The researcher Archimandrite Kyprian on the other hand depicts Leonid as a hero.³ It seems that the Patriarch Kiril, who defended bishop Kiril, would not without reason accuse another chairman of the Mission, especially since a chairman with the rank of archimandrite, would surely stimulate greater sympathy from the Greeks than a bishop.⁴ An order of the 16th of July 1865 stated to Archimandrite Leonid, that he should surrender "in the most short time possible, the activities, the possessions and sums of the Mission" (в возможно непродолжительное время дела, имущество и суммы Миссии") to Archimandrite Antoniy Kapustin (Антонин Капустин), who at that time was the head of the embassy church in Constantinople.⁵

¹ *Собрание мнений и отзывов Филарета, митрополита Московского и Коломенского, по делам Православной Церкви на Востоке*, Санкт Петербургъ, 1886, 435-436.

² "сех муж, по отрочении от мира долгое время с несомненным достоинством проходивший монашескую жизнь в обители, преимущественно известной духовным благоустройством, в короткое время пребывания его в Иерусалиме подвергся обвинению в бесчинном и незаконном поведении, впрочем без определенного указания; кем он обвиняется, какие позволил себе незаконные действия и подкреплены ли обвинения законными доказательствами". *Собрание мнений и отзывов Филарета, митрополита Московского и Коломенского, по делам Православной Церкви на Востоке*, Санкт Петербургъ, 1886, 473-493.

³ Архимандрит Киприан., *О. Антонин Капустин, архимандрит и начальник Русской Духовной Мисии Иерусалиме (1817-1894 гг.)*. Белград, 1934, 131.

⁴ Архимандрит Никодим (Ротов), *История Русской Духовной Мисии в Иерусалиме*, с. 15-83 in: *Богословские Труды, сборник двадцатый, Сборник посвящен митрополиту Ленинградскому и Новгородскому Никодиму (+ сентября 1978)*, Издание Московской Патриархии, Москва, 1979, с. 38.

⁵ Ibid.

8a Antonin Kapustin

Archimandrite Antonin Kapustin came to Jerusalem on the 11th of September 1865. Kapustin belonged to one of the row of outstanding figures of the mission, which more or less went on uninterruptedly from the period of Uspenskiy. Kapustin also saw the negative aspects of the Greek Hierarchy and the other non-ecclesial Russian institutions. Kapustin observes, that "In the Jerusalem period of Kirill, we have suffered without deserving it, not one temptation. We were deceived, laughed at by those, whom we faithfully fed and gave drink and held on and carried in our hands".¹

Kapustin was an outstanding person involving himself with construction, archaeology, scholarship and ecclesial issues. He built the churches of the Kazan Mother of God (Казанской Божией Матери), in Gornem (Горнем (1880-1883), The Church of the Ascension on Mt. Olives (Вознесения в Русском монастыре on Елеоне (1880-1886) and the Apostle Peter and just Tabitha in Jaffa (Апостола Петра и праведной Тавифы in Jaffa (1888-1893). He cooperated closely with Conrad Shick, who was a German archaeologist and architect. He and Shick produced a topography of Jerusalem and its surrounding areas.

He was undoubtedly a towering intellectual. Similarly to people like Porphyriy Uspenskiy he was emotional, scholarly and a general renaissance man of the day. He obviously faced immense problems around him. Just like Uspenskiy Kapustin wrote a detailed diary of his life. Thus in one entry we gain a glimpse of the person of Kapustin and his day. "I dreamed of something, something vague, which did not remain in the memory. 7, o'clock. Clear and silence. Medicine, prayer. МΣ (note meaning Kaliopa Apostolidi Καλλιόπα Αποστολίδι Μ meaning Greek mother μήτηρ and her daughter Sophia Σ, shortened for Greek Σοφία; these where the spiritual children of father Antonin), Tea. Loyds postal service (postal service brought by the Austrian company Lloyd. Sometimes referred to in his diary as Austrian mail австрийская почта) with an insurance letter. A pilgrim father Kyril (before he was Konstantin) with medals all over his chest, from Zakynthos, who spent 32 years in Russia, who believes that he is 102 years old! A completely

¹ "В Иерусалимской Кирилловской истории, мы перенесли совсем незаслуженно не одно искушение. Насоболгали, осмеяли те, кого мы беззаветно поили, кормили и на руках носили". *Церковный Вестник*, 1877, no. 41, 8.,; Cited in Rotov., 39.

