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Disertační práce

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The historical and archaeological importance of travel accounts made by Russian pilgrims to the Near East from the 12th to 19th centuries

(Russia and the Near East in the Context of Ecclesial History)

(Historický a archeologický význam cestopisů ruských cestovatelů a poutníků na Blízký

Východ od 12. do 19 století)

(Rusko a Blízký Východ v kontextu Církevních Dějin)

Vedoucí práce PhDr. Stanislav Tumis PhD. M.A.

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"Prohlašuji, že jsem disertační práci napsal samostatně s využitím pouze uvedených a řádně citovaných pramenů a literatury a že práce nebyla využita v rámci jiného vysokoškolského studia či k získání jiného nebo stejného titulu"

Abstrakt:

Tato práce se zaměřuje na téma, které se z hlediska badatelského zájmu těší čím dále tím většímu zájmu. Jedná se o Ruské poutníky nebo cestovatele, kteří navštěvovali oblasti Blízkého Východu zejména takové místa, jakými jsou Svatá země, Konstantinopol, Svatá Hora Athos a další. Pod pojmem Ruské poutníky v práci rozumíme jedince, které souvisely s kontextem Ruského státu jako politickým subjektem. Necharakterizujeme je na základě etnické příslušnosti. Kontakty mezi jihem a Ruskem mají důležitý význam pro rozvoj samotné Rusi, její kultury, identity a dějin. To samé platí i pro oblasti Blízkého Východu, kde kontakty s Ruskem souviseli významným způsobem s dějinným rozvojem a povahou této oblasti. Ruské kontakty s jihem je nutné zpočátku vnímat hlavně v kontextu Byzantsko-Ruského kontextu. Byzantsko-Ruské vztahy byly určeny vztahem založeném na kulturním vlivu a na sdílené víře. Pro rozvoj těchto vztahů a kulturního vývoje sehráli klíčovou roli jedinci ať už cestovatelé nebo lidé vyslaní s jasným cílem či úkolem. V rámci těchto kontaktů byla velmi důležitá náboženská motivace, kdy pout' do takových míst jakými byli Konstantinopol, Svatá země, Svatá Hora Athos souvisela s budováním náboženské a tím pádem kulturní identity Ruského prostředí, neboť kultura a náboženství v Rusku intimně souviseli v době před pádem Konstantinopole. Tato práce zkoumá povahu těchto vztahů v kontextu širších církevních dějin a kontextualizuje tyto cestopisy v rámci širších dějin. Všímáme si strukturu a povahu poutnické literatury od jejího počátku až do devatenáctého století, kdy dochází k masovému poutnictví do zejména Palestiny a okolních zemí, a vznikají nespočetné poutnické cestopisy, které nabízejí zajímavé informace multidisciplinárního charakteru a také mimo jiné i z hlediska širší sociální historie.

V práci si všímáme post byzantské období, a rozvoj vztahů mezi Ruskem a Pravoslavnými Patriarcháty na Blízkém Východě i na základě poutnických cest. Období po pádu Konstantinopole znamená novou charakteristiku vztahů mezi Severem a jihem, neboť nyní vztah mezi Rusí a jihem není vztahem partnerů více méně rovnocenných, ale vztahem kdy pomoc a kulturní výměna s Ruskem pomáhá ekonomicky a kulturně Východním křesťanským

Patriarchátům přežit v zhoršujícím se pro ně politickým a náboženským prostředím. Poutnická literatura pro toto období nám nabízí fascinující pohled na sociální a kulturní dějiny Blízkého Východu. Objevuje se fenomén obráceného poutnictví, kdy cestovatelé z jihu, z křesťanských oblastí, navštěvují Rusko a ovlivňují tamější církevní a další souvislosti. Lze pozorovat velkou úctu, kterou Ruské vlády a církevní představitelé projevovali vůči představitelům Východních Patriarchátů Jeruzaléma, Alexandrie a Antiochie a to v období nábožensky komplikovaného období šestnáctého a sedmnáctého století. Tito představitelé se stávají protagonisté v kontextu Ruské sebe-reflexe, která se uskutečnila hlavně v období reformy Patriarchy Nikona. Po období Petra Velkého poutnická literatura mapuje a historicky osvětluje politicky a kulturní vývoj na Blízkém Východě, vztahy mezi Ruskem a Osmanskou říší, osvětluje mezi etnické vztahy na Blízkém Východě a vztahy se Západními Evropskými mocnostmi v rámci jejich zvyšujícímu se v té době zájmu o Blízký Východ. Ruské kontakty s jihem rozvíjejí a hájí kulturní identitu řeckého elementu na Blízkém Východě. Jako strategické se mimo jiné jeví období devatenáctého století, kdy nastává velký zájem o Palestinu ze strany Ruské říše. Sledujeme politické aspirace Ruska v tomto období, ukazujeme na to, že Rusko nemělo jasnou koncepci vůči Blízkému Východu zejména k Svaté zemi, a hledalo vhodný vztah k tomuto regionu. Toto hledání bylo podmíněno a nakonec určeno vzrůstající politickou angažovaností západních mocností v této oblasti. Ruská přítomnost v Palestině souvisela s Ruskou přítomností a angažovaností v dalších oblastech Osmanského vlivu. V druhé polovině devatenáctého století, se Ruská angažovanost zaměřuje na územní akvizice v Palestině, na budování ruských struktur, kulturních středisek a na vědeckém zájmu o oblast, který souvisí mimo jiné s činností Císařského Pravoslavného Palestinského společenství. Ruská přítomnost v Palestině znamená i napětí mezi církevními misemi a státními institucemi dokládající skutečnost, že vztah církve a státu nebyl v Rusku v té době založen na symbióze. Povaha Ruské přítomnosti v Palestině v této době, je charakterizována jako kulturní mise, bez agresivní politiky, která je příznačná v té době pro západo Evropské mocnosti působící na Blízkém Východě. Masové poutnictví do Palestiny mimo jiné otevírá celou škálu nových a zajímavých aspektů, které se dotýkají různých témat badatelského zájmu. Existuje fenomén, kdy ženy převládají v poutích a poutě se mimo jiné stávají možností jisté formy emancipace ruských žen. Poutnická a další s tím spjatá aktivita a literatura nabízí nové pohledy na Osmany ze strany Rusů, analyzuje komplexní církevní tapiserii v Palestině. V konečném důsledku se práce usiluje o typologizaci poutnictví a slouží jako preliminární studie ke komplexnějšímu zpracování tematiky a to tím, že ukazuje na možné oblasti zájmu a s tím spjaté metodologické výzvy.

Key Words: Russian pilgrims, Patriarchate of Jerusalem, Patriarchate of Antioch, Russian Middle Eastern Relationships, Byzantium, Orthodox Church, Constantinople, Mt. Athos.

Klíčové slova: Ruští poutníci, Jeruzalémský Patriarchát, Patriarchát Antiochijský, Ruské vztahy s blízkým východem, Byzantská říše, Pravoslavná Církev, Konstantinopol, Svatá hora Athos.

Motto:

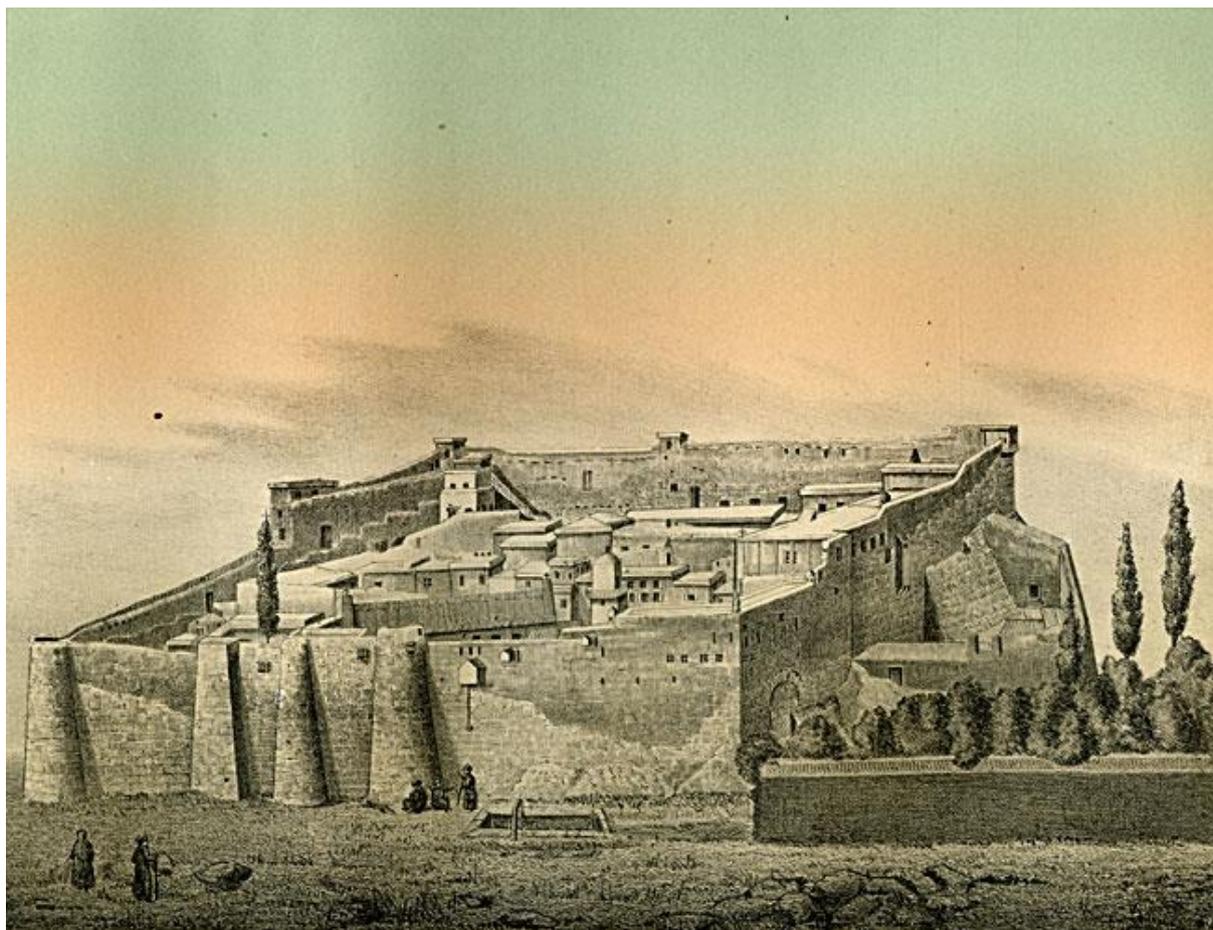
"You yourselves have decided thus, why are you better than we, what you; but we are the same as you are."

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

"To receive new strength"

(„получить новую силу“)

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



Mt. Sinai 1857, Porphyriy Uspenskiy drawing.

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Introduction

The Middle East is a melting pot of various cultures, ethnic groups, religions etc. The various states or political formations, which have existed in this region were often conglomerates of various different religious or ethnic groups. Our modern way of thinking in terms of centralised nation states is often an obstacle for the appreciation of historical diversity in various earlier political and religious formations.²

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

In terms of Russia, pilgrimage accounts are gaining in popularity among scholars, because these are appreciating their value as sources for multidisciplinary scholarship. Editions of pilgrim accounts are increasingly being published, new archival material is being studied all also depending on the gradual opening of the Russian archives. Surprisingly, one of the first works about pilgrims in terms of studying them as an independent genre was the book of И. М. Борн, *Краткое Руководство к российской Словесности*, Санкт Петербург 1808. This book looked at among other things earlier pilgrim accounts within the confines of literary history. Later further studies began appearing about pilgrims and their accounts. This included Пономарев С. И. *Иерусалим и Палестина в русской литературе, науке, живописи и переводах*. СПб., 1877 (With bibliographical material). Приложение к XX-му тому записок императорской Академии наук. A study with bibliographical material was

² For an account of diversity in the Levant see Leil Tarazi Tarazi Fawaz, *An Occasion for War: Civil Conflict in Lebanon and Damascus in 1860*, University of California Press, California 1994.

published by Хитрово В. Н. Палестина и Синай. ППС. Ч. 1, вып. 1. СПб., 1876. In western scholarship Russian pilgrimages also attracted attention, but since western pilgrimage is a giant field in its own right, attention was more concentrated on the various Russian societies associated with pilgrimage. Of course, the other problems is that many of the studies are now out-dated, due to the new influx of material. In the area of the Czech republic not many studies of pilgrims have been made. The topic is treated within an overall study of Russian literature. However, interestingly enough, the work of Norov, a pilgrimage account of the nineteenth century was published in Czech.³

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

We decided in the end to offer a typological approach giving an „idea“ or „feel“ of the pilgrim and his or her account. This also entailed a detailed approach towards the texts themselves and we desired to „let them speak out or themselves“ so to speak. We did not choose a special taxonomic criterion for the pilgrim accounts, because this would lead to problems as to why this was chosen and not something else. Thus in the end we have chosen an approach which is related to social history. We of course, had to choose only some accounts and leave out the rest. In this case we chose the ones which were deemed the most „representative“ ones. Any scholar dealing with the pilgrims has to of course face the challenge, that many pilgrim accounts especially in relation to Jerusalem repeat themselves and the topography of the Holy Sites seems to be repeated itself many times in the accounts.

³ Norov, A., *Putování po Svaté Zemi*, nakladatelství Václava Řivnáče, Praha 1851. Of other general studies we can note Nykl Hanuš, *Náboženství v Ruské kultuře*, Pavel Mervart Praha 2013; Boček Pavel, *Stát a Církev v Rusku na přelomu 15. a 16. Stol.* Masarykova Univerzita, Brno 1995.

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

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

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

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

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

In this study we initially desired to focus on the Holy Land especially in the nineteenth century. Preliminary research has however shown that a focus only on Jerusalem or the Holy

Land will in the space of a small study such as this, simply not yield expected results. The study would be reduced to a simple comparison of material and things that the “pilgrims saw”, which is pretty much the same. In terms of Jerusalem and the Holy Land, the accounts from the nineteenth century often repeat themselves, with one traveller describing pretty much what the others are describing.

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

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

Undoubtedly, what distinguishes the Russian pilgrim accounts is what we may term as social history. The emphasis on Diary literature, dreams, impressions, emotions as well as a description of the “other” is what makes the pilgrimage account unique. This description of the mechanics of interaction is of great multidisciplinary interest and yet to be appreciated.

Pilgrimage is not a new thing, and in a way pilgrimage was a way of life in the ancient period. Constant travel was a necessity in order to gain educational possibilities to visit shrines and perform and seek out other rituals and healing. In the Mediterranean world travel enabled

furthering ones education by seeking out good teachers or philosophers; it meant the possibility of being cured in some shrine or gaining information about ones future. Just as the ancient pilgrim so the Christian pilgrim did not know what to expect on this journey and what characterised the Ancient pilgrim and the Christian pilgrim was the „unexpectedability of what to expect“. In contrast to other travels, the pilgrimage did not have a clear goal (even if there was a geographical goal), it did not have a clear structure. The pilgrim set out with an „open mind“. In any case the pilgrim set out to gain something to be healed.

The attraction of Holy sites and of works of art where a feature from the ancient times. Already Pausanias in his famous *Guide to Greece* presents us with an enticing guide to Greece.⁴ Here we can mention Aelius Aristides, a rhetorician of the second century, who travelled around the Mediterranean as a pilgrim in one way or another and wrote interesting rhetorical treatises with pilgrimage themes.

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

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

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

⁴ See *Pilgrimage in the Middle Ages, a Reader*, Brett Edward Whalen, edit., University of Toronto Press, 2011.

the celebration of the foundation of the Church of the Holy Sepulchre (*encaenia*) was an important event as well as the Holy Week itself.

Constantine the Great made a true mark of inundating the Empire with Churches as is evidenced also by Eusebius in the Life of Constantine.⁵ According to Eusebius of Caesarea, Constantine wrote a letter to Malarias the bishop of Jerusalem ordering him to build the Church of the Holy Sepulchre in Jerusalem.⁶ It was to face old Jerusalem and be a symbol of the “New Jerusalem of Christ”. The old one, being destroyed by the sins, of those who rejected Christ.

It is important, for our purposes to mention some features of the Holy Land and pilgrimage in the earlier period, which would also play a role later. The business with relics⁷ soon took on a great impetus. Cyril of Jerusalem emphasised the importance of the cross and the fact that it head spread throughout the world. Its pieces were distributed throughout (Catechesis. IV., 10, X, 19,13, 4). Cyril also spoke of a miracle which occurred when the body of Eliseus was brought in. A life was restored of a corpse which came into contact with the relic. Cyril writes: “But it is impossible, someone sill say, that the dead should rise; and yet Eliseus twice raised the dead-when he was alive, and also when dead. Do we then believe that when Eliseus was dead, a dead man who was cast upon him and touched him arose and is Christ not risen? But in that case, the dead man who touched Eliseus, arose, yet he who raised him continued nevertheless dead: but in this case both the dead of whom we speak Himself arose, and many dead were raised without having even touched Him. For *many bodies of the Saints which slept arose, and they came out of the graves after His Resurrection, and went into the Holy City Matthew 27:52-53, (evidently this city, in which we now are,) and appeared unto many.* Eliseus then raised a dead man, but he conquered not the world; Elias raised a dead man, but devils were not driven away in the name of Elias. We are not speaking of evil of the Prophets, but we are celebrating their Master more highly; for we do not exalt our own wonders by disparaging theirs; for theirs also are ours; but by what happened among them, we win credence for our own. (Catechetical lecture 14: 16)⁸.

Further He writes: „to show that even though the soul is not present a virtue resides in the body of the saints, because of the righteous soul, which has for so many years tenanted it and

⁵ Eusebius of Caesarea, *Vita Constantina*, 3:25-40, 3:41-43, 3:51-53.

⁶ Ibid. 3, chapter 33.

⁷ Latin-*reliquiae*, Greek- *leipsana*.

⁸ Cyril of Jerusalem, Catechetical Orations, in: Pilip Schaff, *Nicene and Post-Nicene Fathers Series II*, volume 7, pg. 106, Grand Rapids Michigan 1867.

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

Very early on a new form of literature developed, which viewed the increasing popularity of Jerusalem with caution. It was obvious to many, that the expectations of pilgrims from the Holy Land and Jerusalem were often unrealistic if not downright silly and often led to disaster. Jerusalem was not any holier than other cities. Gregory of Nyssa visited Jerusalem and stated that the place is full of sin (in the 380s), (Epistle, 2:10 The letter was written in 379 and addressed to an unknown Censor (Κηνσίτορι), Περὶ τῶν ἀπιόντων εἰς Ἱεροσόλυμα, Κηνσίτορι “To those travelling to Jerusalem”. In another letter however he considers it to be also a place of good people see his epistle 3:1).⁹ Ambrose of Milan also viewed the pilgrimage issues with caution. In the west the cult of the relics was also very popular and increased gradually.

There was a Bubonic plague in 541-542 in Palestine. This caused a severe decrease in population in the area.¹⁰ It is important to note that there were conversions of Arab tribes to Christianity after Constantine the Great, which would establish their presence until our century. Thus for example around 422, Euthymius of Terebon, healed the son of Aspebet the chief of a tribe. This followed a large scale conversion. Aspebet became the bishop of the tents (*Parembolai*). For this and other information we can consult Cyril of Scythopolis, and Sozomen.

As we have seen pilgrimages or for that matter religious pilgrimages are an ancient phenomenon. In terms of the Christian tradition the mother of Constantine the Great Helen is undoubtedly a paradigmatic pilgrim. She was not only a pilgrim who revered sacred sites and

⁹ For an overview of the antipilgrimage literature see Brazinski Paul, Earl Christian Anti pilgrimage Literature: The Case of Gregory of Nyssa, Letter 2, in: *Hortulus*, <https://hortulus-journal.com/journal/volume-12-number-1-2015/brazinski/>.

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

visited them to venerate them and admire them, but she was also a “religious collector” on an outstanding scale.

Jerome was another author who realised the negative aspects of pilgrimages in the Early Church. Much of his criticism could just as well be valid for the period much later, which we will discuss. In his letter to Paulinus of Nola, he discourages him from travelling to the Holy Land. He cites some negative aspects of Jerusalem implying that it is not holier than any other city.¹¹ Further that it is not the issue where one worships God, but how. Even though in this context Jerome is writing to Paulinus with other ecclesial issues at hand and the Holy Land is not the only theme, we may infer that he did want to emphasise to Paulinus that Jerusalem as any other city does not guarantee salvation. In fact an escape to the desert would be desirable.¹²

Paula and her daughter Eustochium were admirers of Jerome and they travelled on a pilgrimage to the Holy Land. She left Rome in 382. From Bethlehem where they ended up living they wrote a letter to Marcella a noble Roman woman depicting the beauty of pilgrimage to the Holy Land. And that even though there are holy regions elsewhere many people have an urgent desire to visit this place.¹³

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

The Holy Land was dominated by the Islamic powers very early on. After the eighth century Jerusalem was controlled by non-Christian powers (if we neglect the brief control of the Crusaders). Pilgrimage provided income for these and there were periods when only a miracle saved the Holy Sepulchre. Earlier on just as later money was to be a feature of the Holy Land and its Christian sites. But the money was not only a temptation for the Muslims but also for the Christians themselves. Later for example, in the nineteenth century В.Н.Хитрово argues, that half of the earnings of the Patriarchate of Jerusalem went to bribe or support the Turkish administration and its officials. These Turkish authorities then often supported the Latin

¹¹ Jerome epistle 58, to Paulinus around 395. <http://www.newadvent.org/fathers/3001058.htm>.

¹² Trout D., E., *Paulinus of Nola, Life, Letters, and Poems*, University of California Press, Los Angeles 1999, 96.

¹³ Paula and Eustochium to Marcella, *About the Holy Places*, translated Aubrey Stewart, Palestine Pilgrims text society, London 1896.

missionary endeavours. The other half was usually left without control or account and disappeared among the brotherhood of the Holy Sepulchre.¹⁴

In Russia the phenomenon of pilgrimage developed early on after the Christianisation of the Empire. Pilgrimage entailed not just pilgrimage to the Holy Land, but pilgrimage in Russia itself, a feature which would dominate Russian culture. In the Russian context there was a designation for "professional" pilgrims. "Калики" or "Калеки перехожие". These "professional" pilgrims could travel to Jerusalem, Constantinople Athos and then travelled in Russia itself.

As commented on by some literary scholars, the genre of the pilgrimage account is interesting in its own right, since it is very "personal" in its nature. The pilgrimage has an "author" and in comparison to other forms of literature offers an interactive form.¹⁵ The pilgrim accounts thus offer a personal history within a broader perspective offering multidisciplinary possibilities.

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

¹⁴ Хитрово В.Н., История Русской Духовной Миссии в Иерусалиме, in: В. Н. Хитрово, *Собрание Сочинений и Писем*, том 2, Составление, Н. Н. Лисового, Издательство Олега Абышко, 2011, Москва, 2011, 83-202, here 88.

¹⁵ Левшун, Л. В., *Очерки истории восточнославянской средневековой книжности: эволюция творческих методов*, Европейский Гуманитарный университет, Минск, 2000, 138.

1. The Eastern Patriarchates, Greeks and Russia

In terms of Christianity, Russia and Byzantium were linked together already in 867 when the patriarch Photios mentions the efforts of the Christianisation of the Rus. Only a couple years before there was an attack by the *Ros* in 860. There was a delegation from the *I Ros* (οἱ Ρῶς) appearing in Constantinople perhaps around 838.¹⁶ As is well known the *Ros* are mentioned as a people in Constantine Porphyrogenitos and are mentioned in the homilies of Photios.¹⁷ The relationship however was not easy from this period onwards and in some cases fraught with wars such as in the period of John Tzimisce (969-976). Saint Olga visited Constantinople in 957 and became a Christian. Vladimir, her grandson, married the sister of Basil II in 989. This period of course coincided with a great strengthening of the Byzantine Empire. Unfortunately not many literary documents survived documenting this period in terms of ecclesial and political relations since many were destroyed in the periods later.¹⁸ However, importantly, the Russian primary Chronicle from the eleventh century makes no doubt about the later orientation of Russia and about its conversion under Vladimir. It is obvious that the Christianisation of Russia developed in stages and there must have been contacts in the form of southerners coming to Russia to advise and teach.

Various surviving objects testify to the lively political and economic contacts between Russia and the south for the period of the tenth to eleventh centuries. However, it needs to be said,

¹⁶ Dolger F., *Regesten der Kaiserurkunden des Ostromischen Reiches*, vol. I, Berlin 1924, pg. 54.

¹⁷ See Constantine Porphyrogenitos, *De Administrando Imperio*, Gy. Moravcsik, English translation R. J. H. Jenkins, Dumbarton Oaks, 1967; *The homilies of Photius, patriarch of Constantinople*, transl. commentary, Cyril Mango, vol. 3, Dumbarton Oaks, 1958.

¹⁸ The information for the earlier period (for 1315 to 1402) can be reconstructed partly by the famous Patriarchal register published in Vienna in 1862. Now a new edition is available. It is a collection of about 900 documents from the patriarchal Chancery. The documents were purchased by the Austrian ambassador at the Sultans court, by Ogier Ghislain de Busbecq in the sixteenth century.

that we do not have sufficient information about the character of the trade between Russia and Byzantium at least in terms of volume and importance for the developing Russian empire and state. Nor is the information we possess systematic in nature.

In any event it is certain that Kiev as a city played a crucial role in this interaction. A cathedral was built in the eleventh century in Kiev in Byzantine style and dedicated to Saint Sophia with the help of Greek masters. The cave monasteries in Kiev, which were instrumental in the establishment of Russian monastic life, had relations with the *Studios* monastic concept, but also with monastic traditions of the Holy Land. In the ninth and tenth centuries Byzantine objects were part and parcel of the Kiev economical stratum.¹⁹ But there are other areas which contain a significant presence of Byzantine objects, such as for example, Gnezdove (Гнездове), located around ten km from Smolensk.²⁰

Around 1001 we have the tradition of Vladimir Svyatoslavich of Kiev sending merchants who were at the same time ambassadors throughout the Mediterranean region. These were sent to Egypt, Rome, the Holy Land and elsewhere, to “learn the local customs”.²¹ This coincided with the gradual consolidation of Christianity in the area of Russian influence. It is likely that there were further contacts through military service. The Byzantines employed mercenary forces, and the eleventh century was a busy military period for the Byzantines and people from the north were involved generally. They also employed such figures as Harald Hardrada (1015-1066), the King of Norway, who fought battles for the Byzantines on many fronts. He previously fought for Kievan Rus and then travelled south (he was involved in many battles in various areas of Europe). His activities in the Holy Land incorporated soldiers from the Kievan Rus area also.

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

¹⁹ Каргер М. А., *Древний Киев*, Том. 1, Москва, 1958, 215.

²⁰ Ениосова Н., В., Пушкина Т. А., Находки византийского происхождения из раннегородского центра Гнездово в свете контактов между Русью и Константинополем в X в. in: *Сугдейский Сборник*, вып. 5., 2012, 34-85.

²¹ See Том XIII, *Летописный Сборник именуемый Патриаршею или Никоновскою летописью*, in: *Полное собрание русских летописей*, ред. С. Ф. Платонов, Санкт Петербург, 1904.

The period of the rise of Christianity in Russia, attracted attention for obvious reasons in various later sources and contexts. The theme of the victory of true divine faith was an important one. Thus, Christian armies were successful, since they had God as a helper. There were legends such as the one from Vladimir, which stated that the *knyaz* of Vladimir, Andrey Bogolyubskiy (Андрей Боголюбский) had defeated on the 1st of August 1164 the pagan Bulgarians. Due to divine sanction on the same day according to this legend Manuel Comnenos had attained a victory over the Saracens. The legend was incorporated into the *Степенная книга царского родословия*. It became a part of the story of *knyaz* Андрей Боголюбский.²²

This legend is one of others linking the Byzantine and Russian ideal of both defeating pagans and upholding a Christian empire. Thus for example, also in the fourteenth century the *knyaz* Ivan Kalita (Иван Калита) is compared by an anonymous author with Constantine, Justinian and Manuel Comnenos in the work “Praises of the ruler” - Похвалы князю.²³

The earlier period is also illustrated by literary sources, which found their way into such areas as the Sinai (the Slavic manuscripts were initially analysed in the Sinai monastery by Porfiriy Uspenskiy during his visit in 1845; later they were looked at by the famous Augustine Kapustin again in 1870). The material found in Sinai is of course related to the Bulgarian and Serbian environments, but it is likely that the colony of monks from the Slavic countries which appeared in Sinai at some early point included people from the area of Rus.²⁴ Later of course the monastery itself had intense relations with Russia, but also before that it had relations with Moldavia. Apart from Russia there were relations with Jerusalem and the south in other important orthodox countries such as for example Serbia (thus for example in the library of the Patriarchate of Jerusalem there is a Serbian *Triodion* from the fourteenth century commissioned in Sinai for the Serbian church of the archangel Michael in Jerusalem). The Primary Chronicle tells us of translations begun under Yaroslav the son of Vladimir. By the tenth and eleventh centuries the basic liturgical texts were available and even others were translated such as the Topography of Cosmas the Indicopleustas and the Physiologos.

²² In the Archangelsk church of the Moscow Kremlin there is a portrait of Michael Paleologos oddly enough among the rulers of Vladimir. See Самойлова Т.Е., Кто из византийских императоров изображен на фреске Архангельского Собора? in: *Россия и Христианский Восток*, выпуск II-III, Индрик, editors С.Н. Кистерев, Д.Н. Рамазанова, Б.Л. Фонкич, Д. А. Яламас, Москва, 2004, 128-135, here 131.

²³ Седелников, А. Д., Эпическая традиция о Мануиле Комнине in *Slavia*, год. 3, 1924-1925, стр. 606-618; Воронин Н.Н., Сказание о победе над болгарам 1164 г. И праздник Спаса, in *Проблемы общественно-политической истории России и славянских стран*, Москва, 1963, pg.88-92.

²⁴ See Сперанский, Михаил Несторович, *Славянская письменность XI-XIV вв. На Синае и в Палестине*, Ленинград 1927, 59.

Through the Bulgarian mediation Byzantine legal texts were made available, such as the *Ecloga* and others.²⁵

The relationship between Russians and Greeks in terms of the Orthodox ecclesial context can be termed as a loving one, but at the same time an extremely mistrustful relationship. The Russians always admired the Byzantine tradition and Greek culture and undoubtedly always realised that they were the “younger brother” in terms of the Church and culture generally. Historically the Russians struggled to ascertain their place in cultural and religious history in relation to the Greeks. The relationship can be characterised as a younger brother-older brother one. As scholars as Kapterev note, the Russians were convinced that the Greeks were somehow “holier” than they were.²⁶ As is obvious, the Christening of Russia was not an event which immediately changed the country into a Christian one. It took a long time for Christianity to become a strong alternative for the religious makeup of the country. Thus the Russians had to draw inspiration and guidance from the traditional Byzantine world which meant that the relationship was never a black and white one.

Historically, the Byzantines for their part did not make things easy for the Russians and often adopted a typically Byzantine cultural superiority mode of thinking. Even during the reign of the enlightened and missionary orientated Patriarch Photios (9th century), who realised the need for a policy of enculturation and wholeheartedly supported it, it was a given fact, that the Byzantine Church and culture will always be a superior force and guiding principle for all other Christian Churches. The others whether they liked it or not belonged to the Byzantine *oikoumene* to use Obolenskys favourite definition.²⁷

In terms of religious mentality soon there was a rift emerging between the Russians and Greeks. The Greeks viewed the Russian Church with respect due to its long and stringent fasts, its emphasis on long prayer etc., but criticised the lack of education and depth in Russian piety and substance in the rituals. The Russians on the other hand viewed the Greeks as superficial and undisciplined.²⁸ Analogously it was like a relationship based on a kind of

²⁵ Meyendorff J., *Byzantium and the Rise of Russia*, St. Vladimirs Seminary press, Crestwood New York, 1981, 18.

²⁶ *Ibid.*, 4.

²⁷ See Obolensky D., *The Byzantine Commonwealth: Eastern Europe 500-1453*, Praeger publishers, New York, 1971.

²⁸ Каптерев, Н. Ф., *Характер Отношений России к православному востоку в XVI и XVII столетиях*, Изд. Втор. Сергиев Посад, 1914. 431; See also Stavrou G., T., *Russian Interests in Palestine, 1882-1914*, Institute for Balkan Studies, Thessaloniki, 1963, 15.

Roman concept of *levitas* and *gravitas*. The Greeks being designated as those belonging to the Roman idea of *levitas*, whereas the Russians belonging to a *gravitas* mode of thinking.

At least later the reputation of the Greeks was hindered by the widespread business of donations. „By the end of the seventeenth century, the two leading Orthodox peoples, Greeks and Russians, had lost much respect for each other.“²⁹ Zernov observes: „The Eastern Christians in their dealings with the Russians....found endless devices, tricks, and frauds by which to extract as much money as possible (from) their northern protectors. They were not only ready to sell the relics of the most venerated saints and the ancient miracle-working icons, but were also prepared to fabricate these relics and icons if the demand exceeded supply“. This unique commerce flourished especially in the towns of Moldavia and Ukraine which were situated along the main road from Constantinople to Moscow.³⁰

Even though the Greeks had a superiority complex they were not naïve and realised there are differences amongst the Christian nations. There are indications that the Greeks or Byzantines generally realised the different levels of education and tradition in their surrounding neighbours, which is suggested by the fact that in their correspondence with the Russian environment they could have used a different style of language, a much more simpler form of Greek, which is the case of for example one of the documents from the Patriarchal register, the letter of the Patriarch Philotheos Coccinos to the metropolitan Alexey of Kiev.³¹ The structure of language used in this Byzantine tradition respected the audience of the addressee of correspondence. Philotheos himself was a theologian and it seems that some of his works were being translated into Slavonic.³²

In the period of the fourteenth century the Byzantine spiritual tradition was itself undergoing interesting developments in relation to Hesychasm and this influenced the Byzantine liturgical tradition which in turn influenced the Russian liturgical developments. After this the Jerusalem *Typicon* assumed a central role and was viewed as in line with the constitution of the saint Savva monastery in the Holy Land. Philotheos Coccinos himself supported this

²⁹ Stavrou G., T., Ibid.

³⁰ Zernov N., *Moscow the Third Rome*, London, 1937, 58-59.

³¹ Gastgeber C., Aspects of Variations in Byzantine Greek documents, of the Patriarchal chancellory of Constantinople (14th. Century), in: *Open Linguistics*, 3, De Gruyter, Berlin, 2017, 342-358, here 356.

³² Thus for example, there is an excerpt from the slavonic translation of the Eucharistic Diataxis of Philotheos Coccinos, see Zheltov M., *A Slavonic translation of the Eucharistic Diataxis of Philotheos Kokkinos from a lost manuscript, Athos Agiou Pavlou 149*, in:

https://www.academia.edu/1982003/A_Slavonic_Translation_of_the_Eucharistic_Diataxis_of_Philotheos_Kokkinos_from_a_Lost_Manuscript_Athos_Agiou_Pavlou_149_.

development which is seen in his works *Διάταξις τῆς ἱεροδιακονίας* (in the famous Goar edition) and *Διάταξις τῆς Θείας λειτουργίας*.

Generally, the Russians did not and could not realise the difficulties and complexities of the Middle Eastern situation and this was due to many reasons. This misunderstanding on the part of the Russians often led to a simplification of the issues and the Greeks were often portrayed as unreliable, not sincere and ready to compromise especially with the Western Church. A suspicion which seemed to have been confirmed by the Council of Florence in 1439 and by the role of the then Greek Metropolitan of Russia Isidore at this Council. People like Simeon Suzdalskiy (Симеон Сузда́льский), who were also present at the council in Florence make no qualms about the future role of Russia in terms of Orthodoxy. He indicates how the pope was told to postpone the beginning of the Council until the arrival of the Russian metropolitan Isidor, since he came from an important "Christian superpower".³³ At that time people like John VIII Palaiologos did everything they could to forge some sort of alliance with the West. The Byzantines were prepared to make compromises at the council in Florence, and as A. Sadvov notes, in view of possible concessions the Byzantine Emperor asked the Patriarch to award special rights to the delegates at the council. However at the same time the Emperor took the critical person in the figure of Mark of Ephesus to the Council, which demonstrates the fact that the emperor was not willing to compromise at all costs.³⁴

However, there was a deep psychological suspicion in the population towards any alliances with the West. The Byzantine cry that it is better to fall into the hands of the Turks than the Franks is a notable feature of the complex mentality of the Eastern Church and environment.³⁵ The hatred towards the Turks was only matched with hatred towards compromises in culture and theology. Thus even compromises for the sake of a political and military solution which were undertaken before the fall of Constantinople were viewed with hatred. The historian Ducas stated, that the people refused to visit Hagia Sophia after the attempts for union were made by the last ruler of the Palaiologos dynasty (12 December 1452). That people refused to have anything to do with Uniates.³⁶

³³ There are other interesting works in relation to the council in Florence, such as for example, *Исхождение Авраамия Суздальского на осмый собор с митрополитом Исидором в лето 6945*. See Кириллин В. М., *Хождение на Ферраро-Флорентийский Собор, 459-469, История древнерусской литературы, языка и славянских культур*, Москва, 2008.

³⁴ Садов А., *Виссарион Никейский. Его деятельность на Ферраро-Флорентийском соборе, богословские сочинения и значение в истории гуманизма*, Санкт Петербург, 1883, 15. See also Черепнин Л. В., К вопросу о русских источниках по истории Флорентийской унии, in: *Средние века*, т. 25, Москва, 1964.

³⁵ Ducas, *Historia byzantina*, Corpus script. Hist. Byz. Vonnae, 1834, 39; 290.

³⁶ Ibid.

It was very easy to view the defeat in Constantinople as some kind of consequence of divine fate. Even the Greeks themselves were prone to see in some form of sign. Undoubtedly, the Ottoman invasion was also ideologically motivated. People like the former metropolitan of Kiev Isidor, who became a Roman Catholic cardinal or Leonard of Chios the Archbishop of Mytilene³⁷ saw in the fall of Constantinople a religious and ideological issue. Perhaps Leonardo was even motivated by his participation in the siege of Constantinople. He then fled to Chios. Leonardo wrote a letter to the Pope from Chios about the situation and this was published in 1544. (Another eyewitness was Godefridus Langus, who also wrote an account 1594). Both Isidore and Leonardo saw the necessity for a crusade. Interestingly, Pope Pius II, wrote a letter to Mehmed II in 1461 encouraging him to convert to Islam (never actually sent to Mehmed).³⁸ Mehmed II attained the image for example in Ducas as a cruel tyrant.

The Russians viewed the Greek religious conundrums with suspicion and perhaps realised the opportunity of gaining independence in one way or another. There is an issue whether the Russian metropolitan Iona (Иона) travelled to Constantinople even before the election of the Greek Isidor as metropolitan of Russia. Iona (Иона) desired to gain acknowledgement as metropolitan even before Isidor the Greek was elected.³⁹ It seems, that indeed Iona (Иона) did come to Constantinople as a chosen candidate of the Moscow Velikiy *Knyaz* for the position of metropolitan of Russia, but the place was "suddenly" occupied by someone else.⁴⁰

The Fall of Byzantium seemed to have confirmed the loss of true direction by the Greeks and was seen by the Russians as a form of Divine intervention if not outright punishment of the Greeks. This was by the way also the case for many Western Roman-Catholic thinkers who also saw in this event a Divine sanction of the Roman Catholic supremacy in the Christian world (a notion which would appear in the seventeen century during Unionist controversies).⁴¹ Kapterev mentions how the fall of Constantinople led to some authorities in

³⁷ See *De Capta a Mehemethe II Constantinopoli*, Didot le Jeune for Charles Stuart, Paris, 1823. See also J. B. Falier-Papadopoulos, Ἡ περὶ Ἀλώσεως τῆς Κωνσταντινουπόλεως Ἱστορία Λεονάρδου τοῦ Χίου, in *Epitiris Etairias Byzantinon Spoudon*, 15, Athens, 1939, 85-95; J. R. Melville Jones, *The Siege of Constantinople: Seven Contemporary Accounts*, Amsterdam, 1972, 11-42.

³⁸ See Aeneas Silvius Piccolomini, (Pope Pius II), *Epistola ad Mahometem II* ed.trans. Alber R. Baca, New York, Peter Lang, 1990.

³⁹ There are sources which seem to testify to the visit of Iona to Constantinople. These include for example, the letter of Vasilij II to Constantinople, written in the period 1441-1453, the letter of Iona himself to the Lithuanian clergy in 1448 and to the Kiev *knyaz* Alexandr Vladimirovich in 1450, and in collections of the Russian chronicles.

⁴⁰ Кистерев С. Н., Источники о пребывании Рязанского епископа Ионы в Константинополе, in: *Россия и Христианский Восток*, выпуск II-III, С.Н. Кистерев, Д.Н. Рамазанова, Б.Л. Фонкич, Д. А. Яламас (eds), Индрик, Москва, 2004, 41-69, here, 65.

⁴¹ See the activities, thought and historical context of such Roman Catholic figures as Peter Skarga. See Bain N. R., *Slavonic Europe, A political history of Poland and Russia from 1447 to 1796*. Cambridge, 1908.

Russia to interpret this as a consequence of the departure from the truth. This is the purport of the message of the first Russian appointed metropolitan Iona (Иона appointed in 1448), who wrote in 1458 in his letter to the Lithuanian bishops, that the fall of Constantinople was a form of divine punishment. The fall of the city is a result of the absence of good works, which leads to punishment and the realisation that there is one God.⁴² The metropolitan Philip in 1471 similarly, deciding to be faithful to Moscow and not to the Lithuanians, which the Novgorod authorities were speculating to turn to, draws on the example of Constantinople and the punishment for its unfaithfulness. The monk Philotheos is convinced that the reason for the fall of Constantinople was its betrayal of orthodoxy and turning to the Latin faith.

The constant 'betrayals' of the Greeks led to obvious conclusions. Perhaps the Divine authority now burdened Russia with this new responsibility of being the "Third Rome". Interestingly enough, the concept of the Third Rome is not really a Russian idea as some would stress, since Byzantine political ideology already formed the idea of succession in terms of Christian power and empire. Even though obviously, the idea of Russia being this heir to Byzantium was stressed in Russian literature, the mechanics of succession of empire and religion is a purely Byzantine *topos* and is related to Byzantine political ideology seen even in some form in the missionary work of saints Cyril and Methodios in Great Moravia. The idea of succession *in truth and religion* was promulgated already in the period of Constantine the Great in the vision of Eusebius of Caesarea.⁴³

The Greeks themselves for various reasons also began to stress to the Russians that their Russian faith is good and pure, which only confirmed to the Russians their convictions. The Metropolitan Theodosiy wrote in his letter to the Novgorod and Pskov peoples about the donations to the Holy Sepulchre in 1464, where he emphasised that the Patriarch of Jerusalem, heard of the preserved pure faith of the Russians from the period of Saint Vladimir. He further stated that due to the sins of the Christians, the Turks were able to attack the Greeks, Serbs, and others.⁴⁴

⁴² "И о сем сами весте, сынове колику прежде беду подья Царствуюющий град от болгар, также от персов, яко в мрежах дръжаше его семь лет, но подръжаху донел еже сынове, благочестие ничтоже, град пострадавш; (егда же) своего благочестия отступи, весте, что пострадавш; какога пленение и смерти различный быша о душах, же их весть Бог един." Ibid. Кистерев С. Н, 7.

⁴³ See Geanakoplos Z., Church and State in the Byzantine Empire, in: *Church History* 34, Columbia University, Columbia, 1965.

⁴⁴ "Патриарх Иерусалимский слышав истинную нашу святую веру непорушную, юже от богопросвещенного Владимира в русских землях от многих лет просиявш; и в Божией воли исполнену и благочестием цветущу якоже и свет солнечный и тако уповая от сих на благое". Cited in Каптерев, Н.

The Russian monk Philotheos in a well known account formulates the idea of Russia assuming the “Roman responsibility”. The idea was also practically entrenched by the marriage of Ivan III to a Byzantine princess Zoe (Sophia) Palaiologos in 1472, the niece of Constantine XI and daughter of Thomas Palaiologos the Despota of Morea. The finance minister of Ivan III, Giovam Battista della Volpe from Vicenza was to inspect the bride.⁴⁵ The marriage came after the fall of Constantinople and it all seemed natural in terms of continuity with Byzantium. The idea of marriage came from non-other than cardinal Bessarion.

Manuel Palaiologos (1350-1425) had six sons, the younger one of which Thomas was later the Despota of Morea and the father of Sophia Palaiologos. His older son John married the Russian princess Anna, who was the daughter of the *velikiy knyaz* Vasiliy Dmitrievich. Manuel Palaiologos is also mentioned in the *Stepennaya kniga* (Степенная книга).⁴⁶ The *Stepennaya kniga* (Степенная книга) even records a version that it was actually Manuel the Emperor himself who married Anna and not John and that she had six sons with him. In relation to this D. Nastas observes, that the copyists of the sixteenth century in their writings who knew the fact of the fall of Constantinople did not associate the fall of Constantinople with 1453 but with the end of the rule of Manuel II Palaiologos. After him we are told the ‘line of the Christian rulers is continued by the Moldavian rulers’.⁴⁷

This was the period when there was tension between the Patriarchate of Constantinople Dionysios I (1466-1471) and the Russian church due to a failure of the Russians to refer ecclesial appointments to Dionysius for conferral. Ivan III accused Dionysius of being under the subjection of the Muslim Sultan.⁴⁸ In any event, the Metropolitan Zosimos in his explanation of the substance of the feast of Easter in 1492, calls Ivan III the Emperor of the new (Third) Rome.⁴⁹ It is obvious, that the centralising forces of the Russian state called for a new ideology which would help to unite the state. There are opinions that this new ideology was an ideology of a *translatio imperio* in relation to the Byzantine ideal (an idea already formulated by V. Soloviev). On the other hand some authors dispute Byzantine notions where at play for the centralisation processes within the Russian Empire, since they state it

Ф., *Характер Отношений России к православному востоку в XVI и XVII столетиях*, Изд. Втор. Сергиев Посад, 1914, 10.

⁴⁵ Angold, M., *The Fall of Constantinople to the Ottomans*, Routledge, New York, 2012, 47.

⁴⁶ *Полное Собрание Русских летописей*, Т. 21, ч. 1, Санкт Петербург, 1908, 423, 424, 524.

⁴⁷ Настасе Д., Заметки об имперской идее на Руси до 1453 г. In: *Рим, Константинополь, Москва, Сравнительно-историческое исследование центров идеологии и культуры*, Москва, 1997, 255.

⁴⁸ See Angold, M., *The Fall of Constantinople to the Ottomans*, Routledge, 2012.

⁴⁹ The literature regarding the concept of the Third Rome is extensive, there are are indications of this theory for example in the *Повесть о новгородском белом клобуке* from the fifteenth or sixteenth centuries.

was more or less a natural development. And therefore that the centralisation of power in Russia was not influenced by Byzantine ideals.

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

As we have indicated historically, the Byzantines did have a tendency to clone their political ideology on other states, teaching them according to their own models. Thus for example, the Byzantine understanding of the position of the Emperor is well summarised in the letter of the Patriarch Anthony to the *knyaz* Vasiliy Dmitrievich (1389), where it is stated that the Christian Emperors (of Byzantium) had a special role above and over other rulers, they were the guardians of faith and they convoked the Holy Councils, they affirmed canon law and fought heresy. There is no possibility of the Emperor not being revered. There is no possibility of not having at the same time an Emperor and a Church. There can be only one Christian true Emperor (this is an important statement), even though there could be other Christian rulers.⁵⁰ The *Litsev Letopis* (Лицев Летопись/Голицинский том) even goes as far as to state, that Ivan Manuilovich was convincing the Pope at the Ferrara Council, that the Russian *knyaz* Vasiliy Dmitrievich in whose realm Orthodoxy "stands high", calls himself "only" *knyaz* and not Emperor out of humility.⁵¹

If Russia was to adopt a clear cut ideology of the Byzantine state one would expect a greater influence of Byzantine legal frameworks on Russia, but this happened elsewhere but not in Russia itself, which is strange. There are indications of a kind of Byzantine model of the Tsar being responsible for issues of faith. Thus for example, in the letter of Metropolitan Makariy of Russia to Ivan the Terrible in 1547, Makariy implies, that the Russian Tsar is responsible

⁵⁰ "Святой царь занимает высокое положение в церкви, но не то, что другие поместные князья и государи. Цари вначале упрочили и утвердили благочестие во вселенной; цари собирали вселенские соборы, они же подтвердили своими законами соблюдение того, что говорят божественные и священные каноны о правых догматах и благородстве христианской жизни, и много подвизались против ересей. На всяком месте, где только имеются христиане, имя царя поминается всеми патриархами и епископами, и этого преимущества не имеет никто из прочих князей и властителей. Невозможно христианам иметь церковь и не иметь царя. Ибо царство и церковь находятся в тесном союзе и общении и невозможно отделить их друг от друга. Они только царь во вселенной, и если некоторые другие из христиан присвоили себе имя царя, то все эти примеры суть нечто противоположное и противозаконное." Cited in Дьяконов М., *Власть московских государей, Очерки из истории политических идей Древней Руси до конца XVII века*, Санкт Петербург, 1899, 21-22.

⁵¹ Российская национальная библиотека F IV., 225. Л. 481 об.

for issues of doctrine. Generally Metropolitan Makariy appears as a staunch advocate of the important role of the Russian Emperor and the Russian Church in the world. The *Stoglavii Sobor* as well as other similar events in this context were means of delineating the position of the Church *vis a vis* the state in Russia. Makariy developed these ideas already earlier on in his Epistle to the *velikiy knyaz* Vasiliy Ivanovich when he was still only the Archbishop of Novgorod. Here he stressed the role of the Tsar in doctrinal matters.⁵² The issue of true faith is of course intrinsically linked with unity in the state a notion only very well understood in Russia just as it was understood in the Roman Empire.

As is well known, it was the monk Philothei from Pskov (born 1465), who was writing to Grand Duke Vasiliy III (around 1523) who formulated the idea of the Third Rome associating it with Moscow. The ruler is at the centre of Christendom just as the Orthodox faith is at the centre of all religions.⁵³ At the same time this was happening Vasiliy III was under the influence of the astrologist Nikolay Bulev (or Liuev), who was his personal doctor and a Roman Catholic emissary. Bulev was disliked by Maxim the Greek. Perhaps Philothei based his ideas on the work called the *Chronograph* which was composed by a certain Pachomiy Logothete who was a Serb and who wrote this history for the Northerners in 1442 and which is full of references to Byzantine/Slavic relations.

The Greek cultural and intellectual representatives on their part, being obviously desperate and despondent after the fall of Byzantium also suggested that various rulers or states both in the West and East could assume the role of Rome. Some even (as George of Trebizond) suggested that the Ottoman Empire itself with the Sultan could become a new Rome. Thus George of Trebizond wrote a letter to the Sultan Mehmed II in 1453 to this effect.⁵⁴ The Greeks did not cease to believe in liberation after the fall of Byzantium often expecting help from all possible sides, as for example from Gustavus Adolphus of Sweden (died 1632).

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

⁵² Валдьденберг В. Е., *Древнерусские учения о пределах царской власти*, Europe printing, California University press, 1966, 58.

⁵³ Zernov N., *Moscow the Third Rome*, London, 1937, 36. See also in this regard H., Schaefer, *Moskau das Dritte Rom*, 2nd ed., Darmstadt, 1957, further Н. Ф. Каптерев, *Характер Отношений России к православному востоку в XVI и XVII столетиях*, Изд. Втор. Сергиев Посад, 1914.

⁵⁴ See G. Zoras, *George of Trebizond and His Efforts for Greco-Turkish Cooperation*, in Greek, Athens, 1954.

the terrible, when the former desired to convince the latter to accept the union with Rome, Possevin argued that the Greeks had accepted the Latin faith in Florence. Ivan reportedly exclaimed that the "Greeks are not Gospel for us, that we do not believe in Greeks but in Christ", and that the faith in Russia is as old as that one in Rome, and is linked with the work of the apostle Andrew.⁵⁵ As we have indicated, there are other sources for the theory of Russia being the heir (the legend of the Titschvin icon of the Mother of God moving from Constantinople to Russia before the fall of the city; the above mentioned Story of the white hat/ сказание о белом клобуке/ about the Pope Silvester foresseing the role of Russia in Christendom; the sending of imperial regalia by Constantine Monomachos). As we have implied above, the transference of power is seen in Metropolitan Zosimas account of 1492, where in his commentary on Easter he commemorates the city founded by Constantine, and exclaims that Ivan Vasilyevich is the New Constantine in the New Constantinople.⁵⁶

The Russians of course also observed the situation in Byzantium itself before the fall of Constantinople where there was constant in-fighting and betrayals amongst the Byzantines themselves. For example, the Byzantine author Manuel Bryennios writing in the period shortly before the fall of Constantinople argued, how the wealthy in Constantinople insist on building three storey houses while the fortifications are being destroyed, and thus there was no concern for military defence in the capital. Another Byzantine author Demetrios Kydones summed up the situation in the following words: "And within the City the citizens, not only the ordinary, but indeed also those who pass as the most influential in the imperial palace, revolt, quarrel with each other, and strive to occupy the highest offices. Each one is eager to devour all by himself, and if he does not succeed, threatens to desert to the enemy, and with him besiege his country, and his friends".⁵⁷

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

⁵⁵ "Греки для нас не Евангелие, мы верим не в греков а в Христа; мы получили христианскую веру при начале христианской Церкви, когда Андрей, брат апостола Петра, пришел в эти страны; чтобы пройти в Рим; таким образом мы на Москве приняли христианскую веру, в то же самое время, как вы в Италии, и с тех пор досели мы соблюдали ее ненарушимую" Cited in Каптерев Н., Собрание Сочинений, 1, Дарь, Москва 2008, 58.

⁵⁶ "Прославил Бог...благовернаго и христолюбиваго великаго князя Ивана Васильевича, государя и самодержца всея Руси, новаго царя Константина новому граду Константину –Москве и всей Русской земли и иным многим землен государя"Вилинбахов Г. В., Легенда о "знамени Константину" в символике русских знамен XVII-XVIII веков In: Труды Государственного Эрмитажа, Ленинград, 1983, том. 23, pg. 23.

⁵⁷ See Necipoğlu Nevra, *Byzantium between the Ottomans and the Latins*, Cambridge, 2009; Kydones Demetrios, Loenartz R., J., edition, vol. II, no. 308, lines 17-18, Vatican city, 1960, 142.

The sixteenth and seventeenth centuries were of paramount importance in terms of the development of Russia and its relationship with the Near East. It was a period when the Eastern Patriarchates were developing under new circumstances being part of the Ottoman world. Just as Russia was undergoing important political developments, so the Eastern Patriarchates were undergoing a period of self-reflection which was coupled by the complex developments in Europe related to the development of Protestantism in many forms. Regardless of the captivity of the Greek Church under the Ottomans, lively ecclesial contacts continued between Russians and Greeks and the Russians respected the ecclesial position of the Patriarchate of Constantinople. The respect for the Byzantine tradition is demonstrated by the fact that notable Greeks were invited to Russia, such as the well-known Maxim the Greek (Μιχαήλ Τρίβολης) to share in Russia's theological and liturgical development.⁵⁸ In fact, it seems that after some doubts in the period of the Metropolitan Isidor the respect for the Eastern Patriarchates in Russia gradually grew in the centuries following the fall of Constantinople, which was also conditioned by the new developing and lively contacts.

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

2.a Multiformed relationship

After the Fall of Byzantium Greeks offered their services as interpreters and generally assumed the role of middle men in Russian dealings with the Ottoman world. The Patriarch of Constantinople found himself in the middle of the Russian/Ottoman relationship. Stavrou writes: „This role of the Patriarch was important, because at the time Russian diplomatic agents in the Ottoman Empire did not carry the prestige they did in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. The Greek interpreter Anastasios, rendered great Services in the relations of Russia and Turkey, and the Turkish representative to Russia, Ali Agas, was a personal friend of the Ecumenical Patriarch, Loukaris.“⁵⁹

⁵⁸ Geanakoplos, Deno J., 'The Post Byzantine Athonite Monk Maximos the Greek: Reformer of Orthodoxy in Sixteenth century Muscovy in: *Greek Orthodox Theological Review* 33, Boston 1988, pgs., 445-468, here 456.

⁵⁹ Stavrou G., T., *Russian Interests in Palestine, 1882-1914*, Institute for Balkan Studies, Thessaloniki, 1963, 11., See also a view on Loukaris, Diomedes Kyriakos, *Geschichte der Orientalischen Kirchen von 1453-1898*, Leipzig, 1902, 97-103.

The contacts and relationships between the Greeks and Russians, were also developed in terms of the exchange of material and other goods. The Russians brought in various objects. In this regard the Moscow Kremlin holds many important objects testifying to the Greek-Russian relationship.⁶⁰ These include for example the *mitre* of the Patriarch Paisiy presently located in the Holy Sepulchre. It was blessed in 1657 and was supposed to be given to the Tsar Alexey Michaylovich. There is some controversy as to whether this was really supposed to be a gift but whatever the case the *mitre* belongs to the period of intensive contacts.⁶¹

In the collection of state regalia of the Armoury in the Kremlin there is a sceptre, and diadem of Tsar Alexey Michaylovich. According to the income-outcome books of the Treasury for the period of 1664-1665, the sceptre and diadem were made in Constantinople upon the order of Alexey Michaylovich and brought to Moscow by Ivan Yuriev (Иван Юрьев) in 1662.⁶² The purchase from Constantinople came at a time of greater co-operation between the Russian and Greek Churches and symbolised this new reality, which is also displayed by the illustrations on the Diadem, where pictures of Constantine and Helen are depicted.

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

The Eastern Patriarchs were increasingly placed under pressure not only from the dominating Ottomans, but also from the increasingly aggressive Protestant and Roman Catholic interests in the Holy Places. Not to speak of the constant economic hardships of the Patriarchates. Thus the Patriarch of Jerusalem Dositheos (1690-1707) for example, needed Russian help to win back the control of the Holy Sites in Jerusalem, which by a *firman* from the Sultan in 1689 were given to the Catholics.⁶³ Dositheos also sought Russian support for

⁶⁰ Моршакова, Е.А., Коллекция произведений афонской резьбы по дереву в Московском кремле, in: *Россия и Христианский Восток*, выпуск II-III, editors С.Н. Кистерев, Д.Н. Рамазанова, Б.Л. Фонкич, Д. А. Яламас, Индрик, Москва, 2004, 222-229.

⁶¹ See Фонкич Б.Л., *О современных методах исследования греческих и русских документов XVII века*, Озон, Москва, 2012.

⁶² Русский Государственный Архив Древних Актов, РГАДА. Ф. 52. Оп.1.1662 г. Д.16.Л.37,41 cited in Мартынова М. В., Бармы царя Алексея Михайловича, in: *Россия и Христианский Восток*, выпуск II-III, editors С.Н. Кистерев, Д.Н. Рамазанова, Б.Л. Фонкич, Д. А. Яламас, Индрик, Москва, 2004, 363-376, here 364.

⁶³ Stavrou G., T., *Russian Interests in Palestine, 1882-1914*, Institute for Balkan Studies, Thessaloniki, 1963, 13.

the printing of Greek works (such as the *Panoplia Dogmatike* by Euthimios Zygabenos).⁶⁴ Dositheos was also closely tied with Russia and according to Kapterev, Dositheos was for decades serving the interest of Russia.⁶⁵

2.b Centralisation of power in Russia and the Russian Patriarchate

Of course, the gradual centralisation of political power in Russia and the coronation of Ivan the Terrible as emperor helped by the Metropolitan Makariy also provoked a political desire for acknowledgement which could be achieved through a new and important international role. Ivan sent the archimandrite Theodoret from Suzdal to Constantinople seeking the affirmation of his new role as Emperor in line with the Byzantine tradition together with a hefty gift. In 1562 the Metropolitan of Evgriippia brought a letter from the Patriarch of Constantinople Joasaph II confirming the title of Emperor to Ivan and affirming his relation with Anna the sister of Vasilii "the purple born", that is that he was of royal bloodline. Importantly, Ivan based his claims on numerous saints in his family lineage.⁶⁶

A following letter stated that the Metropolitan of Evgriippia as an Exarch of the Patriarch was to repeat the blessing confirming him as Emperor over him. Needless to say these concessions from the Byzantine Patriarch are unprecedented and cannot be underestimated. However, while Ivan was happy to receive the confirmation of his emperor hood and lineage he did not give assent to the idea of the Byzantine Patriarchs playing the same role as the Roman Popes in the west in terms of coronation and the legitimisation of rulership. Further ironically the Metropolitan of Evgriippia was accused of sympathies towards the Latins when he travelled to Moscow, since in Lithuania he reportedly venerated some cross made in the Latin tradition (perhaps an invented accusation).⁶⁷ This example gives us a very accurate picture of the Russian relationship to Constantinople which was one of respect but at the same time was a relationship based on the increasing realisation of the great power of Russia. This more or less characterised the relationship until modern times.

As Kapterev shows in his book the acknowledgment of Russia as the protector of Christianity was acknowledged by the other Eastern Patriarchs. Thus Meletius Pigas the Patriarch of Alexandria affirms this (in his letter to Tsar Theodor Ivanovich; later in 1698 the Patriarch of

⁶⁴ See Miladinova N., *The Panoplia Dogmatike by Euthymios Zyghadenos: a study on the first edition published in Greek, in 1710*, Brill, 2014.

⁶⁵ Н. Ф. Каптерев, *Характер Отношений России к православному востоку в XVI и XVII столетиях*, Изд. Втор, Сергиев Посад, 1914, 300.

⁶⁶ Ibid. 30.

⁶⁷ Ibid.

Jerusalem Dositheos affirms this and so on).⁶⁸ Even the Archbishops of the Church of Cyprus and Ochrid affirmed this role of the Russian emperor (Chariton of Ochrid wrote this in 1645). At the same time in this period the Russians made all possible effort to observe the Liturgical traditions of the Eastern Patriarchates.⁶⁹

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

Coinciding with this period of Russian ambitions, was the sudden and unexpected visit of one of the most important hierarchs in the history of Constantinople, the brilliant patriarch Jeremias II of Constantinople (c. 1530-1595) who visited the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth and Russia and who would exercise a profound influence in ecclesiastical affairs of the Russian Church. When he appeared in Moscow, he was prevented in seeing any foreigners and he was surrounded by spies and various suspicious characters who followed him everywhere. The Metropolitan of Monemvassia Hierotheos complained about the constant harassment Jeremias was subjected to.⁷⁰ This excellent hierarch of the church was born in Anchial in 1536 and was Patriarch in 1572-1579, 1580-1584 and 1587-1595. He was a great reformer and enlightened individual. He was exiled by the Turks to Rhodos in 1584. During this time there were suggestions even from the Catholics of how to liberate him and even move the Patriarchate to Poland or elsewhere.⁷¹

⁶⁸ Ibid.

