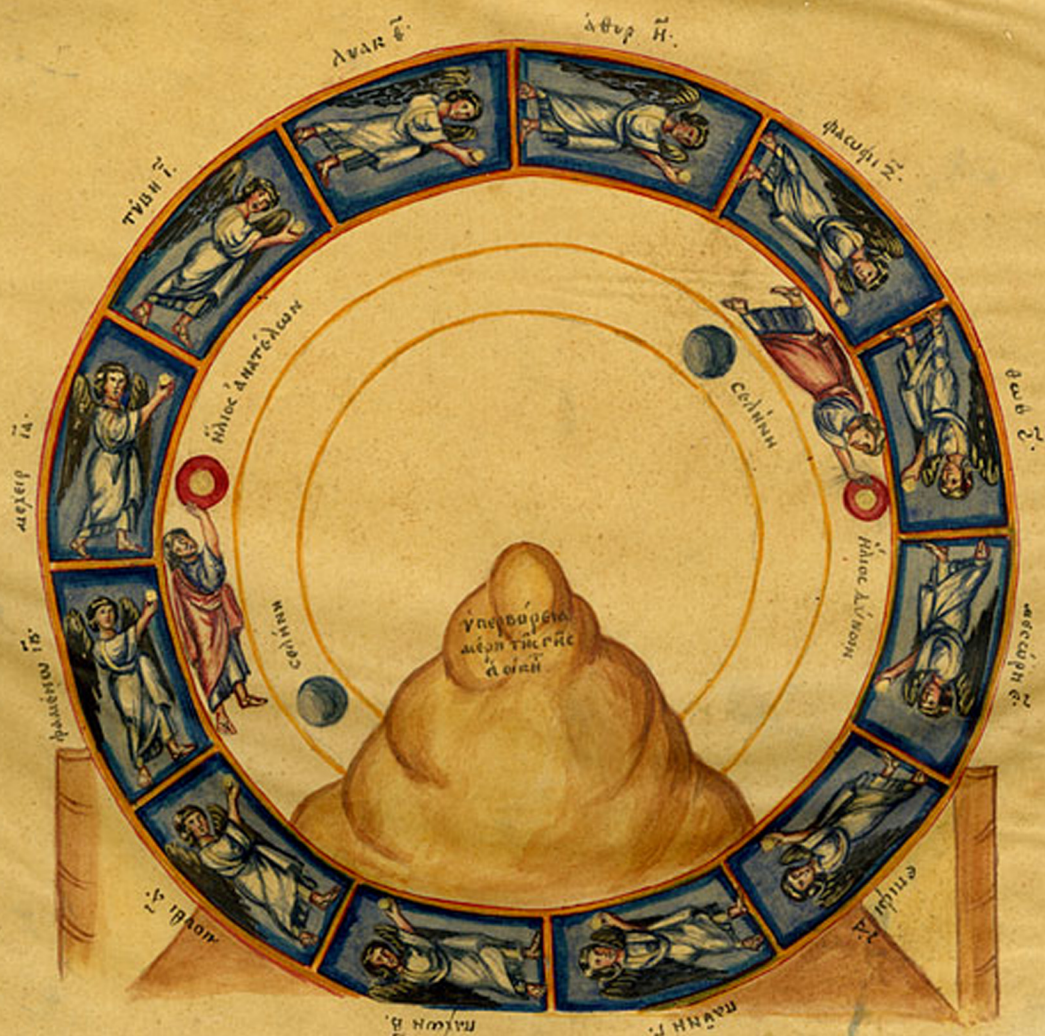


# A PRELIMINARY STUDY ON RUSSIAN PILGRIMAGE TO PALESTINE

Part 2

Václav Ježek



**Diecezjalny Ośrodek Kultury Prawosławnej  
ELPIS**

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ON RUSSIAN PILGRIMAGE TO PALESTINE  
Part 2**

Václav Ježek

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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."

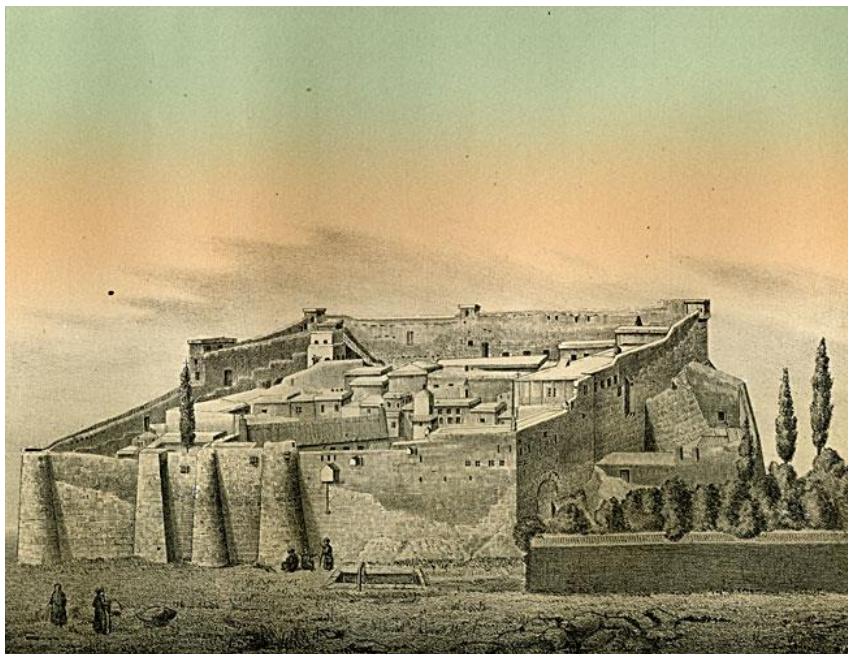
("Что вы сами такъ изволили, чѣмъ же вы лучши насъ, что ты самъ; а мы вѣдь сами таковы жъ, какъ и вы").<sup>1</sup>

"To receive new strength"

(„получить новую силу“)

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<sup>1</sup> 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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## 1 The Imperial Orthodox Palestinian Society and its key members and activities

The growing interest in scholarly matters related to Palestine, and the inefficiency of dealing with the pilgrims and other issues led to the establishment of the *glorious* Imperial Orthodox Palestinian Society in 1882. That Society grew to a prestigious institution in Russia and even started to build regional centres from 1893. Its aims was to promote scholarship related to the Holy Land, to promote education in the Holy Land itself, to provide educational and cultural activities related to the Holy Land throughout Russia and elsewhere, to publish material, and to facilitate the flow of pilgrims. These were only some of the goals established by the society. The society needed funds for these ambitious projects, and soon devised methods of fund raising. It utilised the existing ecclesial structures to promote its activities which was a very good decision. Thus the centres of the society on the diocesan level were led by the diocesan bishop and the deputy chief was usually the Gubernator. The activity of the society was great and its last project was the construction of a church in Bari Italy (saint Nicholas).

The society became so much more than just an institution. It encapsulated the ideals and even phantasies of an entire generation. From some it could have been a lifeline in an otherwise cruel world. Thus for example, there was the *protopresbyter* Petr Prokofyevich Zatvornitskiy (Петр Прокофьевич Затворницкий), <sup>1</sup> (died 1912) with a tragic fate, but who was able to draw strength from his involvement in the Society. All of his children died including his wife. He was a member of the Imperial Orthodox Palestinian Society and it became a lifeline of moral strength to him, since it gave him purpose in life. This was the case for other individuals in the period. All this was also related to the simple ideological love for the Holy Land as well. The interest in the Holy Land with its symbolism functioned in the Russian psyche, just as the monasteries and spiritual centres as a kind of lighthouse.

Zatvornitskiy finished his education in 1862 (Poltava Spiritual Seminary) and became a teacher at the Poltava provincial Spiritual school

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<sup>1</sup> Дмитриевский, А.А., *Сельский пастырь восторженный почитатель Св. Земли и щедрый жертвователь на ее нужды* in: *Деятели Русской Палестины*, А. А. Дмитриевский, Составитель и автор предисловия, Н. Н. Лисовой, Издательство Олега Абышко, Москва, 2010, 338-371.

(уездное Духовное училище) Later he became a priest at his home village Deykalovka (Дейкаловка). He is an example of a true priest, who regardless of the terrible tragedies besetting him, when he gradually lost his entire family was able to continue his pastoral duties and work to the utmost perfection, often fighting the typical Russian problems such as alcoholism. It was his love of the Holy land and active membership of the society, which surely helped him to overcome some of his problems. As a priest fighting for the improvement of all around him, he stated that he would like to travel to the Holy land to receive all the spiritual benefits.<sup>1</sup> With the desire to receive new strength (получить новую силу).The society reached all levels of society and in this it is perhaps most unique among the efforts of a "Russian Palestine".

*1a Alexey Afanasievich Dmitrievskiy and the development of pilgrimage and scholarship*

The Imperial Orthodox Palestinian Society and its activity reached their peak during the period when the society's secretary was Alexey Afanasievich Dmitrievskiy (11.03.1856-10.08.1929), who is of paramount importance in Byzantology and scholarship linked with Palestine and the Near East.<sup>2</sup> He was called the "Russian Goar" for his scholarly work in Liturgics and other fields. He founded the Kiev school of Russian liturgists.<sup>3</sup> Interestingly, the author Cove has a note from N. D. Uspenskiy (Н. Д. Успенский), who knew Dmitrievskiy, and who wrote that "Dmitrievskiy never called his school a "Kiev" school but a Russian school.<sup>4</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> *Пастырский голос*, вып. Одесса, 1888, II, 5.

<sup>2</sup> Among the many works available regarding Dmitrievskiy one can note: Cove Б. И. Русский Гоар и его школа, in: *Богословские труды*. 4, Москва, 1968, 39-84. Арпанц М., свящ., А. А. Дмитриевский: из рукописного наследия, in: *Архивы русских византинистов в Санкт-Петербурге*, Под. Ред. И. П. Медведева, Санкт Петербург, 1995, 120-133.

<sup>3</sup> Prilutskiy Прилуцкий, Пальмов Palmov, Neselovskiy, Неселовский, Дьяковский Dyakovskiy, Лисицын, Lisitsin, Кекелидзе Kekelidze, Скабалланович, Skabalanovich- it appears that Skabalanovich was not a direct disciple of Dmitrievskiy, Барвинок, Barvinok, еп. Гавриил (Чепур), Episkop Chepur), Cove Б. И. Русский Гоар и его школа, in: *Богословские труды. Сборник четвертый*, Москва, 1968, 39-84, here 39.

<sup>4</sup> Проф. А. А. Дмитриевский никогда не называл свою школу "Киевской", а русской, Ibid.



The biography of Dmitrievskiy deserves attention so that we would form an idea of the kind of personages who stood at the development of activity and scholarship regarding the Holy Land in the latter half of the nineteenth century. The childhood of Dmitrievskiy was very difficult due to economic issues. His father began as a church singer, and was very poor, being transferred from one poor parish to another and who himself was not well educated. Together with his wife he had to "save every penny" to survive.<sup>1</sup> They moved to Astrakhan at one stage. Dmitrievskiy attended the Astrakhan spiritual school (Духовное училище), and the seminary graduating in 1878.

His interest in Astrakhan is documented by his first printed work- "About the situation of Sects in the Astrakhan area during the rule of Alexander the Blessed according to the documents of the Consistorium". ("О состоянии сектантства в Астраханском крае в царствование Александра Благословенного по документам архива Консис- тории").<sup>2</sup>

He then continued in the Kazan spiritual academy (Казанскую Духовную Академию). He completed the academy in 1882 studying in the department of liturgics.<sup>3</sup> He was accepted into the department of liturgics, which was headed by his teacher professor N. F. Krasnoseltsev (Н. Ф. Красносельцев).<sup>4</sup> He then wrote a magisterial dissertation called „Liturgical development in the Russian Church in the XVI century“,<sup>5</sup> (the work was firstly written as a candidate work and then extended

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<sup>1</sup> See Dmitrievskiy's own memories of his parents in Дмитриевский А.А. Памяти заштатного диакона Афанасия Петровича Дмитриевского (died 9 ноября 1912) и его супруги Елены Феодоровны (died 1 июля 1913), in: *Астраханские Епархиальные Ведомости*, 30, Астрахан, 1913, 777-786.

<sup>2</sup> See *Астраханские епархиальные ведомости*, 22, Астрахан 1878, 569-599.

<sup>3</sup> Сове Б. И. Русский Гоар и его школа, in: *Богословские труды*. Сборник четвертый, Москва, 1968, 39-84, 39.

<sup>4</sup> See Дмитриевский А.А. Незабвенной памяти профессоров А.С. Павлова и Н.Ф. Красносельцева, *Труды Киевской Духовной академии*, no. 1, Киев, 1899, 59-104.

<sup>5</sup> Дмитриевский А.А., *Богослужение в Русской Церкви в XVI в. Ч.1. Службы круга седмичного и годичного и чинопоследования таинств. С приложением греческих текстов*. Казань, 1884. xiv,434,135,xxiv; Introductory essay of Н.Н. Лисов, in А.А. Дмитриевский, *Императорское Православное Палестинское Общество и его деятельность за истекающую четверть века 1882-1907*, 2008, Moscow, Императорское Православное Общество, Санкт-Петербург, Олег Абышко, Москва, 11.

into a magisterial work) which he on the magisterial level defended in 1883 with great acclamation and well received by Krasnoseltsev.

The magisterial work was called *Liturgical Service in the Russian Church in the XVI century, part. 1. Of the seven day and yearly cycles with structure of the mysteries. Historical and Archeological discussion with additions*.<sup>1</sup> His method of approaching the theme was a comparison of the Russian material with earlier liturgical traditions of the Greek and southern Slavic areas.

The dissertations thesis included 1) The Liturgical tradition in the Russian Church of the XVI century is in a direct genetic line with the liturgical tradition of the earlier period (first thesis), 2), it differs from it a) "With the full affirmation of the Jerusalem rule" (thesis 2a) by a supplementation with Russian services (thesis 3) and "the appearance of so-called monastic daily rules or local Russian rules" (thesis 2a), which were published under the unmediated influence of the ruling Jerusalem rule, from which they differ in greater festivity and ceremonial character of the services, and by a greater number of *stichiras*...due especially to the Russian national singers (thesis 4), b) by the full development of liturgical rituals and services, entailing the entire Greek euchologion and in the Russian church being constituted by two books-*Sluzhebnik* and *Trebnik* (Thesis 2b), c) with the appearance of new ritual services (thesis 2c). "The ritual services of the mysteries and the seventh services of the XVI century differ by a remarkable abundance of works of various redactions...and by an extraordinarily richly developed ritualistic aspect of these services" (thesis 5). All the characteristics in them "with some small exceptions, find their basis in the Liturgical practice of the East", and therefore are not Russian as such. "The Liturgical sources of the Greek and south Slavic-these are the true cause of the contemporary differences (thesis 6).<sup>2</sup> Dmitriyevskiy conclusions

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<sup>1</sup> Богослужения в Русской Церкви в XVI веке Ч. I. Службы круга седмичного и годичного и чиноположениями таинств. Историко-археологическое исследование с приложениями, Казань, 1884, xiv, 434, 135, xxiv.

<sup>2</sup> 1) Богослужение в Русской Церкви в XVI веке находится в прямой генетической связи с богослужением предшествующего времени (тезис 1), 2) отличаюсь от него а) "полным утверждением...Иерусалимского устава" (тезис 2a) с дополнением русских служб (тезис 3) и "появлением так называемых монастырских обиходников или местнорусских уставов" (тезис 2a), созданных под непосредственным влиянием господствующего Иерусалимского устава, от которого они отличаются большей

were obviously important for his and other efforts in relation to the East. It was obvious that an understanding of Russia meant an understanding of the Holy Land. Thus Dmitrievsky calls for the study of available manuscripts in the Christian Middle East.

Dmitrievsky also analysed the work of Odintsov who was a pioneer in the field of Russian Liturgical tradition. The latter wrote "The rule of common worship in ancient Russia until the XVI century. Church Historical work"<sup>1</sup> Odintsov was inspired by the work of Gorsky and Nevostruev. However, Odintsov was not methodological in his scholarship which Dmitrievsky point out to in his review of his work.<sup>2</sup>

Dmitrievsky remembers how his teacher devoted much time in conversations with him "much time during the breaks between lectures

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торжественностью и церемональностью церковных служб, большим количеством стихир...по преимуществу русских национальных песнописцев (тезис 4), б) полным развитием богослужебных чинов и последований, исчерпавших весь греческий евхологий и составших в нашей Церкви две богослужебные книги-Служебник и Требник (тезис 2б), в) появлением новых чинопоследований (тезис 2в). "Чинопоследования таинств и служб седмичных XVI века отличаются замечательным обилием списков разных редакций...и чрезвычайно развитой ритуальной обрядовой стороной этих чинопоследований" (тезис 5). Однако все встречающиеся в них особенности, "за весьма немногими исключениями, находят для себя полное основание в богослужебной практике христианского Востока" и, следовательно, не являются русскими. "Богослужебные памятники Церквей греческой и южнославянских- вот истинная и насоящая причина этого разнообразия" (тезис б).А. Дмитриевский. Способы определения времени написания рукописей. Речь перед защитой магистерской диссертации. *Православный Собеседник*, Казан, 1884, т. I, 90-91; Сове Б. И. Русский Гоар и его школа, in: *Богословские труды. Сборник четвертый*, Москва, 1968, 39-84, here 42.

<sup>1</sup> Николай Федорович Одинцов, Порядок общественного богослужения в древней России до XVI века. Церковно-историческое исследование, Санкт Петербург, 1881. It first appeared gradually in *Душполезном чтении*, 1877, I-I, 1878, I; Последование таинств в Церкви Русской в XVI столетии по рукописям Новгородорско-Софийской и Синодалной библиотек, *Странник*, no. 3, 354-371; no 4, 551-573; no 9-10, 34-67, Санкт Петербург, 1880,

<sup>2</sup> Горский, Невоструев, Описание славянских рукописей Московской Синодалной библиотеки. Н. Ф. Одинцов кандидат богословия СПб., дух. Акад. XXXIV курса, вып. 1877, was also an inspector of the Vilna court area, He wrote *Униатское богослужение в XVII и XVIII вв. По рукописям Виленской публичной библиотеки*, Вильна, 1886, However, he could not have seen this material. See *Православный собеседник*, I, 138-196, 252-296; II, 346-373; III, 149-167, 372-394; 1883, II, 345-374; III, 198-230, 470-485, Казан, 1882.; Сове Б. И. *Русский Гоар и его школа*, in: *Богословские труды. Сборник четвертый*, Москва, 1968, 39-84, here 40.

and at his house in the evenings, and was willing to offer sources and help of all kinds, and often he gave wholeheartedly and richly from his library unpublished materials, taken from manuscripts, and various notes which he himself collected." He showed a "Wholehearted, truly fatherly relationship", which continued until the death of Krasnoseltsev (11 September, 1898).<sup>1</sup>

After teaching in Kazan for two years at the Spiritual Academy, Dmitrievskiy is offered an independent position at the department of Liturgics and Church archaeology at the Kiev Spiritual academy, where he would work for another twenty three years (1884-1907), and was elevated to a *dozent* on the 16 December 1883.<sup>2</sup> Thus from this date on he was accepted (on the 16 of December 1883) to the Kiev Spiritual Academy as a scholar and lecturer. He won a contest in this over Bulashev.<sup>3</sup>

At the same time when Dmitrievskiy is starting to be interested in the *Typikon* a new work appears by I.D. Mansvetov (И. Д. Мансветов), which was his Doctoral dissertation called *The Church Typikon*, its organisation and fate in the Greek and Russian Churches.<sup>4</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> "много времени в промежутках между лекциями и у себя на дому по вечерам, охотно снабжал источниками и пособиями и нередко из собственной библиотеки щедро и великодушно отдавал в руки неизданные материалы, почерпнутые из рукописей, и собранные им самим разного рода заметки"; "Сердечные, истинно отеческие отношения" Сове Б. И. Русский Гоар и его школа, in: *Богословские труды. Сборник четвертый*, Москва, 1968, 39-84, here 39.

<sup>2</sup> Taken from the journals *Совета Киевской Духовной Академии* 1883-1884, 87, 174-176, 216-217. (In the Curriculum vitae of Dmitrievskiy the day of his selection is indicated as 13 march 1884, Гуманитарная публичная Библиотека, фонд 253, карт. 1-й. Н. Успенский.

<sup>3</sup> Georgiy Onisimovich Bulashev, Георгий Онисимович Булашев, was a magister of theology of the Kiev Spiritual Academy, graduating from 1883, and was a teacher at the Kiev Podolsk spiritual school, and then in the Kiev Spiritual Seminary, he added material to the Kiev manuscripts studied by Archbishop of Vladimir Sergey архиеп. Владимирского Сергия "Польный Месяцеслов Востока"- "Месяцесловы святых при рукописных богослужебных книгах церковноархеологического музея", *Труды Киевской Духовной Академии*, 1882, VI, прил. 1-32; VII, 32-92; IX, 216-217. О Буласеве-ПБЭ, II, 1182-1183. Архиеп. Сергий, "Полный Месяцеслов Востока", 12, с. XVIII-XIX. Сове Б. И. Русский Гоар и его школа, in: *Богословские труды. Сборник четвертый*, Москва, 1968, 39-84, here 42.

<sup>4</sup> *Церковный устав (Типик), его образование и судьба в Греческой и Русской Церкви*, Москва, 1885.

Dmitrievskiy publishes a lot of works including articles in the *Guide for village priests*, (Руководство для сельских пастырей) which are devoted to the contemporary liturgical practice, which in no way is reflected in the *Typikon*, which was "frozen" after the tragic correction of liturgical books in the middle of the XVII century. This conservatism of the contemporary Slavic-Russian Rule, appears to be one of its main flaws, as it "is located in contradiction to the proper practice and produces phantasies and unclarity in our clergy and contradictions in the instructions of the eparchial organs."<sup>1</sup>

Dmitrievskiy soon realised that the interest in scholarly material in Palestine and the Near East as well as in the collections on Mt. Athos was present in the Russian environment, but was hindered by an unsystematic approach, and the scholarship was mainly based on sporadic and chance discoveries. Thus he wanted to rectify this with a more systematic approach.<sup>2</sup> In fact generally said, his copies of manuscripts are of the highest precision, often preserving manuscripts that are now lost.

In terms of pilgrimage Dmitrievskiy also wrote his own account of his journey when he travelled in 1887. He makes a stop in Odessa, where he visits the Novorosiysk University there, to study some manuscripts and discovers an interesting *Trebnik* there.<sup>3</sup> In the same year he reaches Constantinople, and seeks to get the permission from the Patriarch Dionysios IV, to be able to study in the libraries of mt. Athos. He also visited the Phanar, where there is a *podvorye* of the Patriarchate of Jerusalem with its own library. Dmitrievskiy mentions

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<sup>1</sup> В "Руководстве для сельских пастырей" появилась целая серия статей Дмитриевского, посвященных главным образом вопросам современной богослужбной практики, никак не отразившейся в Типиконе, заставшем после трагического исправления богослужебных книг в середине XVII века. Эта консервативность современного славяно-русского Устава является одним из существенных его недостатков, так как "он находится в противоречии с действующей практикой и порождает неодумения у нашего духовенства и противоречия в распоряжениях епархиальной власти", Дмитриевский, *Христианское чтение*, 1888, по 9-10, 561. Сове Б. И. Русский Гоар и его школа, in: *Богословские труды. Сборник четвертый*, Москва, 1968, 39-84, here 43.

<sup>2</sup> Сове Б. И. Русский Гоар и его школа, *Богословские труды*. Сб 4. Москва, 1968, 46.

<sup>3</sup> See Дмитриевский, А., *Путешествие по Востоку, и его научные результаты*, Киевъ, 1890.

the work done in the catalogue by father Antonin.<sup>1</sup> On mt. Athos he managed to describe 13 *evchologions*, 38 *typikons*, and around a 100 liturgical works. Interestingly, he notes how Athonite monks are indifferent towards their literary treasures, which is surprising for Dmitriyevskiy given the otherwise proud exclamations of Greeks that they belong to an ancient and cultured civilisation. He stated that the libraries of the monastery in Chilandar, and other places are in terrible states. Ancient manuscripts are placed among new printed books, many of the manuscripts were already destroyed due to weather conditions and other conditions.

Interestingly he states, that Greek monasteries who have Slavic manuscripts intentionally hide them or pretend they do not have them, out of fear, that the Russians would take over their monastery, by using the excuse that they contain Slavic material and therefore have a historical link with a Slavic country.<sup>2</sup>

During his journey he experiences outbursts of Malaria, and then reaches Palestine. He states that the library of the Patriarchate of Jerusalem had deteriorated since many of its interesting pieces described by early travellers simply went missing.<sup>3</sup> However, things improved when he arrived since new manuscripts were brought from the monastery of saint Savva. He also did research in the library of archimandrite Antonin Kapustin, who as he remarks had some priceless manuscripts. He mentions his important discovery made in the library of the Holy Cross monastery in the vicinity of Jerusalem. He found an excerpt from a manuscript of 1122 mentioned in a book from 1801 (unpublished), which was a *typikon* of the paschal services of the holy week and the passion week. He also visits Sinai, offering a description of the icons there with their patrons.<sup>4</sup>

He travelled to Mt. Athos in 1886. Stimulated by this visit he embarks on another journey in 1887 to other areas and Mt. Athos.<sup>5</sup> In Jerusalem he meets up with the notable byzantologist Archimandrite

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<sup>1</sup> Ibid., 5.

<sup>2</sup> Ibid.11.

<sup>3</sup> Ibid. 15.

<sup>4</sup> Ibid. 80.

<sup>5</sup> He describes this journey in Дмитриевский А.А. Путешествие по Востоку и его научные результаты. Отчет о заграничной командировке в 1887/88 г., с приложениями, Киев, 1890, 193.

Antoniý Kapustin, who was also the head of the Russian spiritual mission. He then proceeds to work in the library of the Patriarchate of Jerusalem with the support of the Patriarch who also embarked on a process of transferring material into the library from other areas, including the St. Savva lavra monastery.

He also meets the then secretary of the Patriarch Nikodim of Jerusalem, A. I. Papadopoulos Kerameus, who also worked in relation to manuscripts.<sup>1</sup> Dimitrievskiy remembers their initial co-operation: „After the described visit to the Patriarch, I quickly decided to proceed to the planned scholarly tasks, and with the permission of the Most blessed Patriarch, I appeared at the Patriarchal office, which was designated for me. The room was not of great dimensions, it was flanked with Turkish divans-couches, it was over filled with scholarly objects, with the help of which Athanasios Ivanovich led his scholarly efforts in copying and describing of Greek manuscripts of the Patriarchal library. In the same office, under the windows at tables young monks of the Patriarchate were sitting and wholeheartedly were copying from the pergamens *folios*, which laid in front of them. These monks were ordered in by the Patriarch Nikodem in order to help and as kind of copyists without wages. The manuscripts of the Patriarchal library were often lying in various cupboards-these were the manuscripts of the old Patriarchal library, and partly on the floor next to each other-these were the manuscripts taken out of the library of the St. Savva monastery. For my purposes I had to dive into the manuscripts and look for the one that would have been of interest to me. This is partly the reason, why I encountered a problem, regardless of my continuous and wholehearted work in the Patriarchal library in 1887-1888, since at that time I did not find among the manuscripts for scholarly purposes valuable *Typicons* and *Euchologions*, and that after the publishing of the catalogues of Papadopoulos-Kerameus, I was forced to, in my second trip to Palestine in 1898, to supplement the *lacunae* and neglected things that I could thus see thanks to this publication.”<sup>2</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> Дмитриевский А.А. А.И.Пападопуло-Керамевс и его сотрудничество в научных изданиях Палестинского Общества (По личным воспоминаниям и по документальным данным), *Сообщения ИППО*, т. XXIV. Вып.4. 492-523, Санкт Петербург, 1913

<sup>2</sup> Дмитриевский А.А. А.И.Пападопуло-Керамевс и его сотрудничество в научных изданиях Палестинского Общества (По личным воспоминаниям и по докумен-

In 1887 in Palestine together with Papadopoulos Kerameus he was cataloguing and studying the then available manuscripts. He worked in the Patriarchal library in 1887-1888 but as he wrote he did not find sufficiently, for his liturgical interests, interesting exemplars of *Typikons* and *Euchologions*.<sup>1</sup>

After the publications of the catalogues of Papadopoulos, Dmitriyevskiy returned in 1898 to supplement his research in this respect. Dmitriyevskiy describes the difficulties which emerged in his collaboration with Kerameus. Kerameus did not appreciate the value of Dmitriyevskiy's work for scholarship and its interesting aspects from the point of view of a non-specialist. Dmitriyevskiy implies that he had to engage in continuous discussions which stretched his patience, since as we can imagine according to Oriental traditions where often devoid of substantial content.<sup>2</sup>

"The cooperation with Affanisev Ivanovich at the Patriarchal library continued successfully and satisfactorily. Affanisiy Ivanovich for my information had presented to me, for my use things he had of scholarly assistance, and he was more than accommodating in sharing his results in studying the manuscripts in Macedonia, Thrakia, on the Aegean islands, and supplied me with the list of his scholarly works in the periodicals of Constantinople and Smyrna, and presented a lively interest in my own scholarly results, even though he did not quite understand their scholarly importance and interest from the point of view of a non-specialist. Even though these futile discussions with much words were taking away my attention from my main task, I did not avoid them. To allow these discussions, which did have many positive things for me, I decided to give them another setting and time, I started to invite Afanisiyevich Ivanovich to visit me in the building of the

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тальным данным), Сообщения ИППО, 1913, т. XXIV. Вып.4. pgs. 492-523, pgs. 380-381. Introductory essay of Н.Н. Лисов, in А.А.Дмитриевский, Императорское Православное Палестинское Общество и его деятельность за истекшую четверть века 1882-1907, 2008, Moscow, Императорское Православное Общество, Санкт-Петербург, publisher Олег Абышко, pg.16.

<sup>1</sup> Дмитриевский А., А., А. И. Пападопуло-Керамевс и его сотрудничество в научных изданиях Палестинского Общества, 276-328. In: А. А. Дмитриевский, Деятели Русской Палестины, Составатель, Н. Н. Лисовой, Москва, Издательство Олега Абышко, 2010, here, 284.

<sup>2</sup> Ibid. 285.



Spiritual mission, where in that time, in the southern part of the building, were "aristocratic quarters", where we would share bread and salt.<sup>1</sup>

Dmitriyevskiy further continues: Our friendly relations with Afanisiy Ivanovich, continued, however not for long. When he saw my latest tasks, and he saw, with what great energy I was searching for the *Typikon* of the Holy Sepulchre from 1122, which was known to me, only through the work of the scholar Archimandrite Veniamin Ioanidis (Ἐβ Ἱεροσόλ.), who published according to this *Typikon*, the service of the Descent of the Holy Fire on Great Saturday, and especially after the fact that I showed great enthusiasm and shared my joy with him, when I had finally found this *Typikon*, in the form of an addition of the *Holy History* of 1801, written by the learned *didaskalos* Maxim Simeo, who copied this account from a manuscript of the saint Savva monastery, the friendly disposition of Afanasiy Ivanovich towards me took a radical turn to the worse." <sup>2</sup> According to Dmitriyevskiy, Kerameus did everything to hinder his research, until Dmitriyevskiy complained to the Patriarch who agreed that Dmitriyevskiy was right and that Kerameus has to allow him full access to the resources.

Dmitriyevskiy was interested in the *Typikon* of 1122 related to the ancient service in the Church of the Holy Sepulchre, and as we implied above he found mention of it in a later manuscript of the XIX century, which was located then in the library of the Holy Cross theological

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<sup>1</sup> "Совместная работа с Афанасием Иваниовичем в Патриаршей канцелярии шла успешно и довольно спокойно. Афанасий Иванович для справок предоставлял в мое распоряжение имеющиеся у него под руками научные пособия, весьма охотно делился своими результатами по изучению рукописей в Македонии, Фракии, на островах Эгейского моря, знакоми меня с подробным перечнем своих научных работ в периодических изданиях Константинополя и Смирны и живо интересовался характером моих научных изысканий, не вполне понимая их научную значимость и интерес с точки зрения не-специалиста. Хотя этого рода словоохотливые беседы и отвлекали мое внимание от главной моей цели, но я не чуждался их. Чтобы дать этим беседам, не лишенным для меня интереса во многих отношениях, иное место и иное время, я стал приглашать Афанасия Ивановича к себе в здание Русской Духовной Миссии, где в то время, в южной половине ее корпуса, находились «дворянское номера» разделить со мною хлеб-соль", Ibid.285.

<sup>2</sup> Дмитриевский А., А., А. И. Пападопуло-Керамевс и его сотрудничество в научных изданиях Палестинского Общества, in: А. А. Дмитриевский, *Деятели Русской Палестины*, Составатель, Н. Н. Лисовой, Москва, Издательство Олега Абышко, 2010, 276-328 here 287.

school. In this later manuscript Maxim Simeo implies that he had “renewed” the text and even though Dmitriyevskiy realised this, he initially believed the text to be a true copy of the original. Dmitriyevskiy started to search for the original and implies that Kerameus new about its whereabouts but did not tell him.<sup>1</sup>

Later Papadopoulos Kerameus would publish a very important work *Description of the Jerusalem Library*, (Описание Иерусалимской библиотеки). It came out in four volumes the fifth after the death of the author. In Sinai Dmitriyevskiy is acquainted the great library of the monastery. He also knows about the catalogue of the library made already in 1870 by father Antonios, a catalogue which was better according to Dmitriyevskiy than the one published by the German scholar V. Gardthausen.<sup>2</sup>

In 1895 the first volume of the work for which Dmitriyevsky is best known is published *The Description of liturgical manuscripts, which are preserved in the library of the Orthodox East, vol. 1, Typikons, part 1. Works relating to Patriarchal stipulations and ktitor monastic typikons*. Kiev, 1895.<sup>3</sup> It was also presented as a qualifying study for a doctorate. The second volume was published in 1901<sup>4</sup> and the third volume was published in 1917.<sup>5</sup> The third volume presented the first half of the second part of the „Typika“. Dmitriyevskiy wanted to continue with his work preparing other volumes but he wanted to link his work with further studies and build on the work of Jacob Goar (XVII century) who worked in the Roman libraries and on material linked to the *Euchologion* of the souther Slavs.

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<sup>1</sup> Ibid., 288.

<sup>2</sup> Дмитриевский А.А., Путешествие по Востоку и его научные результаты. Отчет о заграничной командировке в 1887/88 г., с приложениями, Киев, 1890,121; Introductory essay of Н.Н. Лисов, in А.А.Дмитриевский, Императорское Православное Палестинское Общество и его деятельность за истекиющую четверть века 1882-1907, Императорское Православное Общество, Санкт-Петербург, publisher Олег Абышко, Москва, 2008, 16.

<sup>3</sup> Дмитриевский А.А., Описание литургических рукописей, хранящихся в библиотеках Православного Востока. Т. 1. Типики. Ч. 1. Памятники патриарших уставов и ктииторские монастырское типиконы Киев, 1895, xx+cxlvii+912+xxv.

<sup>4</sup> Дмитриевский А.А., Описание литургических рукописей, хранящихся в библиотеках Православного Востока. Т.2. Евхологии. Киев, 1901, xiii+1058+xxvii+32

<sup>5</sup> Дмитриевский А.А., Описание литургических рукописей, хранящихся в библиотеках Православного Востока. Т. 3. (2-я половина). Типики. Ч.2, Петроград, 1917. viiii+768+iv.

As we have seen Dmitrievskiy published frequently even in such journals as *Guide for village priests* (Руководство для сельских пастырей). In 1891 he published the work *Contemporary liturgical practice in the Orthodox East*<sup>1</sup> In 1894 he published *Patmos notes* dealing with Patmos and its ecclesial heritage.<sup>2</sup>

Dmitrievskiy also published material related to the Russian involvement in Palestine. He often spoke in yearly meetings of the Kiev branch of the Imperial Orthodox Palestinian Society<sup>3</sup>, and from 1904 these speeches were regularly published in the annuals of the society (*Сообщения Императорского Православного Общества*).<sup>4</sup> Dmitrievskiy was later asked to write a book about the Palestinian society to commemorate its anniversary in 1907. Dmitrievskiy wanted to write a complex history including the associations that were prior to the Palestinian society, but he did not gain support for this idea and was asked to concentrate mainly on the Palestinian society itself, which frustrated Dmitrievskiy as is seen in one of his letters to N. M. Anichkov

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<sup>1</sup> Дмитриевский А.А., *Современное богослужение на Православном Востоке. Историко-археологическое исследование. Вып. 1, (вступительный)*, Киев, 1891, 153.

<sup>2</sup> Дмитриевский А.А., *Патмосские очерки. Из поездки на остров Патмос летом 1891 г.* See *Труды Киевской Духовной академии* for 1892, 1893, and 1894, Киев, here reference to 1894, 301-356, 310.

<sup>3</sup> For example, Православное русское паломничество на Запад, к мироточивому гробу Мирликийского святителя Николая в Бари, *Труды Киевской Духовной Академии* 1897, 1. 99-132; вып 2, 211-237; Современное русское паломничество в Св. Землю, *Труды Киевской Духовной Академии*. 1903, вып 6, 274-319; Начальник Русской Духовной Миссии в Иерусалиме архимандрит Антонин (Капустин) как деятель на пользу Православия на Востоке, и в частности в Палестине. (По поводу десятилетия со дня его кончины. С десятью рисунками и портретом, *Сообщения Императорского Палестинского Общества* 1904. Т. xv, вып 2, 95-148 and in *Трудах Киевской Духовной Академии* 1904. Т. вып 11, 319-380; Епископ Порфирий Успенский как инициатор и организатор первой Русской Духовной миссии в Иерусалиме и его заслуги в пользу Православия и в деле изучения христианского Востока (По поводу столетия со дня его рождения, *Сообщения Императорского Палестинского Общества* 1905. Т. xvi. вып. 3., 329-361; вып. 4., 457-547. Отд. изд., Санкт Петербург, 1906, 124.

<sup>4</sup> Празднества в Гефсимании в честь Успения Богоматери (По личным воспоминаниям, *Сообщения Императорского Палестинского Общества* 1905, Т. xvi вып.3. 392-404. Отд. Изд.: Санкт Петербург, 1905; Ночь под Рождество Христово в Иерусалиме в 1887 г. (Из впечатлений очевидца, с рисунком), In the same edition 1906. Т. xvii, 85-93; Обряд воздвижения Креста, совершаемый 14 сентября в Иерусалиме на месте обречения Креста Господня, 1906. Т. xvii, 581-593.

vice president of the Imperial Orthodox Palestinian society.<sup>1</sup> In a letter of the 15<sup>th</sup> of May 1906, Dmitrievskiy expresses his high scholarly standards by refusing to direct his project according to the lines of the society's administrators. „The aforesaid mentioned honourable scholars, to whom I show my greatest respect, it did not enter my mind, that here the importance lies in the full unconditional surrender to somebodies will, against the historical truth and a complete departure from one's own „Me“. Does writing a historical account for the Society mean not writing that which is in the documents and about which the facts speak abundantly clear, but what is pleasing to the contemporary activists of the Palestinian Society, living in peace, and condescendingly greeting them?-Well this is such a great sacrifice of the soul, a sacrifice I was never prepared to give, and to state it frankly, goes against my moral feelings. To link my literary name, until now without blemish, with a work, which has false information, which is also not sincere, but yet covered with a suitable reward-this runs contrary to my principles.“ Dmitrievskiy also writes, that there should be no doubt about his sincerity towards the society, since in Kiev he was the sole speaker in its gatherings. Dmitrievskiy mentions in this context the works by Mansurov.<sup>2</sup>

Interestingly, Dmitrievskiy also mentions that he was going to publish one of his speeches *Contemporary Russian pilgrimage to the Holy Land* (Современное русское паломничество в Святую Землю) as a brochure entitled *Types of contemporary Russian pilgrims in the Holy Land* (Типы современных русских паломников в Святой Земле), but was told by Anichkov to delete things, such as the mentioning of the dirtiness and filth of the Russian pilgrimage boats, about the demoralisation and exploitation of Russian pilgrim women by the brotherhood of the Holy Sepulchre, about the indifference shown to

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<sup>1</sup> See Письмо А.А. Дмитриевского Н.М.Аничкову от 1 июля 1905 г, АВП РИ. (Архив внешней политики Российской Империи) Фонд. Российское Императорского Палестинского Общества, Оп. 873, 1, д.183, л. 5.6.; письмо 15 мая 1906г, Л.7-10 об.

<sup>2</sup> Мансуров Б.П., Православные поклонники в Палестине, Санкт Петербургъ, 1858; There is another book which is usually attributed to Мансуров Б.П, called *Отчет о мерах, принятых к улучшению быта русских православных поклонников в Палестине* В типографии Морского министерства, Санкт Петербургъ 1860; See also Мансуров Б.П., *Отчет Палестинского Комитета, 1858-1864*, Санкт Петербургъ, 1866.

pilgrims shown by the Russian consulate in Jerusalem and other issues.<sup>1</sup> Dmitrievskiy struggled further with censorship in relation to other issues.<sup>2</sup> He refers to his speech and publication about Athonite monks and their fund raising in Russia. The letter implies Dmitrievskiy's concern about being able to write objectively about certain figures in the history of the Palestinian Commission. Dmitrievskiy expresses some doubts about being able to speak objectively about the archimandrite Leonid Cavelin (архимандрит Леонид Кавелин) and his work in the Spiritual mission in Palestine.

Dmitrievskiy further argues, that the pre-history of the Palestinian society has to be discussed in order to gain a contextual understanding, especially if one takes into account that „the Society emerged in protest against a non transparent and unaccountable existence of the Palestinian Commission, and which existed side by side with it around a hundred years and even fought with it energetically only in the end to swallow it in 1889.“ The Society gained from the Commission „not only tasks, but also a monumental church, female and male shelters, many parts of lands, a capital of 130 thousand and so on.“<sup>3</sup> Regardless of the issues Dmitrievskiy did publish the history of the society with some additional material in the journal of the Kiev spiritual academy.<sup>4</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> The work in the academic context was published as Дмитриевский А.А., Современное русское паломничество в Святую Землю, *Труды Киевской Духовной академии*, 1903, вып. 6, 274-319.

<sup>2</sup> Дмитриевский А.А., Русские афонские монахи-келлиоты и их просительные письма, рассылаемые по России, *Труды Киевской Духовной академии*. 1906, вып 10, 67-107; вып 11, 298-360. Отд. отт., Киев, 1906; *Сообщения Императорского Палестинского Общества* 1907, Т. xviii, вып. 1-2, 71-98, 232-248.

<sup>3</sup> Письмо А.А. Дмитриевского вице-председателю ИППО. Н.М.Аничкову, Киев, 15 мая 1906г, АВП РИ. (Архив внешней политики Российской Империи) Фонд. Российское Императорское Палестинское Общество, Оп. 873, 1, д.183, л. 11-14 об. Cited in full in the Introductory essay of Н.Н. Лисов, in: А.А.Дмитриевский, *Императорское Православное Палестинское Общество и его деятельность за истекшую четверть века 1882-1907*, 2008, Императорское Православное Общество, Санкт-Петербург, publisher Олег Абышко, Москва, 2008, 21-35.

<sup>4</sup> Thus Дмитриевский А.А., Извлечение из Исторической Записки ИППО за 25 лет его существование (Читано в торжественном заседании Общества 22 мая 1907 г., *Сообщения ИППО*, 1907, Т. xviii вып. 3-4, 430-451; Русские учебно-воспитательные, благотворительные и странноприимные учреждения в Палестине и Сирии. (К 25-летию юбилею ИППО), *Труды Киевской Духовной академии*, 1907. вып 5. 89-120. Отд.отт. Киев, 1907.

In 1906 the Secretary of the Society A. P. Belyaev died (А.П.Беляев) and Anichkov wrote a letter to Dmirievsky offering him the position as the Society Secretary.<sup>1</sup> He sets out the conditions, stating that Dmitrievskiy has a few months to reach his pension after 25 years of work. He would receive a pension of 2400 roubles and a salary of a secretary 5000 roubles.<sup>2</sup> In the same period of 1906 Dmitrievskiy was chosen to be a member of the pre-Council committee in Sankt Peterburg (for the famous Russian Council of the Orthodox Church held from 1917 to 1918 and which re-established the Patriarchate in Russia among other things).

Regarding the issue of Dmitrievskiy and the position of the secretary N. M. Anichkov (the vice president of the society) wrote a letter to the assistant of the director of the society M. P. Stepanov (10 September 1907), in which he rather interestingly develops on the possible doubts Dmitrievskiy could have in accepting the position of the secretary. This is so, since apart from other things Dmitrievskiy could see now into the finances and into the difficult conditions the society has found itself in and that it could be destroyed in the present situation, where in „Russia, there is no wind, but a storm, in which more stable organisations will be destroyed.“<sup>3</sup> Thus Dmitrievskiy in deciding to accept the position saw the true state the society was in. In the end in 1907, after he served a sufficient number of years to qualify for his pension he accepted the position of secretary of the society. The ruling of the Holy Synod (8<sup>th</sup> December 1907) placed Dmitrievskiy in the

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<sup>1</sup> For ore information about Dmitrievsky and the princess Elizabeth Theodorovna see Лобовикова К.И., А.А. *Дмитриевский и великая княгиня Елизавета Федоровна (несколько штрихов к биографии ученого, Мир русской византистики. Материалы архивов Санкт-Петербурга, Санкт Петербург, 2004, 241-255.*

<sup>2</sup> АВП ИИ. (Архив внешней политики Российской Империи) Фонд. Российское Императорского Палестинского Общества, Оп. 873, 13 д. 13, л. 5.10. Introductory essay of Н.Н. Лисов, in: А.А., *Дмитриевский, Императорское Православное Палестинское Общество и его деятельность за истекущую четверть века 1882-1907*, Императорское Православное Общество, Санкт-Петербург, Олег Абышко, Москва, 2008, 39.

