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Orthodoxy on the Move: Mobility, Networks, and Belonging between the 16th and 20th Centuries

Edited by
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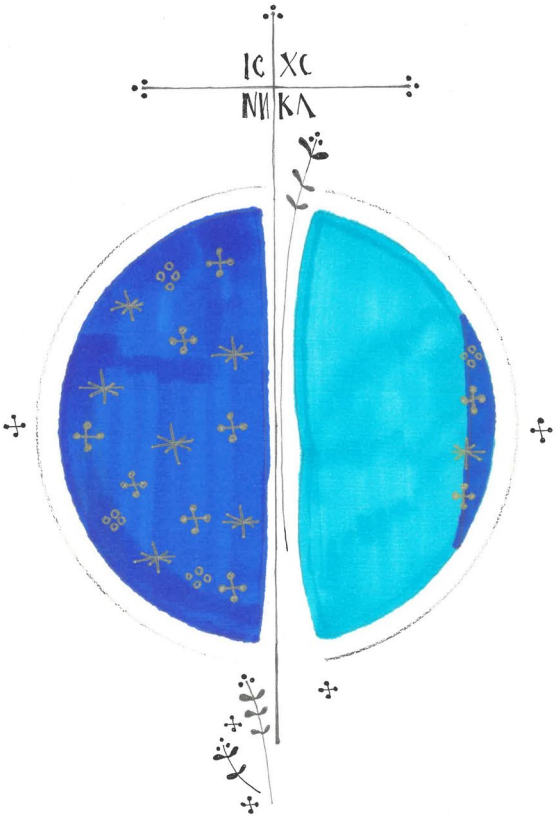
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Introduction

Mihai-D. GRIGORE*

Christianity is, by definition, a religion whose existence in the form we know today absolutely depends on mobility.

In sociological theories, mobility is regarded as a summative term for processes and aspects of movement: in this sense, one speaks of spatial, temporal, social, cultural, or generational movement processes in both synchronic and diachronic perspectivation. On the one hand, these are aspects of physically moving in space, but there is as well a complex social mobility, which is described as "social change and shifting of social system coordinates."[1] Together with the so-called *mobilities turn*, mobility is becoming a broad category of interdisciplinary scholarship. A distinction is made between diverse "mobilities", which, however, usually interlock and are difficult to research independently of each other.

Central to the forms of mobility is religion, in our case, Christianity. Not only that, Christianity, with its universal claim, was and is directly and essentially in its overall history, a religion of circulation, transfer, mobility, and even movability. Rather, mobility – at least in pre-modern and early modern times – is, among other things, a religious form, a part of the religious existence; let us think, for example, of pilgrimages, missionary work, crusades, of scholarly mobility, or of the monastic one. Mobility, the movement of people, goods, and ideas, forms the communicational interchangeable environment of all human forms of association. Wherever groups of people exist, there is also mobility and communication.

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1 Wolfgang Bonß and Sven Kesselring, "Mobilität und Moderne. Zur gesellschaftstheoretischen Verortung des Mobilitätsbegriffs" In: *Erziehung zur Mobilität. Jugendliche in der automobilen Gesellschaft*, ed. by Claus J. Tully (Frankfurt: Campus, 1999), 39–66, on p. 40.

In this sense, mobility becomes a political issue. This also means that mobility is not only the central characteristic of modernity – how historians of the early-modern, modern, and contemporary history allude –but forms a basic constant of humanity and society of all times, as the extensive scholarship on mobility in the Middle Ages, for instance, impressively points out.[2]

As mobility studies suggest, it should be thought of together with the dynamics of *belonging* and identity. The balancing and exchange function of different mobility flows gives rise to forms of solidarity and a sense of belonging to particular communities and their individuals.[3] Konrad Petrovszky, for example, pointed out that it was precisely through different forms of mobility (of clerics, of endowments, of goods, of practices, etc.) that an identity construction of belonging to Orthodoxy emerged in the "Ottoman Orthodox space of communication", which manifested itself in strong (mostly discursive and liturgical-practical) demarcation, especially from the Latins, from the Protestants, and, of course, from the "infidels" and Jews.[4]

The Orthodox area of Southeastern Europe between the fifteenth and twentieth centuries cannot be thought of without Ottoman rule. The Ottoman rule is not an *accident* between the "Byzantine" and "post-Byzantine" eras, as different national histories of Southeast Europe suggest, but a constitutive momentum on its own of the transregional communication space addressed in this volume. The integration policy of the Ecumenical Patriarchate of Constantinople of a trans-regional all-encompassing "Orthodoxy" had particularly strong gains to make from the Ottoman conquest of Southeast Europe, in that the Ottomans strengthened the administrative-centralising role of the Patriarchate for Christians in its jurisdiction. Thus, centrifugal tendencies of autocephaly and autonomy, like those in Bulgaria, Serbia, Kyiv, or Moldavia, were resolutely combated.[5]

However, this area of jurisdiction extended, for example, as far as Moscow, far beyond the political borders of the Ottoman Empire, which offered favourable premises for the emergence of a trans-regional or, better, trans-imperial communication space of integrated Orthodox cultures. We speak, therefore, of global relational spaces of communication, or specifically in our

2 Michael Borgolte, ed., *Europa im Geflecht der Welt. Mittelalterliche Migrationen in globalen Bezügen* (Berlin: De Gruyter, 2015).

3 Joanna Pfaff-Czarnecka, *Zugehörigkeit in der mobilen Welt* (Göttingen: Wallstein, 2012).

4 Konrad Petrovszky, *Geschichte schreiben im osmanischen Südosteuropa. Eine Kulturgeschichte orthodoxer Historiographie des 16 und 17. Jahrhunderts* (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 2014). See also Georges E. Demacopoulos, Aristotle Papanicolaou, eds., *Orthodox Constructions of the West* (New York: Fordham UP, 2013).

5 Petrovszky, *Geschichte*, 25–29.

case of a trans-imperial *Orthodox Commonwealth*.[6] Through the mobility of different collective or individual actors, far-reaching trans-imperial relationships emerged as dynamics of networking and interconnectedness of a religious, institutional, practical, economical, and cultural nature.