⁶⁹ See Medlin, W., K., Patrinelis C., G., *Renaissance Influences, and Religious Reforms in Russia, Western and Post-Byzantine Impacts on Culture and Education, (16th-17th Centuries)*, Libraire Droz, Geneve, 1971.

⁷⁰ Каптерев, *ibid.*, 42.

⁷¹ See Крижанівський О. П., Плохий С.М. *Історія церкви та релігійної думки в Україні*, Кн.3. Київ, 1994.

The period was an important one in terms of Russian ecclesiastical history since it was a time, when there were efforts to establish an independent Patriarchate in Russia, which was finally achieved in 1589, partly due to the efforts of Jeremias II. The other Eastern Patriarchates followed suit in recognising the establishment of a Russian Patriarchate, obviously realising the importance that the Russian church had for their wellbeing. It is also important to mention here, that the Greeks respected the authority of the Russian church since Greek hierarchs were consecrated also in Russia and their consecration was deemed valid, testifying to the fact that the Greek concessions were not only "for show". Thus for example, the Metropolitan of Moscow Theodosiy had consecrated the *protosynkellos* of the Jerusalem Patriarchate Joseph as the Metropolitan for Cesarea Philippi (at the request of the Patriarch of Jerusalem).

Jeremias II travelled to Moscow in 1588 in order to gain funds for the Patriarchate. His voyage was long and interesting and took him through the territory of Poland. His first passage through Poland is accounted by Arsenios the Archbishop of Ellasson who in 1586-1588 taught Greek at the Lvov brotherhood school.⁷² Jeremias II apparently desired to convoke a council in Vilna the date of which he set on the 8th of September 1588. In the end he stayed ten months in Moscow and acknowledged the metropolitan Iov (Иов) as the first Patriarch of Moscow on the 26th of January (5 February) 1589.

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

⁷² The diary of the journey was published many times. For example, Старчевский А., *Historiae Ruthenicae Scriptores exteri saeculi XVI*, T. II. No. XX., Moskva, 1842, 369-384; See also *Diplomata Statutaria a Patriarchis Orientalibus Confraternitatis Stauropigianae Leopoldensis a 1586-1592 data*. no. IX Leopoli 1895, 41; *Собрание древних грамот и актов городов Вильна, Ковна, Троков, православных монастырей, церквей и по разным предметам*, Вильно, 1843.

would have to move to Vladimir as Patriarch, which according to Hierotheos was no better than the last “hole” in Greece. No better than “Kukos”.⁷³

It appears, that the Russians indeed speculated whether it would be possible to consecrate a Greek as Patriarch of Russia or even to move the throne from Constantinople to Moscow (actually an idea also shared in the west at that time. In the West there were calls to move the throne of Constantinople to some western city). The fact that Jeremias or others were contemplating staying north etc., just shows what dire circumstances must have been in Constantinople for the Patriarchate. In any case, Jeremias reportedly stated in his speech, which confirmed the establishment of the Moscow Patriarchate that all the previous Romes have fallen. That Constantinople is occupied by foreign powers, and that the Russian Tsar is the only Christian ruler left. As the glorious representative of Christendom, the Russian Tsar now has a Patriarch.⁷⁴ Of course, what is fascinating in the speech is how the idea of Tsardom is linked with the Patriarchate. As if there is no other possibility than a conception of dual power, the Church and the State. Further interestingly, it is emphasised that there is no other Christian ruler with the supreme authority, except for the Russian Tsar. It is also important that the concept is spiritualised by reference to prayers of Russian saints, thereby spiritually legitimising the establishment of the Patriarchate.

Jeremias meddling into Russian ecclesiastical affairs was more or less successful even though he did mistakes, which were the consequence of his minimal experience of Russian ecclesial conditions. As is well known Jeremias also decided to settle other ecclesial problems while on his journey for which he had the support of Sigismund III. He defrocked the Metropolitan of Kiev Onisifor "Девочка" and replaced him with Michail Ragoza. Importantly, in Vilna (21 July) he wrote a decree condemning the practice of multiple wives of priests and on the 1/11 of August he wrote to Michail Ragoza forbidding Greek clergy to fulfil their duties on the territory of Russia. Jeremias "meddling" also clearly demonstrated that there were indeed differences between the Russians and Greeks in terms of liturgical practice.

⁷³ Каптерев, Н. Ф., *Характер Отношений России к православному востоку в XVI и XVII столетиях*, Изд. Втор, Сергиев Посад, 1914, 45; See Метрополит Макарий Булгаков, *История Русской Церкви*, 12 томов, Санкт Петербург, 1883.

⁷⁴ “Так как ветхий Рим пал, от Апполлинариевой ереси, а второй Рим, Константинополь, находится в обладании, у безбожных турок, то твое, благочестивый царь, великое российское царство, Третий Рим, превзошло благочестием все прежние царства, и все благочестивые царства соединились в твое царство, и ты один теперь именуешься христианским царем во всей вселенной, поэтому и превеликое дело (учреждение патриаршества) по Божию Промыслу молитвами чудотворец русских по твоему царскому прошению, у Бога, и по твоему совету исполнится.” Ibid.

Another important person linked to Jeremias II was the already mentioned Arsenios the Archbishop of Elasson.⁷⁵ He was born in 1550 and just as his other brothers was tonsured in the 1580s and then became bishop of Elasson and Dimonik. Arseniy visited Russia for the first time in 1586 as an emissary to the Tsar Fedor Ivanovich from the Patriarch of Constantinople Theoleptos II. He accompanied Jeremias II to Moscow in 1588-1589. Arsenios wished to stay at the court in Moscow and the Tsar Fedor Ivanovich enabled him to do so and later he was entitled as the Archbishop of Archangelsk and was attached to the Church of Archangelsk. He participated in all the important events of the period. He met the false Dmitriy I on the *Lobnom* place in 1605 with other clergy and placed the hat of the Monomachos on his head. He also participated in the defrockment of the Metropolitan Iov. He also helped to send offerings to the East, that is, to the Holy land, to Sinai etc.

The role of Eastern Patriarchs in Russian affairs is also exemplified by the Patriarch of Jerusalem Theophanes, who already visited Moscow as a priest in 1603 and who received an invitation to come after the period of troubles (1604-1613). He visited Moscow again after becoming Patriarch and after experiencing an adventurous journey. His authority was highly regarded by the Russians and he attended the Council of 1619 acting as its president and ordained the father of Tsar Michael as the Patriarch Philaret of Moscow. The oath exemplifying respect for Eastern Patriarchs taken by Philaret was possibly written by Theophanes and included the words: “Whatever they (the Patriarchs) accept I also accept and maintain, whatever they reject I do reject too.”⁷⁶ Theophanes was also involved in the ecclesiastical problems of the Kiev context.⁷⁷ The intense relationship was also dominated during the patriarchates of Joachim (1674-1690) and Dositheos (1690-1707).

Another figure whose name was also Jeremias was the Metropolitan of Pelagonia who in 1622 travelled to Russia and is an example of the type of contacts in the period. At the border with Russia it was stated, that he came to seek help and that to this effect among other letters he also carried a letter from the Metropolitan of Kiev. He carried a letter of Theophanos the Patriarch of Jerusalem to the Patriarch of Moscow (dated 12 May, 1621). The interesting

⁷⁵ See for example, *Дмитриевский, А., Архиепископ Елассонский Арсений и мемуары его из русской истории*, Киев 1899.

⁷⁶ *Ibid.*, Pg. 38.

⁷⁷ See Chrysostomos Papadopoulos, *Οἱ Πατριάρχαι Ἱεροσολύμων ὡς πνευματικοὶ χειραγωγοὶ τῆς Ρωσσίας κατὰ τὸν 17ον αἰῶνα* (The Patriarchs of Jerusalem as Spiritual Leaders of Russia during the seventeenth century, Jerusalem, 1907, pgs. 47, further see Н. Ф. Каптерев, *Сношения Иерусалимских патриархов с Русским правительством с половины XVI до середины XIX столетия.*, in: *Православный Палестинский Сборник*, XLIII, Санкт Петербург, 1895, 32.

thing is that in this letter Theophanos describes how he spent periods of time and years in the various regions close to Russia. How he stayed in Volocha (Волохахъ). He describes the dynastic relations of the local rulers of the ruler close to Volocha, a region called Mutyani (Мутяны). He offers information on who is Patriarch in Constantinople and elsewhere. That in Constantinople the patriarch is Cyril.⁷⁸ Interestingly, Jeremias describes how he was pushed out by the Turks from his former Metropolitanate until he moved to Hungary, where he took over an "abandoned Metropolitanate". The circumstances of the Metropolitan Jeremias are typical of the period. Various hierarchs seeking help, and mercy travelling around, staying here and there for many years outside of their original *cathedra*'s.

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

An interesting figure in this context is a certain Ioannikios the Greek (Иоанникий Грек 1619-1630-cellarer at the monastery), who was the former cellarer of the Brotherhood of the Holy Sepulchre in Jerusalem. He came to Russia in 1619 as part of the entourage of Theophanes III. He stayed in Russia and became in turn the cellarer of the Novospasskiy monastery. He was an important intermediary between the Greeks and Russians in Russia. Little is known of him but he is credited with the so called work "A report of the Novospasskiy cellarer Ioannikios, about the monasteries of Constantinople, Jerusalem, and all of the Greek region", which was written around 1622 or 1629.⁷⁹ It's a small insignificant work but was written to prepare a Russian embassy in Constantinople consisting of Ivan Kondyrev (Иван Кондирев) and Tikhon Bormosov (Тихон Бормосов). It sought to determine the type of monasteries and assistance needed there.

⁷⁸ Муравьев А. Н., *Сношения Россіи съ Востокомъ по дѣламъ церковнымъ*, часть 2, Санкт Петербургъ, 1860, 2. The kind of "stuff" he got from the Emperor as a donation was "В Москвѣ дано было, на приѣздѣ Жалованья государева: Метрополиту Иереміи: кубокъ серебряный, золоченый, съ покрывшкою въ три гривны, двѣнадцать аршинъ, пятнадцать аршинъ обрѣяри багровой, сорокъ соболей, въ сорокъ рублей, и пятьдесятъ рублей денегъ; Иеромонаху Нилу: сорокъ соболей, въ двадцать пять рублей, кармка смирная, денеть пятнадцать рублей, *ibid.*

⁷⁹ Thomas D., Chesworth, J., Benett C., Demiri L., Frederiks M., Grodž, Pratt, D., *Christian-Muslim Relations, a Bibliographical History*, Leiden, Brill, 2009, 850

The increasing importance of donations and assistance provided room for fraud. Thus in 1623 two different people from the monastery of Zographou came to seek assistance in Moscow. Each had given a different name of the *igoumenos* of the monastery, so it was obvious that one of them was a thief. The authorities in Moscow later did find out, which one of them was the thief, and which one of them was the true person with authority to seek assistance.⁸⁰ There are many such accounts, of various frauds regarding donations and other intrigues related to donations.

For instance there was a controversy surrounding the Metropolitan of Veria Averkios. Thus in 1630 in a letter sent to the Tsar, the Patriarch of Jerusalem Theophanes wrote against this Metropolitan. The Patriarch claims that he had intentionally attempted to destroy the reputation of the various people in the Patriarchate including himself Theophanes. The letter and subsequent correspondence is full of innuendos relating to a fear of losing access to donations based on false accusations and reputations.⁸¹

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

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

⁸⁰ Ibid. 25.

⁸¹ Ibid. 121

only about money and donations but also about the need for authentic and pure teaching and the promulgation of orthodoxy.⁸²

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

2c Patriarch Dositheos

In terms of the Russian relations with the south east, one of the most important and interesting characters of the period is the Patriarch of Jerusalem Dositheos (Patriarch from 1669). He is an example of one of those outstanding hierarchs of the period who were interested in theology and in the cultural and theological renewal of the Church. Thus in his letter to Peter the great of 20th of June 1698, he observes, that the duty of the Patriarchs is to preserve Christianity at all costs and throughout the world.⁸³ In modern scholarship, not enough attention is placed on the issue of the tacit co-operation between the Ottoman authorities and western powers and their missions in the goal of destroying the power and presence of the Orthodox in the Holy Land. Thus for example, Dositheos, in 1705 in his letter to Peter the Great mentions a plan of how the French Roman Catholic missionaries were attempting to convince the Ottomans to destroy the Holy Sepulchre and build a new one instead. Obviously this would then more easily fall into the control of the Latins.⁸⁴

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

⁸² Муравьев А. Н., Сношения Россіи съ Востокомъ по дѣламъ церковнымъ, часть 2, Санкт Петербургъ, 1860, 7.

⁸³ Каптерев Н. Ф., Сношения Иерусалимскаго Патріарха, Досифея, с русским правительством, (1669-1707 гг.), А. И. Снегиревой, Санкт Петербургъ, 1891, 56.

⁸⁴ Ibid. 57

Orthodox environment and for example in 1672 he condemned the *Catechesis* of Lukaris, and instead approved the *Catechesis* of Peter of Mohyla.

In 1692 he asked the Russians to place pressure on the Ottomans, so that elected Patriarchs of Constantinople would have the right to remain in their seats for life and not be subjected to the whims of the Ottoman administration and be deposed at will. He is of course, not only interested in Greek matters but fights for Orthodoxy in other contexts. In 1706 he calls on the various rulers in question to make sure, that when there is peace with the Poles a consideration is made for them to stop attacking the Orthodox. His respect and constant praise of the Russian tsars as protectors of Christianity is seen everywhere. His monarchic ideology seems to go even further than the Byzantine Roman concept. Thus in 1692 he states, that after God, the Russian Tsars are the protectors of Orthodoxy.⁸⁵ In 1698 he encourages the Tsar to fight the Ottomans at all costs. This is courageous from him since this of course placed him in great danger with the Ottoman administration. He was not afraid of the consequences that his support of the Russians would have in relation to the Christian orthodox existence in the Holy land.

He was however also critical towards the Patriarch Joachim for his motives and criticizes him for supporting the idea of subjecting the Kiev Metropolitanate See to the Moscow Patriarchal See.⁸⁶ This criticism of Joachim's policy is very interesting and shows, that regardless of his flattery and praise of the Moscow ruler and Patriarch he is completely sober in relation to

⁸⁵ Ibid.

⁸⁶ "Некий верх злых нас сокрушате у нас сушат церковная смущения и бури, самолюбие же и зарватное, и несытость славы, и женалние чуждих, которое зло не токмо ныне zde преизлишует, но достигнуло даже и до вас. Братская твоя любовь рукоположил еси митрополита в Киев и возвещаяши, яко нужда бьяше быти тако: и когда бы было по смотрению сие дело добре тое сотвроил еси. И ты бы просил единую грамоту прощенную о бывшем деле и другую грамоту на епископы- да покоряются митрополиту; и аще бы наипаче было советом всея Церкви могли бы сие сотворити удобнее_И не довлет еже быть митрополия Московская патриаршей престол, даде же и Церковь волю, да рукополагается от своего Собора и почитается всеми патриаршескими чины; но еще ищите взяти и чуждую епархию. И какую благословную вину можете ре-щи пред Богом и человеки? Аще убо Московский патриарх ставит в Киев митрополита- казаки будут стояти добре, и аще ставится от Константинопольскаго патриарха-не будут стояти добре; наипаче же отчуждение епархии сотворит великая зла христианом, живущим в Польше, и яко аще пришлют из Польши или Украины и попросят другого митрополита, тотчас поставят друга-го, - и сие бы не было. Что вина да оттерзаете чуждую епархию? Не есть ли стыд от людей, не есть ли грех от Бога? Да присылаете деньги и из ума людей выводите, берете грамоты сопротивны Церкви и Богу. Сказывал нам посланник ваш, яко письма от вас не привез, токмо приказали ему дати нам милостыню, аще дадим ему письмо, якоже хочет; и аще не дадим ему, и он нам да не отадаст. И аще бы нечто нужно быти сему, еже просите, мы и Иерусалим бы сотрворили епископию, и ноги бы ваша мыли, якоже Христос сотрворил ко устроению Церкви. Но, кроме нужды, для чего да движутся пределы отеческия? И кто может сия да просит?...Аще хотите имети хотение свое, ведайте, яко церковная воля не есть, якоже и мы не хошем, да не причастимся сему греху, також не хошем ниже вас, да будете подлежащий в сем гресе". *Архив Юго-западной России*, ч 1, том 5, Киев, 1872, 144-145.

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

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

As part of his program of publishing anti-western theological treatises he also wanted to publish the work *Panoplia Dogmatike* of Euthymios Zygadenos.⁸⁷ Dositheos embarked on a project of supporting the creation of printing presses to publish the various books of the Orthodox church. There was a printing press established in Moldova in 1682 and Wallachia in 1690. As we have written Dositheos wrote a monumental work related to the Patriarchs of Jerusalem (*Dodekabiblos*). Dorotheos sent many important manuscripts to Moscow.

Dositheos had a rich correspondence with Peter the Great. In one such letter there are indications of the emphasis placed by Dositheos on the role of the Tsar as the protector of Orthodoxy by virtue of being an Orthodox Tsar. He further implies, that Peter is one of a kind

⁸⁷ See the *Panoplia Dogmatike* od Euthymios Zygadenos, Miladinova Nadia, 2014, Brill.

perhaps as if he was the "only Orthodox Tsar". There are some indications of some form of betrayal to which Dositheos replies that „they have shown their true colours“. Dositheos in this letter is very smart, since he uses the event with the Tsars enemies to state that this is all related to Gods plan to reveal to the Tsar that all friendship and alliances are based on the Divine will and plan. It is a way of encouraging the Tsar to have and display faith in God. Dositheos was obviously aware of the possible lax attitude to faith of Peter the Great. All movements of the enemy will appear, since that which is hidden in the heart will show itself. True friends are not those whose love wanders around, but whose love is reliable.⁸⁸ The final paragraph of the letter is also important since Dositheos links the Tsar to the „most Orthodox of emperors.“

2. d. *Greeks in Russia*

The reputation of the Tsars and Russians being generous also reached the important area of the Holy Mountain. In the beginning of the sixteenth century the practice of regular visits from the Holy Mountain Athos can be observed. Obviously, Russia was increasing in its political and economic might while the Eastern Orthodox Churches were perhaps in the same degree losing their economic and political power. These visits from Athos were organised in order to raise funds for the monasteries and the churches in need. Thus we have information about Russian monks coming to visit from the monastery of Saint Pantaleimon, or Greek monks coming from the Great Lavra of Athanasius or Vatopedi to Moscow for alms.⁸⁹

A special relationship was also established with the monastery of Chilandar on Mt. Athos just as there was a special relationship with the monastery of saint Pantaleimon. In 1550 representatives of Chilandar came to Moscow to seek financial assistance and alleviation of

⁸⁸ “Εἰς αὐτὸ δὲ ὅπου ὀρίζει ἡ μεγίστη τῆς βασιλείας πῶς οἱ διο κοῦνες σύμμαχοι ἀφέθησαν ἀπὸ τὴν κοινὴν συμφωνίαν καὶ τὴν ἄφησαν μόνην, λέγομεν εἰς τοῦτο ὅτι ἐκεῖνο ὅπου εἶχον κρυφὰ εἰς τὴν καρδίαν των, τὸ ἔδειξαν καὶ φανερὰ μὲ τὸ ἔργον, ὡσάν [...] πάντοτε οἱ τοιοῦτοι μῆτε ἦτο, μῆτε εἶναι, μῆτε γενήσονται φίλοι ἀληθινοὶ τῶν ὀρθοδόξων αὐτοκρατόων, ἔξω μόνον ἂν κανένα περιστάτικόν τοὺς ἀναγκάση νὰ μὴ φανερώσωσιν ἄχρι τέλους τὴν πεπλανημένην ἀγάπην. Καὶ φαίνεται μας ὅτι τοῦτο εἶναι ἔργον τῆς Θείας Προνοίας, διατὶ ἂν καλὰ καὶ οἱ σύμμαχοι εἶναι μεγίστη βοήθεια κατὰ τὴν ἀνθρωπίνην ὑπόληψιν, ὅμως θέλει ὁ ἅγιος Θεὸς νὰ δείξη εἰς τὸν κόσμον ὅτι τὸν θεῖον του σκοπὸν δὲν εὐχαριστήτε νὰ τὸν τελειώση μὲ ἄλλους παρὰ μόνον μὲ ὀρθοδοξώτατον αὐτοκράτορα, διὰ νὰ φανῆ πῶς εἶναι τὸ ἔργον ἐκ μόνης τῆς ἀγαθῆς...Θελήσεως καὶ νὰ φανερώση καὶ τὴν Θεότητον ὑμετέραν ἀγίαν βασιλείαν, μόνον ὀρθοξώτατον ἐν τοῖς βασιλεῦσιν, Российский государственный архив древних актов, РГАДА, Ф. 52, Оп. 1, 1701, г. Д.1.Л.13-14.

⁸⁹ Муравьев А. Н., *Сношения России с Востоком по делам церковным*, ч. 1, Санкт Петербург, 1858, 12-13.

payments made to the Ottomans. A letter of Ivan the Terrible from 1551 to the Sultan discusses the issue of payments made by the monasteries and their possible alleviation.⁹⁰

From 1509 onwards when the *velikiy knyaz* Vasiliy III became the *ktitoros* of the monastery of Saint Pantaleimon, regular donations were sent, sometimes through the mediation of Russian emissaries who travelled to the Middle East on missions. Chilandar also gained a representative building in Moscow partly because of the royal links between the Russian and Serbian dynasties. The wife of the *velikiy knyaz* Vasiliy III, Elena Glinskaya on her mother's side came from the important family of Yakshitchey Якшичей, who were relatives of the ruling Serbian families.⁹¹ The various favours made by the rulers of Moscow were rewarded by various relics from the monasteries. For example, the monastery of Chilandar in 1550 offered an icon of the saints Symeon and Savva of Serbia in a silver frame, a cross with relics of saint Savva and relics of saint Stephen; in 1605 it was the relics of the great Martyr Theodoros Stratilatus and others.⁹²

Various petitions for donations could have appealed to the importance of the sites for which the money was to be used. This was the case of the monastery of saint Euphemia in Chalcedon, where the ecumenical Council of Chalcedon took place. Thus, for example, the Metropolitan Gabriel of Chalcedon in one of his letters to Russia in the seventeenth century appeals to the importance of the donations sent, and points to the evil designs of Satan, who wants to destroy all. The idea of the importance of finances to improve the conditions of the church is nicely stated.⁹³

The increasing intensity of the Greek Russian relations, resulted in the development that in Russia itself, there was a growing presence of Greeks, who came either for a temporary visit or simply stayed permanently. The Bogoyavlenskiy (Богоявленский) monastery in Moscow was one centre where Greeks and Russians met. In this monastery Aleksiy was tonsured as a monk and later became the Metropolitan of Moscow. Many Greeks and other guests stayed at

⁹⁰ Ibid., 68.

⁹¹ Тихомиров М.Н., *Исторические связи России со славянскими странами и Византией*, Москва, 1969, 86.

⁹² Муравьев А. Н., *Сношения России с Востоком по делам церковным*, ч. 1, Санкт Петербург, 1858, 106-108.

⁹³ Καὶ διαδόσεως χρημάτων ὀπερβαλλούσης τῆς ἐφέσεως τυχόντες, πέρασ τοῦ ἐκ βάρων ἀνακαινισμοῦ ἐδεξάμεθα· φθόνῳ ὁμῶς τοῦ πονηροῦ, πρὸς τοὺς κρατοῦντας διαβολῆς περιεπέσαμεν δεινότητι, ὡς τὴν ἐκκλησίαν μεγέθει ἀξήσαντες καὶ πολυειδέσιν ἐγκοσμήσαντες τεχνοθρηγήμασι... Χαλκηδόνος Γαβριὴλ τοῖς Βασιλεῦσι, f.179v.. Cited in Медведев, Н. П., Переписка греческих иерархов с русским правительством и патриархией в конце XVII в., по данным рукописи Кесария Дапонте, in: *Россия и Христианский Восток*, выпуск II-III, editors С.Н. Кистерев, Д.Н. Рамазанова, Б.Л. Фонкич, Д. А. Яламас, Индрик, Москва, 2004, 493-517, here 501.

the monastery.⁹⁴ The monastery stood at the beginning of the colonial presence of Greeks in the area of Kitay Gorod (Китай Город). Later it was the Nikolo-Grecheskiy (Николо-греческий) monastery and the area of Nikolska (Никольска) street, which from the period of the XVII to the beginning of the XX century became the area of the Greek diaspora.⁹⁵

In Moscow, there was a Greek area called Grecheskaya Sloboda (Греческая слобода) in the historical area of Zayauzya (Заяузыя), which was located close to the Spaso-Andronikov (Спасо-Андроников) monastery. This monastery was founded by Metropolitan Alexiy after he returned from Constantinople (in the period of the 1360s). This was the period of Theophanes the Greek who was an icon painter of the Macedonian school, and who came to Russia to work. One of his contemporaries was Andrey Rublev. The influence of Byzantine spiritual traditions on art and spirituality in Russia was significant in this period.⁹⁶ The name of Zolotoy Rozhok (Золотой Рожок/golden horn) of the stream associated the place symbolically with Constantinople and its Golden Horn. The monastery was also associated with Greek monasticism and book production and in the XVII century, there was the monk Nikifor the recluse "затворник" who lived there.⁹⁷ The area received a further Greek cultural impulse by the appearance of migrants from Constantinople in the XVII centuries. However, the fact that the Greek area was at that time located beyond the city administrative limits demonstrates, that there were suspicions against the Greeks which seem to have increased after the events of the fall of Constantinople and the Unionist problems with the Roman Catholics.

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

⁹⁴ Никодим, епископ, *Описание Московского Богоявленского монастыря*, Москва, 1877.

⁹⁵ Шахова А., Д., Греки в Москве в XVI-XVII вв., in: *Россия и Христианский Восток*, выпуск II-III, editors С.Н. Кистерев, Д.Н. Рамазанова, Б.Л. Фонкич, Д. А. Яламас Индрик, Москва, 2004, 186-202, here 192.

⁹⁶ Strezova A., Hesychasm and Art, The appearance of New Iconographic trends in Byzantine and Slavic lands, in the 14th and 15th centuries, Ausralian national university press, 2014, 183

⁹⁷ Каптерев Н. Ф., Характер отношений России к православному Востоку в XVI and XVII веке. Сергиев Посад, 1914, 10.

Some Greeks came even via the west. For example, through Archangelsk. One such Greek Kirius Albertus came to Russia from England, where he had lived for seven years or a certain Yuriy Trepezon came from Germany. Upon their arrival the Greeks where required to produce evidence of their family background and status. The documents mention many migrants from the higher classes. Some of them where from more important families. For example, in 1637 a certain Dimitriy Palaiolog came from Constantinople. In 1628 came the Kirius Yoanis Albertus from "боярского роду из королей долматцких" (noble family of Dalmation kings) and in 1645 the Serbian *knyaz* Yuriy Lazrev, (Юрий Лазарев сын Великомиров/son of Velikomirov).⁹⁸ Before anyone could enter the Russian services he had to provide evidence of the orthodoxy of his or her faith and stay in one of the Russian monasteries to "improve the Orthodox Christian faith", ("для исправления православные христианские веры"). The period in which Greeks had to learn the Orthodox faith could vary from months to a year. They had to learn the writings of the fathers according to the "rule of the particular day" ("уставу в указные дни").⁹⁹ In the seventeenth century the issue of Orthodoxy, especially in relation to the form of baptism applied to the individual was an important one.

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

⁹⁸ РГАДА Ф. 52; 150. Cited in Шахова А., Д., Греки в Москве в XVI-XVII вв., in: *Россия и Христианский Восток*, выпуск II-III, editors С.Н. Кистерев, Д.Н. Рамазанова, Б.Л. Фонкич, Д. А. Яламас. editors С.Н. Кистерев, Д.Н. Рамазанова, Б.Л. Фонкич, Д. А. Яламас, Индрик, Москва, 2004, 186-202, here 199.

⁹⁹ Ibid. РГАДА, ф. 210. Cited, Шахова, 200.

("и не хотя служити басорманскому турецкому царю и хотя умерети за государя и за православную крестьянскую веру")¹⁰⁰

Greeks could have joined the various military formations or serve as translators. At the end of the seventeenth century the rights of the Greeks or for that matter the quarters in Grecheskaya Svoboda, (Греческая слобода) were curtailed. Alexey Michailovich issued a decree on emptying the Greek area of the *sloboda*. In 1671 a decree forbade them free movement and without permission they could not have entered Moscow. Apparently, there were many Greeks who did not occupy themselves with their crafts but with deception and thievery. "There are many more Greeks in Moscow than before...they live here for 7,8, or 9 years not for their industry but for thievery" ("Греков на Москве преде прежним гораздо больши...и живут по 7,8, и 9 лет...не для своих промыслов, но для воровства").¹⁰¹ It is possible, that this rather negative attitude towards the Greeks in this period was also linked to the general problems of the Church in Russia. Interestingly, it was the reforms of Nikon, which alleviated to an extent the rather cold attitude towards the Greeks for obvious reasons.

It is also important to mention, that the Russians had many people in Constantinople from the Greek environment, which furthered their interests. A story of co-operation is offered by Metropolitan of Chalcedon Daniel (Dionysios Naltsabasmат?) who was an intense representative of Russian interests in Constantinople. He came to Russia in 1642. The motives for cooperation of such figures with Russia is not at all clear.¹⁰²

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

¹⁰⁰ РГАДА Ф. 52. Оп. 1.1632 г. Но 14. Л. 20, Cited in Опарина Т. А., Исправление веры Греков в Русской церкви первой половины XVII, в., in: *Россия и Христианский Восток*, выпуск II-III, editors С.Н. Кистерев, Д.Н. Рамазанова, Б.Л. Фонкич, Д. А. Яламас, Индрик, Москва, 2004, 288-325, here 293.

¹⁰¹ Ibid. РГАДА Ф. 159 Cited Шахова, 202.

¹⁰² See В. Г. Ченцова, Халкидонский Митрополит Даниил (Дионисий Налцабасмат?) и его переписка царем Алексеем Михайловичем (40-50-е гг. VII в.) in: *Россия и Христианский Восток*, выпуск II-III, editors С.Н. Кистерев, Д.Н. Рамазанова, Б.Л. Фонкич, Д. А. Яламас, Индрик, Москва, 2004, 326-362,.

Theophanes initial goal was to acquire funds to buy the ancient church of the Apostle Andrew from the Ottoman administration.¹⁰³

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

The relationship between Russians and Greeks was intensifying later on, after the seventeenth century, perhaps the only obstacle in this context being, that the Russians now and then entered into conflicts with the Ottomans. Undoubtedly, due to the increasingly larger numbers of Russians arriving in Palestine and the increasing economic strength of Russians the relationship with the Orient was undergoing various phases. The number of Russians willing to travel to Palestine and the south was gradually increasing, just as conditions of travel improved. This new intensive contact seems to have brought into the fore a latent cultural antagonism between Russians and Greeks (which was there even before in this regard but not to such an extent). In terms of mentality there was a gulf between the Russian and Greeks which projected itself into a situation of cultural delineation. The Russians began to build their own identity *vis a vis* the Greeks.¹⁰⁴ The mutual issues were surely indicative of a superficial mutual understanding than of a more substantial character, but they did increase antagonism. The Greeks (understandably given their dire economic situation) saw in the Russians wealthy patrons and customers. This had projected itself into the business of relic

¹⁰³ See РГАДА Г. 52 Оп.2. Но.215; Ф.52.Оп.2.но 229. Cited in: Б.Л. Фонкич, Попытка создания греческой типографии в Москве в конце XVII в., in: *Россия и Христианский Восток*, выпуск II-III, editors С.Н. Кистерев, Д.Н. Рамазанова, Б.Л. Фонкич, Д. А. Яламас Индрик, Москва, 2004, 465-471, here, 465.

¹⁰⁴ *Ibid.* 431.

selling and unsurprisingly relic fabrication and falsification by some merchants and others all along the pilgrim route.

2. e. *Antioch*

The relationship between the Russian Church and the Patriarchate of Antioch is not well documented before the period of the seventeenth century.¹⁰⁵ An interesting anecdotal fact is that one of the Latin patriarchs of Antioch was the Czech (named Václav Gerardův z Buřenic “králík” rabbit 1397). Of course, sooner or later the Patriarchate of Antioch had to understand the potential that Russia offered in terms of assistance. In the sixteenth century the emissaries of the Sinai monastery of Saint Catherine the *startsi* Joseph and Malachiy who came to Moscow in January 1558 to ask for money also informed the locals, that the Patriarchate of Antioch is in a bad financial situation.¹⁰⁶

In September of 1558 Ivan IV sent a huge amount of money with the Sophia emissary the archdeacon Gennadios and the merchant Vasiliy Pozdnyakov (Василий Поздняков). One of the beneficiaries of this was the Patriarch of Antioch Ioachim ibn Dzuma (1543/4-1576) and he received a decree which is the first of its kind in term of Russian-Antiochian relations.¹⁰⁷ "To the most Holy Patriarch Joakim, of the great city of Antioch, the pastor and teacher of orthodox people (велений). From the monks of Sinai I have learned of your sadness and strained circumstances from the Turkish violence. Feeling pity for your sadness I have sent to you with the Sophia archdeacon Gennadius sable furs/velvet, (шубу бархат на соболях) and other "stuff" worth two hundred Hungarian gold pieces (да рухлядь на двесте золотых угорских). And so that you will pray to the Holy Mother of God and all the saints about me and my empress Anastasia, and about our children the tsarevich Ioann and Feodor and about the entire orthodox world, and so that God would firmly preserve our kingdom from its

¹⁰⁵ See in this regard *The Travels of Macarius: Patriarch of Antioch, Paul of Aleppo*, Archdeacon, 1836, <https://archive.org/details/travelmacarius01pauluoft>.

¹⁰⁶ See Муравьев А. Н., *Сношения России с Востоком по делам церковным*, Санкт Петербургъ, ч.1, 1858, 88-94.

¹⁰⁷ "Святейшему патриарху Иоакиму великого града Антиохия, пастырю и учителю православных велений. Слышали есмь от иноков Синайские горы бываемые тебе скорби и тесноты от насилования турецкого. И жалея ваша скорби, послал есмь к тебе с архидьяконом софейским Генадьем шубу бархат на соболях, да рухлядь на двесте золотых угорских. И ты б молил Господа Бога и пречистую Его Матерь и всех святых о мне и о моей царице Анастасие и о наших детех царевичех Иоанне и Феодоре и о всем православном христианстве, и чтоб господь Бог царство наше сохранил от враг непоколебимо. А ошедших к Богу отца нашего великого великого государя Василия и матерь нашу великую княгиню Елену написал их во вседневный синодик и поминати их велел во вседневных службах. Cited in Панченко К.,А., *Россия и Антиохийский Патриархат: Начало диалога (середина XVI – первая половина XVII в.)*. Cited in pgs. 203-221. in: *Россия и Христианский Восток*, выпуск II-III, editors С.Н. Кистерев, Д.Н. Рамазанова, Б.Л. Фонкич, Д. А. Яламас Индрик, Москва, 2004, 203-221, here 204.

enemies. I have also ordered that in the every day *synodicon* and in the everyday services be commemorated those who left us to God, our father the great государ Vasiliiy and our mother the great *knyagina* Elena. So that you would convey Your blessing to us through the archdeacon Genadiy. This was written in our realms (?) the court of the city of Moscow in the summer of 7067 in the month of September".¹⁰⁸

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

As Панченко correctly observes, the money sent was relatively much lower than to other Patriarchates or even monasteries.¹⁰⁹ In his reply, Patriarch Joakim mentioned a monastery and an icon of the Mother of God related to the type made by the apostle Luke and that this icon is miraculously producing holy oil. According to Joakim, the monastery was located below Damascus. Perhaps he was speaking about the monastery in Saydnaya, where there is a miraculous icon of the Mother of God reportedly painted by the apostle Luke himself. The area generally is rich in churches and monasteries, and was an important place for pilgrims. The patriarch asked for support. Here we see a typical and clever manoeuvre, appealing to the Russian respect towards miraculous relics and icons especially towards the Mother of God.

Among the surviving testimonies of visits from the Patriarchate of Antioch we can mention the Archimandrite Isaiah and his deacon who came from Antioch in 1584 and the visit of Joachim Day who was the first Patriarch of Antioch to come to Russia (in 1586). Joachim Day (former metropolitan of Tripolis Dorotheos), was involved in a conflict over his Patriarchate and there was some controversy. He was also accompanied by metropolitan Isa, who apparently wrote a poem about Russia, which was popular in the Arab east (now lost). Metropolitan Isa is mentioned in the Travels of Makarios Patriarch of Antioch, as among other things predicting the fall of the Tartars, who will be destroyed by the Russians in defence of the Christians.¹¹⁰

Paul of Aleppo offers us an account of the journey of the Patriarch of Antioch Makarios (Alprox or Beit Azzaïm 1648-1672) to Moscow. Makarios visited Russia two times (1654-

¹⁰⁸ РГАДА, Ф.52. Оп.1.Кн.1.Л. 142-143 об. Ibid.

¹⁰⁹ Ibid.

¹¹⁰ Paul of Aleppo, *Travels of Macarius*, trans. F.C. Belfour, London, vol. 2, 1836, 70.

1657 and 1666-1668) during the Tsar Alexey Michaylovich. Pavel of Aleppo was an Archdeacon and son of the Patriarch (died 1699).

Interestingly, Paul of Aleppo, states that after it was enquired as to why do the Russians not take a more active role in destroying the Tatars, it was stated that the Tsar is afraid of engaging this issue on a more grander scale, because he is afraid that the treacherous Poles would invade, once the Tsar would enter battle with the Tartars.¹¹¹ In any event the account of Paul of Aleppo, the son of Macarius the Patriarch of Antioch is an interesting account of how the Antiochians saw Russia, which they visited due to the dire financial situation of the Patriarchate of Antioch.

Macarius visited Russia twice (the second time he was accompanied by the Patriarch of Alexandria Paisiy) and the fact that he was respected there, is displayed by the fact that he was asked to assist during the crisis surrounding the Patriarch Nikon. His first trip took place in 1652 to 1659. The account describes how the mass is performed with incredible reverence and it is obvious that the Antiochians admire the Russian liturgical and spiritual tradition. "The mass in this country is performed with all possible reverence, awe, and veneration...."¹¹² Further: "The officers of the bishopric, from every Priest newly ordained, received a dman, for the Episcopal Treasury and so from every person desiring to be married they took a piaster for the marriage-certificate, and for entering his name then register. This is an excellent regulation, for thus no one dares to take a wife, throughout the whole jurisdiction of the bishopric, but by then permission. They exercise a very great severity in regard to the seven degrees of consanguinity; not allowing that promiscuous intercourse prevalent among the Wallachians and Modavians, who copulate like brute beasts and in every part of Muscovy this discipline is observed."¹¹³

The account of Paul of Aleppo indicates to us the issues which plagued the Patriarchate of Antioch throughout its history. Just as the Patriarchate of Constantinople, the Patriarchate of Antioch was plagued with issues of simony, bribery etc. Large sums of money had to be brought in when a new Patriarch was to be elected. The Synod of Ras Baalbek (June 1628) treated this issue among other things.¹¹⁴

¹¹¹ Ibid.

¹¹² Ibid. 312.

¹¹³ Ibid., 317.

¹¹⁴ Raheb Abdallah, *Conception of the Union in the Orthodox Patriarchate of Antioch (1622-1672)*, Beirut, 1981, 26.

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

They came to a city called Lisinka (Лисинка/Лисянка) close to which there was the army of the Chmelya (Хмелья) *heytman* Zinovio (Зиновию). Every household has around ten children with white hair, the land is full of delightful things and is very rich in every resource. In the city of Boguslafi (Богуслафи /Богуслав) the Patriarch met Chmelnitskiy who came down from his horse, wore simple weaponry, kissed the hand of the Patriarch, two times the clothes of the Patriarch and the cross. Chmelnitskiy is described as a humble person full of devotion. The Patriarch presented supplications of the Walachian nobility and the Moldavian nobility that Chmelntisky does not bother them with an invasion. The Patriarch conveyed their requests. Chmelnitskiy promised he would not attack them, and stated that he will fulfill any wish of the Patriarch. They gave him a stone from Golgotha with a drop of the blood of Christ, further they gave him *myro*, various foodstuffs, including coffee. They drank hot vodka. In Kiev high quality masters and artisans are mentioned.¹¹⁵

Coinciding with this period there was increasing pressure from the Roman Catholic missionaries in the territory of Antioch. In 1625 Missionaries from the Touraine Capouchins arrived in Aleppo and founded a monastery there.¹¹⁶ The Franciscans were installed in Aleppo already in 1571. It is necessary to remark, that there were also internal battles and divisions among the Roman Catholic orders in the Middle East. The Franciscan Adrian of Barbantia for example, denounced two Jesuit missionaries who came to Aleppo, to the Ottoman authorities.¹¹⁷

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

¹¹⁵ See also Муркос Г. А., *Путешествие Антиохийского Патриарха Макария в Россию в половине XVII века описанное его сыном архидиаконом Павлом Алеппским*, Москва, 1900.

¹¹⁶ Ibid.

¹¹⁷ Ibid.

2. f. *Cyprus, Sinai*

Throughout the medieval period and later, the island of Cyprus was also very important in terms of Christian politics and influence in the Mediterranean. Russian chronicles mentioned Cyprus in 1366 in the context of a victory of the famous Peter I Lusignan, where he managed to take the city of Alexandria in Egypt (1365).¹¹⁸ Cypriots were present throughout the Christian East and in all the Eastern Patriarchates. There is a well known letter of the Cypriot priest Nikephoros Xenakios testifying to the presence of Cypriots in Russia.¹¹⁹ It was written on the 27th of February 1623 in Yaroslavl. The letter is a complaint about the unfair incarceration of Nikefor with his fellow Cypriot George and is addressed most probably to Ioannikos the Greek, whom we mentioned, and who was the Cellarer of the Novospaskiy monastery.¹²⁰ He was previously the Cellarer of the Holy Sepulchre and came with the Patriarch of Jerusalem and remained in Moscow where he had a large influence and was the friend of Tsar Michail Fedorovich and the Patriarch Philaret. Ioannikos the Greek (died in Moscow between 1631 and 1632) was an important supplicatory for various Greeks who found themselves in Russia.

Regardless of its relatively small size the Church or monastery of Sinai, developed links with Russia, links which seemed to have intensified at the end of the seventeenth century.¹²¹ The Sinai monastery further had a lot of dependencies and other agencies all around and it seems that the monks were experienced collectors of funds. The contacts with Russia had already began in 1519, when there was for the first time a delegation coming to Russia asking for alms.¹²² Then there is another one which came in 1558. In February 1687, there was also a delegation of Sinai monks who came to Russia.

As Kapterev indicates, a rather comical situation emerged when in 1623 the Sinai metropolitan Jeremias, came to Moscow with the recommendations of the Patriarch of

¹¹⁸ See Никоновская летопись, том. 9, 7 Полное собрание Русских летописей, and Троицкая летопись, реконструкция текста, Присёлков М. Д., , Ленинград, 1950, 382-383.

¹¹⁹ The letter of Nikeforos is located in the RGADA Российский государственный архив древних актов, Фонд Сношения России с Грецией, (фонд 52, оп. 2, но. 11). Published also in in Б.Л. Фонкич, Кипрский священник в ярославле и москве, Из истории Кипрско-Русских отношений в первой четверти XVII в, editors С.Н. Кистерев, Д.Н. Рамазанова, Б.Л. Фонкич, Д. А. Яламас, in: *Россия и Христианский Восток*, выпуск II-III, Индрик, Москва, 2004, 238-247.

¹²⁰ Ibid. 238.

¹²¹ A comprehensive edition of the history of the Sinai monastery is located in Бенешевич В. Н., *Памятники Синай археологические и палеографические*, Вып. 1. Ленинград, 1925.

¹²² Каптерев, Н. Ф., Русская благотворительность Синайской обители в XVI, XVII, и XVIII столетиях, Москва, 1881, in: *Чтение в обществе любителей духовного просвещения*, Октябрь-ноябрь, Москва, 1870, 6.

Jerusalem Theophanes. He received much funds, but apparently as Kapterev notes, wanted to gain even more. So he devised a story that he had a dream with Sergey of Radonezh who appeared to him as a bishop (this was obviously a lie, since Sergey of Radonezh was not a bishop).

His misfortunes were further increased since there were witnesses that stated, that he was deposed and that he went to Rome and served with the Pope. This was awkward, since he had the recommendations of the Patriarch of Jerusalem and the Russians did not know what to think of this. He then stated, that he was unfairly treated by the Patriarch of Constantinople, since he was formerly a Metropolitan of Rhodos and the Patriarch of Constantinople wanted to extort money from him so he decided to go to Sinai. He also travelled to India to gain some money bequeathed to the monastery by some rich person. Then he stated, that he was to collect money from Roman Catholic figures in Spain and in Italy. However, his fellow colleagues accused him of lying since it was forbidden to gather money for the monastery from Roman Catholics. As Kapterev notes, this episode then resulted in the incredible doubts, that the Tsar and Patriarch developed in terms of whom to trust, since obviously Jeremias had the recommendations of the Patriarch of Jerusalem..¹²³

The importance of the year 1687 cannot also be underestimated, since in this year the Archbishop Ananeus of Sinai came up with a project of transferring the Sinai monastery to the direct care of Russia.¹²⁴ The transferal of the monastery to the jurisdiction of the Patriarchate of Moscow surprisingly met with opposition from the Patriarchate of Jerusalem. In any case in the year 1689 a precious gift was sent from Russia in the form of a silver coffin for the martyr Catherine the Great. It appears, that there were some fears in the seventeenth century of the monastery being subjected to Roman Catholic influences. This is stated in one of the letters of Ananias "Please consider spilling mercy on us, and bless the possibility of taking our monastery into your custody, and do not let this Holy Site to be transferred due to poverty into the hands of the Romans..."¹²⁵

¹²³ Ibid. 7-9.

¹²⁴ Ibid. It is necessary to state, that some doubts about the full transferral of the monastery to the Russian jurisdiction have been justly raised, especially based on the rereading of the available documents. See Пятницкий, Ю. А., Жалованная грамота 1689 г., Монастырю Св. Екатерины на Синае, in: *Россия и Христианский Восток*, editors С.Н. Кистерев, Д.Н. Рамазанова, Б.Л. Фонкич, Д. А. Яламас. выпуск II-III, Индрик, Москва, 2004, 434-450.

¹²⁵ "Пожалуйте, излейте на нас милосердие, благоговите нашу святую обитель взять в свое государское попечение, и не дайте той святой и православной обители от скудости прийти в римские руки, потому если мы, государи, от великое скудости прийти в римские руки,..." Каптерев, Н. Ф., Русская

2. g. *Schools and theology*

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

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

The problems increased in the Near East in the sixteenth century and especially in the seventeenth century since, the decreasing level of education available in the Eastern Patriarchates, coincided with a well prepared and aggressive onslaught of western missionary activity, which obviously realised the potential of education in the area. The Easterners were caught unprepared, demoralised and this was coupled with the incredible problem of not having even printing presses and other facilities.

In Russia, there was an explosion of schooling in the eighteenth century, which as Вознесенская argues, meant the emergence of everything possible from diocesan grammar schools close to the archbishopric houses, Latin Jesuit schools, German schools, medical

благотворительность Синайской обители в XVI, XVII, и XVIII столетиях, Москва, 1881, in: *Чтение в обществе любителей духовного просвещения*, Октябрь-ноябрь, Москва, 1870, 8.

schools, navigational schools, and later academies. Until then the Moscow Slavic-Greek-Latin Academy/ Славяно-Греко-латинская Академия was dominating.¹²⁶

It is important to note in this context, that it was Peter the Great, who established or reformed theological higher education in Russia, in the form of Spiritual Academies *Duchovnoe akademie* a special form higher theological institute. In any case it is obvious, that in the period of Peter the Great and later the Church was instrumental in providing supervisions and substance in education. In terms of the Moscow Slavic-Greek-Latin Academy (Славяно-Греко-латинская Академия) the report from 1722 demonstrates that among the Aristocracy, academic education was not so popular. The rector of the school Gedeon Grembetskiy (Гедеон Грембецкий), offers us a realistic assessment of the talents of the aristocratic pupils after six years of study. "After six years of study, the rector Gedeon Grembetskiy summarised, that some had dropped out on their own accord, some turned out to be dumb, and even though some had reached the school of rhetorics, they still were untalented in philosophy or theology, and some desired the service in the Imperial administration since they have reached the required age".¹²⁷

The tendency to find some middle ground in educational possibilities is shown around 1576 when under the patronage of *knyaz* Konstantin Konstantinovich Ostrozhskiy a school was established in western Russia, which was called "The Ostrozh Greek-Slavic-Latin college for the education and bringing up of many pupils" (Острожская греко-славяно-латинская коллегия для воспитания и образования многих ученых). It was one of the first schools in this area which combined the tri-lingual Erasmus of Rotterdam model and attempted to find a middle ground between the western and eastern models. Ostrozhskiy is associated with wars in Volyn, and the Poles accused him of attacking Uniate and Roman Catholic leaders.¹²⁸ Ostrozhskiy just as many figures of his period initially speculated about supporting Unionist tendencies. Just as he so the schools of this period attempted to find compromises.

Local brotherhoods of believers where also instrumental in founding schools. This brotherhood schools where famous and partly reacted to the incapability of ecclesial

¹²⁶ Вознесенская Н. А., Московская Славяно-Греко-Латинская Академия в Первой Трети XVIII в., in: *Россия и Христианский Восток*, выпуск II-III, editors С.Н. Кистерев, Д.Н. Рамазанова, Б.Л. Фонкич, Д. А. Яламас, Индрик, Москва, 2004, 518-524, here 518.

¹²⁷ „Через 6 лет обучения ректор Гедеон Грембецкий сообщал, что "некоторые самовольно отстали, а иные явились тупы, и хотя из них некоторые достигли школы риторики, обаче и к философии и к богословию не могут быть угодны, иные же сами требуют императорской службы понеже лета довольные", *ibid*, 520.

¹²⁸ Gordon, L, *Cossack Rebellions*, New York University press, 1983, 173.

institutions in providing a high quality education. Similar institutions were founded in Lvov organised by the local brotherhood. The schools could have functioned as centres of national enlightenment for the Ukrainians. The Lvov brotherhood school was a successful institution and people like the Alexandrian Patriarch Cyril Lukaris wrote a letter to the brotherhood in 1614 emphasising the important role of music in education.¹²⁹

One of the most important events in the relationship between Russia and the Greek environment was the call to establish a Greek-Slavic school in Moscow in 1630. The Tsar Michail Fedorovich and the Patriarch Philaret sent a letter to the patriarch Cyril Lukaris in 1632, through the agency of the archimandrite Amphilochiy who was the political agent of Russia in the Balkans.¹³⁰ Coinciding with this request the priest/monk Joseph came to Moscow in the same year (he was designated as a monk from Mt. Athos and the *protosynkellos* of the Patriarch of Alexandria).¹³¹ He visited Russia previously and from one reason or another was immediately involved in the project of this school. He was to teach children Greek and translate Greek books into Slavic with a particular interest in those which describe the Latin heresies. Needless to say this request has to do with the emerging danger of the various Latin theological influences and the Latin propaganda as such. The Russians quickly realised the need for a greater cooperation with the Greek areas and their role in this new "spiritual battle". Cyril Lukaris later sent the anti-latin work of Gennadios Scholarios, the book *Varinos* and three books of Meletius Pigas. The books were obviously well aimed, since Meletius Pigas, who was the Patriarch of Alexandria (1590-1601) was a staunch anti-catholic author and among other things desired a full union between the Coptic and the Greek Orthodox Church.¹³²

The anti-Latin educational movement was becoming all the more acute, since at the end of the seventeenth century, the Patriarchate of Jerusalem, lost much of its control over the most important Christian sites in Palestine due to the pressure and propaganda of the Western

¹²⁹See Ю.Э. Шустова, Школа львовского успенского ствропигийского братства в конце XVI- начале XVII в.: взаимодействие греко-славянских культурных традиций in: *Россия и Христианский Восток*, выпуск II-III, editors С.Н. Кистерев, Д.Н. Рамазанова, Б.Л. Фонкич, Д. А. Яламас, Индрик, Москва, 2004, 163-185.

¹³⁰ Фонкич Б.Л., Греко-Славянские Школы в Москве в XVII веке, Языки славянских культур, in: *Россия и Христианский Восток*, вып. 7, editors С.Н. Кистерев, Д.Н. Рамазанова, Б.Л. Фонкич, Д. А. Яламас. Индрик, Москва, 2009, 100-163.

¹³¹ Фонкич has argued, that in reality he was of Slavic origin born in the Ukraine, but with an excellent command of the Greek language. Ibid. 13.

¹³² Τσωγα Β., Χ., *Μελετιος Πηγας, (1550-1601), Πατριάρχης Αλεξανδρείας, Βιος, Δραση, Εργογραφια*, Καποδιστριακο πανεπιστιμιο Αθηνα, 2009. Dissertation. Compare Μελετιος Πηγας: Στρωματεύς, Του μακαριωτάτου πάπα της μεγάλης Αλεξανδρείας κυρίου Μελετιου λόγος περί του τίς εστιν η αληθής καθολική Εκκλησία και ποία εστιν η γνησία και αληθής κεφαλή αυτης και κατά της αρχης του πάπα της Ρώμης εκφωνηθείς πρός τόν αγιώτατον Σύλβεστρον τόν προκάτοχον και γέροντα αυτου.

powers and their pressure on the Ottomans, who in order to comply to this pressure decided to limit the power of the Greek Orthodox Patriarchate over these sites. Thus the establishing of printing presses and schools was one of the essential ways of combating increasing Latin pressure.

In 1681 a middle school was opened and in 1685 an Academy was opened (The Slavonic-Greek-Latin Academy). In the academy subjects were taught in Greek but also in Latin a fact that would later be important. An important figure in terms of the earlier "typographical" school was Timofey the Greek (Тимофей "Грек"). His name is associated with the period after 1658, when Nikon left the Patriarchate and there were efforts to calm down the situation. He was a Russian, who knew Greek well and stayed in the south for extensive periods of time. He was a trusted person by the Patriarch of Jerusalem Dositheos.¹³³ He was the one who informed the Tsars such as Theodore Alexeyevich about the bad situation of the Christians in the Holy Land and its vicinity.

2. h. Theological controversies

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

The Greek Lichud brothers were sent to Moscow to teach by the Metropolitan Dositheos in order to combat what was perceived to be the nascent heretical leanings of the situation in Kiev. In 1690, they wrote an interesting work, called the *Spiritual Sword* (Мечец Духовный, Ἐγχειρίδιον πνευματικόν). The work was also produced within the context of the discussions with Jesuits that the brothers had on their way to Russia.¹³⁴

The polemics against the Calvinist, Roman Catholic and other forms of Protestantism were dominating the period and there were some notable figures who were involved in these

¹³³ Фонкич Б.Л., Греко-Славянские Школы в Москве в XVII веке, Языки славянских культур, in: *Россия и Христианский Восток*, вып. 7, editors С.Н. Кистерев, Д.Н. Рамазанова, Б.Л. Фонкич, Д. А. Яламас. Индрик, Москва, 2009, 100-163, here 103.

¹³⁴ See Смеловский А. Лихуды и направления теории словесности в их школе, in: *Журнал министерства народного просвещения*, ч 45, отд. V, Санкт Петербург 1845, 31-96.

controversies. As we have implied, Dositheos who was an important figure of the period, and the Patriarch of Jerusalem (died in 1707) was also involved in the issues. His polemics against the teaching of Calvin and the Roman Catholics, are interesting in their own right, since he often used terms from Roman Catholic theology to combat Latin heresies and Calvinistic heresies (his ideas were in conformity with the doctrines set about in the council of Trent). His work “Confessions” (Ἐγγχειρίδιον) was accepted by the council of Jerusalem in 1672.

From the Greek theologians and figures another important person of the period, is Ioannis Kariofilis, (Ιωάννης Καρυοφύλλης, born around 1600)¹³⁵, who together with other figures such as Gabriel Seviros (Γαβριήλ Σεβήρος), Maximos Margounios (Μάξιμος Μαργούνιος), Meletios Pigas (Μελέτιος Πηγάς), Kirilos Loukaris (Κύριλλος Λούκαρης), Mitrofanis Kritopoulos (Μητροφάνης Κριτόπουλος, we are sure of his dates 1623-1627 in terms of his involvement with Cyril Lukaris), were involved in dogmatical issues of the Greek Orthodox Church in relation to Calvinism, Protestantism and the Roman Catholic Church.

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

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

The important figure Meletios Syrigos (1585-1664) wrote a letter from Constantinople (15 December 1644, old calendar) to the Moscow Tsar. Here he states, that he composed a book

¹³⁵ Ιωάννης Καρυοφύλλης, Χρυσόστομος, αρχιεπίσκοπος Αθηνών και πάσης Ελλάδος (Χρυσοστόμου Α. Παπαδοπούλου), Βιβλιοθήκη εκκλησιαστικού Φάρος, Αλεξανδρεία, 1918.

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

2. i. *Middlemen*

After the fall of Constantinople, migrants from Byzantium spread all over Europe. Intellectuals from Byzantium were seminal in establishing the renaissance mode of thought in Western Europe. Italy was closer than Russia for these intellectuals, and perhaps this geographical and cultural proximity resulted in the popularity of this destination for the migrants from Constantinople. We here dramatic stories of how aristocrats and others fled from Constantinople after its fall, and of the constant betrayals and in-fighting among the Byzantine ranks before the fall.¹³⁶

In terms of Russia we have indications of many figures, who worked in Russia and who originated from Byzantium. Thus for example, there is John Paleologos Rhallis (Ralev), who came to Russia in 1485, and his two sons Manuel and Demetrios the doctor, who were employed in the diplomatic core of Ivan III in Western courts.¹³⁷ Other nobleman and diplomats included Theodoros Lascaris, and his son Demetrios who came to Russia in 1495 and served as diplomats. Then there was Andreas Tarchaniotes, an astronomer and doctor, and his relative Yuri or George Tarchaniotes, who was very active and in the service of the father of Sophia Thomas Palaiologos. This Yuri accompanied princess Sophia to Russia and just as for example others such as Manuel Doxas, was commissioned to seek artisans and craftsmen to come to Russia.¹³⁸

The role of middlemen was an important one especially after the fall of Constantinople and their careers, which saw them moving between the Ottomans, Russians and Byzantines was an interesting one in its own right. In relation to the period, an interesting example of a career middleman is offered by the figure of Foma Cantacuzene (Фома Кантакузин). The career of Foma Cantacuzene, was not a typical career for a member of a subjugated nation but developed out of the desire of the Ottomans to approach the Russian Empire and improve

¹³⁶ See Necipoğlu Nevra, *Byzantium between the Ottomans and the Latins*, Cambridge, 2009.

¹³⁷ Medlin W., K., Patrinelis, C. G., *Renaissance Influences, and Religious Reforms in Russia*, Geneve, 1971, 43.

¹³⁸ *Ibid.*

relations.¹³⁹ It also coincided with the new fresh impetus which developed in the Patriarchate of Constantinople itself, which was embodied by the Patriarch Cyril Lukaris (1620-1638), who was confronted by the dangers of Roman Catholic expansionism and Protestant aggressiveness. A possible Russian-Ottoman alliance against Poland seemed like a good idea to the Patriarch.¹⁴⁰

The name of Foma Cantacuzene for the first time emerges in the spring of 1621, on the 21st of April 1621, when the French ambassador de Sezi told his government that the Great Vizier being frightened at the prospect of the closer ties between Poland and Russia, listening to the advice of a Dutch ambassador and the Patriarch Cyril Lukaris, decided to send to Moscow an ambassador offering alliance.¹⁴¹ He is described as of being from Pera and of noble birth. The Russian sources of the thirties of the XVII century speak of his brother Yuriy (Юрий),¹⁴² in the Russian context called Юрием Константиновичем Кантакузинным. His words about his ancestors were recorded in the Embassy orders in 1620.¹⁴³ He named his grandfather as Alexander Shaytan oglu (Son of Satan). This nickname was known as the nickname of the very rich person Michael Cantacuzene, who was punished by the Osman's in 1568 and his wealth confiscated. Earlier, good policy regarding marriages, which included most probably his son Alexander, which meant marriage to good noble families helped the Cantacuzenes to gain great influence in the two Danube realms (Here a bit confusing why Alexander is called son of Satan and not Michael).

The father of Foma and Yuriy, Constantine was "among the rulers" of the Moldavian *voevods* Peter the lame (1577-1591), and Yuriy himself "served... with ten horses" one of his successors- Stephen of Tomsha (1611-1616). It seems, that Foma true to his family tradition also sought to align himself with the Danube principalities. In 1621 he named his father in law the Walachian *voevod* Radu Michnya.¹⁴⁴ Radu Michnya in the second decade of XVII century on many occasions occupied important state posts in both principalities. Radu Michnya was

¹³⁹ Б. Н. Флоря, Фома Кантакузин и его роль в развитии Русско-османских Отношений в 20-30-х гг. XVII в. in: *Россия и Христианский Восток*, выпуск II-III, editors С.Н. Кистерев, Д.Н. Рамазанова, Б.Л. Фонкич, Д. А. Яламас, Индрик, Москва, 2004., 248-288, here 248.

¹⁴⁰ See Hering, G. *Ökumenisches Patriarchat und eurapäische Politik (1620-1638)*, Wiesbaden, 1968.

¹⁴¹ See *Акты исторические, относящиеся к России* Санкт Петербургъ, 1842, том. 2, 413; Б. Н. Флоря, Фома Кантакузин и его роль в развитии Русско-османских Отношений в 20-30-х гг. XVII в. in: *Россия и Христианский Восток*, выпуск II-III, editors С.Н. Кистерев, Д.Н. Рамазанова, Б.Л. Фонкич, Д. А. Яламас, Индрик, Москва, 2004, 248-288, here 250.