<sup>3</sup> Письмо вице-председателя ИППО Н.М. Аничкова к помощнику Председателя М.П. Степанову от 10 сентября 1907 г. СМ.: ОР РНБ Русская Национальная Библиотека, Ф. 253, д. 43, л. 118-118 об. Cited in Introductory essay of Н.Н. Лисов, in: А.А., *Дмитриевский, Императорское Православное Палестинское Общество и его деятельность за истекущую четверть века 1882-1907*, Императорское Православное Общество, Санкт-Петербург, Олег Абышко, Москва, 2008, 41.

position of an ordinary professor emeritus and the ruling of 11<sup>th</sup> December responding to his request relieved him of his teaching duties. The secretaries before him were M. P. Stepanov (М.П. Степанов, 1882-1889), who was well established in the court and was in good relations with the rulers and who also had a military career; V. N. Chitrovo (В.Н.Хитрово, 1889-1903), who was a writer with many talents, who was also a great scholar, and who organised many humanitarian projects and other cultural projects; A. P. Belyaev (А. П. Беляев, 1903-1906), a noted Arabic scholar, and great diplomat. Least but not least A. A. Dmitrievskiy (1906-1918) himself.

Already in his speech in the Kiev branch of the society in 1903, Dmitrievskiy brought forward some suggestions relating to the activities of the society, including the establishment of an archaeological institute in Jerusalem. He also believed, that the pilgrims were to be given more spiritual care than was the case at the time. He was concerned about the demoralisation of the pilgrims, and that the society should take care of them earlier than they reach Jaffa or Jerusalem.<sup>1</sup>

In the period of Dmitrievskiy as a secretary, the Society had eight dependencies (подворий) in Palestine. In Jerusalem in the area of the old city-the Alexandrian, close to the Holy Sepulchre; in the area of the so-called Russian Buildings-the Elizabethian, Marina and Nikolaev; next to it-the New, received after the death of the Grand prince Sergey Alexandrovich and named Sergiev; not far another-the Benjamin, given to the Society in 1891, by the long term Russian resident of the area *igumenos* Benjamin.<sup>2</sup> In the beginning of the XXth century, dependencies were built in Nazareth and in Haifa. The dependencies of the society dealt with more than 10 000 thousand pilgrims.<sup>3</sup>

There were lands and buildings further in Bethlehem, Ain-Karem, Nazareth, Cana Galilea, Aful, Haifa, Jericho, Ramalah, around 28 altogether. The society managed a hospital in Jerusalem. There were medical facilities in Jerusalem, Nazaret, Bet Dzala, Damascus. The

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<sup>1</sup> Дмитриевский А.А. Современное русское паломничество в Святую Землю, *Труды Киевской Духовной академии*, 1903, вып. 6., 274-319.

<sup>2</sup> Introductory essay of Н.Н. Лисов, in А.А., Дмитриевский, Императорское Православное Палестинское Общество и его деятельность за истекшую четверть века 1882-1907, Императорское Православное Общество, Санкт-Петербург, Олег Абышко, Москва, 2008, 46.

<sup>3</sup> Ibid.

Society had its churches in Russia (the Nikolo-Alexandrian church in Petersburg, the Sergiev skete in the Kaluga guberny) and two in Palestine (a beautiful church of Marie Magdalene in Gethsemane, the church of Alexander Nevskiy at the Alexandrian dependency, not to mention a great *chasovna* (часовна) in the Sergiev dependency. The Churches were cared for by the Society and ecclesially they belonged to the metropolitan of Petersburg.

After becoming secretary Dmitrievskiy had to face long standing complaints about economic mismanagement of the dependencies of the Society. There were also issues regarding the level of the education offered at the Russian schools voiced by locals, which came to the attention of the consulates in Beirut and Damascus. There were doubts about the management of the dependencies by N. G. Michailov (Н. Г. Михайлов). Dmitrievskiy voiced suspicions about embezzlement by Michailov.<sup>1</sup>

Dmitrievskiy decided to travel to Palestine to conduct a revision of the situation. On the 15<sup>th</sup> of December 1909 he travelled from Petersburg with an assistant accountant of the society V. I. Belinskiy (В. И. Бельнский). The revision confirmed suspicions of mismanagement and other challenges facing the Society.<sup>2</sup> Dmitrievskiy confronted many problems in Palestine and also the fact, that the society did not have sufficient finances to support its extensive infrastructure. Problems with the schools in Syria and Lebanon were a little exaggerated, as is often the case with reports associated with consulates, but still the school system needed reform, especially in terms of teaching modern curricular including English and French.

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<sup>1</sup> See, АВП РИ. Ф. РИППО. Оп. 873/ 1, д- 599, л.1, also Л. 145-145 об. Ibid. Cited in Introductory essay of Н.Н. Лисов, in: А.А., *Дмитриевский, Императорское Православное Палестинское Общество и его деятельность за истекающую четверть века 1882-1907*, Императорское Православное Общество, Санкт-Петербург, Олег Абышко, Москва, 2008, 47.

<sup>2</sup> See Отчет по ревизии подворий Императорского Православного Палестинского Общества в Иерусалиме, Назарете и Хайфе в 1910 г., *Архив востоковедов Санкт-Петербургского филиала Института востоковедения РАН*. Ф. 120. Оп. 3 доп., д. 2 (240 typed manuscript Машинописного текста); Ibid.50, Лисов, 2008.



Dmitrievskiy was later awarded in 1912 with the award of Saint Vladimir (third degree),<sup>1</sup> and in 1915 he was awarded with the order of Saint Stanislav (I degree).<sup>2</sup> During his work for the society, Dmitrievskiy published numerous publications.<sup>3</sup>

The increasing Russian presence in the Middle East at the end of the nineteenth century generally, seems to have provoked grand ideas and schemes. The political momentum was encroaching on the spiritual and cultural activities of Russians in the Holy Land. The state and various figures saw in the increasing role of Russia in the Holy Land new possibilities. It is rather surprising that even among scholars such as Dmitrievskiy the Russian spiritual, cultural and educative activities

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<sup>1</sup> Донесение вице-председателя ИППО князя А.А. Ширинского-Шахматова Председателю ИППО великой княгине Елизавете Федоровне от 31 января 1912, АВП РИ.Ф.РИППО. Оп. 873/1, д. 202, л. 99. Ibid.

<sup>2</sup> Рескрипт великой княгини Елизаветы Федоровны главноуправляющему канцелярией Его Императорского Величества обер-гофмейстеру А.С. Танееву от 12 марта 1915 г., АВП РИ.Ф.РИППО. Оп. 873/11, д. 204, л. 15-15 об. Ibid.

<sup>3</sup> See for example, Дмитриевский А.А., Начальник Русской Духовной Миссии в Иерусалиме архимандрит Антонин (Капустин) как деятель на пользу Православия на Востоке, in: *Труды Киевской Духовной академии* 1904, вып. 11, 319-380; Епископ Порфирий (Успенский) как инициатор и организатор первой Русской Духовной Миссии в Иерусалиме и его заслуги пользу Православия и в деле изучения христианского Востока. (По поводу столетия со дня его рождения), in: *Сообщение ИППО*, 1905.Т. xvi, Вып. 3, 329-361; Вып. 4, 457-547, Отд.изд.: Санкт Петербург, 1906, 124; Державные защитники и покровители Святой Земли и августейшие паломники у Живоносного Гроба Господня, *ibid.*, Т. xviii. Вып. 1-4, 422-430; Памяти члена Русской Духовной Миссии в Иерусалиме о.игумена Парфения, убиенного на горе Елеонской, *Ibid.* 1909. Т. xx. вып. 4, 298-308; Граф Н.П.Игнатъев как церковно-политический деятель на Православном Востоке. (По неизданным письмам его к начальнику Русской Духовной Миссии в Иерусалиме о. Архимандриту Антонину (Капустину), Отд. Отг. *Сообщение ИППО*, Санкт Петербург, 1909, 79; Памяти Б.П. Мансурова, *Сообщения ИППО*. 1910. Т. xxi, Вып. 3. 446-457; Мои „незабудки“ на могилу о.протоерея Александра Петровича Попова, *Ibid.*, 1912. Т. xxiii, Вып. 3, 394-414; Памяти В.Н. Хитрово, 1903-1913 (К 10-летию со дня смерти), *Ibid.* 1913.Т. xxiv, Вып. 2, 263-272; В Бозе почивший митрополит Петербургской Антоний и его сношения по делам церковным с Православным Востоком, *Православный Собеседник*, Казань, 1914, вып., 4, 598-606; 5, 920-931; Его Императорское Высочество великий князь Константин Константинович-поклонник Святой Земли. Некролог, in: *Сообщения ИППО*, 1915. Т. xxvi, вып., 3-4, 408-416; Памяти библиографа и вдохновенного певца Святой Земли С.И. Пономарева. (По переписке его с О. Архимандритом Антонином и В. Н. Хитрово). Петроград., 1915, 57.

in the Holy Land were linked with political and military possibilities. These were linked with the grand Russian role in history.

Thus, interestingly on the 2<sup>nd</sup> of March 1915, Dmitrievskiy had a speech on the occasion of the declaration of the Ministry of Foreign affairs (МИД) of the idea of the annexation of Constantinople to Russia in the event of a Russian military victory in the war.<sup>1</sup> He began his speech by stating, that the present war against the enemies (агарян), if it is pleasing to God, will be the last in number, a fifth crusade". The fight of Russia and the Entente (Антанта) against the „central powers“, „in many ways resembles the medieval crusades.“<sup>2</sup> „This march was prepared by the God-carrying Russian nation, who in the course of many centuries peacefully flocked to bow to the Life bearing Tomb of the Lord, and there it cried with tears of emotion, begging the Life giver to be able to see that desired time, when one of the monuments of Christian sanctuaries-the tomb of the Lord-will be free from (агарянского) captivity from the enemy. And it is the fate of this God carrying nation and Christ loving Tsar, the Emperor Nikolay II, by providence to together with his valiant companions to fulfill this high task, which was at some point in time but with difficulty handled by Christian nations of the medieval period.“<sup>3</sup>

According to Dmitrievskiy, the battle of European interests in the Holy Land is something more than just a conflict, but is a interreligious and intercivilisational war. The initiative of the Prussian king Friedrich-Wilhelm IV, „who was always unique in his mystical religious disposition“, to establish in 1841, a protestant bishopric in Jerusalem, was according to Dmitrievskiy an attempt „to establish in the Holy land a defence system for the future German colonisation, which has flowered already with force in our own time“.<sup>4</sup> This German pressure

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<sup>1</sup> ОР РНБ Русская национальная библиотека, Ф. 253. Оп. 1, д. 37: Дмитриевский А.А. Доклад о необходимости освобождения Иерусалима из-под власти Турции. Автограф и машинопись. 2 март 1915 г. 87 лл. Cited in Introductory essay of Н.Н. Лисов, in *А.А.Дмитриевский, Императорское Православное Палестинское Общество и его деятельность за истекающую четверть века 1882-1907*, Императорское Православное Общество, Санкт-Петербург, Олег Абышко, Москва, 2008, 55.

<sup>2</sup> ОР РНБ. Ф. 253. Оп. 1, д. 37, л.1.

<sup>3</sup> Ibid., л. 3.

<sup>4</sup> Ibid., л. 7., Introductory essay of Н.Н. Лисов, in *А.А.Дмитриевский, Императорское Православное Палестинское Общество и его деятельность за истекающую четверть века*

(Drang nach Osten) in Palestine is especially challenged by „the contemporary valiant Russian military columns, who exercise a difficult but holy effort (подвиг)“.

According to the author „the war, which as its immediate goal the freedom of the Bosphorus and Dardanel straits, and the gain of Constantinople in order to placate the Orthodox world, to change the moon on Saint Sophia with the cross, will undoubtedly in the end also contribute to the freedom of the Holy Land from the hated enemy (агарянского) yoke, which has for such a long period for around 400 years, been laid upon it.“<sup>1</sup>

Further, according to Dmitrievsky, „Russia at the Tomb of the Lord, has the utmost immediate and non-negotiable interests, and its goal to stand guard at the Tomb of the Lord, with a fierce and firm leg, -on the basis of the being by law the caretaker-is lawful and established in substance.“<sup>2</sup>

Dmitrievskiy further elaborated on the scholarly interests that need to be developed in relation to Palestine. The need to call in scholars, who „would appear in the Holy Land, to work with antiquities in those areas, where every inch of land presents a precious shrine, the study of which appears without doubt to be of undisputed importance to us Orthodox. It is necessary to establish independent archaeological excavations of orthodox scholars-especially the Orthodox from Russia. Only the God loving Christian Russia, in its strength can open this precious abyss, over which our blood and sweat has been spilled.“<sup>3</sup>

The increasing scholarly developments in the Holy Land stimulated others to join in the flux of institutions now associated with Palestine. There were calls in Petersburg by a group of scholars and others under the heading of senator E. P. Kovalevskiy (Е. П. Ковалевский) to found a Commission of scholarly interests dealing with Palestine in Petersburg and after the First World War a Russian Archaeological Society in Jerusalem, but not under the auspices of the Imperial Palestinian

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1882-1907,, Императорское Православное Общество, Санкт-Петербург, Олег Абышко, Москва, 2008, 56.

<sup>1</sup> Ibid., л. 22, Н.Н. Лисов, Ibid.

<sup>2</sup> Ibid., л., 22.

<sup>3</sup> Ibid., л. 16-17.

Orthodox Society, but under the auspices of the Academy of Sciences.<sup>1</sup> This was rejected by the Society and Dmitrievskiy saw in this "a ridiculous attempt" to parallel a Society which produced great results.<sup>2</sup>

As understood by the Society, the main problem of its rivals was the issue of the word „Orthodox“ in its name. This could have been a problem and obstacle in certain scholarly pursuits according to Kovalevskiy, who in his letter to countess P. S. Uvarova, points to the problems with the designation „Orthodox Society“.<sup>3</sup> Later in the revolutionary period of 1917, the group of Kovalevskiy did associate themselves with the Academy of Sciences. On the 4<sup>th</sup> of February, 1917, the unconditional secretary of the Academy of Sciences S. F. Oldenburg (С.Ф.Ольденбург) had sent a letter to eminent scholars in Peterburg stating the possibility of a project of a Palestinian Committee in the auspices of the Academy of Sciences.<sup>4</sup> This as other similar projects disappeared without fruition. Later the Society lost its title „Imperial“ (in march 1917), and also „Orthodox“ (in 1918). However, the regardless of the name change the society kept its high standards and even new scholars came in, who previously had problems with the name, before the revolution.<sup>5</sup>

### *1b Pilgrimage and education*

As we have implied, the Western missions and other organisations provided educational possibilities in Palestine, which at least in the second half of the nineteenth century attracted much interest from the

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<sup>1</sup> Ковалевский Е.П., *Русские научные интересы в Палестине и прилежащих областях, Россия в святой земле. Документы и материалы*. Т. 1. Москва, 2000, 339-349.

<sup>2</sup> See the response of Dmitriyevskiy to this idea in his note when the council of the Society in 1915 discussed this issue. Записка Секретаря ИППО А.А. Дмитриевского о научной деятельности Общества., Петроград, март 1915, in: *Россия в святой земле. Документы и материалы*. Т. 1. Москва, 2000, 350-356.

<sup>3</sup> Письмо Е.П. Ковалевского графине П.С. Уваровой. 15 января 1915 г., pgs 349-350 in: *Россия в святой земле. Документы и материалы*. Т. 1. Москва, 2000, Ibid.

<sup>4</sup> Россия в святой земле. Документы и материалы. Т. 1. М., 2000, pgs. 366. Introductory essay of Н.Н. Лисов, in А.А.Дмитриевский, Императорское Православное Палестинское Общество и его деятельность за истекшую четверть века 1882-1907, 2008, Moscow, Императорское Православное Общество, Санкт-Петербург, publisher Олег Абышко, pg.60.

<sup>5</sup> Ibid.

local populations, least but not least, because it was understood, that gaining an education in such a Western institution would enable the graduates to be involved in good positions. This trend only increased after the First World War, when a good education in one of the Western institutions enabled one to pursue a career relating to the colonial administrations.

In terms of the Orthodox setting low levels of education meant a gradual destruction for the Orthodox and their role in the Holy Land. Especially the lack of education meant, that the Orthodox figures and theologians were not able to adequately challenge the influences and trends coming from the West, and especially meant that the local Arab Orthodox population was being lost to the Western institutions and educational facilities.

But the Orthodox educational facilities were not meant only to serve the locals, but were to play a role in the education of the Russian pilgrims themselves, who came in increasing numbers to Palestine, and were often uneducated or possessing a minimal catechetical knowledge. The Imperial Orthodox Palestinian Society was already addressing this initial catachesis in Russia itself in its institutions working in Russia.

However, it also needs to be said, that perhaps the Protestant and Roman Catholic missionary schools were of good quality but they started to produce social divisions and other problems. They actually educated only a small segment of the societies in the Middle East, usually belonging to the privileged classes (or helped to create these privileged classes) which often led to the creation of a divide between the other inhabitants and these educated ones.<sup>1</sup> Thus in fact their result in the end created a wider gap in social divisions, which further decreased their missionary ability, since the educated class in fact was more prone to reject religion than to accept it.

In Russia itself religious education was undergoing various developments in the nineteenth century. The government was not the only institution dealing with these issues. Various other organisations such as the "Spiritual office" (Духовное Ведомство) dealt with education. It is important to emphasise, that hand in hand with educational deve-

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<sup>1</sup> Burke J., C., The Founding of the American University in Cairo, in: *Christian Witness Between Continuity and New Beginnings, Modern Historical Missions in the Middle East*, M. Tamcke, M., Marten (eds), Lit, Berlin 2006, 1-11, here 9.

lopments in Palestine, the Russian educational system was also developing.<sup>1</sup>

To give us an idea of the climax of the Russian educational development in the Holy Land we can submit that in 1909, in the 24 Russian educational facilities in Palestine there were 1 576 people involved, in the 77 schools of Syria and the Lebanon- 9 974 students. This figure with some yearly variations was preserved until 1914.<sup>2</sup> The schools were divided into inspectorates, one of which was the North-Syrian (including schools in the Tripolis, Choms and Akkara eparchies), Southern Syrian (Schools of South Syria, from Damascus to Beirut- in Seleucia /Zachlea/, Tiro-Sidon and Beirut metropolias) and the Galilean (Nazareth, Haifa and areas around). Outside the inspectorates there were two functional pedagogical „enclaves“: schools in Judeaa (there were four of them, which were under the authority of the Bet-Dzal womens teacher’s seminary) and schools of Beirut, which were under the leadership of the famous M. A. Cherkasova.<sup>3</sup>

The Russian educational institutions in Palestine followed closely the curriculum and style of the Western schools. This was perhaps a mistake in some regards. The situation more or less called for a more indigenous approach, which none of the foreign powers present were capable of offering. Even the school of the Patriarchate of Jerusalem was more or less influenced by this development to its detriment.

Later the Russian the state realised the potential of such organisations as the Imperial Orthodox Palestinian Society and others. On the 5th of July 1912 the Tsar Nikolay II, ratified a law enacted by the Duma, about the financing of the Societies schools in Syria (including Lebanon). In the first paragraph of the law it was stated: „To release from the resources of the state financial bureau for the support of the

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<sup>1</sup> See Гончаров М.А., Духовное Ведомство и его место в системе управления духовно-учебными заведениями в середине-конце XIX в. in: *Вестник Православный Свято-Тихоновский гуманитарный Университет* IV, 2012, вып. 4, (27), 113-124; Полунов А. Ю., Духовное Ведомство и Униатский Вопрос, (1880-е-начало 90-х гг.) in: *П.А. Зайончковский, 1904-1983, Статьи, публикации и воспоминания*, Росспэн Москва, 1998, 256-265.

<sup>2</sup> Доклад общему годовому собранию ИППО 28 апреля 1913, *Сообщения ИППО*, 1913, Т, xxiv, вып. 2, 208.

<sup>3</sup> About her activities see Лисовой Н.Н., М.А. Черкасова и школы Императорского Православного Палестинского Общества в Бейруте, *Неизвестные страницы отечественного востоковедения*, Москва, 2007.

Imperial Orthodox Palestinian Society, and for the maintenance of Russian educatory facilities in Syria in 1912 year, 126 799 roubles., in the year 1913,-148 456 roubles, and in 1914 year-153 456 roubles, and beginning with 1915 year, for that purpose 158 465 yearly.". A similar plan was prepared also for Palestine generally.<sup>1</sup>

The problems with educational possibilities and facilities in the Holy Land from a Russian perspective led to various projects of reform. Thus for example, in June-August 1913 there was a teachers convention held in Nazareth in order to reform the educational facilities of the Imperial Orthodox Palestinian Society in Syria and Palestine, and on the 23<sup>rd</sup> of June 1914, the council of the Society confirmed a package of programs and instructions for the teacher seminaries, which was confirmed on 22<sup>nd</sup> of October 1914 by the grand princess Elizaveth Theodorovna.<sup>2</sup>

However, on the 28 of September 1914, the Turkish authorities closed the Russian schools in Syria and Palestine. On the 27 December 1917, the council of the Orthodox Palestinian Society (not Imperial anymore), declared: „The Syrian schools to be closed and the teaching personnel from the fist of January 1918, are deemed free from any obligations taken“.<sup>3</sup>

The development of education and broader catechesis in Russia provided a new framework for education within the confines of pilgrimage. The educative possibilities of the pilgrimages were viewed with greater enthusiasm and appreciation. In this regard we can mention an example of this trend in the form of the reply of Dmitrievskiy to a letter sent by a female teacher of a parish school of the Vyat guberny 3. , P. Kedrova, who is asking for help in relation to the pilgrim journey for teachers of ecclesial schools, and in his reply he stated: „The Council (Sovet) of the imperial Orthodox Palestinian

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<sup>1</sup> Полное собрание законов Российской Империи. Собрание третье. Т. xxxii, 1912, Пр., 1915., 1117.

<sup>2</sup> Ibid.

<sup>3</sup> See АВП РИ.Ф.РИППО, Архив внешней политики Российской Империи) Фонд. Российское Императорское Палестинского Общества Оп. 873/13, д. 436, л. 3; Cited in Introductory essay of Н.Н. Лисов, in: А.А., Дмитриевский, Императорское Православное Палестинское Общество и его деятельность за истекиющую четверть века 1882-1907, Императорское Православное Общество, Санкт-Петербург, publisher Олег Абышко, Москва, 2008, 52.

Society, is fully supportive and empathetic to visits to the Holy lands, of excursions of those being taught and those teaching, especially in the period of vacations, and it is with special pleasure that it is ready to demonstrate help for Your intended visit (1912), consisting of female teachers of parish schools of the Yaransk county (уезд). The help of the society can demonstrate itself not by making discounts for train travel or ferry travel, which has nothing to do with it- but it could organise free rooms in the dependencies in Jerusalem, Nazaret and Haifa, it can provide cheaper prices for foodstuffs from the national restaurant in Jerusalem, and arranging for a guide for the excursion, a guide who is from the Black Mountain (черногорца) and who could be available during visits of various holy-historical sites in Palestine.”<sup>1</sup>

As part of the general development of awareness Dmitrievsky also set about to establish „Palestinian libraries“ at various places and schools, and parishes to promote the Society and its work. As is shown in the decision of the Society of from the 18<sup>th</sup> of December 1910, „The Palestinian Libraries will serve the all-encompassing education of the Russian Orthodox nation with the geography and history of Palestine, with its holy-historical Christian monuments, lives of Palestinian saints, Russian pilgrimages to the Sepulchre and with the contemporary situation in the Holy Land.”<sup>2</sup>

### *1c One year in the life of the Imperial Palestinian Orthodox Society*

To gain an insight into the economic situation of the Society for a given period, we can have a look at the accounts stemming from 1905. According to the yearly gathering of the Imperial Orthodox Palestinian Society on the 4th December 1905, we can gather the following.<sup>3</sup> The revision commission consisting of N. P. Bogolyubov, A. B. Koptev and A. K. Boyarskiy (Н.П.Боголюбов, А.Б.Коптева and А.К. Боярского), which was called by the general assembly of the 12<sup>th</sup> of December 1904 to revise the accounts of the society for 190<sup>3</sup>/<sub>4</sub> has found the accounts of

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<sup>1</sup> See АВП РИ.Ф.РИППО. Оп. 873/13, д. 186, л. 2-3, Ibid., Н.Н. Лисов.

<sup>2</sup> АВП РИ.Ф.РИППО. Оп. 873/13, д. 360, л. 2. Ibid.

<sup>3</sup> Годовое общее собрание Императорского Православного Палестинского Общества 4 декабря 1905 года, in: *Сообщения Императорского Православного Палестинского Общества* Томъ XVII, Выпуски 1-4, Типографія В. Киришаума, Дворц. Плящ., д. М-ва Финансов, пер. Вып. pgs.113-127., ред. Проф. И.И.Соколовъ, Санкт Петербург, 2006.



incomes and outcomes in order. As is shown the year 190 $\frac{3}{4}$  the accounts are following: I. In the usual incomes: 1) membership fees 36, 074 roubles., 33 cop. 2) collections from Palm Sunday (вербного сбора) 175, 657 roubles, 08 cop.; 3) of circulary collections and offers (кружечнаво сбора и пожертвованій) 90,617 roubles, 60 cop.; 4) % from capital 13,004 roubles., 87 cop., 5) from sale of publications 3,344 roubles 20 cop.; 6) gains from non movable assets, belonging to the Society in Russia, Palestine and Syria 2,225 roubles., 38 cop.; 7) from pilgrims (for 8,182 people and 351,896 pilgrimage days) 32,735 roubles 30., cop. Altogether 353, 658 roubles 76 cop.-lesser than the budget of 24, 867, roubles, 24 cop.

Further II. In the usual expenditures: A. The support of Orthodoxy 1) help to churches 424 roubles 60 cop.; 2) maintenance of 93 educative facilities 148,175 roubles, 33 cop.; 3) maintenance of 5 ambulative facilities 7,039 roubles. 51 cop. Together 155,689 roubles., 44 cop. B. Assistance to pilgrims: 1) spiritual needs 27,774 roubles.84 cop.; 2) material needs: maintenance of five dependencies in Jerusalem (Sergey, Marina, Elizavet, Alexandrian and Benjamin) and in Nazaret, the Jerusalem hospital and ambulance-103, 334 roubles, 50 cop. Altogether 131,109 roubles, 34 cop. C. Publishing and libraries 9,413 roubles., 59 cop. D., After the collection of the offers (По сбору пожертвованій) 25,194 roubles, 67 cop. E., After general budgetry 53,113 roubles, 45 cop. F., untouchable capital 6000 roubles (и Ж.). From the order of the Sovet of the Society 4,800 roubles 21 cop. Altogether 385,270 roubles, 70 cop.; lesser than the budget by 24,729 roubles 30 cop.

Further III., irregular income: 1) Various incomes 37, 939 roubles., 31 cop., lesser than the budget by 3,460 roubles., 69 cop.; 2) from the sale of percentage papers 74, 093 roubles., 75 cop. All together 112,033 roubles, 06 cop. IV. Other irregular income 1) paying of the debt to the Ministry of foreign affairs, 30, 000 roubles; 2) for the building of the dependencies in Jerusalem and Nazaret 80,006 roubles., 73 cop.; 3) for the material possessions/needs of the society 4,329 roubles 38 cop.; 4) for the building of a fence around the land near Babel Chota in Jerusalem 1,351 roubles., 98 cop. And 5) for different outcomes 283 roubles, 15 cop. Altogether 115,971 roubles 24 cop.

For the period of the 1<sup>st</sup> of March 1903 there were the following assets: 1) in cash 47,114 roubles, 76 cop.; 2) in % papers in untouchable

capital 127, 304 roubles and 3) turnover capital 289,400 roubles. Altogether 463,818 roubles, 76 cop. For the 1 of march 1904 the remnants 1) in cash 40,260 roubles, 07 cop.; 2) in % papers untouchable capital 133,904 roubles and 3) turnover capital 217, 200 roubles. Altogether 391, 364 roubles, 07 cop.<sup>1</sup>

The account offers a general glimpse of the life of the Society for the period of 1904/5. The Society had to struggle with members not paying their membership fees. There were concerns about attracting new members. As the report states the societies main fund raising activity on Palm Sunday has decreased and not produced as such a high income as before. The report states that the society in the end did make ends meet. There follows a summary of significant donations. Donations which included donations from Her imperial highness princes (княгини) Elizabet Theodorovna (200 roubles)., Her Imperial highness the Great princess (княгини) Alexnadra Yosifovna, (75 roubles).; Her Imperial highness the princess (принцессы) Eugenia Maximilianovna of Oldenburg (100 roubles). Bishops were also contributing and interestingly enough there is mention of the priest protoyerey Ioan Ilyich Sergiev of Cronstadt (протоіерея Іоанн Ільич Сергієв Кронштадський) who gave 100 roubles. Others gave donations around 100 roubles. The society operated and gained much of its support on the diocesan level on the level of eparchies. The society continued to organise readings about Palestine. In the year 190¾ these readings were visited by 4.000,000 people.

A certain member priest of the Society S. D. Yachontov (С.Д. Яхонтов), reports about the great success that his lectures for simple peasant folk had in the village in Pronskiy uезд (Пронский уезд). People were interested in the lectures describing Palestine, the pilgrimages, all of which was illustrated by pictures. People were very much interested in various pictures and brochures given out. The Society had sent out 25,360 exemplars of brochures to assist the readings and 962,000 Palestinian papers to be given away with the statement „Voice of the pastor about the holy land.“

Efforts were made to produce the printed version of the catalogue of the society's extensive library. The publication of the academic material continued and there were efforts also to publish generally

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<sup>1</sup> Ibid., 114.

accessible volumes. Such as the *Guide to the Holy land*, with 50 pictures, 3 plans and maps of Palestine and the areas close to Jerusalem, further a brochures of professor V. P. Ribinsky with the heading *I will not keep silent because of Sion and because of Jerusalem I will not remain calm* and *Voice of the Pastor on the Holy land* (four papers to be given out at lectures). The report says that the Society also opened up an ambulance in the city of Choms, where the society has four schools. Around 1400 people study there. In the past year the Societies hospital in Jerusalem serviced 731 people. About forty pilgrims died. The report states that the relatively high mortality rate is due to the fact that many people who come are in their older years and often do not seek urgent attention viewing their suffering as part of the pilgrimage journey. In all the six ambulances there was about 135, 374 people.

The average amount of people who studied in the Societies schools in the past year was 10,741 people. There was 5777 male and 4964 female students. In the Judean schools there were 495 students; in the Galilean-712 students; in the Beirut ones 934, in the Southern Syrian 3677 in the Northern Syrian 4923. The staff including the inspectors consisted of 417 people, 25 of which were Russians, the rest locals.

In the section *News from the Orthodox East*, we are informed of the fact that on the 3<sup>rd</sup> of October 1905, the theological school of the Holy Cross in Jerusalem reached its fiftieth year of existence. It publishes the journal *New Sion* (Νέα Σιών) and educates future priests. The celebrations took place and the preparations for the celebrations were going on. The *scholiarch* of the school archimandrite Chrysostom Papadopoulos had a speech and the Patriarch Damian visited.

The Patriarch served the feastly anniversary liturgy and all sang *Soson Kyrie ton Laon su* as they went from the Church to the hall of the school. When the Patriarch was visiting the school the pupils sang a hymn of the school composed for that occasion. Here it is from the original Greek „With love and great joy we will sing a hymn in chorus, to our beloved school, we its pupils. Live our mother, for ever live always in glory (two times). Take your cross, mother, go fearlessly forth and be victorious with it,-with you is God. Live our mother, for ever. Spreading the wisdom from the mountain Sion, accepting from the worthy sons of the *Lavra* their spiritual exploits. Live our mother....full of spiritual feelings, teach us showing us the symbol-Cross of our Lord.

Live our mother forever, life for ever in glory".<sup>1</sup> In one of the speeches given at the celebrations of the schools anniversary, the secretary of the Jerusalem Patriarchate, archimandrite Meletios Metaksakis, stated „as long as there is smoke from the monasteries kitchen, so also the school should exist“.

In his speech Patriarch Damian thanked the *skevofylax* Euthimius for material support of the school, and also reminded the gathering of the help and support from the sultans Abdul Medzid, Abdul Azis and Abdul Hamid II. The gathering exclaimed "Live" (ζήτω) and sang the hymn Hamidie.<sup>2</sup> The students on this occasion also performed scenes from the tragedy of Sophocles king Oedipus.

In the year 1905 the schools leadership realised that it would be a good idea to model the school according to the Russian seminaries. Further the necessity of teaching canon law was realised, especially in the context of the endless arguments with Protestants and Roman Catholics over religious sites. Special attention should be given to teaching the history of the various sites in the Holy Land, so that the Orthodox Church would be able to defend its ownership of these in the face of the Latins who twist history and against the Protestant onslaught.<sup>3</sup> Emphasis was also placed on learning ancient Greek grammar and ancient Greek poets and authors. There was criticism since the school does not sufficiently teach Arabic, which is of great detriment in the pastoral activity of the church in Palestine. In the years 1904-1905 there were 62 students. The schools teachers were often the graduates of Russian spiritual academies. The students attended chapel three times a day. It was recognised that in the confessional competition going on in Palestine knowledge and education will be the keys to survival.

It is also stated that the Patriarchate of Jerusalem has also its own other schools. In the year 1904-1905, there were 80 in 62 towns and

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<sup>1</sup> Годовое общее собрание Императорскаго Православнаго Палестинскаго Общества 4 декабря 1905 года, in: *Сообщения Императорскаго Православнаго Палестинскаго Общества* Томъ XVII, Выпуски 1-4, Типографія В. Киршваума, Дворц. Площ., д. М-ва Финансов, пер. Вып. pgs.113-127., ред. Проф. И.И.Соколовъ, Санкт Петербург, 2006, 128.

<sup>2</sup> Ibid. pg.132.

<sup>3</sup> Ibid. pg.134.

villages of Palestine, out of these 60 were male and 20 female.<sup>1</sup> The 80 schools had 155 teachers and there were 4500 individuals enrolled. There was a concern in the Patriarchate of the trend of Orthodox Students visiting non Orthodox schools. Apparently there was a concerted effort on behalf of the „Latins“ to attract Orthodox students into their schools. There was one catholic „pater“ who had formally protested at the patriarchal *epitropos* the Archbishop Epifanios that Greek clerics offend intentionally Latin schools and downplay them scaring Orthodox parents from sending their children into Latin schools. The fact is as the report states, that the Latins have 92 schools in the Holy land, 54 male and 38 female. There are 266 teachers and 2400 students. The overall number of Latin rite members is 22500. The Protestants who consist of 3500 souls, maintain in Palestine 89 schools, 42 male and 47 female, in these schools 5250 children of both sexes study, and there is around 218 teaching personnel. The Imperial Orthodox Society had to the date 1 June 1905, 24 schools with 1300 students of both sexes. The figures are obvious, and it shows, that the western confessions have to encroach on the Orthodox population in order to fill their schools and undermine the Orthodox Church.<sup>2</sup>

Around 3000 orthodox students were studying at these western institutions at the time. Some of the protestant tactics can be seen in the case of the village Abut. Here there were no Protestants and thus the Turkish authorities did not permit a school here. Thus the Protestants devised a plan, and bribed the poor Orthodox inhabitants to formally declare themselves Protestant. They were told that once the authorities would on this basis permit the school to be built they could return to being Orthodox. The simple Arabs did this and the Protestant school came into existence. However regardless the Protestant mission did not have success here, so the Protestants supported feuds among the Christians themselves and even going as far as supporting fanatical Muslims to attack the Orthodox Christians.<sup>3</sup>

The report states that the Protestant and Catholic missionary activity is increasing every year in Palestine and Syria, and that great efforts will be needed to confront this. There should be no artificial

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<sup>1</sup> Ibid., 139.

<sup>2</sup> Ibid., 142.

<sup>3</sup> Ibid., 143.

separation between the Russian and Greek sides, since there is so much to be done, that the work can accommodate both Russian and Greek missionaries and both can strive towards a common goal.

*1d Afanasiy Ivanovich Papadopoulos-Kerameus*

Afanasiy Ivanovich Papadopoulos-Kerameus (Αφanasίη Ιωαννίτς Παπαδοπούλο-Κεραμεύς) was a *par excellence* writer and Byzantologist. He was a notable figure in the Russian institutional involvement and pilgrimage projects in Palestine. He had access to the various sources available in Palestine.

He was born on the 24<sup>th</sup> of April 1855 in Thrakia (Thessalia) and died in 1912. He was a colleague of Dmitriyevskiy who met him in 1887 and in the beginning of 1888. He was born into a family of a poor village priest. His father was later transferred to a coastal town in Small Asia Cydona (Turkish Ayvalik). His father became the *economos* of the eparchy of Efeesus, and life in Smyrna helped to form the youth. He did not have the financial means to study in Athens, but at least became a teacher in Smyrna. He quickly switched this position when the opportunity arose of becoming a librarian and curator for the Smyrna Archaeological Society in 1873. This led to a publication of the contents of the library.<sup>1</sup> He became interested in antiquities and travelled in surrounding areas. In 1881 the *Greek Philological Society* (Ελληνικὸς Φιλολογικὸς Σύλλογος) seeing the work of Athanasius invited him to be its secretary. This society sent him to map the situation in Macedonia, Thrakia and areas of the Black sea.<sup>2</sup> Athanasius also published some hitherto unknown letters of Julian the Apostate.<sup>3</sup> Athanasius was sent by the Syllagos society to Odessa in 1884 as a delegate to the VI

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<sup>1</sup> Κατάλογος χειρογράφων ἐν Σμύρνῃ, ἔτ' Ἐν Σμύρνῃ, 1877.

<sup>2</sup> The results where published Ἐκθεσις παλαιογραφικῶν καὶ φιλολογικῶν ἔρευνῶν ἐν Θράκῃ καὶ Μακεδονίᾳ κατὰ τὸ ἔτος 1885. Ἐν Κωνσταντινουπόλει, 1886. Further a catalogue of manuscripts Μαυροκορδάτειος Βιβλιοθήκη, ἥτοι γενικὸς κατάλογος τῶν ἐν ταῖς ἀνά τὴν Ἀνατολὴν Βιβλιοθήκαις εὕρισκομένων ἑλληνικῶν χειρογράφων, τ.ά 1884 Ἐν Κωνσταντινουπόλει only first volume published due to the lack of funds. Further Προσθηκαὶ εἰς τὰ σωζόμενα τῶν ἀρχαίων μετρολόγων ἐξ ἀρμενικῶν κειμένων.

<sup>3</sup> *Neue Briefe von Julianus Apostata*. Rheinisches Museum für Philologie, Neue Folge, 47, 1887, 15-27.

Archaeological congress the theme of which was the monuments of Constantinople.<sup>1</sup>

In 1887 Athanasius became a personal secretary of the Patriarch of Jerusalem. While this position did not bring any great financial gain for his family, the position obviously enabled him to carry on research. This same year Dmitriyevskiy met him and he describes the meeting in the following terms: "In November of 1887 I came to Palestine, and from the Holy Synod I had received a yearly leave to involve myself with scholarly pursuits in the libraries of the Holy Land, Athos, Cairo, Sinai and Athens. Before embarking on visits to libraries to study the manuscripts I decided to travel to the Holy Land to visit some of the sites there, and I was accompanied by some intelligent companions with Count S. V. Orlov-David as our leader. When we came to the lower, always closed doors of the monastery of Saint Savva the Enlightened we were met by a humbly dressed young person, fussing around bags, full of manuscripts from the library of Saint Savva monastery. This was Afanasiy Ivanovich Papadopoulos Kerameus, who was trying to place his precious cargo on the camels, to manage to reach the Patriarchate in Jerusalem by evening. Here I met him for the first time, and I did not forget to remark, that it would be my pleasure to work together with Afanasiy Ivanovich upon the Palestinian manuscripts in the Patriarchate of Jerusalem in more congenial conditions, than there were earlier on."<sup>2</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> His talk was *Le hiéron de Zeus-Urius et le monastère de St.-Jean Baptiste Phoberos*, *Труды VI Археологического Съезда в Одессе*. Т. II, Одесса, 1886, 141-162.

<sup>2</sup> "В 1887 г. В ноябре месяце прибыл в Палестину и я, получив от Св. Синода годичную командировку для ученых занятий в библиотеках Св. Земли, Афона, Каира, Синая и Афин. Прежде чем сесть в библиотеки за рукописи, я предпринял путешествие с паломнической целью по Св. Местам Палестины, имея спутниками несколько интеллигентных лиц с графом С.В. Орловым-Давыдовым во главе. При входе в низкие, всегда запертые ворота обители св. Саввы Освященного, нас встретил весьма скромно одетый молодой человек, суетившийся около мешков, наполненных рукописями Саввинской монастырской библиотеки. Это и был Афанасий Иванович Пападопуло-Керамевс, торопившийся уложить свой драгоценный багаж на верблюдов, чтобы доставить его к вечеру в Иерусалим в Патриархию. Здесь мы и познакомились впервые, причем я не преминул выразить свое полное удовольствие работать совместно с Афанасием Ивановичем над палестинскими рукописями в Патриархии в Иерусалиме про более благоприятных условиях, чем это было раньше". Дмитриевский А., А., А. И. Пападопуло-Керамевс и его сотрудничество в научных изданиях Палестинского Общества, In: А. А.

Both Dmitriyevskiy and Kerameus worked under difficult conditions in Palestine. At that time there was an effort on behalf of the Patriarchate of Jerusalem, an effort supported by various other institutions, to create a catalogue of the available manuscripts located in the library of the Patriarchate but elsewhere in Palestine. Kerameus and Dmitriyevskiy were both involved in this endeavour. The work of cataloguing and study was carried out with the help of some assistants and monks who helped to copy the manuscripts.<sup>1</sup>

Dmitriyevskiy describes the difficult working conditions and circumstances of Kerameus when he was working. The salary was low and the accommodation inadequate. The family did not have warm food every day and the daughter of Athanasius was suffering from the moisture and dampness of the accommodation. However the co-operation with Kerameus turned sour. According to Dmitriyevskiy Kerameus became envious of the research of Dmitriyevskiy and was becoming frightened that he will publish material from the library sooner than him.<sup>2</sup>

Dmitriyevskiy as we implied above had doubts about the collegiality of Keraemus. For that matter Kerameus was afraid about the fate of his work. One has the sense that Dmitriyevskiy doubted the scholarship of Kerameus generally. However, Kerameus did meet with V. N. Chitrovo in 1888 where the publication of the work of Kerameus was discussed. In 1888 the Patriarchate was in a bad financial situation and the Patriarch Nikodim sent a letter to the Imperial Palestinian Orthodox Society in the name of the Grand prince (Velikiy Knyaz) Sergiy Alexandrovich (20 june 1889), expressing a request for the works of Kerameus to be published.

There were discussions between Kerameus and Chitrovo about the former coming to Sankt Petersburg. There were issues of money involved, which complicated the matter. In 1890 Kerameus finally reached Sankt Peterburg, leaving his family on the island of Chalki, while he himself was totally unprepared for the climate of Russia. In Sankt Peterburg he was to oversee the publishing of his work. Some

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*Дмитриевский, Деятели Русской Палестины, Составатель, Н. Н. Лисовой, Москва, Издательство Олега Абышко, Москва, 2010, 276-328. here, 283.*

<sup>1</sup> Ibid. 284.

<sup>2</sup> Ibid., 287.



Greek scholars argue, that this was a difficult period for Kerameus since according to them, there was little experience in publishing Greek texts at the Russian typography and that Kerameus was obliged to check everything. However, Dmitriyevskiy argues that these difficulties were not entirely the case, since the publishing house was fully equipped to handle these things.<sup>1</sup> Dmitriyevskiy then states that in comparison to Greek scholars (who usually receive nothing for their publications) or to the Russian scholars who also do not receive much, Kerameus was well rewarded (getting 2779 roubles and 67 kopecks for his work). Later the salary increased and from the period 1889 til 1912 Kerameus earned 27 389 roubles and 75 kopecks.<sup>2</sup>

Dmitriyevskiy states, that Kerameus desired to earn more money and thus overworked himself and also that he spent money above his means. Kerameus work was praised highly and he was recognised in Russia. However he could not finish his work (catalogue of Jerusalem manuscripts) because after Patriarch Nikodim stepped down from the Patriarchate the brotherhood of Holy Sepulchre, forbid Kerameus to continue working even forbidding him to work in the library in Constantinople (the *metochion* of the Jerusalem Patriarchate), and even being suspicious of him exploiting the manuscripts.<sup>3</sup>

In the beginning of 1899 Kerameus had problems and Nikodim wrote a letter (22 January 1899) to the Grand prince (*velikiy knyaz*) Sergey Alexandrovich asking for help for Kerameus. The Imperial Palestinian Orthodox Society gave him 2000 roubles as a gift, which helped him for a while. He took a break from 1900 to 1901 in working for the Palestinian Society. A poor command of Russian did not enable Kerameus to occupy a good position at the Sankt Petersburg University. He was only a *privat docent*. The situation improved because from 1902 he was again active in the publication of the editions of the Palestinian Society and was able to finish his work since the relationships between him and the brotherhood of the Holy Sepulchre had improved towards the better. He also later managed to attain the position of a librarian at

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<sup>1</sup> Дмитриевский А., А., А. И. Пападопуло-Керамевс и его сотрудничество в научных изданиях Палестинского Общества, 276-328. In: А. А. Дмитриевский, *Деятели Русской Палестины*, Составатель, Н. Н. Лисовой, Москва, Издательство Олега Абышко, Москва, 2010 300.

<sup>2</sup> Ibid. 303.