Such communication spaces were *polycentric* in nature. Their polycentricity consisted in the interaction of institutional, theological-spiritual, political and economic centres (the patriarchates of Alexandria, Antioch, Jerusalem, Constantinople, Mount Athos, Bulgaria, Serbia, the Danubian Principalities, the Kievan Rus, or the Moscow Grand Duchy). Unfortunately, scholarship on polycentric orders or polycentric rule is still in its infancy. We now know that power and rule were exercised not only from the centre of Constantinople, for example, but as a result of a close network of various centres throughout the Byzantine Empire.[7] Even after the collapse of Byzantium, such centres still organised and structured the Orthodox world inside and outside Ottoman rule.

The objective of this volume is unpretentious. Showing the complexity, variety, and subtility of multiple forms of mobility and movements is a genuine exercise of fascination. We dive into the confessional life of Orthodoxy enlivened by fears, hopes, and desires. The contributions are individual recordings that together paint a larger picture of connectivity, communication, and exchange within and beyond Orthodoxy across a broad temporal spectrum from the sixteenth to the Russo-Japanese War at the beginning of the twentieth century.

Alice Isabella Sullivan offers a study on the interwoven endowments of two of the most generous philanthropists for the whole Orthodox Commonwealth from Mount Athos, to Constantinople, to the monasteries of the southern Slavs and further to Jerusalem and Mount Sinai – Neagoe Basarab of Wallachia and Petru Rares of Moldavia. Revealed is a complex web of matrimonial, spiritual, and ideological aspects of the rule and Orthodox identity articulated by ever-shifting connections, relationships, and political interests within the Orthodox world.

Nicholas Melvani takes us on a periplus through Ottoman Constantinople, Istanbul, in the second half of the sixteenth century. He lets us see through the marvelled eyes of Protestant travellers how the holy places of Orthodoxy, at the centre Hagia Sophia, found themselves in the new order, how their function, their architecture, and their perception moved in the eyes of the people. Travelling Protestants and the circulation of people and information between

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6 Paschalis M. Kitromilides, ed., *An Orthodox Commonwealth. Symbolic Legacies and Cultural Encounters in Southeastern Europe* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2007).

7 Ralph-Johannes Lilie, "Die ökonomische Bedeutung der byzantinischen Provinzstadt (8.–12. Jahrhundert) im Spiegel der literarischen Quellen". In: Falko Daim and Jörg Drauschke, eds., *Hinter den Mauern und auf dem offenen Land. Leben im Byzantinischen Reich* (Mainz: RGZM, 2016), 55–62.

Istanbul and the scholar centre of Tubingen in the German Empire resulted, connected with attempts of union between Lutheranism and Orthodoxy in the sixteenth century, in a better perception of Orthodoxy in the West, and opened new ways in its contacts with Western Europe's intellectuals.

Zachary Chitwood accompanies in his paper the Patriarch of Alexandria Sylvester (d. 1590), who came to Mount Athos to restore the venerated "old way" of monachism, the coenobitic life, which fell in desuetude, giving way to all sorts of anomalies risen by idiorrhytmic liberalism: monks moving without hindrance to and from Athos and engaging in the sale of goods to the outside world, including spirits which they drank themselves. Beardless youths and laypersons lived in monasteries; livestock was allowed to pasture on the Holy Mountain, etc. An interesting example of "positive" mobility on the quest to erase the results of "bad" mobility.

Octavian-Adrian Negoiță approaches the activity of an Orthodox reformer in the Ottoman Empire, Pachomios Rousanos (d. 1553), struggling against all forms of Heterodoxy and popular neo-pagan practices creeping into and altering the purity of religion in an insidious movement which endangered, thought Rousanos, the true faith, which in his eyes had to stay "unmoved" since the Fathers and the Ecumenical Councils. Negoiță offers wonderful insights into interreligious dynamics of mobility of religious ideas from old to new, of translating the Holy Scriptures into vernacular – another form of mobility – and the dangers for the soul salvation residing in it.

Taisiya Leber reveals on the example of Father Jov (d. 1621), the founder of the Skete Manja in the Ruthenian Carpathians, the mobility as an existential cross of an ascetic, who never really wanted to leave his monastery on Mount Athos, and in reality was forced by his monkish vote of oboedientia to extensively travel to the Danubian Principalities, Kyiv, Moscow, and Ruthenia, where he revived the ascetic spiritual life by funding monastic centres or reforming old ones (like the Caves Monastery in Kyiv). A life of pilgrimage and unceasing travels in the perpetual desire and dreaming of settling down back in its Athonite monastery: unwished and, at the same time, providential mobility for the Orthodox monasticism in Eastern Europe.

Daniela Dumbravă gives a brief account of the travels of the Moldavian diplomat, scholar, and politician Nicolae Milescu Spathary in the seventeenth century to China. Especially the avatars and the own history of movement of the reports and charts he authored shape a complicated itinerary of reception which spans the Western academic landscape. It is a stimulating study of the transfer of knowledge through times (from the seventeenth through the twentieth century), space (from the Far-East-Asia through Eastern European Muscovy and further to France and Great Britain), and scientific methodology in the evolution of cartography.

Yorgos Tzedopoulos' object of inquiry is the religious and existential sinuous mobility of the converts from Orthodoxy to Islam and *back* to Orthodoxy, an existential periplus which often ended in martyrium. Tzedopoulos draws a fascinating picture of complex interwovenness within the process of conversion and reconversion, which embraces not only religious, and ideological struggles between those who considered forced martyrium a form of suicide and those who pushed it, arguing that this is the only chance for redemption. The political and medial aspects connected with this phenomenon in Ottoman society are plastically and analytically sharp in this paper on a little-known phenomenon of negotiating Orthodox belonging in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries.

Daniel Haas, Eugene Lyutko, and Sebastian Rimestad give us insight into the relationship between Halle Pietism and Russian Orthodoxy in the eighteenth century. Halle Pietists travelled to Russia, where they were well connected in the highest circles of (Orthodox) church, and society. Russian students were as well coming to Halle to study theology in their attempt to become Orthodox priests back in Russia. The paper offers abundant unedited material from the Archives of the Francke Foundations in Halle to sketch the mobility of people, ideas, and books, an important milestone in German-Russian, relationships which were, after Peter the Great, so intensively close.

The volume ends with the inciting history of the Russian war-icon *Theotokos of Port Arthur* (1904) and the unexpected role it played in the Russo-Japanese War from 1904 through 1905. An important part of the story plays, as we shall see, the celestial vision of a Moldavian sailor from the tsarist navy during the Crimean War. This is a stimulating study about popular piety in the tsarist civil society, about piety and icon veneration, as well as politics and practices of justified violence in Russian colonialism in the Far East.