¹⁴² РГАДА. Ф. 89, Сношения России с Турцией, 1632, г. Но. 3. Л., 244; 1635 г. Но. 2. Л.177. Б. Н. Флоря, Ibid.

¹⁴³ РГАДА, Ф. 52. Оп. 1. 1620 г. Но. 2. Л.7. Б. Н. Флоря, Ibid.

¹⁴⁴ РГАДА, Ф. 89. Кн. 4. Л. 136. Об. О родимцах Ф. Кантакузена в Волошской земле, см. ГРАДА Ф. 89. 1627 г. Но. 1. Л. 424. Б. Н. Флоря, Ibid., 251.

also a friend of Lukaris for many years and his protector that is certainly one of the reasons why Foma Cantacuzene was chosen by the Patriarch.¹⁴⁵ The historical sources would imply that Foma Cantacuzene quickly proceeded to form another marriage aligning himself with the aristocrats from Danube principalities after the death of his first wife.¹⁴⁶

In the middle of the XVI century, Michale Cantacuzene received from the Sultan a monopoly for merchant activities with furs/bags (мехами) with Russia.¹⁴⁷ His great grandson Yuriy, also maintained relations with Russia. He was furnishing the Russian envoys in Istambul, P. Mansurov and S. Samsonov with money and to regain this money he visited Moscow in the autumn of 1619.¹⁴⁸ Foma followed the tradition of the family but focused more on embassy type of duties.¹⁴⁹

While Foma appears in Moscow as an official envoy in 1621, he was possibly present in Russia already in 1608-1610 and was somehow connected to some uncertain Ottoman plans in relation to Imposter Dimitriy Lzhe Dimitriiy II (Лжедмитрию) and his movement.¹⁵⁰

We do not have any letters of Cantacuzene in relation to his embassy work. In the archival delo *дело* however, there is a note stating: "Ask Nikola, if the vizier had in fact issued these decrees, which he carried from Foma" (Спросить Никола, видал ли везир те грамоты, что привез от Фомы).¹⁵¹ This note makes sense if we realise, that by this time in Moscow they realised that many letters written from the Greek hierarchs were actually written or dictated by the Sultan or the government officials and therefore could not be completely trusted.

An important suggestion by Foma was that the Tsar have a permanent envoy in Istambul as the French do, which would give certain advantages for commerce, a preposition possibly suggested by the Greek merchants interested in better commercial conditions between Russia and the Ottomans. Thus it was argued, that the French have achieved the goal that those who

¹⁴⁵ Jorga N. *Byzance après Byzance*, Bucarest, 1971, 160-161.

¹⁴⁶ Б. Н. Флоря, Фома Кантакузин и его роль в развитии Русско-османских Отношений в 20-30-х гг. XVII в. in: *Россия и Христианский Восток*, выпуск II-III, editors С.Н. Кистерев, Д.Н. Рамазанова, Б.Л. Фонкич, Д. А. Яламас, Индрик, Москва, 2004., 248-288, here 251.

¹⁴⁷ Jorga N., *Byzance après Byzance*. Bucarest, 1971, 119.

¹⁴⁸ РГАДА. Ф. 52. Оп. 1. 1620 г. Но. 2. Л.1, 8. Б. Н. Флоря, Ibid. 251.

¹⁴⁹ Ibid.

¹⁵⁰ The fact is even more interesting given that the Ottoman vassals such as the Crimean Chanate, was in union with Vasilii Shuyskim (Василий Шуйский) and had provided him with military support against the Tushins (Тушинцев). Б. Н. Флоря, Фома Кантакузин и его роль в развитии Русско-османских Отношений в 20-30-х гг. XVII в. in: *Россия и Христианский Восток*, выпуск II-III, editors С.Н. Кистерев, Д.Н. Рамазанова, Б.Л. Фонкич, Д. А. Яламас, Индрик, Москва, 2004., 248-288, here 251.

¹⁵¹ РГАДА. Ф.89. 1624 г. Но. 2. Л.195; Б. Н. Флоря, Ibid., 254.

travel to *Tsargrad*, do not have to pay customs just as the subjects of the Ottoman Empire are liberated from customs who live in France.¹⁵²

In February 1628 together with Foma Cantacuzene, the Russian envoys S. Yakovlev and P. Evdokimov were sent to Stambul for the confirmation of the mutual agreement between Moscow and the Sultan. There were negotiations from September 1628 to July 1629. The long standing nature of the discussions had to do with internal instability in the Ottoman Empire, and the changing situation. The *kapitan pasha* Hasan was powerful in this context. Foma was also instrumental in the establishment of a contact between Bethlem Gabor and the Russian envoys. On the 10th of November 1628 he suggested to the Russian envoys S. Yakovlev and P. Evdokimov to meet with the ambassador of Bethlen who came to Stambul, M. Toldolagi¹⁵³.

Another interesting episode is linked with 29 February 1629, when Foma Cantacuzene told the ambassadors, that the Sultan "ordered Kapitan Pasha Hasan on behalf of his request to make a golden crown with expensive stones in the style of previous Greek rulers" (29 февраля 1629 г. Ф. Кантакузин сообщал послам, что султан "приказал...капитан-паше Хасану по его прошенью сделать корону золоту с камнем дорогим с прежних греческих великих царей образца"), and to be sent to Tsar Michael. According to his own words to make this crown he bought expensive stones worth "two thousand five hundred *efimkova*" (на две тысячи пятьсто ефимков).¹⁵⁴ It is possible to see in this another initiative of Foma.

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

It seems, that in his discussions with the Patriarch Philaret (there are five discussions from June 1630)¹⁵⁵, Foma downplayed the Ottoman request for military assistance against Iran, even though it played a large part in the Ottoman decrees. Thus Foma disobeyed in a way the instructions from his government. On the other hand he overemphasised the preparedness of the Ottomans to attack Poland. Thus for example, on the first debate on the 2nd of June he

¹⁵² РГАДА, Ф. 89. 1627 г. Но. 1. Л. 427-429; Б. Н. Флоря, Ibid., 256.

¹⁵³ РГАДА, Ф. 89. 1628 г. Но. 3. Л. 127/128. Б. Н. Флоря, Ibid., 259.

¹⁵⁴ РГАДА, Ф. 89, 1628 г. Но. 3. Л. 178. Б. Н. Флоря, Ibid., 260.

¹⁵⁵ РГАДА Ф. 89. 1630 г. Но. 1. Л. 111. Б. Н. Флоря, Ibid., 261.

went beyond the orders of the Sultan in the decree. If the document talked about the march against "the dneprov thieves" (днепровских воров), Cantacuzene talked about expressed the idea that the Sultan is sending military units against "the polish king" (на полского короля) and once the chief of the Ottoman forces Huseyn pasha will take Russian cities, taken by the poles, he will overturn them to "the ruler with all" (государю со всем).¹⁵⁶

Foma used all sorts of means to persuade the Russians to declare war on Poland and the fact that this in fact did happen in 1630 was undoubtedly part of the efforts of the diplomat (even if not the sole reason). Foma also protected the Patriarch Lukaris in Moscow regardless of the various heretical accusations against him brought about especially from abroad. Thus the Patriarch Filaret believed in the unsubstantiated nature of the criticisms against Lukaris.¹⁵⁷

From the Ottoman officials Foma praises *Kapudan pasha* Hasan. Foma also suggested that Russia take care of the military situation on the Don. He was motivated by a desire for more direct commercial possibilities between Greek merchants and Russia (thus avoiding Poland on the route).¹⁵⁸ There were some mutual suspicions and antagonisms between Foma, and the Transylvanian diplomats. Regardless of these problems and other problems Foma faced and the antagonisms, his main goals were accomplished. There are indications that the Russian government representatives including Philaret thought of building a fortress on the Don, which would also motivate the Cossacks from thievery.¹⁵⁹ However, the Cossacks later refused to fight on the side of the Turks against the Poles and Fomas schemes went to nothing. On the 5th of October 1630, on Fomas journey to Kerch (Керчь) a letter was sent to Foma by Hasan Pasha that he was going to Istanbul for negotiations for peace with the Polish envoy Alexander Pyasechinski (Александр Пясечински).¹⁶⁰ Later on the 3rd of November that in fact peace has been established.¹⁶¹

Foma also recommended the services of Zulfikar Agu (Зульфикар-агу) in his discussions with Philaret on the 10th of June 1630, who was converted to Islam at a young age, a "mozhar of the Greek faith" (можара греческие веры).¹⁶² The Russians sent a gift to Zulfikar and he rendered many years of service for the Russians. He rendered valuable information to the

¹⁵⁶ РГАДА, Ф. 89, 1630 г. Но. 1. Л. 109-110. Б. Н. Флоря, Ibid.

¹⁵⁷ РГАДА, Г. 89, 1632 г. Но. 6. Л. 328-330. Б. Н. Флоря, Фома Кантакузин и его роль в развитии Русско-османских Отношений в 20-30-х гг. XVII в. in: *Россия и Христианский Восток*, выпуск II-III, editors С.Н. Кистерев, Д.Н. Рамазанова, Б.Л. Фонкич, Д. А. Яламас, Индрик, Москва, 2004, 248-288, here 261.

¹⁵⁸ Ibid., 264.

¹⁵⁹ РГАДА, Ф. 89, 1630 г. Но. 2. Л. 222-223. Б. Н. Флоря, Ibid., 267.

¹⁶⁰ РГАДА, Ф. 89, 1630 г. Но. 4. Л. 34-35. Б. Н. Флоря, Ibid., 267.

¹⁶¹ РГАДА, Ф. 89, 1630 г. Но. 4. Л. 52. Б. Н. Флоря, Ibid., 267.

¹⁶² РГАДА, Ф. 89, 1630, г. Но. 1. Л. 159. РГАДА, Ф. 89, 1630 г. Но. 4. Л. 34-35. Б. Н. Флоря, Ibid., 269.

Russians which included showing the Russian envoys the plan of the Sultans decree to the Tsar,¹⁶³ and submitted information about the dealings of Husein Aga in 1631 in Lithuania who wanted to achieve peace with Sigismund III.

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

3. The period of the *Raskol* and Eastern Patriarchates

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

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

3. a Patriarchs of Constantinople

The period of the seventeenth century was a point where the full brutality of the Ottoman realities towards the Eastern Christian leadership was exemplified. For example, Patriarch Cyril II (Kontaris) was deposed and sent to exile on the island of Tenedos (11 October 1633) only to return again later as Patriarch in March 1635 and then again being sent to exile to

¹⁶³ ПГАДА Ф. 89. 1630 г. Но.4. Л.181, Ibid.

Rhodos in June 1636. Patriarch Cyril II was executed by hanging on June 24th in 1640 after refusing to save his life by converting to Islam. Dionysios Metropolitan of Larissa (1593-1601) was skinned alive in 1611 for allegedly instigating a rebellion. Gabriel II was killed after he was accused of baptising a muslim child and refused to reject his faith and was killed in 1657.

Generally, more research has to be done in relation to the everyday life of the Orthodox Church in the lands occupied by the Ottoman rule. In some cases the Orthodox administration, on the level of lower clergy functioned more or less uninterrupted by the Ottoman leadership. For example, the town of Serres in Greece itself was conquered already in 1383 by the Ottomans and more or less ten years after the conquest saw its ecclesial administration fully restored. Or we can mention the case of Crete, which was more or less ecclesially "liberated" by the Ottomans after centuries of Latin rule and this enabled the Orthodox Church to establish their own hierarchy on the island, which was not permitted by the Latins previously.¹⁶⁴

In-fighting in the Patriarchate of Constantinople itself was growing. There were conflicts between Metropolitans and one of them even converted to Islam. It seems, that political problems inside the Ottoman state were usually followed by problems for Christians. The Metropolitan of Nazaret Gabriel in his report to Alexey Michailovich stated that when he came to Constantinople on the 24th of November 1660, he saw a bad mood among the Busurmans (Muslims living in a Christian majority) and Christians. The Busurmans killed the old empress and some people in the Rulers house. They also started fighting amongst each other. There were conflicts between the Metropolitans and mutual denunciations to the Islamic authorities.

Much of this material of the life in the Ottoman capital reached Moscow and we have information also from Russian sources. The former Metropolitan of Rhodos who aligned himself with the Muslims brought forward many accusations against the Patriarchs of Jerusalem, Constantinople and others.¹⁶⁵ Further the Russian archives inform us, that more

¹⁶⁴ Zachariadou E. A., Glances at the Greek Orthodox Priests in the Seventeenth Century, in: *Living in the Ottoman Ecumenical community*, Brill, Leiden 2008, 307-314, here 309. Recently there are many emerging studies, which portray the Ottoman environment in a more positive respect especially in relation to the perceived multicultural character of the Empire. However, caution needs to be adopted in this regard, since more studies are necessary to reveal the true complex social character of the Empire.

¹⁶⁵ Ezzati A, *The Spread of Islam*, Islamic College for Advanced Studies press, 2002, 101.

information would be forthcoming from the spiritual son of this Metropolitan, the Greek Isaiah Eustafiev (Исаія Евстафьевъ).¹⁶⁶

The Russian sources indicate further, that the Metropolitan of Chalcedon Gabriel wrote about the death of Parthenios and that his death was the result of the actions of the rulers of Moldavia and the Mutyansk (Мутьянск) ruler, because he did not follow their will and that he hosted the emissaries of Chmelnický and served a *moleben* for them. They sent 30000 *efimkovs* (ефимковъ) to Constantinople to get rid of him. He was deposed by a Greek Michail, who however in turn was also killed by hanging in front of the gates of the Patriarchate. The testimony of the Metropolitan of Chalcedon Gabriel was confirmed by the Greeks in Moscow who also accounted about the death of Parthenios. They stated that he was deposed because of the *Voevod* of Мутян Mathew and the Moldavian ruler Vasiliy, who sent money to get rid of him. "And as this was made known to the Sultan and the Vizier, they ordered the murderer to be punished; ten people were killed; just people, who were sent by the *voevods* were also killed. They killed the Patriarch in the following manner, they put him in a kayak, before that they took out his eyes, they smashed him by an axe between his shoulders and arms; they hit him into his stomach with a *kinzhal* and the dead body was thrown into the see."¹⁶⁷ He died on the 15th of May 1651.

Similar alternations occurred with other Patriarchs such as Cyril I (Lukaris) and others, the list of Patriarchs from this period is a list of constant exiles and depositions.¹⁶⁸ Cyril I (Lukaris) in 1628 abandoned the system of dating used in the East, which reckoned years from the "creation of the world". Thus the year 7136 was replaced with 1628. On June the 27th 1638, Cyril I was taken on a ship and after the ship sailed he was strangled by jannisaries for allegedly corresponding with Russia to instigate a rebellion.

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

¹⁶⁶ Архив Министерства Иностранний дел, Связка 30 Б. Дѣло но.21. Донесеніе Гаврієила метрополита назаретскаго послано съ грекомъ Саввою Дмитріевымъ и товарищами, и получено въ Москвѣ 29 апрѣля 1652 г.

¹⁶⁷ "А какъ про то стало извѣстно султану и визирю, и они убійць велѣли казнить; и ихъ убито человекъ десять; честныхъ людей, посланныхъ воеводами, тоже побили. А убили патриарха такимъ образомъ: взяли его въ каюкъ, прежде ему глаза выняли, потомъ ушибли топоромъ межъ плеч; и по лбу; потомъ ударили кинжаломъ въ брюхо и мертваго кинули въ море". Архив Министерства Иностранний дел Связка 29 Б, дѣло но. 39.

¹⁶⁸ For the history of the Patriarchates see Kiminas Demetrius, *The Ecumenical Patriarchate*, The Borgo Press, Athens, 2009.

future (Hanged in 1657). The Patriarch of Constantinople Parthenius I, was deposed on the 1st of September 1644. Some Patriarchs could have faced opposition from their own colleagues who sought their deposition. This was the case with Jeremias III. The period was also marked with financial problems which plagued the Patriarchate of Constantinople.

As we implied during all these fluctuations the Russians were informed about the situation. The election of Parthenius II was referred to the Russian Tsar Michail Theodorovich by the Greek Ivan Petrov Barda (Иванъ Петровъ Барда) in his report. He stated, that the deposed Patriarch Parthenius I was accused of greediness and ignorance of the poor and that he forbade the bishops to stay in their areas.¹⁶⁹ The election of the new Patriarch was marked by exclamations of *anaxios* (unworthy). He continues stating: "On that day a great disturbance occurred on the court of the Patriarch, and they wanted to get rid of the old Patriarch and so they wrote to the *knyaz Voevod* Vasiliy, what does he think of this; Vasiliy the *Voevod*, wrote to them, not to disturb him in any way, only to send him to Cyprus. On the 12th of November, a new Patriarch was commissioned by the Sultan who placed his hands on him, and on his nine people conferred *kaftans*. The Great Church thus gained a debt of 120,000 *efimkovs*; and the *Voevod* Vasiliy helped them by paying 42, 000 *efimkovs*, the other money was lent from the Jews and the Busurmans; now they are thinking of sending to your Greatness the Metropolitan of Nicomedia Cyril, who was previously the Archimandrite of the Holy Sepulchre, who was here previously visiting your Greatness from the Patriarch Theophanes with the Turkish emissary Muli agi; From then on he did not return and became a Metropolitan of the Church of Constantinople, and now he is travelling with letters from the Patriarch of Jerusalem, and from the *knyaz* Vasiliy so that you Your Greatness would assist them in getting rid of their debts, and Your highness will do what God wills. On the same day when the new Patriarch was installed, letters came from Vasiliy the *Voevod*, so that the new Patriarch would make a proclamation about the faith, regarding the beliefs and baptisms of the Calvinists and the Lutherans, and these letters were sent by the king whose son is with you, to the king of Lithuania, and the king of Lithuania sent these letters to the *Voevod* Vasiliy so that he would send these to Constantinople. These were sent to Constantinople by the *Voevod* Vasiliy as to allow the Calvins and Lutherans not to be baptised twice".¹⁷⁰ This very

¹⁶⁹ Николаевский, П.Ф., Къ исторіи сношеній Россіи съ востокомъ въ половинѣ XVII столѣтія. In: *Христианское Чтеніе*, часть 1, Санкт Петербургъ, 1882, 245-267, here 247.

¹⁷⁰"И въ тотъ день учинилась великая смута на патріаршескомъ дворѣ, а стараго патріарха хотѣли извести и писали о томъ къ князь Василью воеводѣ, какъ объ немъ придумаетъ; и Василей воевода писалъ къ нимъ, чтобъ его ничѣмъ не вредили, только бы ево сослали въ Кипрскій островъ. Ноября въ 12 день былъ новой патріархъ у салтана у руки и надѣлъ салтанъ на него и на его людей на девяти человекъ

interesting excerpt summarises the period and its specifics. We see the Ottoman involvement in the elections of the Patriarch and other ecclesial figures. We can see, that elections implied sums of money which had to be paid by the Church to the state and how this led to debts. And how all this was going on in the context of issues related to the Lutherans and Calvins.

Parthenios II was a good friend of Moscow and he sent the Metropolitan of Paleopatras Theophanes to convey to Moscow his election as Patriarch and with a request for assistance. Theophanes came to Moscow in March 1645 also with a letter asking for assistance. In Moscow he was told how the Russians want to establish their own printing and schooling, and then he described the dire situation of education in the east, and that the Germans and Latins are printing the Fathers and also informed about the constant belittlement of the Greeks. On his way back Theophanes met the Archimandrite Benedict in Kiev, who taught Greek at the academy of Peter Mohyla. This same Benedict then came to Moscow in march 1646 with letters of recommendation from Metropolitan Theophanes, which stated among other things that he is the *protosynkelos* of the Alexandrian Patriarch.

On January the 27, 1649, the Patriarch of Jerusalem Paisios came to Moscow. He greeted in a humble way and placed in humble stone accommodation. The Russians were suspicious of him and it seems did not initially believe it was him. This was because the Russians were often tricked by unscrupulous Greeks.¹⁷¹ But also because they heard about Paisios how he blessed Bohdan Chmelnicky for a war with the Poles. The Patriarch also informed about the Descent of the Holy Fire on Great Saturday in Jerusalem and how the Turks made sure the fire was not hidden somewhere.¹⁷² In Moscow Paisios became good friends with the Archimandrite Nikon. Nikon later became the Metropolitan of Novgorod. Perhaps Paisios saw in Nikon a powerful future hierarch, which could have been useful for him. On the 8th of May

каѳтаны. И одолжала великая церковь 120,000 ефимковъ; а Василій воевода помогъ имъ въ томъ долгу, заплатилъ 42,000 ефимковъ, а достальныя заняли они у бусурмановъ и у жидовъ; и нынѣ думаютъ они прислать къ великому вашему царствію митрополита никомидійскаго, именовемъ Кирилла, что былъ прежь сего архимандритомъ гроба Господня, и приѣжалъ онъ напередъ сего къ великому вашему царствію отъ ерусалимскаго патріарха Теофана съ турецкимъ посломъ ъ с Муллы агою; и съ тое поры отсталъ онъ отъ Ерусалиму и учинился митрополитомъ подъ повелѣніемъ царегородскаго патріарха; а нынѣ онъ ѣдетъ съ собронными грамотами іерусалимскаго патріарха и отъ князь Василья съ грамотамижъ, чтобъ великое наше царствіе пожаловали воспомогнутися имъ и освободити отъ такова долгу, а царствіе ваше сотворить, якоже тебѣ Богъ извѣститъ. Да въ тѣхъ же дняхъ, какъ сѣлъ новый патріархъ, пришли грамоты отъ князь Василья воеводы къ новому патріарху, чтобъ ему сыскъ учинити о вѣрѣ и о крещеніи лютеремъ и кальвиномъ; а тѣ де грамоты прислалъ король, которой имѣетъ сына своего у васъ, къ королю литовскому; а король, литовской прслалъ тѣ грамоты ко князь Василью воеводѣ, чтобъ ему князь Василью послать во Царьгородъ; и князь Василей тѣ грамоты послалъ во Царьгородъ къ патриарху, чтобъ имъ пріискать будетъ мочно лютеремъ и кальвиномъ во вторые не креститца..." Ibid. 248.

¹⁷¹ Ibid.254.

¹⁷² Ibid.

1649 the Patriarch received 4000 roubles/sobols, which was the same sum received by his predecessor Theophanes.¹⁷³

3. b. *Patriarch Nikon*

While this was happening in the Eastern Patriarchates in Russia the rise of Nikon as Patriarch heralded a new era. The famous historian Golubinskiy argued that the Greeks lost trust amongst the Russians after the council in Florence, and that Russia saw itself as the one which has to take care of liturgical purity. Nikon is also important for our context as a fanatical admirer of Palestine since he desired to imitate the topography of the Holy Sepulchre and its surroundings and rebuild it in Moscow. On the 12th of June 1654, Nikon wrote a letter to Paisios the Patriarch of Constantinople, where he clearly expresses his fear of losing touch with the correct dogmas of the Church due to wrong translations. As part of this project of course, there was the idea of the correction of the contemporary liturgical books used in Nikons day by comparing them to the Greek but also ancient Slavonic versions. All the monasteries and all institutions of the Church were obliged to send their manuscripts of Slavic liturgical texts so that they could be used in this project. However, it was realised that there is not a sufficient number of these ancient Slavic texts and it was necessary to send people to collect the ancient Slavic manuscripts from such places as Mount Athos.

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

His work *Fights with Greeks about faith* (Преній съ греками о вѣрѣ) was published after Suchanovs experiences with the Greeks on his trip to Walachia and Moldavia. He also wrote a *Proskinitarion* (Проскинитарий) containing a description of his travels to the south east and the description of Jerusalem. This work *Proskinitariy* is a unique work and is considered one of the most important pieces of literature amidst the pilgrimage and general literature of the

¹⁷³ Ibid. 257.

period.¹⁷⁴ Other works are also attributed to him. He was an experienced traveller travelling around ten years even to such regions as Georgia. Interestingly enough he was told to bring drawings of the Holy Sepulchre from Jerusalem, so that Nikon would build an exact copy of the Church of the Holy Sepulchre in Moscow. The monastery of New Jerusalem was begun in 1656.

The seventeenth century was a period when there were discussions about the authenticity of "Greek faith" in Moscow. This went on in the context of the self reflection of the Russians and the tradition of seeing themselves ideologically as protectors of Orthodoxy. Thus the biographer of Prepodobniy Sergey Radonezhskiy, the Serb Pachomiy of Mt. Athos, states that "From where didst emerge this source of light? From Jerusalem? Or from the Sinai? No, from the Russian lands, which only recently emerged from the cloud of paganism, and with its piety have superseded many lands, which had previously accepted enlightenment."¹⁷⁵

As we have indicated the period was characterised by the issue of the accuracy of liturgical translations and rituals in the Russian Orthodox Church. The Russians did not have enough competent scholars to be able to produce translations and other scholarly works of higher quality. Paisios left one of his companions Arseniy the Greek in Moscow to help with this work. Further Arseniy Suchanov (Арсеній Сухановъ) was sent to the Middle East together with the group of Paisios to study the liturgical practices there and gain further experience and knowledge about the local Orthodox traditions. Arseniy Suchanov did not like the Greek sense of supremacy and Greek liturgical pride, which possibly provoked his reaction in the form of emphasising the worthiness of the local Russian Orthodox liturgical and theological tradition. In 1653-1655 Suchanov visited Mt. Athos also to study the manuscripts there, for future revisions. His work "Fighting with Greeks about Faith" (Прения с греками о вере)¹⁷⁶ which as we have indicated is a description of his debates with "Greeks" in Moldavia and Walachia with its the negative attitudes towards the Greeks or rather to the recent reforms of the Greeks drew the attention of the Old Believers.

¹⁷⁴ See Кочеляева Н. А., Проскинитарий Арсения Суханова в контексте строительной деятельности Арсения Суханова, in: *Никоновский Сборник*. 2004, Москва, 55-89.

¹⁷⁵"откуда восиялъ такой свѣтильникъ? Не изъ Иерусалима ли? Не съ Синаи ли?-Нѣтъ Изъ русской земли каторая недавно вышла изъ мрака идолослуженія, а превзошла уже благочестіемъ многія страны, издавна пріавшія просвѣщеніе" Cited in С. А. Белокуров, *Арсеній Суханов*, Москва, 1894,168.

¹⁷⁶ See the edition С. А. Белокуров *Арсеній Суханов*, Москва, 1894. Belokurov also discusses the complex situation relating to the manuscript tradition. We do not have the space here to discuss the issues related to this problem.

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

A council was convened and the Serbian *staretz* replied to accusations against Cyril of Jerusalem, basing himself on Theodoret, Meletios of Antioch and Maxim the Greek. The Greeks accused the Moscow books as being heretical. He stated, that the Serbian books (basing himself on old Serbian writings) taught about the sign of the cross in the same way as the books in Moscow. The Greeks did not agree and burned the Moscow books of the writings of Cyril of Jerusalem, the book of Psalms and some other service books. The *igumenos* of the monastery who accounted this story to Arseniy then stated: "This *igumenos* stated, the Greeks are proud and from ages on hate us Serbs."¹⁷⁷

Even more fascinating is the story then recounted. The *igumenos* stated, that Saint Cyril was persecuted by the Greeks for trying to translate liturgical books into Slavonic, and that he received a blessing for this translation only by going to Rome to Hadrian. And that Hadrian established Methodios as bishop of Pannonia.¹⁷⁸

The Russians in this period where constantly trying to establish a correct tradition of liturgical and dogmatical worship. For example, a letter was sent to Parthenios II, with a question, whether it is possible to serve the Eucharist with two chalices if there are more celebrants present. Parthenios replied, that only one chalice should be used according to the example of Jesus Christ.¹⁷⁹

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

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

¹⁷⁷ "Да тот же игумен говорил: греки де горды и нам сербом из давных веков ненавистны."

¹⁷⁸ Белокуров, С. А., Арсений Суханов, Москва, 1894.

¹⁷⁹ Архив министерства иностранных дел, Связка 29, дѣло но. 8, Грамота ii. The letter was translated in Moscow on the 8th of December 7159.

problem emerged, that the Patriarch of Jerusalem and Antioch resided in Constantinople itself.¹⁸⁰

In the period of the eighteenth until the nineteenth century there were many dramatic changes in relation to the Eastern Patriarchs and also towards Russia. In this regard we have to mention the classical work of Sokolov, which has not lost its value for this period till today.¹⁸¹ Of course, after 1821, unsurprisingly the Ottoman administration viewed the Greeks with suspicion. Some of the higher positions after this period were not occupied by Greeks anymore but by Armenians and Bulgarians. An important date was 1856, when there was a law passed giving equal rights to all subjects in the Empire. Further after the Russian Turkish war of 1877-1878, the rights of the Patriarchate of Constantinople were gradually being eroded.¹⁸²

The end of the nineteenth century also highlighted the possible problems related to ecclesial politics mixed up with the idea of national states. The ecclesial relations and the emancipations of nations brought new challenges. Thus in this regard there was the important Bulgarian crisis, which brought to the fore the dangers of a mixture of national aspirations and ecclesial politics. The Bulgarians lost their ecclesial independence after 1393, when Trnovo was conquered. Bulgarian ecclesial affairs were taken care of after this date by Greeks. The Greeks viewed sceptically the growing emancipation of the Balkan nations, which meant ecclesial independence from the influence of the Patriarchate of Constantinople. The Russians supported these emancipatory movements, which provided ground for conflict. In the so-called "Bulgarian schism", the Patriarch of Jerusalem Cyril did not sign the document accusing the Bulgarians (therefore supporting the Russian position) and was deposed by his fellow hierarchs in Jerusalem.

The Bulgarian ecclesial crisis was also related to the rise of the Phanariotes, which is a term designating powerful and rich Greek families, who started to infringe on the ecclesial offices. A disgusting practice developed of the selling and buying of ecclesial appointments in the Patriarchate of Constantinople, which created moral problems. These Phanariotes further, had

¹⁸⁰ Recently there is growing research in terms of the sources for the Patriarchate of Constantinople, in the context of Ottoman archival material. The Ottoman archival material has unfortunately been neglected, perhaps due to the language barrier. Important information can be found in the Prime ministerial Ottoman Archives in Istanbul, Başbakanlık Osmanlı Arşivleri. From these are important the Piskoposluk Kalemî Belgeleri Bishop offices documents, Piskopos Mukataası Defterleri, Notebooks of Bishops, Mukâta,â Bishops notes.

¹⁸¹ Соколов И. И., *Константинопольская Церковь в XIX веке, том I, приложения*, Сервиев посад, 1914.

¹⁸² See Русско-Турецкая Война: Русский и Болгарский взгляд, 1877-1878, Яуза, пресс., Р, Михнева, Р. Г. Гагкуев, editors, Москва, 2017, 23.

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

The Patriarchate of Constantinople was undergoing gradually transformations itself. The year 1763 (May) was an important one, since in this year a new system was introduced called Γεροντισμός which meant that the Patriarch lost supreme rule over the church since the Patriarchal seal was divided into four parts the other three being held by elder Metropolitans. This ended a tradition going on from 1454. This meant that if the Synod decided that the Patriarch was unworthy it could petition the Ottoman authorities for his deposition.¹⁸³ Later in July 6/18, 1860 saw a new system introduced yet again. The laity now could have participated in the elections of the Patriarchs and the system of elderism was abandoned. After 1878, the rights of the Patriarchate of Constantinople were being slowly eroded by the Ottoman authorities and the Ottomans started to claim the right to also decide about schooling and issues of hereditary rights, which until then in terms of the Orthodox Christian population was the prerogative of the Patriarchate of Constantinople (*Pronomiakon zitima*/ issue of law). The Russians initially supported the Patriarchate of Constantinople in ascertaining its rights (like for example in the case of Joachim III who abdicated in 1884). Of course, traditionally the Patriarch had every right to form a petition.

¹⁸³ Kiminas Demetrius, *The Ecumenical Patriarchate*, The Borgo Press, Athens, 2009, 19.

The Patriarchates of Alexandria, Jerusalem and Antioch also underwent various complex developments in the nineteenth century. The Patriarchate of Jerusalem attracted particular attention, because of its revenues and other important roles in Christendom. Recent research in Ottoman archives has opened up new avenues of thought. These show the great amounts of cash, and other forms of donations (land, livestock in other areas of the Balkans and elsewhere) flowing into the Patriarchate. The *Berats* and other Ottoman documents show, how the Patriarchs of Jerusalem complained about the interference of Ottoman administrators with this flow of property. It appears, that the possessions in Walachia and Moldavia, where especially important. The various stipulations make provisions for various and regular alms begging journeys made by the Patriarch himself or others in his staff.¹⁸⁴

The Patriarchate of Jerusalem was constantly plagued by debts. In the nineteenth century there was fighting between the Patriarchate and the brotherhood of the Holy Sepulchre, which controlled vast amounts of money from the entire Orthodox world. The archimandrite of the brotherhood was more or less independent of the Patriarch and exercised great influence over the bishops and other members of the Patriarchate due to his financial resources.¹⁸⁵

To alleviate its bad financial situation the Patriarchate of Jerusalem had given various monasteries or properties for sale or for rent. People who rented out these monasteries were supposed to help the monasteries and develop their wellbeing but in reality these people used the resources of these monasteries behaved in atrocious ways and after their period of governance ended they left. These people often provoked scandals behaving in these monasteries as debauched people. Nikodimos I apparently wanted to improve the situation when he became the Patriarch of Jerusalem, but in 1888 there was an attack carried out against him by a monk of a monastery near the Jordan. The fortunes of the Patriarchate in terms of land ownership fluctuated in the complex period of the nineteenth century, when the Ottoman Empire suffered losses and the dependencies of the Patriarchate were in different territories. Thus even the lands of the Patriarchate and of the monastery of Sinai were endangered in Greece itself when in 1834 under the orders of king Otto, the monastic lands were “lent” to various individuals often provoking a land grab.¹⁸⁶

¹⁸⁴ <http://etheses.bham.ac.uk/3968/1Colak13PhD.pdf>. 249.

¹⁸⁵ Дмитриевский, А. А., Современное русское паломничество в св. Землю, *Труды Киевской Духовной академии.*, Т. II, Киев, 1903, 274-319; Дмитриевский, А. А., *Деятели Русской Палестины*, составитель, Н.Н. Лисовой, Издательство Олега Абышко. Москва, 2010, 123-168, here 154.

¹⁸⁶ Çolak Hasan, *Relation between the Ottoman central administration and the Greek Orthodox Patriarchates of Antioch, Jerusalem and Alexandria: 16th- 18th centuries*, University of Birmingham, 2012. <http://etheses.bham.ac.uk/3968/1Colak13PhD.pdf>. 249.

One such *Berat* related to Parthenios (renewed in 1755 on the 20th of February under the sultanhip of Osman III),¹⁸⁷ stipulates how moneys collected should remain under the supervision of the Patriarch of Jerusalem, and according to *sharia* law. The Patriarch should govern and exercise authority in all matters except those which pertain to *sharia law*. He is to be Patriarch over his dependencies and according to custom of his *baseless rite* (‘âyin-i âtilalari). Importantly, he has the right to replace a Metropolitan or bishop or to install one as he wishes.

4. a, *G. P. Begleri*

A fascinating glimpse into the situation in Constantinople during the nineteenth century is offered by the correspondence of G. P. Begleri (1850-1923; Г.П. Беглери) with I. E. Troitskiy (И. Е. Троицкий) a Russian Byzantologist. Begleri was an agent of the Russian trading and shipping company in Constantinople. He started to correspond with Troitskiy after the treaty of St. Stefano in 1878.¹⁸⁸ The letters imply the weakening of the Patriarchate of Constantinople, due to the increasing suspicions of the Ottoman government, which based these on Russian interests in the area, which was also related to the Bulgarian Schism.

Begleri informs us that in his period the Ottoman government had various issues and faced possible rebellions. The Russians are viewed as a source of “peace”. He writes: “I was thinking that while the strong Russian army was present in our capital city, we had peace, but as soon as they left the usual Barbaric scenes began- murders, persecution and so on. Seven young people, which I knew, and who supplied the Russians with animal food were murdered on their return home. Eye witnesses yesterday told a story in the marketplace that they have seen in the fortress and around soldiers who have fallen on the villagers and murdered them only because they happened to be non-believers. And this around us, and inside the capital happens, at first glance resembling a military city. The soldiers occupy the Bosphorus and

¹⁸⁷ Ibid. ВOA.КК. d.2540./2, 77, 20th february 1755.,. 165.

¹⁸⁸ See Русская народная Библиотека, ОР. Ф. 790, Д. 13-23, письма Г. П. Беглери к И. Е. Троицкому, 1878-1898 гг; Российский Государственный Исторический Архив, Ф. 2182, отзывы К. П. Победоносцева на письма Г. П. Беглери; Храм святых Апостолов и другие памятники Константинополя по описанию Константина Родия. Од. 1896; Русский Археологический ин-т в Константинополе, Византийский Временник, 1897, Т. 4. Вып.1, 303-305; Заметки по топографии Константинополя, там же 1898. Т. 5. Вып. 4, 618-625. Межевой знак владений Дексикрата и Урвикия, Bibliotheca Chersonessitana, (ИРАИК), 1899, т. 4. Вып. 2, 105-108, Печать Трапезундского императора Давида, ibid. 1900, т. 8, Вып. 3, 247-248, Святая София, ibid. 1902, т. 8, вып. 1/2, 116-118.

Constantinople, and it is not uncommon that violence occurs. A few days ago we almost had a rebellion here, if it not for the government of Gazi Osman Pasha (because he is the strong one in these days, consequently the ruler) who managed to arrest the first hundred conspirators, but as things are turning out it appears likely that in the future an anarchy seems unavoidable.”¹⁸⁹

Interestingly enough not many people associated with the Patriarchate could have spoken Russian. Begleri speaks about the appointment of the former head of the old Jerusalem *podvorye* in Moscow Gregory Palama to a position in Constantinople to be head master of a national lyceum in Constantinople. He was appointed officially from the 1st September 1878. Palama studied at the Chalki higher theological school, then in France and stayed at the University of Leipzig from 1864-1868. He is according to Begleri at this time one of only two monks who speak good Russian.¹⁹⁰

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

¹⁸⁹ „έννοῶ εἶχομεν περίξ τῆς προτεουούσης μας τὰ κραταῖα Ρώσσικα στρατεύματα εἶχομεν καὶ ἡσυχίαν, ἀλλὰ μόλις καὶ ἔφυγαν πάραυτα ἤρξαντο αἱ συνήθεις παρὰ τοῖς Βαρβάροις σκηναὶ - σφαγαὶ, διώξεις κ.λ.π. Ἐπτὰ νέοι, οὓς ἐγνώριζον, καὶ οἵτινες ἐπρομύθευον ζωοτροφίαις παρὰ τοῖς Ρώσσοις καθ’ ὄν καιρὸν ἐπέστρεφον οἴκαδε καθ’ ὁδὸν τοὺς κατέσφαγον. Αὐτόπται δὲ διηγοῦντο χθές ἐν μέσῃ ἀγορᾷ ὅτι εἶδον ἐν Πύργῳ καὶ περίξ στρατιώτας ξεφρηῆ νὰ ἐπιπτῶσι κατὰ τῶν χωρικῶν καὶ νὰ κατασφάζωσι αὐτοὺς ἐπὶ μόνῳ τῷ λόγῳ ὅτι τυγχάνουσι καὶ οὗτοι ἄπιστοι. Καὶ ταῦτα περίξ ἡμῶν, ἔντος δὲ τῆς πρωτεύσης σημβάνει νῦν τι, ὅλως πρωτοφανές, ἡ πόλις μας κατέστη πόλις στρατιωτῶν. Βόσπορος καὶ Κωνσταντινούπολις κατεπλημμυρίσθη ὑπ’ αὐτῶν καὶ οὐχὶ σπανίως ἐπιδίδονται εἰς φανεράς βιαιπραγίας, προτίνων ἡμερῶν μάλιστα θὰ εἶχομεν καὶ ἐπανάστασιν ἐάν δεν προελάμβανεν ἡ κυβέρνησις τοῦ Γαζὶ Ὀσμὰν Πασσᾶ (διότι αὐτὸς σήμερον εἶναι ὁ ἰσχυρὸς τῆς ἡμέρας, ἐπομένος καὶ κυβερνήτης) νὰ συλλαβῆ περὶ τοὺς 100 ἐκ τῶν πρώτων συνωμοτῶν, ἀλλ’ ὅπως καὶ ἂν ἔχη τὸ πράγμα ἡ φορὰ τῶν πραγμάτων δεικνύει ὅτι τὸ κακὸν αὐτὸ ἐπὶ τέλος θὰ καταστῆ ἀναπόφεκτον καὶ μίαν τῶν ἡμέρων ἐξωμεν ἀναρχίαν.“ Βεγλερι, Γ. Π; *Россия и Христианский Восток, Константинопольский Патриархат в конце XIX в. Письма Г. П. к проф. И. Е. Троицкому, 1878-1898*, Л. А. Герд editor, Олег Абышко, Санкт Петербург, 2003; Папка Но. 13. 1878/1880 гг. Л. 1., 1, 50.

¹⁹⁰ Ibid., Папка Но. 13. 1878/1880 гг. Л. 1., 1, 50.

respectability- I thought, that you knew the causes, which led his successor through a known to me person in Saint Petersburg to describe in unpleasant terms the reasons for his departure from Moscow; not taking heed to all of this, I can vouch for Gregory Palama, who now, is the only one among the Phanariote clergy, who is the defender of the Russian Orthodox Church. Lastly, he even expressed a wish publicly, to see in the national lyceum the teaching of the great Russian language. It appears to me, that in contrast to the *Cerkovniy Vestnik*, it is necessary to /list. 9 ob/ to regard this appointment of archimandrite Gregory Palama (the director of the national lyceum) with great satisfaction, and not to understand this appointment as a demonstration against the Russian government, which accompanied him out of Moscow not because of his hatred to the Russian government nor to the Russian Orthodox Church, but simply because his successor Nikodim in relation to personal revenge was successful in manipulating this "document" from the Patriarch of Jerusalem...."¹⁹¹ Further: "Now, I dare to ask your eminence not to embitter a person, who not only due to his qualities now appears to be a champion of I say of the just requirements of the Russian Church amidst the uneducated Phanariote clergy and further to educate this clergy satisfactorily and to inform it regarding the issues surrounding the Russian Church. I dare to ensure you that father Gregory Palamas is one of the few distinct and educated members of our clergy, and his qualities appear to be beyond comparison, (letter 10), having qualities superseding those of his predecessor, and therefore was honoured by the Great Church, to be the director of the Great School of our generation, and otherwise I am satisfied to ensure you that one of the reasons for his selection was due to his talents relating to Russia-not one of our clergy knows the Russian language as he does. Thus having known this the Great Church had sought to

¹⁹¹"При сем посылаю сегодня на имя Духовной академии книгу весьма редкую: Живописное описание Св<ятого> гор <ода> Иерусалима; вследствие ее редкости выхлопотал ее через Архимандрита Григория Паламу. Кстати о Гр. Паламе-с величайшим прискорбием я прочитал в <Церк<овном> Вестнике> под но. 39 Вашего многуважаемого журнала нападки против ево преподобия. Зная лично Ваше превосходство и уважая Вас, осмеливаюсь высказать свое сожаление о мнении высказанном против его преподобия-я думал, что Вам известны были причины, побудившие его преемника выхлопотать через известную мне личность в С.-Петербурге его удаление из Москвы самым непристойным образом; несмотря на все это, я в стоянии разуверить Вас, что Гр. Палама в настоящее время единственный в среде фанариотского клира защитник Русской православной церкви. В последнее даже время он выражал свое желание публично видеть в национальном лицее преподавание и великорусского языка. Мне кажется, что, напротив, <Церковному Вестнику> следовало /л. 9 об. относиться к этому назначению арх. Гр. Паламы (директором национального лицея) с великим удовольствием, а не считать назначение его демонстрацией против русского правительства, которое выпроводило его из Москвы не вследствие его враждебности к русскому правительству, ни к Русской православной церкви, а просто потому что его преемник Никодим вследствие личной мстительности успел выхлопотать эту <грамоту> от Иерусалимского патриарха...." Беглери, Г. П., *Россия и Христианский Восток, Константинопольский Патриархат в конце XIX в. Письма Г. П. к проф. И. Е. Троицкому, 1878-1898*, Л. А. Герд editor, Олег Абышко, Санкт Петербург, 2003; Папка но. 13.1878-1880 гг., Л. 9, 52.

have him nearby, which is archimandrite Gregory Palamas.¹⁹² Begleris criticisms of the Phanariote setting would indicate a rather primitive Patriarchal setting, which according to him all the more should stimulate the Russians to help and admire those that display intelligence or a command of Russian.

Begleri writes:¹⁹³ "The great activity of Joachim III, appears to be something out of the extraordinary, since his reforms will have salvific consequences, for the economic situation of the Ecumenical Patriarchate, just as the administrative ones also. So also the Holy Synod under his leadership, works day and night; and the Patriarchate has rid itself of those Asiatic characteristics, ethos and customs which were demonstrated-Root reforms and reconstruction of the decaying house of the patriarchate."... "On Monday on the day of my visit there was an entire meeting of the Synod regarding the establishment of the ecclesial periodical, which was accepted."¹⁹⁴

As we have indicated the letters of Begleri often related to books and other material which was exchanged with Begleri and Troitskiy. For example,¹⁹⁵ "I have sent you the edition of the *Syllogos* and the collection of the Patriarchal decisions; The edition of the *Syllogos* consists of all volumes excluding the first one which you have, the second volume I inform you is of

¹⁹² ...Νῦν ὁμως τολμῶ νὰ παρακαλέσω τὴν ὑμετέραν ἐξοχότητα ὅπως μὴ πικραίνητε ἄνθρωπον, ὅστις οὐχὶ μόνον χάρις τῶν προσόντων αὐτοῦ διατελεῖ νῦν ἀλλαίσμα καὶ πρόμαχος οὕτω νὰ εἶπω τῶν δικαίων αἰτήσεων τῆς Ῥωσικῆς Ἐκκλησίας ἐν μέσῳ τοῦ ἀγροικοῦ φαναριωτικοῦ κληρου, ἀλλ' εἰσέτι καὶ ἰκανὸς νὰ διδάσκη αὐτὸν καὶ διατηρῶ ἐνήμερον ἐν γένει τοῦ ὀφορῶσι τὴν ὀρθόδοξον Ῥωσικὴν Ἐκκλησίαν. Τολμῶ νὰ Σας διαβαιώσω ὅτι ὁ Γρ. Παλαμᾶς τγγχάνει σήμερον εἰς ἐκ τῶν μάλλον διακεκριμένων καὶ εὐπαιδευτῶν κληρικῶν μας, τὰ προσωπικὰ αὐτοῦ προσόντα, ἅτινα ἀσυγρίτω τῷ λόγῳ εἰσὶ λίαν/λ. 10 ὑπέριτερα τῶν τοῦ προκατόχου τοῦ δικαίως ἐκτιμμένα ὑπὸ τῆς Μεγάλης Ἐκκλησίας προσκάλεσεν αὐτὸν καὶ ὄρισεν διευθυντὴν τῆς Μεγάλης τοῦ Γένους Σχολῆς, ἄλλως τε εἶμαι ἰκανὸς νὰ Σας διαωβαιώσω ὅτι μία αἰτία τοῦ διορισμοῦ τοῦ ὑπῆρξεν καὶ ἡ περὶ τὴν Ῥωσικὴν δεινότης αὐτοῦ-οὐδεὶς ἐκ τῶν κληρικῶν ἡμῶν ἐπίσταται τοσοῦτον καλῶς τὴν Ῥωσικὴν γλῶσσα. Αὐτὸ τοῦτο γινώσκουσα, ἡ Μ<εγάλη> Ἐκκλησία ἐξήτησεν νὰ ἔχη πλήσιον τῆς τοιοῦτον, οἷος τγγχάνει ὁ ἄρ. Γρ. Παλαμᾶς."

¹⁹³ Ἡ μεγάλη δραστηριότης τοῦ Ἰωακείμ Γ' παρουσιάζει τι ὅμως ἕκτακτον, αἱ ὑπ' αὐτοῦ εἰσαγόμεναι μεταρρυθμίσεις ἔξουσι ἀποτελέσματα σωτήρια ὅσον ἀφορᾷ τὴν οἰκονομικὴν κατάστασιν τῶν πατριαρχείων, ὡσαύτως καὶ τὸ διοικητικόν. Ἡ Ἱερὰ Σύνοδος προεδρεύοντος τῆς α<ὐτοῦ> θ<ειότητος> π<ατριάρχου> ἐχακολουθεῖ νὰ ἐργάζεται νυχτήμερον, ἐν τοῖς πατριαρχείοις ἐξέλιπον ἤδη ἀσιατικὰ ἐκεῖνα ἤθη καὶ ἔθιμα τῶν ἐπιδειξιῶσεων - ῥιζικαὶ μεταρρυθμίσεις ὡς καὶ ῥιζικὴ ἐπισκευὴ τοῦ σεσαθρωμένου οἴκου τῶν πατριαρχείων". Begleri, Γ. Π., *Россия и Христианский Восток, Константинопольский Патриархат в конце XIX в. Письма Г. П. к проф. И. Е. Троицкому, 1878-1898*, Л. А. Герд, editor, Олег Абышко, Санкт Петербург, 2003; Л. 7 об. (4.), Папка но. 13.1878-1880 гг., 55.

¹⁹⁴ Τῇ δευτέρῃ, ἀκριβῶς, ἡμέρῃ τῆς ἐπισκέψεώς μου ἐγένετο λόγος ἐν πλήρῃ Συνόδῳ περὶ συστάσεως ἐνὸς ἐκκλησιαστικοῦ τῶν πατριαρχείων περιοδικοῦ, ὅπερ καὶ ἐγένετο δεκτόν.

¹⁹⁵ Издан<ие> Силлогоса и сборник патриарших указов отправлены; издан<ние> Силлогоса состоит из всех томов, исключая первый, который у Вас есть, второй том, предупреждаю Вас, сост<авляет> большую редкость, и его ни за какие деньги достать нельзя. ...Также посылаю Вам весьма редкую книгу "Τὰ Ζαγοριακά" Издан<ие> Силлогоса и сборник патриарших указов отправлены; издан<ние> Силлогоса состоит из всех томов, исключая первый, который у Вас есть, второй том, предупреждаю Вас, сост<авляет> большую редкость, и его ни за какие деньги достать нельзя. ...Также посылаю Вам весьма редкую книгу "Τὰ Ζαγοριακά". The same letter mentions a book called Τόμος Ἀγάπης, which according to Begleri is difficult to find. Папка Но 13, 1878-1880 гг., Л.18, {6}, 59.

great rarity and for no money is it possible to buy it."..."I am also sending you a rare book called *Tà Zαγοριακά*".

Begleri relates in his letters to the complex political situation at the end of the nineteenth century, where Russian interests, Ottoman interests and ecclesial policy provided for a problematic situation:¹⁹⁶ "The last events in Adrianople had saddened all. Even if as a person the Metropolitan from Adrianople deserved this treatment/hanging, it was not proper to let the crowd to do whatever it wants. The Ottomans/ state that this kind of spirited behaviour or arousal of passions is only possible under Russian rule or during the epoch of the janissaries. ..and so on., only exemplary punishment can elevate the guilt of the Russians in Adrianople. As soon as his all Holiness heard of this tragic event, he shouted: "O what misfortune! And precisely on this moment, when we were contemplating to raise the schisma" –they told me. I cannot confirm it completely, but they state, that His All Holiness expressing his sorrow also added to those present: "He who has committed this act of hatred, will have a weight on his soul (psyche), general Ignatieff...>. The tensions between the Patriarchate, Ottomans and Russians are fully highlighted by Begleri. As we have seen general Ignatieff is mentioned, who was involved in the Bulgarian ecclesial schism and initially during his career supported the Patriarchate of Constantinople.

In another letter Begleri reacts to the issue of the acceptance into the Orthodox church of Bulgarian clergy who found themselves in the territory united with Serbia and the answer of the Russian Orthodox Church and its Synod to this issue. These issues were often discussed in the Russian press (for example in *Восток*, no. 39 *Голос* no. 85).¹⁹⁷ "The articles printed in *Новое Времени* (New Age), in May and September and which were written in an antagonistic fashion towards the Ecumenical Patriarchate, were sent from Saint Petersburg in translation to His Holiness the Ecumenical Patriarch, and in the letter it is stated, that that they

¹⁹⁶ Τὰ τελευταῖα μόνον γεγονότα, τὰ ἐν Ἀνδριανουπόλει, ἐλύπησαν πάντας. Ἄξιός ἀγχόνης εἶν ἦτο ὁ Ἀνδριανουπόλεως, ὡς ἄτομον, δὲν ἔπρεπεν πόσως νὰ ἐρέθη ὁ ὄχλος τοσοῦτον ἐλεύθερος...Οἱ Ὀθωμανοὶ-λέγουσι εἰ διεγείρουσι οὕτω τὰ πνεύματα, ὅτι τοιοῦτον συμβὰν λαμβάνει χῶραν μόνον ἐπὶ ῥωσσοκρατίαν ὡς καὶ ἐπὶ τῆς ἐποχῆς τῶν γιαντισάρων...κτλ., παραδειγματικὴν μόνον ποίηθὰ ἐλαφρύνει τὴν ἐν Ἀνδριανουπόλει Ῥωσσοκτικὴν ἀρχήν. Ἡ αὐτοῦ παναγιότης ἅμα τῇ ἀγγελίᾳ τοῦ θλιβεροῦ τούτου συμβάντος ἀνέκραζεν: <Ὁ τῆς δυστυχίας! Καὶ τοῦτο ἐν στιγμαῖς καθ' ἃς διεννοοῦμεθα νὰ αἴρωμεν τὸ σχίσμα>, -μοι εἶπον, ἀλλὰ δὲν ἠξεύρω βέβαια ὅτι ἡ αὐτοῦ παναγιότης καθ' ἣν στιγμὴν ἐξέφρασεν τὴν λύπην τοῦ εἶπεν εἰς τοὺς παρεστῶτας καὶ τάδε: <Θὰ ἔχη βάρος ἐν τῇ ψυχῇ τοῦ ὁ αἴτιος ἐκεῖνος τοῦ μίσους τούτου, ὁ στρατηγὸς Ἰγνᾶτιεφ...>Ibid., Παпка no. 13., 1878-1880 гг., л. 18, 6; 62.

¹⁹⁷ Статьи, напечатан<ные> в <Новом Времени> в мае и сентябре месяце и писан<ные> в враждебном духе против Всел<енского> патриархата, прислали из Петербурга в переводе Всел<енскому> патриарху, и в письме, где говорят, что они написаны обер-секретарем Св. Синода Полонским по одобрению и поручению одного высокого духовного сановника, известного в русском духовном мире тем, что лекции одного знаменитого русского иерарха он издал несколькими отдельными книгами и выдал за свои."

were written by the *ober* secretary of the Holy Synod Polonskiy (Полонский), after they were approved and ordered by one high cleric, who is famous in the Russian Orthodox environment for having stolen lectures of one great Russian hierarch and printed them as his own under various volumes.“ Further:¹⁹⁸ “Earlier on I have written to you and asked you, that you write two rows regarding /letter 28 the decision taken by the Friends of Spiritual enlightenment in Saint Petersburg about the invitation to Russia of the Ecumenical Patriarch and other Patriarchs. Now I read in the *New Age* (Новое Времени), in the number 1472 3/15 April (in the chronicle) the following. It is interesting, from where did the newspapers of Constantinople have reached this testimony about future events and reforms in our Church-in the outer measure we do not know anything about this. That is why I run to you to ask once more, if you could remind about this; the newspapers of Constantinople took this information through me from the newspaper East <Восток> number 33, page 53, 2nd column, and from the Ecclesial Communal Monitor (Церковно-общественного Вестника), no. 15, page 3, column 2.“¹⁹⁹

In letter 30²⁰⁰ there is some discussion about the fact that the Patriarch showed to Begleri some articles which were related to Murkos a well known Arab agitator in Moscow, who wrote favourably in relation to the Bulgarians and their ecclesial issues, taking sides of the Bulgarians.²⁰¹ Begleri mentions how it is difficult to send material to Russia and that there is a lot of censorship on the way in Russia.²⁰²

5. *The Holy Land and foreign aspirations*

Much has been said about the relationship between the state and Church in Russia. On closer inspection it needs to be stated that this relationship was not homogenous and the Russian state did not see itself as an ideological champion of Orthodox Christianity. Especially in the

¹⁹⁸ "Недавно писал Вам и просил, чтобы написали две строки по поводу/л.28 решения, принятого членами О<бщест>ва любителей духовн<ого> просвещения в С.-Петербурге о приглашении в Россию Вселенского и прочих патриархов. Теперь я читаю в <Новом Времени> за Но 1472 3/15 апреля (в хронике) следующее. Интересно знать, откуда газеты Константинопольские добыли эти сведения о будущих делах и реформах в нашей Церкви-по крайней мере, у нас об этом ничего да этих пор неизвестно. Поэтому спешу Вас просить и еще раз, если возможно, упомянуть об этом; газеты же константинопольские взяли это известие через меня из газет <Восток> Но. 33, стр. 53, 2-й столб. И <Церковно-общественного Вестника> Но. 15, стр. 3, столб. 2."

¹⁹⁹ Ibid., Беглери, Г. П., *Россия и Христианский Восток, Константинопольский Патриархат в конце XIX в. Письма Г. П. к проф. И. Е. Троицкому, 1878-1898*, Л. А. Герд editor, Олег Абышко, Санкт Петербург, 2003; Л. 27, (11), 14 апреля 1880, Константинополь, Папка но. 13, 1878-1880 гг, 65.

²⁰⁰ Л. 30 (13), 20 ноября 1880, Константинополь, Папка Но. 13, 1878-1880, 66.

²⁰¹ “Мнение православных арабов о греко-булгарской распре“/ Московские Ведомости, сентябрьская книжка журнала Православного обозрения.

²⁰² Л. 32, (14), 4 декабря 1880, Константинополь, Папка Но. 14, 1881-1884, 68.

nineteenth century while Russian policy touched on many aspects of the Church, in fact, Russian foreign policy was not determined by the needs of the Church. Rather as many have commented the religious card played a side role in the policies of Tsarist Russia. Writers such as Жигарев even stress that on many levels Russian foreign policies were not even in the national interest, that they disregarded the interests of the common people and that the policies towards the Turks were in many respects against the interests of the Russians generally.²⁰³ On the other hand during the rule of Peter the Great, Catherine the Great, there was a policy of religious pluralism. Russian policies of course had a relationship with the possibilities of pilgrimage.

The Treaty of Carlowitz 1699, marked a new phase of Russian interest in the Near East and indirectly the plight of Orthodox Christians in the East. During the negotiations the Russian representative in Vienna P. V. Voznitsyn insisted on religious questions being part of the agenda and on the return of the Holy Sepulchre to the Greeks. At this time the Serbs needed also protection from the Jesuits. Carlowitz enabled a treaty between Russia and Turkey in 1700, which confirmed the treaty of 1681, by which Russian clergy and laity received free passage, without taxation, to Jerusalem and the Holy Places.²⁰⁴

Peter the Great it seems, used the religious question when it would help him in his political aspirations, but this does not mean that he was primarily interested in religious issues. Thus for example, during the Pruth campaign against the Ottomans in 1711, he emphasised religious issues in a hope to stir a Christian revolt.²⁰⁵ However, during the negotiations of 1711-1713, there were no discussions of religious issues.²⁰⁶ Of course, another important event was the treaty of Kutchuk Kainardji under Catherine the Great (1774).²⁰⁷ Russia would now be represented in Constantinople by a minister. There was the Turkish promise „to protect constantly the Christian religion and its churches, and it also allows the Ministers of the Imperial Court of Russia to make, upon all occasions, representation, as well as in favour of the new church at Constantinople.“ The new church in Constantinople, a public church of the Greek rite and in addition to the chapel in the minister’s residence, was to be „always

²⁰³ Жигарев С. А., *Русская политика в восточном вопросе*, Москва, 1896, 348.

²⁰⁴ The 1681 agreement of the Treaty of Bachchisarai, was the first occasion when holy places were mentioned in a Russian and Ottoman setting.

²⁰⁵ Peter sent a message to the Montenegrins hoping for their support. Stavrou G., T., *Russian Interests in Palestine, 1882-1914*, Institute for Balkan Studies, Thessaloniki, 1963, 20.

²⁰⁶ Ibid., 15.

²⁰⁷ Hurewitz, J. C., *Diplomacy in the Near and Middle East, A Documentary Record, 1535-1914*, New York, 1956, I., 54-61.

under the protection of the Ministers of that (Russian) Empire, and secure from all coercion and outrage“. There also were promises for the welfare of the Russian pilgrims in Article VIII of the Treaty, which stipulated that „The subjects of the Russian Empire, laymen as well as ecclesiastics, shall have full liberty and permission to visit the Holy City of Jerusalem and other places deserving of attention. No...tax shall be exacted from those pilgrims and travellers by anyone whatsoever, either at Jerusalem or elsewhere, or on the road; but they shall be provided with such passports and firmans as are given to the subjects of the other friendly powers. During their sojourn in the Ottoman Empire, they shall not suffer the least wrong or injury; but on the contrary, they shall be under the strictest protection of the laws.“²⁰⁸

The Austrian Minister to Constantinople baron Thugutt, characterised the treaty as „a model of competence, on the part of Russian diplomats, and a rare example of stupidity on the part of the Turkish negotiators.“²⁰⁹ Another plan revealed to Joseph II of Austria in 1782, saw the creation of a Byzantine empire in the Balkans, under the rule of Catherine’s grandson Constantine who was born in 1779.²¹⁰

Generally however, in the eighteenth century there was a deterioration in the relations with the Christian East and Russia. It appears that the state was moving away from a symbolic idealism which characterised much of the post-Byzantium period. The donations and gifts to the Eastern Christians originated from receipts of the estates of dioceses, defrayed from property of the Russian Church, in contrast to the practice in the seventeenth century, when aid came from government sources.²¹¹

Earlier on, the Tsars were handing out gifts personally. It seems, that the earlier Tsars were more involved on the ideological and emotional level towards the East than later on. Thus, on one occasion in the more distant period the Tsar upon hearing the oppression of the Christians under Ottoman rule, promised to the representatives of the Eastern Churches, that he would employ all his army, adding his own blood to the last drop, „but I shall try to free them“.²¹²

Recently however, more scholars are reminding us, that the policies of religious tolerance inaugurated by Catherine the Great, were one of the prime reasons, why Russia in comparison

²⁰⁸ Ibid., 56-57.