<sup>3</sup> Ibid. 311.

the Imperial Public library in the theological section. He was also working on the edition of the works of the Patriarch Photios (published in 1899 and 1901). Apart from this other interesting works were published.<sup>1</sup>

Kerameus was working further to finish his catalogue. However due to illness or other reasons he plagiarised from Cleop Kikilidis (Κατάλοιπα χειρογράφων ιεροσολυμιτικής βιβλιοθήκης Ἐν Ἱεροσ., 1899έτ.). The fifth volume of his catalogue was finished by another scholar and the precious manuscript library of Kerameus (according to Dmitriyevskiy gained "with blessing" and "without blessing") was sold to the Imperial Public Library.<sup>2</sup>

Apart from Dmitriyevskiy and Kerameus there were many other outstanding scholars who dealt with Palestine in the nineteenth century, which is a testimony to the high scholarly level of Russian scholarly standards. These included figures such as for example G. A. Murkos (Γ. Α. Μυρκος)<sup>3</sup> from Damascus, who was a notable figure and who had a very good education, including the Moscow Spiritual Seminary, the Imperial Petersburg University. He was a member of the Imperial Palestinian Orthodox Society and the Lazarev institute where he was working in the department of Arabic literature. He was a specialist in the history of the Antiochian Church.

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<sup>1</sup> *Ερμηνεία τῆς ζωγραφικῆς τέχνης*, Санкт Петербург, 1909; *Ελληνικά κείμενα, χρήσιμα τῇ ἱστορίᾳ τῆς Ρουμανίας*, Ἐν Βουκουρεστί, 1909.

<sup>2</sup> Дмитриевский А., А., А. И. Пападопуло-Керамевс и его сотрудничество в научных изданиях Палестинского Общества, 276-328. In: А. А. Дмитриевский, *Деятели Русской Палестины*, Составатель, Н. Н. Лисовой, Москва, Издательство Олега Абышко, Москва, 2010, 326.

<sup>3</sup> Муркос Г. А., *Путешествие Антиохийского Патриарха Макария в Россию в половине XVII века описанное его сыном архидиаконом Павлом Алеппским*, Москва, 1900.

## 2 Life of a Pilgrim

The influx of pilgrims into Palestine from Russia which reached astronomical figures at the end of the nineteenth century is a phenomenon yet to be fully appreciated in terms of social history. The Russian pilgrims faced enormous difficulties and harsh conditions, which were worse than the conditions experienced by their western counterparts. The French abbot Rabaunson wrote "The head of the pilgrims consists of a priest, whose clothes do not differ much from the inadequate and silly clothes of the other people, from which protruded giant heads, fat hands, ugly and big feet,-this is his flock. All the pilgrims carry on them various things, small pots, lead pitchers, vessels for water, pieces of bread, pig fat, mattresses, and as they affirm an incredible number of hidden insects. The site of these brings sadness to me. It is a way of critically observing our own pilgrims, who are spoiled, indifferent, delicate Christians, who are simply incapable of suffering anything for the crucified Lord. These poor Russians, with this poor clothing and burden, walk hundreds of miles, sleeping wherever it is possible, on beds brought to them, and live on small amounts of bread, water and spoiled fat. I remember how in the city of Leeson, at that time father Hyacinth, had once preached in the Paris Church of the Mother of God, giving a depressing account of our aging community, in the flow of a beautiful speech, called on Barbarians from the field of Asia to come on, and renew the blood of this community. But there is no need to go to Asia, since, they do not need practically anything to eat, have all the necessary things, so that at some point, it is possible for them to deal and punish our degenerate Europe, and in the blood of their sacrifices, to gain, the core, of their own rebirth. This was and will happen again, if the earth is to live further..."<sup>1</sup>

Rabaunson and his account is a very interesting one needless to say having a relationship with our own modern period. It also shows, that the period of which he speaks faced challenges, which prevent us from falling into an illusion that Christianity was in a much better situation in the past centuries. His reference to "aging" Western Christians shows

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<sup>1</sup> Сообщения, Императорского, Православного Палестинского Общества, Санкт Петербург, т. 2,1891, 56-57.

the debilitating state that Christianity was in, even in that period. It also shows the vigorous and resilient character of the Russian pilgrimages.

Regardless of the various factors influencing the Ottoman authorities, one of the primary concern of the authorities was to control the masses coming into the lands. Some pilgrims commented on the ability of the Ottomans to control difficult and stressful situations. Thus earlier on, Leontiy a pilgrim from the end of the eighteenth century comments on how the talents of an Ottoman guard who controlled the visitors to the tomb of Lazar, saved many pilgrims by controlling an emerging panic which erupted at the tombs entrance.<sup>1</sup> In other pilgrimage accounts in the nineteenth century there is an overall appreciation of the Ottoman authorities and their handling of the masses of people and also of the inter-ethnic feuds and battles among Christians themselves.

Jerusalem was the centre point for all pilgrims. All was directed to the goal of visiting the Holy Sepulchre. It was the first place where a pilgrim would come and arrive. However, it was not easy to participate in the liturgical cycle of the Holy Sepulchre, because, the gates of the old city were closed and pilgrims wishing to visit the services of the Holy Sepulchre could not attend night services. Thus there were attempts to buy land inside the gates which could then house pilgrims. These conditions improved in the second half of the nineteenth century.

Before the nineteenth century pilgrimages were very difficult endeavours, entailing bureaucratic processes and other forms of bribery, gift giving and so on. Individual pilgrims had to have blessings from their superiors or local ecclesial structures, they had to have valid documents, and especially letters of recommendation. Later in the second half of the nineteenth century these pilgrimages were organised on an institutional basis. However, ideological phantasies and a pure trust in God led some to risk such a journey with a minimum of resources. Some were left stranded, fell ill and many died.

Letters of recommendation often meant the difference between life and death. One such scene is described in the story how Barskiy came to the monastery of Sinai and did not have relevant papers and the monks

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<sup>1</sup> Кириллина, 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, 209.

decided not to accept him. He let his Arabic guide go, and sat beneath the walls of the monastery until he was let in.<sup>1</sup>

The various ethnic issues also played a role. In any event the Russians were considered as keen on almsgiving. The pilgrims at the end of the nineteenth century usually took the root from Odessa and visited the many *podvorya* that the Athonite monasteries had and the other Middle Eastern Patriarchates had.

It needs to be stated, that the monasteries themselves were in various states and conditions. For example, in the period when Barskiy visited, the monastery in the Sinai had only 20 elderly monks. Due to constant problems with Arabs and so on, it was difficult to maintain enough monks. The monastery had formerly 900 monks. We have to note that the monasteries in the Holy Land were not compact and defined structures, and had issues of their own. Some had many monks, some none, with only caretakers, some monasteries had elderly monks or ill monks and all these factors determined the possibilities that a pilgrim might have in such a visit to such a monastery.

The Russian presence later or with its institutional backing provided a more secure environment but this was not always the case and the hospitality as was obvious to everyone did not spring merely from a nice building, but depended on the individuals who had to show sympathy and care.

The conditions of the pilgrims at the end of the nineteenth century are commented on by A. B. Yeliseev (А. В. Елисеев), who was a military doctor and who published his account in 1884. Yeliseev was an experienced traveller and his travel remarks from his journey to Algeria contain valuable ethnographic information about the Tuaregs utilised until today in scholarship. He published a book where he notes the often impossible conditions the pilgrims face. He notes, that the buildings of the Russian institutions in Jerusalem, where providing accommodation without offering basic sanitary needs. Money was lost and the Russian consulate took a blind eye towards the sufferings of the pilgrims.<sup>2</sup> The accommodation offered by the Patriarchate of Jerusalem

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<sup>1</sup> Странствования Василия Григоровича Барского по святым местам Востока с 1723 по 1747 г. Ч II, Санкт Петербург, 1886, 11.

<sup>2</sup> Елисеев, А. В., С русскими паломниками на Святой Земле весной 1884 г., Очерки, заметки и наблюдения, Санкт Петербург, 1885, 365.

was also completely inadequate, and entailed sleeping on stone ground, without mattresses, and was completely "shocking".<sup>1</sup>

Dmitriyevskiy writes in his article how many people travelling to Palestine were often naïve, taking only little provisions, but armed with fasting and prayers.<sup>2</sup> They travelled to Kiev, Odessa, where they encountered the various representative *podvorye* of Athonie monasteries,

Dmitriyevskiy describes the inadequate conditions on ships. He criticises the ships of the Russian Society for Steam Ship travel and Commerce (Русское Общество Пароходства и Торговли). Thus the better ships of this company do not take pilgrims on their direct route to Alexandria or if they do so, they take them only as far as Smyrna. From Smyrna the pilgrims are obliged to take other ships of the same company, which travel on circular routes around Anatolia and Micro Asia. These ships are of the smaller type of an older generation, which were used to carry all sorts of cargo. Thus the pilgrims find themselves on ships in uncomfortable conditions sharing space with even livestock. There is rarely any clergy which could perform liturgical services on board the ships for the pilgrims. Dmitriyevskiy contrasted these Russian conditions with the relative comfort of German pilgrimage groups or the French.

The Russian sea journey in the second half of the nineteenth century took almost two weeks. Once the pilgrims reached Jaffa, they had to sit in open air under the sun, often without food and water waiting for the train to Jerusalem. Once they reached Jerusalem they stayed in one of the Russian buildings resting for three days and then visited the Patriarchate where clergy of the Patriarchate according to an old habit washed their feet. They received refreshments. If he had the time the Patriarch would receive the pilgrims. From here the pilgrims would go to, the Holy Sepulchre visiting the various areas, being accompanied with litanies by the Greek brotherhood. Some pilgrims remain in the Church for the duration of the night listening to Matins which "always" begin at midnight and then the first liturgy. The liturgy

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<sup>1</sup> Ibid., 17.

<sup>2</sup> Дмитриевский, А., А., Современное русское паломничество в св. Землю, Труды Киевской Духовной академии., 1903, Т. II, pgs. 274-319. In Дмитриевский, А. А., *Деятели Русской Палестины*, составитель, Н.Н. Лисовой, Издательство Олега Абышко, Москва, 2010, 123-168.

is sometimes sung in Slavic. The time spent from the period when the doors are closed by the guards until the beginning of the Matins, is usually spent by reading and singing of *akathists* on Golgotha and in other areas of the church. The pilgrims usually then go on to visit other areas such as the tomb of the Mother of God in Gethsemane, Mt. Olives, Sion, Bethany with the tomb of Lazarus and other areas around Jerusalem.<sup>1</sup>

The Russian pilgrim usually abstained from participating in the various caravan groups going to the other Holy places in Palestine and preferred to walk with his or her feet. The pilgrim preferred to go with two or three people. The Russian pilgrim did not even refrain from a difficult journey to Nazareth, in the beginning of spring before the feast of the Annunciation, when the waters were rising and passage was difficult. As we have seen the Russian pilgrims were admired by various foreign commentators, admiring them for their endurance, walking on foot, with only tea and dried bread.

The movement of pilgrims created problems in Russia. The flooding of prospective pilgrims into Sankt Petersburg and other places to gain passports or just to pass through created tensions. Further the business of alms collecting for the "Brotherhood of the Holy Sepulchre" and other Palestinian Orthodox sites reached epidemic proportions. In Nizniy Novgorod in 1845 up to 33 people were arrested on accusation of falsely collecting alms for the Holy Land who arrived at the Fair held in this city.<sup>2</sup> These fraudsters were furthermore leading a scandalous life visiting brothels. The Internal Ministry reported that among the Armenian merchants at this Fair there were rumours that there were over 400 Armenian fraudulent alms collectors dispersed throughout Russia, and that these which were caught at the Fair where Greek Armenian Christians from the bordering regions in the south.<sup>3</sup>

Kapustin also commented on the fact that the pilgrims often encountered a world, which was different from their own. He stated

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<sup>1</sup> Ibid. 138.

<sup>2</sup> See RGIA Русский Государственный Исторический Архив, 797, op.14, d. 34469, 1844; RGIA 797 op. 15, d. 36311, 1845-1847, cited in 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 (eds), Lit verlag, Berlin, 2006, 192.

<sup>3</sup> RGIA 797, op. 15, d. 36311, 1845-1847, RGIA 797, op. 16, 38160, 1846-1847 *ibid*.

that the Russians coming to Jerusalem where unpleasantly surprised suffering a culture shock, with all the various groups of people from various ethnic backgrounds and so on. People where not accustomed to the various mentalities in Palestine, and that the various publications about Palestine published in Russia, often presented Palestine in unrealistic or idealistic colours. The Holy City taught the people "patience, for him who decided to bring to the Tomb of the Lord, the offering of his grateful soul together with the other thousand people with the same intention, who however, are not necessarily similar to him in any way, sharing only the humanity and the designation of being Christian."<sup>1</sup>

The great faith of the pilgrims is described in reference to an event which happened when the belltower of the Russian Church on Mt. Olives was completed in 1886. A bell was brought from Russia. During the transportation of this bell over the river bed of the Kidron river separating Jerusalem from the mt. of Olives, it fell and injured a number of pilgrims. The bell fell on the legs of an elderly pilgrim woman. Covered in blood and lying on the ground this woman did not utter a single sound or weep, and only stated "Glory to You O Lord, that you have deemed me worthy to suffer in the same place, where you yourself half suffered on our behalf, sinners!". She was taken to hospital and her legs were amputated and again she did not utter a word of complaint. She then wrote a letter to her son, who wrote back thanking God that his mother was able to suffer in the Holy City.<sup>2</sup>

Unsurprisingly, the fasting period of Great Lent was marked by stringent fasts. Often pilgrims eat only dried bread with cold water not even drinking tea.

Dmitriyevskiy further mentions other types of pilgrims. Those that beg and are dressed in black seemingly spiritual clothes, stretching their

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<sup>1</sup> "терпимости, столь нужной тому, кто решился принесть на Гроб Господень дань и своей признательной души вместе с тысячами других, подобных ему пришельцев, часто не похожих на него ничем, кроме одного образа человеческого и имени христианского" Капустин Антонин, архимандрит, *Пять дней на Святой Земле*, Индик, 2007, 12-15.

<sup>2</sup> Дмитриевский, А., А., Современное русское паломничество в св. Землю, Труды Киевской Духовной академии., 1903, Т. II, pgs. 274-319. In Дмитриевский, А. А., *Деятели Русской Палестины*, составитель, Н.Н. Лисовой, Издательство Олега Абышко, Москва, 2010. 123-168, here 141.



hands at the gates of monasteries. These professional beggars and tricksters are an increasing phenomenon in Palestine and what is worse according to Dmitriyevskiy females are more often associated with this parasitical behaviour than men. But this is unsurprising according to him, since in terms of foreign pilgrimages, women form 1/8 of pilgrims while in terms of Russia women form 2/3 of pilgrims. Thus from the 10 000 seasonal pilgrims 7000 are women. Females are usually of the middle aged group. Importantly, Dmitriyevskiy suggests that the reason for the prevalence of female pilgrims is their desire to liberate themselves from the "shackles" of family responsibilities and ties. They often vent their passionate nature provoking others.<sup>1</sup>

This type of woman is represented by the notorious Mariya Gladkaya (Мария Гладкая) a woman who left her family and remained in Jerusalem moving into the quarters of the elderly Nikeforos the metropolitan of Petra Arabia. Through him she exercised undue influence over the decisions of Nikeforos and through him influenced the Patriarchate of Jerusalem. She was thrown out of Palestine only to return again. She often defended herself by drawing on the example of Paula the pilgrim of the period of Jerome.

Here it is necessary to draw attention to another context which is related to the issue of pilgrimage. This was the context of Bari. The pilgrimage to Bari was also associated with travel to Palestine. Dmitriyevskiy in one of his articles offers us an almost comical picture of the conditions of pilgrimage to Bari. The Russian pilgrims are subjected to sustained attacks of tricksters and the cunningness of local entrepreneurs who wish to deceive the Russian pilgrim in every possible way. The Russians are tricked into changing their money into useless coins or currencies.

Dmitriyevskiy exclaims: "Very rapidly the Russian credit moves to the hands of the Italian moneychangers, and in exchange, our poor pilgrims receive Italian liras, with depictions of Popes, the king Victor Emanuel, struck in Florence, called long (*lunga gola*), with five Franks of different Ferdinands, and similar currency, which have the most low value and practically not convertible on the moneychanging markets. But this is nothing, frequently it happens, that our pilgrims fall into misfortune not having any money whatsoever. The cunning money-

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<sup>1</sup> Ibid. 149.

changers are able to change 20 frank gold coins with useless bronze tokens used during card play and not having any worth for payment."<sup>1</sup>

The farcical events continue. In Bari the pilgrims are met with a certain Nikolay Kasano (Николай Кассано) who is quickly informed by his various agents about the entry of the Russian pilgrims and brings forth a tared and worned out piece of paper with a written recommendation of the Russian vice consul that Kassano is a useful person for the pilgrims (dated Bari 20 Juillet 1875. Le Vice-Consul imperial de Russie Nicolas Castaldi). "Vice-Consulat de Russie. The Russian Vice Consul testifies, with his signature, and with the addition of his seal, that Nikolay Kasano, who is his translator, is *a person of good conscious* (sic!), (*человек добросовестный* (sic!)) and active, who can with benefit serve the people pilgrims *гидом* of the city of Bari".<sup>2</sup> Dmitriyevskiy notes the irony of this letter of recommendation as it is not signed in Russian letters, the vice consul suspiciously has an Italian name, and further that the word *gid* (гид) was changed from *gadam of the city of Bari* (гадом г. Бари) meaning a pejorative "trickster". Kassano with his wife offers humble accommodation, where the pilgrims are systematically abused. The wife steals from the bags of the pilgrims while they are away from their rooms.<sup>3</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> "Быстро русские кредитки переходят в руки менял-итальянцев, а вместо них в руки наших бедных паломников попадают итальянские лиры с изображениями пап, короля Виктора Эммануила, вычеканенные во Флоренции, в простонародии именуемые длинношеими (*lunga gola*), пятифранковики разных Фердинандов и тому подобная монета, имеющая самую нинтожную ценность и потом в обращении на денежном рынке не употребляемая. Но этого мало. Нередко на долю наших паломников выпадают такие несчастья, что они лишаются здесь совершенно денег и остаются без гроша. Юрким менялам удастся, вместо золотых 20-франковиков, наградить наших паломников жетонами из желтой бронзы, употребляемые при игре в карты и уже ровно не имеющими никакой ценности в общежитии." Дмитриевский, А., А., К мироточивому гробу Мирликийского святителя Николая в Бари, Православное русское паломничество на Запад, к мироточивому гробу Мирликийского святителя Николая в Бари, Труды Киевской Духовной академии. Киев, 1897, вып., 1, 99-132, вып., 2, 211/237 in: Дмитриевский, А. А., *Деятели Русской Палестины, составитель*, Н.Н. Лисовой,. Издательство Олега Абышко, Москва, 2010, 64-122 here 66.

<sup>2</sup> "Vice-Consulat de Russie. Русский вице-консул свидетельствует своим подписом и приложением своей печати, что Николай Кассано, находящийся у него переводчиком, *человек добросовестный* (sic!) и деятельный, могущий с пользой служить господам путешественникам *гидом* города Бари".

<sup>3</sup> Ibid. 70.

Kassano takes the passports away from the pilgrims and instead of immediately taking them to the crypt of Saint Nicholas attempts to delay them as much as possible devising ways of how to make money from them. He offers them overprices candles and souvenirs. The pilgrims finally arrive in the crypt where a Roman Catholic priest stands guard serving a short litany. The naïve Russian pilgrims offer large amounts of money for the priest to commemorate them in his services not realising that the Roman Catholic priest has no intention of praying for the "schismatics". However, this realisation does not stop Kassano from taking money from the pilgrims for these services. The pilgrims are required to quickly venerate the tomb of Saint Nicholas and Dmitriyevskiy states that there are really no significant bodily remains of Saint Nicholas inside the tomb and that the liquid inside the tomb, which is offered is also suspicious in its origin.<sup>1</sup>

The comical setting does not end here, because another "parasite" was making a living of the pilgrims. This was a certain Archimandrite German Ladikov (address Via Vallisa no. 7). This archimandrite apparently belonged to the eparchy of Smyrna and was a Greek. The origins of the archimandrite are doubtful and it appears that he is a trickster who is willing to promise any forms of prayers and liturgical services at the tomb of st. Nicholas for a fee. A widow with her daughter lives with him. Dmitriyevskiy is suspicious about the Archimandrite and remarks that it is extraordinary that this Archimandrite had the right to serve Orthodox services at this Roman Catholic shrine. That usually permission to serve Orthodox services at non/Orthodox shrines is very difficult to attain. Thus perhaps this priest was a Roman Catholic priest all along.

A very interesting view of the Russian pilgrims from a foreign perspective is offered by Graham. The intellectual and practical consequences of the struggle over the spirit of the people is nicely reflected in the context of the account of Graham regarding Russian pilgrimages to Palestine, which became an expression of the piety of the laity in their own right. The kind of contrast between passionate and almost naive faith and hard hitting realist life socialism is seen in Stephen Graham's account, who wrote an account of a journey with Russian pilgrims to Palestine.

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<sup>1</sup> Ibid. 76.

Graham describes the piety of the Russian pilgrims travelling to Palestine. He describes a monk Father Yevgeny who spoke on board the ship. „One day Father Yevgeny, the monk who raised the scandal over the Syrian girls, drew a crowd of peasants round him as he sat and discoursed on the Gospels up at the prow. He was rather an Ilidor type, an extremely interesting phenomenon in modern Russia, the monk with a mission and the fervour of a prophet of the early Church. „Forgive me, brothers“ I heard him say, „I am only *malogramotni* (little learned), but I speak from the soul.“ He beat his breast. „I am one of you. I was an ordinary soldier in the Turkish war of 1876. I had a vision and promised myself to God. I was wounded, and when I recovered I went to a monastery. I’ve been a monk thirty years now, glory be to God! „Read your Gospels, dear *muzhichoks*, and your Psalter, and the history of the Church, but have nothing to do with contemporary writing. The Gospels gather you together in love, but the other writings force you apart. You know the one to be eternal truth, but the other you will be unable to deal with, to get right with. Remember Adam was of the earth, but Christ is of heaven!“ he pointed down his open throat, signifying that the heaven he meant was the kingdom of God within. „Christ said, „I am the Light.“ As Long as you hold to your Gospels you dwell in the light and live. They tell you wonderful things about the English and the Americans and the French, but in so far as these nations have departed from Christ they dwell in darkness. The French for instance, have thrown over the Church and monasticism, and there in France now Satan is at work doing the most terrible things in the dark. Oh, I wouldn’t live in France....“ The monk gesticulated wildly. „There, as you know, is the headquarters of the Freemasons and they operate upon England. Already England thinks of throwing over the Church. And nowadays French books and English books are being translated and thrown broadcast over Russia. You, dear *muzhichoks*, some of whom have learned to read, are in danger. But be advised by me. Never look at anything foreign or modern. Truth has no need to be modern. It is the same yesterday, to-day, and forever, and you find it in your Gospels. You know what is good from what is bad; that is your salvation. Stick to it. Modern people say everything good is a little bit bad, and everything bad has a little bit of good in it. But you know when you thresh the corn and you lift the grain shovel, the good seed remains, whiff goes the

chaff." The peasants all smiled and chortled, and the monk enjoyed a triumph, but went on forcefully:- „When people come to you with new ideas, have nothing to do with them. Just answer, „I am a simple *mouzhik*; I'm far too stupid to understand it" Don't you mind being stupid. The devil is the cleverest spirit in heaven and earth, much cleverer than God, but not wise, not wise... If Eve had been a little stupider, oh, if she'd only been a little stupider and failed to understand the devil! *Muzhichoks* dear, when they come to you tempting you with new ideas, just say, „It's all beyond me, I'm only a poor, stupid, simple *moujik*, and I can't understand," and then you go and read a chapter from your Gospel and you'll be all right". Graham expresses contempt at this kind of reasoning and calls this the Gospel of stupidity. Graham then continues: „And all while the monk was preaching this true blue sermon of Russian conservatism up above, the ship's carpenter was preaching red-hot social democracy below. Strange to say, there was not a single sailor on the pilgrim boat who did not laugh at the pilgrims, did not think them fools. The crew might have been thought to be revolutionary conspirators to judge by their serious conversation. The never missed a chance to propagandise among the peasants, trying to engender hate of the Tsar and disbelief in the Church. Luckily most of the pilgrims regarded this as a sort of religious experience and testing, part of the cross they had to bear, a sort of temptation which God had permitted in order to test their worthiness. Scores of times I overheard such words as „Its all *moshenstvo* (knavery). It's all a great exploitation. The monks take your money and get drunk. You pay them to pray for your soul and they keep mistresses. You buy on Easter eve a fat candle costing a rouble, you light it, the monks immediately blow it out and sell it to someone else for another rouble. One candle is sold to twenty or thirty people. And the miracle of receiving the Holy Fire, it's all a fraud. The monks put a chemical powder in a cleft of the stone, and when the sun gets warm enough the powder bursts into flame of its own account like phosphorous. It pays the monks to have the miracle; thousands of roubles are paid for seats to look on at it. You'll see when you go to the sacred places the monks will chase you into cellars, where you'll find yourselves all alone, and there they'll demand all the money you have. They'll make you give them a list of every soul alive or dead in your native village in Russia, and pay at the rate of a shilling each for

prayers for them. If you are a young woman, take care; they'll persuade you to enter a nunnery, they'll sell you into the Turkish harems, or do worse still, marry you themselves...". Graham further concludes that not many peasants followed on the propaganda from the socialist carpenter, about two percent of them taking his words to their hearts. This was so according to Graham, because they were believers.<sup>1</sup>

### *2b The Holy Fire*

As we have stated many times the central point of interest for all pilgrims was the Holy Sepulchre, which is not only a Church but is a functioning monastery, a monastery consisting of a Brotherhood which basically is the most Orthodox organisation in the Patriarchate of Jerusalem. Similarly to the Brotherhood around the Patriarchate of Constantinople. The monastery is attached physically and practically to the Holy Sepulchre Church. As we have seen the Brotherhood of the Holy Sepulchre was always a powerful organisation, yielding power above and over the Patriarch of Jerusalem. This basically remains the case until today.

After the fire of 1808 in the Holy Sepulchre Church during the renovations a passageway was opened leading from the Church to the monastery.<sup>2</sup> Inside the Church there are the smaller churches of Constantine and Thekla. The Church of Constantine was and is used as the Patriarchal church daily. The monastery library had only 4000 volumes and about two Byzantine manuscripts in the nineteenth century.<sup>3</sup>

The Muslims called the Church of the Resurrection at the Holy Sepulchre *Kumâmah* (which means "Dunghill"). The Church unsurprisingly had a difficult history with many destructions and alterations.

The prime attraction of the Holy Sepulchre Church apart from other things is the miracle of the Holy Fire, which miraculously descends during the Resurrection ceremony in Jerusalem every year (sometimes in other periods as documented by tradition). The Patriarch

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<sup>1</sup> Graham S., *With the Russian Pilgrims to Jerusalem*, Thomas Nelson and Sons, London, New York, 1913, 58-59.

<sup>2</sup> Базили К.М., *Сирия и Палестина под турецким правительством*, Московский Государственный Университет имени М.Б. Ломоносова, Москва, 2007, 397.

<sup>3</sup> Ibid.

of Jerusalem in simple vestments enters the small chapel of the tomb of Christ with unlit candles. Once he emerges, the candles are miraculously lit from the Holy Fire and this light is then given to everyone around. The theme of the Holy Fire is popular among practically all Russian Christian pilgrims to the Holy Land.

The testimony of the Holy Fire is given by many authors. Theologically the Holy Fire is associated with Gregory of Nyssa and John of Damascus who mention that the apostle Peter saw the Holy light in the Holy Sepulchre after the Resurrection.

Bernard (around 865) was one of the first authors to mention the miracle of the Holy Fire.<sup>1</sup> In the period of the travels of the Abbot Daniel there was a destruction of the Church of the Holy Sepulchre in 1009. The abbot Daniel describes the ceremony of the Holy Fire and he is adamant that all is done so that there is no possibility of fraud. He describes how he met with Baldwin. Daniel describes how all were waiting to see the light and that prayers were needed to get it. A bishop with four deacons then entered the tomb lighted the taper of the Prince with the Holy Fire and gave it to the Prince. The holy light has a "ruddy colour like cinnabar". Daniel writes how other companions of his from Kiev, from Novgorod had witnessed the miracle.

Daniel received a rock from the tomb as a "souvenir". Daniel makes sure that all those people that asked him to be commemorated were truly commemorated. Some names he placed also in the monastery of saint Sabbas. Before Daniel a certain Sæwulf visited the Church in 1102 corroborating Daniel. It is stated, the keeper in the Church sold rocks from the tomb to supplement his income. That also close by was the original rock, which the angel moved away. John of Wirzburg also described the area. The Holy fire is also described by Fulcher de Chartres, in 1101 AD., (In Gesta Dei per Francos). This latter account also states that the light does not appear automatically, but prayers are needed.

One of the earlier authors mentioning the Holy Fire was al-Biruni (around 1000) who had an excellent knowledge of Greek sciences and

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<sup>1</sup> Wright Thomas, Arculf et al., *Early Travels in Palestine, Comprising the narratives of Arculf, Willibald, Bernard Sæwulf, Sigurd, Benjamin of Tudela, Sir John Maundeville, De La Brocquière, and Maundrell*, Library of Alexandria, reprint, 2017.

apparently had a good command of ancient Greek.<sup>1</sup> Al Biruni states, that there is a story that on the Saturday of the Resurrection (he read about this story in books and heard it from al-Faraj ibn Salih of Baghdad as he states) a holy fire comes. People gather around the tomb with extinguished candles etc, waiting for the fire. The tomb is sealed. After the fire comes, a written report is sent to the Caliph about the exact time when the flame descended. From the speed of the coming of [of the fire] and if it was near noon, they concluded that the year would be productive. If the coming delayed until toward nightfall and even later, they concluded that it would not be productive.

As Biruni continues "He who" informed me relates that certain sultans put a copper wire in place of the wick so it would not light and would not take place [the miracle]. However, when the fire descended the copper ignited. The coming that day of the fire from the sky, which recurs at the specific place and time, is cause for us to be in awe.<sup>2</sup> Al Biruni mentions how all the Muslims watch this event and even the fire spreads to the Mosque (the Dome of the Rock), since the lights are lit in the mosque from this fire. It is a clear white fire. The *imam* and the *emir* as well as the *muezzin* were present near the Holy Sepulchre with their oil lamps.

Ibn al-Qass has a similar account. Another person mentioning the Holy Fire is Al-Mas'ūdī (born before 893 died 956) who as the Arabian "Herodotus" mentions the Holy Fire, but in reference to another lost

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<sup>1</sup> See Tsibukidis D., Graeco-Hellenistic philosophical thought in the writings of Abu Raikhan Biruni, in: *Graeco-Arabica* 7-8, 2000, 524-533. The work of Biruni is preserved in five manuscripts MS Or 161, AD 1307, University of Edinburgh; MS Paris Arabe 1489, 17<sup>th</sup> c.; MS Beyazit 4667, 17<sup>th</sup> c.; Codes of the Asiatic Museum in St. Petersburg; MS Add.7697, s. 1286, British Library. An edition was published by C.E. Sachau, *Chronologie orientalischer Völker von Albêrûnî*, Leipzig 1878. However the edition of Sachau proved inferior to the one in the Asiatic Museum in Sankt Petersburg, which was acquired in 1912 and which importantly contained the passage about the Holy Fire. This excerpt was published by Крачковский И. Ю., *Благодатный огонь по рассказу ал-Бируни и других мусульманских писателей X-XIII вв.* In: *Христианский Восток*, Т. 3, Вып. 3, Пг, 1915. Another manuscript was discovered in 1933 by Hellmut Ritter in the Library Umumi (now Beyazit) also containing the Holy Fire passage. The passage with the Holy Fire reference was published by Johann Fück in 1952 and a translation into German appeared in 1988 by Gotthard Strohmaier, in his *Al-Biruni, In the Garden of Science*. Further see the Russian translation M.A.Sal'e, *Abureikhan Biruni 973-1048, Izbrannyye proizvedeniia*, Taskent, 1957, 348-350.

<sup>2</sup> See G. Strohmaier, *Al-Biruni, In den Gärten der Wissenschaft*, Leipzig, 1988, 125-126.



work. Further there is Al-Jāhīz (born 776 died 868/869) who also alludes to the Holy Fire as a trick made by the monks in his book on Animals.<sup>1</sup> Krachkovskiy provides us with a complex list of other Islamic writers regarding the Holy Fire in his well known article.

Idrisī who wrote in 1154 states among other things that here where three gold lamps over the tomb. Interestingly he mentions the existence of a bell tower. Ali of Herat wrote also a description in 1173. He mentions the Holy fire and the rock which was split up and from which Adam rose up.<sup>2</sup> Some earlier references are that of Saint Sylvia of Aquitaine, who does not mention the descent of the Fire but only mentions an inextinguishable fire.

About nine years after the composition of the work of Biruni (1009) the Fatimid caliph of Egypt al-Hakim desired to destroy the Church of the Holy Sepulchre and thus the fire which was in a way uniting Christians and Muslims was doomed to be erased from history. Al Hakim as is known later mysteriously disappeared. Niketas a cleric of the court of Constantine Porphyrogenitos sent a letter in 947 to the Emperor about the plans of a certain Emir to destroy the Holy Fire ceremony.<sup>3</sup> There is also the epistle of Arethas the Metropolitan of Cesarea sent to the emir of Damascus.<sup>4</sup> The ceremony is mentioned and the fact that the Emir is present during the ceremony and that the entrance is sealed, while all lights are extinguished.

As we have noted a very important witness of the fire is Daniel, who visited at a time, when the Latins where in Jerusalem. He visited in 1106 to 1107. He mentions the Holy Fire ceremony taking place with Greek and Latin monks together celebrating in the church. Otto Meinardus mentions a Latin text of Fulcher de Chartres (1101) who claims that the Fire is received by the Latins from the Orthodox and that it appears at the ninth hour. However that year 1101 the fire did not

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<sup>1</sup> Крачковский И.Ю., "Благодатный огонь" по рассказу ал-Бируни и других мусульманских писателей X-XIII вв., *Христианский Восток*, Т.3, вып. 3. Пг., 1915.

<sup>2</sup> Le Strange Guy, *Palestine Under the Muslims*, Cosimo classics, New York, 2010, 208.

<sup>3</sup> Рассказ Никиты, клирика царского. Послание к Императору Константину VII Порфирородному, о святом огне, написанное в 947 году *Православный Палестинский Сборник*, том. 13 А. Пападопуло Керамевс, Санкт Петербург, 1894.

<sup>4</sup> Попов Н., *Император Лев VI Мудрый и его царствование в церковно-историческом отношении*, Москва, 1892, 301. It is located in a Greek manuscript of the Moscow Synodal library Mattei 303 list 98vita 99alpha.

appear and the Patriarch ordered everyone to leave. Later the fire appeared in one of the lamps the following day on Easter day. After the mass during which king Baldwin assisted there was a banquet at the temple of Solomon, during which the light appeared in two more lamps.<sup>1</sup> From the year 1122 there is a Greek liturgical book describing the ceremony.<sup>2</sup> From 1149 there is the Greek salter in Turin, mentioned the liturgical ceremony of the Holy Fire.<sup>3</sup> There are allusions to other figures such as Saint Brandan.<sup>4</sup> More evidence could be forthcoming from the Armenian and Georgian lectionaries.

It appears that Saladin had damaged the Church of the Holy Sepulchre after he expelled the Crusaders in 1187. In 1192 Saladin allowed knights of the Third Crusade to enter the Church and the Bishop of Salisbury received permission for two Latin clergyman to conduct services there. Other travellers visited Palestine including Ibn Batûtah who visited Jerusalem in 1355.

Yâkût speaks about the Holy Fire in 1225. That a certain government official to whom the Christians could not refuse admittance was present during the Holy Fire ceremony and stated that he read in a book of magic how the Christians bring a candle secretly into the area.<sup>5</sup>

The ceremony of the Holy Fire was one of the prime attractions for the Russian pilgrims. This is the reason why we have listed the history the historical testimonies regarding it, so that it would be viewed in a historical context. All the more extraordinary is the claim of Uspenskiy that the Holy Fire was a fraud.

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<sup>1</sup> Meinardus O., The Ceremony of the Holy Fire in the Middle Ages and to-day, in: *Bulletin de la Société de Archeologie Copte*, 16, 1961-2, 242-253, here 244.

<sup>2</sup> Παπαδοπουλος Κεραμευς, *Αναλεκτα Ιεροσολυμιτης Σταχυολογιας* II, Санкт Петербургъ, 1897, 179-186.

<sup>3</sup> Pasini, I., *Codices manuscripti bibliothecae regii Tuarinensis Athenaei*, Taurini, 1749, 173.

<sup>4</sup> La Legende de Saint-Brandan Actes du VIII Congrès des Orientalistes, I, Leide 1891, 55-56; *The Legend of Saint Brendan, A Comparative Study of the Latin and Anglo-Norman Versions*, J. S. Mackley, Brill, 2008.

<sup>5</sup> Le Strange Guy, *Palestine Under the Muslims*, Cosimo classics, quoted from 4 chapter 173-174 of Yâkût. New York, 2010, (first published 1890).

### **3 Russian Land acquisitions in the Holy Land, Archaeology and pilgrimage**

An independent monograph is needed to study the archaeological information which can be drawn from the various pilgrimage accounts both Western and Eastern. However, it also needs to be stated, that the various pilgrimage accounts are not always useful for historical testimony as they often repeat themselves that is, the same theme appears over and over again in the accounts. When the pilgrim was writing his account he was obviously not interested primarily in what others said about the given topic, but about what was his or her impression of the subject at hand. Of course, all the more the pilgrims were not interested in depicting the things they have seen and concentrating on those aspects about which no one had commented on or written about. In this regard, the accounts dealing with travels to the Sinai, Egypt and other similar areas can be of more use for the archaeologist or historian than the ones traditionally focusing on Jerusalem or the Holy Land.

In the nineteenth century many of the Russian accounts follow a comparativist line of thinking. The Bible is the guide for the pilgrim and things are assessed in relation to the testimony of the Bible. Later however due to the high scholarship standards of the protagonists of the Russian mission in the Holy Land, there was a trend to study the subjects at hand not necessarily to prove or disprove the Bible. Even Porphyriy Uspenskiy was one such critical scholar. In this regard while the Russians were late comers on the archaeological scene and did not have the possibilities as the English or French expeditions in the Middle East, their meticulous behaviour and research placed them at the top of the scholarship of the period.

Initially the region of the Holy Land was incorporated into the scholarly interests of the Russian Archaeological institution in Constantinople. Of course, due to various reasons the institute was slow in its exploration of Palestine and the surrounding area. The Russian explorations were reaching greater momentum at the very end of the nineteenth century. On the 11<sup>th</sup> of April 1900 there was a gathering of the Orthodox Palestinian society in relation to Palestine and Syria and other neighbouring areas where P. K. Kokovtsev (П. К. Коковцев)

expressed the need for more intensive archaeological work especially in relation to the Palestinian society.<sup>1</sup> Even given the fact that the Russian Archaeological institution in Constantinople was not primarily interested in Palestine it was associated with some interesting areas of research, like the famous Madaba (21:30; Joshua 13:9) where the now famous mosaic floors were found. It took a keen interest in the site and commissioned the Russian artist of German descent N. K. Kluge to make some drawings.

Coinciding with the more intensive interest in Palestine at the end of the nineteenth century, we may not here the activities of (Н.П.Кондаков), who is a well known scholar and author. Alexander the III, personally committed him to travel to the Caucasian area to document the historical evidence. In 1891 the Imperial Orthodox Palestinian Society sent him on a scholarly expedition to Palestine. Later in 1898, he travelled with a joint French/Russian expedition to Mt. Athos.<sup>2</sup> In 1900 he travelled to Macedonia on a scholarly expedition.

Kondakov made remarks about his pilgrimage in 1891-1892, when he travelled to Palestine and Syria, with a scholarly expedition. His account<sup>3</sup> offers a scholarly study of the monuments and other objects that Kondakov had seen on his journey. His expedition also made photographs and Kondakov studies the monuments and artistry from the point of view of a comparative framework.

He was among other things interested in the relationship between Byzantine art and the art forms of Palestine, often also making comparisons with Islamic art. Kondakov approaches his project with a solid scholarly background and his reliance on sources and other material is on a high scholarly standard. He mentions and compares sources from early pilgrims such as the Pilgrim of Antonios of Placentia (570), who wrote about among other things the existence in his day of the altar of Abraham, where he was supposed to sacrifice his son, and where Melchisedek was to bring a sacrifice.<sup>4</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> Сообщения Православного Палестинского Общества, 1901, т12, 362.

<sup>2</sup> See his *Памятники христианского искусства на Афоне*, 1902, which was produced as a result of this journey.

<sup>3</sup> Кондаков, Н.П., *Археологические Путешествіе по Сиріи, и Палестинѣ*, Санкт Петербургъ, 1904.

<sup>4</sup> Ibid., 243.

There were other Russian organisations with historical interest and many other lesser known organisations. There was the Russian Archaeological Society (Российское Археологическое Общество), Archaeological Commission (Археологическая комиссия), The Odessa Society of history and ancient studies (Одесское Общество истории и древности) and other organisations dealing with archaeological issues.

Research among other things entailed the identification and confirmation of the Holy sites especially unsurprisingly, the location of the Holy Sepulchre. Of course, the Holy Sepulchre is now located inside the city whereas according to Biblical testimony the tomb of Christ was outside the city gates and also according to tradition. There are claims, that doubt that the contemporary Holy Sepulchre is the true location of Christ's tomb and for example a rival site was suggested (so called Gordons Calvary). The so called Pilgrim of Bordeaux (*Itinerarium Burdigalense*) mentions a Basilica being built by Constantine the Great (visited Jerusalem in 333). It was dedicated around 336.<sup>1</sup> It was burned by the Persians in 614 and then restored by Modestus (abbot of the monastery of Theodosius 616-626). Khosrau banished the Jews from Jerusalem and placed Modestus in charge of repairs of the Holy sites.<sup>2</sup>

In 628 Heraclius reconquered Jerusalem and nominated Modestus as Patriarch. Antiochus writes that when Modestus died he was buried in the Martyrium which according to him was the burial place of the Archbishops of Jerusalem.<sup>3</sup> The Church was again destroyed in around 1009 by Caliph al-Hākim Bī-Amr Allāh. The church was restored by Constantine Monomachus. In the twelfth century the Crusaders made general modifications to the church. The contemporary church dates to 1810. Eusebius also offers an account of Constantine's Basilica. Eusebius states that the area of the burial of Jesus until Constantine's day was filled with dirt and a temple of Aphrodite was built over the site.

The efforts of Antonin Kapustin who started in 1883 and Conrad Shicks (1822-1901) excavations confirmed that the Basilica of Constantine included the area of the Acra. The Acra walls and walls of the city

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<sup>1</sup> See Vered Shalev-Hurvitz, *Holy Sites Encircled, The Early Byzantine Concentric Churches of Jerusalem*, Oxford University press, 2015.

<sup>2</sup> See David Christian Clausen, *The Upper Room and Tomb of David, The History, Art and Archaeology, of the Cenacle on Mt. Zion*, McFarland Publishers, 2016.

<sup>3</sup> Conybeare, F.C., Antiochus Strategos, The Capture of Jerusalem by the Persians, in 614 AD in: *English Historical Review*, 25, 502-517, 1910, 517.

where incorporated into the walls of the basilica. Further the scarp which led from the north to the south and which then turned from the east to the west was filled in order to level out the entire square. The Basilica thus incorporated the north, east and south side of the Acra. The north side followed the wall of the enclosed portico parallel to the Basilica, the second and the third wall the wall of the Basilica itself. The Basilica thus included the older Jewish walls, excavated in the Russian area, which followed the south east angle of the Basilica.<sup>1</sup> Thus it was concluded that "having utilised the building of the Acra, the architect (according to the witness of Jerome, Eustathius, the presbyteros of Constantinople), had extended for a little the square towards the east, taking in fold a part of the market square to that element, which followed the protruding outside from the walls outputs, in the middle of which there was now a threshold; in this way the gate of the way of the cross, which led to the forum of the Acra, the gate of Ephrem, were filled, but the causeway in the shape of the letter L remained, following a street which led next to a covered portico, which formed the southern border of the basilica. The Russian area preserved two columns, which supported this portico, the distance between the columns was 4,75 meters. There at the same place there are two columns and a pilaster, which after the restoration of Shick belong to the *propyleum*, the outer columns of which protruded onto the market place."<sup>2</sup> The excavations had provoked various positive reactions but there was also a negative

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<sup>1</sup> Научные предприятия Палестинского Общества, *Журнал Министерства народного просвещения*, 1884, ч. 234, 9.