I cannot end this short introduction without expressing thanks to the persons without whom this project would not have been possible. I would like to thank Paul Siladi for inviting me to edit the anthology for the *Studia Universitatis Babes-Bolyai.* I am grateful to both him and Cristian Sonea for accompanying me through the redactional and editorial process. Additionally, I would like to extend special thanks to Hieromonk Isaac from Lupşa Monastery for the exquisite drawings that enhance the aesthetic beauty of this volume.

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DONORS AND DONATIONS IN SIXTEENTH-CENTURY WALLACHIA AND MOLDAVIA*

Alice Isabella SULLIVAN**

ABSTRACT. In the post-Byzantine period, the rulers of the north-Danubian principalities of Wallachia and Moldavia, through their monetary gifts and donations, played central roles in the continuation of religious life within and beyond the borders of their domains. This essay charts the patterns of patronage of two key donors – Neagoe Basarab of Wallachia (r. 1512–1521) and Peter Rareş of Moldavia (r. 1527–1528; 1541–1546) – in order to underscore their piety and the broader implications of their activities. Through the extant textual and material evidence, this study engages with aspects of the desires, collaborations, and effects of patronage from these two important rulers within Wallachia and Moldavia, respectively, and to far-off places like Mount Athos and the monastery of Saint Catherine at Mount Sinai. This study reveals a complex web of personal, spiritual, and ideological facets of leadership and identity that shaped a culture of donations and piety rooted in Byzantine models and transformed in local contexts through the desires and ambitions of each individual ruler.

Keywords: Donor, patron, donation, gift, art, traditions, Neagoe Basarab, Peter Rareş, Wallachia, Moldavia, Saint Niphon, Grigore Roşca, Curtea de Argeş, Probota Monastery, Mount Athos, Sinai

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By the early sixteenth century, the principalities of Wallachia and Moldavia – situated to the north of the Danube River and along the southern and eastern slopes of the Carpathian Mountains – had established their political, economic, spiritual, and artistic presence among the dominant powers of Eastern Europe (Fig. 1).[1] The fall of Constantinople in 1453 and the steady advances of the Ottoman Empire in the Balkan Peninsula brought uncertainty and fear, but also a renewed sense of hope and piety among the leaders of these realms. Noble individuals and their deeds reveal most eloquently the struggles and ambitions of the time, but also the deep Orthodoxy that permeated the region. The Eastern Christian values of the rulers and their subjects intensified and took on a local character once Byzantium could no longer serve as a focal point of spirituality. Both Wallachia and Moldavia developed their own senses of identity rooted in a local context that were becoming increasingly networked and connected through the movement of people, objects, and ideas within the principalities and in neighboring lands.

Fig. 1. Map of Eastern Europe and the Mediterranean regions in the early sixteenth century, showing the principalities of Wallachia and Moldavia, Mount Athos, and Saint Catherine Monastery at Mount Sinai (source: Richard Thomson | www.rt-imagery.com)

[1] On Wallachia and Moldavia, see Liviu Pilat and Ovidiu Cristea, *The Ottoman Threat and Crusading on the Eastern Border of Christendom during the 15th Century* (Leiden: Brill, 2018); Alice Isabella Sullivan, *The Eclectic Visual Culture of Medieval Moldavia* (Leiden: Brill, 2023), esp. 28–125.

This study charts and analyzes the patterns of patronage of two key historical figures from the north-Danubian principalities: Neagoe Basarab of Wallachia (r. 1512–1521) and Peter Rareș of Moldavia (r. 1527–1528; 1541–1546).[2] These two rulers were brothers-in-law; their wives, Milita and Elena, were sisters from the Branković family line. One of Neagoe's daughters later married one of Peter's nephews, and so the familial ties were sustained and complex. In efforts to underscore their humanity and the implications of their activities and donations, this essay tackles aspects of the desires, collaborations, and effects of patronage from these two important rulers both within and beyond the borders of their domains as revealed through the extant textual and material evidence. The sources of analysis consist of documents and inscriptions, as well as objects in various media and monumental building projects. What emerges from the examination of these sources is a complex web of personal, spiritual, and ideological facets of leadership and identity that shaped a culture of donations and piety rooted in Byzantine models, and further transformed in local contexts through the wishes and motivations of each individual ruler.

Neagoe Basarab of Wallachia

In the Wallachian cultural sphere, Neagoe Basarab (r. 1512–1521) is noteworthy for his patronage and ruling ideology.[3] Although Neagoe headed the Wallachian state for only nine years – especially in comparison to the lengthy rule of Stephen III of Moldavia (r. 1457–1504), for example – his patronage had far-reaching impact. Gavriil (Gabriel) Protu, a Protos[4] of Mount Athos active in the late fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries, recorded the expanse of Neagoe's patronage:

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2 On patronage in the Middle Ages, see Colum Hourihane, ed., *Patronage: Power and Agency in Medieval Art* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2013).

3 On Neagoe Basarab, see Virgil Cândea, *Un mare ctitor: Neagoe Basarab, 1512–1521* (Râmnicu Vâlcea: Editura Praxis, 2017); Sebastian-Laurențiu Nazâru, ed., *Sfântul Voievod Neagoe Basarab: Ctitor de biserici și cultură românească* (Bucharest: Cuvântul Vieții, 2012); Mihai-D. Grigore, *Neagoe Basarab – Princeps Christianus: The Semantics of Christianitas in Comparison with Erasmus, Luther and Machiavelli (1513–1523)* (Oxford: Peter Lang, 2021); Augustine Casiday, "Neagoe Basarab," in *The Orthodox Christian World*, ed. Augustine Casiday (New York: Routledge, 2012), 310–317; Dan Pleșia, "Neagoe Basarab: Originea, familia și o scurtă privire asupra politicii Țării Românești la începutul veacului al XVI-lea (I)," *Studia Valachica: Studii și materiale de istorie și istorie a culturii* 1 (1969): 45–60; idem, "Neagoe Basarab: Originea, familia și o scurtă privire asupra politicii Țării Românești la începutul veacului al XVI-lea (II)," *Studia Valachica: Studii și materiale de istorie și istorie a culturii* 2 (1970): 113–141.