fresh character, who travelled around 519 (!) Russian monasteries and learned about them all (!!) about their history (note Kladioanos Konstantsiy, Mafusail, 102 year old guy from Zakynthos, Кладиоанос Констанций, «Мафусаил», «102-летний», «Закинфиот» who was a pilgrim from Zakynthos from Greece).¹

For the entry for the 2nd of February, we are told of various intrigues and constant problems. Thus he writes: "Gliko (sweets), tea, again gliko, the Abdurachman effendi, from who one cannot escape, the "necessary" Grande Dame Bogdanova, Lera Ivanovna, in all glory-the patron and composer of the relics of saint Simeon, and many others of our heavens have shined with full light. My female neighbour came with a courageous attitude, as if from the most difficult obstacle, a loan for the needs of the Consul Kozhenikov, by Nikodim for the sum of 250 roubles, Epifaniy (!!!) has composed an entire list of money exchanges. O, this hellish pagan woman! Is it not, that you have created this need of 250 roubles of this prickly Consul, and have yourself created this entire intrigue? And now is making up the story, that she had taken care of the entire matter in such a way and cunningly, so that she came out of it as pure, as a pigeon, from the most black of excrements".²

¹ "Что-то снилось непростое, да не осталось в памяти. 7 часов. 10". Ясно и тихо. Лекарство, молитва. МΣ, (note meaning Καλλιόπη Апостолиди M meaning Greek mother μητήρ and her daughter Sophia Σ, shortened for Greek Σοφία; these where the spiritual children of father Antonin). Чай. Ллойдова почта (postal service brought by the Austrian company Lloid. Sometimes referred to in his diary as австрийская почта) с страховым письмом. Поклоник, о. Кирилл (бывший Константин) с медалями во всю грудь, закинфиот, проживший в России 32 года, всего же от роду насчитывающий себе сто два года! А совсем бодрый человек, обошедший 519 (!) русских монастырей и изучивший всех (!!) их историю (note Кладиоанос Констанций, «Мафусаил», «102-летний», «Закинфиот» who was a pilgrim from Zakynthos from Greece)."Архимандрит Антонин (Капустин), Дневник, год 1881, (entry for Friday 9th of January)", Москва, Индрик, 2011, 22, 23.

² "Глико (sweets), чай, еще глико, неизбежный Абдуррахман-эфенди, необходимые Grande Dame, Богданова, Лера Ивановна во всей славе ктитории и сочинительницы мощей Праведного Симеона, и многие другие звезды нашего небосклона сияли полным светом. Соседка моя в раж пришла при мысли, как из пустейшего обстоятельства «сужения в нужде консула К«ожевникова» Никодимом всего на сумму 250 рублей» Епифаний (!!!) сочинил целый листуар о векселях. О, пекельная язычница! А не ты ли, колющая консула «сужением», «нуждаю», «250-ю рублями», сама сочинила всю интрижку? И ведь теперь воображает, что поправила все дело таким извотором и выпшла, каверзница, чиста, как голубица из чернышпёвских помоев!" Ibid. entry for 3rd of February, 35.

Just as with Porphyriy Uspenskiy so with Kapustin a description of his dreams and the events is important. "In the dream I have encountered twice some form of being" (Во сне два раза вступал в сражение с каким-то супостатом).¹ In the entry for the 10th of June we read: "I was honoured in my dream to be in the middle of the entire family of the Tsar, but I was not invited for lunch." (Удостился во сне быть среди всего царского семейства, только к обеду вместе с ним приглашен не был).

Kapustin was an emotional man, with a perceptive talent. Thus he mentions how he was sad, when a young orphan girl married someone, and she cried the entire ceremony, Kapustin feels sorry for her and performed the wedding ceremony with the Patriarch.² We are also told of the everyday responsibilities, of Kapustin, which included (entry 17 January), for example, situations, where he had to deal with tobacco hidden in the church by someone who did not want to be caught by the authorities.

Many of the entries portray Kapustin's dealings and the environment of the Holy land as a place of mentally disturbed people, eccentric people or simply surrealistic events. Thus for example, for the entry on the 18th of January we read: "Lunch with Byzantine music. Fast with the sculptor Paulus (Обед с византийской музыкой. Фаст с скульптором Paulus'om. Note Paulus Kristof, was a german sculptor, who was a member of German "templars", and who in 1854 founded the committee of friends of Jerusalem in Wirtemberg), and a discussion about, how this sculptor had moved the dust of Moock onto our own area in Jericho (и реяция о том, как сей перенес на наше место в Иерихон прах Моock'a. Note A German archaeologist who died in the Jordan river by drowning, and was buried in one of the grounds of Kapustin), and how a monument was built with the permission of our Evfimia (и выстроил над ним памятник, с позволения Евфимии нашей. Note Sushkova Evfimiya Yakovlevna, was the caretaker of the Jericho pilgrim accomodation Сушкова Евфимия Яковлевна, смотрительница Иерихонского паломнического приюта.), what a Baba! Reading, Sleep until 8. (Ну баба! Чтение. Сон до 8 ч.)³

¹ Ibid., entry for 13 of January, 25.