²⁰⁹ Stavrou G., T., *Russian Interests in Palestine, 1882-1914*, Institute for Balkan Studies, Thessaloniki, 1963,22.

²¹⁰ See Vernadsky, G., *Political and Diplomatic History of Russia*, Boston, 1936.

²¹¹ Igor Smolitsch, Zur Geschichte der Beziehungen zwischen der Russischen Kirche und dem Orthodoxen Osten, in: *Ostkirchliche Studien*, VII March-June, Wurzburg, 1958, 6.

²¹² Жигарев С. А., *Русская политика в восточном вопросе*, Москва, 1896, 91.

to the west was so successful in enticing Muslim populations and regions into its Empire. In any event this religious tolerance was also seen in Russia's missionary attitude generally. The Russian missionary style of non-aggressive enculturation was a revolutionary concept unseen in the world of aggressive colonialism and outright racism which developed later also with Darwinism. This phenomenon of a soft and unobtrusive style of mission is yet to be fully appreciated. Even though Alexander I, closed down the Russian Bible society in 1824, efforts of understanding and learning native languages and cultures as part of missionary efforts were well under way. This produced outstanding scholarship, in Asian studies.²¹³

In terms of state and religious policy in Russia in the nineteenth century we cannot speak of a clear cut and obvious policy. Religious policy (as controlled and determined by state interests) just as other facets of political thought was often contradictory and in a way directionless. In terms of religious life undoubtedly one of the key figures was Konstantin Petrovich Pobedonostsev (Константин Петрович Победоносцев 1827-1907) often portrayed as a prime example of conservative ideology. He was the Ober procurator (Обер Прокуратор) of the Holy Synod (1880-1905). Importantly, he was a representative of the idea of a state/national Church which would have dominance in the state just as there was one monarch in the state. His conservative and centristic views however, are not as primitive as they appear on first glance.

The centrist policies and ideology promulgated by Pobedonostsev turned out to be unrealistic given the developments later. Thus for example, after the year 1905 when a greater degree of religious tolerance was established it turned out that many chose to be outside of the official state Church. One commentator gives the figure of 170 936 people who after 1905 chose to enter the Roman Catholic Church (But this could have been the result of some segments of the population to re-join the Roman Catholic Church). Of course, generally the decades before the revolution of 1917 were marked by the explosion of mystical and philosophical movements and there was also and a tendency against religious centralisation.²¹⁴

What is interesting for our purposes is Pobedonostsevs idea of the Greeks generally. Of course the nineteenth century was a period of increased national awareness of the Greeks all over the Mediterranean. Pobedonostsev clearly disliked the Greek hierarchy and it seems,

²¹³ Geraci, R. P., Khodarkovsky M., *Of Religion and Empire*, Cornell University press, Cornell, 2001, 277.

²¹⁴ Полунов А.Ю. Национальное и религиозное в системе имперского управления: к вопросу о деятельности и политических взглядах К.П.Победоносцева. Государственное управление. *Электронный вестник*, Выпуск но, 34, Октябрь 2012 г., 2. <https://istina.msu.ru/workers/509317>

viewed it in terms of stereotypes, which portrayed the Greek hierarchy as backward, only interested in money and influence. The Greeks allegedly were further full of intrigues.²¹⁵

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

The Russian Turkish War in 1828 was successful for Russia and the nationalists expected some other positive results. The army was commanded by Diebitsch and looking back some commentators argued that because the army was commanded by a foreigner and policy was led by another foreigner Nesselrode, possible Russian ambitions for Constantinople were destroyed.²¹⁶ After the Vienna Congress a Holy Alliance was established, including Russia, Prussia, and Austria, which aimed to protect Christian values. After the 1830s Russian policy and culture was at a crossroads and more national values were appearing.

5. a. Western missionary activity in the Holy Land

The nineteenth century itself was a turning period for the religious and political developments in Palestine. Aggressive Roman Catholic and Protestant activities in the Holy Land provided a new challenge to the Orthodox. This was coupled with other religious movements and issues related to Judaism. The Roman Catholic missionary aggressiveness was not only a result of a new ideological relationship with the Holy Land, but was also the result of the simple fact, that in the beginning of the nineteenth century the Roman Catholic presence in Palestine almost collapsed due to problems in Europe.²¹⁷

²¹⁵ See Российский государственный исторический архив/РГИА. Ф. 1604. И.Д. Десянов. Оп.1. Д.515.Л.177об (письмо от 3 октября 1895 г.); ОР РГБ.Ф.126. Новиковы-Киреевы. К. 8479.Д.18.Л.14-14об. (письмо О.А. Новиковой, 1899); Письма Победоносцева к Александру III.Т.1.С.190-191 (письмо от 4 августа 1888 г.). РГИА Ф.796. Канцелария Святейшего Синода.Оп. 205.Д.629.Л.16 (письмо от 26 мая 1884 г.), cited in Полунов А.Ю. *ibid*.

²¹⁶ Поквишнев М.Н., *Дневник* in: *Русский Архив*, Москва, 1911, том 2, 1911, 202-203; Ingle Harold N., *Nesselrode and the Russian Raproachment with Britain 1836-1844*, University of California Press 1976, 29.

²¹⁷ Van der Leest C., *Conversion and Conflict in Palestine, The Missions of the Church Missionary Society and the Protestant Bishop Samuel Gobat*, Leiden, 2008,153.

The Protestants were attacking the Roman Catholics also. Generally the Protestants viewed the Orthodox Churches as extremely backward. Thus Christian Fallscheer wrote in 1877, that many Christians in the country had "left the superstition and bigotry of these Eastern Churches", but that they [i.e. the Protestant missionaries] wanted "real conversions [...] men who saw the heavenly light with their Spiritual eyes".²¹⁸

The Orthodox could no longer afford to pursue things as they did previously. The Russians soon realised the dangers facing the Orthodox presence in the Holy Land. There was also a traditional tension in the relationship between Greeks and Christian Arabs in the Middle East, which could have resulted in loss of Christian Arabs from the Orthodox Church. The Uniate missionaries utilised these traditional problems to gain ground, but in some instances lost ground themselves, like for example thanks to the introduction of the Gregorian Calendar into the Uniate Church in 1858, which was met with widespread rejection among the Uniate believers. Even the Uniate Patriarch Clement exiled himself into a monastery and received petitions from congregations that if the Gregorian calendar will be introduced into the Churches then Old Style priests will be brought into the Churches by force.²¹⁹ There were conversions from the Uniates to the Orthodox Church and the Russians played a key role in the successful conclusions of these conversions, since the Arabs did not trust the Greeks. In this regard the Russians had a traditionally strong role in the Patriarchate of Antioch.

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

²¹⁸ Ibid, 171; Fallscheer to the CMS, "Report of the quarter ending June 30th 1877", Nablus, 22 June 1877, Birmingham/UL, С М/О 24/3.

²¹⁹ Архив Русской Духовной Миссии в Иерусалиме (further АРДМ), дело Но, 1015, Переписка по делу воссоединения униатов. Cited by Архимандрит Никодим (Ротов). История Русской Духовной Миссии в Иерусалиме in: *Богословские Труды Сборник Двадцатый, Сборник посвящен Митрополиту Ленинградскому и Новгородскому Никодиму († 5 сентября 1978)*, Издание Московской Патриархии, Москва, 1979, 15-83, here 32.

when a Silver Star with engraved arms of France was stolen from the holy Manger in Bethlehem where it hung.²²⁰

In the period of the 1840s king Frederick William IV of Prussia was also concerned about the situation of the Christians in Palestine. Unsurprisingly, he was mainly interested in the plight of the Protestants. He proposed more or less secretly to the Church of England that together with the Prussian Evangelical Church they should form a Protestant bishopric in Palestine.²²¹ In 1842 the first Prussian Vice Consul was appointed in Palestine Dr. Gustav Ernst Schultz.

On the 12/24 February, 1841 the Prussian government sent a circular to the five great powers offering the establishment of a kind of Christian protectorate in Palestine. This happened in the context of a conservative movement in the Prussian government and the desire for closer ties with Britain.²²²

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

²²⁰ Peretz Don, *The Middle East Today*, sixth ed. Praeger publishes, 1994, 87.

²²¹ Van der Leest Charlotte, The Protestant Bishopric of Jerusalem and the Missionary Activities in Nazareth: the Gobat years, 1846-1897, in: *Christian Witness Between Continuity and New Beginnings, Modern Historical missions in the Middle East*, M. Tamcke, M., Marten (eds), Lit Verlag, Berlin, 2006, 199-213.

²²² Hirschfeld Y., Some Findings on Prussian and Ottoman policies in Palestine during the 1840s Based on the writings of Dr. Gustav E. Schultz the First Prussian Vice-Consul to Jerusalem 1842-1851, in: *Palestine in the Late Ottoman Period*, Kushner D. edit., Brill, Leiden, 1986, 263-280 here 264.

The document also had a note, which implied the “leadership role” of the Russian diplomatic agents in these matters related to the Church.

The battle was fought on many fronts and there was animosity between the Protestant and Roman Catholic missionary organisations. It seems, that French diplomacy was very successful in promoting the Roman Catholic cause. The degree of animosity is well expressed in the following statement: "A pompous French embassy is now entering this country with an Italian Jesuit in its train; and, like all loyal subjects to the Pope, we have little reason to doubt that every member of that Embassy will be likely to exert himself to the utmost here to extend the power and influence of the "man of sin".²²³

As we have implied the "sudden" interest in Palestine also saw the establishment of the Latin Patriarchate by Pius IX. It had been established in 1099 after the crusaders captured Jerusalem but after the defeat of the crusaders it had fallen into oblivion. In 1847 it had been re-established with a resident "Patriarch" Joseph Valerga. Needless to say this was a direct affront to the Greek Orthodox Patriarch. In 1853 Latin pastoral work was begun with the establishment of the parish Beit Jala which was the first to belong to this Patriarchate. Then Latin schools were founded. The same year 1847 a concordant was signed with the Vatican by the Tsarist government, where the Roman Catholic Church was able to fill vacant episcopal seats in Russia, Poland and Lithuania. This agreement was slowly eroded especially after the Polish uprising when the Pope sided with the rebels. The Latins had problems amongst each other also and it appears that the dominant Franciscan presence not always found common ground with the representatives of the Holy See. The Franciscan presence was strong in the period around the fifteenth century. The Franciscans managed to manoeuvre themselves into various Christians Shrines including the Holy Sepulchre. Of course, all these Latin acquisitions were made possible by various intrigues, bribery and cooperation with the local Islamic authorities. Interestingly enough until today there is a lack of self-criticism on the part of some Roman Catholic commentators and the Franciscan presence is portrayed as being the victim of persecution by other Christians, notwithstanding the fact that their own presence in the Holy Land was intrusive in the first place.²²⁴ Earlier on the Western powers took the Franciscans under their wing and supported their claims. Thus Pope Urban VIII issued a bull in 1623 urging the protection of the Franciscans in the Holy Land. As is well

²²³ See Perkins, J., *The Missionary Herald*, vol. I, Boston, 1840, 273-274.

²²⁴ See for example, the site <http://www.custodia.org/default.asp?id=427>. It portrays the Franciscans as innocent victims of Greek Orthodox who “moved to Palestine” after the Franciscans!!!

known generally this period was beset by "unionist" movements in Europe. In 1622 the *Congregatio de Propaganda Fide* was formed to oversee the effectiveness of Roman Catholic missionary work. Similarly in 1619 the Capuchins were interested to oversee the return of the Coptic Christians in Egypt to the Roman church.²²⁵ Chitrovo argues, that the Franciscans used the Holy Sites for self-profit, to enrich their order, while the Patriarchates members used the finances to support their relatives and other figures.²²⁶

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

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

The Russian presence in the Holy Land especially in the period from the latter half of the nineteenth century coincided with a period in which this area was a melting pot of cultures, political aspirations, and educational development. It needs to be said, that the Ottoman Empire at that moment unconsciously or consciously contributed to the conditions, which enabled this multiculturalism in this period. This kind of multiculturalism was encapsulated by for example a young Jewish lawyer by the name of Shlomo Yellin, who in 1909 addressed a gathering of Ottoman notables in Beirut. „Born and raised in the Old City of Jerusalem, Yellin was the quintessential polyglot Levantine: he spoke Yiddish with his Polish father, Arabic with his Iraqi mother, Hebrew with his Zionist older brother, and Judeo-Spanish with his Sephardi Jewish neighbours; he wrote love letters in English to the schoolgirl niece he later married, and he jotted notes to himself in French. At the same time, the fez- and suit wearing „Suleiman Effendi“ was the perfect Ottoman gentleman: at the prestigious

²²⁵ See Meinardus O. F.A., *Christians in Egypt, Orthodox, Catholic and Protestant Communities Past and Present*, The American University in Cairo, press, 2006, 75.

²²⁶ Хитрово В.Н., История Русской Духовной Миссии в Иерусалиме, 83-202, in: В. Н. Хитрово, *Собрание Сочинений и Писем*, том 2, Составление, Н. Н. Лисового, Издательство Олега Абышко, Москва, 2011, here 124.

Galatasaray Imperial Lycée in Istanbul, he studied Ottoman Turkish, Arabic, and Persian language, literature, translation, and calligraphy; Ottoman and Islamic history; hygiene, math, science, philosophy, geography, and French literature. After a brief stint at a German university, Yellin graduated from the Ottoman Imperial Law Academy with certification in Islamic law, Ottoman civil and criminal law, and international commercial and maritime law.²²⁷

In a way extraordinary are the contents of the speech of Yellin encapsulating an interesting consciousness of being an Ottoman. Yellin stated to his audience, „The noble Ottoman nation, is made up of different groups who live together, who for the sake of the homeland (*vatan*) have shaped themselves into one mass. In the Ottoman Empire the different peoples are equal to one another and it is not lawful to divide according to race; the Turkish, Arab, Armenian, and Jewish elements have mixed one with the other, and all of them are connected together, molded into one shape for the holy *vatan*. Each part of the nation took upon itself the name of „Ottoman“ as a source of pride and an honorable mark. The responsibility and (illegible) of our holy *vatan* must be our sole aim, and it is necessary to be ready every second and every minute to sacrifice our lives for it....Now we keep (the homeland) deep in our hearts as a basic foundation of our national education. The life of the homeland is bound up with that of the nation.“²²⁸

The changes of the Ottoman land laws in the 1850s meant also that a number of Christian groups came to Palestine, which included Germans, Americans and Swedes and who purchased land. Various Jewish groups also came and there was an increase in Jewish emigration in the last half of the nineteenth century.²²⁹ The question of the existence of Old Believers in Palestine is also an interesting one.²³⁰ There are indications of their efforts to establish themselves in the Middle East.

²²⁷ Central Zionist Archives, A412/29. Cited in Campos M., U., *Ottoman Brothers, Muslims, Christians and Jews in Early Twentieth-Century Palestine*, Stanford University press, Stanford, 2011, 1.

²²⁸ Central Zionist Archives, A412/21. „Noble Ottoman nation“ = Millet-i Osmaniyye necibe-yi; „different peoples“ = milel-i muhtelif; „divide according to race“ = tefrik-i cinsiyet. Cited in Campos M., *ibid.*, 2.

²²⁹ Campos M., U., *Ottoman Brothers, Muslims, Christians and Jews in Early Twentieth-Century Palestine*, Stanford University press, Stanford 2011, 12.

²³⁰ See reference to the Old Believers in the Русский Государственный Исторический Архив, f. 796, op. 120, d. 806-Русская духовная миссия в Иерусалиме, 1839-1842; Kane E., M., Pilgrims, Piety and Politics, The Founding of the First Russian Ecclesiastical Mission in Jerusalem, 177-199, in: *Christian Witness Between Continuity and New Beginnings, Modern Historical missions in the Middle East*, M. Tamcke, M., Marten editors, Lit Verlag, Berlin, 2006, 179-199, here 189.

In Jerusalem itself, beginning in the 1850s various religious groups including Jewish Philanthropic societies and Christian religious institutions purchased land providing for mostly closed and homogeneous neighbourhoods especially in the area of the New City. The Old city was more mixed up in its parts.²³¹ Undoubtedly, possibilities of land purchase also played a role in the Russian presence, which was increasingly illustrated by new buildings and lands belonging to Russia in the Holy Land.

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

6.a Biblical themes in Russian literature

Further research is needed to assess the nature of the Russian relationship with the Holy Land in the period immediately following the conversion of st. Vladimir. Information about Russian contacts with Palestine relate predominantly to the period after the important events of 1009 when the Arabs seriously damaged Christian buildings in Palestine. Yahya of Antioch writes: "And the Cranium was destroyed and (the basilica) of Saint Constantine and all, and everything located in the area and completely destroyed where the holy relics. And Ibn Zachir desired to destroy the tomb and extinguish its trace from the earth destroyed a great part of it and destroyed it."²³² It is possible that the area of the tomb was restored during the reign of Constantine Monomachos.

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

In the Russian Primary Chronicle there is a story how Vladimir asked the Jews, where are their lands. The replied that these were in Jerusalem and allegedly added that God had become angry due to their sins, and had dispersed them all over and that their lands were given to the Christians. Russian scholars such as Соловьёв²³³ have suggested that the Christians mentioned here were not original Christians of Palestine, but actually Crusaders.

²³¹ Ibid. 17.

²³² Розень, В. Р., *Императоръ Василій Болгаробойца, Извлечения из летописи Яхьи Антиохийского*, Санкт Петербург, 1883, 34.

²³³ Соловьёв С., М., *Писатели Русской Истории*, I, прим. Москва, 1893, 241.

Thus this statement could have been testimony to one of the first redactions of the Chronicle in the aftermath of Jerusalem being taken by the crusaders in 1099.

Continuity between the Russian environment and the Holy Land for the early medieval period can be seen in literature. There are similarities between the Russian Primary Chronicle and the text of George Hamartolos (the work of George Hamartolos was very influential in Russian historiography), Παλαίος (this Byzantine work was adapted in Russia) and the Slavic version of John Malalas on the Babylonian tower. The *Palaios* is also close to the work of Cosmas Indikopleustas. Benjamin of Tudela also mentions the Babylonian tower. The Laurentian Primary Chronicle states: "After the confusion of the tongues, God overthrew the tower with a great wind and the ruin of it lies between Assur and Babylon. In height and in breadth it is 5400 and 33 cubits, and the ruin was preserved for many years."²³⁴ In this context we can mention also the book of Jubilees preserved in Ethiopian where there is a similar reference. It is strange, that there is a coincidence between the Ethiopian version and the Russian one, as if the Russian one was dependent on the Ethiopian one. In fact strange as it may appear it seems that the Russian version is directly dependent on the Ethiopian one. Herodotes (History I,181) also mentions the dimensions of the temple of Baal. It seems these dimensions are similar to those given by Kosmas Indikopleustas for the Babylonian tower. For the Babylonian tower see also the references in Cyril of Alexandria, (*Contra Iulianum*, I, I.), and Eusebius of Cesarea (*Praeparatio Evangelica* IX). See also the visit of Saint Paula (4th century) and Theodosius (around 580). A certain aristocrat of Babylon deacon Eudokiy speaks of the impossibility of living in Babylon due to snakes.²³⁵

The *Laurentian Letopis* (41) also mentions the story associated with the making of the Golden Calf (Exodus). It was apparently seen by Epiphanius (9th century), further the Russian pilgrim Vasily Poznyakov and others visiting Sinai, where this cast for the Golden Calf was reportedly located (в долине Шуэйбъ), холмъ Гарунъ. (Хоневтирион Аарона). Did this Russian work rely on Epiphanius in terms of the place of the Golden Calf? Similarly there is the mention of the mountain where Moses died.²³⁶ See in this regard Deuteronomy (32: 49 and 34: 1) in the Septuagint. There is a relationship with the famous IV century pilgrim Sylvia of Aquitaine. She saw a church, where Moses body was laid by angels, and the "burial place of Moses still remains a secret" (Mount Navav; Нававъ). Antonino Piacenza also has an

²³⁴ *The Russian Primary Chronicle, Laurentian text*, trans. Samuel Hazzard Cross, Olgerd P.Sherbowitz-wetzor, the medieval academy of America, Massachusetts, Cambridge. No publishing date given, 5, 52.

²³⁵ Tobler, T., *Itinera et descriptions Terrae Sanctae*, Geneva, 1877.

²³⁶ Полное Собрание Русских Летописей, *Лаврентьевская летопис*, I, 41, Санкт Петербургъ 1846.

account of this purport (around 570).²³⁷ He places the area of death of Moses eight miles from the Jordan. (See also Sossi/Соси, *Voyage en Terre Sainte*, I., 289; Titmar 1217).

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

For New Testament themes we can draw here on the Tver Chronicle, where there is talk of the Well where the Annunciation took place. There are similarities between the voyage of Daniel and the Tver chronicle about the well. Saint Paula speaks about this place, that the Mother of God took water from here; Also mention of this is found in Sylvia of Aquitaine, Arkuluf, Bede, Foka, Zebulf (1102-1103). The Chronicle of Novgorod mentions a board taken from the Holy Sepulchre (year 1134) and brought to Russia (доска оконечная), which could have been part of the destroyed tomb of Christ, which was destroyed during the arab invasion in 1009. Some Russian figures are also compared to Biblical figures. In the interesting work called "Life of Alexander" Alexander Nevskiy is compared to the Biblical Joseph and the Roman Vespasian but also to Samson and Solomon.²³⁸

6. b. *Monastic contacts*

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

One of the founders of the Russian monastic tradition Antoniy of Pechersk was also associated with the Holy Mountain. The Russian Primary Chronicle (Повесть временных лет) speaks about him and his association with Athos. According to the Chronicle of the Pereyaslavlya Suzdal (Переяславля-Суздальская) the secular name of Antoniy was Antipa.²³⁹ It states further, that he was from the city of Lyubtscha (Любча) and that he heard from some local cleric who possibly originated from the south about the Holy Mountain.²⁴⁰

²³⁷ Tobler-Molinier, *Itinera Hierosolym*, I, Genevae, 1879.

²³⁸ Čiževskij, D., *History of Russian Literature, From the eleventh century to the end of Baroque*, Mouton and Co, The Hague, 1971, 138.

²³⁹ *Летописец Переяславля-Суздальского*, Москва, Университетская типография, 1851, 45.

²⁴⁰ ПСРЛ. Т. 2. *Летопись по Ипатскому списку*, Санкт Петербург, 1871, 110.

Further we learn, that “He walked around and saw a monastery here and enlivened the monastic form of life”.²⁴¹

In the *Letopis* under the year 1051, we read, “There was a certain man with the secular name from the city of Lyubtscha called Antipa²⁴², and God placed a desire in his heart to go and visit the Holy Mountain, and seeing the various monasteries here he enlivened the monastic form of life, and he came to this monastery and begged the *igumenos* to accept his desire to become a monk. He listened to his request and tonsured him, giving him the name of Anthony, giving him instructions and teaching him about monasticism, and he told him: go to Russia again, taking with you blessings from the Holy Mountain, and there will be many monks from you, he gave him his blessing, told him “peace be with you”.²⁴³ Thus we are told, that the person Antipa, came to the Holy mountain and desired to be a monk. After a while he was tonsured as a monk with the name Antoni and he was sent back to Russia by the local *Igumenos* of the monastery on Mt. Athos.

The so called *Beginnings of the Pechersk Monastery* ("о зачале Печерского монастыря") attributed to Nestor, in its second more extensive version states, that Antoni went to Athos twice. That he came to Kiev after his tonsure in 1013, and that after the death of Boris and Gleb (1015) and also after Yaroslav became *velikiy knyaz* (1015), he left for Athos again. Antoni again came to Kiev again after Ilarion became Metropolitan in 1051. The situation in this period is itself interesting since Yaroslav staged a naval campaign against Constantinople in 1043, and after peace was established (and after he took some Byzantine possessions in the Crimea and Chersonsus) he married his son Vsevolod I to one of the daughters of the Byzantine emperor.

However, it is difficult to reconstruct the whereabouts of Antoni on Mt. Athos. The association of Antoni with the monastery of Esphigmenou on Mt. Athos is an Athonite tradition of a later date and there are doubts about this association.²⁴⁴ Perhaps the association

²⁴¹ "виде ту манастырь суци и обиходивь, възлюбивь чернечьскый образ" ПСРЛ. Т. 1. *Лаврентьевская летопись*, -Л. Издательство АН СССР, 1926/28г., 157; edition 1846 *ibid*.

²⁴² "Бе некий человек именем мирскимь, от града Любча, по имени Антипа Супральская летопись 164.

²⁴³ „и възложи жему Богъ в сердце в страну ити; он же устремися в святую Гору, и виде ту монастыря суцая, и обходяв, възлюбив чернечьскый образ, приде в монастырь ту, и умоли игумена того, дабы на невзложил образ мнишьскый. Он же послушав его, постриже, и нарек имя ему Антоний, наказав его и научив чернечьскому образу, и рече ему: иди в Русь опять, и буди бглагословение од Святыя Горы, яко от тебе мнози черньци быти имут" благословий и отпусти его, рек ему: "йди с миромь" *Ibid*., *Лаврентьевская Летопись* 152, 153.

²⁴⁴ Соловьев С.М., *История России с древнейших времен*, кт. 1, изд. 2, 255.

with Esphigmenou was occasioned by the desire on the part of the monastery to link itself with Russia in order to gain access to alms.

From the monastery of the caves in Kiev there were other pilgrims including Nikon (Никонъ), who travelled to Mt. Athos due to the advice of *prepodobniy Antoniyy*²⁴⁵, also Varlaam (Варлаамъ), (*igumenos* of the monastery of the martyr Dimitriy, built by *knyaz* Izyaslav) who travelled to Jerusalem and Constantinople and purchased some necessary things for his monastery.²⁴⁶ Further a certain Ephrem (Ефремъ), who went to Constantinople.²⁴⁷ Contacts between the Caves monastery and the south are testified in other parts of the Kievo Pechersk *paterikon*, and there is also a story of masters coming to Kiev from Constantinople to Antoniyy and Theodosiyy to build a church in Kiev, commissioned by an empress from Blachernae, who also sent relics and who foresaw the time of death of Antoniyy and Theodosiyy. The empress wanted to build a church in Rus. In the thirteenth century we have information about a monk living in the Theodosiyya cave, whose name was Amoniyy (Аммоній), and who visited the Holy mountain and Jerusalem.

6. c., *Journeys in the period of Abbot Daniel*

Of course, one of the earliest pilgrims of higher rank is the *Knyagina* Olga herself who travelled to Constantinople in the tenth century. An anonymous writer of the fifteenth century wrote about this journey: "Gods providence from above has illuminated the mind...she (Olga) desired to go on a journey to the city of the Tsar, and see on her very own eyes the beauty of the Christian service there, and to hear the words of salvation and to comprehend the Orthodox faith",.. "as a good vessel of faith searching for the precious Christ".²⁴⁸

One of the most famous and well known travellers was the *igumenos* Daniel (travelled between 1106 and 1108). His life context is more or less unknown. He was possibly a monk of the Kiev Pechersk Lavra monastery. Perhaps he was later after his return the bishop of Yurevo (Юрьевъ, from 1113 and died in 1122).²⁴⁹ Daniel travelled extensively and he visited most of the "important sites" in the Holy land. He may have led a group to the Holy Land. He

²⁴⁵ *Патерикъ Печерскій*, Киево-Печерская лавра, Киев, 1760, 93.

²⁴⁶ *Ibid.*, 99

²⁴⁷ *Ibid.*, 100, 101.

²⁴⁸ "Но о Божія промысла свѣтомъ разума осиаема...восхотѣ (Ольга) шествовати путь къ царствующему граду тамо своима очима жъ слаще видѣти красоту службы христіанскія и слышати слово благочестія и разумно увѣдати православную вѣру", "яко добрый сосудъ вѣры ищущи безцѣннаго бисера Христа" *Рукопись Московской Духовной Академии, XV в. Но. 198, О желаніи шествія въ Царь градъ блаженныя Ольги*, л. 105 об.-106.

²⁴⁹ Карамзин Н. М., *Исторія государства Россійскаго*, типографія Эдуарда Праця, /репринт, Русский язык, 1989, изд. Пятое, т. II, /Санкт Петербургъ 1842, 225.

is also interesting in that he describes his encounter with the Latin king Baldwin. He is informed by a mysterious monk from the monastery of Saint Savva in Palestine who was a saint and educated person (Свята и стар денми и книжна вельми).

Daniel addressing king Baldwin writes: “My *knyaz* my master, I implore you, for God and for the Russian *knyaz* (plural), help me to place a candle on the saintly tomb for the entire Russian land (for all of our *knyaz*-plural for the entire Russian land, and for all Christians)”.²⁵⁰ Later at the end of his writings he writes: “And God listened to this, and mentioning on the Tomb of the Lord as well as in other places, all the names of the Russian *knyaz* (plural), and *knyagin* (plural) their children, bishops, *igumens*, *boyars*, and my spiritual children, and of all the Christians I have not forgotten any, I have commemorated all of them, I have prostrated myself first for all the *knaz* (plural) and then prayed for my own sins.”²⁵¹

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

He mentions all the important saints of the Palestine setting, mentioning also saints associated with the Aegean islands at the same time giving accurate geographical distances. However, importantly, he does not recommend this journey for all “Many who would come to these holy places and to the Holy city of Jerusalem and having raised their minds, as if they did in

²⁵⁰ "Княже мой, господине мой, молю ти ся, бога для и князей для русских, повели ми, да бых и аз поставил свое кандило на Гробе Святем от всея русьския земля /за вся князя наша и за всю русскую землю, за вся християне/".

²⁵¹ "И Бог тому послух, и святыи Гроб Господень яко во всех местех святых не забых имен князь русских, и княгинь, и детей их, епископ, игумен, и боляр, и детей моих духовных, и всех христиан николиже не забыл есмь, но во всех святых местах поминал есмь, первее покланялся есмь за князей за всех и потом о своих гресех помолился есмь.", "Житъе и хоженъе Даниила. Русьския земли игумена, 1106-1107 г., in: *Православный Палестинский Сборник* Вып. III, и IX, Санкт Петербургъ, 1885, 128 and 139-140; One of the earliest versions Русская Народная Библиотека, Q. XVII, 88, 1495, g. Л. 1-48; Русская Государственная Библиотека, Рум., no 335, XV-XVI vv.

fact do something good, loose the reward for their actions”.²⁵² He constantly compares the natural characteristics of Palestine and other areas with Russia. Thus a kind of symbolic connection is established. Daniel believes, that in the Holy Sepulchre, there is centre of the earth and that the Holy Sepulchre contains the skull of Adam.

In the same century we have the travels of Efrosinia, *Knyazhna Polotskaya igumeness* of a monastery located on Seltse (Сельць) around Polotsk. She died in Palestine and was buried in the monastic foundation (обител) of *prepodobniy* Theodosii. Efrosinia Polotskaya (Евфросиния Полоцкая) became a saint (преподобная) in the eyes of the Church and was called Predslava (Предслава) before she became a nun and was related to Vladimir the “equal to the apostles”. She was the daughter of the *knyaz* Georgiy Svyatoslav Vseslavich (Георгий Святослав Всеславич). According to her wish she died in Jerusalem on the 24th of May 1173. She is also associated with giving a precious cross to the Church with pieces of the true cross. According to the *Life* there was a *knyaz* in the city of Polotsk called Vseslav (Всеслав), who had many sons. He also had a son called Georgiy (Георгий), the father of Eufrosinia (Еуфросинии).

Eufrosinia was beautiful and regardless of the great interest of prospective suitors she decided to become a nun. Eufrosinia desired to furnish one of her Churches with an icon. The *Life* states: “Seeing that two great monasteries were built and rich, and said to herself: “Praise to You, *Vladyko*, I thank Thee, Holy! What I desired you gave me, and you have fulfilled Lord, the wishes of my heart”. Then she said: “Have mercy on me Lord, and fulfil my wish, that I will see the Mother of God *Hodegetria* in this Holy Church.” And she sent her servant Michail into Constantinople, to the Emperor, called Manuel, and to the Patriarch Luke, with many gifts, asking from him the holy icon three copies of which were made by Luke during his lifetime one of which was located in Jerusalem, the second in Constantinople, and the third in Ephesus. She wanted the one from Ephesus, of the Mother of God.²⁵³ She received the

²⁵² "Многие же, дойдя до мест этих святых и до святого города Иерусалима и вознесшись умом своим, будто нечто доброе сотворили, теряют награду за свой труд" Правос. Палест. Сбор. Ibid. 170.

²⁵³ "Видевши же блаженная монастыря два устроена превелика зело и пребогата, и рече в себе: "Слава Тобе, Владыко, благодарю Тя, Святый! Что есмь восхотела, то дал ми еси, и скончал еси, Господи, желание сердца моего". И паки рече: "Помилуй мя, Господи, и скончай прошение мое, да бых видела пресвятую Богородицу Одигитрию в сей святей церкви". И посла слугу своего Михаила в Царьград к царице, нарицаему именован Мануилу, и к патриарху Луце з дары многоценными, просящи от нею иконы святая Богородица, еже бе еуаггалист Лука написа 3 иконы еще при животе святая Богородица и постави едину во Ерусалиме, а другую во Цариграде, а третью в Ефессе. Она же с прилеженем прошаше Ефесския иконы святая Богородица." Месяца мая в 24 день. *Повесть жития и преставления святая и блаженныя и преподобныя Еуфросинии, игуменьи монастыря святого Спаса и пречистыя Его Матере, иже в Полотъске граде. Благослови, Отче!* Edition Уладзімір Арлоў, Еўфрасіння Полацкая, Мінск, Мастацкая літаратура, 1992, 189.

icon and then expressed a desire to visit Jerusalem and to venerate the Holy Sepulchre and to die there.²⁵⁴

In a small pilgrim excerpt located in a Collection published together with the Imperial Public library in 1894 and which speaks about the events from 1163 to 1877 there are two accounts of pilgrims going to Jerusalem.²⁵⁵ "In the year 6671 (=1163). John was archbishop of Novgorod. During this period there were pilgrims going to Jerusalem during the *knyaz* of Russ (пустемъ) Rostislav (died 1168). From the Great Novgorod from the church of Saint Sophia, 40 men pilgrims undertook the journey to Jerusalem and to the tomb of the Lord. And they kissed the tomb and where happy. And they went to receive blessings from the Patriarch and holy remains (мощи). And they came to the Great Novgorod to saint Sophia. Having placed the holy remains into the church for *vладыка* John to use for the consecration of churches, and having given the Church of Saint Sophia a *копкар* (копкаръ/perhaps some sort of chalice difficult to ascertain the meaning, perhaps from the greek *καυκάλιον*, calix or a cup with oil for blessing above the tomb of Christ²⁵⁶; The dictionary states: Скопкаръ/скорбаръ/ есть и до сихъ поръ "деревянная посуда вь родѣ братины, жбана, енды, изъ коей пьютъ пиво, медь, брагу, чорная потаковками; скобкаръ родъ чашки съ двумя ручками /скобами/, бываетъ вь дѣлѣ на мѣрскомъ пивѣ, вь кануны, вь большіе праздники и хранится вь церкви, Даля Толковый словарь живого великорусскаго языка, т. IV, 1882, 204), for ages sustenance, and gaining for ages glory to themselves. And the saintly *vладыка* Ivan, and the entire clerical congregation blessed these forty men. And moving around the cities with great happiness, praising God. Having come to Russia (Русь) to the holy Boris and Gleb; where there is a church, they gave it other remains of the saints, and next to Saint Boris and Gleb there are six guards, and others, giving them *skatert* (скатерть) sustenance for ages. And the forty men were blessed parading through the city. And having come to the city of Torzhok to the Holy Savior; where there is a church, of the Saviour and they gave them holy remains for consecration of churches; there are twelve men standing guarding in the Saviour and they gave them their cup (чашу свою) for sustenance for ages."²⁵⁷

²⁵⁴ Ibid. 190.

²⁵⁵ *Отчетъ Императорской Публичной Библиотеки* (Х.М.Лопарева) за 1894 годъ, 113-115. Also in *Сообщение Православнаго Палестинскаго Общества 1897, августъ*, Санкт Петербургъ 1898, 499-502.

²⁵⁶ Antonios of Piacenza speaks of a *lucernam eream* which stood at Christ's tomb, and from which they took some oil for blessing exchanging it with oil they brought/ex qua benedictionem accepimus et recomposuimus eam, see Tobler Titus, Molinier Augustus, *Itinera Hierosolymitana*, Genevae, 1880. Thus "копкаръ" could have been such a vessel standing over the tomb of Christ for oil for blessing.

²⁵⁷ "Се ходиша изъ Великаго Новагорода отъ святой Софѣи 40 мужъ калиици ко граду Иерусалимоу ко гробу Господню. И гробъ Годпедень целоваша и ради быша. И поидоша, взявше *благословение* у

An interesting tale speaks of the bishop of Novgorod John, travelling to Jerusalem on a demons back. John (first archbishop of Novgorod 1163-1186). According to the story, bishop John found a demon in his hand wash basin in his room. After entrapping it with his prayer he commanded the demon to take him to Jerusalem and to the tomb of the Resurrection.

Similarly, there is a legend of Caesarius of Heisterbach (born around 1170 monk of a Cistercian monastery near Bonn)²⁵⁸ who wrote about a knight who due to some form of disease started hating his wife. A demon offers him transportation in spirit (leaving his body at home due to illness) to Rome to obtain a divorce and they also visit Jerusalem. During the journey the knight notices his neighbour being robbed and he warns him about this and when the knight wakes up he is restored and loves his wife again.

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

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

Around 1370 there was the pilgrimage of Agrefeniy (Агрефеній, there are versions as Агриппа, Агрипинь или Агрипний, Григентий, Грефений, Парфений etc.), who was an

патріарха и святыя моци. И придоша, въ Великій Новгородъ къ святей Софѣи. И даша святыя моци въ церковь владыки Іоану святымъ церквамъ на священіе, а собору святыя Софѣи даша *копкаръ*, во веки имъ кормленіе а собѣ во вѣки славы оукоупиша. И святыи владыка Иванъ и весь соборъ священнической бласловиша ихъ всѣхъ 40 моужь. И поидоша по градамъ съ великою радостію, славящи Бога. Придоша въ Русу къ святому Борису и Глѣбу; аже седить соборъ, ины даша имъ святыя моци; а оу святого Бориса и Глѣба стоять 6 мужь притворянь и ины даша имъ *скатерть* во веки имъ кормленіе. И бласловишася оу собора вси 40 моужь и поидоша по градомъ. И придоша в градъ Торжокъ къ святому Спасоу; аже седить соборъ, святого Спаса священники; они же даша имъ святыя моци святымъ церквамъ на освященіе; аже стоять у святого Спаса 12 моужь притворянь, ины даша имъ *чашу свою* во веки имъ кормленіе". Притворянамъ (=сторожамъ). Чашу или скатерть.

²⁵⁸ *The Dialogue on Miracles* V,37, George Routledge and Sons, New York, 1929, I, 368-370.

archimandrite of the Smolensk Mother of God monastery.²⁵⁹ He visited Jerusalem and Constantinople.

A certain Athanasiy igumen of the Vysotsky monastery (founded by Sergey of Radonezh) travelled to Constantinople in 1382 and spent there twenty years. From Constantinople Athanasiy sent translations of Greek theological and liturgical books as well as was helpful in the transmission of the Byzantine book art form and iconography into the Russian environment. There was also a certain Ilarion one of the *igumenos* of a Novgorod monastery, who went to Athos and returned in 1397 and a certain Sava, founder of Visherskiy monastery under Tver who also travelled to Athos for information about the life of monks etc. (perhaps the second decade of the XV century (1411-1414)).²⁶⁰ Then there was a certain Efrosin (Евфросинъ) who founded a monastery around the Pskov lake (+1481).

The Ipatiev Letopis (Ипатьевская летопись) also mentions a certain Войшелк. Voyshek (Vaišvilkas) was a *Velikiy Knyaz* of Litva and was Orthodox by confession. The author of the part in this letopis speaking about Voyshek was himself a contemporary of Voyshek. Voyshek died in the period 1267 or 1268.²⁶¹ He was the son of Mindovg. In one tradition he is associated with the Mount Sinai where he supposedly accepted the monastic form of life.²⁶²

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

His life was written around 1558 by Varlaam Vasilii. He died in 1156 in prison after rejecting to acknowledge Clement (Smoliatic) as metropolitan of Kiev. He was also a great defender of the rights of the Patriarchate of Constantinople, especially in relation to the Russian

²⁵⁹ Хождение архимандрита Агрефеня обители Пресвятыя Богородицы, in: *Православный Палестинский Сборник*, XLVIII, Санкт Петербург, 1896, 89-156; Хождение архимандрита Грефеня, обители Пресв. Богородицы, во Святую землю, публ. Я. И. Горожанского, РФВ, 1884, no. 4, 251-312; 1885, no. 1, 1-43; Прокофьев Н. И., *Хождение Агрефения в Палестину: Текст и археогр. Примеч.* Литература Древней Руси, М. 1975, вып. 1, 136-151, Санкт Петербург, тр. МГПИ, вып. 1.

²⁶⁰ А. И. Соболевский, *Южно-славянское влияние на русскую письменность в XIV-XV вв.*, Санкт Петербург, 1894, 29.

²⁶¹ Огицкий, Д. П., Великий князь Войшелк, Страница из истории Православия в Литве, in: *Богословские Труды*, сборник двадцать четвертый, Московская Патриархия, Москва, 1983, 56-89.

²⁶² Полное Собр. Лѣт., т. V, под 1265 г. Санкт Петербург, 1851.

Church.²⁶³ This is emphasised by his biographer who went out of his ways to emphasise his allegiance to Constantinople.²⁶⁴

We also have the important work known as the “Wanderer” of Stephen of Novgorod (От странника Стефанова Новгородца). It contains an important description of Constantinople from the period after the Mongol conquest of Russia.²⁶⁵ But it also apparently had a part now lost of the continuation of the journey to Jerusalem. He visited Constantinople perhaps in the years 1348 or 1349. Constantinople is also described in the work *Book of a Pilgrim* from Antony of Novgorod (Книга Паломник from Антоний of Новгород). Little is known of this author except that he lived around 1232 and just as Stephen he aimed to go to Jerusalem but did not reach it. He travelled to Constantinople around 1200 and importantly describes the miracle which took place in the Church of Hagia Sophia on the 21 of May 1200.

He was an eyewitness of this miracle when one of the giant crosses "of Justinian" at the altar of Hagia Sophia flew above and returned to its place without extinguishing its lamps which were located on its sides. His descriptions are of immense importance since they were written just before the Latin takeover. Thus for example he is only one of sources describing the *catapetasma* (a Greek term describing the veil separating the Holy of Holies from Holies of the Old Testament Church), which in his day was a veil at the altar table of Hagia Sophia.²⁶⁶ Stephen mentions his encounter with the Patriarch of Constantinople Isidor, who loves Russia. He mentions how the icon made by Luke was carried out in procession. He states that the Church of Hagia Sophia has 365 doors.

There is also an anonymous description about Constantinople formed by two accounts called *Discussion about the shrines of Tsargrad and a description of the holy places in Constantinople* (Беседа о святынях Цареграда and Сказание о святых местах и о Константинограде).²⁶⁷ In this discussion of the sanctuaries and other worthy monuments of

²⁶³Лихачев Д. С., "Софийский временник" и новгородской политической переворот 1136 г., in: *Исторические записки*, no. 25, Москва 1948, 240-265.

²⁶⁴ Bushkovitch, P., *Religion and Society in Russia, The Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries*, Oxford University, press, New York, 1992, 28.

²⁶⁵ Majeska George P., *Russian Travelers to Constantinople in the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Centuries*, Dumbarton Oaks, Washington 1984, 15. Сахаровъ, *Путешествія русских людей*, II, Санкт Петербургъ, 1837, 7-28.

²⁶⁶ Lidov A., The Catapetasma of Hagia Sophia and the Phenomenon of Byzantine installations, in: *Convivium* 1, 2014, (2), 40-57. Here 42.

²⁶⁷ The Беседа о святынях Цареграда was published by Майков Л. Н., in: *Сборник Отделения Русского языка и Словесности*, т. 51, no. 4, Санкт Петербург, 1890. Сказание о святых местах и о Константинограде was published by Сперанский М. Н., *Из старинной Новгородской литературы XVI века, Памятники древнерусской литературы XIV века*, вып. 4. Ленинград, 1934.

Constantinople/Tsargrad there is the conversation of a bishop of Venedia or Renedia with the Tsar which is related to Constantinople and its buildings..²⁶⁸ From the excerpts we can speculate that the Tsar travelled to Palestine, Sinai and Alexandria while the bishop of Venedia waited for him in Constantinople. The text dates probably to the fourteenth century and is interesting in that it follows a hagiographical line, opening with the emphasis on the city and its miraculous icons, relics of saints and other similar things. Thus according to the author you can see in Hagia Sophia, the doors from the ark of Noe, the chain cuffs worn by Apostle Paul, and above the entrance an icon of the Saviour. The emphasis is on healing everyone experiences here. He speaks of the monastery of Studios where there are bodies of saints Savva and Solomonida, which are not corrupted. The church of Demida is mentioned where there is the "table of Christ". An apocalyptic suggestion is made by reference to two icons from Leo the Wise, who reportedly painted them and which describe the amount of emperors until the fall of Constantinople.

From 1330 there is the journey of a certain Grigoriy Kaleyuka (Григорій Калѣйка or Калѣка), who was a priest of a church of saint Kosma and Damian on *na Cholopiy Novgorod* ("на Холопыи" Novgorod), who became the archbishop of Novgorod-Vasiliy. About his journey there is little known, but that he travelled is confirmed by his name Калѣка.²⁶⁹ It is possible that he had written a work called *Беседа о святынях Царьграда*, which could have been from a Novgorod provenance of the fifteenth century.

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

It often appears, that at least in the medieval period there were not so many pilgrims from the higher classes. There is one indication of a pilgrimage by the Tsar in the so called *Беседа о Царьградѣ*, where it is written: "After a few days, desiring to be a pilgrim in Jerusalem, the Tsar taking over much gold and hiding his identity, went with them to Jerusalem, living there

²⁶⁸ Беседа о святыняхъ и другихъ достопамятностяхъ Цареиграда, Майковъ Л. Н., *Сборникъ отд. Русск.яз.и слов.* Императорской Академіи Наукъ, т. LI, No. 4. Ibid above Майковъ.

²⁶⁹ *Полное собраніе лѣтописей*, т. III, стр. 75, Санкт Петербург, 1847.

for two years visiting the Holy Places and then going to the Mt. Sinai, spending one month there, and then spending one year in Alexandria.”²⁷⁰

A certain Carp Danilovich (Карп Данилович) *Воевод* of Pskov (1341) is referred to as a pilgrim (калек) in the Pskov *Letopis*.²⁷¹ In the first Pskov *letopis* we read: “People wailing from Pskov young people, going to battle *Zanorovuя* with fifty men about the *kalejka* Carp Danilovich” (“Псковичи пѣшцы, молодые люди, поидоша воевать Заноровья 50 мужь о калекѣ о Карпѣ о Даниловичѣ”).²⁷²

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

From the fourteenth century we have the travel of Ignatij Smolyanin (Игнатій Смольнянинъ) who travelled to Constantinople in 1389, and who was a deacon, later monk. He remained in Constantinople until 1393, then visiting Jerusalem, and from 1396 he remained in Athos, and died there in 1405. He described the coronation of Manuel II as emperor in 1392.²⁷³ He starts his account mentioning his journey with the metropolitan Pimen to Constantinople in 1389. Along the way Metropolitan Pimen has trouble with Genoese bankers to whom he apparently owed money. A scuffle broke out in Azov where the moneylenders reached Pimen extorting money from him, since they believed that now since he became the Metropolitan he had the money to pay. Ignatij describes a great deal of the journey which went through Russia. Importantly, Ignatij mentions a visit to the monastery of Saint Prodomos, where *there where Russians living there*. Extraordinarily later Pimen dies in Chalcedon and is buried in Constantinople. Further interestingly Ignatij describes the political wars in the Byzantine capital with infighting and how foreign Frankish troops were used by all the sides to help win the throne. There is a description of the coronation, how the emperor

²⁷⁰ "По мале же дни и Божиимъ изволеніемъ идущимъ страннымъ во Иерусалимъ, царь же вземъ злата многа и утаився всѣхъ, иде съ нима во Иерусалимъ і пребысть тамо два лѣта и по Святымъ Мѣстом походи и оттуду иде на Синайскую гору і бысть тамо 1 мѣсяць, и по сихъ иде на Александрию лѣто едино" Майков Л. Н., Материалы и исследования по старинной русской литературе, *ibid*, т. LI, no. 4, стр. 24-28, Санкт Петербург 1890.

²⁷¹ See *Русский биографический словарь в 25-ти т.*- Изд. Под наблюдением председателя Императорского Русского Исторического Общества А.А.Половцева.,-Санкт-Петербург: Тип. И.Н.Скороходова, 1896-1918.

²⁷² *Полное Собр. Лѣт.*, т. IV, 181, 1341, Санкт Петербург, 1848.

²⁷³ Majeska George P., *Russian Travelers to Constantinople in the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Centuries*, *Dumbarton Oaks*, Washington, 1984,50; Игнатій Смольнянинъ in: *Прав. Пал. Собр.*, XII, 78-99, Санкт Петербург, 1887.

entered the sanctuary and two guards stood in front of the Holy doors. The emperor was crowned by the Patriarch and the Patriarch then crowned his wife.

Deacon Arseniy Solunskiy (Арсеній Солунський) lived in Palestine for seventeen years. As his name suggests he also served as a deacon in Salonika.²⁷⁴

6. d. Travel in the fifteenth century

One of the disciples of Sergey of Radonezh Eriphaniy, monk Eriphaniy the wise (Епифаній, the monk Епифаний Премудрый), who died in 1420 was also the hagiographer of Sergey of Radonezh. He travelled to Constantinople and Mt. Athos. He travelled in the years 1415 to 1417. He also visited Jerusalem.²⁷⁵

Another interesting traveller of this period is Zosima (Зосима) who was a monk of the Troitsko Sergeev Lavra. Zosima (Зосима) was one of the last pilgrims to visit the Byzantine capital before its fall. In 1414 he accompanied the *knyagina* Anna Vasilievna (daughter of *knyaz* Vasiliy Dmitrievich), who was betrothed to the future Byzantine Emperor John VIII Palaiologos. Altogether he visited Constantinople twice and in the years 1419-1420 he visited the Holy Land and Constantinople the second time. This journey to the Holy Land found its account in his work *Stranik* (Страник).²⁷⁶ The betrothal of Anna coupled together with the marriage of Ivan III with Sophia Palaiolog where two important political events linking the two areas.

The important scholar A. I. Sobolevskiy (А. И. Соболевский)²⁷⁷ discerns an important relationship between the development of the Russian language in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries and the intense connections with the south at that time. He writes: "It is obvious, that between the half of the fourteenth and half of the fifteenth centuries, Russian literature had fallen under a very strong influence from the southern Slavic literature and in the end submitted to this influence. This happened due to the strengthening ties with Mount Athos and

²⁷⁴ Адрианова В. П., Жождения Арсения Селунского, *Известия отделения Русского языка и словесности*, т. 18, кн.3, 1913, 195-224; Сахаровъ, *Сказания рус. Народа*, т. II, кн. 8, стр. 74, Санкт Петербург, 1849.

²⁷⁵ *Прав. Пал. Сборн.* XV, I-II, Санкт Петербург, 1887; Zenkovsky Serge A., ed., *Medieval Russia, s Epics, Chronicles, and Tales*, revised edition, New York 1974; *Quaestio Rossica*, no. 3, 2014, Uralskiy Universitet.

²⁷⁶ Книга, глаголемая Ксенос, сиречь Странник, списанный Зосимом диаконом о русском пути до Царяграда и от Царяграда до Иерусалима in: *Прав. Пал. Сбор. XXIV*, стр. I-III, Санкт Петербург, 1889.

²⁷⁷ Южнославянское влияние на русскую письменность в XIV-XV ввках: Ръчь, читанная на годичном актѣ Археологического Института 8 мая 1894 года, проф, А.И. Соболевским, Санкт Петербург, 1894.; *Из истории русской культуры, том. II, кн. 1., Киевская и Московская Русь*, А. Ф. Литвина, Ф. Б. Успенский, языки славянской культуры, Москва, 2002.

Constantinople.²⁷⁸ From the half of the fourteenth century contacts between Russia and Constantinople increased. This was witnessed by the increasing numbers of Russian monks and pilgrims. Russian monks were living in monasteries in Constantinople. For example, in the Studite monastery (John the Forerunner), and its neighbouring monastery Perivleptos. As we have seen Ignaty Smolyanin mentions Russian monks in Constantinople in 1389, in the Studite (John the Forerunner) monastery. "И упокоиша ны добрѣ ту живущии русь".²⁷⁹ As Sobolevskiy observes however, Stefan from Novgorod who visited Constantinople in around 1350 does not mention any Russian monks in the Studite monastery (according to Sobolevskiy the manuscript tradition of the account of the journey where it is said that there is a meeting with two people from Novgorod in Constantinople Ivan and Dobrilo and found in the edition of Sacharov is not authentic).²⁸⁰

From 1430 we have Afanasiy Rusin (Афанасий Русин), who purchased a Gospel in the monastery Pantocrator on Athos. Sobolevskiy also mentions some sort of person called Evsevi/Efrem/Rusin (Евсеви-Ефрем-Русин) who travelled to Constantinople in 1421.²⁸¹ Others include the *igumenos* of Ugresh (Угрѣшский) monastery Ion (Ион)²⁸² from this period. Varsonophiy (Варсонофий) is another important pilgrim within this context, who after his pilgrimage became the spiritual father of the bishop from Novgorod and later became the *igoumenos* of Beltschitsa (Бѣльчицким) in Polotsk. In 1456 he went to Palestine and Jerusalem and in 1461-1482 he visited Egypt the Sinai and Palestine again.²⁸³ Varsonofios account is especially valuable because he is one of the first to describe the Sinai and Egypt from Russia. It is also interesting, that he does not mention any obstacles thrown at him by the Muslims in Egypt, which suggest a change of attitude on the part of the locals to the Russian pilgrims. The famous Nil Sorsky born in 1433 spent some time in the Kyriilo Belozerskiy monastery and together with his disciple Innokentiy (from the boyar aristocratic family of Ochlebinich/Охлебениных) also visited Athos.²⁸⁴

²⁷⁸ "Ясно, что между половиной XIV и половиной XV века русская письменность попала под очень сильное влияние южнославянской письменности и в конце концов подчинилась этому влиянию. Это произошло благодаря усилившимся сношениям России с Константинополем и Афоном.", Москва, 891.

²⁷⁹ Ibid, above, Палестинское Общество, 7.

²⁸⁰ Южнославянское влияние на русскую письменность в XIV-XV ввках: Рѣчь, читанная на годичном актѣ Археологическаго Института 8 мая 1894 года, проф, А.И. Соболевским, Санкт Петербург, 1894.; *Из истории русской культуры, том. II, кн. I., Киевская и Московская Русь*, А. Ф. Литвина, Ф. Б. Успенский, языки славянской культуры, Москва, 2002, 892.

²⁸¹ Ibid.

²⁸² *Прибавление къ твор. Св. Отцев*, 1848, VI, 137.

²⁸³ Варсонофий, *Православный Палестинский Сборник*, т. XV, вып. 3, Москва, 1896.

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

Mitrophan Bivalentsev (Митрофан Бывальцев) and his name appear within the context of saint Iosif Volotskiy (преподобный Иосиф Волоцкий) who in 1478 visited saint Makariy (преподонный Макарий (Kalyazinsky/Калязинский/born 1400). *Prepodobniy* Makariy settled 18 versts from Kashina (Кашина) where he built a *skete*. In this context Mitrophan Bivalentsev who "returned from Athos after nine years" and stated that "Without reason and success I have gone to the Holy Mountain not seeing Kolyazinskiy monastery. Since those living in it can attain salvation: everything is done here in its kelias as in the monasteries of the Holy Mountain".²⁸⁵

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

From the fifteenth century there is the *The Pilgrimage of the visitor Vasiliy into Small Asia, Egypt and Palestine 1465-1466* (Хождение гостя Василия в Малую Азию, Египет и Палестину-1465-1466 г.). The author begins by stating with an important hagiographical *topos*. "In 6974 (1466), under the great *knyaz* of Moscow and all of Russia Ivan Vasilyevich, a pilgrimage was accomplished. In the name of the Father, Son and Holy Spirit, I the servant of God and all sinner Vasiliy, desired to see the holy places and city, and God enabled me to see and venerate the Holy sites. Through the prayers of the Holy Fathers, the Lord Jesus Christ, the Son of God, have mercy on us."²⁸⁶ The intention of the journey is set out, as the desire to pay respect to the holy places all of which has to be undertaken only due to the blessings of God. What makes the journey unique, is the route taken, and the description of the Ottoman mainland. He apparently wanted to open up trade routes and diplomatic ties with Mameluk Egypt. Some of his descriptions reveal important details of the Christian population in the area. Thus for the city of Homs (Хомс), he states that there are not many Muslims living there, that there are two main churches there, that of the Mother of God and that of the

²⁸⁵ "Напрасно и без успеха прошел я такой путь во Святую гору мимо Колязинского монастыря. Ибо могут спастись живуще в нем: здесь все творится подобно тому, как в киновидах (общежительных монастырях) Святой Горы", *Русский Патерик, Жития великих русские святых*, редактор Т.Н. Терещенко, Москва, 2017, 67.

²⁸⁶ "В 6974 (1466) году, при великом князе Московском и всея Руси Иване Васильевиче, было совершено путешествие. Во имя отца и сына и ствятого духа Вот я, раб божий и многогрешный Василий, пожелал видеть святыя места и города, и сподобил меня бог видеть и поклониться святым местам. За молитвы святых отцов, господи Иисуси Христа сына божия, помилуй нас."

Great martyr George.²⁸⁷ He offers a down to earth description of Jerusalem and other areas and interestingly in the Church of the Holy Sepulchre mentions a place where Jesus Christ had led Adam and Eve from hell.

Around 1475 a work emerged attributed to Afanasiy Nikitin (Афанасий Никитин), *A sinful journey beyond the three seas of Afanasiy Nikitin* (Грешное жожение за три моря Афанасия Никитина),²⁸⁸ which as the name implies, describes a long journey reaching India. He travelled from Tver and through the then Persia. While he is not so interesting in our context it is necessary to state, that similarly to other pilgrims God is on his mind and even though he was a merchant and not a religious pilgrim as such. He constantly affirms his love and respect for Russia. Russia and God go hand in hand. He was robbed and therefore started travelling, since the creditors at home desired his fortunes. He is well educated and displays a knowledge about the main cultural centres of his period. "They have their *butchana*-that is their Jerusalem, it is the same thing for the Busurmans as Mecca; he raised his right hand on high-as Justinian the Emperor of Tsargrad."²⁸⁹

6. e. *Travel in the sixteenth until eighteenth centuries*

There are indications of travels of a certain *inok* Sergiy the son of the Ukrainian hero XVI Michail Cherkashenin (Михаил Черкашенин) who was taken captive by Crimean Tatars. This is described in the work *A word about a certain starets* (Слово о нѣкоемъ старцѣ /XVII century possibly written or copied in 1640). This work mentions an *inok* Sergey who travelled to Jerusalem and Egypt from Crimea possibly around 1569-1589.²⁹⁰

Then there is the work *The Story of a journey to Jerusalem and to Constantinople with the Patriarch of Jerusalem Paisiy* "Повѣсть и сказаніе о походе и во Иерусалимъ и во Царьградъ со Иерусалимскимъ патриархомъ Паисѣемъ". Written by a certain Ion Malenkiy (Иона Маленький ("small")). Ion speaks about his travels in Moldavia, Palestine, and

²⁸⁷ *Хождение гостя Василия в Малую Азию, Египет и Палестину-1465-1466 г. Записки русских путешественников XI-XV вв.* Москва, 1984.

²⁸⁸ Кистерев, С. Н., *Афанасий Никитин и его "Хождение" на Руси, Хождение за три моря Афанасия Никитина*, Тверь, 2003.

²⁸⁹ "У них бутхана-то их Иерусалим, то же, что для бесермен Мекка; руку правую поднял высоко и простер- как Юстиниан, царь цареградский".

²⁹⁰ In this regard see the important work describing other relevant documents *Обстоятельное Описание Славяно-Российскихъ рукописей хранящихся въ Москвѣ въ библиотекѣ тайново совѣтника сенатора двора его императорского величества дѣйствительнаго каммергера и кавалера графа Федора Андреевича Толстова*, изд. К. Калайдовичъ, П. Строевъ, С. Селивановскаго, Москва, 1825, 407. "Слово о нѣкоемъ старцѣ купившемъ десять хлѣбъ и десять ксестій вина и десять литръ мяса, зѣло полезно". *Сборникъ отд. Русск. Яз. И слов.* И. Акад. Н., т. LI, в. 2, 2, 11-12, Санкт Петербург, 1890.

Anatolia. During a visit of the Patriarch of Jerusalem Paisios in Moscow he decided to travel with the Patriarch to Palestine for which he received permission from Tsar Alexey Michailovich (1649). Also Arseniy Suchanov accompanied them (Арсений Суханов) who wrote his *Proskinitarion* (Проскинитарий). Iona stayed with the Patriarch in a Moldavian monastery Tergovishtche for a period of around two years and then he went to Jerusalem with a *staretz* Ioakim, who was an Arab from Jerusalem. He departed from Tergovishtche on the 25th of march 1651 and came to Jerusalem on the 10th of may. He stayed there for a period of fourth months and returned to Moscow through Constantinople.²⁹¹

An interesting account is offered by *The court scribe Triphon Korobeynikov* (Дворцовый дьяк Трифон Коробейников), who travelled twice in 1582 visiting Constantinople and in 1593 he travelled to Constantinople and Jerusalem.²⁹² What is fascinating is that Triphon relatively accurately identified the remains of ancient Troy.²⁹³ He described the journey and the days it took. He mentions Cyprus and its "fortress Nikosia". The account is fair and straightforward with many practical details and interesting notes. On the road to Damascus he mentions the miraculous icon of the Mother of God, associated with John of Damascus, who painted it as gratitude for the healing of his hand.²⁹⁴ Triphon Korobeynikov is also an example, of the role of these people as bearers of funds sent from Russia to support the local Christian churches. Thus in 1593 he carried funds and other things to the Eastern churches, accompanied by Michail Ogarkov (Михаил Огарков).