4 As a Protos (πρώτος), he held a high function and oversaw the monastic communities on Mount Athos.

> And the holy fortress of Jerusalem, Sion, which is the mother of churches, was offered gifts and enriched by him [Neagoe Basarab], together with all the churches around it. And the same was true for other monasteries in the East. And on the hill of Misia, the Monastery of Oreisc (Oreşcoviţa) where the relics of St. Gregory the miracle worker are kept, he built the narthex of the church and covered it with lead, and on the throne with the relics he put a stone roof that he painted and covered in gold. And on the throne with the relics, he put a silk rug, woven with golden thread. And at the succursal of the same monastery, called Menorlina, he built a large house, a place of rest and where all the necessary chores could be done. And in Helles, he enriched the holy Meteora Monasteries with gifts, and many walls he built. Likewise in Petlagoniia, he enriched the Monastery of Trescaviţ; and in Macedonia he gave alms to the Monastery of Cusniţa. And on the hill of Catesca, which is now called Cuceina, he did many things and built other churches, and he fed all the monasteries and built walls there as well as in other place… in Thrace, in Helles, in Ahia, in Elliric, in Cambania, in Elispod, in Misia, in Macedonia, in Tutelia, in Sermie, in Lugdonie, in Patagonia and everything, from east to west and from south to north.[5]

As this passage details, and as the extant material and textual sources confirm, Neagoe extended monetary gifts and donations throughout the Eastern Christian cultural spheres during his reign, from key religious sites in the northern Balkans and Greece, to churches and monasteries from across the Mediterranean, including Jerusalem and Sinai.[6] A few years after he came to power in 1517, for example, he initiated monetary support to Sosinou Holy Monastery near the village of Ano Parakalamos, Greece.[7] The Monastery of Treskavec in the Republic of North Macedonia also received support from Neagoe.[8] The pomenik (list of individuals for whom prayers are offered) of the monastery, now preserved in the National Library of Serbia, mentions Neagoe's donations.[9] In the Serbian cultural sphere,

5 Nicolae Iorga, *Byzance après Byzance : Continuation de la vie Byzantine* (Bucharest: Institut des études byzantines, 1935), trans. Laura Treptow as *Byzantium after Byzantium* (Iaşi: The Center for Romanian Studies, 2000), 134–135.

6 For the Sinai connections, see Adrian Marinescu, *Mânăstirea Sf. Ecaterina de la Muntele Sinai şi legăturile ei cu Ţările Române: Perspectivă istorico-patristică* (Bucharest: Editura Sophia, 2009).

7 Virgil Cândea, *Mărturii româneşti peste hotare* (Bucharest: Editura Biblioteca Bucureştilor, 2011), II: 719.

8 Virgil Cândea, *Mărturii româneşti peste hotare* (Bucharest: Editura Biblioteca Bucureştilor, 2011), III: 222.

9 Virgil Cândea, *Mărturii româneşti peste hotare* (Bucharest: Editura Biblioteca Bucureştilor, 2014), V: 28.

Neagoe and his family extended assistance to Dečani Monastery and Krušedol Monastery, among other religious places, including a phelonion, now in the collection of the National Museum of Belgrade.[10]

Neagoe's patronage across Eastern Europe continued a long tradition of relations that involved the Wallachian state and the Serbian realm. It is known that the Greco-Serbian princess Mara Branković (c. 1418–1487) – the third child of the Serbian despot George Branković (r. 1427–1456) – was a donor and diplomat who passed her ktetorship (patronage responsibilities) to Wallachia.[11] As the Branković dynasty was declining (the last Balkan capital to fall to the Ottoman Empire was Smederevo, Serbia, in 1456), especially her patronage of key monasteries on Mount Athos – including Hilandar and Saint Paul – was transferred to Wallachia.[12] Neagoe specifically increased this donation to Hilandar to 7000 aspra through a charter issued at Curtea de Argeș and dated 23 August 1517, to name just one example of his proactive policy of patronage toward the Holy Mountain in light of this Serbian connection.[13] That his wife, Milita Despina, was also a descendant of the Branković family line certainly incited these decisions.[14] The generous deeds, however, contributed to the already established tradition of patronage of Mount Athos from among the Romanian principalities. As early

[10] Cândea, *Mărturii românești peste hotare*, V: 32, 57, 59.

[11] On Mara Branković, see Aleksandar Fotić, "Despina Mara Branković and Chilandar: Between the Desired and the Possible," in *Osam vekova Hilandara: Istorija, duhovni život, književnost, umetnost i arhitektura / Huit siècles du monastère de Chilandar: Histoire, vie spirituelle, littérature, art et architecture; Colloque scientifique international, Octobre 1998* (Belgrade: Balkanološki institut SANU, 2000), 93–100; Mihailo Popović, *Mara Branković: Eine Frau zwischen dem christlichen und dem islamischen Kulturkreis im 15. Jahrhundert* (Mainz: Harrassowitz Verlag, 2010); Mihailo Popović, "Shedding New Light on the Ties of Mara Brankovićto the Holy Mountain of Athos and the Translation of Relics" (paper presented at the Sixth International Hilandar Conference "Medieval Slavic Text and Image in the Cultures of Orthodoxy," the Ohio State University, 19–21 July 2013). See also the chapter on Mara Branković in Donald MacGillivray Nicol, *The Byzantine Lady: Ten Portraits, 1250–1500* (Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 1994), 110–119.

[12] On Mount Athos, see Denise Papachryssanthou, *Ho Athōnikos monachismos: Arches kai organōsē* (Athens: Morphōtiko Hydryma Ethnikēs Trapezēs, 1992); Aleksandar Fotić, *Sveta Gora i Hilandar u Osmanskom carstvu (XV–XVII vek)* (Belgrade: Balkanološki institut SANU, 2000), esp. chap. 1; Elizabeth Zachariadou, "Mount Athos and the Ottomans c. 1350–1550," in *The Cambridge History of Christianity: Eastern Christianity*, ed. Michael Angold (Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 2006), 154–168; Averil Cameron, "Mount Athos and the Byzantine World," in *Mount Athos: Microcosm of the Christian East*, ed. Graham Speake and Metropolitan Kallistos Ware (Oxford: Peter Lang, 2012), 11–27; Athanasios A. Karakatsanis, ed., *Treasures of Mount Athos* (Thessaloniki: Ministry of Culture, 1997), esp. 514–521; Graham Speake, *Mount Athos: Renewal in Paradise* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2002).