² Ibid., entry for 11 of january, 23.

³ Ibid., 27.

An important event of the period we have already mentioned was the so-called Bulgarian schism. The Patriarch Cyril of Jerusalem was the only one from the Eastern Patriarchates who refused to sign the document accusing the Bulgarians. The ambassador Ignatiev ordered Antonin to use all means possible to convince Cyril to maintain his position.¹ However, the Synod deposed Cyril for his views, since the Synod as others around where "led by the spirit of pan-Hellenism" and Cyril was exiled.² Ignatiev and the Russians where not poised against the Greeks in this matter and their priority was not to demolish the Greek church or Patriarchate of Constantinople. But it became obvious that the Bulgarians needed to be independent sooner or later for many reasons.³ The Patriarchate of Constantinople accused the Bulgarians of *phyletism* -of placing nationhood in front of Orthodoxy (a weird position given the emancipation of Greeks at the time).

A new Patriarch was chosen, Procopius of Gaza. The Russian mission received official news of the selection of the new Patriarch on the 15th January 1873. The Mission expressed its dissatisfaction with this procedure. Patriarch Procopius complained to the Russian Holy Synod, that his name is not commemorated in the Missionary Churches. That is why on the 5th August 1874, a special order was sent to Antonin which stated: "We acknowledge to Your High *Prepodobiyu*, that the Mission in its relation to the Jerusalem Patriarchate and to its subordinate priests strictly fulfil all that, which is proper according to ecclesial law and to the instructions of the local government, and that during the Liturgies, without omission, the Patriarchal name be pronounced, according to

¹ АРДМ, дело но 1195, Письмо из Константинопольского посольства. Архимандрит Никодим (Ротов), История Русской Духовной Миссии в Иерусалиме, 15-83 in: *Богословские Труды, сборник двадцатый, Сборник посвящен митрополиту Ленинградскому и Новгородскому Никодиму († сентября 1978), Издание Московской Патриархии, Москва, 1979, 39.*

² Соколов, И. И., Иерусалимский Патриарх Кирилл II е его отношение к болгарской церковной схизме. *Сообщения Императорского Православного Палестинского Общества*, т. XXV, вып. 1-4, 1914, Т. XXVI, вып. 1, 1915, Т. XXVII, 1916; *Собрание мнений и отзывов Филарета, митрополита Московского и Коломенского, по делам Православной Церкви на Востоке*, Санкт Петербургъ, 1886, 435-436.

³ Livanios D., *The Macedonian Question, Britain and the Souther Balkans, 1939-1949*, Oxford, 2009, 16.

Ecclesial law."¹ However neither Procopius survived for long, and he was replaced later by the representative of the Holy Sepulchre in Smyrna Hierotheos (1875-1882). However, the situation did not improve much in terms of relations with the Mission. One of the reasons was that the successor of Hierotheos, Nikodem, was already predisposed unfavourably towards Antonin already in Russia.

In Petersburg the view was that the Mission should not interfere with matters relating to pilgrimages. According to the view the pilgrimage issue should have been taken care by the Consulate and the Palestinian Committee. This view was also supported by Nikodim. Because, the clergy of the Mission performed liturgies outside the Mission the Patriarch suspended them in their clerical functions.² This seemed to have gone hand in hand with the Jerusalem Patriarchs idea that he headed everyone in Palestine. Thus the priest who had 30 years, experience as a priest Anisimov was also suspended by the Patriarch, because after his return from Russia from a holiday he did not immediately appear before the Patriarch on his return.³ Further cases occurred. Nikodem, asked a reply to his announcement of suspending the clergy of the Mission the priest monk Parfenios and the deacon monk Vissarion because they served a funeral service for one Russian pilgrim woman, and Antonin was forced to reply: "The Russian Spiritual Mission, which is now entrusted into my leadership, is furnished with an instruction from high, which awards it the irreversible duty to fulfil all necessary ecclesial requirements (*treby*), of Russian pilgrims staying in the Holy Land. Thanks to this its members carry on the Holy Mysteries and other liturgical services, which were