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

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

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

²⁹¹ See Коркунов, 1836 later Сахаров, according to a manuscript from the XVII century in: Сахаров И.П., *Сказаниях русского народа*, том. II, Санкт Петербург, 1841, (reprint 2013) 159-168. Also see Греков, *Русские паломники, Правосл. Палест. Общ. Энциклопедический словарь Ф.А.Брокгауза и И.А. Ефрона*, Санкт Петербург, 1890-1907.

²⁹² *Прав.Пал. Сборн. XXVII*, *ibid.*, 1889; *Путешествие московского купца Трифона Коробейникова с товарищами во Иерусалим, Египет и к Синайской Горе*, Тип. П. Кузнецова. Москва, 1826.

²⁹³ *Ibid.*, 1826 Edition, 7.

²⁹⁴ *Ibid.*, 10.

Яковлева Гагары).²⁹⁵ This is because Gagara states, that he was a sinner and due to his sins his merchant activities took a downturn and he decided to travel to the Holy Land. He travelled to the Holy Land also because of the grief upon the death of his wife. His merchant background is betrayed in his account since he describes things which are of interest to a person who is not necessarily religious. He mentions that he was saved from an attack of savages when he was bathing in the Jordan. He mentions the descent of the Holy Fire in Jerusalem. His journey was interesting and full of surprises. He was arrested being mistaken for a Russian emissary in Turkey Afanasiy Boukov. In 1637 at home he visited the Kievo Pechersk monastery where he met Peter Mohyla.²⁹⁶ His account is interesting since he was one of the first to visit Jerusalem after the *Smuta* period.

There were travellers such as Meletiy Smotritskiy (Мелетій Смотрицький) the bishop of Polotsk and Mogilev who travelled to the East in the years 1624-1626. He had a theological purpose and his journey is to be seen within the confines of the Uniate/Orthodox tensions. He travelled to study the Greek theological and liturgical texts and to consult the Ecumenical Patriarch Cyril Lukaris about his Catechetical composition, which aimed to find grounds between the Uniates and the Orthodox. In a letter to the Ecumenical Patriarch Cyril Lukaris dated from August the 21st 1627 he mentions: "I travelled to the East in order that, through your healthy advice and life giving teaching my soul could be enlightened and healed from the many doubts, which trouble it, and soil it like moths."²⁹⁷ In his Apology he further continues, "I went to our father the patriarch and to the elders of our eastern church with the intention of learning from them the dogmas of piety, about the faith of our hope.I was forced to travel to the East due to the errors and heresies, which were brought into our Russian Church by its new theologians: Zizanii, Filaret, the cleric Ostrozhskiy, Ortolog and others, which make her suffer".²⁹⁸ Above we have mentioned the figure of Аресений Суханов, who is an important figure of this period. Suffice it here to remind us that his

²⁹⁵ *Хитие и хождение в Иерусалим и Египет казанца Василия Яковлевича Гагары*, Санкт Петербург, 1891.

²⁹⁶ Thomas D., Chesworth, J., Benett C., Demiri L., Frederiks M., Grodz, Pratt, D., *Christian-Muslim Relations, a Bibliographical History*, Leiden, Brill, 2009, 859.

²⁹⁷ Изучение византийской истории, II, 25-26. "Я ѳздила на Востокъ для того, чтобы здравымъ совѣтомъ и животворнымъ учениемъ твоимъ облегчить и исцѣлить мою душу отъ множества сомнѣній, которыя волнують ее и грызутъ, какъ моль." Метрополит Макарій, *Исторія Русской Церкви*, XI, кн. II, Москва, 1883, 340.

²⁹⁸ Я ходилъ, пишетъ онъ, къ отцу нашему патриарху и къ старѣйшинамъ нашей восточной церкви съ тѣмъ намѣреніемъ, чтобы узнать отъ нихъ и научиться о догматахъ благочестія, о вѣрѣ нашего упованія" ...Меня, заставили путешествовать на Востокъ заблужденія и ереси, которыя внесли въ нашу русскую церковь ея новые богословщики: Зизаній, Филареть, клирикъ Острожскій, Ортологъ и другіе, и которыми она страдаетъ." Метрополит Макарій, *Исторія Русской Церкви*, XI, кн. II, Москва, 1883, 249-250.

Proskinitarion (Проскинитарий) is of special significance, just as his other works and life story.

The period of the eighteenth century was a period of tension between the Ottoman Empire and Russia and so it is interesting to reflect on whether there were pilgrimage contacts with Russia. The period was a difficult one since the wars of Catherine the Great did not do much good to enable travel to the area of the Holy Land. In 1772 for example, we know of only a certain S. Plescheev (С. Плещеев)²⁹⁹ who travelled to Nazareth.

In 1707 Ipolit Vishenskiy (Ипполит Вишенский) embarked on a journey to Jerusalem and in 1708 came to the monastery in Sinai. He was greeted with prostrations and kisses, and taken to the Church of the Transfiguration, where the priest took on an epitrachelion and vestments. The brothers sang *Axion Estin* "Достойно есть", and he was sprinkled with water.³⁰⁰ He was there at the same time as Barskij, another example of a pilgrim from this period. In terms of Vishenskiy it is interesting that he described the Islamic mosque and Roman Catholic churches/chapels located at the Monastery of Saint Catherine's (These Roman Catholic churches were built in various periods in the vicinity of the monastery). He mentions a Franciscan chapel built on the mountain of Saint Catherine.

The travels of Ignatiy (Игнатий), which took place in 1766 until 1776 offer also an interesting account.³⁰¹ In 1766 he reached Kiev, where he paid respects to the local saints of the caves. He wanted to be tonsured as a monk, but he was unsuccessful in fulfilling his desire. He travelled with some kind of priest monk and spent some time with Zaporozhian Cossacks. He met a merchant in Constantinople, who asked him where he was from and he replied that he is from Kursk. He states, that Constantinople is perfectly clean, that the Sultan has everything under control. That the police and military have their own places to sleep and do not annoy the local inhabitants. That there is a five room structure housing twenty thousand jannissaries.³⁰² He stated that there are only twenty orthodox churches in Constantinople and that the orthodox pay a huge amount of money to the Turks. He states,

²⁹⁹ *Дневныя записки путешествія изъ Архипелагскаго Россія принадлежащаго, острова Пароса, въ Сирію и къ достопамятнымъ мѣстамъ въ вѣдѣлахъ Иерусалима находящимся съ краткою исторіею Алибеевыхъ завоеваній, Россійскаго флота Лейтенанта Сергѣя Плѣщѣева въ исходѣ 1772 г.* Санкт Петербургъ, 1773.

³⁰⁰ Пелгримация или путешествіе честнаго иеромонаха Ипполита Вишенскаго, постриженца святыхъ страсотерцев Бориса и Глеба катедръ архиепископии Чернеговской в святыи град Иерусалим. *Православный Палестинский Сборникъ*, вып. 61, 1914., 1.

³⁰¹ Описание, Путешествія отца Игнатія въ Царьградъ, Афонскую гору, Святую Землю, и Египеть, 1766-1776 гг., *Православный Палестинский Сборникъ*, Томъ XII, выпускъ третій, Санкт, Петербургъ, 1891.

³⁰² *Ibid.*, 3.

that there are no surviving relics, except for two in the Patriarchal church, that is of saint Pulcheria and Euthimia. He meets Paisiy Velichkovskiy in the *skete* of Saint Elijah, and states that he was very happy to listen to a Russian and that he has at least three hundred disciples of various nationalities.³⁰³ His descriptions of the Jerusalem are similar to other accounts, and he also describes the ceremony of the holy Fire. He stays with a Russian for six months.

The same period saw the travels of priest Ioan Lukyanov (священник Иоанн Лукьянов). The work attributed to him is entitled *Travels into the Holy Land of the priest Ioan Lukyanov* (Хождение в святую землю московского священника Иоанна Лукьянова (1701-1703)).³⁰⁴ This work is interesting since it belongs to the milieu of the Old Believer literary context notably to the genre of the type of writing of the famous work of Prototop Avaakum. The author seems to betray some form of Old Believers background due to his criticisms of the Greek rites. He believes, that the Greeks and Bulgarians are not suffering under the Osmands, but he does state that the Osmands use every occasion to extort money "in ignorance with the Ottoman Russian agreements." The literary style of the Prototop Avaakum is betrayed by Ioanns simple language style descriptions of Jews, Egyptians and others. He describes Jerusalem and its surroundings. The work could betray some political aspirations given the context of the period. In any case he does praise Russians who are welcoming to pilgrims.

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

What is interesting in Ioanns account are his descriptions of the social realities of the areas he visited. He offers a lively analysis of what he sees. Thus he describes how he was taken by some person to the patriarch of Constantinople. The Patriarch inquired where he came from and he replied that from Russia. Ioann and his companions wanted a *kelia* from the Patriarch, and the Patriarch insisted that he give him some gifts in exchange. Ioann got angry, thinking

³⁰³ Ibid.9.

³⁰⁴ Лилеев, М. И., К вопросу об авторе Путешествия во Св. Землю 1701-1703 г., московском священнике Иоанне Лукьянове, или старце Леонтии, in: *Чтения в историческом обществе Нестора леотписца*, т. IX, Отд. 2, Киев, 1895, 25-41.

that he is a poor pilgrim and that now the Patriarch is simply extorting gifts from him. Ioann sends him to hell, and is angry with the Patriarch "Let him the cursed one go to hell with his *kelia!* Around our patriarch the courtiers are more apt in their requests! And this one wants not something insignificant- but presents! I hope he falls/that is nothing; yes sure he will fall down!"³⁰⁵ Ioan was very angry with the patriarch because he continued to insist that without any gifts there will be no accomadation. The Patriarch asked whether Ioann did not bring at least a "small Russian picture or icon". Ioann replied that he did not bring anything, and the Patriarch said that he should go to the monastery of the Sinaites, where the Russians have contacts and ask for accommodation there. Ioann goes there in the end, only to find out again, that he will not have any accommodation and that instead he should go to the representatives of the Patriarchate of Jerusalem, "since he is going to Jerusalem", and they are responsible for this area. Even more interesting is the following passage. "My lovely Russia! Not only no food, no accommodation, where to lay down from the journey. This is how the Greeks are merciful! Even if there is some poor *starets* of some age falling ill by himself-there is no place for him; not speaking of ten- would create a complete commotion! And as whore's children, thieves hanging around all these years in Moscow-thirty people seeking alms, and they receive good accommodation and sustenance from the Ruler. And these thieves come to Moscow, and cry before the Ruler, in front of the government and the *boyars*: *We are persecuted from the Turks!* Then they collect money in Moscow and come to Tsargrad, and by themselves the office of a Metropolitan from the local Patriarch. This is how.." ³⁰⁶

They all do it, and cry: "Persecuted from the Turks!" if this is indeed so, the elders seem to forget that they are wearing cassocks of pewter damascus, made of cloth costing 3 roubles for an *arshin*. Regardless of the fact that the damascus cloth costs three roubles for an *arshin*. Just as it is unfair from these Greek elders to accuse the lovely Turk of being evil. We saw on our own eyes that they do not face any danger from the Turks: not in faith nor in anything else. All lie about the Turks. If they were persecuted, they would not wander around in these

³⁰⁵ "Провались, моль, онъ окаянной и с кельею! У нашего, мол патриарха и придверники искуснеѣ того просять! А то етакому какъ не сором просить-та подарков! Знать, моль, у нево пропасти-та мало; мол, такъ и то пропадет!" *Хождение в Святую землю московского священника Иоанна Лукьянова (1701-1703)*, Бычков М, Н., Ред. Л. А. Ольшевская, С. Н. Травников, Москва, Наука, 2008. 56.

³⁰⁶ "Миленкая Русь! Не токмо накормить, и места не дадут, где опачнуть с пути. Таковы-то греки милостивы! Да еще бѣдной старецъ не в кои-та веки забредет адинь- инь ему места неть; а когда с десятокъ- другой, такъ бы и готово- перпутались! А какъ сами, блядины дети, что мошенники, по вся годы к Москве-то человек по 30 волочатся за милостиною, да им на Москве-та человек по 30 волочатся за милостиною, да им на Москве-та отводят места хорошая ди и кормь государевъ. А, приехав к Москве, мошенники плачуть пред государем, пред власти, пред бояры: "От турка насилием отягашены! А набравъ на Москве денегъ да приехав в Царьград, да у потриархов иной купит митрополитство. Такъ- то они". *Ibid.*, 43.

pewter Damascus expensive cassocks. In our area, we stare at those wearing the pewter ones, otherwise normally our people walk around in simple ones. That is the persecution from the Turks! As soon as they appear in Moscow they walk around in simple cassocks. They have no shame. There they never wore simple cassocks."³⁰⁷ Later Ioann goes to the monastery of the Patriarchate of Jerusalem, where he is finally accepted and given accommodation. He is given food and welcoming hospitality. He exclaims that butter and bread are cheaper here in Constantinople than in Moscow. Ioann meets a Russian merchant in Constantinople who helps to arrange some business transactions and the selling of goods. This shows that Ioann was not as poor as we would probably think. In this regard the Old Believers were traditionally commercially very astute people. He visits Saint Sophia, and his Turkish guide takes a piece of marble and gives it to him like a souvenir, and Ioann is full of praise of the Turkish guide. Ioann states that there are 8000 mosques in Constantinople, and that they are made from a special local stone, which cannot be found in Moscow.

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

³⁰⁷ "Такъ-то они все делают, а плачут: "Обижаны от турка!" а кабы обижены, забыли бы старцы простыя носить рясы луданья, да камчатя, да суконныя по 3 рубля аршинъ. И напрасно миленкова камчатя, да суконныя по 3 рубля аршинъ. И напрасно миленкова турка тѣ старцы греческия оглашают, что насилует. Мы сами видели, что им насилия не в чем нету: и в вере, и в чем. Все лгут на турка. Кабы насилены, забыли бы старцы в луданных да в камчатых рясах ходить. У нас такъ и властей зазирают, луданную кто наденеть, а то простыя да такъ ходят. Прямо, что насилены от турка! А когда в Москвѣ приедут, такъ-та в какихъ рясахъ худыхъ таскаются, будто *студа* нет. А там бывши, не заставишь ево такой рясы носить". Ibid., 43.

name, but do not possess grace! The books are printed in Venice, Venice is of course the Popes domain, and the Pope is the main enemy of the Christian faith!".³⁰⁸

Ioan obviously does not like the Greeks, and even goes as far to state that not only are the Turks better than Greeks but even the Jews are better than the Greeks.³⁰⁹ The Greek Patriarch walks around as a common person, so that you would not recognise him as a Patriarch. The Greek women are more or less liberated, because whenever they desire a divorce they basically receive one, since it is sufficient to blackmail the Patriarch in granting a divorce, since the women will always exclaim, that unless she gets a divorce she will go to the Turkish authorities and state that she is a Turkish woman/subject. To “finish of” the Greeks, Ioan offers us a list of things the Greeks do in contrast to the practice of the Orthodox churches. Thus the Metropolitans and the clerics smoke tobacco, play cards and chess.

Ioann is very critical of the Arabs whom he meets in Egypt comparing them to pure devils, and that their young women walk around naked. Ioann in his account mentions many terrible experiences he had with the Arabs. The worst possibly being, when he was almost killed before entering Jerusalem. He offers a very detailed account of his journey to Jerusalem. A special section is devoted to the Holy Sepulchre. Here he offers some interesting details apart from the usual descriptions. Thus he states, that the marble stone which is found in the church and which is reportedly the stone where the body of Christ was laid by Joseph and Nicodemus before being placed in the tomb, and where he was wrapped when he was taken down from the Cross, is not the original stone, since the original one was sold by some Turk to a French person earlier on.

He states, that the French are great deceivers, since they start playing beautiful organ music, in the church, when the believers go by and through this manner they managed to convert many orthodox Christians to their „vile faith“.³¹⁰ He mentions the traveller Korobeynikov, and that he mentioned an underground tomb of Christ but adds that now the Greeks have forgotten where it is. He states, that the reason that the Holy Sepulchre still stands is because the Turks fear the miraculous fire which comes down every year.

³⁰⁸ "А с турками во всёмъ смесилися и зѣло порабощены: какъ турукъ идѣтъ улицю, то все ему грекъ лутче мѣсто уступает, а гордостию таки еще дышуть! Да еще добры люди, что еще милостиво поступают над такимъ непокоривымъ родом. Кабы да греком такъ Богъ попустил турками владѣть, отнюд бы такъ греки туркамъ свободно не дали жить –всѣх бы въ работу поработили. Таковы греки непостоянны и обманчивы; толко милые христиане называются, а и слѣду благочестия нет! Книги печатаюту в Венеции, а Венеция попежская, и папа-головный врагъ христианской вѣрѣ" 70.

³⁰⁹ "Турки милостивея грекъ, и жидаы нравами милостивея грекъ и лутче ихъ."

³¹⁰ Ibid, 113.

The early years of the eighteenth century seems to have produced other accounts of pilgrimage as well. Another such pilgrimage is offered by the work *The journey of the priest/monk Makarios and Sylvester from the Monastery of the all merciful Saviour of Novgorod Seversk into the Holy city of Jerusalem to venerate the tomb of the Lord in 1704* (Путь нам иеромонахам Макарию и Сильвестру из Монастыря Всемилоостивого спаса Новгородка Северского до Святого града Иерусалима поклониться гробу Господню 1704 г).³¹¹ The account is a pilgrimage made by two monks Makarios and Silvester from the interesting in its own right monastery of Spaso-Preobrazhenskiy, Nogvorod Seversk (Спасо Преображенский, Новгород Северский монастырь), which occurred in 1705. They are astounded that in the Holy Sepulchre in Jerusalem there are all sorts of heretics who have their altars there and serve the liturgy. The Ottomans are described as cunning and that they desire money. The pilgrims are constantly harassed in order for them to pay taxes. There are areas in Jerusalem and elsewhere where it is difficult for a Christian to go and visit the areas since he or she can be threatened by the local Muslims. There is mention of a certain ambassador Pyotr Andreevich Tolstoy (Пётр Андреевич Толстой)³¹², who helps pilgrims who are unable to pay taxes and who resides in Constantinople. There is a mention of a miracle in a village called Skudelniche (Скудельньиче /Field of blood, Akeldama or Nakled-damm) where pilgrims who die are not buried since just miraculously after 40 days there bodies decay to the bone.

Related to this ambassador (Пётр Андреевич Толстой) we have mentioned, is the account of the priest Andrey Ignatieff (Андрей Игнатъев), and his brother Stefan (Стефан), who where in his proximity. The account is called *Journey to Jerusalem and to Mt. Sinai of the priest working in the proximity of the Russian emissary, count Petr Andreyevich Tolstoy, of the priest Andrey Ignatieff and his brother Stefan in the year 1707* (Путешествие в Иерусалим и Синайскую гору, находившегося при российском посланнике, графе Петре Андреевиче Толстом, Священника Андрея Игнатъева и брата его Стефана, 1707 году).³¹³ The work was compiled seven years after the completion of the journey. Interestingly the work is the kind which attempts to prove the veracity of the Biblical account by associating the various

³¹¹ Паломники-писатели петровского времени In Чтение в императорском обществе истории и древностей Российских в Московском университете под заведованием О.М. Бодянского, книга 3, Июль-Сентябрь, Санкт Петербург, 1873, 1-26.

³¹² Попов Н. А., Граф Петр Андреевич Толстой, Биографический очерк (1645-1729) in: Древняя и Новая Россия, no. 3, Санкт Петербург, 1875, 226-244.

³¹³ Паломники-писатели петровского времени In Чтение в императорском обществе истории и древностей Российских в Московском университете под заведованием О.М. Бодянского, книга 3, Июль-Сентябрь, Санкт Петербург, 1873.

miracles of the Bible with the testimonies available for the pilgrim to see. The Ottomans are accused of supporting heresy by stimulating the presence of Franks and Westerners. It is interesting that in the accounts from the early eighteenth century there is a tendency to emphasise the growing problems with the Western presence in the Holy land. The account gives an interesting description of the Copts. He accuses them of being disgusting heretics, who defile the area of the Holy Sepulchre.

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

6. f. *Vasiliy Grigoryevich Barskiy*

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

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

reached the island of Chios where the Patriarch of Jerusalem Chrysanthemus was visiting. He then went to Thessaloniki and visited the Holy Mountain. In the beginning of 1726 he travelled to Thessaloniki again and then on the 1st of September he travelled to Jerusalem.

After visiting the notable monasteries in Palestine there on the 26th of April 1727 he travelled to Cyprus. He then travelled to Egypt and to Cairo. On the 20th of March 1728 he continued to Sinai, where he saw the Patriarch of Constantinople Jeremias and then returned to Cairo. In 1729 he is back in Jerusalem. Until 1731 he was at the school of Tripolis in the meantime travelling through Syria. He further desired to learn Greek. In 1734 he was tonsured as a monk by the Patriarch Sylvester of Antioch in Damascus. And according to his wish to pursue further studies he was sent to Patmos. He travelled there in 1735 and 1736 describing all of the monasteries in Cyprus at the same time. He came to Patmos in 1737 living there six years until 1743.

A certain G. Veshnakov (Г. Вѣшнаков) a resident of Constantinople invited him to stay. There in 1745 he again travels to Mt. Athos describing all the monasteries there. He then travelled to Epirus, Crete and Livadia in 1745. In 1746 he came to Constantinople, where he did not meet the previous resident but met a new one called G. Neplyujev (Г. Неплюевъ) who was not so congenial to him. There was a danger he would be sent to Russia to be punished on false accusations, but he left through the mainland. Through Fumelia, Bulgaria and Valachia, Moldavia and Poland, he came to Kiev on the 2nd of September 1747. There he managed to live in his homeland for a bare 35 days and then fell ill with an inflamed leg dying on the 7th of October 1747. He was buried in the Kievo/Brashkiy Bogoyavlenskiy uchilische monastery. The manuscript of his travels was guarded by his mother. A letter translated into Slavic was placed in his tomb. The letter was from Chrysanthem the Patriarch of Jerusalem, He wanted to travel to Sinai in 1727 but after a storm at sea he spent three months in Cyprus.³¹⁴ He also travelled with companions and as we read in his account often relied on offerings and help from local Orthodox believers or priests. Sometimes even Jews helped him. Jews are often mentioned and they are all over the areas travelled by Barskiy including for example Ancona. His travels entailed the fact of being constantly dependent on mercy from other people. There were difficulties during the sea voyages, where there was little or no

³¹⁴ *Пъшеходца Василя Григоровича Барскаго Плаки Албова Уроженца Кіевскаго Монаха Антіохійскаго путешествіе къ святымъ мѣстамъ въевропѣ, Азїи и Африкѣ находящимся препріяшо въ 1723 и оконченное въ 1747 году, имъ самимъ писанное.....*, Санкт Петербург 1778. His works were also published in 1885/1886 under the editorship of Барсуков Н.

food.³¹⁵ The fact that that Barskiy is often helped by priests at various Greek orthodox Churches along the way but also at other churches displays the great degree of solidarity of the people of that period. He often even received free passage on ships.

When in 1727 he visited Egypt he visited also Rosetta. He describes the places he had seen and speaks of the pyramids. Barskiy describes how his travels coincided with the reign of Peter the Great, and the Kiev Metropolitan Joasaph Krokovski (Иоасафъ Кроковскій (1708/1718), after which there was the Archbishop Varlaam Vanashovich (Варлаам Ванашовичь),³¹⁶ and that he studied in schools in Kiev and at the Kiev Academy. During that period the *rector* was Theofan Prokopovich (Феофан Прокопович). He studied rhetoric and philosophy.³¹⁷ He states that his father taught him things relating to Church music and liturgics because his father was knowledgeable regarding the Russian writing and singing. ("Отець бо мой, былъ книженъ точію въ російскомъ писаніи и въ церковномъ пѣнїи").

His father was a simple man, and despised scholarly people, because they were "plagued by envy, pride and other evil characteristics". He had problems with his leg, and no medical doctor in Kiev could cure this ailment so he decided to travel to Lvov with his fellow colleague to find better treatment but also to advance his studies. On the 20th of July 1723 he departed from Kiev being "around twenty two years old". They visit the "Uniate" monastery of Pochaev, visit a city called Brodi and fall victim to "Jewish cunningness". They reach Lvov/Lember, where Barskiy with his companion rented a house. Barskiy leg was quickly cured by the local medical doctors. The people where all good, not forcing anyone to enter the "Union" because secretly they were Orthodox. Barskiy give an account of Lvov stating that it was built around 1280 by the Russian Lev Danilovich the *Velikiy Knyaz*. It took its name from him. The city has three bishops, a Roman Catholic one, Armenian one, and a "Rusouniate" one.³¹⁸ Barskiy and his friend Justin are expelled from the Roman Catholic Jesuit College in Lviv, since they were accused of coming from Kiev and not being Roman Catholic. They visit the *Rusyn* Uniate Bishop Antony Sheptitskiy who helps them by claiming they are from his diocese which enables them to be accepted in the Jesuit College.

³¹⁵ Ibid.116.

³¹⁶ See also Бантыш Каменский Дмитрий, Николаевич, *Исторія Малой Россіи*, часть третія, Москва, 1830.

³¹⁷ Пѣшеходца Василя Григоровича Барскаго Плаки Албова Уроженца Кіевскаго Монаха Антіохійскаго путешествіе къ святымъ мѣстамъ въевропѣ, Азіи и Африкѣ находящимся препрїяшо въ 1723 и оконченное въ 1747 году, имъ самимъ писанное....., Санкт Петербург 1778. 1.

³¹⁸ Ibid.3

On the sixth of May 1724 they reach the Beskyd mountains. Then on the 7th of May they reach the city of Humenne (Гумменое), and Straske (Страское), Klechanov Bidovce (Клечановы Бѣдовцы), and then they come to Kosice (Кошицы).³¹⁹ Barskiy describes Kosice in detail, stating that it is a well-guarded city, that they were questioned, and that it is a clean city with nice stone houses and other information. He even describes in detail the column in the centre of the city built in 1624 with a depiction of the Mother of God and offers a detailed transcription of its content. They come to a village called Haniska (Ганиска), where they are offered local beer and since there was no Orthodox Church went to the Roman Catholic Church to participate in the Latin mass of the feast of the Ascension. They come to Eger and Buda. In Buda on the 23-24th of May 1724 they stay at the house of an Orthodox Serb, which is cause for great merriment and drinking beer.³²⁰

On the 27th of June 1724 they reach Venezia. Here they visit the local Greek Church and are cordially met by the local "Protopop" priest. He enquires about their origin and once he found out that they were Orthodox Russians he was very happy (Since "they like Russians") and gave them some offerings. With his companion Justin he reached Bari on the 28th of July 1724. They enter the hotel of Saint Nicholas which stood next to the Church. Interestingly in contrast to the account of the later scholar Dmitrievskiy, who wrote in the nineteenth century, Barskiy does not describe Bari as the area full of thieves and tricksters preying on pilgrims. He states that he was offered accommodation for three days including food and other support and that the hospitality was very good. At first Barskiy and Justin did not see the the relics of Saint Nicholas, since as he exclaimed, the Roman Catholic tradition does not display these on a regular basis. However after many petitions, they were allowed to view the relics but just as Dmitrievskiy would write later, he was disappointed at what he saw, since the relics where unidentifiable, the remains mixed up with limited access. He states that they, where given offerings from a Roman Catholic monk which was very surprising given the "Roman mentality".³²¹

Barskiy takes extra care to describe the liturgical habits of the places he visits. An interesting account is his description of the liturgical tradition in the Greek Church in Venice.³²² Here he meets Rubim Gurskiy (Рувим Гурский) who tells Barskiy "the story of his life". How he came from a Polish aristocratic background, that he was tonsured as a monk and that he was

³¹⁹ 12.

³²⁰ 18.

³²¹ Ibid., 49.

³²² 101.

helped by Metropolitan of Ryazan, Stefan Yavorskiy (Рязанский Стефанъ Яворский) who ordained him as priest. He then went to the Tichvin monastery invited by Tsarevich Alexej Petrovich. However there were various court intrigues and Gurskiy decided to flee on the 24th of October to Poland. Gurskiy accompanied Barskiy further but died during the journey on the island of Chios.

As we have implied Barskiy visited Mt. Athos, and in the Monastery of Zographou Barskiy had some trouble since the *igoumenos* was angry with him because Barskiy did not follow the usual protocol.³²³ He describes in detail the liturgical services, rules and architecture of the monastery. A very interesting account relates to the Saint Panteleimon monastery, where Barskiy notes the depraved situation there. The monastery is nice and has a lot of possessions and lands but is in a terrible state. The money is "mismanaged" by those that control it and the monks are forced into hard agricultural labour working on the fields and vineyards in very difficult conditions. According to Barskiy monks in Russia in comparison to the monks here live in paradise. Many Russians run away.³²⁴

On the 1st of September 1726, Barskiy boarded the ship to Jerusalem. On the way he also visited Cyprus. In Jaffa Barskiy notes that there are many Arabic Orthodox Christians together with Greek Orthodox Christians there. The Arabs have their own liturgical texts in Arabic but written not printed. Travelling through Ramla, Barskiy notices how every ethnic group holds together, Armenians, Greeks, Ethiopians and others.³²⁵ He describes, how the various ethnic groups behaved during their journey. Speaks of the Ethiopians and Arabs travelling how people ate only water with dried bread, and the number of thieves and other dangers on the way.³²⁶ Barskiy offers a staggering critique of Arabs likening them to the worst possible ethnic group in the world. He states that in Russia you cannot find a worse ethnic group than Arabs who are on the level of animals.³²⁷ He discusses the differences between Arabs and Ethiopians and the influence of the Christian faith on these.³²⁸ He offers a description of Jerusalem and its areas. In terms of the monastery of Saint Savva he states that the monks are on a terrible low level of education.³²⁹

³²³ Ibid. 140.

³²⁴ 151.

³²⁵ Ibid., 176.

³²⁶ 179-186.

³²⁷ 185.

³²⁸ 186.

³²⁹ 209.

6. g. *Other accounts of the eighteenth century*

Around the middle of the eighteenth century we have another account involving Egypt and the Sinai, which is written by Father Ignatij/Ivan Denshin (Отец Игнатий (Иван Деншин)). The work *Description of the travels of the monk father Ignatij, to Tsargrad, Mt. Athos, Jerusalem, Egypt, Alexandria and Arabia* (Описание путешествия монаха о. Игнатия в Царьград, на Афонскую гору, в Иерусалим, в Египет, в Александрию и в Аравию) relates to a journey in the decade of 1766. It appears, that he was an Athonite monk and then a monk of Sarov.³³⁰ The account is important in itself, since in the period of Catherine the great pilgrimages to the Holy land and other activities are for obvious reasons rare. One such account was that of S. Pleshcheev (С Плещеев) in 1772, which we have inferred to above, and which was however rare in itself and consisted of a brief visit to Nazaret. Published as *Diary of the journey from the Archipelago, belonging to Russia, island of Paros, into Syria and some notable places around Jerusalem together with a short history of the Alibey battles of the officer of the Russian fleet lieutenant Sergej Pleshcheev in 1772* (Дневные записки путешествия из Архипелагского, России принадлежащего, острова Пароса, в Сирию и к достопамятным местам в пределах Иерусалима находящимся с краткою историю Алибеевых завоеваний Российского флота Лейтенанта Сергея Плещеева в исходе 1772 г. Санкт Петербург, 1773.).

The information from Sarov speaks about the fact that Ignatij was accepted as monk into the Sarov area in 1766. Ignatij's travels coincided with the tensions between Russia and the Ottoman Empire. He meets the First Archipelago Russian expeditionary force at the island of Paros, which stayed there from 1770 to 1775. The Sarov archives state that he was from Kursk and desired to travel south with some Greek monks, in 1765, which he did but encounter war activities between Russia and the Ottomans. He could not have returned so he went to Athos, to a place devoted to the birth of the Mother of God (Мавровып). There he was to stay for a while, but fell severely ill and on his own wish was tonsured as a monk, in

³³⁰ Кобищанов Ю. М., *Встреча Христианских цивилизаций в святых местах Палестины и Египта (Глазами Русских Паломников XV-XVIII веков)*, Институт Африки Российской Академии Наук, Москва, 1999; Хитрово В., *Описание путешествия монаха о. Игнатия в Царьград, на Афонскую гору, в Иерусалим, в Египет, в 1766-1777 г.*, http://www.vostlit.info/Texts/Dokumenty/ByzanzXVIII/1760-1780/Putes_ignatija/text.htm.

the end spending there altogether seven years. After his return to Russia he stayed in the Sarov pustyn (Sarov пустынь) where "he was incapable of integrating fully due to his consistent illnesses". After 1788, there is no more information of his whereabouts. His account is relatively short with only a brief description of Jerusalem, where he mentions that the Patriarch was surprised to see him there (as a Russian given the periods problems). He mentions also the village of Skudelniche (Скудельниче) (Field of blood, Akeldama or Hakl-ed-damm), which for some reason is popular in these accounts. He states the lack of water in the area of Jerusalem, and relates to Theodore of Sykeons miracle in this context. In Egypt he falls ill, and desires to visit Sinai, but the road was dangerous. His description of Mt. Athos is more extensive, commenting on the various forms of manual work done by the monks there. In Jerusalem he mentions the miracle of the Holy Fire.

From the eighteenth century we have the accounts of the traveller Leontiy (Леонтий), whose work, has been preserved under the title *History of the young Grigoryevich* ("История жизни младшего Григоровича") and until recently was basically unknown (Here Leontiy intentionally used the designation "younger Grigoryevich", in terms of his respect to the traveller Barskiy, who was a Grigoryevich also).³³¹ He was born in the area around Poltava in a small village in 1726. His fathers name was Stepan Yacenko (Степан Яценко) but he signed his name under the name of his great-grandfather Zelenskiy (Зеленский). Leontiy (Леонтий) was his monastic name. In 1764 he visited Jerusalem. He then travelled to Constantinople and due to the fact that the local Russian chaplain at the embassy fell ill was offered his place as an embassy priest. There he stayed for decades and his life is an extraordinary example of a Russian cleric who had the opportunity in this period to spend time in the heart of the Ottoman Empire. He was buried as a protestant when he died in 1807 in Pera. This was so, since during the Russian Ottoman war of 1806-1812, the Russian interests where represented by the Danish ambassador Baron Joseph Hubsch von Hrostral. The Patriarch of Constantinople Gregory V, refused to bury Leontiy unless the Danish ambassador would give him the possessions left after Leontiy. Since the Danish ambassador refused, the Patriarch did not want bury him, and therefore the Danish ambassador had to bury him as a Danish subject and then later gave the possessions of Leontiy to the Russians.³³²

³³¹ His work is still preserved largely unpublished in *История жизни младшего Григоровича Архив Внешней политики российской империи (Фонд 152)*. The thirteenth volume of the work is found in the *Российский государственный архив древних актов*,

³³² Попов, А. П., *Младший Григорович, Новооткрытый паломник по св. Местам XVIII века*, Кронштадт, 1911, 38.

Leontiy wrote his account in a cultivated literary style, and projects a self-assured and self-praising attitude. He is critical of the Arabs and Muslims portraying them as representatives of an uncivilised nation, and on one occasion when he was in the Sinai, he states that the Bedouins gathered there, displaying their primitive nature, and their appalling appearance, and that he felt as a sheep among wolves.³³³ He often describes how he was deceived by Arabs, which provokes a sharp reaction from Leontiy and he calls them unscrupulous gypsies.

Leontiy in comparison to the other Russian pilgrims of his period interacted with the local Arab population more intensely. Thus in terms of his companion Mahmud who accompanied him to Sinai, he praises him for his care and compassion to his needs.³³⁴ Then again he describes how he was assisted and helped close to Sinai, being invited to the local camp of Arabs.³³⁵ As a cleric he cannot "help notice" the beauty and naturalness of the local Arab women, and then descends into describing the "natural inclinations of women".³³⁶

At the end of the eighteenth century there is the account of Meletiy (Мелетий), who stayed in Palestine in the years 1793-1794. He was also from Sarov and later became an Archimandrite. His account called *Travels to Jerusalem* (Путешествие в Иерусалим) was rarely published, and contains information about the Copts and their presence in the Holy Land. His work is also interesting in that he was interested in studying the manuscripts located in the Holy Land. He describes a scene when an Ethiopian person was being thrown out of the Holy Sepulchre Church by a French Arab Christian. Mentions the negative impact of the Franciscans there.³³⁷ Meletiy (Мелетий) and his journey to Palestine, which took place in 1793, is a very interesting one, since it gives us information about the miracle of the Holy Fire, which according to him does not come from the rooftop, but stems from the tomb of Christ itself, which is also as he reminds us theologically more correct. He relies on the words of the archbishop Misail, who served when the miracle happened during his visit. He stated, that when he enters the tomb, to "collect" the fire, on the tomb, he can see a light in the form of spilled soft pearls, there are initially sparks of red, white, light blue colours and other colours, which then produce the fire which begins to redden. The length of the prayer of forty times

³³³ Кириллина, С.А., Хождение иеромонаха Леонтия в Египет и Палестину в 1763-1766 гг.: Ислам и его носители в "истории младшего григоровича" in: *Исторический Вестникъ*, том двадцатый, июнь, 2017, Москва, 190-218, here, 203,

³³⁴ Ibid., 205.

³³⁵ Ibid.206.

³³⁶ Ibid., 208.

³³⁷ *Путешествие во Иерусалим Саровския общежительныйя пустыни иеромонаха Мелетия в 1793 и 1794 годах*, Москва, 1800.

Kyrie eleison, is the time when the Holy Fire does not burn. This Holy Fire does not burn or otherwise burn people. His description of Jerusalem and the Holy Sepulchre is unique in its own right, since it was the last one to be made before the great fire in the beginning of the nineteenth century, which engulfed the Holy Sepulchre. He stated that the Golgotha was located inside the city, and not outside of the city borders, but inside the fortress of Sion. He remarks that the term for Golgotha in the Gospels is not a designation for some form of mountain but for a place of executions. He also remarks that the garden of the elder Joseph, could not have been located next to the place of execution. Golgotha was named a hill when it was filled with earth later and a temple of Venera was built on its top. Meletiy tells us, that many Arab Christians (in the period of the miracle of the Holy Fire) came to the church, and begged to be allowed to enter and not pay some money.

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

7. Russia and the Holy Land in the nineteenth century

7. a. Religious formalism

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

In 1721 Peter the Great replaced the Russian Patriarchate with the Holy Synod. The Synod was organised in the same fashion as government departments. The Synod had an ecclesiastical president, two vice presidents, four counsellors and four assessors who were effectively controlled by the office of the lay Ober-Procurator. The Ober-Procurator was in fact the head of the Church administration.³³⁸ These new developments were later important in how things were organised in relation to Palestine. The Spiritual Regulation of 1721 with its supplement was influential in the Russian Orthodox Church until 1917.³³⁹ As the Spiritual Regulation indicated, „the common people do not understand how spiritual authority is distinguishable from the autocratic....they imagine that such an administrator is a Second

³³⁸ In Basil Dmytryshyn, ed., *Imperial Russia A Source Book, 1700-1917*, third ed. Holt, Rinehart and Winston, Inc. Washington, 1990, 34.

³³⁹ Muller Alexander V., ed. and trans., *Spiritual Regulation of Peter the Great*, University of Washington Press, Seattle, 1972, 16.

Sovereign, a power equal to that of the Autocrat, or even greater than he."³⁴⁰ The spiritual Regulation also dealt with the issue of superstition.³⁴¹ The author of the section dealing with laity in the Regulations was Bishop Feofan Prokopovich (1681-1736). He was trained in the Kievan Academy heavily influenced by the Jesuits.³⁴² The idea of superstition was closely linked with proclaiming false miracles.³⁴³

The state wished to control the parish and stipulated how many households are needed to constitute a parish.³⁴⁴ „The extensive preoccupation with the clerical issue was reflected in the name of the main synodal committee charged with parish reform issues, „The Special Commission on Affairs of Orthodox Clergy“ followed a similar measure of the eighteenth century regulating the parishes so as to produce sufficient income for priests (later revoked due to uproar in 1885).³⁴⁵ „The word for parish (*prikhod*) in Russian did not convey the same notion as its Greek counterpart, *paroikia*, which meant those living near or beside one another.“³⁴⁶ The People were represented on parish level mainly through the church elder and parish guardians.³⁴⁷

The formalisation of religion brought about through this development after the period of Peter the Great was not very good for the future life of the Church. For instance in 1774 a directive delegated to local civil officials the responsibility of making sure that people attended church on Sundays and major feast days.³⁴⁸ This of course produced an environment just as the period itself, of control, of ordering and classification. One of the reasons or consequences of the explosion of pilgrimage to Palestine in the nineteenth century was also related to an unconscious and conscious desire to "break away" from this religious formalism and control, which was so dominant especially in the nineteenth century in Russia.

It is necessary to bring to attention here the already mentioned figure of K. P. Pobedonostsev, who was the ober-procurator of the Holy Synod and had a vision of close co-operation

³⁴⁰ Muller Alexander V., ed. and trans. *Spiritual Regulation of Peter the Great*, University of Washington Press, Seattle, 1972, 10, 16.

³⁴¹ *Ibid.*, 19.

³⁴² 18.

³⁴³ 20.

³⁴⁴ 21.

³⁴⁵ 22.

³⁴⁶ 23.

³⁴⁷ Малевинский, А., Инструкция церковным старостам, изясненная указами Св. Синода, Сводом законов, распоряжениями Епархиальново Началства и церковной практики, Санкт Петербургъ, 1912, pars. 8-18, 24.

³⁴⁸ Полное Собрание законов Российской Империи, сер. I, vol. 19, 1774, no. 14231, 1. сер. 45 том., 1830, 2 сер, 55 том., 1830-34, 3rd сер. 28 том. Санкт Петербургъ, 1911, 17.

between state and church.³⁴⁹Constantine P. Pobedonostsev (1827-1907), was a constitutional lawyer, who taught civil law at Moscow State University from 1860 to 1865, and then became a member of the Senate (Russia's Supreme Court), then a member of the Council of State (Consultative body that advised the Tsar in legislative matters), and from 1880 to 1905 he acted as Procurator of the holy Synod. He was also a tutor in law of Alexander III and Nicholas II and was very influential between 1881 to 1905.³⁵⁰

Pobedonostsevs ideas on democracy are interesting in their own right, being conservative as they are. Against this background, the pilgrimage movement can be seen as a mass liberation, a way of democratic freedom enabled by the very fact of travel and the encounter with different cultures. For example, Pobedonostsev argues, that the more people have the right to vote, the lesser power in reality each person has. The more people who have the vote means less equality and freedom, since freedom and equality is distributed in such a way where they are fragmented in many individuals resulting in the fact that there is not true equality or freedom and power in any individual person. „We may ask in what consists the superiority of Democracy. Everywhere the strongest man becomes master of the State; sometimes a fortunate and resolute general, sometimes a monarch or administrator with knowledge, dexterity, a clear plan of action, and a determined will, in a Democracy, the real rulers are the dexterous manipulators of votes, with their place-men, the mechanics who so skilfully operate the hidden springs which move the puppets in the arena of democratic elections. Men of this kind are ever ready with loud speeches lauding equality; in reality they rule the people as any despot or military dictator might rule it“³⁵¹

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

³⁴⁹ Ibid., 26.

³⁵⁰ Basil Dmytryshyn, ed., *Imperial Russia A Source Book, 1700-1917*, third ed. Holt, Rinehart and Winston, Inc. Washington, 1990, 382.

³⁵¹ Pobyedonostseff, K. P., *Reflections of a Russian Statesman*, translated Robert Crozier Long, London, Grant Richard, London, 1898, 23-30, 32-46, 52-54, 62-74; Basil Dmytryshyn, ed., *Imperial Russia A Source Book, 1700-1917*, third ed. Holt, Rinehart and Winston, Inc. Washington, 1990, 383.

opening of the doors in the East towards non-orthodox propaganda.³⁵² This set the stage for a new impetus towards the Holy Land.

7. b. *Fact finding missions to the Holy Land*

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

Perhaps due to the realisation of the necessity of greater involvement in the south, after the Russian Turkish wars in 1838, there was some effort to reach out to the situation in the Holy land. As part of this effort the kamerger A. N. Muraviev (камергер А. Н. Муравьев 1806-1874 a talented individual)³⁵³ travelled to the East to find out about the possibilities there for Russia. He made a journey to Egypt, Cyprus, Palestine and Constantinople in 1830. His account is very important and belongs to one of the earliest and substantial accounts of the nineteenth century.

His popularity is also witnessed by the fact that the Holy Synod of the Patriarchate of Jerusalem gave him various awards, even calling him the knight of the Holy Sepulchre. He worked further for the foreign department and was instrumental in supporting the Russian presence on Mount Athos and stimulated the construction of a *skete* there in 1849-1850. He was also the Ober-secretary of the Holy Synod. It is important to emphasise, that people like Muraviev were very well educated having various interests. Muraviev also wrote prose and poetry. This is important to emphasise so that we have an idea of the kind of people who were involved in the endeavour in Palestine. Certainly we cannot speak of some ideologically

³⁵² Архимандрит Киприан., *О. Антонии Капустин, архимандрит и начальник Русской Духовной Миссии в Иерусалиме (1817-1894 гг.)*, Белград, 1934, 114-115; Архимандрит Никодим (Ротов), *История Русской Духовной Миссии в Иерусалиме*, с. 15-83 in: *Богословские Труды*, сборник двадцатый, Сборник посвящен митрополиту Ленинградскому и Новгородскому Никодиму († сентября 1978), Издание Московской Патриархии, Москва, 1979, 16.

³⁵³ Муравьев А., Н., *Путешествие ко святым местам, в 1830 г.*, 1835, Москва, репринт, Индрик, Москва, 2006.

motivated dreamers engaging themselves in Palestine as has been commented on by some commentators.

In his report to the ministry of foreign affairs Muraviev wrote the following: "Just as the French Kings had designated themselves as the protectors of all Franks, who abide in the East-...and all Catholic communities, even though in the majority of cases the monks only share their faith with them but are not their direct subjects, it would only be fair and beneficial and propitious for Eastern matters, if the Russian Tsar, would see fit to take under his own special patronage, protection the holy sites, even if only the Church of the Holy Sepulchre, the Cave of the Mother of God in Gethsemane and the Bethlehem Church. We are speaking here not of the Greek area (райе), the clergy or laity, but only about the Holy buildings, which is much more humble than the French ambition to protect all Catholics, regardless of their nationality.....It is necessary to obtain from the Sultan either as a gift or acquisition a small mosque (the Sion) of the Last Supper and the Descent of the Holy Spirit, which was previously a Christian monastery,... and which in the early centuries was called the Mother of all Churches, since it was there that the first bishopric was created of Jerusalem under the personal leadership of Jacob the Lord's brother. As soon as this mosque will be in our hands, it can become the centre for the establishment of the Russian Mission, consisting of an archimandrite, some monks and reappointed every three years just as the Catholics do....If for some reason out of misfortune, we will not be able to get our hands on the Sanctuary of the Last Supper from the unbelievers the home of the archimandrite should be located in the strengthened monastery of the Cross, which is located two versts from Jerusalem, and which belongs to the Greeks, who will happily delegate it to us with this aim in mind, in any case there is no reason to ignore this beautiful monastery, its beautiful church and extensive accommodation possibilities, which is especially suitable for pilgrims, who should be guided by an Archimandrite, who should also guide all the Russian monks living in Jerusalem. Just as after the visit of Russia by the Archbishop Favorskiy (Фаворский) in all our Churches groups were established in which offerings are placed for the Holy Sepulchre, and the collection reaches every year 40 thousand roubles in remittances, a part of these collections could be used to support the Jerusalem Mission, especially if these are placed into the mosque of the Last Supper, which can be transformed into a Church. The rest of the collections of the groups could be in the first case placed for the Holy Sepulchre, but not in any other way than through the hands of our archimandrite. The Archimandrite would decide how the money

would be spent."³⁵⁴ As we can see the report is pretty much straightforward. Muraviev advanced the Russian presence also on Mt Athos, where he was instrumental in the acquisition of the *Skete* of Saint Andrew.

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

In the first half of the nineteenth century, the efforts for more intensive contacts with the Holy Land depended on various issues, which were indirectly related to pilgrimage. On the other hand the latter half of the century was determined by issues of pilgrimage but also of other more scholarly and ecclesial aspects. The political situation and pressure from the West in the Holy Land led people like Count Karl Robert Nesselrode who was a Protestant himself to see the necessity of some form of Russian action in the ecclesial sphere. Nesselrode who is a well-known figure had an ambivalent policy towards the Ottoman Empire, a policy, which also had effects on his attitudes towards the Holy Land. Again contrary to common opinion, the Russian state and Tsars in the 19th century were rather clumsy and slow to react to the political possibilities and economical possibilities offered to the Russians by playing

³⁵⁴ "Как Французские короли объявили себя покровителями всех франков, поселившихся на Востоке, и всех католических общин, хотя, в большинстве монахи только их единоверцы но не подданные, было бы справедливо и благоприятно для восточных дел, если бы русский император удостоил принять под свое особое покровительство святые места, хотя бы только храм Гроба Господня, пещеру Богородицы в Гефсимании и Вифлеемскую церковь. Речь идет не о греческой рае, духовенстве или мирянах, а только о священных зданиях, что гораздо скромнее притязания Франции покровительствовать всем католикам вообще, к какой бы нации они ни принадлежали....Необходимо получить от султана маленькую мечеть (Сионскую) Тайной Вечери и Сошествия Св. Духа, бывшую раньше христианским монастырем, в виде дара или приобретения... Эта мечеть, прежняя церковь, называлась в первые века матерью всех церквей, ибо там было установлено первое иерусалимское епископство в лице Иакова брата Господня. Как только эта мечеть будет в наших руках, она может быть месторепреванием Русской Миссии, состоящей из архимандрита и нескольких монахов и назначаемой вновь каждые три года по примеру католиков...Если, к несчастью, мы не в состоянии будем вырвать из рук неверных святыни Тайной Вечеры, месторепревание архимандрита должно быть перенесено в укрепленный монастырь Креста, находящийся в двух верстах от Иерусалима и принадлежащий грекам, которые охотно уступят нам его с этой целью, и во всяком случае не следует пренебрегать этим прекрасным монастырем, по красоте церквей и обширному помещению весьма пригодным для паломников, руководство которым, как и всеми русскими монахами, живущими в Иерусалиме, должно быть поручено архимандриту. Так как после посещения России архиепископом Фагорским во всех наших соборах установлены кружки, в которые опускают подаяния на Гроб Господень, и сбор этот ежегодно доходит до 40 тысяч рублей ассигнациями, часть этих подаяний можно было бы расходовать на поддержание Иерусалимской Миссии, особенно если она поместится в мечети Тайной Вечери, которую придется переделать на церковь. Остальная часть кружечного сбора могла бы получить свое первоначальное назначение на Гроб Господень, но не иначе, как проходя через руки нашего архимандрита. Распределение этих денег возвысило бы нашего архимандрита." Безобразов, П. В., О сношениях России с Палестиной в XIX веке. in: *Сообщения Императорского Православного Палестинского Общества*, т. XXII, вып. II, Санкт Петербург., 1911, 185-187.

effectively the Christian card in the Middle East. There was no systematic approach and there was no idealistic rush to protect “Orthodox Christianity” by the state either.

The state progressed step by step and even extraordinarily did so, in order not to “antagonise” the French or other European powers. Such a rather strange cautious and humble approach to asserting political might could also be seen in the issue of Greek independence. Thus while Russian public opinion was sympathetic to the Greek cause, the Tsarist policy was slow to react and people like the foreign minister Count Karl Robert Nesselrode even called for caution in supporting Greek independence since this would undermine “moral” values.³⁵⁵ Nicholas I seems further to have been a pacifist disliking rebellion and war.³⁵⁶

In June 1842 the vice-chancellor (вице-канцлер) Nesselrode (Нессельроде) in his report to the Tsar portrayed a bleak picture of the situation of the Orthodox in Palestine, citing immense aggressiveness from the Catholics and Protestants, apart from the usual problems from the Muslims. He calls for the establishment of an ecclesial presence in Palestine, which would also support morally and practically the Greek Orthodox presence there. The vice-chancellor calls for the presence of a clerical type such as for example an archimandrite who would proceed carefully, slowly without endangering diplomatic balance etc.³⁵⁷ He observes: “But it is also important to realise, that if a cleric is sent to Jerusalem and this is manifested publicly, this could represent certain inconveniences, which could partly proceed from various political causes and partially from the suspicious nature of and personal opinions of the higher Greek clergy. And therefore in the first instance it would be perhaps good to limit oneself to a so-to speak educational role. Having this in mind it would be good to choose a humble, judicious, hopeful priest monk or archimandrite, but not above this rank, and send him to Jerusalem in the capacity of a pilgrim. After he arrived there he could, after fulfilling all the requirements of a pious person, try to gain the trust of the local priesthood, gradually infiltrating the situation of the Orthodox Church, and to discern on ground, what would be the useful measures to adopt in order to support Orthodoxy, and to convey this to the Russian Government and through the mediation of our consul in Beirut and according to the latter’s advice as required give some beneficial suggestions to the Greek clergy from his own

³⁵⁵ Nesselrode circular dispatch, Laibach, Mar. 18, 1831, *VPR* (1990): 70-1, xii, 35 cited in: Frary L. J., *Russia and the Making of Modern Greek identity, 1821-1844*, Oxford, 2015, pg. 35.

³⁵⁶ For Nicholas I., see С. С. Татищев, *Внешняя политика императора Николая I*, СПб, тип. И. Н. Скороходова, 1887, 137-8.; also by the same author *Император Николай и иностранные дворы*, СПб, 1889. Still one of the most brilliant analysis of the rule of Nicholas I.

³⁵⁷ Каптерев, Н., *Сношения Иерусалимских патриархов в текущем столетии (1815-1844 гг.)*. In: *Православный Палестинский Сборник*, т. XV. Выпуск первый, СПб., 1898, с. 679-681.

"private" personal position and in brotherly love, while at the same time confirming to the clergy the pious solidarity of the most high court with those sharing our faith. When experience shows, that the presence of a Russian agent from the ranks of the clergy, could bring substantial benefits to the Orthodox Church, then taking regard to circumstances, it could be perhaps possible to keep him there under some useful pretext and furnish him with some positive instructions relating to the future possibilities of action. Until then it is necessary that he consult with our consul in all matters, since he is more proficient in terms of the political circumstances, with which spiritual endeavours should be harmonised."³⁵⁸

Obviously the purport of this message is ambiguous and confusing at least for the ecclesial personages it was supposed to deal with. This has been noted by other commentators such as the cited N. Kapterev and Nikodom Rotov.³⁵⁹ The statement calls for action in Palestine while

³⁵⁸ "Но нельзя не сознаться, что гласное отправление духовного лица в Иерусалим имеет также свои неудобства, которые могут проистекать от разных политических соображений, а отчасти от недоверчивости и личных видов греческого высшего духовенства. А потому на первый случай можно было бы ограничиться мерою, так сказать, испытательною. С сею целью надлежало бы избрать кроткого, благоразумного, надежного иеромонаха или архимандрита, но никак не выше сего сана, и отправить его в Иерусалим в качестве поклонника. По прибытии туда он мог бы, исполняя все обязанности богомольца, стараться снискать доверие тамошнего духовенства, постепенно вникать в положение Православной Церкви, сообразить на месте, какие всего удобнее принять меры к поддержанию православия, доносить о том Российскому Правительству и через посредство консула нашего в Бейруте по руководству сего последнего делать при случаях некоторые полезные внушения греческому духовенству от собственного своего имени и с братской любовью, стараясь при том убедить его в благочестивом соучастии высочайшего двора к единоверцам нашим. Когда же опыт укажет, что пребывание русского агента из духовных может действительно принести существенную пользу Православной Церкви, тогда смотря по обстоятельствам, можно будет продлить его там пребывание под каким-либо благовидным предлогом и снабдить более положительными наставлениями касательно дальнейшего образа действий. До того же времени необходимо, чтобы он во всем совещался с нашим консулом, ибо ему больше известны политические обстоятельства, с какими надлежит согласовать и духовные дела". (Но нельзя не сознаться, что гласное отправление духовного лица в Иерусалим имеет также свои неудобства, которые могут проистекать от разных политических соображений, а отчасти от недоверчивости и личных видов греческого высшего духовенства. А потому на первый случай можно было бы ограничиться мерою, так сказать, испытательною. С сею целью надлежало бы избрать кроткого, благоразумного, надежного иеромонаха или архимандрита, но никак не выше сего сана, и отправить его в Иерусалим в качестве поклонника. По прибытии туда он мог бы, исполняя все обязанности богомольца, стараться снискать доверие тамошнего духовенства, постепенно вникать в положение Православной Церкви, сообразить на месте, какие всего удобнее принять меры к поддержанию православия, доносить о том Российскому Правительству и через посредство консула нашего в Бейруте по руководству сего последнего делать при случаях некоторые полезные внушения греческому духовенству от собственного своего имени и с братской любовью, стараясь при том убедить его в благочестивом соучастии высочайшего двора к единоверцам нашим. Когда же опыт укажет, что пребывание русского агента из духовных может действительно принести существенную пользу Православной Церкви, тогда смотря по обстоятельствам, можно будет продлить его там пребывание под каким-либо благовидным предлогом и снабдить более положительными наставлениями касательно дальнейшего образа действий. До того же времени необходимо, чтобы он во всем совещался с нашим консулом, ибо ему больше известны политические обстоятельства, с какими надлежит согласовать и духовные дела". Каптерев, Н., Сношения Иерусалимских патриархов в текущем столетии (1815-1844 гг.). in: *Православный Палестинский Сборник*, т. XV. Выпуск первый, Санкт Петербург., 1898, 679-681.

³⁵⁹ Архимандрит Никодим (Ротов), История Русской Духовной Миссии в Иерусалиме, in: *Богословские Труды, сборник двадцатый, Сборник посвящен митрополиту Ленинградскому и Новгородскому Никодиму († сентября 1978)*, 15-83, Издание Московской Патриархии, Москва, 1979, 18.

at the same time calling for secrecy, which is strange. It is as if the Russian government is scared to provoke someone, even though Western missionary propaganda was in full swing at that time. In any case the document views the Church with little regard, viewing it as a useful tool for government policy. The document was handed over to the Holy Synod to deal with it.

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

In any event, the Russian Synod on the 26th of June 1842 designated Archimandrite Porphyriy (Archimandrite Porphyriy Konstantin Alexandrovich Uspenskiy Архимандрит Порфирий Константин Александрович Успенский) to fulfil this task, as called in by the above document. He was chosen because of his knowledge of Greek, and because of his experience dealing with non-Russian Orthodox Christians. He was at that time the priest for the Embassy in Vienna. Uspenskiy came to Sankt Peterburg on the 11th of October 1842, where on the 4th of November, there was a meeting of the Holy Synod which dealt with him and his goals: "The present plan of sending the archimandrite Porfyriy to Jerusalem in the capacity of a pilgrim and with the goal of revealing the current needs of Orthodoxy in Palestine and to establish a liaison between the Greek clergy and the Church leadership in Russia and with the task to oversee that the gifts offered serve the benefits of the Orthodox Church in those areas is hereby established temporarily, and if it is to become permanent this will depend on the insights and fruits, which will stem from it."³⁶⁰

Porfyriy Uspenskiy was undoubtedly an incredible figure and is one of the dominant personages of the Russian Holy land relationship of the nineteenth century. He was born in 1804 in Kostrom in the family of psalmist. In 1829 he finished the Sankt Petersburg Spiritual Academy after which he became a monk and was ordained later. The same year he became a teacher of the Holy Scripture in the Second Petersburg Cadet corps (2-й Петербургский Кадетский корпус) and in 1831 he taught the same at the Rishlev Odessa lyceum

³⁶⁰ "Предстоящее отправление архимандрита Порфирия в Иерусалим в качестве поклонника и в видах обнаружить настояще нужды православия в Палестине и установить посредство между греческим дучовнеством и духовным начальством в России и ближайшее наблюдение за действительным употреблением в пользу Православной Церкви в тамошних местах пожертвований предпринимается ныне в виде временной меры, обращение которой в постоянную будет зависеть от открытий и плодов, какеи окажутся во испытании оной". Каптерев, Н., Сношения Иерусалимских патриархов в текущем столетии (1815-1844 гг.), in: *Православный Палестинский Сборник*, т. XV. Выпуск первый, Санкт Петербургъ, 1898, 679-681, here 685.

(Одесский Ришельевский лицей). In 1834 he became an archimandrite and received the function of the head of Odessa Uspensky monastery of the second grade. In 1842 he became the priest for the embassy in Vienna.

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

The entry for the 3rd of May 1841 in this diary offers us a typical prayerful beginning of a future journey to Russia and then later to Palestine. A *moleben* is served in front of the icon of Alexander Nevsky, and Porphyriy full of emotion sheds tears and is full of eagerness to fulfil Gods will. He then embarks on a tedious and difficult journey which is "tiresome". As he states, after the river Dvina, the inhabitants of the country live in poor conditions, barely speaking Russian, living in poor houses and it is obvious that Great Russia ends here (4-7 of May 1841).³⁶¹ On the 8th of May 1841 Porphyriy arrives in Vilna, where he is met by the Archimandrite Platon, who is "popular there". At five there was dinner at the governor's office Semenov. "Behind the table sat the Polish rulers and administrators and talked with a great voice. Wide is the throat of these men!"³⁶² The most jovial of all was Count Krejts (Граф Крейцъ) who exclaimed that he loves the Slavs, and that he is of Slavic origin and that even the Greeks are Slavs.³⁶³

The bishop Iosif (Иосифъ) served the Liturgy and Porphyriy was surprised to see that during the Great Entrance all the Eastern Patriarchs of the Middle East were commemorated. He was told that this was on account of the united Uniates. When the Uniates expressed a desire to reunite with the Orthodox, the Roman Catholics asked them "Do you desire to join the Universal Church or a local Church?. The Uniates stated, that they are not joining only with the Russian Church but with the Universal Church, hence this liturgical element was

³⁶¹ *Книга Бытія Моего, Дневники и Автобіографическія записки, Епископа Порфирія Успенскаго, том 1., ред. П.А. Сырку, Санкт Петербург, 1894. 1-3.*

³⁶² "За столомъ вельможные и чиновные поляки говорили весьма громко. Широко горло у этихъ господь!". Ibid.