<sup>2</sup> Ibid. "воспользовавшись постройкой Акры, архитектор (по свидетельству блаженного Иеронима, Евстафия, пресвитера Консантинопольского) немного расширил площадь к востоку, захватив часть торговой площади по ту черту, которая образовывалась выходящими за стену выступами, среди которых был открытый ныне порог; таким образом, ворота крестного пути, ведущие на форум Акры, ворота Ефремовы, были заложены, но приход в виде буквы Л остался, образуя улицу, шедшую возле крытого портика, который составлял южную границу базилики. На русском месте базилики сохранились 2 столба, поддерживавшие этот портик; расстояние между столбами составляет 4,75 метра. Затем, на том же мест находятся 2 столба и пилястр, принадлежавшие, по реставрации Шика, пропилеям, внешние столбы которых выходили на торговую площадь".

one from Mansurov who doubted the conclusions about the second wall of Jerusalem, the threshold of the gate and the Basilica of Constantine.<sup>1</sup>

The discussions incorporated a number of scholars, and the results were given over to the Council of the Russian Archaeological Society (Совет Русского Археологического Общества (РАО) for an independent inquiry. This had concluded that: It is likely that the newly discovered threshold with traces of a gate, and also the second wall, coming from the north to the south, belong to an ancient period. Further, In this regard it would be acceptable to acknowledge, that all these remains were incorporated into some form of construction, most likely near to the gate tower at the second Jerusalem gate, and that generally the close relationship of the remains with the second Jerusalem gate is beyond doubt. Again further, from the point of the Christian tradition we cannot definitively exclude the close relationship of the discovered threshold to the way of the cross of the Saviour. Again further, at the present state of our knowledge and the existing columns and pilaster there is no doubt and no other possibility of seeing anything else, than a *propyleum* of the Basilika of Constantine the Great; and in this case there is no alternative but to acknowledge that the remains of the ancient Jewish walls were incorporated into the buildings of Constantine.<sup>2</sup>

The first Russian Consul in Jerusalem V. I. Dorogobuzhinov (В. И. Дорогобужинов) also gained land (140 square сажен/fathoms probably equivalent to 2.1336 m) and a terrace under the remains of the Church

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<sup>1</sup> See Б. П., Мансуров *Базилика императора Константина в Святом Граде Иерусалиме*, Москва, 1885.

<sup>2</sup> *Православный Палестинский сборник*, т. III, Вып.1, Санкт Петербург, 1887, приложение V., 179-180. "Весьма вероятно, что и вновь отысканный порог со следами ворот, а также и другая стена, идущая с севера на юг, принадлежат к столь же глубокой древности. В таком случае необходимо будет принять, что все эти остатки входили в состав какого-нибудь сооружения, скорее всего приворотной башни при второй Иерусалимской стене, и что вообще близкое отношение остатков ко второй Иерусалимской стене не подлежит сомнению. Что с точки зрения христианского Предания не может быть решительно отрицаемо и близкое отношение найденного порога к Крестному пути Спасителя. При настоящем состоянии наших знаний в существующих на русском месте колоннах в пилястре нет никакой возможности видеть что-либо другое, кроме пропиеи базилики Константина Великого; а в таком случае необходимо признать, что остатки древнееврейских стен введены были в состав сооружений Константина."

of Santa Maria Latina in march 1859.<sup>1</sup> It had ancient ruins and was to serve as the place for the Consuls house. However, the house of the consul was built elsewhere (on Meidan square). In 1859 the Russian Consul organised some preliminary archaeological research there. The area gained by the consul was explored to some extent already in the 1840s by the Prussian consul Gustav Ernst Schultz (1811-1851 an Orient researcher at the Königsberg University and first Prussian Consul in Jerusalem 1842-1851).<sup>2</sup>

During the tenure of Schultz and the following Prussian Consul a library was established linked with the Prussian Consulate. Schultz discovered in this area three remaining columns and a pilaster.<sup>3</sup> In July 1859 the Russian area was expanded with additional land purchased. Further land was again purchased in 1863. The Russian area was also explored by non-Russian archaeologists which demonstrates that the Russians were aware of the international implications of the cultural heritage of the Holy Land and were willing to cooperate. This was also shown by the statement of the French orientalist and archaeologist Charles Simon Clermont-Ganneau who in the summer of 1874 worked in the Russian area. He wrote: "The Russian Consul and Archimandrite Antonin (Kapustin) have with a loving attitude have offered me the necessary permit; here in any case I found myself outside of a direct or indirect interference of local authorities.<...>A few years ago (1864) K. Wilson made some excavations and thus begun exploration in this area, which provoked interest among those interested in the topography of the city, and among archaeologists, but he was unable to continue his work".<sup>4</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> Архимандрит Августин (Никитин), *Святая Земля*, Издание Русской Духовной Миссии в Иерусалиме, 2011, 287.

<sup>2</sup> Schultz was followed by Georg Rosen (1820-1891) who was consul in Jerusalem from 1852-1867. He wrote his memoirs *Oriental Memories of a German Diplomat*, London, 1930.

<sup>3</sup> Научные предприятия Палестинского Общества, *Журнал Министерства народного просвещения* 1884, ч. 234, июль-август, 2-3, (author not indicated).

<sup>4</sup> "Русский консул и архимандрит Антонин (Капустин) любезно предоставили мне необходимое дозволение; здесь во всяком случае я находился вне прямого или косвенного вмешательства местных властей. <....> Несколько лет тому назад (1864) К. Вильсон прорытием нескольких траншей положил начало раскопкам на этом месте, которое одинаково интересует как изучающих топографию города, так и археологов, но он не был в состоянии продолжать их", *Сообщения Православного Палестинского Общества* 1900, 160/161. See also Charles Clermont Ganneau, *Archaeo-*



The area was further explored in 1864 by the French archaeologist Eugène Melchior de Vogüé who was a promoter of Russian culture among other things. He married the Russian sister of General Michael Nikolaevich Annenkoff. In 1865 it was Charles William Willson mentioned above who explored the area (Palestine Exploration Fund).<sup>1</sup> Later Vogüé had praised the accurateness of the Russian archaeological excavations of the area. In his work published in 1886 he wrote: "In the name of Biblical scholarly studies I thank for the services of the (Palestinian. Archim. Aug.) Society for the archaeology of the Holy Land, and the explanation of one of the most intriguing issues dealing with the topography of the Holy Land...The excavations, which were carried out by the Society, have with a smaller scale achieved that important goal, of presenting all the facts located in the area, and in this regard have exhausted the issue. We can be certain, that the exploration of the place, completely in the area of the Russian possessions, offered the most it could give...Of course it is regretful that the excavations could not continue in the courtyard, which belongs to the Coptic monastery and encircling the underground church of the founding of the cross; there is no doubt that they would have located important and authentic traces of Constantine's buildings. But I fear that this generation will not witness this kind of spirit of patience and neglect of possible prejudices which would make this kind of work possible. Whatever the case it is good, that the Russian government and the Russian Palestinian Society have established a number of given scholarly facts in light of the many questions which are raised by the honourable memorial consecrated for the Holy Sepulchre. I thank them in the name of the friends of the Near East, I thank them for this place, which is linked with my humble scholarly interests."<sup>2</sup>

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*logical Researches in Palestine, 1873-1874*, translated by J. McFarlane from the French, Palestinian Exploration Fund, London, vol. 1-2, 1896. See also <https://archive.org/stream/archaeologicalre01cler#page/n21/mode2up>.

<sup>1</sup> See Покровский И. В., Раскопки на русском месте в Иерусалиме, in: *Христианское чтение*, Санкт Петербург 1886, март-апрель.

<sup>2</sup> *Православный палестинский сборник*, том. III, Вып. 1., Санкт Петербург 1887, 255-256. "Именем научных библийских исследований, благодарю за оказанные (Палестинским. Архим. Авг.) Обществом услуги археологии Святой Земли, разъяснением одного из важнейших вопросов, касающихся топографии Иерусалима...Раскопки, произведенные русским Обществом, достигли по меньшей мере той важной цели, что доставили все данные, которые заключались на месте, и в этом отношении

As we have noted, the area was also explored by the famous Antonin Kapustin (Антонин Капустин) who started in 1883 with the cooperation of Conrad Schick (1822-1901). Antonin Kapustin is noted for his wide scholarly interests which included among other things archaeological pursuits. Antonin Kapustin even established an archaeological museum within the confines of the Russian grounds. Importantly, Antonin Kapustin identified one of the ancient walls of Jerusalem (the second wall), which as we have seen was related to the issue of how to explain that the location of the Holy Sepulchre was within the city walls when according to Jewish tradition tombs could not be within the city gates. The first wall was related to David (2 Samuel 5:7, 5:9). This wall was later reconstructed during king Hezekiah. A second wall was established under Nehemiah (the one which was around in the period of Jesus). It appears that the tomb of Christ was included within the city walls when another third wall was built under Herodes Agrippa I who also wanted to include Bezetha into the vicinity of the city and thus expanded the city and its walls. The contemporary wall was built under Sultan Suleiman, between 1534-1542. Apart from identifying the second wall Kapustin also located one of the gates, the threshold of the Judgement gate.

The famous Alexandrian dependency (Александровское подворье), is built over the archaeological remains of the threshold of the Judgement gate, the Arch of the basilica of Constantine, and the other remains. As such the building was inaugurated by the Palestinian Society and completed in 1891. The building was begun on the 13<sup>th</sup> of September 1887. After the First World War the *Podvorie* was taken care of by the Russian Church Abroad.

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исчерпали вполне вопрос. Можно быть уверенны, что изучение места, по крайней мере в пределах русских владений, дало все, что оно могло дать...Правда, жалко, что раскопки эти не могли быть продолжены во дворе, принадлежащем коптскому монастырю и окружающем подземную церковь Обретения Креста; нет сомнения, что они открыли бы важные и подлинные следы Константиновых сооружений. Но я боюсь, что настоящее поколение не увидит того духа терпимости и забвения предрассудков, чтобы подобные работы были мыслимы. До тех же пор крайне счастливо, что русское правительство и русское Палестинское Общество доставили несколько научных данных к тем многочисленным вопросам, которые возбуждает достоимый памятник, посвященный Святому Гробу. Благодарю их именем друзей христианского Востока, благодарю их за то место, которые ими отведено моим скромным исследованиям."

I have visited the Podvorie in 2017 and the mother superior told me that under the care of the Russian Church Abroad and its Palestinian Society the area was carefully preserved and maintained in its pre-revolutionary manner. She expressed her fear that if the Russian Orthodox Church would officially take the *Podovrie* under its governance the place would lose much of its historical and cultural value. She also was critical in relation to some contemporary authors who writing about the subject were according to her opinion presenting a biased picture of history favouring an interpretation which would be more in line with the interests of the contemporary Russian Orthodox Church. Now there are two competing "Palestinian Societies". One in relation to the Russian Orthodox Church Abroad and another established or re-established in Russia. The one in Russia is allegedly led by a former KGB official.

*The following areas where related to Russian explorations:*

#### Jaffa

In 1868 Archimandrite Anthonin close to Jaffa bought some arid land, called *Darbateyn Tabitha*. According to tradition this was the burial area of Tabitha who was resurrected by the apostle Peter (Acts. 9:36-43). In 1874 a vast cemetery was uncovered here under the leadership of Antoniyy.

#### Jericho

In 1875 under Antonin the Archimandrite excavations where also made here by the Russians. In 1886 the Palestinian Society left 1500 roubles for excavations on the Russian area.<sup>1</sup> Apart from various things uncovered here, a mosaic tombstone was found with the name of the founder of an ancient Church called Kyriakos, who was also buried here. The Igumenos Kyriakos according to the writings died here on the 11<sup>th</sup> of December 566. Thus the Russian area stood on this foundation of an ancient monastery and Church.<sup>2</sup> An interesting granite structure was also found in a cylindrical shape close to the church.

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<sup>1</sup> Сообщения Православного Палестинского Общества, Т. 18, Санкт Петербург, 1907, 447.

<sup>2</sup> Ростовцев М., Русская археология в Палестине, Христианский восток, т. 1, вып. III, Санкт Петербург, 1912, 263.

## Mount of Olives

From the period 1868 to 1889 Archimandrite Antonin purchased more land on the Mount of Olives. There were interesting archaeological finds in this area and in the area bought in 1870 close to the area of the Ascension of the Lord on the eastern side of the Mount of Olives, there were remains of a mosaic floor with Armenian inscriptions (V-VI century). The mosaic resembled that which was found in the monastery of the Holy Cross.<sup>1</sup> There were many other discoveries including a discovery in 1892 in the Russian area, close to the road leading from Gethsemane garden and its tomb cave of the Mother of God to the top of Mt. of Olives. There where caves found during the building activity here with interesting inscriptions and one from the VI century where there was an inscription called Tomb of John. There was some reference to an Armenian of Taron or Daron.<sup>2</sup>

## Bet Zacharia (house of Zacharias)

After some dramatic events the Russians acquired a site associated with the house of Zacharias in 1902. It was located 16 km from Jerusalem and 7, 5 kilometres from Bethlehem on the Hebron road. Many ancient remains were uncovered including a small church (20x10 meters) with an inscription associating this church with the area of the house of Zacharias.<sup>3</sup> Research was also carried out in Tiberias.

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<sup>1</sup> Сообщения Православного Палестинского Общества, Т. 15, Санкт Петербургъ, 1904, 130.

<sup>2</sup> Сообщения Православного Палестинского Общества, Т. 3, Санкт Петербургъ, 1892, 355-356.

<sup>3</sup> Стеллецкий, И. Я., *Мадебская карта-мозаика Палестины в связи с вопросом о новой (русской) горней Бет-Захарии*, Москва, 1909, 37.

## 4 Typology of pilgrimage in the nineteenth century

As we have implied the nineteenth century was a period of great expansion of relations with Palestine, which at least at the end of the century went hand in hand with the explosion of pilgrimage to these areas. Transport had improved, information about the Holy Land improved in terms of Russia, and especially printing possibilities and improved publishing meant that in this century we are witnesses to an explosion in pilgrimage and travel accounts.

There were some basic and often published works of some popular pilgrims. There were many articles in lesser known journals and smaller publishing endeavours. It seems, that everyone who had travelled to Palestine had the impulsion to write an account of their journey. For the historian this wealth of material is interesting of course, but presents challenges in how to realistically sift through this material and present information. The problem of course is that many of the accounts and its information repeat itself. The most notable example is the information on the Holy Sepulchre.

Undoubtedly, what distinguishes these accounts is what we may term as social history. If one was to approach the accounts by describing their impressions or depictions of the Holy Land, the things they have seen, this would entail a taxonomic work of classification. We are not sure whether this would be rewarding enough in its own right. In terms of the Holy Land, and the buildings in Jerusalem, there is not much information one can obtain by a comparison with all the pilgrimage accounts of the period. If we do not mention the issue of archaeological excavations, the pilgrim accounts would have to be studied side by side in order to achieve results and new information related to archaeological issues.

Any scholar sifting through the pilgrim accounts will be struck not by the new information that the pilgrim accounts give on various historical themes, but by the "personal story" of the account. In terms of the pilgrimage accounts of the nineteenth century new forms both literary and culturally appear. It is a period when we can classify the accounts according to the people involved, according to their protagonists. Based on the world views of the pilgrims and other travellers, their ways of dealing with and choosing themes, their forms of

interaction, one is capable of receiving a wealth of information regarding many multidisciplinary historical aspects. Thus we have divided some representative account into sections according to the protagonists involved.

#### *4a Student pilgrimages*

With the growth of massive pilgrimages, a new form of pilgrimage emerged in the nineteenth century in the form of student pilgrimages. These were often but not exclusively organised in theological schools or spiritual academies. For example, we know of five such pilgrimages from the Moscow Spiritual Academy. On one such occasion the Bishop Arseniiy (Преосвященный Арсений) rector of the Moscow Spiritual Academy (Ректором Московской Духовной Академии) had undertaken a journey to Athos and the Holy land together with a couple of students and professors.

Arseniy as a student of the Kiev Spiritual Academy, had already participated in such a pilgrimage to Athos (1883 and 1884).<sup>1</sup> At that time, due to various reasons however, he did not reach Palestine. This new pilgrimage was supposed to have an "Academic character".

As a teacher of the New Testament Arseniy desired to experience the atmosphere of the Holy Land. This was also true of another participant the teacher of the Old Testament at the academy V. P. Mishtsin (В.П. Мышцын). Mishtsin was also supposed to catalogue the library and museum of the previous head of the mission Archimandrite Antonin, who bequeathed his library to the Synod and the museum to the mission. He received this task from the Ober-procurator of the Holy Synod. The famous I. F. Kapterev (И. Ф. Каптерев) also participated. The journey was approved by the Moscow Metropolitan Vladimir and the bishop received leave for the duration of the 1<sup>st</sup> of June until the 15<sup>th</sup> of August 1900. Students of the Academy were also invited to participate. Various obstacles however had occasioned a decrease in interest among the students. One of these included reports from the newspapers about Port Said, Alexandria and then Smyrna being centres of a plague. Thus in the end only ten students participated, these included: (4 level end course курс, P. I. Boguslavskiy, П. И. Богуславский, P. M. Minin, П. М. МИНИН, N. E. Rummyantsev Н. Е. Румянцев, A. M. Smirnov, А. М.

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<sup>1</sup> Published as *Дневник студента-паломника на Афон*.

Смирнов, V. P. Shipulin B. П. Шипулин, 3 level course курса, М. V. Voytsechovich M. B. Войцехович, М. I. Sentsov, М. И. Сенцов, А. I. Nikolskiy A. И. Никольский, S. G. Kolmakov, С. Г. Колмаков, 2 level course курс, Aburus a noble person from Beirut Абурус, араб. Уроженец Бейрута.). Once information about the journey was published in the newspapers others wanted to go as well but this was not possible "due to the specific goals of the journey".<sup>1</sup>

The author notes the relative rarity of hierarchs going to Palestine noting that it was only the bishop Alexander the bishop of Poltava in the sixties of the nineteenth century, further Bishop Modest (преосв. Модест), the contemporary Archbishop of Volyn- being in 1884 the bishop of Lublin, and Kyril Naumov (Кирил Наумов), who in the sixties was the head of the Mission in Jerusalem with the rank of bishop who travelled to Palestine. Kiril Naumov was also known for his tragic fate.<sup>2</sup>

On the 28<sup>th</sup> of May participants of the journey gathered on the premises of the Rector of the Academy to discuss issues relating to the journey. On the 29<sup>th</sup> of May a *Moleben* was served at six in the evening next to the coffin of *prepodobniy* Sergiy for a fortunate journey. On the second of June most of the pilgrims had come to Odessa, where they gathered in the dependency (*подворье*) of the Saint Panteleimon monastery in Odessa. On the second day after the arrival in Odessa, after morning tea and a swim on Lanzherone (Ланжероне) the pilgrims with the bishop visited the dependency (*подворье*) of the Andrew and Ilia Athos sketes. The author remarks that regardless of the fact that there are 400 000 inhabitants in Odessa, there are relatively only a few churches. Only 24 including house churches.<sup>3</sup>

Coming to Palestine the group and author notice many interesting things. The author of the article mentions the colonisation of Palestine by the Jews. He states that in the beginning the colonisation processes

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<sup>1</sup> Епископ Арсений (Стадницкий), *В Стране Священных Воспоминаний*, Императорское Православное Палестинское Общество, Москва, 2014, 30. From the edition *В стране священных воспоминаний. Описание путешествия в Св. Землю, совершенного летом 1900 г. преосвященным Арсением, епископом Волоколамским, ректором Московской Духовной Академии, в сопровождении некоторых профессоров и студентов, Свято-Троицкая Сергиева Лавра, собственная типография, 1902.*

<sup>2</sup> Ibid. 31.

<sup>3</sup> Ibid. 35.

were disorganised and characterised by the relative inexperience of Jews who were coming to Palestine and did not know the climate and conditions of the area. He also mentions that Rotshield (Ротшильд) was buying up land to helping the colonising processes.<sup>1</sup> He states, that there are 20 colonies of Jews, especially Galilee and Samaria, where the colonies occupied the best areas of the Sharon Valley. The Rotshields were responsible for taking care of ten colonies with much investment. The Rotshields influence was good, but according to the author also led to demoralisation, since, the colonists were taught to depend on handouts from the Rotshields which undermined their work ethic and initiative. On the other hand in return the Rotshield administration required discipline and obedience which led to the curtailment of freedom of the colonists.<sup>2</sup>

The author mentions how the Roman Catholic Churches are clean and there is beautiful ornamentation. This is in comparison to the Greek Churches which were worse of in this respect. However regardless of this fact, the visit of the Greek Churches brought a more "spiritual experience" than the visit of the Roman Catholic ones.<sup>3</sup>

As is seen from the account the students visited various places and experienced interesting events. Thus for example, they visited the place where the Oak of Mamre was located. The Liturgy is performed on a table placed beneath the oak. Students take some oak acorns, as „souvenirs“. The students comment on how amazing the work of fr. Kapustin was, since he built a church here, even though there was an agreement with the Muslims, that no Christian buildings would be built here.<sup>4</sup>

#### *4b Literature of facts*

##### *E. Markov*

Similarly E. Markov (Е. Марков) observed that regardless of the beauty, novelty and cleanliness of the Roman Catholic Churches, these churches lack something which the other sanctuaries have. As if with the cleanliness all the good features of the dirt of history was wiped

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<sup>1</sup> Ibid. 427.

<sup>2</sup> Ibid. 428.

<sup>3</sup> Ibid. 377.

<sup>4</sup> Ibid., 270.



away.<sup>1</sup> The Greek Churches display history and its continuity to the ages of Jesus.<sup>2</sup>

Writers such as Markov represent a generation of writers who describe what they have seen and present it in a factual manner, now and then inserting their own emotional or aesthetical reflections. While this type of literature is more realistic and encompassing than other types of literature, and lacks a devotional tinge to it, resembling the kind of gentleman like travels of English individuals of the same period, it also can be a little tedious.

Evgeniy Markov (Евгеній Марков) was a traveller who also travelled to other places including the Crimea. He wrote a number of works including *Pictures of the Crimea: Pictures of life in the Crimea, its nature and history* (Очерки Крыма: Картины крымской жизни, природы, и истории) Apart of other things Markov presents an interesting account of his travels in Egypt.

Markov characterises Ismail the Khedive of Egypt, as a lover of pleasure, wasting much money and therefore drawing Egypt into the hands of unscrupulous capitalists and moneylenders.<sup>3</sup> He characterises the situation in the following way: "Even though the Khedive, has raised his Old Testament country to the level of European civilisations, he achieved this through a complete disruption of his nation by subjugating Egypt, to the profit interests of its creditors. Even this civilisation bought by Egypt with the price of blood and freedom-does not count for one copper penny. This civilisation of tractors, bulvars, train railway station, cheap street newspaper is nothing more and nothing less."<sup>4</sup> Markov in another passage speaks of his discussion with a Russian diplomat in Egypt. He states that the English have a weak grip on Egypt regardless of their efforts, and that the loyalty of the

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<sup>1</sup> Марков, Е., *Путешествие по Св. Земле*, Санкт Петербургъ, 1891, 421-422.

<sup>2</sup> Ibid.

<sup>3</sup> Марковъ, Е., *Путешествіе на Востокъ, Царьградъ и архипелагъ въ странѣ фараоновъ*, С. Типографія М.М.Стасюлевича, В.О., Петербургъ, 1890, 320.

<sup>4</sup> "Хотя онъ сильно двинулъ свою ветхозавѣтную страну по пути европейской цивилизации, но достигъ этого цѣною совершеннаго разоренія своего народа и полнаго подчиненія Египта корыстному хозяйничанью его кредиторовъ. Да и цивилизациа-го, купленная Египтомъ цѣною собственной крови и свободы-гроша мѣднаго не стоитъ. Это цивилизациа трактировъ, бульваровъ, желѣзнодорожнаго вокзала, дешевой уличной газеты,-не глубже и не важнѣе." Ibid., 320.

Egyptian army with English officers towards the British is an illusion. However the English soldiers on their own are courageous and fearless warriors. He also stated that with a little effort Russia could have had a better role in Egypt.<sup>1</sup>

Markov mentions the archaeological excavations made by the French archaeologist A. Mariette and the pyramid complex in Saqqara among other things. He further discusses fairly accurately the complexities of how pyramids developed as architectural forms and in detail offers an excursus into the religious dimensions of the Egyptian cult.<sup>2</sup> He describes the *mastaba* of Ti in Saqqara. Ismail Pasha apparently according to Markov admired the work of A. Mariette and took steps to prevent others from destroying the "systematic nature" of Mariettes work.<sup>3</sup>

A lot was said about climbing on a pyramid and tourist concerns. Markov notes the annoying at times help and movement of the local Bedouins offering to help with climbing on a pyramid. These Bedouins are at times indispensable help for the climber.<sup>4</sup> Markov offers an overview of the Coptic quarter in Cairo, of the area of New Babylon. Markov states, that in the Coptic churches there are schools, which follows an ancient tradition of building schools not only next to churches but inside them. He mentions the places associated with the movements of the Holy family. Markov mentions the humble situation of the Greek Patriarchate in Egypt, which is very small in contrast to its glorious past and in comparison to the Coptic Church. Markovs description of the Holy Land follows the usual line. The information he gives is more interesting in terms of the fact that it comes from the latter half of the nineteenth century.

*A. Norov*

Another similar account focusing on a no-nonsense factual description is that of Norov (А. Норовъ), who perhaps due to his love of detail "no nonsense" travels was so popular. Norov is like a Jules Verne gentlemen, providing minute detail, a description of everything he saw.

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<sup>1</sup> Ibid. 330.

<sup>2</sup> Ibid. 358-363.

<sup>3</sup> Ibid. 372.

<sup>4</sup> Ibid. 268.

But it is important here to mention that just as others like him of the period, he basis his account in reference to the Bible. The Bible is often quoted in comparison to the places he visits. He travelled to Egypt and to the Near East (1834/1835) and took a more scholarly approach to his travels and who published his work in five parts. He was also a minister of national culture/education.

As a true “aesthete” he lists as one of the reasons for pilgrimage by a reference to Dante. Quoting from Dante „Nel mezzo del cammin di nostra vita Mi ritrovai per una selva oscura, Chè la dirrita via era smarrita.“ Dante (Inf. I. 1-5), he continues „Having lived half of my life, I understood what it means to experience illness of the soul. I was experiencing internal anxiety, I was searching for a spiritual haven, I was thirsty for comfort, I could not find these anywhere, and I was in a position of a person, who lost the road and who blindly treaded in the darkness of the forest. Well the reader will hopefully not scold me for a paraphrase of the Homer of Tuscany; his words have been engraved in my heart and express its exact state, and the state in which I found myself. The thought of travelling to the Holy land had been secretly present in my mind for a long time; - I was not against being curious about seeing the shining East; but it was Jerusalem which convinced me completely: to kiss the traces of the Savior of the world in those very places where he accomplished the mystery of the salvation of humanity,- but I had to overcome many obstacles.”<sup>1</sup>

Interestingly enough, Norov mentions contemporary biblical research. He cites western works very often. For example, he refers to the work *Biblical Researches in Palestine, Mount Sinai and Arabia Petrea. A Journal of travels in the year 1838* by E. Robinson and E. Smith, undertaken in reference to Biblical Geography. (London 1841, 3. Vol. In 8). For Avraam Norov the Bible is the most reliable guide to Palestine and there was an effort to co-ordinate ones travels with the Bibles testimony.<sup>2</sup>

Norov is also interesting since just as Markov, there is a tendency to give more attention to Egypt. We are bombarded with detail. Thus in

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<sup>1</sup> Путешествие по святой землѣ въ 1835 году, Авраама Норова, (Издание второе, дополненное), Съ примѣчаніями на Путешествіе Игумена Даніила въ XII вѣкѣ, Часть Первая, Санкт Петербургъ, 1844.

<sup>2</sup> Ibid., vi.

chapter one we are told of the lake of Menzale-Mataria-San or Zoan (Quote from Psalm 78: 10-13). Norov goes from Damyata through the lake Menzale and the desert of the Suez isthmus into Palestine. On lake Menzale Norov notices some "ancient ruins" on islands of the lake. In the vicinity of the lake according to Norov were ancient cities such as Panefizis, (Панефизисъ) or Diospolis (Диосполисъ) Tenezus (Тенезусъ), Tuna (Туна) Erakleopolis maliy (Ираклеополисъ малый) and others. The remains of Tenezus (Тенезусъ) according to Norov which was famous for its garments are reduced to an island with one column in the middle of the lake.<sup>1</sup>

Norov reaches the township Mataria, built opposite a promontory which is flanked by small islands belonging to it. Norov states that Mataria is the Diospolis (Диосполисъ), which the prophets state is No or No-Ammon (Но or Но-Аммонъ).<sup>2</sup> This is so because the Egyptians devoted the city to Ammon. The Greeks called Ammon Jupiter or Dio and so called the city in this way: Diospolis (Диосполисъ). Norov refers to Ezechiel, and his statement of the waters falling back to Egypt opposite Diospolis. This chasm was called the mouth of Mendez, similarly as the town of Mendez which can be still seen little lower to Diaspolis.

The remains of Mendez can still be seen close to the city of Menzale. Mendez suffers from inundation from the Nile and lake and the place is called Telul Dibele (Телуль-дибеле). The lake Menzale borders with the sea with a sand bar, which is punctured in four areas two of which can be used by ships. One of these used by ships is the Diospolis one otherwise known as the Mendeza and is located as we have stated opposite Mataria, the Arabs call its mouth Dibe (Дибе); the second is opposite the mouth of the canal Moez (Моез), it is the ancient mouth of Tanitiyskoe (Танигійское), called now (Yauma-faradza) Яума-фараджа; the other two punctures were known to the ancients as the false mouths (Strabo XVII, 801). The greatest length of the Menzale Lake from

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<sup>1</sup> He refers here to the destruction of the place by reference to the Bible quoting Ezechiel 30, 13-18.

<sup>2</sup> Norov notes: In the Hebrew Bible Наумъ. 3:8 Jerem. XLVI, 25. Ezech. XIII., 14. We should not confuse Диосполисъ (Diospolis) of Lower Egypt with Диосполисъ (Diospolis) of Upper Egypt (Thebes); the first was called the small, and the other the big Диосполисъ (Diospolis). See Strab. XVII, 802, 805. 815, Bochart. Paleg. Edit. 1712, pgs. 5-6.

(Bogaz Damyata) Богаза Дамьятскаго to the shores of (Bir Deodar) Биръ-Деодаръ or to the remnants of ancient Tafnes (Тафнес), is around 90 versts, and the greatest width against the mouth of Tanitiyskiy (Танитійскаго) is around 25 versts. The depth of the lake in the usual time is around 3 to 6 feet, apart from those places where the mouths of Mendeziyskoe (Мендезийское), Tanitiyskoe, (Танитійское) and Peluziskoye (Пелузійское) are located; where the depth reaches 16 feet.

In terms of Jerusalem and Palestine, we are offered a completely detailed account of the things located there. Thus we have a list and plans of areas. The plan of the Lords tomb included (also according to Vorovyev Воробьев), 1., Entrance into the Church, 2., Place for the Muslim guards 3., The place where the holy body of the Savior was anointed, *In the area of the sole of Golgotha*: 4., The tomb of king Godfred, 5., The tomb of king Baldwin, 6., The Tomb of Melchizedek., 7., Area of Saint John the Baptist and Adam 8., The room of the Greek vestments, 9., The raised area of Golgotha and the place where the cross of Christ the Savior was raised, 10., The altar of the Armenians, 11., The place where the Mother of God was located, when the body of Christ was being anointed 12., Entrance into the area of the Armenians, 13., The remains of the stone, which was removed from the entrance to the burial area of the Saviour, 14., The funeral area and tomb of Christ the Saviour, 15., Coptic altar, 16 Syrian Altar, 17., the tombs of Joseph and Nicodem, 18., the so-called emperor Arch, 19., The central part of the Greek Church, where the center of the earth is also marked., 20., The place for monks during the period of liturgical service, 21., The place of the Patriarch of Jerusalem, 22., place for other Patriarchs, 23., The iconostasis with the tsar doors, 24, Area for the *proskomidi*, 25, altar, 26, The place of the Patriarch in the Altar, 27., staircase with 49 steps which lead to the area where the cross of the Lord was found, 28., The area of the justified robber 20., Area of saint Helen, 30, Steps with 13 steps to the area where the Cross of the Saviour was found, 31, The are where the Cross of the Saviour was found, 32 Catholic altar, 33, The area of humbling and the remains of the column to which the Saviour was tied under the pretorianship of Pilat, 34., The area where the clothes of the Saviour were divided, 35., The Area of Longinus the centurion, 36, The area of the Mother of God, 37, The bonds of Christ, 38, The vestement area of the Catholics, 39., The second part of the column of humbling,

40., the area where the cross of the Saviour was discerned, 41, The area where Christ appeared before the most holy Mother, 42., The altar and Church of the Catholics, 43., Altar of the Catholics, 44.-45, the area where the Saviour appeared to Mary Magdalene, 46, Stairway leading to the hill of Golgotha., 47, Area of Saint Helen, 48, hole? (колодезь).

Further, The cave tombs of the all holy Mother of God in Gethsemane (also on the plan of the Latin author Kvarzemiy Кварезмий), 1., Entrance, 2., common area with the prayer cave of the Saviour, 3.-4, The tombs of the saints Ioakim and Anna, 5., The tomb of saint Joseph, 6., Unknown area where now there is a cell of the Greeks, 7., the *proskomidi* area of the Armenians, 8., The altar of the Abyssinians, 9., (колодезь), 10, the *proskomidi* area of the Greeks, 11., the tomb area of the Mother of God, 12., The tomb stone of the Mother of God., 13., The Praying area of the Muslims, 14., the Altar of the Jacobites., 15, The *proskomidi* area of the Greeks shared with the Armenians.

III., The Church of the Nativity of Christ in Bethlehem (from the plan of the Latin author Кварезмий). 1., Entrance 2., baptistry, 3., trapeza, 4., altar of the Armenians, 5., The altar of the Greeks., 6., Main Greek altar, 7., Greek altar of saint Nikolay, 8., Step into the area of the Nativity of Christ., 9., Small side entrance. *In the area of the Nativity of Christ:*, a.) Greek altar., shared with the Latins in the area of the birth of Christ., b.) Catholic altar, above the crib, where the small Christ was placed., c.) Altar in the name of the three magi d.) altar in memory of the killed youths e.), The tomb of Paulina and Eustachia, f.) tomb of blessed Jerome, tomb of Eusebia, h.) cell of blessed Jerome.

IV. Prison of John the Baptist in Samaria (according to the authors memory), 1.) external entrance 2.) descent into the prison, 3.) entrance into the prison, 4., fallen stone door, 5., Place where the head of John the Baptist was decapitated, 6, tomb of the prophet Avdia., 7., Tomb of saint John the Baptist, 8.,) Tomb of saint (Преподобный) Elisey (Елисей).

*K. M. Bazili*

Among the "gentlemen Biblical aesthetic literature", we can mention a little exception in the form of Bazili, who was a diplomat and wrote a very interesting account offering interesting political and historical information. His account is more interesting since the information he gives is unrepeatable elsewhere. In the same context there

was also the traveller A. N. Muraviev (А. Н. Муравьевъ), (1830 and 1839), who adopted a more reader-friendly approach publishing his "Letters from the East" (Письма съ Востока), in two volumes.

As the author writes, his book was written between 1846 and 1847 in the area of the monastery of Saint Elias Shwayya (about 30km from contemporary Beirut). Bazili states that he himself stayed in Palestine for a period from 1839 to 1853. Bazili's book is praised by Gogol.<sup>1</sup> During this time he was as he himself states instrumental in bringing peace to the local area reconciling various ethnic and political groups and decreasing the tensions between everyone. He also had to face Islamic fanaticism, feudal injustices and so on.<sup>2</sup> Interestingly he states that while there was rivalry between the various powers, more or less all desired to alleviate the plight of the Christians in a "state where there is the worst kind of government in the world".<sup>3</sup> The British Consul Colonel Hugh Henry Rose and the French Consul were cooperating regardless of the rivalry.

Bazili in his book observes, that the government of Syria and its culture of government remained pretty much the same as it was during the time of the Arab conquests of the country centuries ago. As the Christian chronicles stated, the Arabs then cut the tongues of Greek speaking mothers so that their children would not grow up learning this language. All the various powers coming to Syria did not manage to break its multi-ethnic character. While the Greek element was more or less destroyed the Greek religion not so. Bazili displays a good knowledge of the history of Syria.<sup>4</sup>

He states that Syria was marked by constant infighting between the various fractions and ethnic groups. That the Turkish stronghold is determined by playing the various fractions against each other. In his account he presents a complex and detailed history of the area, showing his historical and political competence. Among other things for example he provides an interesting account of Napoleons desire to invade India and that one of his motives for attacking Egypt was to use Egypt as

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<sup>1</sup> Гоголь, Н. В., *Полное собрание сочинений и писем, в 17 т. Т. 15*, М., изд. Во Московской Патриархии Киев, 2009, 37.

<sup>2</sup> Базили К.М., *Сирия и Палестина под турецким правительством*, Московской Государственных Университет имени М.Б. Ломоносова, 2007, 19.

<sup>3</sup> Ibid.20.

<sup>4</sup> Ibid. 27-30.

a platform to invade India. In 1800 he offered Paul I a plan of an expedition through land to India. In 1804 Napoleon planned to bring thirty thousand troops into India. After the Tilsit peace in a letter to Alexander I, Napoleon in a letter from the 2<sup>nd</sup> of February 1808 offered Alexander the possibility of a joint expedition into India.<sup>1</sup>

In terms of the Near East Bazili states: "Gone are the days in Asia, when a European genius could decide the fate of this wide continent with 30 thousand troops and three battles. The Asian nations are secretly harbouring in themselves the embryo and genius of their future fates. The ray of science, which has been for some time glowing from the East to the West and now reflected from the West to the East, is strong enough to direct the development of citizenry of the East which is renewing itself; but the attempt at cunning achievements, attempt at unexpected political revolutions during this external shine are barely fortuitous to the success of science and the creation of a civil society, a slow success but a firm one under the sign of the wise Minerva, not the wild Mars. ..."<sup>2</sup>

Further, "In relation to the religious re-education of the Arab world and the conversion of million Bedouins into a million attackers, according to the words of the new prophet and according to the footsteps of Mohammed, if this is possible in the present constellation of Arab wandering ethnic tribes and Kurds in Turkey and Persia, this change cannot be achieved by a foreign genius. No foreigner can bring about sympathy towards himself amongst the Bedouin tribes; they admire rhetorical beauty and language more so than these are valued in the palaces and journals of Western Europe, there will never be a Genius fed from the West, who would be able to utilise these two fate changing elements of civilisation in the East. It is true, that Napoleon,

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<sup>1</sup> Ibid. 81.

<sup>2</sup> Давно прошли для Азии те времена, когда европейский гений 30 тысячами войска и тремя сражениями решал судьбу этого пространного материка. Народы азиатские таят сами в себе зародыш и гений своих грядущих судеб. Луч науки, истекший некогда с Востока на Запад и ныне отражаемый Западом на Восток, силен направить гражданское развитие обновляющегося Востока; но попытки меркантильных завоеваний, попытки внезапных политических переворотов при всем наружном блеске вряд ли благоприятны успеху науки и гражданственности, успеху медлительному, но прочному под знаменами мудрой Минервы, не буйного Марса..."



instead of refuting schemes attributed to him, in fact added more to them, more value to them, which is understandable, because he wanted to maintain the English in a cautionary attitude for their Indian Empire, and at the same time to surround himself in the eyes of his nation, with something magical to provoke imagination in the West with a spark masterly gained in the East, the classical area of fiction."<sup>1</sup>

Bazili observes, that the reason why the Ottomans and others such as the Mamelukes of Egypt could govern Syria was that they never completely ruled the area in a despotic way leaving some form of independence.

Bazili also speaks about Emir Bashir Shihab II (1788-1840), who converted to Christianity. Bashir according to Bazili did not proclaim his Christianity ostentatiously often observing Islamic customs in front of Muslims.<sup>2</sup> Alphonse de Lamartine who visited the Emir in 1832 stated that he is only pretending to be a Christian. Bazili argues that he was a true Christian but had to look for diplomatic ways to deal with various problems.<sup>3</sup>

Bazili observes how the Christian sites in Palestine and the surrounding area were a good source of income for the Ottomans and the local rulers. After 1808 after the fire in the Holy Sepulchre, and its subsequent reconstruction, the numbers of visitors were increasing and the Ottomans required the payment of the Kafara, a sort of levy on

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<sup>1</sup> Ibid. 82"Что касается до религиозного преобразования арабского мира и до превращения миллиона бедуинов в миллион завоевателей, по слову нового пророка и по следам Мухаммедовым, если это и сбыточно при нынешнем состоянии арабских кочевых племен и курдов Турции и Персии, но не иноземному гению суждено совершить подобный переворот. Ни в одном кочевье бедуинском пришлец иноземный не возбудит к себе сочувствия; в них язык и красноречие играют роль несравненно более важную, чем в палатах и в журналах Западной Европы, и ни одному гению, вскормленному Западом, не будут доступны эти два великие деятели судеб народных на Востоке. Правда, Наполеон, вместо того чтобы опровергнуть приписываемые ему замыслы, старался даже придать им более веса, но это нетрудно пояснить желанием его содержать в тревоге англичан за индийское их царство и в то же время окружать себя чем-то чудесным в глазах своего народа и воспламенять воображения на Западе искрой, искусно почерпнутой им на Востоке, в классической стране вымысла."

<sup>2</sup> Ibid. 94

<sup>3</sup> See Alphonse De Lamartine, *Souvenirs, Impressions, Pensées et Paysages Pendant Un Voyage En Orient, (1832-1833), Ou Notes D'Un Voyager Par M. Alphonse De Lamartine*, Edité par Churton, London, 1835.

passage through the Holy site.<sup>1</sup> Bazili mentions how Ibrahim Pasha ordered that payments from Christians sites in Jerusalem to be abolished to the amazement of the local Christian population. This happened during the military operations of Ibrahim Pasha in Palestine. The Greek monastery had to pay to Pasha of Damascus every year the sum of 1000 moneybags (From 1820 to 1830 due to the debasement of metal content in this period 1000 moneybags where 500 piasters corresponded to 100000 roubles) plus an extra 500 moneybags when the Pasha visited and for other expenditures. The Jerusalem Mullah was paid 200 moneybags when he came to Jerusalem. Another 500 moneybags were paid to various Muslim families for their good disposition to the monastery. Further the *kafarah* we mentioned, which could have been 500 piastras for every pilgrim.<sup>2</sup> There were other charges for any possible thing if needed so. Overcharged repairs etc.

Gogol mentioned the work of Bazili and praised it. In 1842 Gogol received a blessing from bishop Innokentiy to travel to Jerusalem. The travels of Gogol to Palestine are interesting in themselves because people not directly associated with religious life rarely travelled to Palestine in contrast to European destinations.<sup>3</sup> Gogol came to Palestine in 1848. He travelled also with the members of the Russian Spiritual mission.

#### *4c Aristocrats and Noblemen*

##### *D. A. Skalon*

There were also high level visits to Palestine, which we have already seen previously in terms of the development of the Spiritual mission in Palestine. In this regard the travels of a group of noblemen as accounted for by D. A. Skalon (Д. А. Скалон) is interesting.

D. A. Skalon (Д. А. Скалон) wrote an account, of the travels of a group of pilgrims headed by Grand Prince (*Velikiy Knyaz*) Nikolay Nikolayevich.<sup>4</sup> D. A. Skalon who was himself a member of this "pilgrim"

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<sup>1</sup> Базили К.М., *Сирия и Палестина под турецким правительством*, Московской Государственных Университет имени М.Б. Ломоносова, Москва, 2007, 100.

<sup>2</sup> Ibid.112.

<sup>3</sup> Воропаев В. А., *Путешествие ко Гробу Господню*, <http://portal-slovo.ru>.

<sup>4</sup> Путешествие по Востоку и Святой Земле въ свите великаго князя Николая Николаевича въ 1872 году, Д. А. Скалона. Санкт Петербург, 1881. Печатано въ экспедиции заготовления государственных бумагъ. Скалон Дмитрий Антонович,

group wrote in a nice literary style. Gone are the endless petitions to God for a successful journey. However, readings from the Gospel and constant citations from the Bible do occur. The account is marked by a form of "Aristocratic Aestheticism". The style of the travel was also modern and different from previous journeys as the group departed on a train on the 17<sup>th</sup> of September 1872 at nine in the morning on a train to Warsaw.

On the 17<sup>th</sup> of September 1872 at nine o'clock in the morning, the group consisting of the distinguished travellers<sup>1</sup> which included Grand Prince (Velikiy Knyaz) Nikolay Nikolaevich, Prince (Knyaz) Evgeniy Maksimilianovich Romanovskiy, Gertsog Leichtenbergskiy; Princes Alexander and Constantin Petrovich Oldenburg; Graf G. A. Strogranov, General-lieutenant D.I. Skobelev; General Major M.N.Dochturov, A.A. Gall, V.N.Sipyagin, V.K.Klem; fligel-adjutant Graf G. Berg, adjutants of His Highness A.P. Strukov, D.A.Skalon and F.P.Laskovskiy; Leibchirurg A.L. Obermuller, artist E.K.Makarov, Baron E.K.Feleysen; Mr. Tolon and Kroneberg; medical assistant K.I. Berezkin and nine servants, (In Constantinople, the group was joined by N.D.Makeev, Dragoman of the

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Путешествие По Востоку И Святой Земле В Свите Великого Князя Николая Николаевича В 1872 Году, Рисунки съ натуры художника В.К. Макарова. Гравированы на деревъ художникомъ Крыжановскимъ. Заглавныя буквы и вишѣтки по рисункамъ профессора А.И. Шарлеманъ. Ръзаны въ экспедиции заготовленія гусударственныхъ бумагъ, Санктпетербургъ, Печатано въ экспедиции заготовленія гусударственныхъ бумагъ, репринт Индрик, Москва, 2007.