[13] Petre P. Panaitescu, et al, eds., *Documenta Romaniae Historica, B, Țara Românească.* Vols. I-IV (Bucharest: Editura Academiei, 1966–1981), II: 304–306.

[14] Around 1505, Neagoe Basarab married Milica Despina of Serbia – a descendant of the houses of Branković and Lazarević – and together they had six children.

as the middle of the fourteenth century, for example, prince Nicholas Alexander (r. c.1344–1352 with Basarab I; 1352–1364 alone) commenced donations to Mount Athos. An initial gift was directed toward Koutloumousiou Monastery.[15] Whereas in this earlier period, the rulers of Wallachia may have favored one or another of the monasteries, at least as the surviving documentary evidence confirms, by the early decades of the sixteenth century Neagoe was making donations to all the monastic communities on the Holy Mountain.[16]

Indeed, Neagoe's patronage of Mount Athos was extensive and meaningful, expanding a longer tradition of such support from among the rulers of Wallachia. These acts relate to the importance Mount Athos had acquired among Eastern Christian centers, especially in the late Byzantine and post-Byzantine periods. As Averil Cameron noted, "the status of Mount Athos as a kind of symbol of Byzantium and of Orthodoxy in the minds of Byzantium's satellite and neighboring powers was at its height in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries when the Byzantine state itself was fragmented and weak."[17] Although fragmentary, the evidence underlines the importance of Mount Athos in the spiritual and ideological agendas of the north-Danubian leaders. At the Protaton Church in Karyies, an inscription in the naos dated to 1512, and the pomenik, mention Neagoe, his family, and their deeds, while calling for their remembrance.[18] At the monasteries of Saint Paul, Iviron, Pantokrator, Philotheou, Simonopetra, Hilandar, Koutloumousiou, and Xeropotamou, Neagoe contributed toward the restoration and rebuilding of the churches, refectories, cellars, arsanas, and defensive structures, in addition to other general maintenance.[19] Xenophontos Monastery similarly benefited from Neagoe's generosity. Its treasury preserves an epitrachelion executed in a Wallachian workshop in the early sixteenth century in gold, silver, and colored silk thread, showing Neagoe and his family as patrons.[20] Around 1520, at Vatopedi Monastery, Neagoe restored the monastic buildings, the tower, as well as the church of the Annunciation and the Chapel of the Holy Zone, or belt (ζώνη).[21] An inventory from 27 May 1596 also mentions vessels for the great myrrh that Neagoe donated to Vatopedi several decades earlier.[22]

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15 Petre Ş. Năsturel, "Le Mont Athos et ses premiers contacts avec la principauté de Valachie," *Bulletin de l'Association internationale d'études du sud-est européen* 1, nos. 1–2 (1963) : 32–36; Năsturel, *Le Mont Athos et les Roumains: Recherches sur leurs relations du milieu du xvie siècle à 1654* (Rome: Pont. Institutum Studiorum Orientalium, 1986), 39–71.

16 Năsturel, *Le Mont Athos et les Roumains*, 75–77.

17 Cameron, "Mount Athos and the Byzantine World," 21.

18 Cândea, *Mărturii românești peste hotare*, II: 417, 420.

19 Cândea, *Mărturii românești peste hotare*, II: 462–463, 470, 473, 501–502, 519–522, 547, 550, 553, 608.

20 Cândea, *Mărturii românești peste hotare*, II: 599–600.

21 Cândea, *Mărturii românești peste hotare*, II: 578–579.

22 Cândea, *Mărturii românești peste hotare*, II: 582.

The Great Lavra on Mount Athos, furthermore, is said to have been rebuilt entirely during Neagoe's time, with his assistance, including the church of Saint Athanasie the Athonite.[23] Several textiles in the collection of the monastery are also a testament to the lavish gifts from Wallachia to this important Athonite locale in the early sixteenth century: a podea from a Wallachian workshop commissioned by Neagoe and another gifted by his wife, Milita Despina, and her mother, Donca.[24] These types of donations highlight the focused and prolonged effort to ensure the proper continuation of monastic life on Mount Athos among all the monasteries. This is an aspect of patronage evident in the deeds of most rulers from the north-Danubian principalities, especially in the post-Byzantine period. "No Orthodox people have supported the Holy Mountain more than the Romanians," concluded the Russian theologian Porphyrii Uspenskii more than a century ago in his three-volume publication on the history of Mount Athos.[25] In addition to supporting the communities, this patronage carried various spiritual and ideological implications for the figure of the patron, including concerns with piety and remembrance, as well as a continuance of the legacy of Byzantium in a new milieu.

Out of all the Athonite communities, Neagoe has been most closely intertwined with Dionysiou Monastery. The Wallachian ruler sponsored the restoration of the complex, including the church dedicated to Saint John the Baptist, the defense tower, and the aqueduct.[26] Around 1515, he gifted the monastery a lavish crystal reliquary with the remains of Saint John the Baptist, Saint John Chrysostom, and the apostle Peter, now part of the collection of the Topkapı Palace Museum in Istanbul.[27] But the most intense expression of Neagoe's piety and the cultural connections that he established between Wallachia and Mount Athos are conveyed in the monastery's gilded silver reliquary with most of the remains of Saint Niphon (ca. 1435/40–1508), which Neagoe commissioned around 1515 in a local workshop (Fig. 2).[28] This reliquary, as Ioli Kalavrezou explains,

[23] Cândea, *Mărturii românești peste hotare*, II: 529.
[24] Cândea, *Mărturii românești peste hotare*, II: 546.
[25] Porphyrii Uspenskii, *Istoriia Afona*, 3 vols. (Kiev: Tip. Fronckeviča, 1871–1877), III: 334.
[26] Cândea, *Mărturii românești peste hotare*, II: 423–424.
[27] Cândea, *Mărturii românești peste hotare*, V:486.
[28] Cândea, *Mărturii românești peste hotare*, II:433; Ioli Kalavrezou, "The Reliquary of St. Niphon: Relations between Wallachia, Constantinople, and Mt. Athos," in *The Land Between Two Seas: Art on the Move in the Mediterranean and the Black Sea, 1300–1700*, ed. Alina Payne (Leiden: Brill, 2022), 239–251.