³⁶³ Ibid. 3.

introduced. After this the Orthodox Archbishop Iosif stated that the Roman Catholic officials perpetually ignore invitations for lunch or other events hosted by the Archbishop.³⁶⁴

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

Porphyriy however does not blame the Jews for the desperate conditions, but on the contrary blames the situation on corruption, and a lack of spiritual life. In another entry Porphyriy contemplates about the Jews not being sure whether he likes them or not. As he states, one part of him points to the cunningness, trickery, deviousness of the Jews and the other part draws his attention to Philo and the fact that this nation confessed the one nature of God. In the end Porphyriy pities the Jews as being living debris.³⁶⁵

Generally, Porphyriy's attitude and opinion towards different nationalities undergoes development during his travels. Thus as he remarks elsewhere, he was told by Greeks how Arabs are lazy, but during his travels in Samaria and Galilee he had to change his opinion, seeing well-kept fields of Arabs and cultivated areas of the Arabs neatly taken care of.³⁶⁶ Elsewhere he states, that the Arab hospitality is the only thing left from their ancient high culture. He is invited by one such Arab for food since he sees his tent close to his.³⁶⁷

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

In the entry for the 15th of May (1843) Uspenskiy in his diary wrote that he was given 1500 roubles for travel expenses and read the report of the Vice Chancellor to the Tsar (titled "Concerning Archimandrite Porphyriy"), under which the Tsar signed "approved". The 1500 roubles came from the ministry of foreign affairs (Asian department). He was also told that new instructions would be given in the embassy of Constantinople. He met the Ober-prokurator

³⁶⁴ Ibid. 5. See the important study Pelesz, *Geschichte der Union der ruthenischen Kirche mit Rom*, II. B., Würzburg Wien, 1881; *Annales Ecclesiae Ruthenae* Михаил Гарасевич (Michaelis Harasiewicz), Михаил Малиновский, Львов, 1862.

³⁶⁵ 16, May, 1841, 15.

³⁶⁶ *Книга Бытія Моего*, Дневники и Автобіографическія записки, Епископа Порфирія Успенскаго, том I., ред. П.А. Сырку, Санкт Петербург, 1894, 16 April, 1844, 653.

³⁶⁷ 3 may, 1844, pg. 21, *ibid.* Tom II.

who showed distaste towards Uspenskiy mocking him for being impossible, since Uspenskiy managed to get himself robbed in his house. The tone of the Ober-prokurator showed a lack of faith that Uspenskiy would be successful in his mission.³⁶⁸

For the journey to Palestine Archimandrite Porphyriy left on the 22nd of May 1843 from Saint Petersburg to Odessa. He planned to stay in Odessa for a while "to refresh his Greek". On the 20th of September he departed from Odessa and the 22nd of September he was already in Constantinople. On the 15th of October he departs to Syria from Constantinople. In Syria he sees the depleted state of the Orthodox Church, which lacks in resources, priests being dirt poor and this coupled with problems with Uniates and others. Porphyriy realises, that if something is not done the Orthodox will be destroyed in the Middle East. Porphyriy believes as others, that the establishment of a Spiritual mission in Jerusalem will enable the following:

"a) to promote visible unity of the Jerusalem, Antiocheane and Russian Churches and with this a mutual exchange of information; b) To control the money and its whereabouts which is sent from Russia; c) To take care of the Russian pilgrims; d) To furnish all the village churches in Syria and Palestine with icons. The Mission should have iconographers and a school of iconography; e) For the acceptance and the sending of gifts from Russia to the places for which they were meant, since this does not take place now; f) To find out where, and in which villages there are Arabs, who were turned into Muslims from Christians and where they commemorate the past Christianity, where they have respect to our saints and holy people, so that it would be possible after the next Orthodox celebration to start in those villages with missionary activity and the conversion into the Christian faith; g) To give beneficial advice regarding the construction of national schools and seminaries, and Academies in the Patriarchate itself".³⁶⁹.

³⁶⁸ *Книга Бытия Моего, Дневники и Автобиографическія записки, Епископа Порфирія Успенскаго, том 1., ред. П.А. Сырку, Санкт Петербург, 1894, 128-133.*

³⁶⁹ "а) для видимого единения Церквей Иерусалимской Антиохийской и Российской и для взаимных известий; б) для наблюдения за расходами денег, высылаемых из России; в) для наблюдения за русскими паломниками; г) для снабжения всех сельских церквей Сирии и Палестины иконами. При Миссии должны быть иконописцы и школа иконписания; д) для принятия и отсылки подаяний из России в назначенные места, ибо теперь этого не делают; е) для наблюдения, где в каких деревнях арабы обращены в магометанство из христиан и где они помнят прежнее христианство, где имеют почитание к святым нашим и пр., дабы при будущем торжестве православия начать с этих деревень миссионерство и обращение в христианскую веру; ж) для подания полезных советов при устройстве школ народных и семинарий, и академии в самой Патриархии" *Пребывание преосвященного Порфирия Успенского на Св. Земле*". in: *Сообщения Императорского Православного Палестинского Общества*, т. XV. Выпуск 4. Санкт Петербург, 1905, 281-282.

Porphyriy was also aware that to a certain extent the Greek clergy could be suspicious of the Russian activity. According to the Archimandrite, the Greeks were afraid: "a) that all the Orthodox Slavs will go to the Russian Church and will look up to the Russians as to their guide. There is a danger here of losing income and the influence on the Slavs, b) They were afraid of the emergence of criminal activity, c) they were afraid that the Russians little by little will place Palestine under their influence³⁷⁰ and that the Greek clergy will lose its autonomy.

Uspenskiy came to Jerusalem in 1844 more or less as a humble pilgrim. His goals consisted of establishing ways to help the Orthodox Christians in Palestine and ways of achieving this. He believed that a Russian Consulate should be established in Jerusalem and that a monastery should be established there, which would coordinate Russian activities. Chitrovo states that he actually used the term "monastery" because the term "mission" was somehow too novel.³⁷¹

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

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

³⁷⁰ "Греки, по мысли о. Порфирия, боялись: "а) что все славяне православные будут ходить в русскую церковь и смотреть на русских, как на образец. Тут есть опасение лишения доходов и влияния на славян, б) боялись открытия злодеяний, в) боялись, что Россия мало-помалу подчинит своему влиянию Палестину и греческое дучовенство потеряет свою автономию. Епископ Порфирий, Книга бытия моего....", т. II, Ibid. 379.

³⁷¹ Ibid. 110.

Russian to maintain a good balance 4, to decrease the number of priests being at the same time monks, this goes for the Patriarchate of Jerusalem and the Patriarchate of Constantinople, 5, to increase the number of monks in the monasteries of Palestine, 6, to improve the conditions of the village priests in Palestine, 7, to build national schools at the various metropolinates, 8, to repair and restore the village churches 9, the patriarchate is rich everything else is poor, 10, let the treasury of the Holy Sepulchre be one and undivided but the expenditures be divided between the village priests and churches, 11, to count the number of village churches, and compare this to the visible donations of the Russian Church, other non-visible donations to the treasury of the Holy Sepulchre, 12, there are too many village priests, it is a pitiful site to look at the poor parish priests, it is better to have one priest in a village, 13, until a desirable result is achieved in terms of mission, no need to limit the number of village churches or to join them to neighbouring ones, 14, establish a Russian mission in Jerusalem, a), to unify the Aniochian, Jerusalem and Russian Churches and to enable more effective exchange of news, b) to take care of the donations sent from Russia c) to take care of the Russian pilgrims d) to furnish all the churches of Palestine and Syria with icons the mission should have iconographers and an iconographic school e) to direct donations from Russia to concrete places since this is not done yet f) to find out which of the villages where converted from Christianity into Islam, and where they commemorate their previous Christian affiliation, where they have reverence to our saints etc, in order to utilise the next feast to start a missionary campaign there to convert them to Christianity, h) to offer guidance in building schools seminaries, and academies at the Patriarchate, 15) build the Russian mission at the Mt. of Olives, or in the last resort at the monastery of the cross, or the Prophet Elijah, 16) In order to buy the Mt. Olives or the place of the Ascensions collect donations in Russia, 17) concentrate on Russian pilgrims who come to Jerusalem twice or thrice, since they often live without rules, engaging in commerce living without guidelines.³⁷²

Porphyriys ideas on the unification of the Orthodox presence in the Holy Land was a good thing but perhaps given the situation was not so realistic. Things where not simple and in one instance a certain deacon Anthim expresses his opinion that the Russian presence in Palestine is not so good, because if there is a conflict between the Russians and the Greeks, the enemies of the Church could use this to gain ground, or on the other hand if there is a war between

³⁷² *Книга Бытія Моего*, Дневники и Автобіографическія записки, Епископа Порфирія Успенскаго, том 1., 7 January 1844, ред. П.А. Сырку, Санкт Петербург, 1894, 360.

Turkey and Greece, the Greek brotherhood and all associated with it could be severely punished.³⁷³

Porphyriy engaged in many relations with various figures in Palestine and sometimes experienced friction with such figures as the French and other Western state representatives. His account is a wealth of information on the social and ecclesial situation of Palestine of his period. Thus On January 11th 1844 he is brought some books by a deacon from the Patriarchate who had praised previous Patriarchs and complained about the contemporary one, and about his bishops. As he stated the previous Patriarchs of Jerusalem, contemplated, wrote books, prayed, fasted, and the contemporary ones just drink and eat sweets,-Money-that is their philosophy.³⁷⁴

In one instance, Uspenskiy quotes a Greek proverb Θεωρίαν τε Ἰωνᾶ, Καρδίαν δὲ μύλονᾶ, „By appearance Jonah, by heart a miller”, and states, that the Greek hierarchy is like this, having the outward appearance of humble, pious people but, in the inside they are interested in profit and are cunning and smart as millers.³⁷⁵ Porphyriy gradually learned how to deal with locals and the customs of the area. In a conversation with a bishop Dionysios, Uspenskiy learns about the reason for a long standing feud between the inhabitants of Bethlehem and a village called Evfrafa (Εβφραφα). The conflict began over a girl born to poor parents, who was left behind and became an orphan. She was taken in by the *epitropos* Kyril, the archbishop of Lyddia. She was under the supervision of his *ierontissa*.

When she was 14 the Archbishop decided to marry her to a person from Evfratha where she was also born. She found this person inadequate to fulfil the duties of a husband and ran off back to the Archbishop, who managed to gain a divorce for her from the Turkish authorities. The *Ierontissa* found her untouched. Uspenskiy was then asked by the Archbishop to marry her to a brother of an old man Chana from Bethlehem. The other priests refused to marry her even when orderd by Uspenskiy and so she lived in the house of Uspenskiy. She then told Uspenskiy that either he should do something or that she would go off to the Turks and accept their faith. Uspenskiy decided to marry her himself to the son of Channa. However her earlier husband had heard about this and this provoked a huge hatred to the archbishop Kirill and to Uspenskiy.

³⁷³ 20 january, 1844, 379.

³⁷⁴ Ibid., 367

³⁷⁵ Ibid., 373, 16, January 1844.

This then resulted in a inter village feud and a great battle, where women were throwing stones at each other from both villages and the men also, the men being careful to avoid the women since it was considered dishonourable to strike a woman. The fighting was stopped by a servant of the Turks Osman, who scared the fighters with a story of the incoming Turkish soldiers, which was a story he made up to stop the feud. However, there where further attempts to kill the second husband of the girl. Later a payment was required instead. However, Uspenskiy thought about the issue and realised that the real problem was that the Archbishop of Lyddia had sexual intercourse with her, the *ierontissa* probably lied about her virginity and this was the reason why nobody wanted to marry her off from the priests and the reason why the Archbishop was so ardently demanding a divorce.³⁷⁶

Uspenskiy often notes other scandalous stories. While visiting the monastery of Saint Elias the *igumenos* did not want to let Uspenskiy into one particular room, since there where women sleeping their and also one child. Osman the servant of the monastery than told Uspenskiy that the *igumenos* Ioachim was born in a village called Nichor on the Bosporus. His brother sued beautiful coats for the Patriarch Athanasios and others, and so he placed him into the Patriarchate. When his head was “covered” with a *kamilavka*, he asked for a position of *igumenos* in the monastery of Saint Elias.

The Patriarch could not refuse the request of the great coat maker and contrary to habit placed him as *igumenos* disregarding the fact that an *igumenos* was already installed there. The previous *Igumenos* was given a different position and an agreement was reached that he could sell the wine and other produce that he gathered from the monastery. As Porphyriy remarks there was a scandalous situation and “In the tradition of the Eastern Fathers the *igoumenos* brought with him a fine cocoon with daughters and even a husband”. The husband was then sent to the monastery of saint Sabba, because he was deemed crazy. There he died. The deputy of the Patriarch Kyril bishop of Lyddia had his fingers in this, because he was interested in one of the daughters. This girl now lives in the Patriarchate in the arms of the bishop of Lyddia, and the mediator between the bishop of lyddia, the *igumenos*, and her mother was the bishop of Neapolis. A new child was sent to this monastery not long ago,-the son of the bishop.³⁷⁷ According to Porphyry these concubines of the hierarchs behaved

³⁷⁶ 22 january 1844, pgs. 411-415.

³⁷⁷ Ibid., 26 january, pgs. 435.

terribly and hit the local deacon-monks and others with their shoes on their faces, commanded them like servants and let them carry their urine and so on out.³⁷⁸

In another story Porphyriy mentions a Bulgarian person who celebrated his wedding in Bazardzik (Базарджик). He loved his wife and she loved him. However she fell ill. At that time a Roman Catholic mission appeared in that area and one of the Roman Catholic missionaries stated that if the man would convert to Roman Catholicism he would cure the lady. However, the Bulgarian refused these offers since he was a loyal Orthodox and went to the local Orthodox Bishop for advice. The Bishop told him to travel to Jerusalem with his wife. His wife was cured in Jerusalem, but when they returned home she fell ill again, and the bishop stated that this is a sign that they should stay in Jerusalem. They came to Jerusalem again and the wife was cured once more, but the man decided to return home. They did not even manage to get outside of the city when the women fell ill again, so the man returned and asked the Patriarchate for help, with accommodation. However as Uspenskiy notes these "evil men" were so evil as not to feel any sympathy for this pair and while having numerous houses they did not let them stay without asking for huge rent. In the end they gathered some money and opened a coffee shop the women being perfectly cured.³⁷⁹

The scandalous situation according to Porphyriy did not reach only the Orthodox higher hierarchy. Money was also the means how Protestant missionaries converted Orthodox families as was the case with families in the area of Petsal. Some families could have even used the issue of money to blackmail the representatives of various churches threatening to convert from one church to another unless given assistance.³⁸⁰

Porphyriy in a conversation with the Metropolitan on one occasion finds out the following about the conditions of the Patriarchate of Jerusalem: a) there were problems because the bishops were offended because they were not invited to lunch on the name day of Patriarch Athanasios. As bishop Dionysios added, if I had known this, I would have gone straight home in the morning after coffee, excusing myself as being ill b) only the *epitropi*, the monk Anthim, and the Archimandrite Nikofor, occupy themselves with the issues of the Synod and the treasury of the tomb of the Patriarchate; the other members know about these things to the degree that my novices know about these things, that is about the content of the box on top of which you are sitting, c) all the hierarchs receive food from the Patriarchate, one *raso* once a

³⁷⁸ 436.

³⁷⁹ Ibid., 438-439, 31 January 1844.

³⁸⁰ Ibid. 368, 12 January, 1844.

year, they live thanks to the offerings of the pilgrims, they take confessions, they serve *obedni* and *panychidas*; apart from this every bishop has a monastery for his disposal, where pilgrims visit, the hierarch has the right to dispose of the income of this without necessarily offering the accounts of his management, d) the hierarchs would have loved to go to their eparchies, but in order to do that it is necessary to build diocesan buildings, schools, churches furnish these etc. Porphyriy remarks that he was surprised to hear that the hierarchs would have loved to go away. The Patriarch gives out a part of the money from Constantinople, which was for example used to build the Church in Bethlehem. But the major part of the income from Moldavia and Walachia disappears in a bottomless barrel f) it appears that the metropolitan of Bethlehem did not know that the money from Russia was not sent to the Patriarch but through the Beirut Consulate directly to the Patriarchate g) there is a common fear that the Patriarchate of Constantinople would need some money to support its seminary. Thus all sorts of excuses are presented so that no money would be sent to Constantinople for this purpose. Thus it was stated that a teacher of Greek pagan lore was brought in to teach pagan myths to the monks of the Patriarchate, that a teacher was sent to teach Arab children etc. h) The metropolitan of Bethlehem was deposed from the position of deputy because he criticised the practice of fourteen year old cocoons filling the harems of the bishops and was sent on his own wish to the diocese, i) the Patriarchate is scared to death about the possibility of a Russian mission due to the following reasons 1) to abolish the situation of fourteen year old cocoons and the aim of transforming the Patriarchate from a harem into a monastery 2) the fear of the unification of the Bulgarians with the Russians, since the Bulgarians would start to go to the Russian church and the income would therefore decrease, 3) If there would be a war between Turkey and Russia this would spell the end of the Holy Sepulchre.³⁸¹

In one of Porphyriy's discussions with the monk Anthim, the discussion turns about the question when did the various denominations gain their possessions in Jerusalem. The Armenians with their deviousness and cunningness gained the former possession of the Copts and Abyssinians. Their role decreased when the Turks destroyed the Armenian kingdom earlier in history but still the powerful Armenian families in Constantinople still wield a lot of power. Anthim mentions a note given to Dashkov in 1820, which was shown to the Tsar Alexander I. Here Porphyriy is informed about a conflict which broke out between the

³⁸¹ *Книга Бытія Моего, Дневники и Автобіографическія записки, Епископа Порфирія Успенскаго, том 1., 23 January 1844, ред. П.А. Сырку, Санкт Петербург, 1894, 419-420.*

Catholics and the Orthodox regarding some stone which fell off in the Holy Sepulchre and needed repairs.³⁸²

Interestingly, Porphyriy is also critical about the Orthodox stating that the reason why the Roman Catholics and the Uniates have such a hold in Palestine is because of pastoral reasons. The moment the Orthodox mission is effective and is able to convert the faithful into Orthodoxy, the sooner the Roman Catholics will lose their excuse in staying there.³⁸³ On other occasions Uspenskiy is shocked by the level of antagonistic and evil forms of Western propaganda against the Orthodox. In one particular entry he notes that the Anglican mission attempts to portray the Russian Orthodox Church as backward and the Orthodox Church generally as a terrible place and this is systematically being implanted into the younger generation of monks in the Patriarchate.³⁸⁴

Uspenskiy notes that the missions such as the Anglican mission is much worse than the Roman Catholic one, since the Anglicans use a different strategy of enticing the others by money, good words etc. In this particular entry the conversation is even more interesting since it in conversation with Uspenskiy one of the persons speaking with Uspenskiy stated that the education of the young monks lacks quality, that the lack of catechesis is creating problems and that there is a new trend of being more interested in Demosthenes, Homer than in the Church Fathers. These leads Uspenskiy further to stress the need of the Russian help here in establishing seminaries and other educational activities. This trend is historically true, since as part the Greek emancipation, nationalistic themes based on previous history became part and parcel of Greek education in a kind of mixed *kitsch* style of schooling combining western modes of education with traditional ecclesial traditions.

Uspenskiy is a keen observer and is a scholar. During his various travels he takes notes and studies places he has visited in a scholarly fashion. In his journey around Hermel for example he studies the topography of the areas linking it with ancient Biblical sites in relation to the various archaeological remains he sees and studies. He offers etymological analysis and other types of analysis in his works. In one instance he travels from Ziph to Hermel. Hermel was according to Uspenskiy a collection of city structures facing Maon.³⁸⁵ Around Hermel

³⁸² Ibid., 17-18 April, 1844, 656.

³⁸³ Ibid., 18, april, 1844, 656.

³⁸⁴ 13 May 1844, *Книга Бытія Моего*, Дневники и Автобіографическія записки, Епископа Порфирія Успенскаго, том 2., ред. П.А. Сырку, Санкт Петербург, 1894, 83.

³⁸⁵ 3 May 1844, *ibid.*, 19.

Uspenskiy noted some remains, he went to Juttah and attempted to confirm his theory that this place was where Elisabeth met Mary.³⁸⁶

Uspenskiy served a service at the Holy Sepulchre on the stone which was moved at the tomb of Christ. He saw a great silver piece with the inscription that this was given by the *Heytman* Joann Mazepa. He wondered that while in Russia this figure is hated here people pray for him and wonders whether the hatred will prevail or the love will prevail.³⁸⁷

For the entry of the 25th of January, there is the interesting speculation on the future of Europe. Uspenskiy notes, that in the future Ecclesial Christianity will cease to exist which will be followed by the fall of kingdoms and tsars. This will then mean the destruction of civilisation as we know it and that a new form of society will emerge prone to various dangers, where the Gospel will be the prime enemy, the Gospel, which is the prime expression of humanity and love. There will be a society governed by some sort of bishops who will manage a common treasury.³⁸⁸

Porphyriy Uspenskiy left some other accounts of his travels including his travels to Egypt.³⁸⁹ He visited the monastery of Saint Savva the Sanctified in Alexandria, and was told that the monastery was built on the spot where the Great Martyr Catherine was imprisoned. Porphyriy attempts to reconstruct the history of the monastery, stating that it was built by Alexandrian Christians after 640 after the Arabs and Copts took their churches away, on the spot where there possibly could have been a temple to Neptun, as indicated by the columns there.

Porphyriy through a translator consults Arab manuscripts about the local history of the monastery. The Arab manuscripts refer simply to the place as the "Greek church". Porphyriy concludes that the monastery was originally a parish church not a monastery. He mentions that the chanter Iioannis Nikolaidis is a good singer since he does not sing "through the nose". Porphyriy finds out that according to the Monastery records there is a church in Rosetta (Saint Nicholas) and Damietta (Saint George).³⁹⁰ Porphyriy is told that Egypt has around five million inhabitants and that in Alexandria there are 250 Orthodox families, according to the local priest who visits the houses during Pascha. There are many Orthodox coming in and out

³⁸⁶ Ibid. 22.3 May 1844.

³⁸⁷ Ibid., 14 May, 1844, 85, tom. II.

³⁸⁸ Ibid. Tom III, 25, january, 1847.

³⁸⁹ *Путешествіе по Египту, и въ монастыри Святаго Антонія Великаго, и Преподобнаго Павла Фивейскаго, въ 1850 году, Архимандрита Порфирія Успенскаго*, Въ типографіи Императорской Академіи Наукъ, Санкт Петербург, 1856,

³⁹⁰ Ibid. 11-14.

for trade. Mehmet Ali Pasha according to Porphyriy has transformed the city into a cheerful city. Interestingly, Porphyriy notes the town Naucratis, in Egypt, which he mentions as one of the oldest Greek colonies in Egypt. It was not until 1884 that Flinders Petrie had discovered and excavated the site.³⁹¹ Porphyriy offers an extensive description of the city and its history commenting on its main temple called "Elinion". Mentions Athenaeus, and his *Deipnosophists*. Athenaeus as originating from this area.

Apart from his various descriptions Porphyriy goes on to collect other material and artefacts, as he travels around. Thus in the monastery of Saint George he receives some old manuscripts of an *akathist* to the Archangel Michael and other material.³⁹² He offers maps and other drawings of the places he visited in studied. Thus he offers the layout of the *podvorye* of the Sinai monastery in Cairo for example.³⁹³

In no way less interesting are Porphyriy's accounts of his travels to Mt. Athos.³⁹⁴ His account begins with his reflections on why the Slavs are not united in one state or ethnic nation. How poignant given the division on Mt. Athos. In any event he goes on to quote the Polish poet Adam Mickiewicz and his work *L'Église officielle ou Messianisme*. Here Mickiewicz states, that the Assyrians were Serbs, and that the name Nebuchadnezzar is actually a Slavic term Небо-одно-царь, that is the one Tsar replaces Heaven and God, which is the reason why God punished the nation. According to Porphyriy the Slavs are religious but not sufficiently patient in searching for truth.³⁹⁵ On the fifth of August, Porphyriy states that the entire commerce in Thessaloniki is in the hands of the Jews. He also mentions a monk from Jerusalem collecting money in Thessaloniki. The account is full of details, and Porphyriy like a true archaeologist records various inscriptions on the way etc.

As we have seen Porphyriy is of course, linked to the establishment of the Mission in Jerusalem, the first of its kind from Russia. In his entry for 31st of July 1844 he writes, how the Holy Synod referring to the decisions of the *Ober prokur*, decided to establish the mission. It was stated in the document of the Synod that a letter should be sent to the Patriarch of Jerusalem, that Porphyriy simply desired to return to the Holy Land and his bringing some

³⁹¹ Ibid., 51-52.

³⁹² Ibid. 83.

³⁹³ Ibid. 109.

³⁹⁴ *Первое путешествие въ Афонскіе монастыри и скиты, архимандрита, нины Епископа Порфирія Успенскаго в 1845 году. Часть I-я*, типографія В.Л. Фронцкевича, 1877, Кіевъ, 1877.

³⁹⁵ Ibid., 2.

people with him. His elevation according to his own account was entirely unexpected.³⁹⁶ A dream Porphyriy has portrays him as the one bringing education to the East.

In any event Porphyriy is a controversial figure and he had and has many critics. Хитрово does not depict him in favourable terms stating that he was an impractical person and that his appointment was the idea of the Ministry for foreign affairs and only then presented to the Holy Synod. In a comical statement Chitrovo implies that it was the "lax" discipline of the Russian monastic tradition in contrast to the Latin one which created such persons as Uspenskiy. This of course a little strange, since the Russian monastic tradition is not known to be lax, but betrays an interesting self-understanding on the part Chitrovo and others like him.³⁹⁷

The basic criticism against Uspenskiy consisted in him being more of an unpractical scholar type of person. He understood his work for the Mission as a personal scholarly enterprise which was often associated with his impractical nature of not being able to gain funds. He was accepted it seems by the Greek Patriarchate, since he was viewed as a harmless scholar.³⁹⁸

His famous diary among other things is characterised by his constant love of describing his dreams. Interestingly enough, in one of his diary entries he states that the Ottoman Ibrahim wanted to disprove the miraculous descent of the Holy Fire and expressed a desire to be present when this fire comes down in the inner sanctuary of the Holy Sepulchre. If he was to be proven wrong he would pay a huge amount of money to the Church, if not, then the Church would have paid the money. The council of bishops met and allegedly Misail of Petro Arabia confessed that he lit the fire from a fire burning behind a removable marble icon of Christ. The council decided to request Ibrahim not to mix in ecclesial affairs and to conceal

³⁹⁶ In July 1842 in Vienna, he had a prophetic dream, where the Ruler Alexander I appeared and stated: «Ты знаешь, что в первые годы моего правления Грузия присоединена к моему царству?» - «Знаю, Ваше Величество!»-отвечался.- «Там, на Востоке,-продолжал он,-люди живут, как в Авраамов век: им нужно образование». Месяц спустя он получил отношение о вызове в Петербург и лишь там узнал о своей новой, палестинской командировке. Порфирий Успенский, Книга Бытия Моего, Санкт Петербург, 1896, том 3, pgs. 299-301. "Did you know that during the first years of my rule, Georgia was united with my kingdom? – I know you Highness! I stated. There in the East, he continued, people live, as in the period of Abraham: they need education. Only a month after this dream, he received information about his summoning to Saint Petersburg, and only there he found out about his knew mission."

³⁹⁷ "Историческая судьба нашего монашества не приучила его к той дисциплине, к которой привыкло латинское монашество и которая составляет силу сего последнего. Нас же, светских людей, очень обыкновенная и нисколько не поражающая вещь невольно приводит в изумление, когда мы ее встречаем среди монашествующих." Хитрово В.Н., История Русской Духовной Миссии в Иерусалиме, 83-202, in: В. Н. Хитрово, *Собрание Сочинений и Писем, том 2*, Составление, Н. Н. Лисового, Издательство Олега Абышко, 2011, 100.

³⁹⁸ Ibid. 137.

this deceit.³⁹⁹ While this passage has been cited numerous times in sceptical accounts, it can be said, that Porphyriy was often critical towards many ecclesial traditions. But this somehow contrasts with his "esoteric" interests as displayed in his diaries, which are full of his dreams and their relation to the reality he experiences. This would somehow disapprove the notion that Porphyriy was an ecclesial rationalist set out to destroy ecclesial traditions. Further the account is not conclusive, since the story of the Holy Fire being a fraudulent event could have been a fabrication on the part of the bishops which in this way desired to keep the Ottoman authorities out of the Church, who would thus lose interest in coming to the Church to the sacred area once it was shown that the whole event was a fraud.

Uspenskiy as a writer deserves greater attention, especially given the various opinions about him expressed in different areas. Chitrovo continued to make jousts at him stating that he managed in his short time in Vienna to spend his time curing himself of some disease and managing to build up a huge debt on books.

But Uspenskiy was not comical himself, but it seems that the entire plan of the Russians for Palestine had numerous comical moments. The amusing circumstances were even further highlighted by the fact that what was to be a secret mission turned out to be more or less obvious to everyone. Further Uspenskiy was waiting for many months in Sankt Peter without clear instructions. His mission was also linked to the existence of the Anglican bishop in Palestine. However, while the Anglican bishop received 15000 roubles a year, Uspenskiy only around 3000 roubles.⁴⁰⁰ The Ministry of foreign affairs according to Chitrovo continued with its comical *fiasco* and even refused to give Uspenskiy an official passport so that his "secret mission" would not be known and even commanded him to travel directly to Pera in Constantinople avoiding the summer residence of the ambassador in Buyuk, so that his mission would be secret even to the Russian authorities.

Uspenskiy then travelled to Athos and Sinai. He wanted to stay longer in Athos to study but his request was refused. In 19 October 1846 he again came to Sankt Peterburg. There were instructions issued approved by the ministry for foreign affairs and the Holy Synod. Again as Chitrovo implies their goals and means were somehow awkward. The instruction from the 28th of August 1847 gives some instructions on how the future Russian mission with the Archimandrite should behave. The point is that it was still supposed to have a low key more

³⁹⁹ Порфирий Успенский, *Книга Бытия Моего*, том 1, Санкт Петербург, 1894, 105.

⁴⁰⁰ Ibid. 104.

or less inconspicuous role, coordinating for example pilgrims and not drawing attention to itself. Chitrovo mentions the irony of the instructions since it requires an inconspicuous presence but at the same time stipulates that the archimandrite was to move around in a "group" of sojourners.⁴⁰¹ Chitrovo criticises these various instructions and states that the idea of the Russian mission and its goals were vague. Its powers undefined and even its name as Russian Mission undetermined.

7.d The Russian Spiritual mission in Jerusalem and pilgrimage

There were a number of reasons for the growing interest in Palestine by the Russians in the nineteenth century. One of these reasons was linked with the desire to help the plight of the Orthodox Christians in Palestine. This problem especially became a serious issue because of the increasing activity of foreign Protestant and Roman Catholic missionary activities there, which indirectly or directly were slowly eroding the Orthodox presence. As we have seen this was very much the message given by K. V. Nesselrode in June 1842.

Of course, we can argue that Nesselrode just as the Russian government were not only concerned about the well-being of the Orthodox Christians. Nesselrode just as the Russian government wanted to use the Orthodox Christian issue to further their political influence in the political game of that period, especially when other Western European powers had begun to use the issue of the protection of the Christians for their own political reasons. The issue is of course in a way tragic/comical because such countries as France which was becoming increasingly more secularised and antagonistic towards the Church in the period of the nineteenth century with great fervour "fought" for the rights of the Roman Catholic Christians in Palestine. Greek scholarship often links Russian political aspirations in the period with the idea of Panslavism but this can hardly be the prime motive for Russian political endeavours. In terms of Palestine Panslavism hardly played a role.

Nesselrode upon consultations with the Ober procurator of the Holy Synod Protasov, and with Uspenskiy, on the 11th of February 1847 presented a proposition to the Tsar, calling for the establishment of a Spiritual Mission in Jerusalem (Русская Духовная Миссия). This was approved and the first mission would consist of Archimandrite Porphyriy, the priest monk Theofan (Govorov), (Феофан Говоров), who was later a bishop and Vishenskiy Zatvornik

⁴⁰¹ Хитрово В.Н., История Русской Духовной Миссии в Иерусалиме, 83-202, in: В. Н. Хитрово, *Собрание Сочинений и Писем, том 2*, Составление, Н. Н. Лисового, Издательство Олега Абышко, Москва, 2011, 115.

(Вышенский Затворник), two students, who graduated from the Petersburg seminary, N. Krilov (Н. Крылов) and P. Solovev (П. Соловьев). Obviously, the mission was low key and underresourced for the goals it was to achieve.

The decree of the Holy Synod from 31 July 1847 proclaimed that the Russian Spiritual Mission in Jerusalem was officially established. On the October 14th of 1847 the mission departed from Petersburg and on the 17th of February 1848 it reached Jerusalem.

The backing of the mission was inadequate and the financial backing of the mission was according to many commentators on the verge of being ridiculous. Thus in terms of a yearly budget the Archimandrite was to receive 3000 roubles, the Priest Monk 2000, Other lower clergy 1000, Accommodation payed to the Patriarchate 300, hiring of a help 300, mercy towards pilgrims 300, assistance to beggars 100, maintenance of the Church 500. As Chitrovo indicates this was a ridiculous sum, which would hardly be able to counter the thousands thrown by the West for propaganda and that this sum would not only not help the Greek Patriarchate, but would be inadequate to maintain the Russian presence.⁴⁰² Even this small sum provided room for controversy and neither the Holy Synod nor the Ministry of Foreign affairs wanted to pay it. Money was contributed by the Duchovnoe Vedomstvo, which was a philanthropic endeavour linked to the Church (Духовное Ведомство) which provided funding and which in turn was given a sum through the assistance of the Metropolitan of Novgorod. The mission was plagued by financial problems with apparently little interest or coordination from the Russian embassies especially in Constantinople.

The mission appeared in Jerusalem on the 18th of February 1848. The missions members lived in the area of the Archangel monastery and the Patriarch of Jerusalem gave a blessing with the holy Synod allowing the Russian mission to move there (16 august 1848). Unsurprisingly it became soon apparent that the accommodation of the mission was not adequate and efforts where begun to improve the situation. Generally it appears that the Russian presence far from "supporting" the Patriarchate of Jerusalem was more or less receiving assistance from it.

Plans for some kind of building or enlargement of the existing premises were begun. These plans again unsurprisingly depended on a whole range of issues. The permission of the Ottoman authorities. The Latins of course would not sell a centimetre of any of their lands.

⁴⁰² Хитрово В.Н., История Русской Духовной Миссии в Иерусалиме, 83-202, in: В. Н. Хитрово, *Собрание Сочинений и Писем*, том 2, Составление, Н. Н. Лисового, Издательство Олега Абышко, Москва, 2011, 118.

The Greek Patriarchate while congenial to the idea and even offering assistance had no interest in the Russians being too close to the Holy Sepulchre and while giving their support rather preferred any improvements or a building to be further away. Plans were drawn to build a structure close to the Archangel monastery, while the Greek Patriarchate suggested a structure behind the monastery of the Archangel, the Russians suggested one next to it, facing the Patriarchate.

As Chitrovo observes: "If there were problems with accommodation, even more so there were problems in accommodating a school, especially for Arab and Greek resident students, even though the care of the father Archimandrite was displayed by him writing a letter (21 February 1850) to the Holy Synod before going to Sinai, «to learn construction, rituals, ecclesial traditions and the history of the Eastern Church together with a knowledge of languages such as the Chaldean, Armenian, Syrian, Arabic, Persian, Coptic and Ethiopian, which means that we need 12 students of our seminaries-this should be the goal of the Russian mission which is staying in the Holy City». (In an ironic tinge Chitrovo continues): "This entire goal, which did not provoke anyone to think about it or to concern themselves about it, finally resulted in 1851 with the purchase of the Archimandrite of a small Abyssinian Frumentius, whom Porphyriy intended to prepare for consecration to the priesthood for the Abyssinians. But even this small bondman of the Russian Mission later disappeared without a trace-is he alive, or does he live in his far away country remembering about the Russian Mission. Who was ever interested in this in any way?"⁴⁰³

Under the advice of Porphyriy the Patriarch decided to establish and build a new Greek-Arab educational institute at the Holy Cross monastery in 1849, the *eforos* (ефор) of which was chosen to be Porphyriy himself. He was also chosen to be the caretaker of all the Patriarchal schools. He managed to support the resurrection of many educational institutions in Palestine including the Patriarchal school in Jerusalem.

⁴⁰³ "Если не было где самой поместиться, трудно было найти помещение для училища, а в особенности для арабских и греческих пансионеров, хотя увлекающийся о. Архимандрит Порфирий еще 21 февраля 1850 г. Перед отправлением своим на Синай писал Святейшему Синоду: «Изучить зодчество, обряды, церковные обычаи и историю Восточных Церквей с запасом знания языков халдейского, армянского, сирийского, арабского, персидского, коптского и эфиопского, для чего потребно 12 питомцев наших семинарий, -такова должна быть задача Русской Духовной Миссии, водворенной в Святой Град». Вся эта задача, о которой никто не дал себе труда подумать и даже ответить, окончилась покупкою в 1851 г. о.архимандритом маленького абиссинца Фрументия, которого Порфирий предполагал приготовить в священники для абиссинян. Но и этот маленький невольник Русской Миссии исчез затем бесследно-умер ли, живет ли в своей дальней родине вспоминая о Русской Миссии. Кто об этом когда-либо интересовался?" Ibid. 135.

In 1853 Porphyriy travelled often to Lydda (Лидду), "where he wanted with a fiery desire to open a parish educational institute" and into Nablus (Наблус), into Яффа (Yaffa) and again into Lydda. Looking back on his second visit to Lydda and to its school, when he examined the students, he wrote: "Praise to God! Among the local Arab nation there is a dawn. Is it for long? It is a difficult question for me. I do not want to answer it. My work is to prepare the ground and to sow the seeds, and the growth depends on God".⁴⁰⁴

Porphyriy was an open person attempting to have good relations with everyone and with every confession. He even managed to abolish the Abdallah harem on the roof of the Holy Sepulchre. Porphyriy arranged meetings with various people from various denominations not always with a good result. Thus on his recommendations and request, Patriarch Cyril met with a protestant missionary the German Gil (Гил), and was prepared to engage him in a civil conversation. On this occasion Porphyriy with sadness writes about this visit of this German snob: "18 (March) Thursday. At two o'clock I introduced to the Patriarch Kyrilos this above mentioned Gil. He appeared silent, as a fish: he sat, (почеченился), smoked some tobacco, said something behind his teeth, that he read the writings of John Damascene, and this much only, he did not ask about the situation of the Orthodox Church in Palestine, since his Blessedness upon my advice, was prepared to give him the proper understanding about Eparchies, about monasteries, about educational institutes, and about the preaching of the word on the Greek and Arabic language. One can only burst into anger when one realises that these people who come from afar instead of asking us about the situation of the Orthodox Church, ask about it any casual bystander and defiant person and then write personal fantasies."⁴⁰⁵

In his writings Porphyriy comments on the educational activities of the members of the mission of their translations and other work. He himself was also plagued by illnesses. He writes: "During the time when I was curing the eyelid of my right eye by means of fire

⁴⁰⁴ "Слава Богу! Среди здешнего арабского племени показался рассвет. Но надолго ли? Тяжел для меня этот вопрос. Не хочу и отвечать на него. Мое дело готовить почву и сеять, а выращивание семени зависит от Бога". Епископ Порфирий, *Книга бытия моего...*, т. V, 149.

⁴⁰⁵ "18 (марта) четверг. В два часа пополудни я представил Патриарху Кириллу вышереченного Гиля. Он оказался молчалив, как рыба: посидел, почеченился, покурил табаку, проговорил сквозь зубы, что читал Богословие Иоанна Дамаскина и только, а о состоянии Православной Церкви в Палестине не спросил, тогда как Ево Блаженство, по совету моему, готов был дать ему надлежащие понятия и об епархиях, и о монастырях, и об училищах, и проповедании Слово Божия на языках греческом и арабском. Право, досадно на этих господ, которые издалика приезжают к нам и вместо того, чтобы от нас узнать состояние Православной Церкви, расспрашивают о ней всякого встречного и поперечного а потом пишут небылцы в лицах", Епископ Порфирий, *Книга бытия моего...*, т. III, 252-253.

desinfection and with 11 operations I was unable to do what I planned to do; In the minutes when attempting strenuously to see, after each operation and in order to calm myself down in sadness I translated from the Greek into Church Slavonic the ancient Akathistos of to the saints Archangels Michael and Gabriel, which was composed at the Athonite monastery of Dochariou and I read the encomium of saint Gregory the Nazianzen to Saint Athanasius the Great and the works of Plato in the original".⁴⁰⁶

After dealing with the therapy of his eye in Constantinople he reaches Jerusalem, and then goes to Sinai (1850) and Egypt, accompanied by the missionary members. The journey began in Jaffa on the 22nd of March. After a brief pause in Alexandria they reached Cairo and were met by the Alexandrian Patriarch Hierotheos II, (Иерофей). They visited many of the Coptic monasteries and Sinai, where Porphyriy studied the Codex Sinaiticus.⁴⁰⁷ The journey ended on the 17th of August 1850.

7. e. Realities after the Crimean War

The Crimean war complicated things and the mission departed on the 8th of May 1854 from Jerusalem after six years of productive work. On the way back Porphyriy visited the Pope in Italy and on the 2nd of October 1854 the members of the mission reached Petersburg. After its return the mission continued to produce many works of a scholarly manner.

After the Crimean war a new chapter begins with the mission. A decree was sent to the Emperor by the minister for foreign affairs. The minister wrote: "In the contemporary period, all the half measures are not only to no avail, but actually contribute to the destruction of our Mission in Jerusalem, hurting its dignity....It is necessary to designate the contemporary aim of the Mission, before it is sent, so that it could be valuable for the East, because it cannot continue as before....Our goal, our efforts, consists of establishing peace among the various ethnic groups fighting each other in the East, and this is possible especially since the Russians are loved here equally by the Greeks, Arabs of the same faith, not speaking about the Slavs, and even the Latins of other faith and Armenians, Copts, Syrians, Chaldeans, who all happily share the company with them (with Russians), and who avoid Greeks, as their staunch

⁴⁰⁶ "Я при лечении века правого глаза моего прижиганиями и 11 операциями не мог делать того, что предполагал сделать; в минуты пытания силы зрения после каждой операции и для утешения себя в скорби перевел с еллинского языка на церковнославянский древний акафист свв. Архангелам Михаилу и Гавриилу, сочиненный на Афоне в Дохиарском монастыре, и читал похвальное слово св. Григория Назианзина св. Афанасию Великому и творения Платона в подлиннике", Епископ Порфирий, *Книга бытия моего....*, т. III, 69.

⁴⁰⁷ Епископ Порфирий, *Книга бытия моего....*, т. IV, 57.

enemies... We have to create peace among those in animosity, and to uphold the Arabs, in order for them not to be enticed by the union by the actions of the Latins". The document calls for the establishment of an episcopacy there since all denominations have one, and an episcopate would "bring a strong beneficial impression not only in Jerusalem, but also in Constantinople, because they have never seen a Russian hierarch there, nor the magnificent ways of our liturgies....The good efficacy of our liturgies is especially needed in Jerusalem, since this holy city is the central spiritual point not only of the East, but also of the West, and to which the attention of all Europe is forwarded and from which our Mission could have a beneficiary influence on the neighbouring Patriarchates and the Sinai."⁴⁰⁸ The presence of a Russian bishop in Palestine would be even more pronounced since the Jerusalem Patriarch was residing in Constantinople at that time.

The document also states that the Mission should found hospitals and engage in philanthropic activity in Palestine. On the 23rd of March 1857 the document was sanctioned by the Emperor and in this way the Mission was established again and was officially recognised by the *Porte*.⁴⁰⁹ The aims of this second mission differed from the previous one. It was pointed out that there is animosity between the Arab and the Greek Orthodox Christians, and that the Uniates and Roman Catholics are partly using this to attract Arab converts into their Churches. Since the Russians are loved by everyone the goal should be that Russians should alleviate the situation reconciling all sides with the goal of strengthening Orthodoxy.⁴¹⁰ The mission realised the necessity of building a hospital and of establishing a consulate in

⁴⁰⁸ "В настоящее время, всякая полумера не только не принесет пользы, но даже послужит ко вреду нашей Духовной Миссии в Иерусалиме, уронив ее достоинство...Необходимо определить настоящую цель Миссии, прежде нежели послать ее для того, чтобы она могла быть полезна Востоку, ибо на прежнем основании ей уже трудно будет оставаться в Иерусалиме....Наша цель, наше стремление должны состоять в примирении враждующих племен Востока, ибо русских здесь равно любят и грек, и араб, ему единоверный, не говоря уже о славянах, даже иноверные латины и армяне, копты, сирийцы и халдеи охотно сближаются с ними, чуждаясь греков, как закоснелых своих врагов...Мы должны примирять враждующих и поддерживать арабов, чтобы их не завлекли в унию благоденствия латинов"....(приезд русского епископа на Восток), "сильное, благотворное впечатление не только в Иерусалиме, но и в Царьграде, потом что там еще никогда не видели архиерея русского, ни великолепных обрядов нашего богослужения...Благолепие богослужения особенно необходимо нам в Иерусалиме, ибо сей святой град есть центральный духовный пункт не только всего Востока, но и Запада, на который устремлено внимание всей Европы и откуда наша Миссия может иметь благотворное влияние на соседние патриархаты и Синай" *Архив Русской Духовной Миссии в Иерусалиме* АРДМ. Дело Но 1. Копия доклада Министерства Иностранных Дел императору Александру II; Архимандрит Никодим (Ротов), *История Русской Духовной Миссии в Иерусалиме*, 15-83 in: *Богословские Труды, сборник двадцатый, Сборник посвящен митрополиту Ленинградскому и Новгородскому Никодиму († сентября 1978)*, Издание Московской Патриархии, Москва, 1979, 28. See also Свящ. Ф. И. Титов, *Преосвященный Кирилл (Наумов), епископ Мелитопольский, бывший настоятель Русской Духовной Миссии в Иерусалиме*, Киев, 1902, 108, 113.

⁴⁰⁹ Архимандрит Никодим (Ротов), *История Русской Духовной Миссии в Иерусалиме*, 15-83 in: *Богословские Труды, сборник двадцатый, Сборник посвящен митрополиту Ленинградскому и Новгородскому Никодиму († сентября 1978)*, Издание Московской Патриархии, Москва, 1979, 28.

⁴¹⁰ *Архив Св. Синода по канцелярии обер-прокурора Св. Синода за 1857 г. Но. 373.*

Jerusalem. Interestingly in one of his reports, the later chief of the mission Kyril Naumov wrote that the Jerusalem Patriarchate has some sort of internal hatred towards the Arabs and that in the future the Antiochian or Alexandrian Patriarchates could be more congenial in relations with the Arabs.⁴¹¹

Due to various intrigues and conflicting policies, the next head of the mission was not Porphyriy but Kirill Naumov. Among other problems Porphyriy fell into disfavour with Count Tolstoy, who was the/Ober Procurator of the Holy Synod. This was also related to the friendship Uspenskiy had with Count Vorontsov, the head of the area around Odessa and who was not in a good relationship with Count Tolstoy. Further there were other issues. Another reason was the alleged "free thinking" character of Porphyriy, who according to Tolstoy "ate meat" in Palestine. Porphyriy himself is scandalised by Tolstoy's criticisms of his "meat eating" and expresses wonder at this criticism which seems so ridiculous.⁴¹²

There was an agreement between the Ministry of foreign Affairs and the *Ober procurator of the Synod*, about the Archimandrite Kiril (Naumov), (Василий Николаевич Наумов 25, 12, 1823) being the head of the mission with the elevation to bishop. Naumov was from a deprived ecclesial family background, and finished the Saint Petersburg Spiritual Academy and taught moral theology. He was a regular correspondent of the main periodical of the Academy "Christian reading", (Христианское чтение).

The mission headed by him left from St. Petersburg to the Holy Land on the 3rd of November 1858. In comparison to the first mission which consisted of four people including Archimandrite Porphyriy and with a sum of seven thousand roubles, the second mission entailed eleven people, and received only twice the money of the first mission and thus was underfunded as well.

The members of the mission, did not comprise a formidable force. It consisted of the priest-monk Yuvhenaliy Polovtsev (Ювеналий Половцев), priest-monk Leonid Kavelin (Леонид Кавелин). The deaconmonk Евкарпий (иеродиакон Евкарпий) and six singers. Another one person was joined to the mission thanks to the bishop Kirill and who was a deacon monk

⁴¹¹ Отчет Миссии за 1858 г. Дело по канц. Обер-прокурора Св. Синода за 1858 г. Но. 389; Дмитриевский, А.А., *Императорское Православное Палестинское Общество и его деятельность за истекающую четверть века 1882-1907*, репр. Императорское Православное Палестинское Общество, Санкт-Петербург, Издательство Олега Абышко, Москва, 2008, 90.

⁴¹² Епископ Порфирий, *Книга бытия моего....*, т. VI, 46.

(иеродиакон).⁴¹³ The mission was very humble given the goals it was expected to fulfil. The Ministry of foreign affairs did not even bother consulting the Patriarch of Jerusalem about sending the bishop there which ran counter to Church canons. Later Patriarch Cyril of Jerusalem complained with sourness that bishop Kiril from Russia was introduced only due to the order of the *Porte*.⁴¹⁴ It is strange that even the Russian Holy Synod did not protest at this interference in Church protokol.⁴¹⁵

Kirill had to work on his relationship with the Patriarch of the same name Cyril and had to gain his trust. Kiril Naumovs work can be characterised by his emphasis on improving education, which perhaps was an obvious problem for the Orthodox Church in Palestine. From Kirill Naumovs day the spiritual mission continued its work, supporting and expanding schools, building schools and other buildings for the Greek Jerusalem Patriarchate. The Greeks were helped by the Russian mission and money was raised for the Greek Church and other projects.⁴¹⁶ Kirill wanted to build a missionary basis with a school in Damascus and bought a house there. However it was burnt down by fanatical Muslims but (interestingly) the Turks reimbursed the Mission with all expenses.⁴¹⁷ The Mission offered comprehensive care for pilgrims and even organised hospital care and a surgical cabinet.⁴¹⁸

Help was also directed to the Patriarchate of Antioch. Kiril managed to build a Church in Tyre. He built a house for the Metropolitan of Seleucia, a school in Tripolis, where Protestant propaganda was especially strong. And there was help for many churches and schools. The Mission hired a catechetical teacher for the Beirut school. The Patriarchates monasteries, male Belement (Белементский) and female Sednai (Седнайский) also benefited.⁴¹⁹ Kiril also sent money to Damascus, so that the local representative of the Consulate could use it for

⁴¹³ Архив Русской Духовной Миссии АРДМ, Но 4, Указы о назначении состава Миссии Cited in Архимандрит Никодим (Ротов), История Русской Духовной Миссии в Иерусалиме, 15-83 in: *Богословские Труды, сборник двадцатый, Сборник посвящен митрополиту Ленинградскому и Новгородскому Никодиму († сентября 1978)*, Издание Московской Патриархии, Москва, 1979, 29.

⁴¹⁴ Архимандрит Порфирий, *Второе путешествие по св. Горе Афонской*, Москва, 1880, 12-13.

⁴¹⁵ Архимандрит Никодим (Ротов), История Русской Духовной Миссии в Иерусалиме, 15-83 in: *Богословские Труды, сборник двадцатый, Сборник посвящен митрополиту Ленинградскому и Новгородскому Никодиму († сентября 1978)*, Издание Московской Патриархии, Москва, 1979, 30.

⁴¹⁶ For these activities and donations see АРДМ, дело но 1013- Переписка с русским консулом в Дамаске по вопросу о различных пожертвованиях Антиохийской Церкви; АРДМ, дело но 1204- Дело о пожертвованиях Антиохийской Церкви; АРДМ, дело но 1205- Дело о посылке митрополиту Тиро-Сидонскому Герасиму архиерейского облачения и митры; Rotov...pg. 32.

⁴¹⁷ АРДМ, дело но 1695- Переписка по делу миссийского дома в Дамаске; Rotov...pg. 32.

⁴¹⁸ АРДМ, дело но 1215- О хирургических инструментах; Rotov...pg. 32

⁴¹⁹ Архимандрит Никодим (Ротов), История Русской Духовной Миссии в Иерусалиме, 15-83 in: *Богословские Труды, сборник двадцатый, Сборник посвящен митрополиту Ленинградскому и Новгородскому Никодиму († сентября 1978)*, Издание Московской Патриархии, Москва, 1979, 31.

almsgiving.⁴²⁰ Apart from money, books and icons were sent to Syria for the use of Churches.⁴²¹ Already from Jerusalem bishop Kirill sent episcopal vestments and a *mitra* to the Metropolitan of Tyre Sidon Gerasim, whom he considered a useful hierarch in the matter of the re-unification of the Uniates.⁴²²

Rotov correctly observes that the Uniates were strengthened by the hatred between the Greeks and the Arabs, and that it was obvious to Kiril Naumov and others that as long as the Greeks control matters in the Patriarchates and elsewhere all beneficial pastoral activity will be doomed.⁴²³ The Uniate cause was severely dented by the introduction of the Gregorian Calendar into the Uniate Church in 1858, which was met with widespread rejection. Even the Uniate Patriarch Clement exiled himself into a monastery and received petitions from congregations that if the Gregorian Calendar will be introduced into the Churches Old Style priests will be brought into the Churches by force.⁴²⁴

The Greeks and especially the Patriarch of Antioch Hierotheos did not miss the opportunity to welcome efforts from the Uniates to reunite with the Orthodox. Hierotheos left all matters relating to the Greeks to the bishop Kiril.⁴²⁵ Hierotheos even lost the trust of the Uniates due to the long standing Greek-Arab ethnic feud. Metropolitan of Moscow Filaret heard about these efforts on the part of the Uniates to reunite and suggested to form an independent former Uniate-Melkite Metropolitanate, which however for obvious canonical reasons was a shaky idea. On the 19th of February 1860, the head of the Egyptian Melkites archimandrite Gabriel Dzibara visited Jerusalem after his visit to Syria to find out about the dispositions of his Syrian Christian counterparts and Kiril talked with him. Kiril went to Syria for talks with the Uniates and made clear that any future reunified Uniates would base themselves on the Orthodox catechetical book published by Patriarch Methodios in Arabic.

Soon after the visit of Kiril in Syria, on the 23th of October 1860, representatives of the Uniates which sought reunification with the Orthodox submitted a petition to the Four Eastern Patriarchs in Constantinople with the conditions under which they would accept Orthodoxy.

⁴²⁰ АРДМ, дело но 1013. Переписка с русским консулом в Дамаске по вопросу о различных пожертвованиях Антиохийской Церкви. Архимандрит Никодим (Ротов), *Ibid.*, 32.

⁴²¹ АРДМ, дело но 1204. Дело о пожертвованиях Антиохийской Церкви, *Ibid.* Ротов.

⁴²² АРДМ, дело но 1205. *Ibid.*, Ротов.

⁴²³ *Ibid.*, Ротов.

⁴²⁴ АРДМ, дело но 1015. Переписка по делу воссоединения униатов. Архимандрит Никодим (Ротов), История Русской Духовной Миссии в Иерусалиме, 15-83 in: *Богословские Труды, сборник двадцатый, Сборник посвящен митрополиту Ленинградскому и Новгородскому Никодиму († сентября 1978), Издание Московской Патриархии*, Москва, 1979, 32.

⁴²⁵ *Ibid.*, Ротов.

One of the main conditions was that in the Syrian environment bishops and priests would be drawn from the Arab Christians. On the 9th of November a Council of Four Patriarchs and members of the Constantinopolitan Synod accepted the conditions, and on the 26th of November Huri Hana (Хури-Хана) and the archimandrite Gabriel Dzibara in the name of five thousand Uniates in front of four Patriarchs-Joakim of Constantinople, Calinikos of Alexandria, Hierotheos of Antioch and Cyril of Jerusalem, in front of a council of bishops and a lot of people read out their rejection of Catholicism and its thought (papal supremacy, Filioque and the belittlement of Church canons) and testified to their exposition of Eastern Orthodoxy, as its dogmas and canons.⁴²⁶

Kirils relationship with the Catholics was not bad, notably with the Franciscans. However understandably with the Latin Patriarch Valerga it was worse. Valerga adopted a lot of measures to maintain the Uniates as Catholics. Interestingly during Kirils leadership, there were some conversions into Orthodoxy from Catholicism (two secular people in 1862, the Abbot Pinnelli and the Franciscan monk Constantine.⁴²⁷

During the presence of Kiril in Palestine, an interesting letter was sent to the Eastern Patriarchs and the Holy Synod by two Anglican bishops and many presbyters, in which it was stated that "Bishops and presbyters located in England, Scotland and Ireland, and all those belonging to their communities, state, that they fundamentally reject the missionary efforts of the Anglican bishop of Jerusalem, which is aimed towards proselytism, and the separation of believers from the Orthodox Church into Anglicanism". This seemed to them to run contrary to the principles of the Archbishop of Canterbury laid out in 1841, when the Jerusalem episcopacy was founded. The tone of the letter suggested that in substance there is no difference between the Anglicans and the Orthodox, and that the efforts of the Jerusalem bishop do not reflect the disposition of the Anglican Church.⁴²⁸

⁴²⁶ АРДМ, дело но 1015. Переписка по делу воссоединения униатов. Архимандрит Никодим (Ротов), История Русской Духовной Миссии в Иерусалиме, 15-83 in: *Богословские Труды, сборник двадцатый, Сборник посвящен митрополиту Ленинградскому и Новгородскому Никодиму († сентября 1978)*, Издание Московской Патриархии, Москва, 1979, 33.

⁴²⁷ АРДМ, дело но 102,1455,1456. Ibid, 34. Ibid.

⁴²⁸ "Епископы и пресвитеры, находящиеся в Англии, Шотландии, Ирландии, и все причисляющиеся к их обществу, заявляют, что они в корне осуждают миссионерскую деятельность англиканского иерусалимского епископа, направленную к прозелитизму, на отторжение в англиканство от Православной Церкви ее чад." АРДМ, дело но 1035. Копия англиканского послания с подписами. Архимандрит Никодим (Ротов), История Русской Духовной Миссии в Иерусалиме, 15-83 in: *Богословские Труды, сборник двадцатый, Сборник посвящен митрополиту Ленинградскому и Новгородскому Никодиму († сентября 1978)*, Издание Московской Патриархии, Москва, 1979, 34.

However it seems this was more of an exception to the rule, and the protestant propaganda continued in full force in Palestine. Much later in 1957, there was a reform of the Anglican administration in the Holy land. The Jerusalem bishop received the title of Archbishop and Metropolitan of all Anglican Churches in Syria, Lebanon, Egypt, Sudan, Iraq, Iran and all of the areas of the Near and Central East, where Anglicans are located. A vicariate of a bishop was set up and a bishop was an Arab.⁴²⁹

Liturgies were conducted in Church Slavonic by the mission, and pilgrimages were organised, with caravans to Holy places which on some occasions was headed by Kiril himself.⁴³⁰ The Mission undertook to spiritually cater for the pilgrims and their parish needs-to baptise them and marry them.⁴³¹ There were instances in which pious pilgrims with the blessing of the Holy Synod, were elevated in Jerusalem into various orders and consecrated.⁴³² Kiril also helped people who had trouble with documents and lost their money and so on. Russians also sent requests from other countries for help.⁴³³ The mission also established a small hospital with a surgical cabinet.⁴³⁴ However, soon after its establishment it was transferred under the jurisdiction of the Russian consul in Jerusalem under the requirement of the Ministry of foreign affairs.⁴³⁵

8. Pilgrims and Russian Institutions in Palestine

The period of Naumov brought about a new phenomenon, which was related to a new mass explosion of pilgrimages from Russia and a new growing interest in Palestine on the part of various societies, individuals but also people wanting to make a profit. The Russian Spiritual mission faced new competition from new emerging Russian societies with interest in the area. The fact that these other societies were also supported by the government or other state

⁴²⁹ *Christian news in Israel*, Jerusalem, 1957, November, 17.

⁴³⁰ АРДМ, дело но 887. Переписка о путешествии епископа Кирилла караваном в Назарет. Архимандрит Никодим (Ротов), История Русской Духовной Миссии в Иерусалиме, 15-83 in: *Богословские Труды, сборник двадцатый, Сборник посвящен митрополиту Ленинградскому и Новгородскому Никодиму († сентября 1978)*, Издание Московской Патриархии, Москва, 1979, 35.

⁴³¹ АРДМ, дело но 1505, Инструкции в случаях бракосочетаний, Ibid.

⁴³² АРДМ, дело но 261-263, О разных попстригах, 1015. Переписка по делу воссоединения униатов. Архимандрит Никодим (Ротов), История Русской Духовной Миссии в Иерусалиме, 15-83 in: *Богословские Труды, сборник двадцатый, Сборник посвящен митрополиту Ленинградскому и Новгородскому Никодиму († сентября 1978)*, Издание Московской Патриархии, Москва, 1979, 35.

⁴³³ АРДМ, дело но 1106. Прошения паломников о помощи, Архимандрит Никодим (Ротов), История Русской Духовной Миссии в Иерусалиме, Ibid., 35.

⁴³⁴ АРДМ, дело но 1215. О хирургических инструментах. Ibid.

⁴³⁵ АРДМ, дело но 1217, Отношение из Азиатского департамента Министерства Иностранных Дел от 29 января 1860 г., за но 426. Ibid.

individuals, clearly shows, that the Spiritual mission founded in 1847 or the Church as such, was not of primary concern for the State or other segments of state policy.

Of the other societies and developments we can mention the establishment of the Palestinian Committee (1859-1864 Палестинский Комитет), the Palestinian Commission (1864-1889 Палестинская Комиссия), and from 1882 the establishment of the influential Imperial Orthodox Palestinian Society (Императорское Православное Палестинское Общество /ИППО).

Soon a conflict of interest emerged and the various rival societies competed among each other, and undoubtedly pilgrim money played a role in the motivation for these conflicts. This included the ongoing tension between the Russian state representatives abroad and the Russian Spiritual mission. Nevertheless it is possible to state, that the competition between the various Russian societies and interests produced some positive results. In this regard the acquisition of land (Palestinian Committee) was positive.