<sup>1</sup> Великий Князь Николай Николаевич, Князь Евгений Максимилианович Романовский, Герцог Лейхтенбергский; Принцы Александр и Константин Петровичи Ольденбургские; граф Г. А. Строганов, генерал-лейтенант Д.И.Скобелев; генерал-майоры М.Н.Дохтуров, А.А.Галл, В.Н.Сипягин, В.К.Клем; флигель-адъютант граф Г.Берг, адъютанты Его Высочества А.П.Струков, Д.А.Скалон и Ф.П.Ласковский; лейб-хирург А.Л.Обермюллер, художник Е.К.Макаров, барон Е.К.Фелейсен; гг. Толон и Кронеберг; лекарский помощник К. И. Березкин и девять человек прислуги. В Константинополе к нам присоединились: Н.Д.Макеев, драгоман посольства, назначенный сопровождать Его Высочество, и наш дамасский консул г. Юзефович. Скалон Дмитрий Антонович, *Путешествие По Востоку И Святой Земле В Свите Великого Князя Николая Николаевича В 1872 Году, Рисунки съ натуры художника В.К.Макарова.Гравированы на деревъ художникомъ Крыжановскимъ. Заглавныя буквы и вишѣтки по рисункамъ профессора А.И. Шарлеманъ. Ръзаны въ экспедиции заготовленія гусударственныхъ бумагъ, Санктпетербургъ, Печатано въ экспедиции заготовленія гусударственныхъ бумагъ (Москва, репринт Индрик, 2007)*, 15.

embassy, who was to accompany His Highness, and our Consul from Damascus, Mr. Yuzefovich.), left Sankt-Peterburg.

Skalons account does not begin with a prayer, but adopts a lively literary approach mixed with enthusiasm. He writes<sup>1</sup>: "On the seventeenth of September of 1872, at nine oclock, we set out from Sankt Peterburg on the Warsaw line. The weather was fine, clear and fresh; the train with the wagons of the Tsar, with all its comforts, took us onto a long journey. "Where are we going"- was the common question that we were preoccupied with. To the East!...Far away, beyond the seven lands and seven seas, over mountains and valleys, into the Kingdom of the Sultan; to the East, into the land of the promised land, where Christianity was born, where from our childhood are thoughts where directed; and lastly-to the kingdom of the perpetual spring and summer, into the valley of the amazing Nile. A long journey! And really, apart from using railways we will be also travelling for two weeks on the sea, around a month on top of a horse on difficult roads, under the burning son, under the deadly heat. There is a lot to think about, something which begs the question: «"Where are we going?"...» Therefore the toast pronounced by his Royal Highness after breakfast corresponded with state of mind and heart: «For the success to our journey and the wellbeing of all as well as for the health of all sojourners!» With merriment we struck our glasses and with champagne we drank to the well-wishing. We had lunch in Pskov. In

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<sup>1</sup> "Семнадцатого сентября 1872 года, в 9 часов утра, мы выехали из С.-Петербурга по Варшавской железной дороге. Погода сояла свежая, ясная; поезд царских вагонов, со всеми удобствами, мчал насв дальний путь. «Куда мы едем?»- был общий, занимавший нас вопрос. На Восток!...Далеко, за тридевять земель, через горы и долины, в царство Султана: на Восток, в страну обетованную, где родилось христианское учение, куда с детства обращались наши помыслы; и наконец-в царство вечной весны и лета, в долину чудного Нила. Пути немало! И действительно, кроме железных дорог нам придется странствовать недели две по морям, да около месяца верхом на коне по трудным дорогам, под жарким солнцем, под убийственным зноем. Есть над чем позадуматься, из-за чего поставить вопрос: «Куда мы едем?....» Поетому всем нам по сердцу пришелся тост, провозглашенный Великим Князем за завтраком: «За благополучное путешествие и здоровье всех спутствующих!» Мы дружно чокнулись бокалами и запили шампанским доброе пожелание. Во Пскове обедали. Вечером играли зд двумя столами в карты, пили чай, болтали кой о чем, разошлись по своим отделениям и легли спать. Утром я проснулся в 6 часов и встал, чтобы, вспоминая старину, посмотреть на знакомую мне местность южнее Вильны." Ibid., 16.

the Evening we played cards behind two tables, drank tea, gossiped about this and that, and departed to our quarters, and went to sleep. In the morning I woke up at six in the morning and got up, in order to remember the past, to look at the part of the area of south Vilna which was known to me."

They go to Grodno (Гродне), Neman (Неман) and reach Warsaw. Then go to Austria, to Oderberg and then Vienna. In Vienna they rest at the Grand Hotel. On the 22<sup>nd</sup> they leave to Baziash (Базиаш), then to Ofen, and Pesht. The fields of Hungary remind him of *Malorosiya* (Малоросия).<sup>1</sup> In Baziash they board a boat, using two boats, "Franz Jozef" and "Sofia".

They reach the area called Babakay where there are ruins of an ancient *chateau* Kolumbach (Колумбач). There is a cliff there called *Parrot* (Попугай), where a ritual takes place analogous to the baptism of sailors when they reach the equator. They board a smaller boat in order to go through Nizhniy Porog (Нижний Порог) or "Iron gates". They board a larger ship again in Turn-Severin (Турн-Северин). Not far from Alt-Orshov (Альт-Оршов), there is a fortified island, which is called the Turkish fortress Novaya Orshov (Новая Оршов), occupied with 400 men with a colonel in charge. Against the island, on the right shore there was a Turkish fort, which exploded due to the Serbs in 1868. On the left shore the Valachian border.

Again they uploaded onto a larger ship called Sofia, close to the Valachian town of Turn-Severin (Турн Северин). The port was occupied by those prepared to meet Chalil Sherif pasha, (Халиль-Шериф-паша), the foreign minister of the Porte.

They pass a place called Kifa (Кифа), inhabited by Cherkess people (Черкес). They pass through Nikopol, and reach the Wallachian town Don-Magarel (Дон Марагел). The ship then goes to Sistovo (Систово), and on the opposite of this port there is the "clean" city of Zimnitsa (Зимница). Here there see for the first time a true eastern atmosphere, with Turks standing and sitting around. They had turbans or fezes on their heads, with blown trousers until their knees. "In other words as we have become accustomed to see them on pictures."<sup>2</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> Ibid.18.

<sup>2</sup> 24.

In Rushchuk (Пушук), the Grand Prince (*Velikiy knaz*) was met by the general-gubernator of the area and by the Russian consul. There was a military parade. Skalon remarks that he greatly admired Turkish soldiers after his trip finished, and states that the Turkish soldier has wonderful qualities and especially his ability to persevere through the difficulties of marches and hunger, without complaining. The weakest organs in the Turkish army are the officer corps, higher officers and governors and administration.<sup>1</sup>

At the train station in Rushchuk, Skalon thus describes the scene. "There was a group of characters who were curious around the station and the platform; *Kavas* (Кавас, author writes were policemen), were running around furiously, chasing away with long whips boys, which were too annoying. I was personally amazed by one guard of common peace, from the *Arnauts* in weathered clothes but with artistic features, terrifying with his guns and *kinzhals* protruding from under his belt (illustration in the book of Skalon 25). He presented a character keen on fulfilling his duty; constantly persuading the group not to move to the forefront, he was waving his hands, he threw himself in pursuit after more bolder kids, stepping on his naked sole on his foot with heavy shoes, and was knitting his eyebrows fiercely, which were densely grown and were curled above his eyes. The majority of gathered people were Bulgarians and Greeks. The Turks were too apathetic to be curious. There were women also but it is difficult to say that they were interesting in any way."<sup>2</sup>

The train stopped in Shaytandzike, (Шайтанджике), and Halil Sherif pasha (Халиль-Шериф-паша), introduced the Grand Prince

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<sup>1</sup> Ibid.

<sup>2</sup> "Толпа любопытных осаждала станцию и платформу; кавасы, (Кавас значит "полицейский"), летали во все стороны, отгоняя длинными хлыстами слишком назойливых мальчишек. Меня, больше всего, забавлял один страж общественного спокойствия, из арнаутов, в сильно поношенном, но живописном костюме, грозно вооруженный торчащими за поясом пистолетами и кинжалом. Он казался ужасно озабоченным исполнением своего долга; без устали убеждал толпу не толкаться вперед, махал руками, бросался в погоню за более дерзкими ребятами, шлепая о босую пятку тяжелыми башмаками, и страшно хмурил свои брови, густо нависшие над глазами. Большинство собравшегося народа составляли болгары и греки. Турки слишком апатичны, чтобы любопытничать. Были и женщины, но нельзя сказать, чтоб интересные." Ibid.

(*Velikiy Knaz*) to the chief of staff of the second Corps, Faik Pasha (Фаик-паша), who spoke in pure German.

Reach Varna at ten. They board the ship *Vulcan* which belongs to the Austrian Loyd (s) and which makes the trip from Varna to Constantinople. The crew consists mostly of Albanians. The first class cabins are placed on the back part of the ship and consist of a pleasingly wide dining room, a buffet with a ladder to the top and of a living room, which was covered with yellow decorative fabric. Around these areas there are the sleeping cabins with four berths in each cabin. The second class consists of the same except for a small difference. The third class consisted of the ships deck with all its advantages and disadvantages; the first would include the sun and air, the latter rain and drops and sometimes sea showers. (27). (See illustration 28). For the Muslim women there was a roof made from sails on the top deck of the first class. The Grand Prince (*Velikiy Knyaz*) slept on the deck because of the bad air in the cabins. Skalon was observing the Muslim women. They had their faces covered with a white cloth? (белой кисей). Skalon describes these women as women from the harem and is fascinated by their "apathetic" and "lethargic" demeanour which he attributes to the fact that they have been so used to being enclosed that they have developed a disinterest in anything and it seems that they can maintain a given pose for all day without moving. Skalon observes them pretending to read his book or pretending to talk with his friends, while they carried on with their toilet. Among the women there were old and ugly women. Especially the younger women were maintaining their poses without movement. The Count interrupted Skalons interest in the women by shouting "dolphins" and Skalon went to look at the dolphins in the sea. The "Typical" Muslims constantly prayed on the ship, or drank coffee and smoked endlessly.

They reach Constantinople. At the entrance into the Bosphorus, on the right and left there are lighthouses built on the rocks (locally called *phanals*) of Europe and Asia. Close to the *phanal* of Europe there is a rock formation of not great height, on the right there is a castle with two towers. On the left a battery (military term) and a little further the Greek town of Saint George, which is famous for its beautiful women. On the heights of the Asian shore there is a dark green of forests, behind the *phanal* there are the remnants of a castle. The ruins of ancient structures

cover the landscape of Turkey providing an interesting stimulus to the eyes. They entered the straits and there was a grouping of small birds who constantly fly from the Bosphorus to the Dardanelles and back. The Europeans call them "fallen souls" (*les ames damnées*) and the Turks *yelkovan* (иелкованъ) that is "carried by winds".

Skalon saw in the area the Russian ship Taman (Таманъ) used by the embassy. Skalons group was greeted by two ships with officials who came to see the new minister for foreign affairs Halil-Sherif-pasha (Халиль-Шериф-паше). Skalons ship Vulcan moved sideways with the ship Taman. From the Russian ship Taman, the general adjutant Ignatiev on a small boat set to meet the Grand Prince (Velikiy Knyaz), while at the same time the Grand Prince (*Velikiy Knyaz*) with his accompanying officials moved to the Russian ship Taman.<sup>1</sup>

In the valley of the Seven Brothers, with plane trees, which were planted already by Godfrey of Bouillon. On the Asiatic shore there is a famous hill, where the camp of Muraviev was set, there is a memorial on this hill; A little further there is from a castle a white court, built by for the Sultan by the Egyptian Sultan. "Here is the kiosk of Mahmud; here is the bay which the Empress Catherine wanted to buy for the Black sea fleet".<sup>2</sup> They stopped opposite Top Hana (Топ Хана/canon court). They go to the complex of the Russian embassy.

The group spent only three days in Constantinople. At seven in the morning some officials appeared before the Grand Prince (*Velikiy Knyaz*) which included Ali-Nizam-pasha (Али-Низам-паша), the chief of the military academy and descendent from Angora in Small Asia, who speaks perfect German and French and 25 years ago he finished a course at the Vienna military school. Also Colonel Gafiz Bey (Гафиз-бей) appeared, who finished an Artillery course in Belgium, and speaks French but with his own pronunciation. After tea they went to see the Embassy Church.<sup>3</sup> At ten o'clock the Great Vizier came to meet his highness and with him came the ober-ceremony master, a small Turk who resembled a ball, with a round grey beard. After this they go to meet the Sultan.

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<sup>1</sup> 30.

<sup>2</sup> 32.

<sup>3</sup> 33.



They reach the palace of DolmaBahçe (Дольма-Бахче), which means in translation cucumber garden. "The palace was built during the reign of Sultan Mahmud II, around the area, where Emperor Constantine built a gold cross for the commemoration of his Conversion. It stands on the very shores of the Bosphorus; the facade of the main corpus and two wings is decorated with marble columns in a colonnade of the Doric order (дорического ордена) with a wide staircase. From the side of the square, the palace is lined with two walls and monumental gates with a bronze gilded grate (взолоченною решеткой).<sup>1</sup> "On the first courtyard there was a guard with musicians. The second bigger courtyard covered with grass lawns with flower beds and with nicely planted groups of cut trees. We stopped before a wide and white, as snow, marble staircase. At the door the Velikiy Knyaz was met by the Sultan himself, and we continued amidst the officials of the court and *fligel-adjutants*, who were standing close to each other, with hands placed in cross forms. Once approached they bowed, touching with their right hand (полугруди и лба) left side of the chest and forehead and remained in this posture until the Sultan had not passed. In front of him and the Grand Prince (Velikiy Knyaz) a small ober-ceremonial master went, not turning his back, and quickly and in an *adroit* manner moved backwards, while bowing on each small square and on each door sill. Stepping up the staircase, and moving through two beautiful halls, we stopped at a small guest area, and the Sultan with the Grand Prince (Velikiy Knyaz) and princes entered into the guest area, where they sat on chairs, placed in a half circle. The Sultan a man of medium size, full, with big dark brown (карим) eyes and with light brown beard, with a pleasant external appearance, not devoid of greatness, if we ignore the fullness of his figure. He was dressed in a very simple manner, in a black jacket (сюртуке) of a famous Turkish fashion, with white wide trousers, and red *fez*. The Conversation took place through an interpreter, who was the foreign minister Halil-Sherif-pasha. – His Highness the ruler Emperor,- said the Grand Prince (*Velikiy Knyaz*),- ordered me to bow to Your Greatness and to convey his hope, that the relationship of both countries will remain friendly, as it was until now. – I, -replied the Sultan, - am very happy to listen to these words from your mouth these words from the Ruler and am happy to have the

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<sup>1</sup> 34.

opportunity to convey through you, to his Greatness, my belief in the unchanging nature of our mutual relations. – It is even more desirable,- remarked the Grand Prince (*Velikiy Knyaz*),- since this coincides with our mutual interests.- Absolutely justly so,- the Sultan added, - I am very happy to see your Highness in my place and hope, that you will remain satisfied with your stay in my domains. I am only unhappy about one thing, that it is so short. – To visit the East was my wish for a long time, - the Grand Prince (*Velikiy Knyaz*) stated, - and I am so happy, that I could finally see this wish granted. But, I confess, I did not expect these (welcome) encounters which began already at Rushuk. Allow me to thank Your Highness for them. – I,- replied lovingly the Sultan, - ordered only to do that, which is suitable for the meeting of a brother to the Ruler, of such a great Country. Then they continued in an ordinary conversation. The Sultan asked, whether His Highness finds in the pleasure Bosphorus, Constantinople and similar; after this we were invited to the guest quarters, and the *Velikiy Knyaz* presented to the Sultan his accompanying people, naming each one by name. After this presentation people dispersed and in the same order proceeded to the exit. The Ceremonial master again rolled, as a ball, in front of the Sultan, the court people bowed, and nothing interrupted this festive silence, even the sound of our steps was lost in the soft carpets. After our return home we were told, that now the first secretary will appear of the Sultan and will bring each one an order, and after this he will himself come to visit the Grand Prince (*Velikiy Knyaz*). After we received according to rank and position the order “Osmania” (Османье) and “Medzidie” (Меджидие), we immediately put them on and gathered for the meeting at the entrance. At two o’clock the Sultan came in a covered ландо, which was pulled by a great four member (animals or horses); he was accompanied by runners and a convoy. Entering the great guest house, we again sat in half circle. – The *Velikiy Knyaz* began stating, -let me thank your Greatness, for giving to me and those accompanying me with orders. The Sultan bowed, stating, “I am very happy, that I could have given you pleasure by doing this.” His Highness moved the conversation towards the military. – I was pleased by the Battalion and eskandron which met me in Shaytandziki, the people were remarkable with their healthy look, being beautifully built, and exceptional military posture.- Would it be perhaps pleasing,- continued the Sultan,- to

inspect my local garrison, on a day designated which you will find pleasing and suitable. The Velikiy Knyaz thanked for the offering, stating that this will offer him great pleasure. –My son,- the Sultan added, will introduce the soldiers to you. –I will be very happy for this,- stated the Grand Prince (Velikiy Knyaz),- to meet His Highness. General Ignatiev told me, that he was very capable in command and in conducting manoeuvres. – He did not command, - with a smile the Sultan added, - the manoeuvres and exercises were led by officers of the General Staff, and he only was riding and observing. After the departure of the Sultan changed sat into carriages and left to look at Saint Sophia, the Seray, the ancient Hippodrome and the Süleymania."<sup>1</sup>.

The suburb of Pera lies on the hill higher than Galata and Top Hana. It was established by the Genoese (генуэзцами), who in the area of the many forms of posts of the Greek Church, introduced fishing industries into the Crimea and Kafa; and they asked permission to build a market for their produce close to Constantinople. Now it is the area of foreign embassies, hotels, coffee shops etc. Galata is also founded by the Genoese. It is the centre for commerce and it was given to the Genoese by Michael Paleologus, and during the reign of John Cantacuzenos, they were permitted to build walls around it.

They came to Agia Sophia passing through a bridge and through dirty streets occupied by Muslim inhabitants. They went through a courtyard built before the southern portico. During the Greeks, the centre of this courtyard was occupied by a riding statue of Justinian; and on the four pilasters of the external side of the portico, there were the nice horses of Lysippus, taken from Corinth and then taken to Venice. Above the bronze gate entrance to the church there is still a cross discernible. From Hagia Sophia they move towards Seray which is located in the area of the ancient Byzantium and during the Greek empire there were the houses of the clerics of the Church of Hagia Sophia. The Seray was inaccessible to foreigners until Mahmud the Destroyer Janissary built a palace in DolmaBahçe and left the Seray (Topkapi palace). Actually Skalon is probably wrong here. It was Abdül Mecid who moved to DolmaBahçe and Mahmud was the one who built Seray initially in the fifteenth century. They moved to the High Porte. They had a tour of the palace moving towards the Church of saint Irene,

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<sup>1</sup> 34-35.

changed into an arsenal. They passed around two great plane trees, which remember the Greek Empire. They go to the Hippodrome. They observed the Egyptian obelisk, Serpent column, and the Obelisk of Constantine Porphyrogenitos. They also proceed to the mosque of Suleiman. They saw the mausoleum *türbe* of Sultan Suleiman and his wife Roxelana (Roxelana was possibly the daughter of an Orthodox priest-Skalon does not mention this possibility). Skalon's account is a general description without much historical and other analysis.

Second day. His highness inspects the stables of the sultan. These are located in two stone corpuscles opposite the palace in Dolmabahça. In one of them there are forty eight and in the other sixty of the best horses of the personal saddle of the Sultan. There are also Arab horses from Nedzed (Неджед), (possibly Najd). This is a country in the middle of the Arabian peninsula. Skalon states that a certain Palgrave (Пелгрэв) reached the country (possibly Skalon has in mind William Gifford Palgrave the Arabic scholar) and described it as a rich country inhabited by settled Arabs. This day the Sultan invited the Grand Prince (Velikiy Knyaz) to a midday breakfast, into the Çırağan palace. The honour was however reserved only to the generals of our entourage and Skalon did not see it.

"Before he sat to the table His Highness turned with the following words to the Sultan: "Please let me sincerely thank your Greatness for that immense pleasure, you have given me by allowing me to see your stables. I have a passionate interest in horses, especially the Arabian, and there are now where to be seen in such numbers and quality as at the stables of your Greatness." – I am delighted, -expressed the Sultan,- that you liked them, and as to a connoisseur you were especially interested into those taken out from Nedzed?- Truly, I was struck by their size, a size until now I have not seen in Arabian horses. – The Arabian horses have generally become stronger and bigger, the Sultan remarked, - however the previous type of horses with a swan like throat, with blood filled nostrils, with protuberant eyes, with thin and dry legs, has become rare, and perhaps has completely disappeared. During lunch the Sultan asked, and the Velikiy Knyaz talked, about what he had seen in the city and surroundings.- Have you not gone tired from the heat?, the Sultan asked.- I am asking because I prefer fresh weather. – I like the heat,- stated the Grand Prince (Velikiy Knyaz).- and cannot stand the

cold, even though I am an inhabitant of the north. Especially I detest the coldness reaching 20 and 30 degrees. – Yes, this type of coldness must be unacceptable. Speaking of which in your country, there is especially a cold area-the Siberia. Please tell us your Highness, is there a lot of inhabitants there? The Grand Prince (*Velikiy Knyaz*) explained, that given the size of the area there are not many inhabitants, and that a greater concentration of people is located on the roads and towards the south, where there are more agriculturally richer lands. The Sultan was surprised, whether bread can grow in such cold conditions. He was told, that the cold is not constant, and is interrupted by, even if short but extremely hot summer, during which very quickly the plants grow. The Sultan confessed that he did not know of this, and expressed interest in the degree of habitation of the most northern parts of the Siberia, which was explained to him, and he was reminded, that the inhabitants occupy themselves with hunting, or fishing and ride on deer/reindeer. – I did not know, that it is possible to ride on deer! How do they harness them?- Curiously remarked the Sultan. The *Velikiy Knyaz* explained the basics. – And in Russia, - again the Sultan enquired, - the snow is very deep, so that it is difficult to move and ride? The Grand Prince (*Velikiy Knyaz*) described the characteristics of our winter. – They say that you have a lot of wolfs?- again asked the Sultan.- What is the colour of their fur?- Grey (Серого).- Are they bigger than our jackals (шакалов) or stronger? – No, they are like dogs, and much bigger and more angrier than jackals. – Are they hunted? – Of course, and in many ways. – Is it true that they are slaughtered from the *ekipazh* (экипаж)? The Grand Prince (*Velikiy Knyaz*) gave a story of the hunt on a pig. – Must be very entertaining and frightful, - the Sultan remarked.- What are the wolfs for? He was told that the wolfs fur is very warm, and it is used for fur coats, blankets, and carpets. After this the Sultan asked about the hunting of bears, about the productivity of Russia, harvests, horse races, and after lunch asked, what does his Highness command? – All the *gvardia* (гвардию), the entire cavalry and the engineer corps, the Grand Prince (*Velikiy Knyaz*) replied. – You command yourself, or there are people, who command for you, as it is the case of my son?- I command myself and serve already for 25 years., - replied the Grand Prince (*Velikiy Knyaz*). – From my seventh year my father placed me on the front, and I attended as a regular the First Cadet Corpus, then I was

a non-commissioned officer (унтер-офицером), *znamenschick* (знаменщиком), I commanded a platoon (взвод), company (пот), eskandron (ескандроном), battalion, then became a general, I received a cavalry brigade, division, corpus and after that leadership." (43). "The Sultan remained amazed, hearing about the successive nature of the service of His Highness, and ended the conversation with the words: "Yes! There is nothing to say! This is the true practice for a military man, I myself am a bad soldier, because I never involved myself with this profession, and because of this I stop my son from immersing himself in the military profession."

They go to the market in Top Hana, then board some small boats touring the Bosphorus and stopping at the harbour of the Seray cape, and visited a great market. Looking at some women, Skalon observes, "Time inconspicuously changes human laws and traditions. Regardless of the jealousy of the cruel Osmanlia, whatever the height of the walls of its harems, there are already holes which are struck in it. The women slowly by slowly are gaining freedom for themselves, and the majority of Muslims are running away from polygamy, as it is linked with great financial cost, quarrels, intrigues and anger. Once we feel curious, we are interested into all that which is forbidden, secret, we do not mind the account, and we strive at the first possible occasion to reveal and experience the secret. Thus, you see women with half covered faces, you are compelled to look at them with particular attention, looking for something."<sup>1</sup>

They visit the Golden Horn and they were on boats in the bay (picture 47 in Skalons book) on the return to the embassy they were stopped by the *Fligel-adjutant* of the Sultan. The Sultan was looking for Gafiz-bey, since he decided to elevate him to pasha, since during the time he was accompanying the brother of the Russian Emperor, he was given the high honour of travelling with him in one carriage on the

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<sup>1</sup> Ibid., 46. "Время незаметно изменяет все людские обычаи и законы. Как ни ревнив суровый османлис, как ни высоки стены его гаремов, но и в них пробиты бреши. Женщины мало-помалу отвоевывают себе свободу, а большинство мусульман избегает многоженства, ка сопряженного с большими расходами, дразгами, интригами и ссорами. По чувству любопытства, все запрещенное, тайное, заинтересовывает нас до того, что, не отдавая себе отчета, стараешься при первой возможности изведать тайну. От этого, встречая женщин сполузакрытым лицом, невольно обращаешь на них особое внимание и все чего-то ищешь".

streets of Constantinople. The same day, the Sultan sent him His Highness two horses of his own stock.<sup>1</sup>

Next day they travel again on boats to the Beylerbeyi. Skalon especially likes the great hall with a giant pool and fountains for the use of the harem. He states that you can fit easily 300 women here. Skalon remarks that he is surprised about the lack of paintings and sculptures in the various palaces they visited, especially since the Sultan himself is a keen artist. They go towards Scutari with a massive cemetery. "The Turks believe, that their dominance on the European shore is only temporary, and thus not wishing in the future to lie in the land of the non-believers (гяуп) they prefer to be buried in the cemetery at Scutari." There are cypresses everywhere at the cemetery and already the Greeks and Romans believed the cypress to be especially associated with cemeteries.<sup>2</sup> The tree has a good quality of giving an aroma, that supersedes possible odours coming out from the bodies. The Turks like to visit the graves of their relatives or others, sitting for long periods of time sometimes smoking a pipe.

They leave the cemetery approaching giant barracks, where there is also a hospital (In the period of the war of 1855, there were two English Divisions in these barracks and our captives, until they were sent on the Princeps islands. In the hospital there were also Russian injured). They descend from the hill into the city and came to the port, around the Mosque of Sultan Selim III. They sit in boats and move through the Bosphorus in the same direction, if the Greeks are to be believed, that Jupiter had travelled through it in the form of a bull, who was abducting Europa. They pass the tower of Laender.

It was eleven and they rushed to the embassy to manage to get to the military parade. They went to the Seraskirat War ministry, close to the High Porte. On the way we encountered a number of carriages with women of the Sultan to watch the military parade. This train reminded me of the riding of students on Pascha and on Масленица.

His Highness presided over a military parade organised for him on a horse given to him by the Sultan. The infantry in dandy clothes was marching orderly and was full of beautiful people. The Cavalry sat on the horses, especially of Eastern origin, which are supplied from Ma-

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<sup>1</sup> 48.

<sup>2</sup> Ibid., 48

лоюй Азиить; While having a small size they were of a strong build, and we can assume that these horses are hardy. I had the opportunity to verify this on the eskandrions, which accompanying the Velikiy Knyaz in Syria and Palestine. However, it is possible to see, that the Turkish cavalry, loosing its national character, is destroyed by French instructions. The small Anatolian horses, which are choked by a big and heavy cumbersome load, while people sit on long bridle (стременах), which are unsuitable and contrary for the Turks if only for the reason that they all the time sit (весь век) with their legs pulled under (поджав ноги). His Highness admired the artillery very much. The parade finished and His Highness introduced his accompanying people to Yusuf-Izzedin-Efendi (Юсуф-Иззедин-ефенди). His Highness wanted to leave the same day on the 28<sup>th</sup> of September but decided to leave on Friday.

They meet the Sultan for a departing audience. The Grand Prince (*Velikiy Knyaz*) thanked him for the parade, and the two Arabian horses. The Grand Prince (*Velikiy Knyaz*) praised the artillery and the infantry. "The Sultan replied, that he was pleased to hear the praises of his army, from such a good military general, just as his Highness, at the same time remarked, that the cavalry- "is our weak part". Saying farewell, already on the doorstep, the Sultan took the hand of the Grand Prince (*Velikiy Knyaz*) and said: - I am very happy, that I had the chance to meet you, and ask you to convey to your Ruler my heartfelt love and respect towards him, and to assure his Highness, that our relationships regardless of the changing ministries, will always remain the same. ...After this the Sultan offered His Highness the possibility of observing his triumphal entrance into the mosque of Bekishtash (Бекишташ). This was a great honour because these entrances happen only on special occasions and national holidays and this was organised in honour of the visit of the Grand Prince (*Velikiy Knyaz*). "We were taken into a kiosk, protruding onto the causeway, where the ceremony was to take place. The street was lined with trees from the palace until the mosque and was occupied by soldiers, behind which there were the crowds. On the causeway there were two seat carriages coming of Viennese workmanship, (венской работы), harnessed by pairs of brown horses, and accompanied by eunuchs on horses and on foot. The carriages were occupied by the women of the Sultan, whom he sent to look at the



Grand Prince (*Velikiy Knyaz*). The nice enclosed beauties, where dressed according to latest fashion, and you could discern their features underneath the transparent veal's, covering the lower parts of the face as with a light mist, which enhanced the size and beauty of the eyes. The soldiers stood in with weapons, commanding words were uttered: *as dur, selyam dur*, took on their shoulders, on guard, the music played and the entrance began. At the front on the top rode the pashas, in pairs, with carefully observed space between them, with sparkling, in gold fabric made dresses, on beautiful horses. After them the son of the Sultan, surrounded by adjutants on foot; further the convoy and ministers, one after the other, after that on foot 60 fligel adjutants, and the Sultan himself. He was sitting on a majestic grey stallion, the dress of which was filled with expensive stones. The very supreme commander of the believers had a dress completely made of gold and on the fez, he had a burning agraf with a feather made out of a brilliant. (на феске горел бриллиантовый аграф с пером). He was followed by those leading three horses in beautiful dresses. When the Sultan approached, the soldiers shouted: *Padishachime dzok yasha* (Падисшачиме джок яша), which means Be greeted our Sultan for many years. Aligning himself with the kiosk, His Highness the Sultan had bowed in greeting with the Grand Prince (*Velikiy Knyaz*).<sup>1</sup>

The board the ship Vladimir (picture in Skalons book 53). On board they discuss the Bulgarian ecclesial schism, and the intrigues of the Greek clergy, and the suffering of Patriarch Kyrillos who refused to sign and was subject to persecution.<sup>2</sup>

"The fore ship of the top deck, was reserved for the passengers of the third class, and offered a very lively and diverse –mixture of clothes and faces, ethnic backgrounds, dialects, and status...-The main component of these people where our very own Russian Bogomiltsy, which constituted around one hundred people the majority of which were women. Here five *ekaterinoslavskych chochlov* in their bundles; *ryazenets* with a grey small beard, quick sagacious eyes and a goodhearted face; some greyish invalid *muzhik*, with sick eyes, in *laptishkach*; next to him two redheaded monks, also obviously Russian. The women were mostly older, with a dignified look, the majority where city women, wives of

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<sup>1</sup> 50.

<sup>2</sup> 54.

merchants of the middle hand, in black head scarfs and calico *katsaveykas*, under wide umbrellas, which have already managed to turn grey under the southern sun. Four nuns, some peasant women, with faces weathered from wind and almost inflated due to ruptures, who did not have the life-saving umbrellas, with patience and without a word of complaint boiled themselves under the sun. The Bogomils have met here from all corners of Russia, some already for the second or even third time. It is good, that they are not issued tickets unless they are also valid for the return journey; which prevents them from suffering many terrible accidents in Palestine. The only food they consume is store bread with tea, and as soon this struggle comes to an end, the last coins are spent. The Russian consulate quickly sends these Bogomiltsev to Jaffa, from where the first fast ship takes them on board and takes them to Odessa. It is necessary to remark that experienced people, make out of the pilgrimage to the Holy sites a way of gain, collecting from generous people roubles, and kopeks, with the obligatory promise to pray on behalf of the people of goodwill who give, at the Sepulchre and bring something in memory. Always strictly fulfilling the last promise, the naturally attract to themselves trust and popularity, and with this a fair fortune, which gives them the opportunity to travel, and live in Palestine with some, relative comfort. The Russian women *Bogomilki* do not sit on the ships deck without doing something. They usually tie stockings, or make their clothes, and sitting in special circles, and pray reading pious books; this is sometimes interrupted by stories from people who had previously –visited– about the various adventures they have experienced, about their Russian shrines, about their family life and generally about their far away northern homeland, which inadvertently calls for an obvious comparison with the hot sky, this southern nature and life of its inhabitants.<sup>1</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> "Носовая же часть верхней палубы, предоставленная пассажирам третьего класса, являла собою очень оживленную и пеструю –смесь одежд и лиц, племен, наречий состояний...– Впрочем, преобладающим элементом являлись здесь наши русские богомольцы, корых было до ста человек и между ними преимущественно женщины. Вот пять екатеринославских хохлов в своих свитках; рязанец с седенькою бородкой, быстрыми сысленными глазками и добродушным лицом; какой-то хромой, седоватый мужиченко, с больными глазами, в лаптишках; рядом с ним два рыжие монаха, тоже, очевидно, русские. Между женщинами, большею частью пожилого возраста и степенного вида, преобладали мещанки да купчихи средней

"Next to our *Bogomoltsi*, who in smaller or larger numbers hold together in one group, sitting on chests and carpets, putting their legs beneath them and half asleep upon the smoke giving water pipe, there are the various representatives of the East, in fezes, turbans, *chalmas* (turbans), scarfs, in high lamb hats or felt hats. Here are Turks, Greeks, Persians and Arabs, Negroes and Armenians, Jews, and even our own Tashkent Sarts and Tatars, among which could be seen some female figures, covered in veils. In the last group, with the exception of lively animated and always to themselves loyal Jews, there is a dominant feeling even more so than on the Black Sea, a pure asiatic feeling of motionless and laziness: you will not see anyone of them doing any work with their hands, no hand work; not even the slightest indication of some activity, apart from the apathetic inhalation of the Water pipe. The majority of them, if there is the slightest space available, do not

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руки, в черных платках и ситцевых кацавейках, под широким зонтиками, корорые успели уже вылинять от южного солнца. Четыре монашенки, да несколько крестьянок с обретенными и до опухоли потрескавшимися лицами, не обладая спасительными зонтиками, терпеливо и безпротно жарились на солнышке. Сошлись сюда все эти богомильцы со всех концов России, некоторые по второму и, даже, по третьему разу. Спасибо еще, что билеты им выдаются не иначе, как с правом на обратный проезд; а это избавляет их от множества бедственных случайностей в Палестине. Сухари да чай составляют почти единственную их пищу, и чуть толь выйдет у них весь этот запас, да поистратятся последние маленькие деньжники. Русское консульство спешит уже выслать таковых богомольцев в Яффу, откуда первый срочный пароход забирает их на свою палубу и доставляет в Одессу. Надо заметить, впрочем, что бывалые люди делают из путешествия ко Святым местам своего рода промысел, собирая од тороватых лиц и рубли, и копейки, с непременно обещанием молиться за доброхотных дателей у Горба Господня и принести что-нибудь на память. Строго исполняя всегда последнее обещание, они естественно приобретают себе доверие и известность, а вместе с тем и порядочные средства, которые дают им возможность и путешествовать, и жить в Палестине даже с некоторым, конечно относительным, комфортом. Русские женщины-богомолки на пароходной палубе не сидят праздно. Они обыкновенно вяжут чулки, либо чинят свою одежду, а то, усевшись особыми кружками, читают молитвенники и душеспасительные книжечки; это последнее чтение прерывается иногда разговорами и рассказами бывалих людей о прежних «хождениях», о разных приключениях во время оных, о своих русских святых, о семейном своем бытѣ и вообще разными воспоминаниями о дальней северной родине, что иногда невольно вызывается наглядным сравнением с нею этого жаркого неба, этой южной природы и быта ее обитателей." 55.

even bother to sit, but lie and stare into the sky, sweetening themselves with a blessed state of that "peaceful contemplation".<sup>1</sup>

They reach Smyrna. Skalon enters the city with a companion, count Berg. "In the beginning they turned into the court of a Catholic Church, enhanced with marble boards; we entered the church, during the time of which three Jesuit paters, working moving away from the confession boxes, surrounded by a number of women with prayer books in their hands. This was the first time that I had the opportunity to meet with the beloved children of Ignatios of Loyola and look so closely at their faces and external demeanour. I cannot say that the honourable fathers with their female patients left a positive impression in me. Whatever, God with them....".<sup>2</sup>

The bazar was terribly dirty, with shops selling products made in the same precincts as the shop. The people were generally dirty to. They walked into a "Greek Church where vespers where going on. At the entrance, behind a table, was standing a tall grey priest with a bowl of holy water and with a plate for offerings; he sprinkled everyone entering the church with a bouquet from flowers and green myrtle. There were many lamps in front of the icons; but unfortunately, the singers were detestable, according to Greek tradition, being unbearable,

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<sup>1</sup> "Рядом с нашими богомольцами, которые все, более или менее, держатся одной группой, восседают на сундуках и коврах, поджав под себя ноги и дремля над дымящимся кальяном, разные представители Востока, в фесках, тюрбанах, чалмах, платках, в высоких баранных или войлочных шапках. Тут и турки, и греки, персияне и арабы, негры и армяне, евреи и, даже, наши ташкентские сарты и татары, между которыми виднеются несколько женских фигур, покрытых чадрами. В этой последней публике, за исключением разве юрких и всегда верных себе евреев, преобладает, еще более, нежели на Черном море, элемент чисто азиатской неподвижности и лени: ни у одного из них вы не увидите в руках никакой работы, никакого рукоделья; ни малейшего признака какого-либо занятия, кроме апатического сосания кальянного чубука. Большая часть из них, если только мало-мальски позволяет место, даже не сидят, а лежат и смотрят в небо, наслаждаясь блаженным состоянием этого "безмятежного созерцания", 55.

<sup>2</sup> "Для начала завернули мы во двор католической церкви, вымощенный мраморными плитами; вошли в храм, где в это время трое иезуитских патеров выходили из исповедален, окруженные несколькими женщинами с молитвенниками в руках. Здесь я в первый раз имел случай встретиться с возлюбленными чадами Игнатия Лойолы и так близко наблюдать их лица и внешние приемы. Не скажу, чтобы почтенные отцы с их пациентками оставили во мне приятное впечатление. Впрочем, Бог с ними." 56.

thus with their nose singing destroying the serious and peaceful impression of the Church and its beautiful furnishings."<sup>1</sup>

The European part of Smyrna is simply magical and beautiful. The streets are irregularly divided and with this they nicely cross themselves in different angles; the houses are more or less of a cubic form, decorated and have covered balconies, with twining plants, with their green window shutters with roller blinds on windows, behind metal bars, of the most diverse patterns. Each house has a massive door, with metal clad, with a giant bronze handles and hammer instead of a doorbell. In this constantly open door one could see a marble covered corridor with divans around the walls, and behind an open courtyard, and inside a necessary garden, surrounded by a colonnade; in the middle of the garden rises out of a crystal clear pool covered with marble, a pearl fountain sprinkling water around it. The European part is much more cleaner than the other part. In Smyrna after five afternoon all the European women walk out to sit in the streets and sit there until sun sets. They heard various piano tunes from the houses. They pass around the Roman Catholic monastery.

Smyrna has 90000 Christians, 40000 Muslims and 20000 Jews. There is great commercial competition between groups and individuals in Smyrna just as in Odessa, and in 1872 there were uprisings in Smyrna. They go to Chios and city Castro. There are around 70000 Greeks on Chios, 2000 Turks (including garrison). While suffering a population decline after 1821-1827, the island is a great exporter of alcohol. It is also known for its wine, rakya and mastic products.

They pass Kos and reach Rhodes. There is a habit that a flag has to be raised for the ship to be able to dock for the purposes of quarantine if the flag is not raised the ship cannot dock. In Rhodes there are 28000 people, 4000 Turks, 1800 Jews and 22000 Greeks. In the fortress only Turks and Jews live; The Christian inhabitants cannot remain in the city after nine evening. The go into the Knight street. At the end of the street, on the top of a hill, a gathering of stones with a giant cone indicates the

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<sup>1</sup> "В храме шла вечерняя служба; у входной двери, за столиком, стоял выдокий седой священник с блюдом святой воды и тарелочкой для денег; каждого входящего в церковь он окроплял букетиком из цветов и миртовой зелени. Пред образами теплилось множество лампа; но, к сожалению, певчи гнусили, по греческому обычаю, до того нестерпимо, что окончательно разрушали своим носовым пением серьезное и мирное впечатление храма и его прекрасной обстановки."57.

area of the Church of Saint John of Jerusalem, which span into the air in 1857 from the strike of lightning's into the bell tower, under which the Turks made a gunpowder storehouse.<sup>1</sup> Skalon notes that the Jews he encounters are different from the Jews in Russia in terms of physical appearance. The Spanish Jews of Rhodos still maintained their medieval Spanish costumes and Skalons thinks he is in the medieval period.

They go to Mersina. They see Cyprus in front the cape Anamur. On the 4<sup>th</sup> of October, stopped in front of Mersina. The area has the ruins of ancient Panteopolis. They go to Alexandretta but not visit since there is nothing there but fever. Alexandretta is a transit port for Aleppo and Bagdad. They go to Latakia, and Tripolis. Then they went to Beirut. In Tripolis they make silk belts and shawls. Skalon bought a shawl, which is necessary as a protection of ones stomach (putting it on ones stomach), because there is great danger of catching a cold in your stomach in the Middle East. Forty km along Tripolis coast there are very good areas for sea sponges.

They reach Beirut. The Grand Prince (*Velikiy Knyaz*) was met by the Gubernator Kiamil Pasha (Киамиль паша) and Brigadier general Akif Pasha (Акиф паша). Skalon following the rule "do not yawn" (не зевай) followed his Highness in the first available carriage. The majority of the population is Christian that is why the women did not have covered faces. They head immediately to the Orthodox Church of Saint George. His Highness was met their by His Grace Gabriel Shatiloу (Гавриил Шатилю), the Greek clergy and with children in white shirts with bouquets and candles. The Church is in the shape of a ship, with two rows of four angled columns, there is an iconostas of a Byzantine type. His Highness listened to a short moleben. His Highness was accommodated in a house of a rich Syrian the Dragoman Nikolay Sursok. He was met there by an Orthodox school for male Arab pupils-children funded by the Russian government. Skalon complains about the Eastern type of singing which for the European Ear is unbearable.

Skalon describes the *cactus opuntia*. His Highness watches horse games, there riders throw at each other a *dzerid* stick. His Highness participated in a liturgy presided by his Grace Gabriel, after which his Grace gave him an icon of Nikolay the Wonderworker. His Highness inspected the Church, which has been renewed by the Russian

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<sup>1</sup> Ibid. 64.

government. Here his Highness was met by the archimandrite Dzubor (Джибор), who made a speech in Arabic and who returned to Orthodoxy from Uniatism. "The typical elderly man, in an inspired speech expressing happiness upon seeing the Grand Prince (*Velikiy Knyaz*) in the walls of an Orthodox Church, clearly proved that Russia is the only true bastion of Orthodoxy in the East."<sup>1</sup>

At ten all departed behind the city to a place called Dog river (Nahr al-Kalb), where they had breakfast and then sat on horses. In this area there is a historical place with various inscriptions including one of Ramses the Great (known as Sesostri, who ruled in Egypt in 1394 to 1328 before Christ). There are also inscriptions of the Persian ruler Xerxes, the Roman Emperor Trajan, Chaliff Dzafarel Mansur. There are caves here where hermits lived.

On the 9<sup>th</sup> of October, from five o'clock a frenzy ensued for the next journey. The journey through Syria and Palestine and Egypt is taken care of by Dragomans who are hired and who take care of everything. Our journey was taken care of by two companies by an Albanian Pietro, and Greek Timoleon.

They follow the Royal road, the old road from Beirut to Damascus. They stopped at a place called Chan Mudeyridz (Хан Мудейридж). One part of the building is occupied by the owner and his family the other part or room is for guests. They reach the valley of Bekaa, where there are a lot of castles from the period of the Crusaders. Skalon talks with a young Turkish official (from the Damascus General Gubernator), who came to meet the Grand Prince (*Velikiy Knyaz*). The Turkish official complained about the boring, monotonous, and sad way of life in Damascus about the apathetic disposition of people towards doing anything, which goes for the entire East, and how the women are non-developed and uneducated and how it is difficult for an educated person to live in these conditions.<sup>2</sup>

They reach a town called Shtori (Шторы). An hour's journey from Shtori there is the village Mikale, with a big stone house, where there is

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<sup>1</sup> "Типичный старик, вдохновенною речью выражая радость при виде Великого Князя в стенах православного храма, доказывал, что России единственный оплот православия на Востоке" Ibid., 75.

<sup>2</sup> Ibid., 80.

a Jesuit school also attended by Orthodox children. Then the town Zachle (Захле), where there is a residence of an Orthodox Arab Metropolitan. They had breakfast in the village of Taliya (Талия) and they approach Baalbek (ancient Heliopolis). Skalon describes the ancient ruins of Heliopolis. They go to Zebedan. They make camp and are visited by Prince Alexander Petrovich Oldenburgskiy, who came from Damascus.

They go around the area where the river Barada originates. After passing one basin they pass a bigger one. The area is filled with carved human figures and man-made caves. They are told that pagan hermits lived here. From this basin the ground expands, and a continuous segment of gardens until Damascus appears. On one mountain they looked at the mohyla of Chama (Хама). They approached Ain-Fidzi (Айн-Фиджи) for breakfast. Around the water fall there is a stone shrine in commemoration of the visit of the prophet Mohammed, who according to tradition when came to this place, drank from the water, was enchanted by the beautiful plants, stated, "I will not go further, because if I enter earthly paradise, I will not fall into the heavenly." At the bottom of a sharp cliff, amidst a dense forest of poplar and nut trees, there are ruins with a dark arch. From the arch there is a spring coming out, into a half circled reservoir, which then from here proceeds into the river Barada. People from Damascus come to visit here for picnicks.