…is most unusual for this period and possibly is the first to use a church building to house the remains of a saint in the Eastern tradition. What is unusual in this work is the transformation of the 'body' of the church structure into a 'sarcophagus' for the remains of the body of a saint.[29]

Fig. 2. Reliquary of Saint Niphon, ca. 1515, Dionysiou Monastery, Mount Athos (source: Dionysiou Monastery)

Measuring 42 x 30 x 42 cm, the five-dome design of the reliquary draws visual and symbolic connections between similar church types from across the Christian spheres, including the famed Holy Apostles Church in Constantinople, which served as the burial site for all Byzantine emperors from the time of Justinian (r. 527–565) and through the eleventh century. Other churches

[29] Kalavrezou, "The Reliquary of St. Niphon," 247.

emulated the imperial church of the Holy Apostles, such as San Marco in Venice, the Holy Apostles in Thessaloniki, and even Neagoe's church at Curtea de Argeș, which was consecrated in 1517 and designed from the outset to serve as a princely mausoleum for the Wallachian ruling elite (Fig. 3).[30]

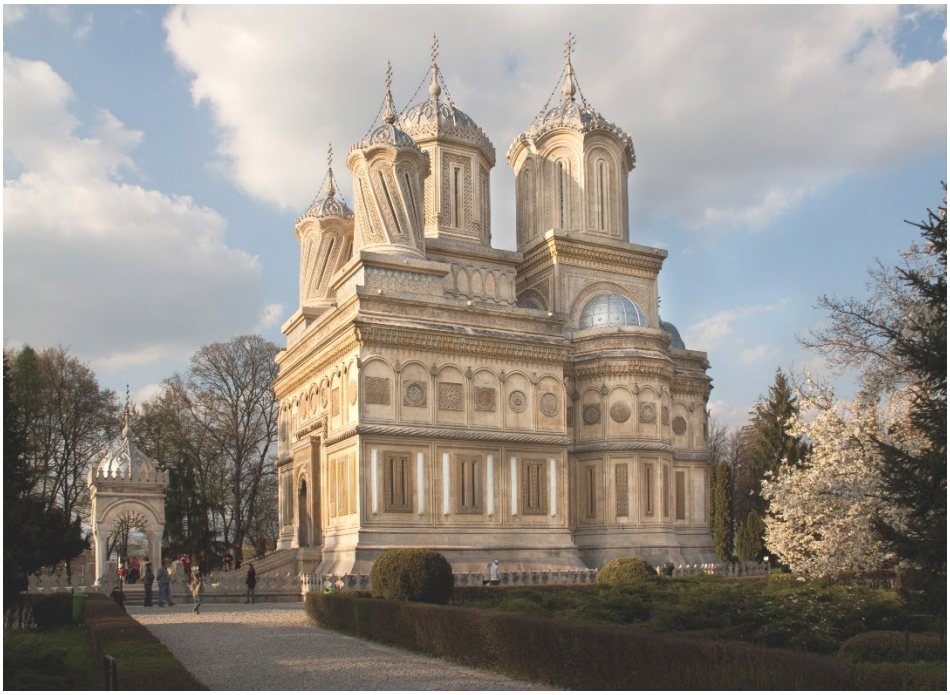

Fig. 3. The monastic church at Curtea de Argeș, 1517, Wallachia, modern Romania (source: Alexandru Baboș Albabos | Wikimedia Commons | http://bitly.ws/DCbi)

Not only the form of the reliquary but also its inscriptions speak to the diverse and interconnected spheres of early-sixteenth-century Eastern Europe. The tituli of the many holy figures on the enameled plaques that surround the edifice appear in Church Slavonic, while the dedicatory inscription that encircles the object is written in Greek.[31] As such, the dedication text may have been particularly crafted with the Athonite monks as the intended audience in mind;

[30] On the church at Curtea de Argeș, see: Elisabeta Negrău, "The Structure of the Monastery Church from Curtea de Argeș: A Theological Interpretation," *European Journal of Science and Theology* 6, no. 1 (2010): 59–66; Emil Lăzărescu, *Mânăstirea Argeșului* (Bucharest: Meridiane, 1967).

[31] "The Greek has many orthographical as well as misconstrued words, which suggests that it was composed by someone who knew some Greek but had little written experience and had mainly learned the language orally." Kalavrezou, "The Reliquary of St. Niphon," 246.

they would have been the ones who regularly read it and remembered the patron and his deeds through the donation. The carefully constructed visual and textual vocabulary for the reliquary of Saint Niphon reflects the position of this important object, the relics, and Neagoe's realm, at the crossroads of Byzantium and the Slavic cultural spheres in the post-Byzantine period, underscoring how past traditions were reimagined in the local contexts under princely patronage. Wallachia, Constantinople, and Mount Athos were thus linked, past and present, through the artistic choices and Neagoe's princely aspirations, as reflected in the reliquary.

Saint Niphon had a profound impact on Neagoe Basarab, warranting his eternal commemoration through such an impressive reliquary. Initially a monk on Mount Athos, Niphon served twice as the ecumenical patriarch of Constantinople (1486–1488, 1497–1498) – the most prominent position in the Eastern Christian Church – and lived in Wallachia for a brief period of time at the turn of the sixteenth century. He held the office of metropolitan of Wallachia (1504–1505) during the rule of Radu IV (r. 1495–1508), who recruited him to his domain and then subsequently expelled him due to his interference in governing matters. Saint Niphon arrived in the principality around 1503 and departed in the summer of 1505. He was, therefore, directly tied to the Wallachian realm and served as a figure that further connected Constantinople, Mount Athos, and the north-Danubian principality. During his time in Wallachia, he established a close connection with Neagoe, serving as his mentor and "spiritual father." Upon his death in 1512, Saint Niphon was buried at Dionysiou Monastery on Mount Athos. Neagoe requested the exhumation of his remains and their return to Wallachia, where Niphon was canonized in a notable ceremony at Curtea de Argeș in 1517.[32] The saint's remains subsequently returned to Dionysiou,[33] housed in an impressive and symbolically meaningful reliquary.

The visual vocabulary of the reliquary further connects the Wallachian ruler to Saint Niphon. The inside lid – only visible when the reliquary is open to provide access to the remnants within – shows Neagoe in the presence of Saint Niphon, in an ambiguous setting, approaching the holy man in a gesture of supplication (Fig. 4). Neagoe, dressed in royal, gold-trimmed garments and with his long curly hair falling on his shoulders beneath a large gold crown encrusted with precious stones, is shown in three-quarter view, raising both hands toward the central, saintly figure. Not coming into direct contact with the saint, his gesture implies a perpetual appeal to the holy man. Saint Niphon, in turn, is frontal and

[32] Nikos Panou, "Greek-Romanian Symbiotic Patterns in the Early Modern Period: History, Mentalities, Institutions (II)," *The Historical Review / La Revue Historique* 4 (2007): 59–104, esp. 72–75.