The influx of pilgrims into Palestine from Russia, led to an assessment of the political and economic possibilities this would present. What is important is that in 1858 a Russian Consulate was established in Jerusalem. Further, the agency called 'The Russian Society of (Steam) shipping and Commerce (Русское Общество Пароходства и Торговли-РОПИТ) was also established. The head of the Consulate and the agency of (Steam) shipping and commerce was one and the same person Vladimir Ipolitovich Dorgobuzhinov (Владимир Ипполитивич Доргобужинов). He participated in the Crimean War, and was helped into these new functions by В. Р. Mansurov (Б. П. Мансуров). He was part of the land acquisition project which was begun in the period (notably around the Jaffa gate).

The Русское Общество Пароходства и Торговли (Russian Society of Steam shipping and Commerce) was established on the 3rd of August 1856. This company was formed with Governmental support and capital. The government promised to share the costs of the tickets sold for the route in the Mediterranean for a number of years. The company was also supposed to provide competition against the other companies operating in the Mediterranean. The company was good business since the state provided assistance to the company and other concessions.⁴³⁶ It needs to be said, that the company was not created only with pilgrims in mind, but was a new endeavour by the state to improve exports south. One third of the shares of the company belonged to the Russian government. The Government however had to

⁴³⁶ See *Морской Сборник* No. 12, октябрь, Санкт Петербург, 1856, 60-65.

support the company substantially and the Consulates abroad were forced to support it. Later it turned into a viable company and catered for commerce between Egypt, Constantinople and Russia (Odessa).⁴³⁷

Later Boris Pavlovich Mansurov (Борис Павлович Мансуров), who was an important figure in the new phase of Russian involvement in Palestine produced a report later published in a shortened version which basically praises the company and supports a purely non-political and non-antagonistic role for Russia. He also controversially calls for donations from believers to be given also to the company. His views calling for more extensive powers for the company proved highly controversial. He was the one who also called for a close association of the Consulate in Jerusalem and the Company. He believed that the Company would be a better manager of financial affairs and donations since it is in the interest of the Company to support and promote pilgrimages into Palestine.

In 1858 Mansurov travelled to Palestine with an entire group of people, to study the possibilities in improving the plight of the pilgrims in Palestine. Mansurov was instrumental in acquiring lands in Jerusalem and Palestine. He is especially associated with the Elizabeth and Marinskiy areas, which were acquired by Russia.

In 1858 thanks to the blessing of the Tsar Alexander II, the Palestinian Committee (Палестинский Комитет) was established and its chairman was the brother of the Tsar, *Velikiy Knyaz* Konstantin Nikolayevich, who trusted Mansurov. There were efforts in collecting money and funds for the issues relating to pilgrimage to Palestine. The fund raising efforts brought success and in 1864, the Православный Комитет had a capital of 1003 259 roubles, 34 kopecks.⁴³⁸

In the period of 1858 new tensions began to emerge between bishop Kiril and the representative of the Russian Society for Steam Transport and Commerce (Русское Общество Пароходства и Торговли), who was at the same time Consul, Dorgobuzhinov (В. И. Доргобужинов). On the 28th of April 1859, the *Knyaz* Konstantin Nikolayevich (Консстантин Николаевич) with his wife and son Nikolay Konstantinovich (Николай Константинович) landed in Palestine and where later met by the Patriarch of Jerusalem

⁴³⁷ Дьков Н. Н., Иванов С. М., Султанов Т. И., *Россия запад и мусульмский восток в колониальную эпоху*, Санкт Петербург, 1996, 78-79.

⁴³⁸ Дмитриевский, А.А., Памяти Б. П. Мансурова, *Сообщения ИППО*, 1910, Т. XXI, Вып. 3, 446-447 in: *Деятели Русской Палестины*, А. А. Дмитриевский, Составитель и автор предисловия, Н. Н. Лисовой, Издательство Олега Абышко, Москва, 2010, 51-63, here 55.

Cyril.⁴³⁹ The visit was witnessed by Archimandrite Leonid⁴⁴⁰ who stated that when the Patriarch greeted the *Knyaz* at the gates he pronounced a short speech in which he stated that this visit was the first of its kind from an Imperial house from the period of Emperor Heraklios who also came to Holy Sepulchre where the doors miraculously opened in front of him so that the Patriarch knew that a person of this rank had come. Apart from other things the visit was full of liturgical events and participation in liturgical services.⁴⁴¹ The Palestinian Committee bought a number of properties.

The visit in April of 1859, of the Grand *knyaz* Konstantin Nikolaevich (великий князь Константин Николаевич) who was the chief of the Palestinian Committee, was of paramount importance. The *Grand knyaz* did not hide the fact, that the mixing of functions of the Mission and the Consulate was creating problems.

From now on there would be a separation of roles, and the role of the head of the Mission was reduced to "the moral, spiritual teaching of all of the Russian flock, on being an ecclesial representative, carrying on liturgical services, the leadership of the Spiritual Mission, pastoral care and supervision for Russian pilgrims, and the supervision of their moral conditions, giving advice and stipulations in the matter of offering hospitality to Russian believers, sharing the thoughts on these matters with the Consulate, and helping it with the improvement of the conditions of the pilgrims; on the other hand the Consulate had a role in relation to representing and directing the political, diplomatic, citizen issues and the directing of police matters, the acquisition of land and houses, of the maintenance of buildings, the hospital, on the basis of instructions which it received from the Palestinian Committee."⁴⁴²

⁴³⁹ See Паломничество вел. Кн. Константина Николаевича в Иерусалим и Святую Землю, in: *Петербургские Ведомости*, no. 180, Санкт Петербург, 1859.

⁴⁴⁰ The archive of Leonid Kavelin is a large collection underresearched material. It is presently found in the Российская Государствена Библиотека.

⁴⁴¹ Кашцев, А.А., Записки о пребывании великого князя Константина Николаевича на Святой земле: Материалы из архива Архимандрита Леонида (Кавелина), in: *Обсерватория культуры*, т.1. no.1, Москва, 2016, 112-121.

⁴⁴² "Нравственное и духовное назидание всей русской паствы, церковное представительство, производство богослужения, управление Духовной Миссией, пастырское наблюдение за русскими поклонниками и всеми нравственными условиями их жизни, участие советами и указаниями в деле призрения русских богомилцев, передача консулу своих замечаний по сему предмету и содействие ему в улучшении быта поклонников; к обязанностям же консула должно было относиться все политическое, дипломатическое, гражданское и полицейское представительство и управление, приобретение земель и домов, все хозяйственное заведывание постройками, госпиталем на основании инструкций, которые он имел получать от Палестинского Комитета". АРДМ, дело no 936. Дело о приезде великого князя Константина. Архимандрит Никодим (Ротов), История Русской Духовной Миссии в Иерусалиме, 15-83 in: *Богословские Труды, сборник двадцатый, Сборник посвящен митрополиту Ленинградскому и Новгородскому Никодиму († сентября 1978)*, Издание Московской Патриархии, Москва, 1979, 35.

The Grand *knyaz* clearly indicated that there should be no conflict between the Mission and the Consulate and importantly, more or less gave the Palestinian Committee the responsibility for land acquisition, building, etc., and in this the Committee according to him would 'closely cooperate with the Russian Consulate' in these matters. The Mission was reduced to "spiritual care", which is obviously unclear and strange because the work of the Mission inherently was necessarily linked with issues of buildings etc."⁴⁴³ The other result of the visit of the Grand *Knyaz* Constantine Nikolaevich in Jerusalem was the purchase of a large portion of ground towards the west from the Damascus gate close to the Jerusalem walls-that is on the Meydam square. Generally the task of acquiring land was not always successful. This was the case of the site of Myra, associated with saint Nicholas. The Russians made many attempts to acquire the land there, but were unsuccessful due to the Turkish suspicions of Russia's true intentions.⁴⁴⁴

Mansurov was instrumental in the land acquisitions made in Jerusalem in 1857-1860. He had a long career which was somewhat controversial and died on the 20th of June 1910. He studied law and in 1854 began working for the Marital Ministry. He was sent to Palestine in 1856 by the Grand *Knyaz* Konstantin Nikolayevich. He gave him an extensive report later published in a shortened version.⁴⁴⁵ Dmitriyevskiy criticised Mansurov for his enthusiasm for the Russian Society for Steam Transport and Commerce (Русское Общество Пароходства и Торговли), which was subjected to criticism for its lack of any positive results for the Church but also for its lack of concern for the safety of the pilgrims, which it transported.⁴⁴⁶

As we have indicated Mansurov was a trusted figure of the chairman of the Orthodox Committee (Православный Комитет) the brother of the Tsar Konstantin Nikolayevich. Mansurov later became the head of the Orthodox Commission (Православная Комиссия). Once the Imperial Orthodox Palestinian Society emerged, Mansurov wanted to play a key part in its activities. This was not supported by his colleagues. Later he rather played a role of an antagonist towards the ИППО and even wrote scholarly material criticising some of its

⁴⁴³ АРДМ, дело но 936. Дело о приезде великого князя Константина; Ротов, 35.

⁴⁴⁴ Дмитриевский, А. А., Юшманов В., *Святая Русь и Италия у мироточивой гробницы Святителя Николая Мирликийского, Бар-граде*, Санкт Петербург 1915 in: *Деятели Русской Палестины*, А. А. Дмитриевский, Составитель и автор предисловия, Н. Н. Лисовой, Издательство Олега Абышко, Москва, 2010, 169-224, here, 178. See also Lora Gerd, *Russian Policy in the Orthodox East, The Patriarchate of Constantinople (1878-1914)*, De Gruyter open, 2014.

⁴⁴⁵ Мансуров Б.П., *Православные поклонники в Палестине*. Санкт Петербург, 1858, 2-3.

⁴⁴⁶ Дмитриевский, А.А., Памяти Б. П. Мансурова, *Сообщения ИППО*, 1910, Т. XXI, Вып.3, 446-447 in *Деятели Русской Палестины*, А. А. Дмитриевский, Составитель и автор предисловия, Н. Н. Лисовой, Издательство Олега Абышко, Москва, 2010, 51-63.

scholarly activities and conclusions. This was the case especially in relation to the excavations of ИППО. This provoked a sharp battle between Mansurov and V. N. Chitrovo.⁴⁴⁷ Later Mansurov became the vice president in the commission for the construction of the Church of Christ the Saviour in Moscow.

The Orthodox Committee (Палестинский Комитет) was later in 1864 turned into the Orthodox Commission at the Asian department of the Ministry of foreign affairs (Палестинская Комиссия при Азиатском Департаменте МИДа). This happened after the main land purchases took place.

Tensions were increasing gradually between the interests of the state and the interests of the Church or we can state there was a divide between how the Church wanted things done and how the Consulate wanted them done. There were issues of money. As we indicated the Palestinian Commission was headed by Mansurov. As head of the Commission Mansurov was responsible for example for the consecration of the Church in honour of the empress Alexandra, which took place on the 28th of July 1864. The priorities of the Commission were also outlined by the government. Thus the *Velikiy Knyaz* pressed for funds of the Commission to be used for the completion and furnishing of the Church of the Life beginning Trinity (Живоначальной Троицы). The Church was consecrated with the participation of the Grand *Knyaz* Nikolay Nikolayevich the elder, Herzog Maximilianovich Lichtenburg and the princes Alexander and Konstantin Petrovich Oldenburg (28th October 1872).⁴⁴⁸

There were issues with the dwindling amounts of funds and the inadequacy of the buildings built for pilgrims, which were already insufficient in the year they were built. Whether he liked it or not Mansurov was forced to deal with the (Русская Духовная Миссия) to help find new places for pilgrims, which proved a source for conflict. It seems that the priorities of the Commission consisted of amassing capital, without however taking sufficient care of the pilgrims.⁴⁴⁹

⁴⁴⁷Мансуров Б.П. wrote among other things *Басилика императора Константина во Св. Граде Иерусалиме*. М., 1885; *Русские раскопки в Св. Граде Иерусалиме пред судом Русского Археологического Общества*, Рьга, 1887; *Die Kirche des Heiligen Grabes zu Jerusalem in ihren ältesten Gestalt.*, Heidelberg, 1888. These were criticisms against the excavations made at the Russian area close to the Holy Sepulchre made by Archimandrite Antonin.

⁴⁴⁸ Дмитриевский, А.А., Памяти Б. П. Мансурова, *Сообщения ИППО*, 1910, Т. XXI, Вып.3, 446-447 in *Деятели Русской Палестины*, А. А. Дмитриевский, Составитель и автор предисловия, Н. Н. Лисовой, Издательство Олега Абышко, Москва, 2010, 51-63, 60.

⁴⁴⁹ Ibid. 61.

The Spiritual mission was completely side-tracked from these various activities, and the negative situation was obvious to Kirill Naumov and the representatives of the Church. The Church supported Kirill, when he doubted the reasons for the presence of the Russian society for (Steamship) Transport and Commerce in the Holy Land, where there was "no commerce or shipping". He asks: "What does the (Steam) ship society do or wants to do? - Well it is uncertain what it wants to do. It wants to build a Church, accommodation and hospital for the pilgrims. But is this not rather the area of the Spiritual Mission, rather than of the Agency/Society for (Steam) Ship and Commerce? And further, the Agency/Society for (Steam)Ship Transport and Commerce has the money collected for philanthropic institutions in Jerusalem in its hands and occupies itself, as for the future, to gain as much of this money in its hands as possible".⁴⁵⁰

The amassing enemies of Kiril continued their fight against the mission. In May 1863 the Ministry of Foreign Affairs received a message from the Jerusalem consul Kartsev (Карцев) about the personal character of Kiril and the temptations or scandalisations he brings about by his conduct, and that he became the toy for Greeks, who use him for his connections with Constantinople and Russia. The message was lacking factual evidence about alleged Kiril's misdemeanours. In any case the message was brought to the Emperor who decided that Kiril cannot remain in his function.

The Holy Synod in its meetings of the 19 and 21 June (1864 year-Rotov note) decided to relieve him from his position in Palestine and appoint him to a function under the leadership of the Archbishop of Kazan (since it did not have a free bishops see) with the role of overseeing the Kazan Spaso-Preobrazhenskiy monastery. The Synod also decided that from now on an archimandrite and not bishop should head the mission. The stipulation of the Holy Synod from the 23rd of November 1864 chose the priestmonk Leonid (Kavelin), (Леонид Кавелин) from the Optina Pustyn, to become an archimandrite and head the mission. This

⁴⁵⁰ "Что делает или хочет делать пароходное общество? - Но видно. Оно хочет строить церковь, помещения и больницу для поклонников. Но это не больше ли принадлежит Духовной Миссии, нежели Обществу Пароходства и Торговли? А между тем деньги, собираемые на богоугодные заведения в Иерусалиме, Общество Пароходства и Торговли имеет в своих руках и заботится, как бы и впредь в большом количестве получать их в свои руки". *Собрание мнений и отзывов Филарета, митрополита Московского и Коломенского, по делам Православной Церкви на Востоке*. Санкт Петербург, 1886, 378-379.

was the same Leonid who in 1858 accompanied Kiril to Jerusalem and stayed there a year.⁴⁵¹ On the twelfth of May 1864 the new group came to Jerusalem.

After his arrival Leonid gave back to the Patriarchate the church of the Archangel monastery, which was rather premature, since even though the Missions Church was built and finished it was not yet consecrated and the members of the mission had to serve anywhere possible.

When Leonid came, the building of the Mission with a house Church was finished and Leonid accommodated himself inside. The celebration of the consecration of the first Russian church was on the 28 of June 1864. The consecration of the Church as such was moved indefinitely to an indefinite date. As such the construction of the Church was finished however.⁴⁵² A stipulation ordered to finish some works only after there will be a specific collection.

There is not much information about Leonid and his work, which was the usual spiritual care of pilgrims, more or less rare tonsuring of monks as during Kirill's period, and receiving of various offerings.⁴⁵³ It seems Leonid gave monetary help to a school for Arabs, which was organised close to Jerusalem in a village called Bet Dzala (Бет-Джала), with a woman called Bodrova (Бодрова), who came from Russia. Later the Palestinian Society on the basis of this school built a women's teaching seminary. It appears that Leonid did not gain the support of anyone.

On the 13 of April 1865, the Jerusalem Patriarch Kiril sent a letter to the Holy Synod, stating that Archimandrite Leonid is behaving unlawfully and dishonourably and that due to this the pilgrims are unsatisfied and asked that he be replaced.⁴⁵⁴ A reply to this letter was sent on the 25th of June 1865, from Saint Petersburg in the name of the first of the Metropolitans in the Synod Isidor. The letter included, that "this man who after leaving this world for a long time without doubt carried himself honourably in the monastic habitation, above all known by its spiritual riches, in the short time of his stay in Jerusalem, was accused of dishonourable behaviour and unlawful behaviour currently without a definitive charge: until it is known who

⁴⁵¹ Архимандрит Никодим (Ротов), История Русской Духовной Миссии в Иерусалиме, 15-83 in: *Богословские Труды, сборник двадцатый, Сборник посвящен митрополиту Ленинградскому и Новгородскому Никодиму († сентября 1978)*, Издание Московской Патриархии, Москва, 1979, 37.

⁴⁵² АРДМ, дело по 1669. Переписка об окончании строительства здания Миссия и церкви во имя святой мученицы Александры на Русских Постройках в Иерусалиме. Архимандрит Никодим (Ротов), *Ibid.*, 38.

⁴⁵³ АРДМ, дело по 262-263, Дела о паломниках. Указы о назначении духовенства и певчих в Русскую духовную Миссию в Иерусалиме. Архимандрит Никодим (Ротов), *Ibid.*

⁴⁵⁴ *Собрание мнений и отзывов Филарета, митрополита Московского и Коломенского, по делам Православной Церкви на Востоке*, Санкт Петербург, 1886, 435-436.

is the accuser, what are the unlawful activities he carried on and whether the accusations are founded by lawful proofs".⁴⁵⁵

The researcher Archimandrite Kyprian on the other hand depicts Leonid as a hero.⁴⁵⁶ It seems that the Patriarch Kiril, who defended bishop Kiril, would not without reason accuse another chairman of the Mission, especially since a chairman with the rank of archimandrite, would surely stimulate greater sympathy from the Greeks than a bishop.⁴⁵⁷ An order of the 16th of July 1865 stated to Archimandrite Leonid, that he should surrender "in the most short time possible, the activities, the possessions and sums of the Mission" (в возможно непродолжительное время дела, имущество и суммы Миссии") to Archimandrite Antoniĭ Kapustin (Антонин Капустин), who at that time was the head of the embassy church in Constantinople.⁴⁵⁸

8. a. *Antonin Kapustin*

Archimandrite Antonin Kapustin came to Jerusalem on the 11th of September 1865. Kapustin belonged to one of the row of outstanding figures of the mission, which more or less went on uninterruptedly from the period of Uspenskiy. Kapustin also saw the negative aspects of the Greek Hierarchy and the other non-ecclesial Russian institutions. Kapustin observes, that "In the Jerusalem period of Kirill, we have suffered without deserving it, not one temptation. We were deceived, laughed at by those, whom we faithfully fed and gave drink and held on and carried in our hands".⁴⁵⁹

Kapustin was an outstanding person involving himself with construction, archaeology, scholarship and ecclesial issues. He built the churches of the Kazan Mother of God (Казанской Божией Матери), in Gornem (Горнем (1880-1883), The Church of the

⁴⁵⁵ "сех муж, по отрочении от мира долгое время с несомненным достоинством проходивший монашескую жизнь в обители, преимущественно известной духовным благоустройством, в короткое время пребывания его в Иерусалиме подвергся обвинению в бесчинном и незаконном поведении, впрочем без определенного указания; кем он обвиняется, какие позволил себе незаконные действия и подкреплены ли обвинения законными доказательствами". *Собрание мнений и отзывов Филарета, митрополита Московского и Коломенского, по делам Православной Церкви на Востоке*, Санкт Петербург, 1886, 473-493.

⁴⁵⁶ Архимандрит Киприан., *О. Антонин Капустин, архимандрит и начальник Русской Духовной Миссии Иерусалиме (1817-1894 гг.)*. Белград, 1934, 131.

⁴⁵⁷ Архимандрит Никодим (Ротов), *История Русской Духовной Миссии в Иерусалиме*, с. 15-83 in: *Богословские Труды, сборник двадцатый, Сборник посвящен митрополиту Ленинградскому и Новгородскому Никодиму († сентября 1978)*, Издание Московской Патриархии, Москва, 1979, с. 38.

⁴⁵⁸ Ibid.

⁴⁵⁹ "В Иерусалимской Кирилловской истории, мы перенесли совсем незаслуженно не одно искушение. Насоболгали, осмеяли те, кого мы беззаветно поили, кормили и на руках носили". *Церковный Вестник*, 1877, no. 41, 8.; Cited in Rotov., 39.

Ascension on Mt. Olives (Вознесения в Русском монастыре on Елеоне (1880-1886) and the Apostle Peter and just Tabitha in Jaffa (Апостола Петра и праведной Тавифы in Jaffa (1888-1893). He cooperated closely with Conrad Shick, who was a German archaeologist and architect. He and Shick produced a topography of Jerusalem and its surrounding areas.

He was undoubtedly a towering intellectual. Similarly to people like Porphyriy Uspenskiy he was emotional, scholarly and a general renaissance man of the day. He obviously faced immense problems around him. Just like Uspenskiy Kapustin wrote a detailed diary of his life. Thus in one entry we gain a glimpse of the person of Kapustin and his day. "I dreamed of something, something vague, which did not remain in the memory. 7, o'clock. Clear and silence. Medicine, prayer. МΣ (note meaning Калиопа Апостолиди Καλλιόπα Апостолиди M meaning Greek mother μήτηρ and her daughter Sophia Σ, shortened for Greek Σοφία; these where the spiritual children of father Antonin), Tea. Loyds postal service (postal service brought by the Austrian company Lloyd. Sometimes referred to in his diary as Austrian mail австрийская почта) with an insurance letter. A pilgrim father Kyril (before he was Konstantin) with medals all over his chest, from Zakynthos, who spent 32 years in Russia, who believes that he is 102 years old! A completely fresh character, who travelled around 519 (!) Russian monasteries and learned about them all (!!) about their history (note Kladioanos Konstantsiy, Mafusail, 102 year old guy from Zakynthos, Кладиоанос Констанций, «Мафусаил», «102-летний», «Закинфиот» who was a pilgrim from Zakynthos from Greece).⁴⁶⁰

For the entry for the 2nd of February, we are told of various intrigues and constant problems. Thus he writes: "Gliko (sweets), tea, again gliko, the Abdurachman effendi, from who one cannot escape, the "necessary" Grande Dame Bogdanova, Lera Ivanovna, in all glory-the patron and composer of the relics of saint Simeon, and many others of our heavens have shined with full light. My female neighbour came with a courageous attitude, as if from the most difficult obstacle, a loan for the needs of the Consul Kozhenikov, by Nikodim for the

⁴⁶⁰ "Что-то снилось непростое, да не осталось в памяти. 7 часов. 10°. Ясно и тихо. Лекарство, молитва. МΣ, (note meaning Калиопа Апостолиди M meaning Greek mother μήτηρ and her daughter Sophia Σ, shortened for Greek Σοφία; these where the spiritual children of father Antonin). Чай. Ллойдова почта (postal service brought by the Austrian company Lloid. Sometimes referred to in his diary as австрийская почта) с страховым письмом. Поклонник, о. Кирилл (бывший Константин) с медалями во всю грудь, закинфиот, проживший в России 32 года, всего же от роду насчитывающий себе сто два года! А совсем бодрый человек, обошедший 519 (!) русских монастырей и изучивший всех (!!) их историю (note Кладиоанос Констанций, «Мафусаил», «102-летний», «Закинфиот» who was a pilgrim from Zakynthos from Greece)." Архимандрит Антонин (Капустин), Дневник, год 1881, (entry for Friday 9th of January)", Москва, Индрик, 2011, 22, 23.

sum of 250 roubles, Epifaniy (!!!) has composed an entire list of money exchanges. O, this hellish pagan woman! Is it not, that you have created this need of 250 roubles of this prickly Consul, and have yourself created this entire intrigue? And now is making up the story, that she had taken care of the entire matter in such a way and cunningly, so that she came out of it as pure, as a pigeon, from the most black of excrements".⁴⁶¹

Just as with Porphyriy Uspenskiy so with Kapustin a description of his dreams and the events is important. "In the dream I have encountered twice some form of being" (Во сне два раза вступал в сражение с каким-то супостатом).⁴⁶² In the entry for the 10th of June we read: "I was honoured in my dream to be in the middle of the entire family of the Tsar, but I was not invited for lunch." (Удоставился во сне быть среди всего царского семейства, только к обеду вместе с ним приглашен не был).

Kapustin was an emotional man, with a perceptive talent. Thus he mentions how he was sad, when a young orphan girl married someone, and she cried the entire ceremony, Kapustin feels sorry for her and performed the wedding ceremony with the Patriarch.⁴⁶³ We are also told of the everyday responsibilities, of Kapustin, which included (entry 17 January), for example, situations, where he had to deal with tobacco hidden in the church by someone who did not want to be caught by the authorities.

Many of the entries portray Kapustin's dealings and the environment of the Holy land as a place of mentally disturbed people, eccentric people or simply surrealistic events. Thus for example, for the entry on the 18th of January we read: "Lunch with Byzantine music. Fast with the sculptor Paulus (Обед с византийской музыкой. Фаст с скульптором Paulus'om. Note Paulus Kristof, was a german sculptor, who was a member of German "templars", and who in 1854 founded the committee of friends of Jerusalem in Wirtemberg), and a discussion about, how this sculptor had moved the dust of Moock onto our own area in Jericho (и реция о том, как сей перенес на наше место в Иерихон прах Моock'а. Note A German archaeologist who died in the Jordan river by drowning, and was buried in one of the grounds

⁴⁶¹ "Глико (sweets), чай, еще глико, неизбежный Абдурахман-эфенди, необходимые Grande Dame, Богданова, Лера Ивановна во всей славе киторши и сочинительницы мощей Праведного Симеона, и многие другие звезды нашего небосклона сияли полным светом. Соседка моя в раж пришла при мысли, как из пустейшего обстоятельства «ссужения в нужде консула К«ожевникова» Никодимом всего на сумму 250 рублей» Епифаний (!!!) сочинил целый листуар о векселях. О, пекельная язычица! А не ты ли, колющая консула «ссужением», «нуждаю», «250-ю рублями», сама сочинила всю интрижку? И ведь теперь воображает, что поправила все дело таким изворотом и вышла, каверзница, чиста, как голубица из чернышёвских помоев!" Ibid. entry for 3rd of February, 35.

⁴⁶² Ibid., entry for 13 of January, 25.

⁴⁶³ Ibid., entry for 11 of January, 23.

of Kapustin), and how a monument was built with the permission of our Evfimia (и выстроил над ним памятник, с позволения Евфимии нашей. Note Sushkova Evfimiya Yakovlevna, was the caretaker of the Jericho pilgrim accomodation Сушкова Евфимия Яковлевна, смотрительница Иерихонского паломнического приюта.), what a Baba! Reading, Sleep until 8. (Ну баба! Чтение. Сон до 8 ч.)⁴⁶⁴

An important event of the period we have already mentioned was the so-called Bulgarian schism. The Patriarch Cyril of Jerusalem was the only one from the Eastern Patriarchates who refused to sign the document accusing the Bulgarians. The ambassador Ignatiev ordered Antonin to use all means possible to convince Cyril to maintain his position.⁴⁶⁵ However, the Synod deposed Cyril for his views, since the Synod as others around where "led by the spirit of pan-Hellenism" and Cyril was exiled.⁴⁶⁶ Ignatiev and the Russians where not poised against the Greeks in this matter and their priority was not to demolish the Greek church or Patriarchate of Constantinople. But it became obvious that the Bulgarians needed to be independent sooner or later for many reasons.⁴⁶⁷ The Patriarchate of Constantinople accused the Bulgarians of *phyletism* -of placing nationhood in front of Orthodoxy (a weird position given the emancipation of Greeks at the time).

A new Patriarch was chosen, Procopius of Gaza. The Russian mission received official news of the selection of the new Patriarch on the 15th January 1873. The Mission expressed its dissatisfaction with this procedure. Patriarch Procopius complained to the Russian Holy Synod, that his name is not commemorated in the Missionary Churches. That is why on the 5th August 1874, a special order was sent to Antonin which stated: "We acknowledge to Your High *Prepodobiyu*, that the Mission in its relation to the Jerusalem Patriarchate and to its subordinate priests strictly fulfil all that, which is proper according to ecclesial law and to the instructions of the local government, and that during the Liturgies, without omission, the Patriarchal name be pronounced, according to Ecclesial law."⁴⁶⁸. However neither Procopius

⁴⁶⁴ Ibid., 27.

⁴⁶⁵ АРДМ, дело но 1195, Письмо из Константинопольского посольства. Архимандрит Никодим (Ротов), История Русской Духовной Миссии в Иерусалиме, 15-83 in: *Богословские Труды, сборник двадцатый, Сборник посвящен митрополиту Ленинградскому и Новгородскому Никодиму († сентября 1978), Издание Московской Патриархии*, Москва, 1979, 39.

⁴⁶⁶ Соколов, И. И., Иерусалимский Патриарх Кирилл II е его отношение к болгарской церковной схизме. *Сообщения Императорского Православного Палестинского Общества*, т. XXV, вып. 1-4, 1914, т. XXVI, вып. 1, 1915, т. XXVII, 1916; *Собрание мнений и отзывов Филарета, митрополита Московского и Коломенского, по делам Православной Церкви на Востоке*, Санкт Петербург, 1886, 435-436.

⁴⁶⁷ Livianos D., *The Macedonian Question, Britain and the Souther Balkans, 1939-1949*, Oxford, 2009, 16.

⁴⁶⁸ "Подтверждаем Вашему Высокопреподобию, чтобы Миссией в отношениях своих к Иерусалимской Патриархии и подведомому ей духовенству строго выполнялось все то, что требуется по церковным законам и постановлениям местного правительства, и чтобы при богослужениях неопустительно

survived for long, and he was replaced later by the representative of the Holy Sepulchre in Smyrna Hierotheos (1875-1882). However, the situation did not improve much in terms of relations with the Mission. One of the reasons was that the successor of Hierotheos, Nikodem, was already predisposed unfavourably towards Antonin already in Russia.

In Petersburg the view was that the Mission should not interfere with matters relating to pilgrimages. According to the view the pilgrimage issue should have been taken care by the Consulate and the Palestinian Committee. This view was also supported by Nikodim. Because, the clergy of the Mission performed liturgies outside the Mission the Patriarch suspended them in their clerical functions.⁴⁶⁹ This seemed to have gone hand in hand with the Jerusalem Patriarch's idea that he headed everyone in Palestine. Thus the priest who had 30 years, experience as a priest Anisimov was also suspended by the Patriarch, because after his return from Russia from a holiday he did not immediately appear before the Patriarch on his return.⁴⁷⁰ Further cases occurred. Nikodem, asked a reply to his announcement of suspending the clergy of the Mission the priest monk Parfenios and the deacon monk Vissarion because they served a funeral service for one Russian pilgrim woman, and Antonin was forced to reply: "The Russian Spiritual Mission, which is now entrusted into my leadership, is furnished with an instruction from high, which awards it the irreversible duty to fulfil all necessary ecclesial requirements (*treby*), of Russian pilgrims staying in the Holy Land. Thanks to this its members carry on the Holy Mysteries and other liturgical services, which were established by the Orthodox Church for the pilgrims. If Your Blessedness knows something regarding this instruction, and which requires its modification from the Russian government, please show courtesy to me, and inform me about this so I can arrange myself and matters accordingly. I think it unnecessary to elaborate much in words about the promulgated instructions of your Blessedness in the "Relation" intending to canonically punish members of the Mission entrusted to me, since it must be obvious especially to the "Guardian of the Divine canons" that the Eparchial borders of the Church are inviolable and in the matter of any misdemeanour, it is forbidden by the canons for one Church to punish the members of the

возглашалось патриаршие имя по чиноположению церковному" АРДМ, дело no 963, Указ Св. Синода, Но. 224, от 5 августа 1874, г. Архимандрит Никодим (Ротов), История Русской Духовной Миссии в Иерусалиме, 15-83 in: *Богословские Труды, сборник двадцатый, Сборник посвящен митрополиту Ленинградскому и Новгородскому Никодиму († сентября 1978)*, Издание Московской Патриархии, Москва, 1979, 40.

⁴⁶⁹ АРДМ, дело no 973. Письмо Иерусалимского Патриарха Никодима архимандриту Антонину от 25 октября 1886 г. Архимандрит Никодим (Ротов), *Ibid.*, 40.

⁴⁷⁰ АРДМ, дело no 975, Письмо священника Анисимова архимандриту Антонину от 2 сентября 1888 г. Архимандрит Никодим (Ротов), *Ibid.*

other Church. If there is something worthy of punishment in the activities of the Mission, this will be accepted in a sonly manner by the Mission, from the Holy Governing All Russian Synod, to which in the end I rush to forward in copy the honourable "Relation" of your Blessedness".⁴⁷¹

The Mission enjoyed better relations with the successor of the Patriarch Nikodim, Gerasim. However the Mission had continuously bad relations with the Russian Consulate. After seven years in the Mission, Antonin again expressed the opinion that the continuous chasm between the Mission and the Consulate, is not dependent on the personal characteristics of the people involved, but on the set conditions, which at some point were called a "system".⁴⁷² After Kapustin the new head of the Russian Spiritual Mission was archimandrite Rafael Truchin (Рафаил Трухин). He was head from 1894 to 1899. Kapustin bequeathed his extensive manuscript collection to the public library in Saint Petersburg, but unfortunately his will was not consummated, which apparently was the result of the ineffective activities of the Russian Consulate.

9. 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

⁴⁷¹ "Русская Духовная Миссия, вверенная в настоящее время моему управлению, снабжена высочайше утвержденной инструкцией, налагающей на нее неотменный долг исполнить все церковные "требы" пребывающих во Св. Земле поклонников русских. В силу сего положения члены ее и совершаю Св. Таинства и другие священнодействия, установленные Православной Церковью, над русскими поклонниками. Если Ваше Блаженство знаете что-нибудь последовавшее со стороны Российского правительства в отмену данной Духовной Миссии инструкции, благоволите почтить меня уведомлением о том для моего руководства в будущем. Излишним считаю распространяться слогом о заявленном в "Отношении" Вашего Блаженства намерении Вашем подвергнуть каноническому наказанию членов вверенной мне Миссии, ибо кому же как не "блюстителю Божественных канонов" знать, что епархиальные пределы Церквей ненарушимы и что, в случае чьей-либо погрешности, одной Церкви наказывать членов другой Церкви Божественные каноны не позволяют. Если в действии Русской Духовной Миссии окажется что-нибудь достойное наказания, она сыновне приме его от Святейшего Правительствующего Синода Всероссийского, которому на сей именно конец я спешу препрогодить в копии досточтимое "Отношение" Вашего Блаженства". АРДМ, дело 972, Переписка с Иерусалимской Патриархией, Архимандрит Никодим (Ротов), История Русской Духовной Миссии в Иерусалиме, 15-83 in: *Богословские Труды, сборник двадцатый, Сборник посвящен митрополиту Ленинградскому и Новгородскому Никодиму († сентября 1978)*, Издание Московской Патриархии, Москва, 1979, . 41.

⁴⁷² АРДМ, дело 128, Письмо архимандрита Антонина к Мансурову. Архимандрит Никодим (Ротов), Ibid.

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),⁴⁷³ (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 (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.⁴⁷⁴ 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”.

9. a. Alexey Afanasievich Dmitrievskiy and the development of pilgrimage and scholarship

⁴⁷³ 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.

⁴⁷⁴ *Пастырский голос*, вып. Одесса, 1888, II, 5.

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.⁴⁷⁵ He was called the "Russian Goar" for his scholarly work in Liturgics and other fields. He founded the Kiev school of Russian liturgists.⁴⁷⁶ Interestingly, the author Cove has a note from N. D. Uspenskiy (N. Д. Успенский), who knew Dmitrievskiy, and who wrote that "Dmitrievskiy never called his school a "Kiev" school but a Russian school."⁴⁷⁷

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.⁴⁷⁸ 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 Консистории").⁴⁷⁹

He then continued in the Kazan spiritual academy (Казанскую Духовную Академию). He completed the academy in 1882 studying in the department of liturgics.⁴⁸⁰ He was accepted into the department of liturgics, which was headed by his teacher professor N. F.

⁴⁷⁵ 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. Арранц 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.

⁴⁷⁶ 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.

⁴⁷⁷ Проф. А. А. Дмитриевский никогда не называл свою школу "Киевской", а русской, Ibid.

⁴⁷⁸ 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.

⁴⁷⁹ See *Астраханские епархиальные ведомости*, 22, Астрахан 1878, 569-599.

⁴⁸⁰ Cove Б. И. Русский Гоар и его школа, in: *Богословские труды. Сборник четвертый*, Москва, 1968, 39-84, 39.

Krasnoseltsev (Н. Ф. Красносельцев).⁴⁸¹ He then wrote a magisterial dissertation called „Liturgical development in the Russian Church in the XVI century“,⁴⁸² (the work was firstly written as a candidate work and then extended 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*.⁴⁸³ 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

⁴⁸¹ See Дмитриевский А.А. Незабвенной памяти профессоров А.С. Павлова и Н.Ф. Красносельцева, *Труды Киевской Духовной академии*, no. 1, Киев, 1899, 59-104.

⁴⁸² 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 истекиющую четверть века 1882-1907*, 2008, Moscow, Императорское Православное Общество, Санкт-Петербург, Олег Абышко, Москва, 11.

⁴⁸³ 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.

south Slavic-these are the true cause of the contemporary differences (thesis 6).⁴⁸⁴

Dmitriyevskiy conclusions 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 Dmitriyevskiy calls for the study of available manuscripts in the Christian Middle East.

Dmitriyevskiy 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"⁴⁸⁵ Odintsov was inspired by the work of Gorsky and Nevostruev. However, Odintsov was not methodological in his scholarship which Dmitriyevskiy point out to in his review of his work.⁴⁸⁶

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

⁴⁸⁴ 1) Богослужение в Русской Церкви в XVI веке находится в прямой генетической связи с богослужением предшествующего времени (тезис 1), 2) отличаясь от него а) "полным утверждением...Иерусалимского устава" (тезис 2а) с дополнением русских служб (тезис 3) и "появлением так называемых монастырских обиходников или местнорусских уставов" (тезис 2а), созданных под непосредственным влиянием господствующего Иерусалимского устава, от которого они отличаются большей торжественностью и церемональностью церковных служб, большим количеством стихир...по преимуществу русских национальных песнописцев (тезис 4), б) полным развитием богослужбных чинов и последований, исчерпавших весь греческий евхологий и составших в нашей Церкви две богослужбные 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 богослужбной практике христианского Востока" и, следовательно, не являются русскими. "Богослужбные памятники Церквей греческой и южнославянских- вот истинная и насотящая 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.

⁴⁸⁵ 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 Новгородородско-Софийской и Синодалной библиотек, *Странник*, no. 3, 354-371; no 4, 551-573; no 9-10, 34-67, Санкт Петербург, 1880,

⁴⁸⁶ Горский, Невоструев, Описание славянских рукописей Московской Синодальной 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 *Православной 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.

collected." He showed a "Wholehearted, truly fatherly relationship", which continued until the death of Krasnoseltsev (11 September, 1898).⁴⁸⁷

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 1883.⁴⁸⁸ 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.⁴⁸⁹

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*.⁴⁹⁰

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."⁴⁹¹

⁴⁸⁷ "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.

⁴⁸⁸ 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.

⁴⁸⁹ 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.

⁴⁹⁰ *Церковный устав (Типик), его образование и судьба в Греческой и Русской Церкви*, Москва, 1885.

⁴⁹¹ В "Руководстве для сельских пастырей" появилась целая серия статей Дмитриевского, посвященных главным образом вопросам современной богослужебной 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 недумения у нашего духовенства и противопоречия в распоряжениях епархиальной власти", Дмитриевский,

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.⁴⁹² In fact generally said, his copies of manuscripts are of the highest precision, often preserving manuscripts that are now lost.

In terms of pilgrimage Dmitriyevskiy 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.⁴⁹³ 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. Dmitriyevskiy mentions the work done in the catalogue by father Antonin.⁴⁹⁴ 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.⁴⁹⁵

During his journey he experiences outbreaks 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.⁴⁹⁶ However, things improved when

Христианское чтение, 1888, no 9-10, 561. Сове Б. И. Русский Гоар и его школа, in: *Богословские труды. Сборник четвертый*, Москва, 1968, 39-84, here 43.

⁴⁹² Сове Б. И. Русский Гоар и его школа, *Богословские труды*. Сб 4. Москва, 1968, 46.

⁴⁹³ See Дмитриевский, А., *Путешествие по Востоку, и его научные результаты*, Киев, 1890.

⁴⁹⁴ *Ibid.*, 5.

⁴⁹⁵ *Ibid.* 11.

⁴⁹⁶ *Ibid.* 15.

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.⁴⁹⁷

He travelled to Mt. Athos in 1886. Stimulated by this visit he embarks on another journey in 1887 to other areas and Mt. Athos.⁴⁹⁸ In Jerusalem he meets up with the notable byzantologist Archimandrite Antoni 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.⁴⁹⁹ 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

⁴⁹⁷ Ibid. 80.

⁴⁹⁸ 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.

⁴⁹⁹ 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

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 Papadopoulo-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.⁵⁰⁰

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*.⁵⁰¹

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 were often devoid of substantial content.⁵⁰²

"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

⁵⁰⁰ Дмитриевский А.А. А.И.Пападопуло-Керамевс и его сотрудничество в научных изданиях Палестинского Общества (По личным воспоминаниям и по документальным 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.

⁵⁰¹ 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.

⁵⁰² Ibid. 285.

invite Afanisievich Ivanovich to visit me in the building of the Spiritual mission, where in that time, in the southern part of the building, were "aristocratic quarters", where we would share bread and salt.⁵⁰³

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 (Ἐν Ἱεροσολ.), 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."⁵⁰⁴ 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 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 knew about its whereabouts but did not tell him.⁵⁰⁵

⁵⁰³ "Совместная работа с Афанасием Иваниовичем в Патриаршей канцелярии шла успешно и довольно спокойно. Афанасий Иваниович 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 Иваниовича к себе в здание Русской Духовной Миссии, где в то время, в южной половине ее корупуса, находились «дворянское номера» разделить со мною хлеб-соль", Ibid.285.

⁵⁰⁴ Дмитриевский А., А., А. И. Пападопуло-Керамеус 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.

⁵⁰⁵ Ibid., 288.

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 Dmitrievskiy 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 Dmitrievskiy than the one published by the German scholar V. Gardthausen.⁵⁰⁶

In 1895 the first volume of the work for which Dmitrievskiy 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, 1895.⁵⁰⁷ It was also presented as a qualifying study for a doctorate. The second volume was published in 1901⁵⁰⁸ and the third volume was published in 1917.⁵⁰⁹ The third volume presented the first half of the second part of the „Typika“. Dmitrievskiy 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.

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*⁵¹⁰ In 1894 he published *Patmos notes* dealing with Patmos and its ecclesial heritage.⁵¹¹

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 Society⁵¹²,

⁵⁰⁶ 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 истекающую четверть века 1882-1907*, Императорское Православное Общество, Санкт-Петербург, publisher Олег Абышко, Москва, 2008, 16.

⁵⁰⁷ Дмитриевский А.А., *Описание литургических рукописей, хранящихся в библиотеках Православного Востока. Т. 1. Типики. Ч. 1. Памятники патриарших уставов и ктиторские монастырские типиконы* Киев, 1895, xx+cxlvii+912+xxv.

⁵⁰⁸ Дмитриевский А.А., *Описание литургических рукописей, хранящихся в библиотеках Православного Востока. Т.2. Евхологии*. Киев, 1901, xiiI+1058+xxvii+32

⁵⁰⁹ Дмитриевский А.А., *Описание литургических рукописей, хранящихся в библиотеках Православного Востока. Т. 3. (2-я половина). Типики. Ч.2*, Петроград, 1917. viii+768+iv.

⁵¹⁰ Дмитриевский А.А., *Современное богослужение на Православном Востоке. Историко-археологическое исследование. Вып. 1, (вступительный)*, Киев, 1891, 153.

⁵¹¹ 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.

⁵¹² For example, Православное русское паломничество на Запад, к мироточивому гробу Мирликийского святого 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-

and from 1904 these speeches were regularly published in the annuals of the society (*Сообщения Императорского Православного Общества*).⁵¹³ 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 vice president of the Imperial Orthodox Palestinian society.⁵¹⁴ In a letter of the 15th 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.⁵¹⁵

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 Успенской 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.

⁵¹³ Празднества в Гефсимании в честь Успения Богоматери (По личным воспоминаниям, *Сообщения Императорского Палестинского Общества* Сообщения, 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 обретения Креста Господня, 1906. Т. xvii, 581-593.

⁵¹⁴ See Письмо А.А. Дмитриевского Н.М.Аничкову от 1 июля 1905 г, АВП РИ. (Архив внешней политики Российской Империи) Фонд. Российское Императорское Палестинского Общества, Оп. 873, 1, д.183, л. 5.6.; письмо 15 мая 1906г, Л.7-10 об.

⁵¹⁵ Мансуров Б.П., Православные поклонники в Палестине, Санкт Петербург, 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 Петербург 1860; See also Мансуров Б.П., *Отчет Палестинского Комитета, 1858-1864*, Санкт Петербург, 1866.

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 pilgrims shown by the Russian consulate in Jerusalem and other issues.⁵¹⁶ Dmitrievskiy struggled further with censorship in relation to other issues.⁵¹⁷ 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.“⁵¹⁸ Regardless of the issues Dmitrievskiy did publish the history of the society with some additional material in the journal of the Kiev spiritual academy.⁵¹⁹

⁵¹⁶ 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.

⁵¹⁷ 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. хviii, вып. 1-2, 71-98, 232-248.

⁵¹⁸ Письмо А.А. Дмитриевского вице-председателю ИППО Н.М.Аничкову, Киев, 15 мая 1906г, АВП РИ. (Архив внешней политики Российской Империи) Фонд. Российское Императорское Палестинского Общества, 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 истекающую четверть века 1882-1907*, 2008, Императорское Православное Общество, Санкт-Петербург, publisher Олег Абышко, Москва, 2008, 21-35.

⁵¹⁹ Thus Дмитриевский А.А., Извлечение из Исторической Записки ИППО за 25 лет его существования (Читано в торжественном заседании Общества 22 мая 1907 г., *Сообщения ИППО*, 1907, Т. хviii вып. 3-4, 430-451; Русские учебно-воспитательные, благотворительные и странноприимные учреждения в

In 1906 the Secretary of the Society A. P. Belyaev died (А.П.Беляев) and Anichkov wrote a letter to Dmitrievsky offering him the position as the Society Secretary.⁵²⁰ 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.⁵²¹ 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.“.⁵²² 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 (8th December 1907) placed Dmitrievskiy in the position of an ordinary professor emeritus and the ruling of 11th 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

Палестине и Сирии. (К 25-летию юбилею ИППО), *Труды Киевской Духовной академии*, 1907. вып 5. 89-120. Отд. отт. Киев, 1907.

⁵²⁰ For ore information about Dmitrievsky and the princess Elizabeth Theodorovna see Любовикова 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.

⁵²¹ АВП РИ. (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 истекиющую четверть века 1882-1907*, Императорское Православное Общество, Санкт-Петербург, Олег Абышко, Москва, 2008, 39.

⁵²² 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 истекиющую четверть века 1882-1907*, Императорское Православное Общество, Санкт-Петербург, Олег Абышко, Москва, 2008, 41.

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.⁵²³

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.⁵²⁴ 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.⁵²⁵

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 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.

⁵²³ Дмитриевский А.А. Современное русское паломничество в Святую Землю, *Труды Киевской Духовной академии*, 1903, вып. 6., 274-319.

⁵²⁴ 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.

⁵²⁵ Ibid.

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.⁵²⁶

Dmitrievskiy decided to travel to Palestine to conduct a revision of the situation. On the 15th 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.⁵²⁷ 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.

Dmitrievskiy was later awarded in 1912 with the award of Saint Vladimir (third degree),⁵²⁸ and in 1915 he was awarded with the order of Saint Stanislav (I degree).⁵²⁹ During his work for the society, Dmitrievskiy published numerous publications.⁵³⁰

⁵²⁶ 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 истекиющую четверть века 1882-1907*, Императорское Православное Общество, Санкт-Петербург, Олег Абышко, Москва, 2008, 47.

⁵²⁷ 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.

⁵²⁸ 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.

⁵²⁹ 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.

⁵³⁰ 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, хvi, 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. хviii. Вып. 1-4, 422-430; Памяти члена Русской Духовной Миссии в Иерусалиме о.игумена Парфения, убиенного на горе Елеонской, *Ibid*, 1909. Т. хх. 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

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 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 2nd 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.⁵³¹ 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.“⁵³² „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.“⁵³³

Петербургъ, 1909, 79; Памяти Б.П. Мансурова, Сообщения ИППО. 1910. Т. ххi, Вып. 3. 446-457; Мои „незабудки“ на могилу о. протоерея Александра Петровича Попова, Ibid., 1912. Т. ххiii, Вып. 3, 394-414; Памяти В.Н. Хитрово, 1903-1913 (К 10-летию со дня смерти), Ibid, 1913.Т. ххiv, Вып. 2, 263-272; В Бозе почивший митрополит Петербургской Антоний и его сношения по делам церковным с Православным Востоком, *Православный Собеседник*, Казан, 1914, вып., 4, 598-606; 5, 920-931; Его Императорское Высочество великий князь Константин Константинович-поклонник Святой Земли. Некролог, in: *Сообщения ИППО*, 1915. Т.. ххvi, 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.

⁵³¹ 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 истекущую четверть века 1882-1907*, Императорское Православное Общество, Санкт-Петербург, Олег Абышко, Москва, 2008, 55.

⁵³² ОР РНБ. Ф. 253. Оп. 1, д. 37, л.1.

⁵³³ Ibid., л. 3.

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“.⁵³⁴ This German pressure (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.“⁵³⁵

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.“⁵³⁶

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.“⁵³⁷

⁵³⁴ Ibid., л. 7., 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, 56.

⁵³⁵ Ibid., л. 22, Н.Н. Лисов, Ibid.

⁵³⁶ Ibid., л., 22.

⁵³⁷ Ibid., л. 16-17.

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 Orthodox Society, but under the auspices of the Academy of Sciences.⁵³⁸ This was rejected by the Society and Dmitrievskiy saw in this "a ridiculous attempt" to parallel a Society which produced great results.⁵³⁹

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“.⁵⁴⁰ Later in the revolutionary period of 1917, the group of Kovalevskiy did associate themselves with the Academy of Sciences. On the 4th 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.⁵⁴¹ 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.⁵⁴²

9.b. 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

⁵³⁸ Ковалевский Е.П., *Русские научные интересы в Палестине и прилежащих областях, Россия в святой земле. Документы и материалы*. Т. 1. Москва, 2000, 339-349.

⁵³⁹ 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.

⁵⁴⁰ 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.

⁵⁴¹ 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.

⁵⁴² Ibid.

much interest from the 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.⁵⁴³ 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 developments in Palestine, the Russian educational system was also developing.⁵⁴⁴

⁵⁴³ 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.

⁵⁴⁴ 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*

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 1914.⁵⁴⁵ 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.⁵⁴⁶

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 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.⁵⁴⁷

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

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.

⁵⁴⁵ Доклад общему годовому собранию ИППО 28 апреля 1913, *Сообщения ИППО*, 1913, Т. ххiv, вып. 2, 208.

⁵⁴⁶ About her activities see Лисовой Н.Н., М.А. Черкасова и школы Императорского Православного Палестинского Общества в Бейруте, *Неизвестные страницы отечественного востоковедения*, Москва, 2007.

⁵⁴⁷ *Полное собрание законов Российской Империи. Собрание третье*. Т. хххii, 1912, Пг., 1915., 1117.

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 23rd of June 1914, the council of the Society confirmed a package of programs and instructions for the teacher seminaries, which was confirmed on 22nd of October 1914 by the grand princess Elizaveth Theodorovna.⁵⁴⁸

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“.⁵⁴⁹

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 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.“⁵⁵⁰

⁵⁴⁸ Ibid.

⁵⁴⁹ See АВП РИ.Ф.РИППО, Архив внешней политики Российской Империи) Фонд. Российское Императорского 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 истекиую четверть века 1882-1907*, Императорское Православное Общество, Санкт-Петербург, publisher Олег Абышко, Москва, 2008, 52.

Ibid, 52.

⁵⁵⁰ See АВП РИ.Ф.РИППО. Оп. 873/13, д. 186, л. 2-3, Ibid., Н.Н. Лисов.

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 18th 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.“⁵⁵¹

9c. 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.⁵⁵² The revision commission consisting of N. P. Bogolyubov, A. B. Koptev and A. K. Boyarskiy (Н.П.Боголюбов, А.Б.Коптева and А.К. Боярскаго), which was called by the general assembly of the 12th of December 1904 to revise the accounts of the society for 190³/₄ has found the accounts of incomes and outcomes in order. As is shown the year 190³/₄ the accounts are following: I. In the usual incomes: 1) membership fees 36, 074 roubles., 33 cop. 2) collections from Palm Sunday (вербнаго 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:

⁵⁵¹ АВП РИ.Ф.РИППО. Оп. 873/13, д. 360, л. 2. Ibid.

⁵⁵² Годовое общее собрание Императорскаго Православнаго Палестинскаго Общества 4 декабря 1905 года, in: *Сообщения Императорскаго Православнаго Палестинскаго Общества* Томъ XVII, Выпуски 1-4, Типографія В. Киришваума, Дворц. Площ., д. М-ва Финансов, пер. Вып. pgs.113-127., ред. Проф. И.И.Соколовъ, Санкт Петербург, 2006.

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 1st 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.⁵⁵³

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

⁵⁵³ Ibid., 114.

contributing and interestingly enough there is mention of the priest protoyerey Ioan Ilyich Sergiev of Cronstadt (протоіерей 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 uezd (Пронський 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 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 3rd 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“.⁵⁵⁴ 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.⁵⁵⁵ 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

⁵⁵⁴ 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.

⁵⁵⁵ Ibid. pg.132.

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.⁵⁵⁶ 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 villages of Palestine, out of these 60 were male and 20 female.⁵⁵⁷ 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.⁵⁵⁸

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

⁵⁵⁶ Ibid. pg.134.

⁵⁵⁷ Ibid., 139.

⁵⁵⁸ Ibid,142.

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.⁵⁵⁹

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 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.

9.d. Afanasiy Ivanovich Papadopoulos-Kerameus

Afanasiy Ivanovich Papadopoulos-Kerameus (Афанасий Иванович Пападопуло-Керамевс) 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 24th 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 Cydone (Turkish Ayvalik). His father became the *ekonomos* of the eparchy of Effesus, 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.⁵⁶⁰ 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.⁵⁶¹ Athanasius also published some hitherto unknown

⁵⁵⁹ Ibid.,143.

⁵⁶⁰ Κατάλογος χειρογράφων ἐν Σμύρνῃ, ἔτ Ἐν Σμύρνῃ, 1877.

⁵⁶¹ The results were published Ἐκθεσις παλαιογραφικῶν καὶ φιλολογικῶν ἐρευνῶν ἐν Θράκῃ καὶ Μακεδονίᾳ κατὰ τὸ ἔτος 1885. Ἐν Κωνσταντινουπόλει, 1886. Further a catalogue of manuscripts Μαυροκορδάτειος Βιβλιοθήκη, ἡτοι γενικὸς κατάλογος τῶν ἐν ταῖς ἀνά τὴν Ἀνατολὴν Βιβλιοθηκῶν εὕρισκομένων ἑλληνικῶν

letters of Julian the Apostate.⁵⁶² Athanasius was sent by the Syllogos society to Odessa in 1884 as a delegate to the VI Archaeological congress the theme of which was the monuments of Constantinople.⁵⁶³

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 Papadopoulou 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."⁵⁶⁴

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

χειρογράφων, τ.ά 1884 *Ἐν Κωνσταντινουπόλει* only first volume published due to the lack of funds. Further Προσθήκαι εἰς τὰ σωζόμενα τῶν ἀρχαίων μετρολόγων ἐξ ἀρμενικῶν κειμένων.

⁵⁶² *Neue Briefe von Julianus Apostata*. Rheinisches Museum für Philologie, Neue Folge, 47, 1887, 15-27.

⁵⁶³ 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.

⁵⁶⁴ "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, суевившийся 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. Дмитриевский, Деятели Русской Палестины*, Составатель, Н. Н. Лисовой, Москва, Издательство Олега Абышко, Москва, 2010, 276-328. here, 283.

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.⁵⁶⁵

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.⁵⁶⁶

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 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.⁵⁶⁷ Dmitriyevskiy then states that in comparison to Greek scholars (who usually receive nothing for their publications) or to the

⁵⁶⁵ Ibid. 284.

⁵⁶⁶ Ibid., 287.

⁵⁶⁷ 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.

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.⁵⁶⁸

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.⁵⁶⁹

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 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.⁵⁷⁰

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., 1899ἔτ.). 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.⁵⁷¹

⁵⁶⁸ Ibid. 303.

⁵⁶⁹ Ibid. 311.

⁵⁷⁰ Ἐρμηνεία τῆς ζωγραφικῆς τέχνης, Санкт Петербург, 1909; Ἑλληνικὰ κείμενα, χρήσιμα τῇ ἱστορίᾳ τῆς Ρουμανίας, Ἐν Βουκουρεστί, 1909.

⁵⁷¹ 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.

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 (Г. А. Муркос)⁵⁷² 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.

10. 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

⁵⁷² Муркос Г. А., *Путешествие Антиохийского Патриарха Макария в Россию в половине XVII века описанное его сыном архидиаконом Павлом Алеппским*, Москва, 1900.

gain, the core, of their own rebirth. This was and will happen again, if the earth is to live further...⁵⁷³

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 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.⁵⁷⁴ 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 where organised on an institutional basis. However,

⁵⁷³ *Сообщения, Императорского, Православного Палестинского Общества*, Санкт Петербург, т. 2, 1891, 56-57.

⁵⁷⁴ Кириллина, С.А., Хождение иеромонаха Леонтия в Египет и Палестину в 1763-1766 гг.: Ислам и его носители в "истории младшего григоровича" in: *Исторический Вестникъ*, том двадцатый, июнь, 2017, Москва, 190-218, 209.

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 decided not to accept him. He let his Arabic guide go, and sat beneath the walls of the monastery until he was let in.⁵⁷⁵

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 route 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 on 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

⁵⁷⁵ *Странствования Василия Григоровича Барского по святым местам Востока с 1723 по 1747 г. Ч II*, Санкт Петербург, 1886, 11.

consulate took a blind eye towards the sufferings of the pilgrims.⁵⁷⁶ The accommodation offered by the Patriarchate of Jerusalem was also completely inadequate, and entailed sleeping on stone ground, without mattresses, and was completely "shocking".⁵⁷⁷

Dmitriyevskiy writes in his article how many people travelling to Palestine were often naïve, taking only little provisions, but armed with fasting and prayers.⁵⁷⁸ 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 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

⁵⁷⁶ Елисеев, А. В., *С русскими паломниками на Святой Земле весной 1884 г., Очерки, заметки и наблюдения*, Санкт Петербургъ, 1885, 365.

⁵⁷⁷ Ibid., 17.

⁵⁷⁸ 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.

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.⁵⁷⁹

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.⁵⁸⁰ 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.⁵⁸¹

Kapustin also commented on the fact that the pilgrims often encountered a world, which was different from their own. He stated that the Russians coming to Jerusalem were unpleasantly surprised suffering a culture shock, with all the various groups of people from various ethnic backgrounds and so on. People were 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

⁵⁷⁹ Ibid. 138.

⁵⁸⁰ 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.

⁵⁸¹ RGIA 797, op. 15, d. 36311, 1845-1847, RGIA 797, op. 16, 38160, 1846-1847 *ibid.*

similar to him in any way, sharing only the humanity and the designation of being Christian."⁵⁸²

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.⁵⁸³

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 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.⁵⁸⁴

This type of woman is represented by the notorious Mariya Gladkaya (Мария Гладкая) a women 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

⁵⁸² "терпимости, столь нужной тому, кто решился принести 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*, Индрик, 2007, 12-15.

⁵⁸³ 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.

⁵⁸⁴ Ibid. 149.

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 moneychangers are able to change 20 frank gold coins with useless bronze tokens used during card play and not having any worth for payment."⁵⁸⁵

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

⁵⁸⁵ "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 ничтожную 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 удается, вместо золотых 20-франковиков, наградить наших паломников жетонами из желтой бронзы, употребляемыми при игре в карты и уже ровно не имеющими никакой ценности в общезнании." 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.

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".⁵⁸⁶ 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.⁵⁸⁷

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.⁵⁸⁸

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.

⁵⁸⁶ "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 путешественником *гидом* города Бари".

⁵⁸⁷ Ibid. 70.

⁵⁸⁸ Ibid. 76.

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.

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 is 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.⁵⁸⁹

10. b. 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.⁵⁹⁰ 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.⁵⁹¹

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 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.

⁵⁸⁹ Graham S., *With the Russian Pilgrims to Jerusalem*, Thomas Nelson and Sons, London, New York, 1913, 58-59.

⁵⁹⁰ Базили К.М., *Сирия и Палестина под турецким правительством*, Московской Государственной Университет имени М.Б. Ломоносова, Москва, 2007, 397.

⁵⁹¹ *Ibid.*

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.⁵⁹² 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 apparently had a good command of ancient Greek.⁵⁹³ Al Biruni states, that there is a story that on the Saturday of the Resurrection (he

⁵⁹² 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.

⁵⁹³ 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, 17th c.; MS Beyazit 4667, 17th 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, Izbrannye proizvedeniia, Taskent*, 1957, 348-350.

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.⁵⁹⁴ 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-Masūdi (born before 893 died 956) who as the Arabian "Herodotus" mentions the Holy Fire, but in reference to another lost work. Further there is Al-Jāhiz (born 776 died 868/869) who also alludes to the Holy Fire as a trick made by the monks in his book on Animals.⁵⁹⁵

Krachkovskiy provides us with a complex list of other Islamic writers regarding the Holy Fire in his well known article.