They reach Damascus, and are met by the Russian Consul Yuzefovich (Юзефович). Down the road waiting for them was General Gubernator, Mushur (army leader), consuls of various countries and the Emir Abduel Kader (he means here possibly the famous hero Abd el-Kader). Skalon states that the Eastern houses are structured in such a way, that three thirds of floor or its half, are elevated (as an Estrada) for one foot (фут) or one and a half of a foot and always covered with carpets. The elevated part contains the furniture or ottomans; the other part usually is made of marble, boards, or is left as ground. See picture 90 of a house.

They go to see the activities of the sect of Sheik Ibrahim. The followers while praying undergo a series of various tortures, without being hurt. Believers can pay them to undergo these tortures. They came to a place of this sect where they performed. There was the tombe of their founder there. They started by piercing their cheeks with sticks.



He was turning a metal *Volchok* (волчок- some sort of expression for a toy), which was eight vershkov (вершков, 4, 4 cm) long, with many baubles (побрякушек), he was piercing it into his face, chest, stomach. He then took a sabre, and started to strike his body

At Mt. Tabor, the Grand Prince (*Velikiy Knyaz*) was met by the eighty five year old Jerusalem Patriarch Cyril who faced the opposition of the Greek hierarchy for his stance on the Bulgarian Church and that he refused to mix hierarchical affairs with religious affairs. The theological acuteness of the aristocratic group is testified by constant references to the Gospel and to the sound questions raised. For example, as to why Mt. Tabor is associated with Christs Transfiguration even though the Gospel does not speak of it. The question was given to the Patriarch who also did not know the answer claiming that in 2 Peter I, 19, there is a reference to this, but here also Tabor is not named explicitly.

Skalon notes: "The Grand Prince (*Velikiy Knyaz*) was met on the road to Tabor, by the 85 year old Patriarch of Jerusaelm Kiril, against whom the entire Greek hierarchy rebelled, because he signed the independance of the Bulgarian Church and did not want to mix hierarchical issues with religious issues. In appearance, Kirill, is a grey, as the moon, with wide shoulders elder, of a middle height, with an eagle nose, goodhearted smile, and a sharp look with his grayish eyes, full of energy and expression. He was accompanied by the Metropolitan of Nazareth, a beautiful man, and two deacons, one of which spoke fluent Russian...The stop took two hours. His Highness ordered me to read the Biblical account where the Transfiguration is mentioned. All three Gospels indicate: that Jesus took them on a high mountain (Math.17,1; Mark 9,2; Luke 9,28).<sup>1</sup> Further a combination of a *panychida*

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<sup>1</sup> "Великий Князь был встречен на дороге пред Фавором восьмидесятипятилетным Иерусалимским Патриархом Кириллом, против которого восстала вся греческая иерархия за то, что он не подписал отлучение Болгарской Церкви и не хотел мешать интересам иерархических с религиозными. С виду, Патриарх Кирилл-седой, как лунь, коренастый старец, среднего роста, с орлиным носом, добродушною улыбкой и быстрым взглядом серых глаз, еще полных энергии и выражения. Его сопровождали митрополит назаретский, замечательный красавец, и два диакона, из которых один довольно чисто говорил по-русски...Привал продолжался 2 часа. Его Высочество приказал мне прочесть из Евангелия те места, где упоминается о Преображении. Во всех трех Евангелиях стоит: "Иисус возвел их на высокую гору" (Мф.17, 1; Мк.9,2; Лк. 9,28)", Ibid., 118.

with some good food: "His Highness ordered for lunch fresh cabbage soup, which was prepared in Sankt Petersburg and conserved, and no one can image what pleasure this sustenance had brought us. In the late afternoon, we again went to Church and His Highness ordered a *panychida* to be served for his mother who rested in Bose, His mother the Empress Alexandra Feodorovna, whose departed coincided with our entry into Nazareth".<sup>1</sup>

### *Travels of Anikita*

An interesting account because it combines religious emotionality and piety with high social standing is the account of the aristocrat turned monk Anikita. Father (іеромонах – priest monk) Anikita (Аникита, who was an aristocrat with the secular name and title Blagochestiviy knyaz Sergey Alexandrovich III. Shichmatov, Благочестивый князь Сергѣй Александровичъ III.- Шихматовъ). He was a member of the navy (1804-1827) and in 1830 became a monk. He also travelled around Russian areas (in 1832-1833). Regardless of being highly educated Anikitas-Shichmatovs accounts are vivid and full of religious emotionality.<sup>2</sup> There were calls to publish his accounts even by his brother the minister for national culture/education aristocrat Platon Shirinskiy Shichmatov (Платонъ Ширинскій-Шихматовъ).

Anikita begins his account in the genre of a hagiographical introduction, meditating on the life of Christ and the role of the Holy Sepulchre in Jerusalem as a place which gives those that visit it spiritual

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<sup>1</sup> "К обѣду Его Высочество приказалъ подать ленивые щи, приготовленные в Петербургѣ и взятыя с собою в видѣ консерва. Можно себѣ представить, какое удовольствіе доставило намъ это блюдо. Во время сумерекъ мы опять пошли в церковь, и Его Высочество приказалъ отслужить панихиду по своей в Бозѣ почивающей родительницѣ, Императрицѣ Александрѣ Феодоровнѣ, которой кончина совпала со днемъ нашего всупленія в Назаретъ" Ibid. 119.

<sup>2</sup> Путешествіе іеромонаха Аникиты (въ міръ князя С. А. III- Шихматова) по святымъ мѣстамъ Востока въ 1834-1836 годахъ in: *Христіанское Чтеніе*, издаваемое при Санктпетербургской Духовной Академіи, 1891, часть первая, Санкт-Петербургъ, 1891, with introduction by priest Василій Жмакинъ, 69- Жмакинъ in his introduction to Anikitas account states that the manuscript with Anikitas writing clearly shows signs of being carried by the author on his journeys. He also states, that he heard that there was another manuscript in the Moscow museum of Rumyantsev.

strength. As a place of true rest and repose (quotes from Isaiah XI, 10)<sup>1</sup>. He thus wrote: "Realising that all that happens is the result of a bliss from on high, being stained by sins, but at the same time being irradiated by hope that the wishes of the faithful will be blissfully fulfilled, I turned to the Father of lights, and with unworthy yet ceaseless heart full prayer of mine, not taking regard to any obstacles, not because I was worthy, and not due to my riches that God had gave me, since from Him I needed ardent prayer, and having provided me from there with sufficient provisions with advice, and Himself sending illnesses of my servant and caretaker the Gods servant, Nikita (The Companion of Nikita, after finishing his journey with Anikita in the Near East, had returned to Russia), the son of a merchant from the city of Ostashkovo, being young, healthy, sober, talented, wishing in his heart to visit the holy city of Jerusalem".<sup>2</sup>

Father Anikita set about in 1834 (5<sup>th</sup> of May, Saturday afternoon, v in the fifth hour) to visit the prior of the monastery where he stayed for the last six years having kissed him and his right hand and to say farewell to the brotherhood. He also that day prayed to the bishop Theoktist<sup>3</sup> saying a *moleben* (молебень), and to St. George. Anikita that day leaves the monastery to the city where he spent the night. That all was not so idealistic is suggested by the editor of the accounts who

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<sup>1</sup>"And in that day there shall be a root of Jesse, which shall stand for an ensign of the people; to it shall the Gentiles seek: and his rest shall be glorious". King James v.

<sup>2</sup> "Зная, что всякое даяніе благо свѣшъ есть, обратился я, мрачный грѣхами, но озаренный упованіемъ на исполняющаго во благихъ желаніе вѣрныхъ, къ Отцу свѣтовъ, недостойнымъ, но усерднымъ моимъ моленіемъ, не престававъ отъ онаго, не смотря ни на какия препятствія, и не за достоинство мое, не за богатство мое даде ми Господь, елика отъ Него требовахъ ревностною молитвою, снабдивъ меня неожиданно оттуда достаточнымъ напутствіемъ, и Самъ пославъ немощи моей слугу и попечителя раба Божія Никиту (*Спутникъ Никита, по совершеніи о. Аникитой путешествія по Востоку, воротился въ Россію*), купецкаго сына изъ города Осташкова, молодого, здороваго, трезваго, растропнаго, сердцемъ возжелавшаго посѣтить святыи градъ *Іерусалимъ*" 73.

<sup>3</sup> Editors note states, that Saint Theoktist was an Archbishop of Novgorod (1300-1308), who died in the Novgorod Blagoveshchenskiy monastery (Благовѣщенскомъ монастырѣ) on the 23 of December 1310. In 1764 his relics were moved to the Yureev monastery (Юрьевъ), where they are kept in storage. See also Муравьевъ. *Путешествіе по св. Мѣстамъ русскимъ*, Sankt Peterburg, 1888, first part, 6 edition, 343-344.

wrote in a note that apparently the *prior* archimandrite Photios was reluctant to give father Anikita his blessing for the journey.<sup>1</sup>

The next day Anikita prays to the Wisdom of God (in the Church of Sophia in Novgorod-note of editor).<sup>2</sup> Also in the Church of Saint Nicholas saying a *moleben*.<sup>3</sup> In the area called Yaroslavovo gorodishtche (Ярославово городище – editors note-an ancient centre of Novgorod, where ancient remains still remain of a building, and which according to the Chronicles existed until the fires of 1403 and 1406. The area also contains eight churches and two *chasovnas*/ часовна, which according to the editor testifies to the piety of the ancient rulers).<sup>4</sup> Anikita links Jerusalem and his area when he states that on the seventh on the very day of the appearance in Jerusalem of the Cross of the Lord on the heavens, he serves the Liturgy, with the service for pilgrims in the Church of the Mother of God made famous by the icon of Znamenia (Знаменія Богородицы).<sup>5</sup>

Anikita's journey then takes him to the Zaytsevo (ямъ Зайцево), (7<sup>th</sup>), to the town Krestsi (Крестцы), (8<sup>th</sup>), where he serves a number of liturgical services. On the 9<sup>th</sup> he arrives in the city Valdaya (Валдая) and stays in the Яма Zitogor (Зитогорь). On the 10<sup>th</sup> Anikita suffers from piles pain, which prevents him from visiting the monastery of Nilus Stolobenskiy (Нил преподобный Столобенский).

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<sup>1</sup> As suggested by the editor, see one of the letters of Photios to the Archbishop Inokentiy, the archbishop of Cherson, *Христианское чтение*, ноябрь декабрь, Санкт Петербургъ 1887, 761, 74 note.

<sup>2</sup> The Sophia Church in Novgorod was built by the son of the great *knyaz* Yaroslav, by the Novgorod *knyaz* Vladimir Yaroslavich in 1045-1051. Here are relics of saint Nikita, the Bishop of Novgorod (died 1108), saint Iliya, in the *Schima* Yoan (John), Archbishop of Novgorod (died 1186), the saint Archbishop of Novgorod Gregoriy (died 1193), and the remains of the saint *Blagoverniy* (Благовѣрнаго) *knaz* Vladimir Yaroslavich, the builder of the Sophia Church, the saintly *Blagoverniy knagina* Anne (mother of the Churches builder) and the saintly *Blagoverniy knaz* Theodor the brother of the *Blagoverniy knaz* Alexander Nevskiy. Соловьевъ. Историческое описание Софійскаго собора, Санкт Петербургъ, 1858. Муравьевъ Путешествіе по св. Мѣстамъ русскимъ, Санкт Петербургъ, 1888, I, 6 edition, 380-404.

<sup>3</sup> The Church of Saint Nicholas in Novgorod was built by the son of the Monomach, by Mstislav Velikiy (the Great) in 1113. It was built in the Byzantine style with the use of Greek architects.

<sup>4</sup> Ibid., 75.

<sup>5</sup> Editor notes- the icon of the *Znamenia* commemorates the miraculous salvation of the Novgorodians from the attack of the Suzdal prince *knaz* in 1170.

Anikita has some trouble finding cheap transport and goes to Torshka (Торжка) on the 11<sup>th</sup> visiting the Iver monastery (Иверскій)<sup>1</sup>. There he said a *moleben* and *akathist* to the Mother of God and returned to Zitogor, from where on the 12<sup>th</sup> he embarked on a journey to Vishniy-Volochek, (Вышній-Волочекъ), where he arrived just in time for vshenochnoe penie (liturgical service). After morning liturgical services on the 13<sup>th</sup> he goes to Torshok. Goes through the station Vidroputsk (Выдропуцк), where he wants to fix some things on his carriage. In Torshok he stays at the hotel of a merchant Pozharskiy (Пожарский), where he got a "good room", which was for him a necessity as he states, since he was hit by the piles again.<sup>2</sup> On the 14<sup>th</sup> regardless of the pain from the piles goes to the Boris-Gleb monastery (Борисоглебскій), where there are the relics of Ephraim and his disciple Arkadios.<sup>3</sup> Anikita again participates in liturgical services and with the help of his friend Archimandrite Arsenios goes to Staritsa (Старица) and on the 15<sup>th</sup> he serves the liturgy there in its monastery (Успенскій монастырь).<sup>4</sup> The editors of Anikita's accounts in his notes designates these various Russian monasteries that Anikita visits according to their status, that is First class monastery, Second class monastery and Third class monastery.

Anikita then goes to the town Zubtsovo (Зубцово) and on the 16<sup>th</sup> he came to Sichevka (Сычевка). He continues and stays the night at a place led by a woman called Novitska (Госпожа Новицка) close to the village of Lipits (Липицъ).

On the 17<sup>th</sup> Anikita starts his journey to his birthplace Dernovo (Дерново)<sup>5</sup> and he wanted to visit his relatives but also serve a memorial liturgy for his parents. He was especially looking forward to remembering his parents and visiting their grave and as he states he

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<sup>1</sup> Editor's note here states that the Mother of God Iberian (Иверский Богородичный) monastery is meant. Built on the Valday Lake founded by Patriarch Nikon around 1653.

<sup>2</sup> Ibid. 77.

<sup>3</sup> The monastery of Boris Gleb in Torshka was founded in ancient times by saint Ephraim.

<sup>4</sup> The monastery was founded in the beginning of the XVI century. The first Moscow Patriarch Iov (Ювъ) lived in the monastery in Staritsa from 1605 where he died on the 19<sup>th</sup> of June 1607.

<sup>5</sup> Editors note-Village Dernovo, in Smolensk Gubernia, Vyazemskiy Uезд (Вяземский уезд) was the birthplace of Prince Кунз Sergiy. In the village at that time lived his younger brother Knaz Prochor Alexandrovich III. Shichmatov who died in 1863, Ibid., 79.

had the opportunity to visit their graves even before he planned to do so, since before coming to Dernovo his driver made a mistake and accidentally drove him close to the Church where his parents were buried. So he took this as a sign and immediately went to the graves.<sup>1</sup> There he called a priest to serve a memorial service. He stayed in Dernovo for a while, praising God engaging in spiritual conversations and also met his brother and his sister. His sister came from Vyazmi (Вязьмы), and his sister mother Augusta was the *igumenia* of the Vyazemskiy Arkadiev women's monastery.<sup>2</sup>

He visited this monastery with his relatives and served the liturgy there thanking God for having the opportunity to pay his respects to the relics of his patron saint Nilus Seligerskiy (Нил Селигерский), which were kept there, especially because his previous attempt to visit the place where his coffin was kept did not happen due to the financial expense this journey entailed. Thus he saw this as a sign of God granting him the opportunity to pay homage to the relics of his saint to whom Anikita served a liturgy and a *moleben*. The monastery was already flourishing and had sixty nuns. His other sister Agathoklia (Агаθокля, Princess *Knazhna* Alexandra Alexandrovna Shichmatov) was also a nun there (died in 1833).

On the 28<sup>th</sup> he travels to Tepluch (Теплух), and on the 29<sup>th</sup> through Gzhatsk (Гжатскъ) he arrives in Mozhaishk (Можайск), where he stays with his brother Pavel Alexandrovich. Prince (*Kynaz*) Pavel Alexandrovich III Schichmatov, was an instructor in the navy from 1798 to 1818 and then moved to his village Archangelsk together with his brother Prince (*Kynaz*) Alexander Alexandrovich. Some time he was the *Uezd* judge in Mozhaishk, and died there on the 25 of April 1844.<sup>3</sup>

Anikita goes to Archangelsk where he serves a liturgy in the church built by his parents and then goes to confession to his spiritual father

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<sup>1</sup> The parent's graves were located in the courtyard of a parish church built by the aristocrats Shichmatovs, built five *versts* from Dernovo in the village of Salovitsa (Саловица). The father of Prince *Kynaz* Sergiy, the Knaz Alexander Prochorovich Shichmatov (died in 1793) built the Church, where he was also buried together with his wife Olga Shichmatova who died in 1820.

<sup>2</sup> The *Igumenia* of the monastery the sister of Anikita, Augusta, in the secular world with her name Princess *Knazhna* Anna Alexandrovna III. Shichmatova, brought the monastery to a flourishing state and died in 1859.

<sup>3</sup> See *Біографія князя Павла III. Шихматова*, Moscow, 1848.

Matfey, who also gave him his blessing to serve the liturgy there. He speaks with his brothers in Archangelsk. The second brother of Prince (*Knyaz*) Sergiy, *Knyaz* Alexander Alexandrovich, after graduating from the navy settled in his village of Archangelsk and occupied himself with the care of the estate (Died on the 2<sup>nd</sup> of August 1849).

On the 12<sup>th</sup> of June he leaves Archangelsk, has lunch in Vere (Беpe) at a place of an elderly person who had visited Jerusalem, merchant Ilya Alexeevich Zaligin (Ильи Алексеевич Залгина), stays the night in the village Dednov (Деднов) at a priests house Vinogradov. On the 13<sup>th</sup> he came to Prepodobniy Savva Zvenigorodskiy (Савва Звенигородский).<sup>1</sup> After serving services he goes on to Noviy Yerusalim monastery.<sup>2</sup> There again he participates in more services and on the 15<sup>th</sup> he reaches the village Choroshevo (Хорошево) and stays in the house for visitors of the priest Peter (the brother of the spiritual father of Anikita in Archangelsk Matfey).

On the sixteenth he comes to Moscow and stays at the place of Igor Grigorievich Starikov (Егоромъ Григорьевичъ Стариков). He meets with the Metropolitan Filaret who gives him his blessing to serve in Moscow churches and also his benefactor M. P. Shter (М.П.Штер). He serves in the parish Church of Troitska Tserkov (around Sergiy in Pushkaryach, Пушкаряхъ) and visits the *Podvorye* of the Metropolitan and meets the Metropolitan Filaret, who invites him to serve with him in Petrovsk monastery (Петровск монастырь).<sup>3</sup> On the 19<sup>th</sup> he serves in the Church of prophet Ilias on the Novgorod Podvorye (as he calls it "Our Podvorye"). On the 20<sup>th</sup> he serves the liturgy in the church of Saint Nicholas in Chamovnikach (Хамовники), where he met some relatives. On the 22<sup>th</sup> he serves the Liturgy with prayers for a safe journey in the Novgorodskiy *Podvoriye*, from where he wanted to leave Moscow. He wanted to depart Moscow but he forgot his *Mantiya* with

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<sup>1</sup> Editors note- It is the Savvin Storozhevskiy (Саввинъ Сторожевскій) monastery of the "First class", close to the town of Zvenigorod, and which was founded by Saint Savva around 1380.

<sup>2</sup> Editors note- the Archimandrite of the Stavropegial Voskresenskiy Noviy Yerusalim Monastery, which was founded by Patriarch Nikon in 1656, was Apolos Alekseyevskiy (Аполосъ Алексеевскій), who governed the monastery from 1821 to 1837.

<sup>3</sup> Vysokopetrovskiy Petropavlovskiy vtoroklasniy monastyr (Высокопетровскій Петропавловскій второклассный монастырь), in Moscow, in the White City. Founded possibly in the period of Dmitriy Donskiy.

some expensive objects in the carriage and the driver left nowhere to be found. So he had to wait for a new *Mantiya* to be brought because he states one cannot go further without the *Mantiya*.<sup>1</sup> He visited in this period the philanthropist F.F. Nabilkin (Ф.Ф.Набилкин), who took him to see his home for the elderly and for people with various physical disabilities. The structure could have housed up to 300 people. The compound also had a church. He also showed him a house for 60 poor orphans.

On the 25<sup>th</sup> he leaves and arrives in Podolsk (Подольскъ), on the 26<sup>th</sup> he arrives in Serpuchov (Серпуховъ) and hears services in front of the icon of Tichvin (ТИХВИНСКАЯ) in the Church of the birth of the Mother of God. The same day evening he arrives in Tula. He meets some colleagues from the navy and on the 28<sup>th</sup> he comes to Bogorodsk (Богородск). All along the way he constantly serves or attends Liturgical services. On the 30 he comes to Efremov (Ефремовъ), then to Elets (Елецъ). On the first of July he came to Zadonsk.<sup>2</sup>

There in the monastery he was talking with a man called Georgiy Alexievich (Георгій Алексєвич), who was fifty and was living for the past sixteen years as a *Zatvornik* in a confined place in the monastery and who was originally of aristocratic origin. He visits the relics of Mitrophan on the 3<sup>rd</sup>.<sup>3</sup> He prayed to the saint to help him with his illnesses. He did not plan to stay in Voronezh long, but the local bishop Antoniу (Антоній Смирницкій)<sup>4</sup>, asked him to write a life of the saint

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<sup>1</sup> 87.

<sup>2</sup> Saint Tichon (Sokolov) was in 1761 chirotonised as the vicar of Novgorod and in 1763 moved to the Voronezh cathedra where he stayed until 1768. He died in Zadonsk monastery on the 13 of august 1783. In 1845 his body was found uncorrupted in the Old Church of Zadonsk monastery and in 20 june 1861 he was pronounced a saint by the Holy Synod, editors note.

<sup>3</sup> Saint Mitrophan, was the first bishop of Voronezh and led the eparchy from 1682 to 1703. In 1831 during the repairs of the Voronezh Church his grave was found to be completely destroyed and decayed except for his body which was in an uncorrupted state. There were many miracles and in 1832 he was pronounced a saint. Editor's note, 91. In 1836 the Blagoveshchenskiy Church, where the uncorrupted remains of Mitrophan were found was turned into a monastery called now Mitrophanovim Blagoveshchenski katedralniy monastir (Митрофанов Благовѣщенскій кафедральный монастыр). The local Voronezh Archbishops live there.

<sup>4</sup> Antoniу Smirnitskiy was *chirotonised* as bishop of Voronezh on 31 January 1826. He was a former representative of the Kiev-Pecherks Lavra and was made an Archbishop on the 31 of January 1832. He died on the 20<sup>th</sup> of December 1846 and was a spiritual person.



Mitrophan and he was delayed and also prayed and served liturgies to Mitrophan etc. Anikita spends some time working on the life of Mitrophan and on the 15<sup>th</sup> he read his work to the bishop.<sup>1</sup> On the 16<sup>th</sup> he takes a copy of the original icon of Mitrophan made from his appearance, and puts it next to the relics overnight. The copy was made by A. A. Pavlov, who lived in the house of the Gubernator Dm. Nik. Begichev (Бегичев), where Anikita was visiting. As the editor writes the icon was subsequently given by Anikita to the Skete of the prophet Ilias on Athos.<sup>2</sup>

On the 18<sup>th</sup> he has lunch in Nizhnedevitsk (Нижнедѣвицк) and then on the 19<sup>th</sup> stays at Stariy Oskol (Старий Оскол). He gets stuck due to problems with a wheel in the village Svitska (Свитьск). On the 21<sup>st</sup> he comes to Belgrad (Бѣлградъ) and stopped at the Nikolaev monastery.<sup>3</sup> He attends services and between visits the Troitskiy monastery, where there is a seminary paying homage to saint Ioasaphat.<sup>4</sup>

Charkov is reached on the 23<sup>rd</sup>, Poltava on the 25<sup>th</sup>. He goes to the nearby monastery of Krestovozdvizhenskiy (Крестовоздвиженскій).<sup>5</sup> On the 27<sup>th</sup> came to Kremenchug (Кременчугъ). The same day he goes to the town of Alexandria. On the 28<sup>th</sup> he reaches Elizavetgrad. During his travels, he constantly accepts the hospitality of his friends, local ecclesiastical authorities and so on.

On the first of august, he comes to Nikolaev and stays at his relative N. N. Yazikov (Н.Н. Языков). On the fifth of august he conducts a Liturgy at the Church of Nicholas the Wonderworker which

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<sup>1</sup> Editor's note- It appears that the life of Mitrophan published with the approval of the Holy Synod in 1838 was the work of Anikita. It seems that the bishop Antoniyy also commissioned an Akathist to Mitrophan which was written by the brother of Anikita Knaz Platon Alexandrovich III Shichmatov. See *Очеркъ жизни князя Платона Шихматова*, Елагина, Sankt Peterburg, 1855.

<sup>2</sup> See *Русскій скитъ св. Пророка Иліи на Афонтѣ*, Одесса, 1883, 36, here 95.

<sup>3</sup> Nikolaev Belgorod Monastery (Николаев Бѣлгородскій монастырь) was founded in 1599. In 1764 it belonged to the third class and in 1833 to the second. Pg. 96, Editor's note.

<sup>4</sup> Ioasaph Gorlenko (Іоасафъ Горленко), bishop of Belgorod (Бѣлгородскій), was chirotonised on the 2<sup>nd</sup> of june 1748 from the governors of the Troitsko Sergeyev Lavra and he died on the 10 december 1754. His body was uncorrupted. See *Житіе Іоасафа Горленко*. *Странникъ* 1865, August. Editor's note, 97.

<sup>5</sup> Krestovozdvizhenskiy monastery of the second class in Poltava, was founded around 1650.

was a Greek Church. On the 8<sup>th</sup> he reaches Odessa. He meets in Odessa, N. I. Sinitsin (Н.И.Синицын), the Director of the Rishelievskiy Liceum in Odessa (Ришельевский). On the 9<sup>th</sup> he attends the exams of the students from the subject of theology and on the 11<sup>th</sup> serves the liturgy there in the Church dedicated to Alexander Nevskiy. On the 15 he goes to the Uspenskiy monastery, who's prior was no less then Archimandrite Porphyriy.<sup>1</sup>

In Odessa Anikita meets one of the novices of the Glinska pustyn (Глинска пустыня), the son of a merchant Aleksey Mitrophanov (Алексий Митрофанов), who also wanted to visit the Holy places. Due to the plague in Constantinople Anikita postponed his departure until the spring (1835). He decided to stay the winter in Odessa, while Mitrophanov returned to the Glinska pustyn of the Kursk Eparchy and returned to Odessa in spring three weeks after the departure of Anikita. Mitrophanov also left his memoirs. Some of them were published in Душеполезное Чтение (1884, July 291-314). In 1838 Mitrophanov became a monk with the name Arseniy; in 1844 he became the Igumen of the Svyatogorska Uspenska pustyna (Святогороска Успенска пустыня) and in 1859 he became an archimandrite and died here as the prior.

Porphyriy accepted Anikita as a visitor and when Anikita left he had an accident and fell out of his carriage hurting his side. On the 16<sup>th</sup> on the invitation of the Greek Metropolitan of Adrianopol together with other Greek priests he served the liturgy at the Greek Church of the Holy Trinity.

Due to the plague Anikita decides to stay in Odessa during winter and goes to the local Uspenskiy monastery located 12 versts from Odessa. The monastery was also called the Fountain monastery due to a fountain which existed in that area. He returns his passport to the police after deciding to stay the winter there and the bishop Dimitriy the Archbishop of Kishinev and Chotinsk (Димитрій Сулим), who was chirotonised on the 16 of July 1811 as the bishop of Bendersk, the vicar

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<sup>1</sup> Архимандритъ Порфирій Успенскій, was initially the first rector of the Odessa seminary, and on the 14<sup>th</sup> of February 1865, was made bishop of Chigirinsk (Чигиринск), vicar of the Kiev Metropolitanate. In the beginning of the eighties he was releaved as a governor of the Novospaskiy (Новоспаский) Stavropegial Monastery in Moscow where he also died. He wrote also *Востокъ Христіанскій. Путешестіе по Аѳонѣ* 9 volumes 1877-1881.

of Kishinev. On the 18<sup>th</sup> of June 1821 he became the Bishop of Kishinev and died as the Archbishop of Kishinev on the 4<sup>th</sup> August 1844) gave him permission to serve there as well as the local prior of the monastery.

Anikita likens the monastery to a small paradise and appears there on the 4<sup>th</sup> of September. Living in the Uspenskiy monastery Anikita continues to do work. He writes in a letter to his brothers (16<sup>th</sup> of February 1835), that he was commissioned by the Archbishop Antony who commissioned him before to write a life of Mitrophan, to also write a liturgical service to him including an Akathist. He used the materials from the teacher of the Voronezh Gymnasium N. M. Sevastyanov (Н.М.Севастьянов). This Teacher was so strict and a huge ascetic, who was constantly returning home without possessions because he was giving them to the poor. He was also a very strict person in terms of fasting.

On the 25<sup>th</sup> of April he finally arrives in the city to recommence his journey. He takes his passport and also the passport for his company which included Nikita and the merchant's son Ilya Erofeev, the son of Maslov (Илья Ерофѣев) and buys tickets for the ship Neva that was to take them to Constantinople. The cabin cost 100 roubles, Nikita payed 25 roubles for the deck, and more money for the ten *Puds* of things Anikita had (pud=16, 3 kg).

On the 2<sup>nd</sup> of May he comes to the ship from the quarantine accompanied by his friends. On the fourth he reaches the Bosphorus straits and on the same day Constantinople. Thanks to the first visitor on board the ship Mr. Novikov whose grandfather was the head of a merchants society in Odessa, the ambassador at the *Porte D. s. S.* Apolinary Petrovich Butenev (Аполлинарій Петровичъ Бутеневъ) was informed about the arrival of Anikita and the next day sent a postal official for ships of the eight class Ignatiy Alexandrovich Makedontsev (Игнатій Александрович Македонцев), who served at the mission, to offer hospitality at the ambassador. He was delegated to one of the houses belonging to the mission, and then told to move to a more better area due to climate reasons in Butdera. Anikita insisted on staying a couple days initially in the house of mission to see the city. Butderra (Бутдерь), or Buyuk-dere was the summer residence of the Russian ambassadors at the Bosphorus and not far from this place there were the

remains of a monastery in the name of the forty martyrs, which was founded by Patriarch Tarasios who was also buried there.<sup>1</sup>

On the sixth Anikita wonders around visiting the Church of the Entry of the Mother of God into the Temple, the other devoted to the Mother of God being built, and the Church of Saint Nicholas the Wonderworker. Later crossing the strait goes to introduce himself to two Patriarchs to Constantine and to the Patriarch of Jerusalem Athanasios. At that time Constantius II was Patriarch who was deposed in 1835 and was Patriarch only 15 months. Before him there was Constantius I who was Patriarch for four years from 1830-1834 who died on the island of Antigona in 1859.<sup>2</sup> Anikita notes that this Constantine replaced the Constantine the Patriarch before him who lived for a long time in Kiev as the Archimandrite of the Greek monastery. To Constantine he gave three pictures of Mitrophan on *email* and to the Patriarch of Jerusalem an icon on a board also of saint Mitrophan, which was sent to the Jerusalem Patriarch by the bishop Antonios of Voronezh.

As Anikita notes, there was a tradition of the Patriarchs of Jerusalem living for periods of time in Constantinople. They also acquired a dependency (подворье) in the middle of the XVII century, which was close to the Patriarchate of Constantinople-the previous court of the Moldavian rulers Cantacuzenes.<sup>3</sup>

As Anikita notes, referring to the Guide to Constantinople (Путеводитель по Константинополю),<sup>4</sup> when Mehmet II took over the Church of Agia Sophia, he initially gave to the Patriarch Gennadios the Church of the Holy Apostles, which was held by the Greeks only for two years. Later the Patriarchs *cathedra* was moved to the Church of the Mother of God the most Blissful and from then again in XVII to the outskirts of the city to Phanar, where there was a female monastery and Church of Saint George. The Guide to Constantinople (Путеводитель по Константинополю), notes that the Church of the Patriarchate is very humble in appearance and in precious objects.<sup>5</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> See 107 editors note.

<sup>2</sup> See *Путеводитель по Константинополю*, изд. Иеромонаха Антонія, Odessa, 1884, 243.

<sup>3</sup> Ibid., 108; *Путеводитель по Константинополю*, изд. Иеромонаха Антонія, изд. Иеромонаха Антонія, Одесса, 1884, pg. 1884, 86.

<sup>4</sup> Ibid., 84.

<sup>5</sup> *Путеводитель по Константинополю*, изд. Иеромонаха Антонія, Одесса, 1884, 84.

Anikita goes to the Patriarchal Church, where revers old icons of the Mother of God and John the Baptist and the tombs with the relics of Saint Euthimios (As the *Путеводитель по Константинополю* states, the relics of saint Euthimios were initially located in Chalcedon in the Church of saint Euthimios, where the IV Ecumenical Council took place and from there taken to Consantinople<sup>1</sup> while the right hand of saint Euthemius is in the Moscow Uspenskiy Church), saint Solomonia, the mother of the Maccabees and saint Theophanios and he revers the column of the holy column (that is the column inside the Patriarchal Church which contains part of the column on which Christ was whipped in Pretoria).<sup>2</sup> He also saw there the place of Saint John Chrysostom. This consists of a big chair with a high back area, made from black wood with rich engravings made from ivory. This chair was initially in the Church of Saint Irene and then in Saint Sophia.<sup>3</sup> Anikita states that the Christian churches in Constantinople are all marked by poverty.<sup>4</sup>

On the 9<sup>th</sup> Anikita asks the ambassador to provide him one *kavas* for protection, a soldier from the guard of the Great Vizier, of which there are around five or six at the embassy by way of courtesy, for his visit to the city centre. He was also accompanied by a translator and some compatriots. He was not allowed into the Church of Agia Sophia, and he sees also among other things the 1001 column water supply. Close to Agia Sophia there is the great cistern built by Constantine the Great, which at some time was decorated with 336 granite columns. The cistern is called by the Turks the cistern of 1001 columns even if the cistern has around 206 columns.<sup>5</sup>

He also sees the column of Constantine, which according to the Guide to Constantinople (*Путеводитель по Константинополю*), is located on the area of the previous ancient forum of Constantine the Great and is also known as the so-called "Burnt column". The column was brought from Rome consisting of eight pieces of porphyrii, which

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<sup>1</sup> Ibid., 144.

<sup>2</sup> Ibid., 84.

<sup>3</sup> *Путеводитель по Константинополю*, изд. Иеромонаха Антонія, Одесса, 1884, 84; Also see Софоний архієпископ туркенстанский, *Из дневника по службѣ на востокѣ*, Санкт Петербургъ, 1874, 24.

<sup>4</sup> 109.

<sup>5</sup> *Путеводитель по Константинополю*, изд. Иеромонаха Антонія, Одесса, 1884, 163.

were strengthened by copper hoops. The statue of Constantine which was on the top of the column was struck down by lightning and took with it two pieces of marble from the top. The column was repaired by the Emperor Manuel Comnenos.<sup>1</sup> He also sees the columns of Arcadius and Marcian.

The Guide to Constantinople (*Путеводитель по Константинополю*), also mentions the Egyptian obelisk, with four angles made from one Theban granite and pedestal. The obelisk was brought by Constantine the Great from Heliopolis in Egypt where it stood as part of the decoration of the temple of the sun. The obelisk is also known as the obelisk of Theodosius, because he raised it after it had fallen after an earthquake. The obelisk is 60 feet high (фут). On the west from the Egyptian obelisk there is a bronze snake column made of three gigantic snakes, entangled together. Another monument has the character of a giant column, made of bricks, and was made by Constantine Porphyrogenitos. At some point the column was covered in copper, which was stolen by the Crusaders and we cannot count on the column to exist for much longer.<sup>2</sup>

Anikita continues stating that not much remains from the so-called column of Arcadius, except for one pedestal. The column itself was damaged by fire in 1635 and was dismantled by the Turks to avoid it falling down and causing danger. The column of the Emperor Markianus, is located behind the walls of the Sultans palace, and is inaccessible to visitors.<sup>3</sup> Anikita also saw the remains of the walls of Constantinople and gates. Only six gates have been preserved in Anikitas time. The so-called Golden Gates are now called seven-towered gates. There once existed the two great towers of Saint Roman, on the remains of which we can see stuck cannon balls, which were pounded on Constantinople by Mehmet II. The Turks have obstructed the same secret passage through which they entered into Constantinople, and they now fear that this very same passage will be used by the Russian who will enter Constantinople and throw them into Asia.<sup>4</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> Ibid., 164-165.

<sup>2</sup> Ibid., 161-163.

<sup>3</sup> Муравьевъ, А.Н., *Путешествіе по св. Мѣстамъ въ 1830*, 35-36., Anikita 110.

<sup>4</sup> Муравьевъ, А.Н., *Путешествіе по св. Мѣстамъ въ 1830*, first part, 47-55., Anikita 110.

On the 11<sup>th</sup> of May he went with others further from the city to Balikli or Bolukli the Turkish name for the *Life giving Spring*. In the fifth century there was a Church built here and Justinian built a Church here with a male monastery. The Turks destroyed all this when they conquered the city. The Church was rebuilt in 1830 by the Patriarch Constantius I, although on a smaller scale compared to the previous one.<sup>1</sup> Bolukli or the *Life Giving Spring* of Mary is located ten versts from Pera. Anikita blesses himself with the waters there and reveres the icon of the Life Giving Spring which was kept there. He also blesses the icon of the *Life Giving Spring of Mary* which he brought with himself from Novgorod. On the way back he visits the Spring of Blachernae. The Blachernae Church of the Mother of God was built by the empress Pulcheria in 435, in the beginning of the rule of Markian. The Emperor Justinian embellished this Church. In 1434, 19 years before the fall of Constantinople-it burned down and was never restored. Only one arch with a colonnade remains till this day from the previous building; the spring is located here also. Some years ago the spring was bought from the Turks by a society of Christian furriers who also built a small *chasovna* (часовна) there. The society is collecting money now to build a Church there.<sup>2</sup> Everywhere he goes Anikita expresses himself emotionally praising God.

On the 30<sup>th</sup> Anikita receives four letters from the ambassador Apolinariy Petrovich Butenev, to the consuls of Salonika, Dardanelles, Efesus and Cyprus and prepares to leave for Mt. Athos. He is hosted in Pera by a Russian merchant Manuel Petrovich Karnulov (Мануилъ Петровичъ Карнуловъ) "in proper Russian fashion". On the 31<sup>st</sup> he visits the previous Patriarch Constantius on the island of Antigone on the prince's islands, who at the time returned to his previous title of Archbishop of Sinai which he also held before he became Patriarch. He was a greatly learned man, speaking fluent Russian and wrote the *Constantiniad* and also rebuilt the Church of the Life Giving Spring of Mary. He died in 1859.

On the 3<sup>rd</sup> of June at six in the morning he goes from Constantinople to the Holy Mountain, on a small boat called Poseidon, under the Turkish flag, but owned by Greeks and which was led by the owner

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<sup>1</sup> *Путеводитель по Константинополю*, изд. Иеромонаха Антонія, Одесса, 1884,90.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, 92-94.

himself Dimitrios Dionadi. On the fifth they reach the island of Marmara (called because it consists of great tall Marmara peaks). On the sixth he reaches Dardanelles. He goes ashore to meet the vice consul Timon to give him the letter from the Russian ambassador in Constantinople. He was made nervous by the news that the city was beset by the plague, but was assured by the vice consul Timon that the plague was not found in the city although there were alarms raised due to some suspicions. On the same day they after midday they came out the Dardannelle channel into the White sea and carried on between the islands of Ibra, Samothrake, Tassos from the right side and Lemnos from the left. He comes to the port of the monastery of Xeropotamos. According to the Guide to Mt. Athos (Путеводитель по св. Горѣ Аѳонской)<sup>1</sup>, the monastery of Xeropotamos according to tradition was founded in the fifth century by the daughter of the emperor Arkadius, Pulcheria, who became the wife of the emperor Markian. The monastery was founded in the name of the forty martyrs, by the emperor Roman, who gave its first leader, *prepodobniy* Paul, the son of Tsar Michail, a unique gift of a true piece from the cross of Christ with a hole from the nails with which Christ was crucified where remnants of the blood was still present. The monastery was also endowed by emperor Andronikos, and also Sultan Selim, the second after Mehmet, who gave thanks to the forty martyrs. These appeared to Sultan Selim in a dream, promising help in his war with Egypt and indeed they did help him.

Anikita was well hosted by the monasteries *igumenos*, starets Stefan. The monastery has a number of interesting relics, including that of the Great Martyr George (finger), Great Martyr Dimitrios (blood), John the Baptist (nail), Basil the Great, Christine martyr (hand), Auxentius the new martyr and others....Anikita visits the *skete* of saint Elias, founded by Paisiy Velichkovskiy in 1757. Paisiy later left the skete in 1763 and died in 1794 in Valachia as the archimandrite of the Neamt monastery.<sup>2</sup> The *skete* is a dependency of the monastery of Pantokrator.<sup>3</sup> The *skete* was governed by the priest monk Parpheniy, who was almost at that time 40 years a monk in this *skete*, and who renewed the monastery after its destruction by the Turks during the rebellion of the Greeks. *Starets*

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<sup>1</sup> Путеводитель по св. Горѣ Аѳонской, Sankt Peterburg 1875, second edition, 82-83.

<sup>2</sup> See also here Скитѣ св. Пророка Іліи на Аѳонской горѣ, Одесса, 1883, 16-27.

<sup>3</sup> 115.



Parpheniy was heading the monastery from 1820 and during the Greek rebellion left the monastery to Russia taking its relics with him and stayed at the Lebyazhevsk Nikolaevsk monastery in Chernomor (Лебяжевск Николаевскъ монастыръ in Черноморъ).

In 1830 after the peace with Russia he returned with some monks and renewed the *Skete*. He died in the skete in 1837 from plague injuries.<sup>1</sup> After serving liturgies and services on the 13 he goes to visit the monastery of Pantokrator, which was established in the XVI century by one of the Byzantine emperors. Apart from the main church of the Transfiguration of Christ the monastery has some additional seven churches.<sup>2</sup> The monastery had around 150 monks till the Greek rebellion but now only has 25. The Turks had destroyed and defaced many Christian monuments there. There are many relics there of saints, including Saint Andrew (hand and legs), the martyr Photini the Samaritan, Saint John the Baptist, Saint Charalambos, Saint Panteleimon, Saint Basil the Great, Saint John Chrysostom, Saint Eustathios Plakides and others. Anikita reveres all of them.<sup>3</sup>

Anikita then goes to the monastery of Stavronikita (met there by its igumenos Makariy), which is so called due to the fact that it was built by two brothers Stavro and Nikita. Nikita was a God loving person who was making crosses and who was living on the hill where the present monastery is standing. Before there was a small monastery here of John the Baptist. After the discovery of the icon of Saint Nicholas in the sea, the Patriarch of Constantinople Jeremias II in 1553 elevated the monastery and instead of John the Baptist devoted the monastery to Saint Nicholas.<sup>4</sup>

The relics in the church there included Saint Andrew the First called, Saint John the Baptist and others, and the piece of the True cross. Anikita reveres the miraculous icons of the Mother of God, and Saint Nicholas. The icon of Saint Nicholas was damaged on the face during the period of Iconoclasm and thrown into the sea, until it was discovered 300 years later, when it was found during fishing. The damaged part on the face was filled with a pearl bearing shell. From

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<sup>1</sup> See also here *Скитъ св. Пророка Иліи на Аѳонской горѣ*, Одесса, 1883, 30-32 here, 115.

<sup>2</sup> *Путеводитель по св. Горѣ Аѳонской*, Санкт Петербургъ, 1875, second edition, 47-48.

<sup>3</sup> 116.

<sup>4</sup> *Путеводитель по св. Горѣ Аѳонской*, second edition, Санкт Петербургъ, 1875, , 49-50.

then on the icon was making miracles. From one half of the shell, Patriarch Jeremias II, made a *Panagia*, with which he blessed the first Russian Patriarch Iov. The Panagia remains until this day in the Moscow Patriarchal *Riznitsa* (Vestment room).<sup>1</sup>

In the monastery of Stavronikita and Pantokrator, Anikita left the names of his kin and others both dead and alive for commemoration. On the 15 he went to spend the night into the Iviron Lavra, founded in the tenth century, and very richly endowed from Moscow. Archimandrite Grientiy welcomed Anikita. He goes on to visit the place, where the Mother of God came out of the ship onto land and claimed the Holy Mountain (area called the harbour of Climent).<sup>2</sup>

#### *4d Clergy*

##### *Travels of Serapion*

Coinciding with the publication of the the travels to the East by Muraviev in 1830, there is the account of a certain Serapion. He travelled to Jerusalem and is representative of the purely clerical accounts of his type.

He begins his account with a reference to the state officials and blessings. He is absolutely fascinated by being introduced to the Tsar himself. "On the 22 of April 1830, I was introduced before the Holy Person of the pious *Gosudar* the Emperor of All Russia Nikolay Pavlovich, who burning with the love towards the Orthodox faith and Church, when he found out, about my intention to be in those places, which were sanctified and elevated by the embodiment, the earthly life and death and the heavenly Resurrection of our Saviour Jesus Christ, he had considered me worthy, the unworthy, of his own characteristic graces, and sanctioned my humble desire; and with his kindness and encaptivating descent towards the most humble of subjects left a seal on my heart, and whenever I remember those great minutes it brings tears of happiness and elevates my spirit towards the heavens for the blessing and glory of the name of Nikolay, the wise and great Tsar. On the 24<sup>th</sup> the Sankt Peterburg War General-Gubernator, His Excellency Peter Kirillovich Essen (edit. Note, 1772-1844, Infantry General, the military General Gubernator of Sankt Peterburg, member of the State Council,

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<sup>1</sup> Ibid. 50.