[33] Except for the head and the right arm of Saint Niphon, which are now housed at the church of Saint Demetrios in Craiova.

positioned at the center of the composition, slightly larger in scale than Neagoe to emphasize his holy status. He holds a richly bound manuscript in his left hand, presumably a text of the Four Gospels, and raises his right hand in a blessing gesture toward the Wallachian ruler, as if confirming receipt of his petitions. With a golden halo that accentuates his visage and the episcopal garments that stress his important rank within the Church, Saint Niphon appears Christ-like, and serves as a key intercessory figure between the earthly and heavenly spheres. Neagoe's privileged position within this intimate composition highlights the deep spiritual connection between the two figures, thus linking the Byzantine cultural and spiritual spheres with the Wallachian realm.

Fig. 4. Painting of Neagoe Basarab and Saint Niphon on the inside lid of the reliquary of Saint Niphon, ca. 1515, Dionysiou Monastery, Mount Athos (source: Dionysiou Monastery)

The spiritual intimacy between the two figures is further underscored by the reliquary object itself. When the reliquary is closed, the image on the inside lid comes closest to the holy remains of Saint Niphon, rendering Neagoe's image perpetually honored through this physical proximity and encounter with the holy relics. Saint Niphon's vita even refers to Neagoe as "the saint's spiritual child" – a dynamic that is reflected in the painted lid of the reliquary.[34]

[34] Vasile Grecu, ed. and trans., *Viața Sfântului Nifon* (Bucharest: Institutul de Istorie Națională, 1944), 92.

A similar visual scheme is preserved in another image on a wooden panel, which likely also served as the lid of a box (Fig. 5).[35] At the center, Neagoe Basarab and his family kneel in supplication before an image of the Virgin Mary with the Christ Child in a heavenly sphere in the upper portion of the composition.[36] Divided into two symmetrical groups, the men of the Wallachian princely family kneel on the left, and the women on the right. The left shows Neagoe and his three sons: Theodosius, Peter, and John.[37] On the right is his wife, Milica Despina, and their daughters: Stana, Roxanda,[38] and Anghelina.[39] The distinctive features and garments of the figures, as well as the inscriptions in Church Slavonic above their heads, identify them to the viewers.[40] Although the setting is once again ambiguous, like the painted panel of the reliquary of Saint Niphon, dark crosses or trees are visible within the scene. These visual elements not only help indicate a perspective in the composition, but also frame and draw attention to the kneeling princely family in the foreground.

[35] The image is preserved only in the Sinai Archive at the University of Michigan, Ann Arbor. The photo was taken in 1958 with 5 x 7 film in black and white. No. 577816, digital file 15asinai02772. Courtesy of the Michigan-Princeton-Alexandria Expeditions to Mount Sinai. See Alice Isabella Sullivan, "Neagoe Basarab at Sinai," *Museikon* 5 (2021): 245–248; eadem, "A New Discovery in the Michigan Sinai Archive," *Visual Resources Collections, University of Michigan* (May 2020). The panel requires still further study. An analysis of the wood and pigments used in the decoration could provide insight into the origins of its creation, likely in the Wallachian cultural context. Its exact dimensions may help shed light on the functions of the box to which the lid once belonged.

[36] The image of the Virgin and Child is that of the Blachernitissa type, also as the Theotokos of Blachernae, which has roots in the icon from the Church of the Blachernae in Constantinople. See Christine Angelidi and Titos Papamastorakis, "Picturing the Spiritual Protector: From Blachernitissa to Hodegetria," in *Images of the Mother of God: Perceptions of the Theotokos in Byzantium*, ed. Maria Vassilaki (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2005), 209–224.

[37] Theodosius succeeded Neagoe to the throne on 15 September 1521, with his uncle, Preda Craiovescu, serving as regent. Unfortunately, Theodosius died only a few months after taking the crown, in January 1522. Little is known about Neagoe and Milica's other two sons, Peter and John. Together with Anghelina, these three children of the princely couple died young.

[38] In Romanian scholarship, Roxanda's name is often given as Ruxandra. The textual sources, however, repeatedly identify her as Roxanda (Роѯанда).

[39] It is known that Stana married Moldavia's prince Stephen IV (r. 1517–1527), and Roxanda married Radu of Afumați, who took control of Wallachia after Theodosius's death (r. 1522–1529), and then she married Radu Paisie (r. 1535–1545, with interruptions).

[40] On the votive portraits, see Anastasia VăetișI, "Portretistica votivă a lui Neagoe Basarab," in *Sfântul Voievod Neagoe Basarab: Ctitor de biserici și cultură românească*, ed. Sebastian-Laurențiu Nazâru (Bucharest: Cuvântul Vieții, 2012), 185–230.

Fig. 5. Lid of a wooden box showing Prince Neagoe Basarab and his immediate family, Wallachia, modern Romania, now in the collection of Saint Catherine Monastery on Mount Sinai (source: University of Michigan | Michigan-Princeton-Alexandria Expeditions to Mount Sinai)

In this image, Neagoe and his family appear together as they do in the votive mural designed originally for the south wall of the pronaos in the family's mausoleum at Curtea de Argeş,[41] and in the lower portion of an icon of 1517 showing Saint Nicholas, which was originally commissioned for the monastic church at Argeş.[42] In these examples, Neagoe and his family are richly garbed and divided into two groups, with the men on the left and the women on the right side of the respective compositions. Whereas in the mural the family stands frontally and faces the viewer, the other two examples depict the figures kneeling in supplication and directing their attention toward the Virgin and Child in the heavens above and toward Saint Nicholas, respectively. Moreover, the painted panel with the entire family seems to be the earliest dated among the family portraits, followed by the mural from Curtea de Argeş in which Theodosius wears the same princely garb as his father, indicating his succession

41 The fresco is now in the collection of the National History Museum of Romania, Bucharest. See Emanuela Cernea, ed., *Mărturii: Frescele Mănăstirii Argeşului* (Bucharest: Editural Muzeul Naţional de Artă al României, 2019), 70–73.