¹ "Подтверждаем Вашему Высокопреподобию, чтобы Миссией в отношениях своих к Иерусалимской Патриархии и подведомому ей духовенству строго выполнялось все то, что требуется по церковным законам и постановлениям местного правительства, и чтобы при богослужениях неопустительно возглашалось патриаршие имя по чиноположению церковному" АРДМ, дело no 963, Указ Св. Синода, No. 224, от 5 августа 1874, г. Архимандрит Никодим (Ротов), История Русской Духовной Миссии в Иерусалиме, 15-83 in: *Богословские Труды, сборник двадцатый, Сборник посвящен митрополиту Ленинградскому и Новгородскому Никодиму († сентября 1978)*, Издание Московской Патриархии, Москва, 1979, 40.

² АРДМ, дело no 973. Письмо Иерусалимского Патриарха Никодима архимандриту Антонину от 25 октября 1886 г. Архимандрит Никодим (Ротов), *Ibid.*, 40.

³ АРДМ, дело no 975, Письмо священника Анисимова архимандриту Антонину от 2 сентября 1888 г. Архимандрит Никодим (Ротов), *Ibid.*

established by the Orthodox Church for the pilgrims. If Your Blessedness knows something regarding this instruction, and which requires its modification from the Russian government, please show courtesy to me, and inform me about this so I can arrange myself and matters accordingly. I think it unnecessary to elaborate much in words about the promulgated instructions of your Blessedness in the "Relation" intending to canonically punish members of the Mission entrusted to me, since it must be obvious especially to the "Guardian of the Divine canons" that the Eparchial borders of the Church are inviolable and in the matter of any misdemeanour, it is forbidden by the canons for one Church to punish the members of the other Church. If there is something worthy of punishment in the activities of the Mission, this will be accepted in a sonly manner by the Mission, from the Holy Governing All Russian Synod, to which in the end I rush to forward in copy the honourable "Relation" of your Blessedness".¹

The Mission enjoyed better relations with the successor of the Patriarch Nikodim, Gerasim. However the Mission had continuously bad relations with the Russian Consulate. After seven years in the Mission, Antonin again expressed the opinion that the continuous

¹ "Русская Духовная Миссия, вверенная в настоящее время моему управлению, снабжена высочайше утвержденной инструкцией, налагающей на нее неотменный долг исполнить все церковные "требы" пребывающих во Св. Земле поклонников русских. В силу сего положения члены ее и совершаю Св. Таинства и другие священнодействия, установленные Православной Церковью, над русскими поклонниками. Если Ваше Блаженство знаете что-нибудь последовавшее со стороны Российского правительства в отмену данной Духовной Миссии инструкции, благоволите почтить меня уведомлением о том для моего руководства в будущем. Излишним считаю распространяться слогом о заявленном в "Отношении" Вашего Блаженства намерении Вашем подвергнуть каноническому наказанию членов вверенной мне Миссии, ибо кому же как не "блюстителю Божественных канонов" знать, что епархиальные пределы Церквей ненарушимы и что, в случае чьей-либо погрешности, одной Церкви наказывать членов другой Церкви Божественные каноны не позволяют. Если в действии Русской Духовной Миссии окажется что-нибудь достойное наказания, она сыновне prime его от Святейшего Правительствующего Синода Всероссийского, которому на сей именно конец я спешу препрогодить в копии досточтимое "Отношение" Вашего Блаженства". АРДМ, дело 972, Переписка с Иерусалимской Патриархией, Архимандрит Никодим (Ротов), История Русской Духовной Миссии в Иерусалиме, 15-83 in: *Богословские Труды, сборник двадцатый, Сборник посвящен митрополиту Ленинградскому и Новгородскому Никодиму († сентября 1978), Издание Московской Патриархии, Москва, 1979., 41.*

chasm between the Mission and the Consulate, is not dependent on the personal characteristics of the people involved, but on the set conditions, which at some point were called a "system".¹ After Kapustin the new head of the Russian Spiritual Mission was archimandrite Rafael Truchin (Рафаил Трухин). He was head from 1894 to 1899. Kapustin bequeathed his extensive manuscript collection to the public library in Saint Petersburg, but unfortunately his will was not consummated, which apparently was the result of the ineffective activities of the Russian Consulate.

¹ АРДМ, дело 128, Письмо архимандрита Антонина к Мансурову. Архимандрит Никодим (Ротов), Ibid.

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Reviewers:

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