<sup>2</sup> *Путеводитель по св. Горь Афонской*, second edition Санкт Петербургъ 1875, 59, 117.

count (from 1833), furnished me with a seal from His Imperial Highness, with a passport for free travel into Jerusalem and from there for return into Russia."

He further continues his journey and encounters with state officials: "On the 28<sup>th</sup> of April, I departed from Sankt Peterburg the capital of Russia, from the house of His Excellency Vsevolod Andreevich Vsevolodskiy (Vsevolodskiy-also as Vsevolozhskiy- 1769-1836, The vice Gubernor of Astrachan, kamerger, Petersburg home owner, he owned a house on Yekateringofskiy pr. House number 35- the house had undergone reconstruction in 1845-1847; the father of Nikita Vsevolozhskiy 1799-1862, the friend of Pushkin, one of the founders of the group Green Lamp Зеленая лампа, which met in this house, edit .note), and I successfully came to the port city of Odessa, on the 11<sup>th</sup> I appeared before Count Vorontsov, (Vorontsov Michail Semenovich 1782-1856-general field marshal, General Gubernator of Novororasiya 1823-1853 and the *Namestnik* of the Bessarabia area, Prince *Knyaz* –from 1845. He belonged to one of the most old aristocratic families. He was a hero of the war of 1812. In 1815-1818 he commanded the Russian occupational corpus in France.), to whom I gave a note, which was sent to him from Sankt Peterburg. The Count sent me to the governor of the city, who confirmed my passport by the signature, and the addition of a his own seal, sent me to the Quarantine Colonel. The colonel took me to the ship, on which I travelled on the sea until Constantinople without money."<sup>1</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> Апреля 22 числа 1830 года был я представлен пред Священную Особу Благочестивейшего Государя Императора Всероссийского Николая Павловича, который, пылая любовью к Православной вере и церкви, когда узнал о неложном моем намерении быть в местах, освященных и возвеличенных воплощением, земною жизнью и смертью и небесным Воскресением Спасителя нашего Иисуса Христа, то удостоил меня, недостойного, свойственных Его Величеству милостей, одобрил мое смиренно желание; и своею ласковостию и пленительным снисхождением к последнейшему из подданных оставил на сердце моем печать, при каждом воспоминании о сих великих минутах возбуждающую слезы радости и возносящую дух мой на небеса для благословения и прославления имени Николая, царя мудрого и великого. 24 же числа выдан мне от Санктпетербургского Военного Генерал-Губернатора Его Высокопревосходительства Петра Кирилловича Эссена, с приложением Его Императорского Величества печати, паспорт для свободного проезда в Иерусалим и оттуда обратно в Россию. Апреля 28 числа отправился я из Санкт-Петербурга, Солицы Росии, из дома Его Превосходительства Всеволода Андреевича Всеволодского, и прибыл благополучно в портовый город Одессу, Июня 11 числа явился к Графу Воронцову, коему вручил записку,

As is usually the case in sea travel a storm breaks out which provokes prayers. "On the journey, on the June 24<sup>th</sup>, on the day of the birthday of the Honourable Glorious Prophet Forerunner and Baptist of the Lord John, a storm had occurred, which had grown to such a degree in strength, that the sea almost swallowed our ship, and this small temptation of faith of the passengers had ended in the fact that the main mast had broken and by its sails, seven sailors have fallen into the depths of the waves of the fierce sea and died immediately. We were in the mean time in a state of despair, prayed with tears, and the Lord did hear the prayer of the Sinners! The storm subsided, and on the 29<sup>th</sup> of June, on the day of the Saints most glorious and top Apostles Peter and Paul, successfully entered the shores of Constantinople. On the 30<sup>th</sup> we appeared in the Russian Imperial Commercial Office in Constantinople, (The Российско-Императорская Коммерческая канцелярия, existed at the Russian embassy, and dealt with citizen and commercial issues of the Russian subjects), and at two in the morning we came to the Patriarch of Jerusalem in Constantinople, (Editors note, in 1830 the Patriarch of Jerusalem was Athanasius IV, from 1827 to 1844. The Jerusalem Church was elevated into the Patriarchate in 451. From the seventeenth century the Patriarchs of Jerusalem lived mainly in Constantinople. In 1640 they opened a representative section there, in the Phanar. They were also mainly chosen in Constantinople. In Jerusalem the Church was governed by two *epitropos*. This continued until Kyril II (1845-1872), who made Jerusalem into the true residence of the Patriarchs. Muraviev writes: "...all the matters are dealt with by the two *namestniks* with the Dragoman and secretary and on some occasion's only by one *namestnik*." Путешествие ко Святым местам в 1830 году, pg. 126..... Further elsewhere he writes: "The Patriarchs had moved to Tsargrad, because from Feofan, who was forced to leave

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посланную ему из Спетербурга. Граф послал меня к градоначальнику, который, утвердив паспорт мой подписанием руки и приложением собственной печати, отправил меня к Карантинному Полковнику. Полковник Июня 21 дня препроводил на корабль, на коем я ехал морем до самого Царя града безденежно." Путешествие во Святый Град Иерусалим Патриаршего Иерусалимского монастыря монаха Серапиона, именовавшегося прежде пострижения Стефаном 1830 и 1831 годов, in: Елена Леонидовна Румановская, Editors notes in the text are the notes of Rumanovskaya, 43, Два путешествия в Иерусалим в 1830-1831 и 1861 годах, Индрик, Москва, 2006, 21 to 41.

Jerusalem in the beginning of the XVII century, until Kyril, for the period of 200 years, the majority of them, lived outside their see, except for Nektarios and Dositheos" Muraviev, Муравьев, Письма с Востока в 1849-1850 годах, ч., 2, с. 172), who was serving *Vsenoshchnoye Bdenie* and after that the Liturgy, due to the feast of the Twelve apostles the feast of the Church."

Further "After the liturgy we accepted his blessing and venerated the coffins of the relics of the three saints, which are located in that Church. After that we were invited into the Kelia of his Holiness and offered lunch, vodka and coffee. At twelve the Patriarch visited his ship, rented by the pilgrims for the journey to Jaffa, he blessed the water on it, and blessed with it all on board. From the ship we were all going to the above mentioned office, where the Russian passports where surrendered, and Turkish Firmans where issued and Italian passports, for which all except me paid 27 leva's."<sup>1</sup> Once the boat was filled, the captain took 150 leva from each passenger for the ticket. On the 17<sup>th</sup> of

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<sup>1</sup> "В пути, Июня 24 числа, в день Рождества Честного Славного Пророка, Предтечи и Крестителя Господня Иоанна, поднялась буря, усилившаяся до такой степени, что море едва не поглотило судно наше, впрочем сие малое искушение веры странников кончилось тем, что сломилась главная мачта, с коею прибиравшие паруса семь человек матросов поверглись в пучину воли рассвирипевшего моря и погибли невозвратно. Мы же все, находясь в отчаянии, в то время молились со слезами, и Господь услышал молитву Грешных! Буря утихла, и мы Июня 29-го, в день Святых Славных и всехвалных и первоверховных Апостолов Петра и Павла, благополучно прибыли к Цареградскому берегу. 30-го числа явились в Российско-Императорскую в Константинополе Коммерческую Канцелярию, а в 2 часа утра к Иерусалимскому в Константинополе Патриарху, который сам в тот деня служил Всенощное бдение и сряду после оного Литургию, по случаю Храмого 12 Апостолов праздника. По окончание служения приняли у него благословение и приложились к ракам трех святых мощей, в том храме находящихся. После того были приглашены в келии Его Святейшества и угощаемы обедом, водкою и кофе. В 12-м часу дня Патриарх посетил корабль свой, нанятый поклонниками для путешествия к городу Яффе, освятил на нем воду и, окропив оною, всех нас благословил. С корабля опять ходили мы в вышеписанную Канцелярию, где, по отобрании Русских паспортов, выдали Туерцкие фирманы и Итальянские паспорта, за которые все, кроме меня, заплатили по 27 левов." Путешествие во Святый Град Иерусалим Патриаршего Иерусалимского монастыря монаха Серапиона, именовавшегося прежде пострижения Стефаном 1830 и 1831 годов, in: Елена Леонидовна Румановская, Два путешествия в Иерусалим в 1830-1831 и 1861 годах, Индрик, Москва, 2006, 21 to 41. Editor's notes in the text are the notes of Rumanovskaya.

July with Gods help, they left Constantinople on the Patriarchs ship, during the journey of which the flag was flying with five crosses. On the 19<sup>th</sup> of July they reach the town of the Dardanelles, where there is a fortress, where they charge a levy of the passers-by, but they do not charge the Russians instead providing them with great courtesy.<sup>1</sup>

On the 25<sup>th</sup> they reach Jaffa. They had to stay close by because the place does not have a port due to shallow waters. The captain ordered a shot to be fired from a rifle, after which the consul in Jaffa had raised the Russian flag. After this the Turks and Arabs immediately started approaching in small ships, asking 80 *kopeks* for transport. They reach the Jerusalem *podvorye* and were taken care of by the Russian Consul Georgiy Ivanovich Mostras (editors note: Dashkov (Дашков) writes, that for the benefit of the Russian pilgrims, "as also for their supervision, a special official was sent to Jaffa in the rank of a vice-consul....The events of 1821 had hindered the success of this enterprise." –Русские поклонники в Иерусалеме, с. 34. The consul of Jaffa Mostras is also mentioned by A. S. Norov – Путешествие по Святой Земле в 1835 году, т. 1, с. 75). N. Adlerberg Н. Адлерберг, states having in mind 1845: "When Mr. Basili was gone he was represented by Mr. Mostras, the son of an unfortunate vice consul, who died in Jaffa from the plague together with all the other members of his multiple membered family" (Из Рима в Иерусалим, с. 136-137). "Г. И. Мострас, 1787-1838- грек по происхождению, занимал пост вице-консула в Яффе в 1820-1838 гг."; G. I. Mostras, 1787-1838 who was Greek by origin occupied the position of vice consul in Jaffa in 1820 to 1838).

In Jaffa they visited an ancient Church with two altars, in the name of The Great Martyr George the Victorious and the Bishop Nikolay. On the second day after the service, which was conducted in the Greek language, 120 people, pilgrims, with 20 Russians among them, were invited to the Igumen Avram, and toasted with wine, vodka and coffee and all offered something for the upkeep of the monastery. They visited the other ancient Church of Saint George behind the city, where they venerated the icon of the saint. In the meantime the consul organised the transport of all heavy things from Jaffa to Jerusalem, for which they

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<sup>1</sup> Ibid.,

paid 35 kopecks for a *pud* (16,3 kg). They state that the distance between the two is around 12 hours.<sup>1</sup>

On the 30<sup>th</sup> there was communication between the Consul Mostras and the Jerusalem Turkish Salim, which resulted in transport being sent to Jaffa, in the form of mules, and the pilgrims sat on them, paying 3 roubles and 60 kopecks for transport to Jerusalem. The Consul took the Italian passports, and after making a note, gave the 20 people the Russian ones.

They came to Ramla and slept at the Jerusalem *Podvorye*. In the morning of the 31 of July they where in the service in the Church of the Great Martyr George, which contains in it a whole piece of the so-called "widow column" which is described in the life of Saint George the Victorious. (The Life describes, that when a Church was to be built in Ramla for Saint George, columns had to be brought from afar since they were not to be found in the area. One widow bought such a column but could not find anyone to transport it for her including a captain who refused to put it on his boat. She had a dream when St. George appeared, and she told him her troubles, and he wrote on the column the place where it should stand in the Church. After she had woken up the column was not in its place.<sup>2</sup> After the service the igumenos Theoktist invited them to the *Podvorye* and offerings were made for the monastery. Around nine o'clock in the morning they moved from Ramla, on mules, and riding for two hours on flat fields, they reached a mountainous valley, in which there was a narrow road, with stones and not straight. On the road, three hours before Jerusalem, we passed the town of Emmaus being called in its period Nikopoleos.<sup>3</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> Путешествие во Святый Град Иерусалим Патриаршего Иерусалимского монастыря монаха Серапиона, именовавшегося прежде пострижения Стефаном 1830 и 1831 годов, in: Елена Леонидовна Румановская, Два путешествия в Иерусалим в 1830-1831 и 1861 годах, Индрик, Москва, 2006, 21 to 41. Editor's notes in the text are the notes of Rumanovskaya.

<sup>2</sup> Editors note- it seems that apart from Stephen-Serapion and Parfeniy- Инок Парфений, (Петр Агеев), Из книги, Сказание о странствии и путешествии по России, Молдавии, Турции и Святой Земле пострижника Святые Горы Афонския инока Парфения, /Путешествия в Святую Землю. Записки русских паломников и путешественников XII-XX вв. Сост., предисл., справки об авторах и примеч, Б. Романова, Москва, 1995-136,- nobody mentions this detail.

<sup>3</sup> The location of Emmaus is still a mystery, apostle Luke speaks of the distance of 60 stadia, 7,5 Roman miles, around 11,5 km from Jerusalem Luke 24:13. Eusebius of Cesarea

Five versts from Jerusalem they are stopped at a Turkish fort, but the Russians do not have to pay anything, while others yes. This was after a white Christian Arab, who was given by the (editor's note, Иоппией, или Иоппой, Joppa, is the Biblical Jaffa,)), consul from Joppa for guidance presented the Pasha with a letter from the Consul and answered all his questions. The Russians where left to go the rest payed five leva for each person. On the 31 they after sunset they entered Jerusalem through the gates of David.<sup>1</sup> All where let in except non Russians who had to pay a levy in entering the city.<sup>2</sup>

After entering the city they were met by Russian monks happy to see them especially since they were the first visitors to visit Jerusalem after the Greek Turkish war of nine years.<sup>3</sup> Accompanied by compatriots they went through the city, around the house of David, where there is an Arsenal which was placed there under the orders of

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and Jerome denote Emmaus in their Onomastikon, as the birthplace of Kleopas Luke 24: 18), being called in its period Nikopoleos. The most ancient tradition speaks of Emmaus-Nikopol, 23 km to the west from Jerusalem. In one of the older versions of the Bible, there is not the 60 stadia but 160 stadia. Compare *Путевые записки во Святый град Иерусалим и в окрестности оного Калужской губернии дворян Вешняковых и мядынского купца Новикова в 1804 и 1805 годах*, Москва 1913, where it is stated that Emmaus is located 15 versts from Jerusalem, pg. 70; Parfeniy speaks of 13 versts from Jerusalem Инок Парфений, (Петр Агеев), *Из книги, Сказание о странствии и путешествии по России, Молдавии, Турции и Святой Земле пострижника Святые Горы Афонския инока Парфения, /Путешествия в Святую Землю. Записки русских паломников и путешественников XII-XX вв. Сост., предисл., справки об авторах и примеч, Б. Романова, М., 1995, 136; in Описание Иерусалима, Святой Земли....Путеводитель по Святым местам Востока, Собрал Н. Ф. С-кий, Изд., 7, М., 1903: Emaus is ten versts from Jerusalem, Ibid., 6.*

<sup>1</sup> Editor's note, These are probably the Jaffa gates, which were used for people coming from the west from Jaffa. Stephen calls them David's gate because next to them there was the so called tower of David. David's gates where usually the name given to the Sion gate.

<sup>2</sup> *Путешествие во Святый Град Иерусалим Патриаршего Иерусалимского монастыря монаха Серациона, именовавшегося прежде пострижения Стефаном 1830 и 1831 годов*, in: Елена Леонидовна Румановская, *Два путешествия в Иерусалим в 1830-1831 и 1861 годах*, Индрик, Москва, 2006, 21 to 41. Editor's notes in the text are the notes of Rumanovskaya.

<sup>3</sup> Editors note, Muraviev, in the same year 1830, month of march, states: "In my period there where no more than 18 Russians in Palestine" Муравьев А. Н., *Путешествие ко Святым местам в 1830 году*, ч. 1-2, Санкт Петербург, 1851, 124.



the Pasha.<sup>1</sup> They came to the Greek Patriarchal Monastery, and at the gates they were met by two Metropolitans (The deputies of the Patriarch, Metropolitan of Arabian Petra Misail and the Metropolitan of Nazaret Daniel<sup>2</sup>), five archbishops and bishops, sitting next to them on divans. They had eaten and had some vodka.), in the refectory, where they were led by the Igumeno Antoniy.

On the first of august, a knocks on wood called for attendance for the orthros.<sup>3</sup> They went into the Church of Saint Helen and Constantine, where the Metropolitans came, and the Archbishops, and in turn read and sang the entire *orthro*. There are around 70 brothers in the monastery and they attended the service being silent. After the *Orthro*, the Liturgy started served by the priest monk Cosmas with the deacon monk Sophronios. In Jerusalem the tradition is to use only one *prospophora*.

Serapion continues: "After midday, the Igumenos Antoniy, took all 20 Russian pilgrims from the Church into the washing hall, and sat them on benches; and when the *Irmos* of Great Thursday was sung in Greek, (Союзом Любви...), the washing of feet began, in this way: The novice (*poslushnik*), Gerasim, was carrying a jar with warm water, and the Priest monk Theoktist (editors note, it is possibly the same Theoktist from Muraviev: "Theoktist, who was a former Vachmistr-rotmistr, in the horse gvardia, having served his fatherland has devoted himself to God, but he was still very much pulled towards the past secular, and with lively interest he told me about his previous commanders...I took him [edi. In a journey to the Jordan] the monk Theoktist, who with the permission of the deputy left for a while his *inocheskaya rasa*, for a strange half eastern half spiritual attire. Even more interesting was to listen to his military stories of his former regiment life, since having felt

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<sup>1</sup> Editor's note, The Jerusalem citadel- David's tower- was reconstructed by Herod the Great in the 1<sup>st</sup> century before the Common Era, and consisted of three towers, surrounded by a рвом, where there was a chain bridge, next there was the palace of Herod. The travellers Vashnyakovs, also mention a lamp, in one of the rooms, which burns continuously where the prophet David, had written the Psalms, *Путевые записки во Святой Град Иерусалим...дворян Вешняковых*, 99-101.

<sup>2</sup> Compare Муравьев, *Путешествие ко Святым местам в 1830 году*, 123.

<sup>3</sup> Editors note- it seems that bells and crosses were forbidden by Turkish authorities so they used wood, See Н. В. Адлерберг, *Из Рима в Иерусалим, сочинение графа Николая Адлерберга*, Санкт Петербург, 1853, 226.

weapons, his spirit had enlivened and he was as if transferred to his homeland<sup>1</sup>, was carrying a plate, and the priest monk Pafnutiy was washing both feet with soap of every pilgrim, and after the washing the same monk priest Theoktist was wiping them with a towel, and later the said Priest monk and *Schimonach* priest Pafnutiy, was exchanging kisses on the right shoulder with those washed. The females had their hands washed only (Женскому же полу умывали тем же порядком одне руки). After all this, males and females had their hands poured with [rose water] from a silver vessel, rose water by which the tomb of the Lord is washed, and we washed our faces and our eyes with it<sup>2</sup>."

Further: "After the end of this holy and humble ritual the pilgrims where led into a room where all the above mentioned seven bishops where sitting as well as the Synodical scribe. The Deputy of the Apostle Peter Metropolitan Misail<sup>3</sup>, asked us to offer an offering for the acquisition of the Holy tombe of the Lord, and after we had written into the *Synodik* anyone we wanted to be commemorated for health and names for the peace of the departed souls we had offered an offering each according to his means, for this great aim. After this we were

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<sup>1</sup> Феоктист, бывшей вахмистром в конной, гвардии, отслужив отечеству, посвятил себя Богу, но его еще сильно занимало протекшее, мирское, и он с живым любопытством расспрашивал меня о прежних своих начальниках...Я взял с собою [в путешествие к Иордану], монаха Феоктиста, корорый с позволения наместника оставил на время рясу иноческую для странной полудвосточной, полудуховной одежды. Всего любопытнее было слышать его воинственные речи о прежней полковой жизни, ибо, почувствовав на себе оружие, он ожил духом и как бы перенесся на родину", *Путешествие ко Святым местам в 1830 году*, 124, 137.)

<sup>2</sup> Editor's note- In the account of the Vashnyakovych there is the detail that after the pilgrims had their feet washed they were kissed on the heads. *Путевые записки во Святой Град Иерусалим....дворян Вешняковых*, 76-77; The monk Parfeniy states that they were taken to a room with a table with six lamps, the women where in a separate room. Their feet were washed by some others were singing, the *stichiras* умовения ног Сказание о странствии и пуешествии...инока Парфения, 137; Parfeniy also mentions the rose water and the female hand washing.

<sup>3</sup> Muraviev states, that he was formerly a Bulgarian Archbishop on the Danube and learned the Slavic language and on many occasions he showed his loyalty to Russia, *Путешествие ко Святым местам в 1830 году*, 123, In his second trip 1849-1850, Muraviev mentions that Misael never left Jerusalem even during the various troubles. When he was finally convinced to do so in 1836 by the monks to go to the monastery of the prophet Ilya. Before reaching the monastery he fell from a horse... He also states that Misael was very well respected, *Письма с Востока в 1849-1850 годах*, ч. 2, 190-191.

invited to the *trapeza* and cared for to content and returned to the guesthouse."<sup>1</sup>

### *Holy Sepulchre*

The following account is interesting and we offer it with a comparative framework, to illustrate the differences or agreements of other travellers.

On the second of August they, where taken to the Church of the Resurrection built by Constantine and Helen. Serapion mentions the three visions of Constantine, (the sign of victory, then as Eusebius recalls the vision of Christ with the victory symbol, third after the battle with Likinius, letters from stars stating Call me in the day of sorrow). Serapion mentions the story of how the cross was found when the Jew Juda was forced to show the area where the cross was hidden. There was confusion which of the crosses was the true one and a three day dead person was placed on each to find out, being resurrected by the right one. (edi. There are other variants of this story. In one by Theodoret bishop of Cyrrus, the true cross was found by placing the various crosses to an important sick woman, who was healed by the true one). Under the altar (капище) of Venera Patriarch Makarios found the three crosses. After they discerned the right one he showed it to the people (hence the feast of the raising of the true cross). There is a church now on this placed consecrated to the raising of the true cross, owned by the Catholics and the altar is on the very place where the cross was found.<sup>2</sup>

The Church of the Resurrection of Christ is next to the Patriarchal monastery above the hill on the place of the vineyard вертоград of Joseph of Arimathea<sup>3</sup>, where descending lower with 50 steps below the

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<sup>1</sup> Путешествие во Святыи Град Иерусалим Патриаршего Иерусалимского монастыря монаха Серапiona, именовавшегося прежде пострижения Стефаном 1830 и 1831 годов, in: Елена Леонидовна Румановская, Два путешествия в Иерусалим в 1830-1831 и 1861 годах, Индрик, Москва, 2006, pgs. 21 to 41. Editor's notes in the text are the notes of Rumanovskaya.

<sup>2</sup> Ibid.

<sup>3</sup> Editors note, Norov, states in his first journey that the Greek Patriarchal monastery is located on the place of the вертоград of Nikodimos and not Joseph of Arimathea, Путешествие по Святой Земле в 1835 году Авраама Норова, т. 1, 130-131; that it is the Nikodimos vertograd is also indicated by the French traveller Путешествие с детьми по Святой Земле, Перевод с франц. с изменениями и дополнениями. Изд. 2,

belltower, we came to the place where Jesus Christ after his resurrection appeared before Mary Magdalene. There is a *chasovna* built there, and the stone, where the feet of Christ where imprinted is surrounded by silver.

Muraviev in his Letters from the East (*Письма с Востока в 1849-1850*) writes: "The middle Church of the Resurrection, or the women *myronosits*, where the Lord appeared to them, served before as a cathedral and it is now located a marble cathedra of the apostle Jacob, in which there is a new wooden one inbuilt; but not many now about the existence of this cathedra here....Even though the cupola in the middle Cathedral church was destroyed by an earthquake, which had damaged also the bell tower in 1562, and thus from this period on it remains naked, regardless of this still in it, as in the old Patriarchate, a *obedny* of Great Thursday and the vespers before Epiphany *Bogoyavleniya* take place in it under a wooden veil and it is known by the old Resurrection (слывет старым Воскресением). In the middle of the Church there is a small *chasovna*, which indicates the place where God appeared before the *Mironositse*, and with them to the Holy Mother of God, according to Jerusalem tradition; but due to a mistake an icon in this *chasovna* depicts the appearance of the Lord to Mary Magdalene".<sup>1</sup>

Further "We then went to the church of Jacob, the brother of the Lord the First patriarch of Jerusalem, and the forty martyrs. From here we proceeded to the very Church of the Resurrection of Christ, which is always locked and sealed by the Turks".<sup>2</sup>

The miracle of the marble column when the Armenians threw the Greeks out in the XVII is mentioned. The Armenian Patriarch had managed to kick out the Greek Patriarch, who was then in the courtyard. The Holy fire, descended into the middle column of three

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исправленное и дополненное, в 3 частях, с48 видами, гравированными на стали и отпечатанными в Париже. Издал А. Ф. Фариков, Санкт Петербург, 1849, ч. 1, 121; Nikodim was a secret disciple of Christ a member of the Sinedron who participated in his funeral with Joseph of Arimathea.

<sup>1</sup> See Muraviev, ч. 2., 169-170.

<sup>2</sup> Путешествие во Святый Град Иерусалим Патриаршего Иерусалимского монастыря монаха Серациона, именовавшегося прежде пострижения Стефаном 1830 и 1831 годов, in: Елена Леонидовна Румановская, Два путешествия в Иерусалим в 1830-1831 и 1861 годах, Индрик, Москва, 2006, pgs. 21 to 41. Editor's notes in the text are the notes of Rumanovskaya. 49.

columns and not where the Armenian Patriarch was.<sup>1</sup> Serapion mentions how the Armenians were punished by having to eat human excrement's. The Turks then placed a sign on the marble column, stating the Armenians are excrement eaters. On the south side of the Great Church, a door is filled with bricks, a door through which Mary of Egypt could not enter due to being sinful. She heard the voice of the Mother of God, "If you cross the Jordan, you will find good peace".<sup>2</sup>

Serapion continues that "Later through the main entrance we were led into the inside of the great church, and before anything we bowed to the place, where Christ was placed after he was taken down from the cross. Now in this place there is a marble panel, lined by oval small columns, of a white red colour; there is a length in it of 3 *arshina* and width of 1; above it there are 8 big silver lamps, in which day and night oil burns. Four of them are Greek, One is Coptic, One Syrian, One of the Franks and One Armenian.<sup>3</sup> Above it there are continuous burning lamps, 16 Greek, 8 Roman, Four Armenian, One Coptic, One Syrian.<sup>45</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> Parpheniy also speaks about this story and he states that the Jerusalem Pasha and other Turkish leaders where so angry that they wanted to kill the Armenians, but were afraid to do so because of the Sultan, and instead punished the Armenians that they gave them something unclean to it, when they departed from the Church, *Сказание о странствии и путешествии...инока Парфения*, 138-139.

<sup>2</sup> "Аще перейдеши Иордан, добр покой обрящеши", *Путешествие во Святый Град Иерусалим Патриаршего Иерусалимского монастыря монаха Серапиона, именовавшегося прежде пострижения Стефаном 1830 и 1831 годов*, in: Елена Леонидовна Румановская, *Два путешествия в Иерусалим в 1830-1831 и 1861 годах*, Индрик, Москва, 2006, 21 to 41.

<sup>3</sup> Editor's note, the Veshnyakovs, who, where in the Church before the fire of 1808, indicate different measurements of the stone of the anointment and a different quantity of lamps: "There is a panel of pure white marble, lined with a low copper grid, 9 long, and the width of two fourths of a half" (две четверти с половиною).

<sup>4</sup> *Путевые записки во Святой Град Иерусалим....дворян Вешняковых*, 81-82.

<sup>5</sup> Muraviev as Serapion, talks about 8 lamps, but adds, that on the "sides there stand twelve candlesticks, in the same number belonging to the Greeks, to the Catholics and Armenians". *Путешествие ко Святым местам в 1830 году*, 166. Parfeniy speaks about a different quantity of lamps and also about 12 candlesticks "with big wax candles, four *arshina* long, and nine non extinguishable lamps with oil, all in lamps (covers) so that the wind would not extinguish them, because they are opposite the very gates" *Сказание о странствии и путешествии...инока Парфения*, 140, further, Serapion designates the length of the stone of anointment in 3 *arshina* (213 cm), N. Adlerberg – 8 feet (243 cm), the width properly- in 1 *arshina* (71 cm) and 2 feet (61 cm), (Adlerberg, *Из Рима в Иерусалим*, 197-198; *Энциклопедический словарь Брокгауза и Ефрона*) also indicates the same dimensions of the stone, as Serapion, length around 3 and width 1 *arshina* (t.

Further he writes "From here we went to the *Kuvoklia*, or the *chasovna*, containing the cave of the Tomb of God, and having entered in it from the Eastern side, we kissed the stone, which was moved by the Angel from the door of the tomb. It is a marble stone of four angles in white red colour, having the length of two *chetverti* (четверти old

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26, 653). Not far from the circle lined with a metal grid, there is the place in which the Mother of God stood and together with the Mironositse looked upon her crucified Son and God. The Armenians now are in control of the circle, and placed an altar there, and in front of it, a candle burns inextinguishably."

Ныне на сем месте лежит мраморная доска, обведенная овальными столбиками белокрасного цвета; в ней длины 3 аршина, а ширины 1; над нею висят 8 больших серебряных Лампад, в коротых день и ночь горит масло. Из них: [одна] 4 Греческих, 1 Коптская, 1 Сирийская, 1 от франков и 1 Армянская. (Вешняковы, побывавшие в Храме до пожара 1808 г., указывают другие размеры камня помазания и другое количество лампад; "Здесь чистого белого мрамора доска, ограженная низкою медною решеткою, коей длина в 9, а ширина в две четверти с половиною. Над нею горит неугасимых лампад 16 греческих, 8 римских, 4 армянских, 1 коптская, 1 сирианская" *Путевые записки во Святый Град Иерусалим....дворян Вешняковых*, 81-82. Muraviev just as Serapion notes 8 lamps, but adds that "on the sides there are twelve candlesticks, in even numbers belonging to the Greeks, catholics and Armenians" отмечает 8 лампад, но добавляет, что "по сторонам стоят двенадцать подсвечников, в равном числе принадлежащие грекам, католикам и армянам" *Путешествие ко Святым местам в 1830 году*, 166. Parfeniy speaks of a different number of candlesticks with these twelve "with giant wax candles, of four *arshinas* height, and of nine non extinguishable lamps with oil, all in vessels, so that the wind would not blow them out, because they stand against the gates themselves." Парфений называет другое количество лампад и те же 12 подсвечников "с большими восковыми свечами, по четыре аршина вышины, и девять неугасимых лампад со елеем, все в фонарах, дабы не задувало ветром, потом что приходится против самых врат" *Сказание о странствии и путешествии....инока Парфения*, 140.

Even if there could be some issues with the counting of the lamps, the dimensions were defined according to eyesight, Serapion indicates the length of the stone of ointment as 3 arshina (213 cm), and Н. Адлерберг- as 8 feet футов (243 cm), width corresponding to one arshina (71 cm) and two feet 2 фута (61 cm), Адлерберг, *Из Рима в Иерусалим*, 197-198. "Энциклопедический словарь Брокгауза и Ефрона" speaks of the same dimensions of the stone of ointment, as Serapion, length around 3 and width around 1 arshina (т. 26, 653). Not far from this round area surrounded by a grid, where the Mother of God stood with the Myro beraing women and looked at her crucified Son. This round area is now controlled by the Armenians, who built an altar there and where there is an inextinguishable lamp burning" *Путешествие во Святый Град Иерусалим Патриаршего Иерусалимского монастыря монаха Серапиона, именовавшегося прежде пострижения Стефаном 1830 и 1831 годов*, in: Елена Леонидовна Румановская, *Два путешествия в Иерусалим в 1830-1831 и 1861 годах*, Индрик, Москва, 2006, 21 to 41.

Russian measuring unit), width smaller than two *chetverts*, and the height of around seven *chetverti*; above it 16 inextinguishable lamps burn (Serapions account differs from Muraviev, Norov and Parfeniy "... a piece of the stone from the one which was moved by the Angel is placed in a big granite vase; this is so since the stone was broken into many pieces by the fervour of the Christians. Above it 15 lamps always burn...."<sup>1</sup>); also 15 lamps are counted by Norov in 1835<sup>2</sup>; "We entered the internal *ante* room, there is a part of that stone, which was brought to the doors of the Lords Tomb and on which the Angel of the Lord sat...there are 15 inextinguishable lamps here"<sup>3</sup>, the very same stone on which the Angel appeared to the women after the Resurrection and stating that why are you looking for the dead among the living, he is not here he has been resurrected."<sup>4</sup>

"In the first part of the *Kuvoklia* on both sides there is a round window, through which on Great Saturday, the Greek Metropolitan hands out the divine fire....After this through small and low [doors] we came to the Tomb of the Lord, which is covered by stone. One of the Turkish Sultans, wanted to take this stone and make it into his table; but the pious Patriarch, prayed, and moved his finger over it, and from this a crack appeared in the stone. Thus it remained in its place...." (Muraviev states that the marble panel was placed there under the orders of the empress Helene, and explains "that the panel was broken into two by Christians, when the Arabs desired to use this rich marble,

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<sup>1</sup> Путешествие ко Святым местам в 1830 году, 168.

<sup>2</sup> Путешествие по Святой Земле в 1835 году Авраама Норова, т. 1, 140.

<sup>3</sup> Сказание о странствии и путешествии...инока Парфения, 140.

<sup>4</sup> "Отсюда подошли к Кувоклии, или часовне, вмещающей в себе пещеру Горба Божия, и, взойди в оную с Восточной стороны, облобызали камень, отваленный Ангелом от двери гроба. Он четверугольный мраморный белокрасного цвета, имеющий длины 2 четверти, широты менее 2-х четвертей, а высоты четвертей около 7; над ним горят 16 неугасимых лампад (Указания Мураьева, Норова и Парфения расходятся с Серапионом: "...вделан в большую гранитную вазу кусок о камня, отваленного Ангелом; ибо он был разбит на многие части усердием христиан. Над ними всегда горят 15 лампад...."<sup>4</sup>; также 15 лампад насчитывает Норов в 1835 г. "Взошли во внутренний притвор, тамо посреди стоит часть того камня, который был привален к дверям Гроба Господня и на котором сидел Ангел Господень...здесь горят патнадцать лампад неугасимых"<sup>4</sup>, и на сем-то камне явился Ангел женам по воскресении Христовом и рек: что ищите шивого с мертвыми; несть zde, но воста."

in their mosque"<sup>1</sup>; about the miracle, which happened due to the prayer of the Patriarch, he does not say anything, possibly this story circulated among the monks. Norov mentions: "The top panel is broken into two.<sup>2</sup>..Above it there are 55 inextinguishable lamps from various confessions, the majority from the Greeks.<sup>3</sup> The *Chasovna* is given to special care to the Greeks, who every day before other Christians conduct a liturgy there. (Compare Parfeniy: "There stands a tomb monk there constantly, being orthodox and the other Christians do not have the right to place their own there".<sup>4</sup> At the doors of the *chasovna* on both sides there are 4 candlesticks with big candles. Outside and inside it is covered with white marble (Muraviev mentions "a new yellow marble"<sup>5</sup>, the floor is also marble. Its top is not covered, and the Church cupola above it has a large opening, intertwined with copper wires. Above the doors of the *Kuvoklia* are placed 3 brilliant done on canvass written Icons of the Ressurrection of Christ, two of which are Greek, and the third by another Christian confession." (Muraviev depicts the entrance to the *Kuvoklia* in a different way: "Four marble columns each in the form of intertwined are in the entrance decorated with Cherub architraves, between which are carved letters of the Psalms; above the coloured door there is a modelled picture of the Resurrection: Christ with a victory banner is coming out of the tomb amidst the sun and moon; on the left guards are in flight, from the right the Angel and the Mironositsi. Above there are further two Angel figures with wreaths. Two written icons of the Resurrection-of the Armenians and the Catholics- are also hung at the holy fore doors.<sup>6</sup> Parpheniy also relates

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<sup>1</sup> Путешествие ко Святым местам в 1830 году, 168.

<sup>2</sup> Путешествие по Святой Земле в 1835 году Авраам Норова, т. 1, 140.

<sup>3</sup> Again disagreements about he number of lamps at the Tomb: Dashkov in 1820 writes "thirty six lamps burn above it day and night, in a cupola open from above *Русские поклонники в Иерусалиме*, 22-23; Muraviev in the very same 1830 year as Serapion, speaks about "36 common lamps, from which 15 are Greek and the same number of Catholic ones, they burn day and night in the cupola above the Holy Tomb...." *Путешествие ко Святым местам в 1830 году*, 169; the same 36 lamps are mentioned by Norov (*Путешествие по Святой Земле в 1835 году Авраам Норова*, т. 1, 140; the *inok* Parfeniy in 1845 summarises, that "there 45 lamps burn inextinguishable and many candles" , *Сказание о странствии и путешествии...инока Парфения*, 141.

<sup>4</sup> *Сказание о странствии и путешествии...инока Парфения*, 141.

<sup>5</sup> Путешествие ко Святым местам в 1830 году, 167.

<sup>6</sup> Путешествие ко Святым местам в 1830 году, 167.



the three icons to different confessions: "...above the doors of the Tomb, there are three icons of the Resurrection of the Lord: below there is an Armenian....the second icon, the middle, -the orthodox, the large, carved out of a coloured stone, of the highest Greek workmanship...the third top,- of the Catholics, written on canvas..."<sup>1</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> Сказание о странствии и путешествии...инока Парфения, 140; В сем первом отделении Кувуклии на обеих сторонах по одному круглому окну, чрез кориия в Великую Субботу Греческий Митрополит подает Божественный огонь всем находящимся во храме без различия вероисповедания. Потом малыми и низкими [дверями] взошли мы ко Гробу Господню, который покрыт камнем. Сей камень один из Турецких Султанов хотел было взять и сделать из онаго для себя стол; но благочестивый Патриарх, помолясь, провел по оному перстом, и от того сделалась на камне расселина. Таким образом он остался на своем месте и доселе либызается всеми христианами как предмет по употреблению своему достойный всякого уважения. (Муравьев рассказывает, что мраморная плита была положена по приказанию царицы Елены и объясняет, что "плита сия распиlena была почти надвое христианами, когда арабы пожелали иметь столь богатый мрамор в своей мечети" (Путешествие ко Святым местам в 1830 году, с. 168), о чуде, произошедшем по молитве патриарха, он не говорит, вероятно, этот рассказ бытовал в монастырской среде. Норов констатирует: "Верхняя доска преломена надвое" (Путешествие по Святой Земле в 1835 году Авраама Норова, т. 1, с. 140). Над ними неугасимо горят 55 лампад от разных вероисповеданий, большая же часть от Греков (Снова расхождение в количестве лампад при Гробе: Дашков в 1820 г. Пишет, что "тридцать шесть лампад горят над ним день и ночь, в открытом сверху куполе" (Русские поклонники в Иерусалиме, с. 22-23); Муравьев в том же 1830 г., что и Серапион, указывает "36 общих лампад, из коих 15 греческих и столько же католических, горят днем и ночью в куполе над Святым Гробом..." (Путешествие ко Святым местам в 1830 году, с. 169); те же 36 лампад названы у Норова (Путешествие по Святой Земле в 1835 год Авраама Норова, т. 1, с. 140); инок Парфений в 1845 г. Сообщает, что "тамо горят сорок пять лампад неугасимых и много свеч" (Сказание о странствии и путешествии...инока Парфения, с. 141). Часовня поручена особенном смотрению Греков, которые прежде прочих Христиан каждодневно совершают в ней Святую Литургию. (См. У Парфения: "Там стоит гробовой монах неотступно, православного исповедания, а другие христиане не имеют права поставить своих" Сказание о странствии и путешествии...инока Парфения, 141. У дверей часовни по обе ее стороны поставлены 4 подсвечника с большими свечами. Снаружи и внутри она обложена белым мрамором (У Муравьева "новый, желтый мрамор" Путешествие ко Святым местам в 1830 году, 167), и самый пол мраморный. Верх же ее не покрыт, церковный купол над нею имеет большое открытие, переплетенное медною проволокою. Над дверми Кувуклии поставлены 3 отменной [доброты] работы на полотне написанные Иконы Воскресения Христова, из коих две Греческая, а третья от иноверцев Христиан. (Муравьев изображает вход в Кувуклию по-другому: "Четыре мраморные витые столба поддерживают со входа украшенную херувимами архитраву, и меж ними иссечены письма псалмов; над

From the holy *Chasovna*, towards the East, in the Church of the Resurrection, there is the Church of the Resurrection of Christ (another church), which is ruled only by Greeks and in which on the 2<sup>nd</sup> of August we listed to vespers. The *iconostasis* contains three registers with the images of the sufferings of Christ. The floor of the church is from piecemeal marble, in the middle of which there is a vase, showing the heart of the world and made as the fulfilment of the prophecy of David (there salvation was made in the middle of the earth, Psalm 73, 12 Russian Bible). The altar itself is covered by a marble Baldachin and the floor is piecemeal of white and black marble. In the semi-circle of the altar area there is a four rowed seat one row above the other, covered by purple cloth. Opposite the altar there is the seating of the Patriarch, gilded.

The description of the Church continues: "After the end of the vespers, we went to the Golgotha, to which there are four entrances on stone ladders. (All the other travellers mention only two ladders to Golgotha. Compare "Two entrances with 17 steps each, built for Greeks and Catholics to Golgotha. They did not exist until the fire, and there was only one narrow ladder from the back gallery of the church leading to the place of the crucifixion...."<sup>1</sup>....."Coming to Golgotha, kissing the opening in which the cross of the Lord was placed. On the right side towards the altar here we venerated the crack, which was made when Christ dying on the cross, shouted (Father I place my spirit into your hands see Luke 23, 46). The opening is one *arshina* and 5 *vershkov* long

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дверьми из цветного мрамора изваяна картина Воскресения: Христос с хоругвию восстает из гроба посреди солнца и луны; влево бежит стража, с правой стороны Ангел и мироносицы. Еще выше есть две фигуры Ангелов с венками. Две писанные иконы Воскресения- армян и католиков- привешены также и священному преддверию" (*Путешествие ко Святым местам в 1830 г.*, 167). Парфений также относит все три иконы к разным конфессиям: "...над дверьми Гроба стоят три иконы Воскресения Господня: внизу армянская .... вторая икона, средняя- православных, великая, вырезанная по цветному камню, самой высокой греческой работы...третья, верхняя икона, - католиков, писанная на полотне...." *Сказание о странствии и путешествии...инока Парфения*, 140. *Путешествие во Святой Град Иерусалим Патриаршего Иерусалимского монастыря монаха Серапиона, именовавшегося прежде пострижения Стефаном 1830 и 1831 годов*, in: Елена Леонидовна Румановская, *Два путешествия в Иерусалим в 1830-1831 и 1861 годах*, Индрик, Москва, 2006, 21 to 41.

<sup>1</sup> *Путешествие ко Святым местам в 1830 году*, 175; см. Также *Путешествие по Святой Земле Авраам Норова в 1835 году*, т. 1, 132.).

and 1 *vershok* in width. It is covered with a silver grid, into which is intertwined a silver cast crucifixion. The opening is deep. The podium of the Golgotha is from marble, and the arch is painted with colour. There are no *Tsarskie Vrata* in it and during the Liturgy they hold the *Katapetasmus* there. Here behind the altar there is a cross of medium height, which is covered by silver. A little further away from it and behind the altar the local icons depict the sufferings of Christ. In front of them above the opening there are 15 inextinguishable lamps. This area with the Golgotha belongs to the Greeks, and on the right side of it is the Catholic area, in the place where they, were nailing the pure hands and legs of Christ to the cross. On Golgotha, the southern wall is lined with a coloured coating with tassels (бахромю). Here, the Greeks every evening read the *Paraklisis* to the Mother of God, which we listened to on this day, and we proceed beneath the Golgotha, where there is also an altar, on the right hand of which there is a place surrounded by a grid, where Adams head lies. From here they ascended into the Celar (Келарню) and where offered coffee and dinner, here we also peacefully slept in the guest hall.

Just as the Great Church is always locked and sealed by the Turks, the priesthood (of whatever religious background), which wants to performs services has to live in the Church for seven days, in rooms on the second floor. The Greeks, Armenians, French, Syrians and Copts have their own water cisterns. The food and other requirements is supplied by their respective monasteries, from a large window which is located above the door of the Great Church.<sup>1</sup>

Further "After this we walked around the Church. We were at the tomb of Joseph and Nicodemus, carved out of natural material (грунт). Close to these there is the piece of the column, to which the Saviour was tied and was tortured. It stands in a cupboard behind an iron grid, through which it is reached by a тростью and retracting it you can kiss the end of it. The area is governed by the Franks. Then we went to a place, where there is a board with two openings, in which the tied up legs

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<sup>1</sup> Путешествие во Святыи Град Иерусалим Патриаршего Иерусалимского монастыря монаха Серапиона, именовавшегося прежде пострижения Стефаном 1830 и 1831 годов, in: Елена Леонидовна Румановская, Два путешествия в Иерусалим в 1830-1831 и 1861 годах, Индрик, Москва, 2006, 21 to 41.

of Christ where placed during his suffering. After this we were in the area where the cross of Christ was found. The reached it by ladders."

The account of the Holy Sepulchre by Serapion with some comparisons with other writers shows the great reverence that pilgrims had for this site. Often the descriptions are very detailed. In terms of the nineteenth century, from a historical point of view the accounts are interesting but there value is limited given the fact that the Church was reconstructed in 1808.