Idrisi 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.⁵⁹⁶ 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

⁵⁹⁴ See G. Strohmaier, Al-Biruni, *In den Gärten der Wissenschaft*, Leipzig, 1988, 125-126.

⁵⁹⁵ Крачковский И.Ю., "Благодатный огонь" по рассказу ал-Бируни и других мусульманских писателей X-XIII вв., *Христианский Восток*, Т.3, вып. 3. Пг., 1915.

⁵⁹⁶ Le Strange Guy, *Palestine Under the Muslims*, Cosimo classics, New York, 2010, 208.

Emir to destroy the Holy Fire ceremony.⁵⁹⁷ There is also the epistle of Arethas the Metropolitan of Cesarea sent to the emir of Damascus.⁵⁹⁸ 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 were 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 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.⁵⁹⁹ From the year 1122 there is a Greek liturgical book describing the ceremony.⁶⁰⁰ From 1149 there is the Greek salter in Turin, mentioned the liturgical ceremony of the Holy Fire.⁶⁰¹ There are allusions to other figures such as Saint Brandan.⁶⁰² 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.⁶⁰³

⁵⁹⁷ 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.

⁵⁹⁸ 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.

⁵⁹⁹ 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.

⁶⁰⁰ Παπαδοπουλος Κεραμευς, *Αναλεκτα Ιεροσολυμιτης Σταχυολογιας* II, Санкт Петербургъ, 1897, 179-186.

⁶⁰¹ Pasini, I., *Codices manuscriptorum bibliothecae regiae Tuarinensis Athenaei*, Taurini, 1749, 173.

⁶⁰² La Légende 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.

⁶⁰³ Le Strange Guy, *Palestine Under the Muslims*, Cosimo classics, quoted from 4 chapter 173-174 of Yâkût. New York, 2010, (first published 1890).

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.

11. 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 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 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 11th 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. Коквицев)

expressed the need for more intensive archaeological work especially in relation to the Palestinian society.⁶⁰⁴ 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.⁶⁰⁵ 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 account⁶⁰⁶ 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.⁶⁰⁷

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

⁶⁰⁴ *Сообщения Православного Палестинского Общества*, 1901, т12, 362.

⁶⁰⁵ See his *Памятники христианского искусства на Афоне*, 1902, which was produced as a result of this journey.

⁶⁰⁶ Кондаков, Н.П., *Археологические Путешествие по Сирии, и Палестинъ*, Санкт Петербургъ, 1904.

⁶⁰⁷ *Ibid.*, 243.

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 336.⁶⁰⁸ 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.⁶⁰⁹

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.⁶¹⁰ 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 Constantines 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 were 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

⁶⁰⁸ See Vered Shalev-Hurvitz, *Holy Sites Encircled, The Early Byzantine Concentric Churches of Jerusalem*, Oxford University press, 2015.

⁶⁰⁹ 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.

⁶¹⁰ Conybeare, F.C., Antiochus Strategos, The Capture of Jerusalem by the Persians, in 614 AD in: *English Historical Review*, 25, 502-517, 1910, 517.

angle of the Basilica.⁶¹¹ 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."⁶¹² The excavations had provoked various positive reactions but there was also a negative one from Mansurov who doubted the conclusions about the second wall of Jerusalem, the threshold of the gate and the Basilica of Constantine.⁶¹³

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;

⁶¹¹ Научные преприятия Палестинского Общества, *Журнал Министерства народного просвещения*, 1884, ч. 234, 9.

⁶¹² 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 выходившими 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".

⁶¹³ See Б. П., *Мансуров Базилика императора Константина в Святом Граде Иерусалиме*, Москва, 1885.

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.⁶¹⁴

The first Russian Consul in Jerusalem V. I. Dorogobuzhinov (В. И. Дорогобужинов) also gained land (140 square сажень/fathoms probably equivalent to 2.1336 m) and a terrace under the remains of the Church of Santa Maria Latina in March 1859.⁶¹⁵ 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).⁶¹⁶

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.⁶¹⁷ 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 (Капустин) 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

⁶¹⁴ *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 пропилеи базилики Константина Великого; а в таком случае необходимо признать, что остатки древнееврейских стен введены были в состав сооружений Константина."

⁶¹⁵ Архимандрит Августин (Никитин), *Святая Земля*, Издание Русской Духовной Миссии в Иерусалиме, 2011, 287.

⁶¹⁶ 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.

⁶¹⁷ Научные предприятия Палестинского Общества, *Журнал Министерства народного просвещения* 1884, ч. 234, июль-август, 2-3, (author not indicated).

interested in the topography of the city, and among archaeologists, but he was unable to continue his work".⁶¹⁸

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).⁶¹⁹ 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."⁶²⁰

⁶¹⁸ "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, *Archaeological Researches in Palestine, 1873-1874*, translated by J. McFarlane from the French, Palestine Exploration Fund, London, vol. 1-2, 1896. See also <https://archive.org/stream/archaeologicalre01cler#page/n21/mode2up>.

⁶¹⁹ See Покровский И. В., Раскопки на русском месте в Иерусалиме, in: *Христианское чтение*, Санкт Петербург 1886, март-апрель.

⁶²⁰ *Православный палестинский сборник*, том. III, Вып. 1., Санкт Петербург 1887, 255-256. "Именем научных библейских 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 исчерпали

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 13th of September 1887. After the First World War the *Podvorie* was taken care of by the Russian Church Abroad.

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

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 приятно, что русское правительство и русское Палестинское Общество доставили несколько научных данных к тем многочисленным вопросам, которые возбуждает досточтимый памятник, посвященный Святому Гробу. Благодарю их именем друзей христианского Востока, благодарю их за то место, которые ими отведено моим скромным исследованиям."

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 were 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 Antony.

Jericho

In 1875 under Antonin the Archimandrite excavations were also made here by the Russians. In 1886 the Palestinian Society left 1500 roubles for excavations on the Russian area.⁶²¹ 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 11th of December 566. Thus the Russian area stood on this foundation of an ancient monastery and Church.⁶²² An interesting granite structure was also found in a cylindrical shape close to the church.

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.⁶²³ 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 were caves found during the building activity here with interesting inscriptions and

⁶²¹ *Сообщения Православного Палестинского Общества*, Т. 18, Санкт Петербург, 1907, 447.

⁶²² Ростовцев М., *Русская археология в Палестине, Христианский восток*, т. 1, вып. III, Санкт Петербург, 1912, 263.

⁶²³ *Сообщения Православного Палестинского Общества*, Т. 15, Санкт Петербург, 1904, 130.

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.⁶²⁴

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.⁶²⁵ Research was also carried out in Tiberias.

12. 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

⁶²⁴ *Сообщения Православного Палестинского Общества*, Т. 3, Санкт Петербургъ, 1892, 355-356.

⁶²⁵ Стеллецкий, И. Я., *Мадебская карта-мозаика Палестины в связи с вопросом о новой (русской) горней Бет-Захарии*, Москва, 1909, 37.

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.

12 a. 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).⁶²⁶ 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 1st of June until the 15th of August 1900. Students

⁶²⁶ Published as *Дневник студента-паломника на Афоне*.

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. Romyantsev Н. Е. Румянцев, A. M. Smirnov, А. М. Смирнов, V. P. Shipulin В. П. Шипулин, 3 level course курса, M. V. Voytsechovich М. В. Войцехович, M. I. Sentsov, М. И. Сенцов, A. I. Nikolskiy А. 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".⁶²⁷

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 (Кирилл 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.⁶²⁸

On the 28th 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 29th 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 Iia 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.⁶²⁹

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

⁶²⁷ 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.

⁶²⁸ Ibid. 31.

⁶²⁹ Ibid. 35.

colonisation processes 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 help the colonising processes.⁶³⁰ 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.⁶³¹

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.⁶³²

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.⁶³³

12. b. *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 away.⁶³⁴ The Greek Churches display history and its continuity to the ages of Jesus.⁶³⁵

⁶³⁰ Ibid. 427.

⁶³¹ Ibid. 428.

⁶³² Ibid. 377.

⁶³³ Ibid., 270.

⁶³⁴ Марков, Е., *Путешествие по Св. Земле*, Санкт Петербургъ, 1891, 421-422.

⁶³⁵ Ibid.

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 (Евгений 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.⁶³⁶ 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."⁶³⁷ 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 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.⁶³⁸

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.⁶³⁹ He describes the

⁶³⁶ Марковъ, Е., *Путешествіе на Востокъ, Царьградъ и архипелагъ въ странъ фараоновъ*, С. Типографія М.М.Стасюлевича, В.О., Петербургъ, 1890, 320.

⁶³⁷ "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 цивилизація-то, купленная Египтомъ цѣною собственной крови и свободы-гроша мѣднаго не стоитъ. Это цивилизація трактировъ, бульваровъ, желѣзнодорожнаго вокзала, дешевой уличной газеты,-не глубже и не важнѣе." Ibid., 320.

⁶³⁸ Ibid. 330.

⁶³⁹ 358-363.

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.⁶⁴⁰

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.⁶⁴¹ 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.

Another similar account focusing on a no-nonsense factual description is that of Norov (A. 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. 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

⁶⁴⁰ Ibid.372.

⁶⁴¹ Ibid.268.

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."⁶⁴²

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.⁶⁴³

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 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.⁶⁴⁴

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-АММОНЬ).⁶⁴⁵ 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.

⁶⁴² Путешествие по святой землѣ въ 1835 году, Авраама Норова, (Издание второе, дополненное), Съ примѣчаніями на Путешествіе Игумена Даниила въ XII вѣкѣ, Часть Первая, Санкт Петербургъ, 1844.

⁶⁴³ Ibid., vi.

⁶⁴⁴ He refers here to the destruction of the place by reference to the Bible quoting Ezechiel 30, 13-18.

⁶⁴⁵ Norov notes: In the Hebrew Bible Наумъ. 3:8 Jerem. XLVI, 25. Ezech. XIII., 14. We should not confuse Диосполисъ (Diospolis) of Lower Eгypt with Диосполисъ (Diospolis) of Upper Eгypt (Thebes); the first was called the small, and the other the big Диосполисъ (Diospolis). See Strab. XVII, 802, 805. 815, Vochart. Paleg. Edit. 1712, pgs. 5-6.

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 Dibebe (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 (Дибѐ); the second is opposite the mouth of the canal Moez (Моез), it is the ancient mouth of Tanitiyskoe (Танитійское), 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 (Bogaz Damyata) Богаза Дамьятскаго to the shores of (Bir Deodar) Бирь-Деодарь 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 Gethsemene (also on the plan of the Latin author Кварземий 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).

Bazili K. M.

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.⁶⁴⁶ 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.⁶⁴⁷ 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".⁶⁴⁸ 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.⁶⁴⁹

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 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

⁶⁴⁶ Гоголь, Н. В., *Полное собрание сочинений и писем, в 17 т. Т. 15*, М., изд. Во Московской Патриархии Киев, 2009, 37.

⁶⁴⁷ Базили К.М., *Сирия и Палестина под турецким правительством, Московской Государственной Университет имени М.Б. Ломоносова*, 2007, 19.

⁶⁴⁸ Ibid.20.

⁶⁴⁹ Ibid. 27-30.

letter from the 2nd of February 1808 offered Alexander the possibility of a joint expedition into India.⁶⁵⁰

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. ..."⁶⁵¹

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, 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."⁶⁵²

⁶⁵⁰ Ibid. 81.

⁶⁵¹ 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..."

⁶⁵² 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

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.⁶⁵³ 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.⁶⁵⁴

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 passage through the Holy site.⁶⁵⁵ 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 payed 200 moneybags when he came to Jerusalem. Another 500 moneybags were payed 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.⁶⁵⁶ 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

важную, чем в палатах и в журналах Западной Европы, и ни одному гению, вскормленному Западом, не будут доступны эти два великие деятеля 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 воспламенить воображения на Западе искрой, искусно почерпнутой им на Востоке, в классической стране вымысла."

⁶⁵³ Ibid. 94

⁶⁵⁴ See Alphonse De Lamartine, *Souvenirs, Impressions, Pensees et Paysages Pendant Un Voyage En Orient, (1832-1833), Ou Notes D'Un Voyager Par M. Alphonse De Lamartine*, Edité par Churton, London, 1835.

⁶⁵⁵ Базили К.М., *Сирия и Палестина под турецким правительством*, Московской Государственной Университет имени М.Б. Ломоносова, Москва, 2007, 100.

⁶⁵⁶ Ibid.112.

Palestine in contrast to European destinations.⁶⁵⁷ Gogol came to Palestine in 1848. He travelled also with the members of the Russian Spiritual mission.

12.c 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.⁶⁵⁸ D. A. Skalon who was himself a member of this "pilgrim" 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 17th of September 1872 at nine in the morning on a train to Warsaw.

On the 17th of September 1872 at nine o'clock in the morning, the group consisting of the distinguished travellers⁶⁵⁹ which included Grand Prince (*Velikiy Knyaz*) Nikolay Nikolaevich, Prince (*Knyaz*) Evgeniy Maksimilianovich Romanovskiy, Gertsog Leichtenbergskiy; Princes Alexander and

⁶⁵⁷ Воропаев В. А., *Путешествие ко Гробу Господню*, <http://portal-slovo.ru>.

⁶⁵⁸ Путешествие по Востоку и Святой Земль въ свитѣ великаго князя Николая Николаевича въ 1872 году, Д. А. Скалона. Санкт Петербург, 1881. Печатано въ экспедиции заготовелнія государственныхъ бумагъ. Скалон Дмитрий Антонович, Путешествие По Востоку И Святой Земле В Свите Великаго Князя Николая Николаевича В 1872 Году, Рисунки съ натуры художника В.К.Макарова.Гравированы на деревѣ художникомъ Крыжановскимъ. Заглавныя буквы и вишьетки по рисункамъ профессора А.И. Шарлемань. Рѣзаны въ экспедиции заготовления гусударственныхъ бумагъ, Санктпетербургъ, Печатано въ экспедиции заготовления государственныхъ бумагъ, репринт Индрик, Москва, 2007.

⁶⁵⁹ 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; генералмайоры 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.Фелейзен; 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 Великаго Князя Николаевича В 1872 Году, Рисунки съ натуры художника В.К.Макарова.Гравированы на деревѣ художникомъ Крыжановскимъ. Заглавныя буквы и вишьетки по рисункамъ профессора А.И. Шарлемань. Рѣзаны въ экспедиции заготовления гусударственныхъ бумагъ, Санктпетербургъ, Печатано въ экспедиции заготовления государственныхъ бумагъ (Москва, репринт Индрик, 2007), 15.*

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 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 writes⁶⁶⁰: "On the seventeenth of September of 1872, at nine o'clock, 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 sun, 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 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."

⁶⁶⁰ "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 навс 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?....» Поэтому 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.

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 22nd they leave to Baziash (Базиаш), then to Ofen, and Pesht. The fields of Hungary remind him of *Malorosiya* (Малороссия).⁶⁶¹ 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 Магарел). 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."⁶⁶²

In Rushchuk (Рущук), 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.⁶⁶³

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

⁶⁶¹ Ibid.18.

⁶⁶² 24.

⁶⁶³ Ibid.

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."⁶⁶⁴

The train stopped in Shaytandzike, (Шайтанджике), and Halil Sherif pasha (Халиль-Шериф-паша), introduced the Grand Prince (*Velikiy Knaz*) to the chief of staff of the second Corpus, 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.

⁶⁶⁴ "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 ребятишками, 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.

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.⁶⁶⁵

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".⁶⁶⁶ 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 sea the Embassy Church.⁶⁶⁷ 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.

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

⁶⁶⁵ 30.

⁶⁶⁶ 32.

⁶⁶⁷ 33.

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 (възолоченною решеткой).⁶⁶⁸ "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 fore-head 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 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

⁶⁶⁸ 34.

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" (Османие) 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."⁶⁶⁹.

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

⁶⁶⁹ 34-35.

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, 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). Skalons 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 corpuses 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 (Неджд), (possibly Najd). This is a country in the middle of the Arabian peninsula. Skalon states that a certain Palgrave (Пелгърев) 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?- Trully, 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* (гвардиею), the entire cavalry and the engineer corpus, 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 (рота), 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 Bosporus 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." .⁶⁷⁰

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 streets of Constantinople. The same day, the Sultan sent him His Highness two horses of his own stock.⁶⁷¹

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 (гяур) 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.⁶⁷² 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

⁶⁷⁰ 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, дрязгами, 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".

⁶⁷¹ 48.

⁶⁷² Ibid., 48

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 Малоюй Азиийъ; 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 28th 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 (Падишахиме 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*).⁶⁷³

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.⁶⁷⁴

"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 Bogomiltzy, 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 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

⁶⁷³ 50.

⁶⁷⁴ 54.

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.⁶⁷⁵

"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.

⁶⁷⁵ "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 сышленными глазками и добродушным лицом; какой-то хромой, седоватый мужиченко, с большими глазами, в лаптишках; рядом сним два рыжие монаха, тоже, очевидно, русские. Между женщинами, большею частью пожилого возраста и степенного вида, преобладали мещанки да купчихи средней 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 деньжишки. 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 соево рода промысел, собирая од тороватых лиц и рубли, и копейки, с неременным обещанием молиться за добротных 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 святынях, о семейном своем бытье 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.

The majority of them, if there is the slightest space available, do not even bother to sit, but lie and stare into the sky, sweetening themselves with a blessed state of that "peaceful contemplation".⁶⁷⁶

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 fathers, 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 Ignatius 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....".⁶⁷⁷

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 were 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, thus with their nose singing destroying the serious and peaceful impression of the Church and its beautiful furnishings."⁶⁷⁸

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

⁶⁷⁶ "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 бараньих 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.

⁶⁷⁷ "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 всреться с возлюбленными чадами Игнатия Лойлолы 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.

⁶⁷⁸ "В храме шла вечерняя служба; у входной двери, за столиком, стоял выдохлый 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 лампад; 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.

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, rakyá 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. They 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 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.⁶⁷⁹ 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 4th 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 Shatiloyu (Гавриил Шатилюю), the Greek clergy and with children in white shirts with bouquets and candles.

⁶⁷⁹ Ibid. 64.

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 government. Here his Highness was met by the archimandrite Dzibor (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."⁶⁸⁰

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 Ramsess the Great (known as Sesostris, 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 9th 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

⁶⁸⁰ "Типичный старик, вдохновенною речью выражая радость при виде Великого Князя в стенах правоправного храма, доказывал, что России единственный оплот православия на Востоке" Ibid., 75.

non-developed and uneducated and how it is difficult for an educated person to live in these conditions.⁶⁸¹

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 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 picknicks.

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

⁶⁸¹ Ibid., 80.

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 Christ's 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 Jerusalem Kiril, against whom the entire Greek hierarchy rebelled, because he signed the independence 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,I; Mark 9,2; Luke 9,28).⁶⁸² Further a combination of a *panychida* 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".⁶⁸³

Travels of Anikita

⁶⁸² "Великий Князь был встречен на дороге пред Фавором восьмидесятипятилетним 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, добродушную 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, I; Мк.9.2; Лк. 9,28)", Ibid., 118.

⁶⁸³ "К обеду Его Высочество приказал подать ленивые щи, приготовленные в Петербурге и взятые с собой в виде консерва. Можно себе представить, какое удовольствие доставило нам это блюдо. Во время сумерек мы опять пошли в церковь, и Его Высочество приказал отслужить панихиду по своей в Бозе почивающей родительнице, Императрице Александре Феодоровне, которой кончина совпала со днем нашего всуспления в Назарет" Ibid. 119.

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.⁶⁸⁴ 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 strength. As a place of true rest and repose (quotes from Isaiah XI, 10)⁶⁸⁵. 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".⁶⁸⁶

⁶⁸⁴ Путешествіе іеромонаха Аникиты (въ мірѣ 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 Romyantsev.

⁶⁸⁵"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.

⁶⁸⁶ "Зная, что всякое даѣніе благо свыше есть, обратился я, мрачный грѣхами, но озаренный упованіемъ на исполняющаго во благихъ желаніе вѣрныхъ, къ Отцу свѣтовъ, недостойнымъ, но усерднымъ моимъ моленіемъ, не преставалъ 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 совершенія о. Аникитой путешествія по Востоку, воротился въ Россію*), купецкаго сына изъ города *Осташкова*, молодого, здороваго, трезваго, растропнаго, сердцемъ возжелавшаго посѣтить святыи градъ *Іерусалимъ*" 73.

Father Anikita set about in 1834 (5th 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 Theoktist⁶⁸⁷ 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 wrote in a note that apparently the *prior* archimandrite Photios was reluctant to give father Anikita his blessing for the journey.⁶⁸⁸

The next day Anikita prays to the Wisdom of God (in the Church of Sophia in Novgorod-note of editor).⁶⁸⁹ Also in the Church of Saint Nicholas saying a *moleben*.⁶⁹⁰ 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).⁶⁹¹ 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 Богордицы).⁶⁹²

Anikitas journey then takes him to the Zaytsevo (ямъ Зайцево), (7th), to the town Krestsi (Крестцы), (8th), where he serves a number of liturgical services. On the 9th he arrives in the city Valdaya (Валдая) and stays in the Яма Zitogor (Зитогоръ). On the 10th Anikitas suffers

⁶⁸⁷ Editors note states, that Saint Theoktist was an Archbishop of Novgorod (1300-1308), who died in the Novgorod Blagoveshchenskiy monastery (Благовъщенскомъ 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.

⁶⁸⁸ 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.

⁶⁸⁹ 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* (Благовърнаго) *knyaz* Vladimir Yaroslavich, the builder of the Sophia Church, the saintly *Blagoverniy knagina* Anne (mother of the Churches builder) and the saintly *Blagoverniy knyaz* Theodor the brother of the *Blagoverniy knyaz* Alexander Nevskiy. *Соловьевъ. Историческое описаніе Софійскаго собора*, Санкт Петербургъ, 1858. Муравьевъ *Путешествіе по св. Мѣстамъ русскимъ*, Санкт Петербургъ, 1888, I, 6 edition, 380-404.

⁶⁹⁰ 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.

⁶⁹¹ *Ibid.*, 75.

⁶⁹² Editor notes- the icon of the *Znamenia* commemorates the miraculous salvation of the Novgorodians from the attack of the Suzdal prince *knyaz* in 1170.

from piles pain, which prevents him from visiting the monastery of Nilus Stolobenskiy (Нил преподобный Столобенский).

Anikita has some trouble finding cheap transport and goes to Torshka (Торжка) on the 11th visiting the Iver monastery (Иверский)⁶⁹³. There he said a *moleben* and *akathist* to the Mother of God and returned to Zitogor, from where on the 12th he embarked on a journey to Vishniy-Volochek, (Вышний-Волочекъ), where he arrived just in time for *vshenochное penie* (liturgical service). After morning liturgical services on the 13th 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.⁶⁹⁴ On the 14th regardless of the pain from the piles goes to the Boris-Gleb monastery (Борисоглебский), where there are the relics of Ephraim and his disciple Arkadios.⁶⁹⁵ Anikita again participates in liturgical services and with the help of his friend Archimandrite Arsenios goes to Staritsa (Старица) and on the 15th he serves the liturgy there in its monastery (Успенский монастырь).⁶⁹⁶ 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 16th 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 (Липиць).

On the 17th Anikita starts his journey to his birthplace Dernovo (Дерново)⁶⁹⁷ 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 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

⁶⁹³ 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.

⁶⁹⁴ Ibid. 77.

⁶⁹⁵ The monastery of Boris Gleb in Torshka was founded in ancient times by saint Ephraim.

⁶⁹⁶ The monastery was founded in the beginning of the XVI century. The first Moscow Patriarch Iov (Ювь) lived in the monastery in Staritsa from 1605 where he died on the 19th of June 1607.

⁶⁹⁷ Editors note-Village Dernovo, in Smolensk Gubernia, Vyazemskiy Uezd (Вяземский уезд) was the birthplace of Prince *Kynaz* Sergiy. In the village at that time lived his younger brother Knaz Prochor Alexandrovich III. Shichmatov who died in 1863, Ibid., 79.

parents where buried. So he took this as a sign and immediately went to the graves.⁶⁹⁸ 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.⁶⁹⁹

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 28th he travels to Tepluch (Теплух), and on the 29th through Gzhatsk (Гжатскъ) he arrives in Mozhaisk (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 Mozhaisk, and died there on the 25 of April 1844.⁷⁰⁰

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

On the 12th of June he leaves Archangelsk, has lunch in Vere (Вере) at a place of an elderly person who had visited Jerusalem, merchant Ilya Alexeevich Zaligin (Ильи Алексевич

⁶⁹⁸ 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.

⁶⁹⁹ 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.

⁷⁰⁰ See *Биографія князя Павла III. Шихматова*, Moscow, 1848.

Залгина), stays the night in the village Dednov (Деднов) at a priests house Vinogradov. On the 13th he came to Prepodobniy Savva Zvenigorodskiy (Савва Звенигородский).⁷⁰¹ After serving services he goes on to Noviy Yerusalim monastery.⁷⁰² There again he participates in more services and on the 15th 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 Metropolitanate and meets the Metropolitan Filaret, who invites him to serve with hime in Petrovsk monastery (Петровск монастырь).⁷⁰³ On the 19th he serves in the Church of prophet Ilias on the Novgorod Podvorye (as he calls it "Our Podvorye"). On the 20th he serves the liturgy in the church of Saint Nicholas in Chamovnikach (Хамовники), where he met some relatives. On the 22th 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 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*.⁷⁰⁴ 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 25th he leaves and arrives in Podolsk (Подольскъ), on the 26th 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 28th he comes to Bogorodsk (Богородск). All along the

⁷⁰¹ 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.

⁷⁰² Editors note- the Archimandrite of the Stavropegial Voskresenskiy Noviy Yerusalim Monastery, which was founded by Patriarch Nikon in 1656, was Apolos Aleksyevskiy (Аполлосъ Алексѣевскій), who governed the monastery from 1821 to 1837.

⁷⁰³ Vysokopetrovskiy Petropavlovskiy vtorokoklasniy monastyr (Высокопетровскій Петропавловскій второклассный монастырь), in Moscow, in the White City. Founded possibly in the period of Dmitriy Donskiy.

⁷⁰⁴ 87.

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.⁷⁰⁵

There in the monastery he was talking with a man called Georgiy Alexievich (Георгій Алексѣевич), 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 3rd.⁷⁰⁶ 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)⁷⁰⁷, asked him to write a life of the saint 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 15th he read his work to the bishop.⁷⁰⁸ On the 16th 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.⁷⁰⁹

On the 18th he has lunch in Nizhnedevitsk (Нижнедѣвицк) and then on the 19th stays at Stariy Oskol (Старий Оскол). He gets stuck due to problems with a wheel in the village Svitska (Свитьск). On the 21st he comes to Belgrad (Бѣлградъ) and stopped at the Nikolaev monastery.⁷¹⁰ He attends services and between visits the Troitskiy monastery, where there is a seminary paying homage to saint Ioasaphat.⁷¹¹

⁷⁰⁵ 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.

⁷⁰⁶ 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 Благовѣщенский кафедральный монастырь). The local Voroneyh Archbishops live there.

⁷⁰⁷ Antoniу Smirnitkiy was *chirotonised* as bishop of Voronezh on 31 January 1826. He was a former representative of the Kievo-Pecherks Lavra and was made an Archbishop on the 31 of January 1832. He died on the 20th of December 1846 and was a spiritual person.

⁷⁰⁸ 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 Antoniу 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.

⁷⁰⁹ See *Русскій скитъ св. Пророка Или на Афонѣ*, Одесса, 1883, 36, here 95.

⁷¹⁰ 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.

⁷¹¹ Ioasaph Gorlenko (Иоасафъ Горленко), bishop of Belgorod (Бѣлгородскій), was chirotonised on the 2nd of june 1748 from the governors of the Troitsko Sergeyeв Lavra and he died on the 10 december 1754. His body was uncorrupted. See *Житіе Иоасафа Горленко*. *Странникъ* 1865, August. Editor's note, 97.

Charkov is reached on the 23rd, Poltava on the 25th. He goes to the nearby monastery of Krestovozdvizhenskiy (Крестовоздвиженскій).⁷¹² On the 27th came to Kremenchug (Кременчугъ). The same day he goes to the town of Alexandria. On the 28th 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 was a Greek Church. On the 8th he reaches Odessa. He meets in Odessa, N. I. Sinitsin (Н.И.Синицын), the Director of the Rishlevskiy Liceum in Odessa (Ришельевскій). On the 9th he attends the exams of the students from the subject of theology and on the 11th 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.⁷¹³

In Odessa Anikita meets one of the novices of the Glinska pustyn (Глинска пустына), the son of a merchant Aleksiy 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 (Святогорска Успенска пустына) 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 16th 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.

⁷¹² Krestovozdvizhenskiy monastery of the second class in Poltava, was founded around 1650.

⁷¹³ Архимандритъ Порфирій Успенскій, was initially the first rector of the Odessa seminary, and on the 14th 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 (Новоспасский) Stavropegial Monastery in Moscow where he also died. He wrote also *Востокъ Христіанскій. Путешестіе по Адону* 9 volumes 1877-1881.

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 of Kishinev. On the 18th of June 1821 he became the Bishop of Kishinev and died as the Archbishop of Kishinev on the 4th 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 4th of September. Living in the Uspenskiy monastery Anikita continues to do work. He writes in a letter to his brothers (16th of February 1835), that he was commissioned by the Archbishop Antoniyy 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 25th 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 Илья Ерофеев, 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 2nd 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.* Apolinaryy 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.⁷¹⁴

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 1859.⁷¹⁵ 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.⁷¹⁶

As Anikita notes, referring to the Guide to Constantinople (Путеводитель по Константинополю),⁷¹⁷ 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.⁷¹⁸

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

⁷¹⁴ See 107 editors note.

⁷¹⁵ See *Путеводитель по Константинополю*, изд. Иеромонаха Антонія, Одесса, 1884, 243.

⁷¹⁶ *Ibid.*, 108; *Путеводитель по Константинополю*, изд. Иеромонаха Антонія, изд. Иеромонаха Антонія, Одесса, 1884, pg. 1884, 86.

⁷¹⁷ *Ibid.*, 84.

⁷¹⁸ *Путеводитель по Константинополю*, изд. Иеромонаха Антонія, Одесса, 1884, 84.

the Church of saint Euthimios, where the IV Ecumenical Council took place and from there taken to Constantinople⁷¹⁹ 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).⁷²⁰ 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.⁷²¹ Anikita states that the Christian churches in Constantinople are all marked by poverty.⁷²²

On the 9th 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.⁷²³

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 porphyry, which 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.⁷²⁴ 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,

⁷¹⁹ Ibid., 144.

⁷²⁰ Ibid., 84.

⁷²¹ *Путеводитель по Константинополю*, изд. Иеромонаха Антонія, Одесса, 1884, 84; Also see Софоний архієпископ туркенстанский, *Из дневника по службѣ на востокѣ*, Санкт Петербургъ, 1874, 24.

⁷²² 109.

⁷²³ *Путеводитель по Константинополю*, изд. Иеромонаха Антонія, Одесса, 1884, 163.

⁷²⁴ Ibid., 164-165.

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.⁷²⁵

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.⁷²⁶ 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.⁷²⁷

On the 11th 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.⁷²⁸ 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

⁷²⁵ Ibid, 161-163.

⁷²⁶ Муравьевъ, А.Н., *Путешествіе по св. Мѣстамъ въ 1830*, 35-36., Anikita 110.

⁷²⁷ Муравьевъ, А.Н., *Путешествіе по св. Мѣстамъ въ 1830*, first part, 47-55., Anikita 110.

⁷²⁸ *Путеводитель по Константинополю*, изд. Иеромонаха Антонія, Одесса, 1884,90.

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.⁷²⁹ Everywhere he goes Anikita expresses himself emotionally praising God.

On the 30th 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 (Мануиль Петровичъ Карнулловъ) "in proper Russian fashion". On the 31st 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 3rd 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 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)⁷³⁰, 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

⁷²⁹ Ibid., 92-94.

⁷³⁰ *Путеводитель по св. Горѣ Аѳонской*, Sankt Peterburg 1875, second edition, 82-83.

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.⁷³¹ The *skete* is a dependency of the monastery of Pantokrator.⁷³² 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* 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 (Лебязжевск Николаевскъ монастырѣ in Черноморѣ).

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.⁷³³ 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.⁷³⁴ 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.⁷³⁵

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

⁷³¹ See also here *Скитъ св. Пророка Или на Аѳонской горѣ*, Одесса, 1883, 16-27.

⁷³² 115.

⁷³³ See also here *Скитъ св. Пророка Или на Аѳонской горѣ*, Одесса, 1883, 30-32 here, 115.

⁷³⁴ *Путеводитель по св. Горѣ Аѳонской*, Санкт Петербургъ, 1875, second edition, 47-48.

⁷³⁵ 116.

Jeremias II in 1553 elevated the monastery and instead of John the Baptist devoted the monastery to Saint Nicholas.⁷³⁶

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 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).⁷³⁷

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 Grienty 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).⁷³⁸

12.d 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

⁷³⁶ *Путеводитель по св. Горь Афонской*, second edition, Санкт Петербург, 1875, , 49-50.

⁷³⁷ *Ibid.* 50.

⁷³⁸ *Путеводитель по св. Горь Афонской*, second edition Санкт Петербург 1875, 59, 117.

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 24th 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, 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 28th 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 Gubernator 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 11th 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."⁷³⁹

⁷³⁹Апреля 22 числа 1830 года был я представлен пред Священную Особу Благодетельнейшего 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 Высочайшего Превосходительства 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 России, из дома Его Превосходительства Всеволода Андреевича Всеволодского, и прибыл благополучно в портовый город Одессу, Июня 11 числа явился к Графу Воронцову, коему вручил записку, посланную ему из Спетербурга. Граф послал меня к градоначальнику, который, утвердив паспорт мой подписанием руки и приложением собственной

As is usually the case in sea travel a storm breaks out which provokes prayers. "On the journey, on the June 24th, 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 29th of June, on the day of the Saints most glorious and top Apostles Peter and Paul, successfully entered the shores of Constantinople. On the 30th 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 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

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 Святой 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.

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 were surrendered, and Turkish Firmans were issued and Italian passports, for which all except me paid 27 leva's."⁷⁴⁰ Once the boat was filled, the captain took 150 leva from each passenger for the ticket. On the 17th of 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 19th 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.⁷⁴¹

On the 25th 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:

⁷⁴⁰ "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 расвирипевшего 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 день служил Всенощное бдение и сряду после оного Литургию, по случаю Храмого 12 Апостолов праздника. По окончании 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 Турецкие фирманы и Итальянские паспорта, за которые все, кроме меня, заплатили по 27 левов." 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. Editor's notes in the text are the notes of Rumanovskaya.

⁷⁴¹ Ibid.,

"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 paid 35 kopecks for a *pud* (16,3 kg). They state that the distance between the two is around 12 hours.⁷⁴²

On the 30th 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 were 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.⁷⁴³ After the service the

⁷⁴² Путешествие во Святыи Град Иерусалим Патриаршего Иерусалимского монастыря монаха Серапиона, именованнаго 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.

⁷⁴³ 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

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.⁷⁴⁴

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.⁷⁴⁵ All where let in except non Russians who had to pay a levy in entering the city.⁷⁴⁶

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.⁷⁴⁷

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 the Pasha.⁷⁴⁸ They came to the

русских паломников и путешественников XII-XX вв. Сост., предисл., справки об авторах и примеч, Б. Романова, Москва, 1995-136,- nobody mentions this detail.

⁷⁴⁴ 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 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: Емаус is ten versts from Jerusalem, Ibid., 6.

⁷⁴⁵ 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.

⁷⁴⁶ *Путешествие во Святый Град Иерусалим Патриаршего Иерусалимского монастыря монаха Серапиона, именованного 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.

⁷⁴⁷ 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.

⁷⁴⁸ Editor's note, The Jerusalem citadel- David's tower- was reconstructed by Herod the Great in the 1st 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

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 Daniel⁷⁴⁹), 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 Antoniyy.

On the first of August, a knock on wood called for attendance for the orthros.⁷⁵⁰ 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 *prospora*.

Serapion continues: "After midday, the Igumenos Antoniyy, 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 weapons, his spirit had enlivened and he was as if transferred to his homeland⁷⁵¹, was carrying a plate, and the priest monk Pafnutiyy 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 Pafnutiyy, was exchanging kisses on the right shoulder with those

burns continuously where the prophet David, had written the Psalms, *Путевые записки во Святой Град Иерусалим...дворян Вешняковых*, 99-101.

⁷⁴⁹ Compare Муравьев, *Путешествие ко Святым местам в 1830 году*, 123.

⁷⁵⁰ 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 Петербургъ, 1853, 226.

⁷⁵¹ Феоктист, бывший 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 полувосточной, 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.)

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 it⁷⁵²."

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 Misail⁷⁵³, 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 invited to the *trapeza* and cared for to content and returned to the guesthouse."⁷⁵⁴

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 Cyrus, the true cross was

⁷⁵² 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 пуесшествии...инока Парфения, 137; Parfeniy also mentions the rose water and the female hand washing.

⁷⁵³ 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 Илья. 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.

⁷⁵⁴ *Путешествие во Святой Град Иерусалим Патриаршего Иерусалимского монастыря монаха Серапiona, именованшегося 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.

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.⁷⁵⁵

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 Arimathea⁷⁵⁶, where descending lower with 50 steps below the 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".⁷⁵⁷

⁷⁵⁵ Ibid.

⁷⁵⁶ 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, исправленное и дополненное, в 3 частях, с48 видами, гравированными на стали и отпечатанными в Париже. Издал А. Ф. Фариков, Санкт Петербургъ, 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.

⁷⁵⁷ See Muraviev, ч. 2., 169-170.

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".⁷⁵⁸

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 columns and not where the Armenian Patriarch was.⁷⁵⁹ 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".⁷⁶⁰

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.⁷⁶¹ Above it there are continuous burning lamps, 16 Greek, 8 Roman, Four Armenian, One Coptic, One Syrian.⁷⁶²⁷⁶³

⁷⁵⁸ *Путешествие во Святой 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. 49.

⁷⁵⁹ Parpheniy also speaks about this story and he states that the Jerusalem Pasha and other Turkish leaders were 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 eat, when they departed from the Church, *Сказание о странствии и путешествии...инок Парфения*, 138-139.

⁷⁶⁰ "Аще перейдеши Иордан, добр покой обрящещи", *Путешествие во Святой 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, 21 to 41.

⁷⁶¹ 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).

⁷⁶² *Путевые записки во Святой Град Иерусалим....дворян Вешняковых*, 81-82.

⁷⁶³ 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*

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 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...."⁷⁶⁴); also 15 lamps are counted by Norov in 1835⁷⁶⁵; "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

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; *The Энциклопедический словарь Брокгауза и Ефрона*" also indicates the same dimensions of the stone, as Serapion, length around 3 and width 1 arshina (t. 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 широты 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, именованного 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.

⁷⁶⁴ *Путешествие ко Святым местам в 1830 году*, 168.

⁷⁶⁵ *Путешествие по Святой Земле в 1835 году Авраама Норова*, т. 1, 140.

here"⁷⁶⁶, 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.⁷⁶⁷"

"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, in their mosque"⁷⁶⁸; 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."⁷⁶⁹..Above it there are 55 inextinguishable lamps from various confessions, the majority from the Greeks.⁷⁷⁰ 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".⁷⁷¹ 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"⁷⁷², the floor is also marble. Its top is not covered, and the Church cupola above it has

⁷⁶⁶ *Сказание о странствии и путешествии...инока Парфения*, 140.

⁷⁶⁷ "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 четвероугольный 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...."⁷⁶⁷; 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"⁷⁶⁷, и на сем-то камне явился Ангел женам по воскресении Христовом и рек: что ищите шивого с мертвыми; несть zde, но воста."

⁷⁶⁸ *Путешествие ко Святым местам в 1830 году*, 168.

⁷⁶⁹ *Путешествие по Святой Земле в 1835 году Авраам Норова*, т. 1, 140.

⁷⁷⁰ Again disagreements about the 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.

⁷⁷¹ *Сказание о странствии и путешествии...инока Парфения*, 141.

⁷⁷² *Путешествие ко Святым местам в 1830 году*, 167.

a large opening, intertwined with copper wires. Above the doors of the *Kuvoklia* are placed 3 brilliant done on canvass written Icons of the Resurrection 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.⁷⁷³ Parpheniy also relates 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...".⁷⁷⁴

⁷⁷³ *Путешествие ко Святым местам в 1830 году*, 167.

⁷⁷⁴ *Сказание о странствии и путешествии...инока Парфения*, 140; В сем первом отделении Кувоклии на обеих сторонах по одному круглому окну, чрез коринья 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 распилена 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 монашеской среде. Норов константирует: "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 ея 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 ея не покрыт, церковный купол над нею имеет большое открытие, переплетенное медною проволокою. Над дверми Кувокли поставлены 3 отменной [доброты] работы на полотне написанная Иконы Воскресения Христова, из коих две Греческая, а третья от иноверцев Христиан. (Муравьев изображает вход в Кувоклию по-другому: "Четыре мраморные витые столба поддерживают со входа украшенную херувимами архитраву, и меж ними иссечены письма псалмов; над дверьми из цветного мрамора изваяна картина Воскресения: Христос с хоругвию восстает из гроба

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 2nd 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...."⁷⁷⁵....."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 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

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, вырезаная по цветному камню, самой высокой греческой работы...третья, верхняя икона, - католиков, писанная на полотне...." *Сказание о странствии и путешествии...инока Парфения*,140. *Путешествие во Святый Град Иерусалим Патриаршего Иерусалимского монастыря монаха Серапиона, именованного 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.

⁷⁷⁵ *Путешествие ко Святым местам в 1830 году*, 175; см. Также *Путешествие по Святой Земле Авраам Норова в 1835 году*, т. 1, 132.).

the pure hands and legs of Christ to the cross. On Golgotha, the southern wall is lined with a coloured coating with tassels (бахпомою). 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.⁷⁷⁶

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 тростию 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 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 reverance 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

⁷⁷⁶ Путешествие во Святый 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, 21 to 41.

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. They⁷⁷⁷ go to the monastery of John the Baptist around Seres and they enter the library, where there were thousands of Slavonic manuscripts lying around and the monks told them, that they are unable to read them and therefore they lie hitherto without use.⁷⁷⁸ 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 Thracia, 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, that Jews and Germans were forbidden to enter Seres, and in the city there were 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

⁷⁷⁷ *Инок Парфений Агеев, Сказание, о странствии и путешествии по России, Молдавии, Турции и Святой Земле, Новоспасский монастырь Москва, 2008.*

⁷⁷⁸ 285.

unpassable forests and mountains, fear and weird situations from the Turks and brigands. All passed now, everything is renewed."⁷⁷⁹

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. Everwhere the miraculous power of God is praised and the beauty of the Holy mountain is expressed. The group confesses there 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 there 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 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.⁷⁸⁰

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:

⁷⁷⁹ "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.

⁷⁸⁰ Ibid., 322.

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."⁷⁸¹

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.

⁷⁸¹ "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 Русик 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 примите 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 защититъ некому: кто хочет, тот и гонит'. Потом сказал 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.

Parpheniy's 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.⁷⁸²

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 beggar and poor person gathered in the Church of Constantinople and received money.⁷⁸³

Parpheniy travels to Russia, to raise funds, his account is also full of information about the Russian church, his previous discussion with 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".⁷⁸⁴ 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 startsi living there. He concludes, writing his account in Tomsk.

13. 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

⁷⁸² For a history of the skete of the prophet Elias see Николай Феннелл, Павел Троицкий, Михаил Талалай, *Ильинский скит на Афоне*, Индрик, Москва, 2011,

⁷⁸³ Том II.101.

⁷⁸⁴ Ibid., том II, 185.

agreements dealt with lands such as Palestine and others.⁷⁸⁵ 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 26th 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.⁷⁸⁶

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 16th of February 1944 he became a monk with the name Pimen. He graduated from the Moscow Spiritual Academy in 1953. Became Igumen on the 17th of April 1955, accepting his consecration from the Patriarch Alexey I (Simanski). The Holy Synod decided on the 3rd 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).⁷⁸⁷ The Holy Synod then named him on the 20th of February 1956 as the head of the Russian Spiritual Mission in Jerusalem. On the 27th of March 1956 the Archbishop of Tiberias Benedict (Papadopoulos), who was the later Patriarch of Jerusalem met him.⁷⁸⁸

⁷⁸⁵ Perety Don, *The Middle East Today*, Praeger, London, 1994, 100.

⁷⁸⁶ Пимен (Хмелевской), архиепископ, Запись от 1.1.1993 г. *Всегда с Богом*, Саратов, 2000, 217.

⁷⁸⁷ 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.

⁷⁸⁸ Ibid. 31.

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 8th 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.⁷⁸⁹ This is of notable concern for him.⁷⁹⁰ Every day cares for the possessions can again be seen in the following entry for the 5th 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 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.⁷⁹¹ 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."⁷⁹²

⁷⁸⁹ "Отец Михаил в Тель-Авиве. Целый день вожусь с документами наших владений в Израиле. Нужно подобрать всю документацию, подтверждающую наши права на наши участки."

⁷⁹⁰ Архиепископ Саратовский и Вольский Пимен (Хмелевской), *Дневники Русская Духовная Миссия в Иерусалиме 1955-1957*, Издательство Саратовской епархии, Саратов, 2008. 71.

⁷⁹¹ "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. Земтели 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."

⁷⁹² "По-прежнему продолжают 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.

Pimen met the Chief Rabbi (entry for 15th 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 *knyaz* Vladimir the Orthodox faith was chosen 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.⁷⁹³

Interestingly, Pimen was also responsible for the Romanian Orthodox possessions in Palestine, as was stipulated by the Romanian Patriarch Justinian.⁷⁹⁴ Every month the Russian Spiritual Mission financially supported the Arab Orthodox School in Haifa.⁷⁹⁵ During the tenure of Pimen, the number of the inhabitants in the Gornensky monastery had increased. On the 9th of August 1955 the first new group of nuns arrived to the Gornensky monastery altogether seven nuns from the SSSR and on the 12th of June 1956 a further six arrived. Pimen complained about his poor health and on the 25th 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

⁷⁹³ Архиепископ Саратовский и Вольский Пимен (Хмелевской), Дневники Русская Духовная Миссия в Иерусалиме 1955-1957. Издательство Саратовской епархии, Саратов, 2008. 164.

⁷⁹⁴ Приложение. Доклад Святейшему Патриарху Алексию от 24.III.1957. *ibid.* 38.

⁷⁹⁵ *Ibid.*

Church Abroad ("Раскольническая церков") governed this site. He mentions an embarrassing situation, where the local priest did not know how to behave towards him.⁷⁹⁶

During the period of Pimen (diary entry 10, II, Friday, 1956), Ксантопулос Хантопулос, 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 Catholics and the Armenians in order to repair the Holy Sepulchre so that these would not later also claim government.⁷⁹⁷

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."⁷⁹⁸

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

⁷⁹⁶ Архиепископ Саратовский и Вольский Пимен (Хмелевской), *Дневники Русская Духовная Миссия в Иерусалиме 1955-1957*, Издательство Саратовской епархии, Саратов, 2008. 318.

⁷⁹⁷ Архиепископ Саратовский *ibid.*, 221.

⁷⁹⁸ "Поколения, прошедшие через бурсы и семинарии, обладали таким классическим образованием, которого никогда не могла дать светская школа." Киприан (Керн), архимандрит, *Памяти архимандрита Антонина (Капустина)*, Париж, 1955, 5.

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 12th to 15th 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-16th 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 16th 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 uncomparably 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.

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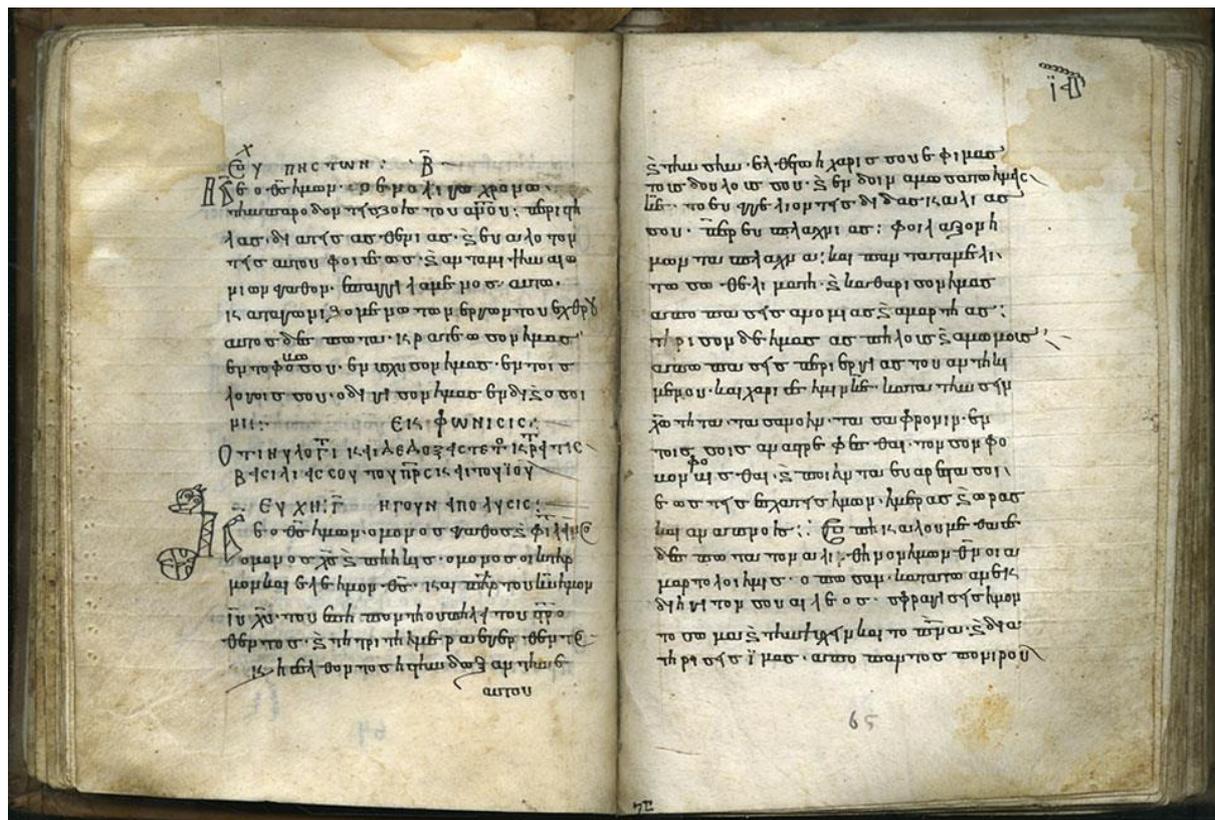
Copies and manuscripts associated with the acquisitions and travels of Porphyriy Uspenskiy.



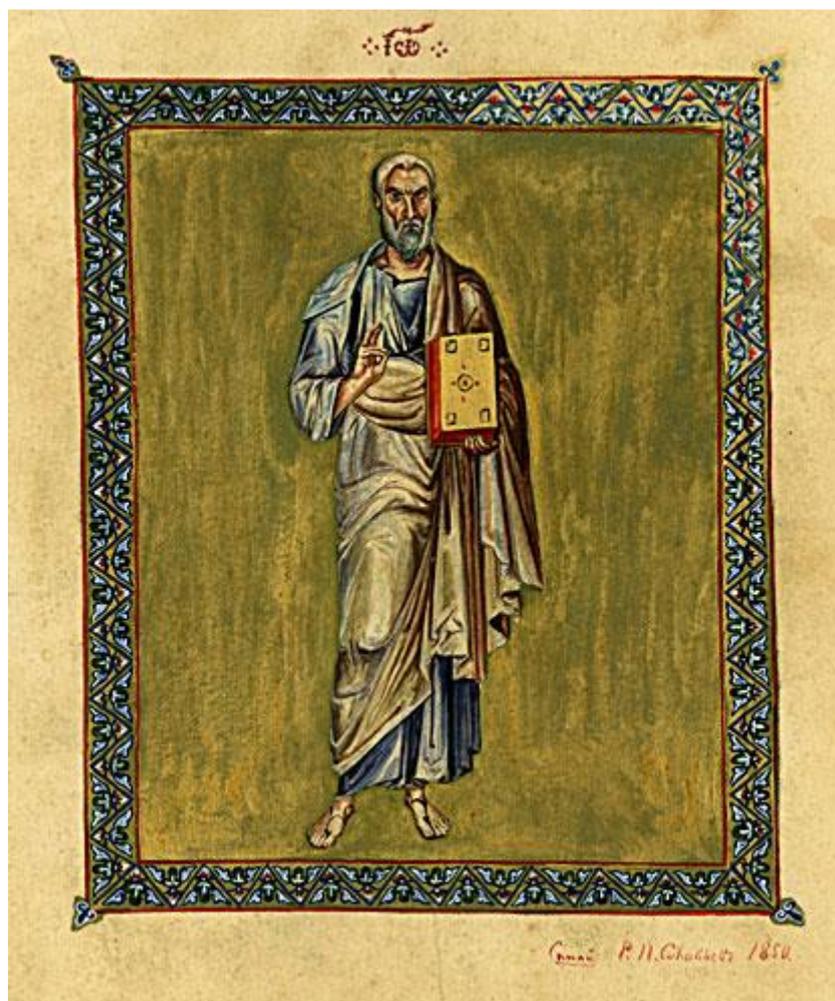
Old Russian Orologion, 13th century, brought from Porphyriy Uspenskiy from Mt. Sinai.
Imperial Public Library.



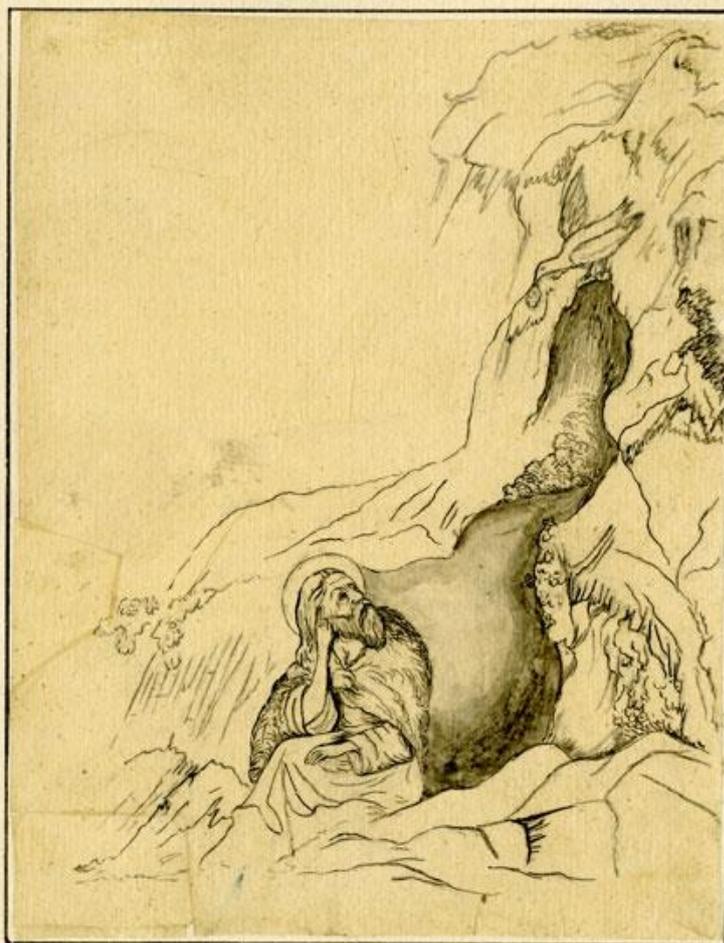
St. John the Evangelist with St. Prochorus, 10-13th century.



Euchologion, 10th century

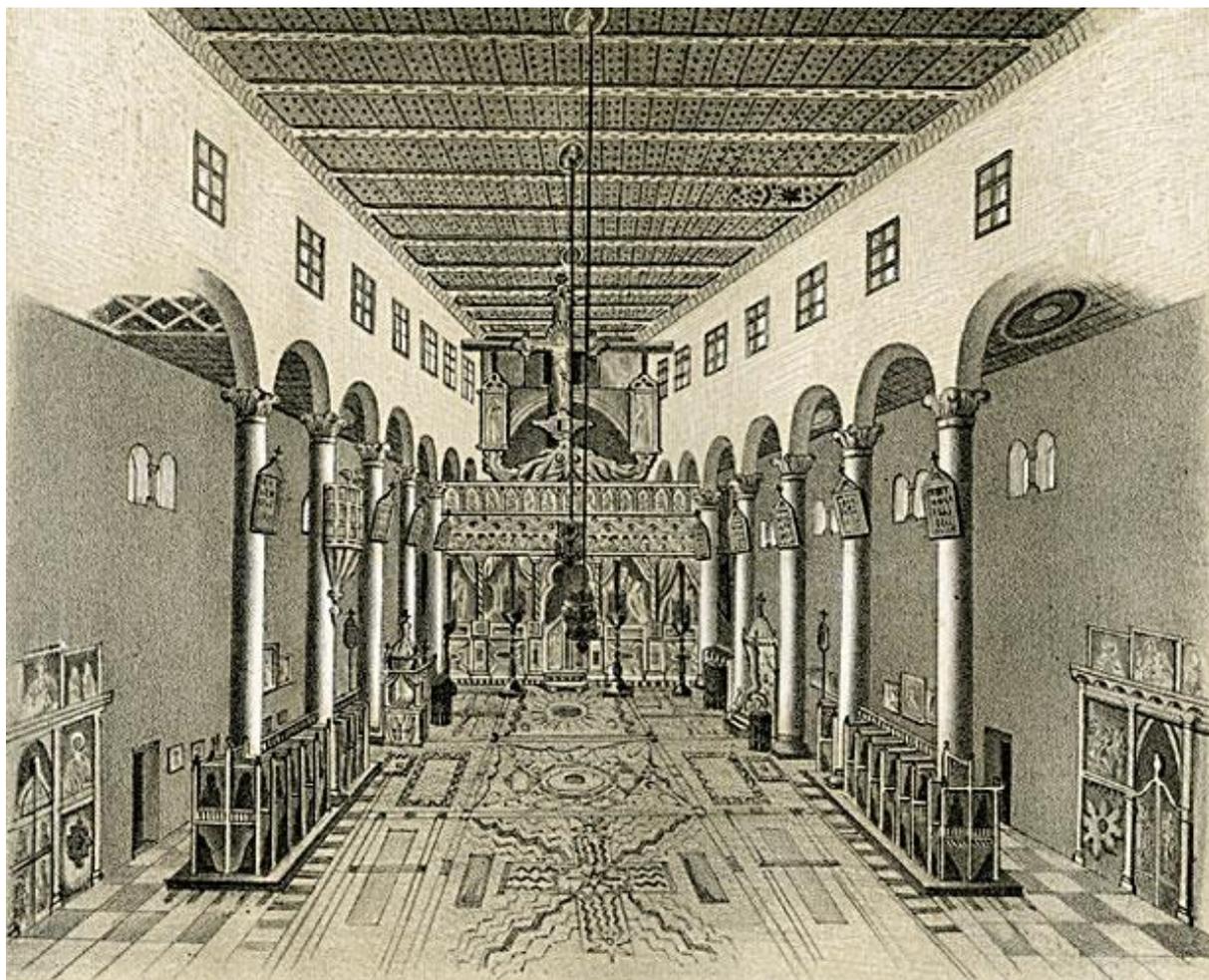


Copy Sinai 1850. Traced by P. Solovyev.

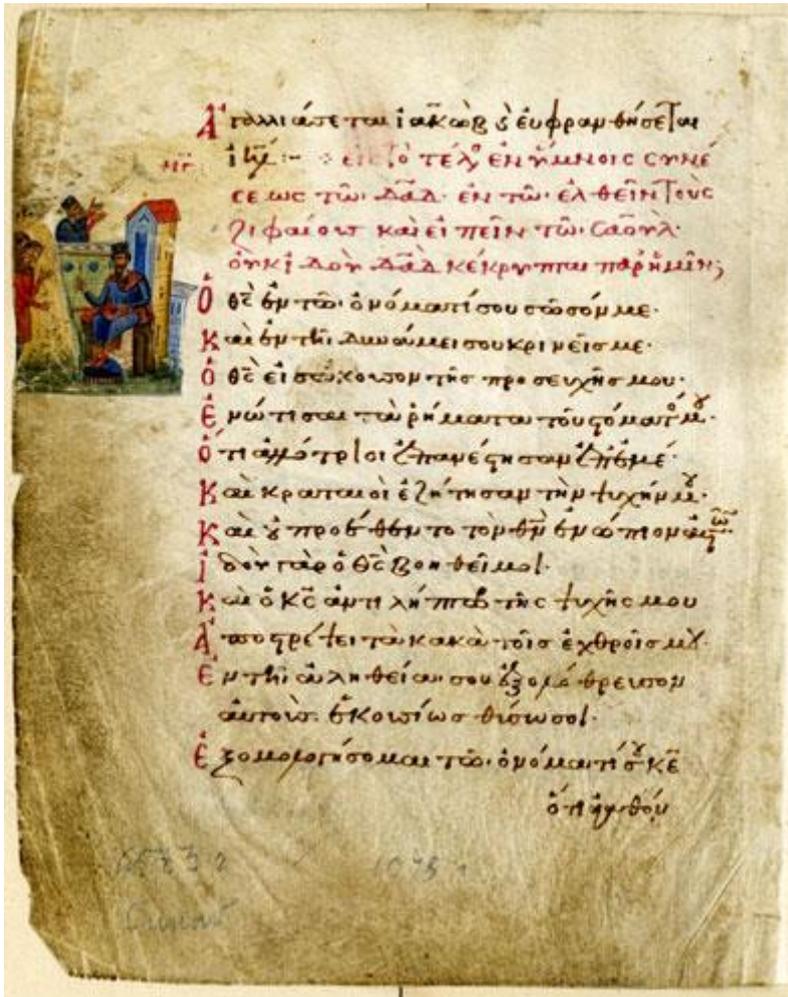


Изъ рукописнаго сборника, составленнаго ранѣе 1242 года, и храняща-
гося въ ризницѣ Синайскаго подворья въ Каирѣ.

Илья Пророкъ.



Church of Transfiguration Sinai, From the Travels of Porphyriy Uspenskiy, 1857.



Psalms 52, Fragments 1074-1075



Copy 1850, traced by P. Solovyev