### *Parpheniy Ageev*

Above we have referred to the work of the monk Parpheniy in relation to Serapion. The account of Parpheniy is not only interesting in relation to Jerusalem, but his account is very interesting in terms of Mt. Athos, where he spends some time. Mt. Athos is for Parpheniy a stepping stone for his visit to the Holy Land. We will look at some information he gives in relation to the Holy Mountain. The account of Parpheniy is also interesting in terms of his emphasis on spirituality. Here we have a person with a clear goal of seeking a spiritual father, which was of course also an important feature of the pilgrimages, that we have not as yet stressed.

The account of Parpheniy is also interesting in relation to the area around the city of Seres in Greece. They<sup>1</sup> go to the monastery of John the Baptist around Seres and they enter the library, where there where thousands of Slavonic monuscripts lying around and the monks told them, that they are unable to read them and therefore they lie hitherto without use.<sup>2</sup> The monks told them that they were from Macedonia and nobody reads Bulgarian. That Greek is used in Macedonia.

The monks exclaimed that previously throughout Macedonia and Thrakia, people spoke and sang Bulgarian but nowadays Bulgarian is only used in the village of Patak and in the monastery of John of Rilla. The monks told them that during the difficult period of the years 1818 and 1821, when Turkey had issues, the Christian population of Seres did not do anything against the Turks, which was highly regarded by the Turks and the Christians enjoyed complete freedom. It is exclaimed,

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<sup>1</sup> Инок Парфений Агеев, *Сказание, о странствии и путешествии по России, Молдавии, Турции и Святой Земле*, Новоспасский монастырь Москва, 2008.

<sup>2</sup> 285.

that Jews and Germans where forbidden to enter Seres, and in the city there where no heretics, non-orthodox or other "rebellious characters".

On the way to the Holy Land from Seres, the group was told that there are three stations between Seres and the Holy Mountain, where the Turks charge tax. They would have paid around 25 roubles for passage. Luckily they took a road avoiding the Turkish stations and travelled through mountains and streams. They reached the Holy Mountain and fell on the ground praising the Mother of God and all. The Holy Mountain was deemed so miraculous that they felt that through a miracle they were resurrected. "We left all of our illnesses and tiredness behind, in the Balkan mountains and the forests of Macedonia. Our youth was renewed like the youth of an eagle. We forgot about all our pains and sadness, and the unpassable forests and mountains, fear and weird situations from the Turks and brigands. All passed now, everything is renewed."<sup>1</sup>

The account is full of praises of the Mother of God, and the sense and belief, that the proximity towards God brings about happiness and harmony. Everywhere the miraculous power of God is praised and the beauty of the Holy mountain is expressed. The group confesses their desire to see a "*staretz*", that the reason why they came was to see an authentic *staretz*.

The group travelled around Mt. Athos sleeping here and there sometimes without a roof over their heads. They visited the *skete* of Bogoroditsa close to the *skete* of the prophet Elias. They are told that there are *velikorosiyane* (великороссиане) and there are *malorosiyane* (малороссиане). The present monks were *small Russians* (малороссиане) in the *skete* of the prophet Elias. They were told that before their arrival there was a huge fight between the *Great Russians* (великороссиане) and *Small Russians* (малороссиане), and the former were chased out by the latter because there were more of them.

Finally, they are told that there is a *staretz* living in a *kelia* of Saint John the Chrysostom not far from Iviron. That his name is Arseniy and that he is a *Great Russian* (великороссиане), but all go to see him. Again

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<sup>1</sup> "Всю свою немощь и всю усталость оставили назади, в Балканских горах и в македонских лесах. И обновися, яко орля юность наша. Позабыли все скорби и болезни, и непроходимыя горы и леса, страхи и ужасы от турок и разбойников. Вся мимо идоша, ныне вся нова быша" Ibid., 291.

the discussion of the conflicts between the *Great Russians* (великороссиане) and the *Small Russians* (малороссиане) continues in the capital of Mt. Athos, Karies, where they are told the latter attack the former and the Greeks have to protect the *Great Russians* (великороссиане) from these attacks.<sup>1</sup>

The group constantly searches for some *starets* in the end settling on the mentioned Arseniy. Parpheniy goes to visit the *starets* Arseniy and wishes to be his disciple. Arseniy looks at him and states that perhaps the will of God is different, and that he should not stay as a monk with him and be his disciple. The serious conflicts and issues are nicely stated in the following statement: "Soon the Great Russians heard some good news, that the Greeks of the monastery of the Great Martyr Panteleimon have asked for the exiled Igumenos of the Prophet Elias *Skete*, the priest *schimonach* Paul, together with the entire group of the Great Russians to come and live with them in the Russik. All of Athos was full of this news; how it ended no one knows. Even the Greeks asked the igumenos Paul; but in no way he agreed and told them: I do not have any hope to live in your Russian monastery. Even though you are inviting us and want to accept us, you will chase us away again: Once our own Russians have thrown us out, is there any hope on the Greeks? If you have already kicked out the *knyaz* Shichmatov: so what to expect of us. We are here in a foreign land; no one will defend us, who desires to chase us he will freely do so. Then he said to the Greeks, do not ask me Dear Fathers, I will not go to you, I will not embark on the road to further sadness, worse than the first, which you brought on father Anikita, the Prince *knyaz* Shichmatov. It does not take long to enter a monastery, but it is necessary to firstly think about it, and to fervently prayer to the Lord God and to the Mother of God."<sup>2</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> Ibid., 322.

<sup>2</sup> "Вскорости все великороссиане услышали весьма радостную вестъ, что греки русскаго монастыря святого Великомученика Пантелеймона зовут и просят изгнаннаго из Ильинскаго скита игумена, иеросхимонаха Павла, со всею великороссийскою братиею к себе в Руссик в сожительство. И по всей Святой Горе Афонской пошла сия молва; а на чем дело кончится, не известно. Ибо хотя греки и просили игумена отца Павла; но он никак не соглашался, и говорил им: 'Я никакой не имею надежды к житию в вашем Русском монастыре. Хотя вы и просите и приимите нас, но после паки изгоните: уже когда нас свои русские изгнали, а на греков какая надежда? Когда вы уже князя Шахматова изгнали: о нас уже нечего и говорить. Мы здесь на чужой стране; нас защитить некому: кто хочет, тот и гонит'. Потом сказал

Thus we see here the ethnic tensions going on in the Panteleimon monastery which was later dominated by Russians. Paul was invited by the Greek brothers to enter the monastery, which he did in the end. Parpheniy is a witness to the events which led to the re-entry of the Russians into the monastery of Saint Pantaleimon. It was exclaimed, that the saint himself desired the Russians to be there. There was a mutual agreement between the Greeks in the monastery and the Russians. The Greeks served vespers in the main Church, the Russians in their "own church".

In the meantime Parpheniy settles as a monk and is given some money to buy a tool in order to make spoons, since previously he stated that he is unable to do any trade. Parpheniy mentions the traveller Barskiy and that during his time it was difficult to travel given the political issues involved. There is discussion about the monastery of Saint Pantaleimon and how difficult it is and was for the Greeks to preserve the monasteries given the taxation system of the Turks, which is very severe. A certain Moldavian Prince *knyaz* and *Gospodar*, Skarlat Kalimach is mentioned who had a dream with saint Panteleimon. Further the visit of *knyaz* Shichmatov is mentioned to the monastery, who found it in a state of disrepair. Parpheniys career as a monk ends in 1848, in the sense that he is told to leave the Holy Mountain to raise funds for the developing Russian monastery of saint Panteleimon.<sup>1</sup>

He leaves in 1848, travelling north, through Samos. He visits a guy called Stefanikios, who was the *knyaz* of the island of Samos, with various letters of recommendations and so on. In Constantinople Parpheniy visits the Patriarchate and the various sites, and the Patriarch offers him the possibility of him being ordained as a priest. He states, that before the feast of the Nativity, every possible begger and poor person gathered in the Church of Constantinople and received money.<sup>2</sup>

Parpheniy travels to Russia, to raise funds, his account is also full of information about the Russian church, his previous discussion with

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грекам: 'Вы меня, отцы, и не просите: не пойду я к вам в монастырь, да не наведу на себя другую скорбь, паче первой, какую вы навели отцу Аниките, князю Шахматову. Взойти в монастырь не долго: но наперед надобно хорошенько подумать, и усердно помолиться Господу Богу и Божией Матери", 336.

<sup>1</sup> For a history of the skete of the prophet Elias see Николай Феннелл, Павел Троицкий, Михаил Талалай, *Ильинский скит на Афоне*, Индрик, Москва, 2011,

<sup>2</sup> Том II.101.

some "sectarian" and other information about local saints. Later he finally reaches the Holy Land travelling there and visiting the Holy Sepulchre giving pretty much the usual description (see above).

He comments on how the various denominations strictly observe their time they have for liturgy and that the Roman Catholics bring in their annoying "spiritless organ".<sup>1</sup> He mentions attending a liturgy, where the Patriarch of Jerusalem served on the tomb of Christ, a six hour liturgy after which the Patriarch called for prayers for the Russian Tsar Nikolay Pavlovich and for others. He describes the various liturgical services in detail. And the account of the descending of the Holy Fire is also mentioned. Later he concludes his journey by returning to Athos and describing the various saints and starts living there. He concludes, writing his account in Tomsk.

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<sup>1</sup> Ibid., tom II, 185.



## 5 Developments after the Russian Revolution

During the First World War, there was a chance for Russia to gain extensive victories in the region of the Near East. Fascinatingly enough, in the instance of victory, the Western powers agreed on Russia maintaining control of the straits, and the areas around it, provided that Russia promises to keep Constantinople a free port and guarantee free trade. This was stipulated in the so called Constantinople agreements. (a series of diplomatic exchanges between Russia, England and France between March and April 1915). Further the Sykes-Picot agreements dealt with lands such as Palestine and others.<sup>1</sup> If there was no revolution in Russia, Russia would have surely dominated the area.

After the Russian revolution the Russian presence continued in the Holy Land but was of course experiencing problems. There was no influx of pilgrims. What is even more interesting was that the Soviet government maintained the Spiritual mission. However, many other areas became part of the independent Russian Church Abroad which also in a way continued the legacy of the Russian Imperial Orthodox Society.

There were various figures sent from Russia to maintain the Russian presence. For example, after the Second World War it was the Archimandrite of Saratov and Volsk Pimen (Архиепископ Саратовский и Вольский Пимен). His baptismal name was Dimitri (Димитри; Димитри Хмелевской Chmelevskoy) and he was born on the 26<sup>th</sup> of September 1923 in Smolensk and his parents had an Aristocratic background. The Archbishop of Saratov and Volsk Pimen later wrote in his diary (1 of January 1993-new calendar), that he remembers being told that when he was baptised by a priest monk Simforian (Симфориан), Simforian exclaimed that he will become a monk and also bishop, while kissing his fingers.<sup>2</sup>

His family tree included notable persons including Queen Elizabeth II. His parents died during the War and he was brought up and helped by a priests family. On the 16<sup>th</sup> of February 1944 he became a monk with the name Pimen. He graduated from the Moscow Spiritual Academy in

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<sup>1</sup> Perety Don, *The Middle East Today*, Praeger, London, 1994, 100.

<sup>2</sup> Пимен (Хмелевской), архиепископ, Запись от 1.1.1993 г. *Всегда с Богом*, Саратов, 2000, 217.

1953. Became Igumen on the 17<sup>th</sup> of April 1955, accepting his consecration from the Patriarch Alexey I (Simanski). The Holy Synod decided on the 3<sup>rd</sup> of May 1955 to send him to Israel to work at the Russian Spiritual Mission. On the 14 of March of the same year it was also decided to change the name from the until then designation Russian Orthodox Spiritual Mission of the Moscow Patriarchate in Palestine (Русская Православная Духовная Миссия Московской Патриархии в Палестине) to the more historically original designation Russian Spiritual Mission in Jerusalem (Русская Духовная Миссия в Иерусалиме).<sup>1</sup> The Holy Synod then named him on the 20<sup>th</sup> of February 1956 as the head of the Russian Spiritual Mission in Jerusalem. On the 27<sup>th</sup> of March 1956 the Archbishop of Tiberias Benedict (Papadopoulos), who was the later Patriarch of Jerusalem met him.<sup>2</sup>

During his period in Palestine, Pimen had to face many challenges which were related to the political problems facing Palestine in the period after the Second World War. The nascent Israeli government often encroached on territory belonging to the Russian Spiritual mission. For the entry of the 8<sup>th</sup> of May, Wednesday 1955 he writes: "Father Michail in Tel Aviv. All day I am carrying the documents of our possessions in Israel. We have to take into regard all the documentation, which confirms our rights on our land."<sup>3</sup> This is of notable concern for him.<sup>4</sup> Every day cares for the possessions can again be seen in the following entry for the 5<sup>th</sup> of October, Wednesday 1955: "Early in the morning, me and father Michail and V. N. Mikel, travelled to Tiberias. We observed all our possessions, sat beneath the palm tree, bathed in the lake, had breakfast and travelled from Tiberias to Cana. There we also observed our land. We discussed the issue of a waterway, gave the children some sweets and went to Nazareth. Here we looked at our

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<sup>1</sup> Указ Святейшего Патриарха Алексия от 14.III.1955 г. Но 390. Валерий Теплов, Добрый Пастырь in: Архиепископ Саратовский и Вольский Пимен (Хмелевской), *Дневники Русская Духовная Миссия в Иерусалиме 1955-1957*. Издательство Саратовской епархии, Саратов, 2008. 25.

<sup>2</sup> Ibid. 31.

<sup>3</sup> "Отец Михаил в Тель-Авиве. Целый день вожусь с документами наших владений в Израиле. Нужно подобрать всю документацию, подтверждающую наши права на наши участки."

<sup>4</sup> Архиепископ Саратовский и Вольский Пимен (Хмелевской), *Дневники Русская Духовная Миссия в Иерусалиме 1955-1957*, Издательство Саратовской епархии, Саратов, 2008. 71.

lands with coffee. We notice the construction of some canal. The municipality was placing some waterways. During the time when father Michail was telling the contractors that this is not possible without permission of the Mission I went to father Isidor and invited him to go to Ako.<sup>1</sup> Thus for example Pimen wrote in his May message of 1957:

"As before the Israeli authorities continued their project of building activites in the monastery in Gornen. The explosions did not continue. The Jews feel as masters of our land, travel over it, and place things on it, and are finishing the construction of a *shosse*. Nobody cares anymore about any discussions."<sup>2</sup>

Pimen met the Chief Rabbi (entry for 15<sup>th</sup> of November, Tuesday, 1955). The chief Rabbi asked whether Pimen can inquire as to why do the Chief rabbi for a long time did not receive any news from Solomon Shlifer (Шломо Михеливич Шлифер 1899 Ukraine, 1957, Moscow; Chief rabbi of Moscow from 1943), regarding the issue of women who are divorced and want to marry men in the USSR. Further he asked Pimen if he does not know about a Jewish sect, which was previously located below Kiev in Uman (Умани), and which venerated a Rabbi buried there. The Rabbi drank tea with Pimen even though as the Rabbi stated he did not like tea, but wanted to show respect to Pimen.

Pimen writes how the Chief Rabbi asked him whether he knew that during the king Chamzik (Хамзике) Rus almost became Jewish by religion. Pimen replied that he did not know nothing about this, but that he knew that during *knjaz* Vladimir the Orthodox faith was chosen

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<sup>1</sup> "Ранним утром я, отец Михаил и В.Н. Микель поехали в Тивериаду. Осмотрели все наши владения, снимались под пальмой, искупались в озере, позавтракали и поехали из Тивериады в Кану. Там осмотрели наш участок. Решили вопрос о водопроводе, раздали детям конфеты и поехали в Назарет. Здесь осмотрели наш участок с кофейной. Заметили рытье какой-то канавы. Это муниципалитет прокладывал водопроводные трубы. Пока отец Михаил втолковывал арендаторам, что на это надо согласие Миссии, я поехал к отцу Исидору и пригласил его поехать с нами в Акко."

<sup>2</sup> "По-прежнему продолжаютс предпринятие израильскими властями строительные работы в районе Горненского монастыря (взрывы более не повторялись). Евреи чувствуют себя полными хозяевами нашей земли, ездят по ней, ставят машины и инвентарь, заканчивают устройство шоссе, Ни о каких "переговорах" никто более не заикается". Приложение. Доклад Святейшему Патриарху Алексию от 23.V.1957 г. Валерий Теплов, Добрый Пастырь in: Архиепископ Саратовский и Вольский Пимен (Хмелевской), *Дневники Русская Духовная Миссия в Иерусалиме 1955-1957*, Издательство Саратовской епархии, Саратов, 2008, 38.

amongst many. The Chief Rabbi stated, that if there was a Jewish representative there, Vladimir would have chosen the Jewish faith. Pimen replied that there was a Jewish representative there and regardless he did not choose Judaism. The Chief Rabbi further talked about the coming of the Messiah and stated that he read much theological literature.<sup>1</sup>

Interestingly, Pimen was also responsible for the Romanian Orthodox possessions in Palestine, as was stipulated by the Romanian Patriarch Justinian.<sup>2</sup> Every month the Russian Spiritual Mission financially supported the Arab Orthodox School in Haifa.<sup>3</sup> During the tenure of Pimen, the number of the inhabitants in the Gornensky monastery had increased. On the 9<sup>th</sup> of August 1955 the first new group of nuns arrived to the Gornensky monastery altogether seven nuns from the SSSR and on the 12<sup>th</sup> of June 1956 a further six arrived. Pimen complained about his poor health and on the 25<sup>th</sup> of September 1957 he was relieved from his position as the head of the mission in Palestine and in his place the famous Igumen Nikodim (Rotov) was named. Pimen also witnesses to encounters with the Russian Orthodox church which did not recognise the authority of the then Moscow Patriarchate. For example, in one particular encounter (entry 2, III, Saturday, 1957) he mentions his visit to Hebron and to the site of the "Oak of Mamre", where he states that the Rebellious Church /Russian Orthodox Church Abroad ("Раскольническая церковь") governed this site. He mentions an embarrassing situation, where the local priest did not know how to behave towards him.<sup>4</sup>

During the period of Pimen (diary entry 10, II, Friday, 1956), Ксантопулос Xantopoulos, described the process how the Patriarch of Jerusalem was chosen. From twelve bishops three are chosen and the government is informed about these. Then from these the Patriarch is chosen. Pimen indicates that the Greeks refused to take money from the

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<sup>1</sup> Архиепископ Саратовский и Вольский Пимен (Хмелевской), *Дневники Русская Духовная Миссия в Иерусалиме 1955-1957*. Издательство Саратовской епархии, Саратов, 2008. 164.

<sup>2</sup> Приложение. Доклад Свiateйшему Патриарху Алексию от 24.III.1957. *ibid.* 38.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>4</sup> Архиепископ Саратовский и Вольский Пимен (Хмелевской), *Дневники Русская Духовная Миссия в Иерусалиме 1955-1957*, Издательство Саратовской епархии, Саратов, 2008. 318.

Catholics and the Armenians in order to repair the Holy Sepulchre so that these would not later also claim government.<sup>1</sup>

Later under Nikita Khrushchev in 1964 the churches of Saint Sergius and the Ecclesiastical mission were sold to Israel in exchange for citrus fruits (the so called orange deal).

Figures such as Archimandrite Kern reminisced about the period of the Russian Orthodox Religious renaissance, which coincided with the Russian presence in Palestine. Archimandrite Kiprian Kern (Archimandrite Киприан (Керн), wrote: "The generation, which graduated from seminaries and spiritual academies, disposed of such a classical education, which a secular school could never offer."<sup>2</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> Архиепископ Саратовский *ibid.*, 221.

<sup>2</sup> "Поколения, прошедшие через бursы и семинарии, обладали таким классическим образованием, которого никогда не могла дать светская школа." Кзприан (Керн), архимандрит, *Памяти архимандрита Антонина (Капустина)*, Париж, 1955, 5.

## Conclusions

More studies have to be undertaken to determine the uniqueness of the phenomenon of Russian pilgrimage especially in the nineteenth century. It is a new but at the same time rediscovered scholarly theme (in that already at the end of the nineteenth century there was growing interest into the phenomenon of Russian pilgrimage itself as a scholarly discipline). Here we understand the term "Russian" to refer to a wider context incorporating the extent and influence of the Russian Empire and its development.

In our contextualisation of Russian pilgrimage from a historical and religious point of view, we can see that Russian pilgrimage to the Holy Land was related to pilgrimage also to other adjacent areas such as the Holy Mountain, Constantinople and other areas. In fact pilgrimage to the Holy Land in most cases entailed a "Stop over" in Constantinople or Mt. Athos. In the 12<sup>th</sup> to 15<sup>th</sup> centuries, pilgrimage from Russia always entailed some form of contact with the realities of Constantinople as the capital of the Ottoman Empire.

The Russian monastic tradition and spiritual tradition to a large extent developed in relation to the monastic traditions on Mt. Athos, which in turn were related to the monastic traditions of the Holy Land. In this regard the traditions of the monastery of Saint Savva the Enlightened in the Holy Land are of paramount importance. The nascent area of what may be termed "Kievan Rus" entailed contacts with the Byzantine environment and there were exchanges of goods and there were obvious influences from this Byzantine environment northwards. There is a spiritual and cultural trajectory which includes the Holy Land, Mt. Athos, Constantinople and Kiev.

The intimacy between the Russian context and the area of Byzantine cultural influence was all the more pronounced due to the shared faith, which is important to stress here. The Russian pilgrim embarked on a journey to the Holy Land, passing through Constantinople or Mt. Athos, and "felt at home" because the Christian faith predominant in those areas was the Orthodox faith. Thus there is a difference between pilgrimage from the West and from the East. Disregarding the difficult and exceptional period of the Crusades the area was dominated by Eastern Christianity which was the shared faith

with Russia. This of course obviously from the outset set the relationship between Russia and the Eastern Patriarchates on a clear and intimate footing.

Of course, before the fall of Byzantium or Constantinople, pilgrimage and contacts between the Russian context and the south were different in terms of the fact that the Byzantines were viewed as political partners, whereas after the fall of Constantinople, the Byzantine area was viewed as a subjugated and demoralised entity. The contacts with the south before the fall of Constantinople in terms of pilgrimage were linked with the political alliances and possibilities offered. Intensive Russian-Byzantine relations on the level of culture and faith provoked an interest among some to travel south. Constantinople provided a great fascination for the Russians, and in a way earlier played the role of Jerusalem as an ideological focal point. Russian monks settled in Constantinople as well as on Mt. Athos. Interestingly enough we have a lot of interesting accounts from merchants and other non-ecclesial figures.

The accounts from the period before the fall of Constantinople are written in what may be termed a *hagiographical topos* very similar to the literary form of the early accounts of the Russian "lives of saints". The pilgrimage story further enabled freedom of expression, it is an account which enables its author to liberate himself from the shackles of religious anonymity, since he or she depicts his or her "own" experiences.

The pilgrimage accounts are highly personal. In any event in the early pre-16<sup>th</sup> century accounts there are endless references to God, to prayer, to prostration and to the emotionality of the experience. The journey begins with a prayer. Initially we had a suspicion that what distinguishes the pilgrimage accounts from the early period from the period later, especially from the nineteenth century is the difference in attitude to God. Perhaps the accounts in the nineteenth century depart from a *hagiographical topos*? However, what we have found out, is that God is mentioned and prayer is important in the nineteenth century just as it was earlier on. The most striking example are the pilgrimages of the late nineteenth century, which we have discussed and which are related to the pilgrimages of the nobles. Thus even the Grand Prince Nikolay Nikolayevich whom we mentioned extensively in the account

of Skalon, is constantly praying, he is constantly involved in religious activities in the Holy Land but also throughout.

Some of the pilgrimage or travel accounts became important literary monuments in Russian literature itself as for example the *Proskinitarion* of Suchanov. Generally just as the early account of the Abbot Daniel, a notable feature can be seen throughout the accounts until the sixteenth century. This is the emphasis on **the collective instead of the individual**. Daniel prays at the tomb of Christ for **the entire Russian nation and for the rulers, faithful etc.** The individual pilgrim understands himself as a representative of all. Through the pilgrim the entire Russian nation participates in the pilgrimage and receives benefits from it. Later this aspect of **social concern** to an extent disappears in the later accounts, but is still present. Further, what is the central focus of interest in the Holy Land is the event of the Holy Fire, which as we have extensively indicated was testified to by many Arab and other sources already early on.

Especially before the Fall of Constantinople, Jerusalem and Byzantium for the Russian mind was a paradigm a reference a point of what should be or is perfect. The Byzantine “heavenly liturgies” just as the Byzantine culture including the Holy Land was a paradigm of how things should be done. The Russian society by seeking marriage and alliances with the southern rulers and their relatives embarked on a journey of imitation. Pilgrims just as later travelled to the south with a **clear idea** of what to see and what to expect. Thus they had succumbed to that ancient illusion of saintliness in Jerusalem and the Holy Land noted by authors as Jerome and others. Further importantly, the pilgrims once reaching Constantinople **do not embark on a discourse of pagan versus Christian**, but rather comment on individual characteristics both positive and negative of the various individuals they encounter. Perhaps we can speculate that only later in the accounts there is a greater sense of ethnic and national awareness.

The understanding of the Holy Land and Byzantium as a paradigm and “perfect” place was related to the idea that this area was full of objects of tangible objects related to the most holy of all events. The paradigm was thus confirmed by tangible objects, such as icons, relics which found their way into Russia, of great reverence and history. This further stimulated interest in the south as a source of holiness. The



Byzantine soon realised that these objects such as icons and relics were useful tools in gaining influence in the north. The business of relics and the accompanying fraud became a feature of the relations. The mirror-archetype relationship was all the more confirmed through the icons of the Mother of God, as we have seen in the account of Eufrosinia. Thus the icons of the apostle Luke, themselves “copies” of the original became sources of other copies which appeared in Russia. Eufrosinia stresses in her account that she wants the original of Lukes icon of the Mother of God (which was obviously totally unrealistic) from Byzantium. There is a transference of the **original** to Russia however realistic or true this may have been or not.

The pre 16<sup>th</sup> century accounts follow both an idealistic and realistic line. While there are idealistic portrayals of Emperors, bishops and so on, there are also less idealistic portrayals. Some of the pilgrims encounter a reality, which is not expected. The political and religious challenges that Byzantium faced found their reflection in the suspicions of the Russians. Where not the challenges of Byzantium a sign of the new role of Russia? In the period after the Fall of Byzantium the relationship between the south and north became more realistic in the sense that the cultural and mentality divide between the Russian and Byzantine worlds became more pronounced. Notably, this cultural encounter was especially pronounced in the context of Mt. Athos, where there were large groups of Slavic monks, and the encounter with the Greek environment was all the more striking. This new implicit tension was reflected in some accounts. The pilgrim is disappointed having come down only to find out, that his expectations and idealism are not based on reality.

For some this cultural antagonism helped to form the “Russian” psyché, it helped to confirm and establish the Russian self-consciousness on a new and independent footing. This antagonism was not only a facet of travel, but of the simple fact, that the Greeks were already present in Moscow, enabling an encounter first hand. For others, it had shown the weaknesses of the south and the needs of the Orthodox Christians, which meant the new role of Russia and its Tsar as benefactors for the south. Pilgrim accounts from the sixteenth century onwards offer more space for self-reflection and for a realisation of the needs and problems that the Eastern Patriarchates faced.

While it is true, that after the Fall of Constantinople, the Russia's did view the Byzantine orbit as suspicious and untrustworthy, this did not in any way undermine the almost idyllic respect that the Russians had to this form of southern Christianity. Even if the Patriarchates were decimated, without money and resources or without people, the Russians viewed them with ecclesial respect and never doubted their authority, which is extraordinary in its own right. This can be seen in the rather strange period of the Patriarch Nikon who apart from other things is a testimonial to the ongoing idealism of the Russians towards the East. As if the Russians regardless of the facts or realities decided in the end not to give up an understanding of the south or the Holy Land as a paradigm, as something intrinsically giving spiritual and cultural nourishment for the Russians.

There was a shift in the seventeenth century in the fate of the Patriarchate of Jerusalem and other Eastern Patriarchates. 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 European powers and their political 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. Religious challenges in Europe, the rise of the Reformation, renewed Catholic propaganda and missionary activity, provided a new and confusing framework for the Holy Land. There is a new phenomenon of "reverse" pilgrimage in the form of southern Patriarchs, hierarchs and others who came to Russia to seek help. These brought with them relics and other objects stimulating interest in the south. Further these hierarchs due to the authority they exercised exercised great influence in Russian affairs. Fascinatingly enough, Russian icons and objects were also travelling south and for example the Sinai monastery has extensive icons and objects from Russia until today. The Eastern Patriarchates had to re-establish themselves, to seek assistance and to develop all those things that were lost due to the fall of Byzantium, such as the educational framework. In this period the dominance of the Patriarchate of Constantinople was strong among the Eastern Patriarchates. Similarly at the same time Russia itself was developing its educational systems and thus the development of education and printing in the south coincided with the same development north. New vigorous Latin pressure forced

the Russians and the southerners to reassess the importance of the Holy Land.

The period of Peter the Great and Catherine the Great meant new changes for Russia which also had consequences for pilgrimage. The Church was reorganised and now it was subjugated to the Church. On the other hand the religious freedom and tolerance of Catherine's period enabled land acquisitions on the part of the Russians in Muslim areas.

The destruction of the Holy Sepulchre in 1808 marked a real and symbolic new phase in the history of the Holy Land, pilgrimage and Russia.

As we have seen, the notion of an ideological dependence between the Russian state and the Orthodox Church after 1808, which has been stressed by some is not as easy to define as it seems at first glance. The pilgrimage accounts as well as our study of the situation in the nineteenth century clearly show, that while the State desired to control or use the Orthodox Church for its purposes, the state did not provide resources for the Orthodox Church nor did it act on an ideological basis. Contrary to some, who emphasise that the Orthodox Church had a dominant position in law in the Russian Empire, the reality on the ground is different. Further, the Tsars, just as the Russian state, in contrast to the Western powers behaved towards the Holy Land and to the political possibilities it offered, in what may be termed as a "dumb gentlemanlike fashion". The Tsar is noted for his piety uncompered to the piety of the Western European rulers of that time, but his government is hardly a group of people with "Orthodoxy" at the centre of their interests.

The increasing pilgrimage to and interest in the Holy Land, as well as the Holy Land as an important political peon on the political game set of the Western European powers, finally pushed the Russian government with the Protestant Nesselrode to show some interest *albeit* in a gentlemanlike manner in the Holy Land. While the Russian state initiated and stirred the projects of the Russian Orthodox Church in the Holy Land, such as the establishment of the Spiritual mission, its role pretty much stopped there. The Orthodox Church had to sponsor itself and pay for its activities. Thus the attitude of the State was one of meddling but without taking responsibility. It also acted in tandem with

Western developments themselves, the fact that the Protestants and Roman Catholics realised the necessity of a bishop representing their interests in Palestine, was partly the reason why the Russians later decided to send a bishop there.

Later, one of the most important Russian moves in relation to Palestine partly as a response to pilgrim numbers was the tendency to acquire land in the Holy Land. This was perhaps the most important activity from the State and other groups in the nineteenth century. However, on the ground conflicts between the Spiritual mission, the Consulates and commercial interests in the form of the Russian Society for Steamship travel and Commerce, displayed that there is a lack of coordination and vision in the Russian presence in Palestine.

Further, we have seen that the Russian Orthodox presence in the Holy land differed from the Western missionary presence in many respects. The Western Churches attitude towards Palestine was one of conquest and arrogance. The Protestant Churches thought that they **were bringing the Bible to the Holy Land**. In this regard the Orthodox Church was viewed as an organisation of backward people that needed to be destroyed or at least reformed. The battle over believers and conversions between the Christian denominations, formed an interesting social context in its own right.

The various Russian Orthodox Societies working in Palestine where on an outstanding cultural and intellectual level, and their unobtrusive presence differed widely from the confrontational and ideologically based Western counterparts. The constitutions of these Societies clearly stipulated their role, as cultural missions, serving to promote the development of Orthodox Christianity, which was already present in Palestine in the form of the Patriarchate of Jerusalem and to help it to survive until the future.

The various figures associated with Palestine in terms of leadership of the Russian organisations were sober scholars themselves, often outstanding individuals in all respects. They were able to find a balance between their high scholarship standards and their religious faith or zeal.

Of course, the Russian commentators as well others noted that the Patriarchate of Jerusalem was not in a good shape. Issues between the Greeks and Arab Christians were decreasing the strength of the Church

to face new challenges. The increasingly good business of the pilgrimage context served to demoralise an already demoralised Patriarchate in Jerusalem.

Mass pilgrimage into the Holy Land provided for many problems and issues which also have been commented on by various authors already in the nineteenth century. The environment was fruitful ground for the emergence of professional tricksters of individuals who lived of pilgrimage who wandered around without purpose or goal. The environment provided ground for various lunatics and psychologically damaged individuals. Most importantly Russian pilgrimage, is a phenomenon also in that it shows the prevalence of women in pilgrimages. In contrast to Western pilgrimages, the Russian pilgrimages were dominated by women. For women these pilgrimages were a source of liberation a way of escaping the Russian conservative environment of the villages. There were many women who then played various roles in Palestine, and pilgrimage was a way for Russian women to find a new emancipatory role in society. This of course had negative and positive features.

Russian pilgrimage into the Holy Land also has to be seen in the context, of the renaissance of spirituality in Russia itself. The explosion of pilgrimage literature in Russia to the Holy Land, paradoxically coincided with a similar explosion of pilgrimage within Russia itself. Just as there were pilgrimage accounts to the Holy Land so there were accounts of pilgrimage to Russian sites.

The pilgrimage literature in the nineteenth century is diverse and too numerous for an easy assessment. The methodology of dealing with the literature is difficult to establish. However, generally stated Russian pilgrimage literature of this period is not characterised by idealistic agendas or mythological pursuits. Similarly to western pilgrimage literature, Russian pilgrimage literature in the nineteenth century is characterised by a concern for the Bible. Generally in the nineteenth century in such fields as archaeology, the Bible was the criterion according to which things were supposed to be judged in the material record. "Standard" Russian pilgrim accounts, such as those of Norov, Muraviev, etc., which were reprinted many times are factual accounts, where the Bible plays the role of a certain guide.

On the other hand we can divide the pilgrimage literature of this period according to genre or according to its protagonist and author. Thus we have the phenomenon of the travelling Aristocrat (who is an ardent believer), the factual gentleman, we have accounts of student pilgrimages, accounts of village priests leading pilgrimage groups, monks, and so on. Special accounts in this regard are the accounts of what can be termed as spiritual scholars, such as for example Uspenskiy who was a religious person, but at the same time his pilgrimage accounts offer numerous material for scholarship.

What characterises the Russian pilgrimage literature of this period is its love for biography. Generally later Russian literature dwells on the biographical genre very emphatically. The form of "Diary" literature is also prevalent and provides for fascinating detail.

As we have seen the methodological approach to the available literature depends on what we want to see. The Russian pilgrimage literature provides much information in the context of a multidisciplinary approach and in terms of social history. The accounts of the nineteenth century are especially interesting in that they provide unique information on the perceptions of Russians of other nations and political subjects, they offer us multifaceted information on the political, historical and cultural elements of the East Mediterranean context. The accounts offers us a glimpse of the mechanics and structures of the Ecclesial institutions. They offer us archaeological material. Further the literature offers important information about the development and perception of spirituality as we have seen. Pilgrims not only want to visit shrines they want to discover a spiritual leader a *starets* to lead them.

An independent monograph is needed to study the archaeological information which can be drawn from the various pilgrimage accounts both Western and Eastern. However, it also needs to be stated, that the various pilgrimage accounts are not always useful for historical testimony as they often repeat themselves that is the same theme appears over and over again in the accounts. When the pilgrim was writing his account he was obviously not interested primarily in what others said about the given topic, but about what was his or her impression of the subject at hand. Of course, all the more the pilgrims where not interested in depicting the things they have seen and

concentrating on those aspects about which no one had commented on or written about. In this regard, the accounts dealing with travels to the Sinai, Egypt and other similar areas can be of more use for the archaeologist or historian than the ones traditionally focusing on Jerusalem or the Holy Land.

In terms of the period of the end of the nineteenth century we can start to speculate about the existence of a "Russian Palestine" in the sense of a complex relationship based on ideology provoked by nascent First World War. Russia developed projects on a full scale, related to education scholarship and ecclesial relations. The nineteenth century was also a period when people like Dmitriyevskiy called for a renewed study of the manuscripts of the East in order to reach a new Russian self-reflection, a self-reflection which was stimulated by the mass pilgrimages of the period.

Any scholar sifting through the pilgrim accounts will be struck not only by the new information that the pilgrim accounts give on various historical themes, but by the "personal story" of the account. In terms of the pilgrimage accounts of the nineteenth century new forms both literary and culturally appear. It is a period when we can classify the accounts according to the people involved, according to their protagonists. Based on the world views of the pilgrims and other travellers, their ways of dealing with and choosing themes, their forms of interaction, one is capable of receiving a wealth of information regarding many multidisciplinary historical aspects.

## Copies and manuscripts associated with the acquisitions and travels of Porphyriy Uspenskiy

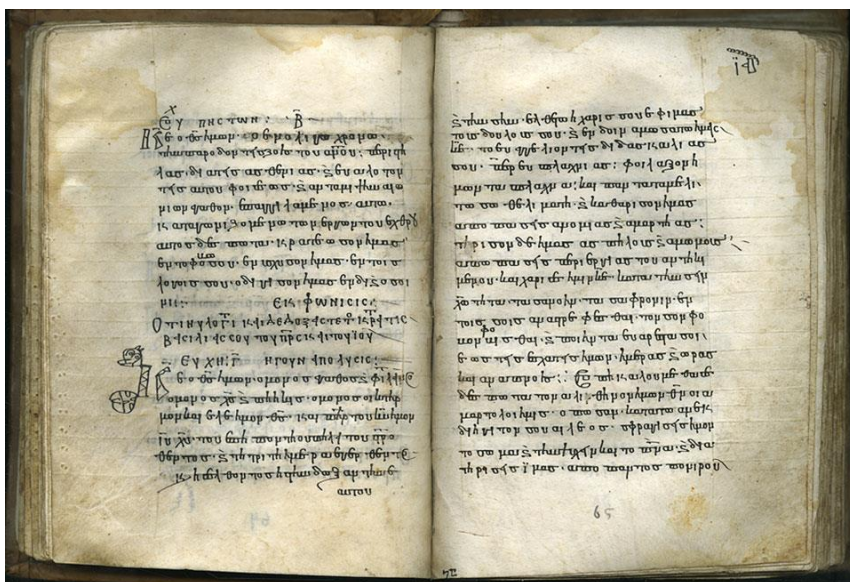


Old Russian Orologion, 13<sup>th</sup> century, brought from Porphyriy Uspenskiy from Mt. Sinai. Imperial Public Library.

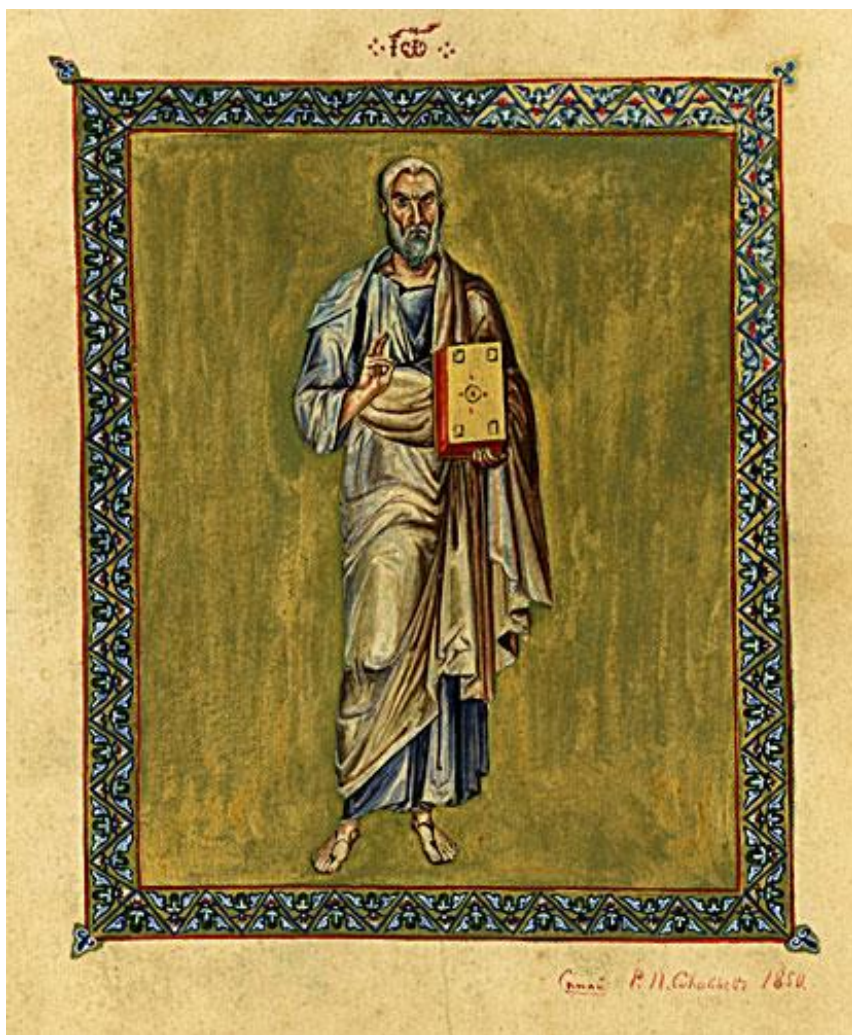




St. John the Evangelist with St. Prochorus, 10-13<sup>th</sup> century.



Euchologion, 10<sup>th</sup> century.



Copy Sinai 1850. Traced by P. Solov'yev.

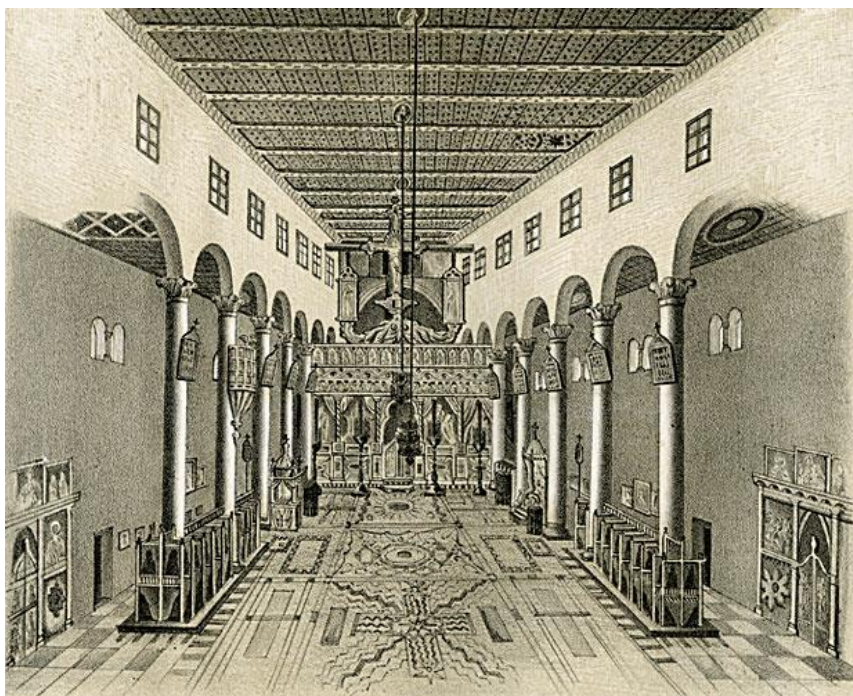


*Изъ рукописнаго сборника, составленнаго ранѣе 1242 года, и храняща-  
гося въ ризницѣ Синайскаго подворья въ Каирѣ.*

*Илья Пророкъ.*

Elijah the Prophet, Cairo, 1850, Copy P. Solovyev





Church of Transfiguration Sinai, From the Travels of Porphyriy Uspenskiy, 1857.

**Α**γαλλιάσεται ἡ ἀκὼς δ' εὐφρανθήσεται  
 ἰσχυρὸς εἰς τὸ τέλος ἐν ἡμέροις σπῆ-  
 σεως τῷ δαδ. ἐν τῷ ἐλθεῖν τὸν  
 ριφαίου καὶ εἰ πείν τῷ σαούλ.  
 ὅτι κί δαδ δαδ κέκρηπται παρ' ἡμῶν;  
**Ὁ** θεὸς ἐν τῷ ὀνόματί σου σώσόν με.  
 καὶ ἐν τῇ ἀνομίᾳ σου κρινέισ με.  
**Ὁ** θεὸς εἰς σὺνέκωσόν τῆς πρὸς σέυχῃς μου.  
 ἐμώπισται τὰ ῥήματα τοῦ στόματός μου.  
 ὅτι ἄλλοι οἱ ἐπαρέστησαν ἐπ' ἐμέ.  
 καὶ κραταιοὶ ἐζήτησαν τὴν ψυχὴν μου.  
 καὶ ἐπρόβητον τὸν θῆν ἐνώπιόν μου.  
**Ἰ**δοὺ γὰρ ὁ θεὸς ἐποίησέν μοι.  
 καὶ ὁ κς ἀνελήπτω τῆς τύχης μου.  
**Α**ποστρέφει τὰ κακὰ τοῖς ἐχθροῖς μου.  
 ἐν τῇ ἀληθείᾳ σου ἐξομώθην  
 αὐτοῖς. ἐκωσῶσ θύωσόν.  
**Ἐ**ξομολόγησά μοι τῷ ὀνόματι σου ὅτι  
 ὁ πᾶν θς

Psalms 52, Fragments 1074-1075



Copy 1850, traced by P. Solov'yev

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Part 2**

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