42 The icon is now in the collection of the National Museum of Art of Romania, Bucharest, inv. 5872/ 1525. See Alexandru Efremov, *Icoane românești* (Bucharest: Meridiane, 2003), 37–38, and cat. 10, 182; *Arta Ţării Românești îm secolele XIV-XVI* (Bucharest: Editural Muzeul Naţional de Artă al României, 2001), 56–57; Arhim. dr. Policarp Chiţulescu, "O icoană de la Sfântul Neagoe Basarab şi primul muzeu al Patriarhiei Române," in *Sfântul Voievod Neagoe Basarab: Ctitor de biserici şi cultură românească*, ed. Sebastian-Laurenţiu Nazâru (Bucharest: Cuvântul Vieţii, 2012), 231–239.

to the throne, and then by the icon of Saint Nicholas.[43] In the latter, the youngest daughter, Anghelina, is no longer present alongside the family, suggesting that this image was painted after her premature death at a young age. Although the visual evidence is limited, the extant family portraits, when studied together, reveal the sustained interest in such depictions on commissioned objects, changes over time in the family composition and modes of representation, and aspects of the functions of these donations.

In the wooden panel, the Basarab family portrait in the central composition once decorated the inside of the lid, indicated by the indentations of where the hardware once attached the lid to the box; two nail holes on each side remain visible. This object is preserved in the collection of Saint Catherine Monastery at Mount Sinai – one of the oldest still active monastic communities, dating to the sixth century. The monastery benefited from Byzantine imperial support, beginning with emperor Justinian, and developed into an important locus of Eastern Christian spirituality, pilgrimage, and monastic life. Upon its arrival at Sinai, those who opened the wooden box would have first encountered the image of the Wallachian prince alongside his immediate family, kneeling in prayer and directing their attention toward the Virgin and Child. Such an image would have indicated the piety of the patrons, their desire for divine intercession, and hope for eventual salvation. Moreover, the image would have incited prayer and remembrance in perpetuity for the Wallachian princely family among the monastic community at Sinai who received the gifts contained within the box.

Just like his donations to Mount Athos and other Christian centers in the Balkans and around the Mediterranean, Neagoe was connected to Sinai. Although the remaining evidence is scarce, Neagoe extended donations to the Monastery of Saint Catherine on Mount Sinai, following in a long tradition of such patronage among Wallachian rulers. Indeed, it is known that on 15 September 1497, Radu IV (r. 1495–1508) initiated an annual payment of 5000 aspra (ἄσπρον, pl. ἄσπρα) to Sinai, and 500 aspra to the monk(s) who would come to Wallachia to retrieve the funds.[44] As indicated in the document, this donation was to be continued by future Wallachian rulers. With this act, Radu IV set the foundation for Wallachian support of Sinai, which Neagoe Basarab surely continued, although no such document survives from his reign. The box to which the lid in question once belonged, however, likely arrived at Sinai either filled with precious icons, manuscripts, and embroideries from Wallachia – some perhaps still preserved in the vast repositories of the monastery – or it could have been a reliquary, akin

[43] On Theodosius' reign, see Radu Cârciumaru, "The Reign of Teodosie and the 1521 Fights for the Wallachian Throne: Short Considerations," *Annales d'Université "Valahia" Târgoviște, Section d'Archéologie et d'Histoire* 15, no. 1 (2013): 83–88.

[44] *Documenta Romaniae Historica*, B, I: 453–456.

to those that Neagoe presented to Dionysiou Monastery. Like this Sinai panel with Neagoe and his family, other treasures remain to be discovered in the Sinai collections.[45]

What is certain, however, is that Neagoe's interest in Sinai was continued by his successors, just like his patronage was part of a broader tradition of such support. The evidence reveals that by 18 February 1540, Radu VII Paisie (r. 1535–1545; with interruptions) was promising Sinai an annual donation of 10,000 aspra and 2,000 for the monks coming to Wallachia to retrieve the donation.[46] A few decades later, the annual amount increased to 15,000 aspra.[47] Other followers, including individuals of noble rank, supported Sinai as well. A *kivotion* (Eucharistic vessel) from the Wallachian court, commissioned by the Great Komis, Badea Zălbău, Great Dvornik Jupan Coadă, and his sons Jupan Theodosius and Jupan Staiko, is now preserved in the Sinai collections.[48] It was likely produced in a Transylvanian workshop around 1545. Such examples demonstrate a continuation of patronage that can be reconstructed even in lieu of extensive surviving documentary and physical evidence from the period.

Although he ruled for a relatively short time, Neagoe Basarab was a remarkable leader and patron, who fostered relations with religious sites and monastic communities from across the Eastern Christian cultural spheres, including Greece, Mount Athos, Jerusalem, and even Mount Sinai. His monetary donations and gifts of precious icons, manuscripts, embroideries, and metalwork continued a long tradition of such investment within and beyond Wallachia among leaders of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. His deeds supported the religious communities, ensured his and his family's remembrance, and carried ideological implications in the post-Byzantine period. Similar patterns of patronage and ambitions are evident in the principality of Moldavia around the same time, indicating a broader phenomenon of expressing deep spirituality and facilitating the transfer of ideas, objects, and people across disparate regions of the Eastern Christian cultural spheres.

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45 To this end, the Michigan-Princeton-Alexandia documentary expeditions to Mount Sinai in the 1950s and 1960s are valuable. The archives are preserved at the University of Michigan and Princeton University and are in the process of being fully digitized and made available on the new open-access website: www.sinaiarchive.org. This project is the recipient of the 2023 Digital Humanities and Multimedia Studies Prize from the Medieval Academy of America.

46 *Documenta Romaniae Historica*, B, IV: 114–118.

47 *Documenta Romaniae Historica*, B, III: 102–106.

48 Elena Ene D-Vasilesu, "Romanian Treasures in the Monastery of St. Cahterine, Mount Sinai," *Series Byzantina* 6 (2008): 68; Virgil Cândea, *Mărturii românești peste hotare* (Bucharest: Editura Biblioteca Bucureștilor, 2010), I: 497. The Sinai Archive at the University of Michigan, Ann Arbor, No. 580152.

Peter Rareș of Moldavia

Like Neagoe Basarab in the Wallachian sphere, the reign of Peter Rareș of Moldavia (r. 1527–1538; 1541–1546) is significant for the cultural transformations and the contacts that he fostered within and beyond the borders of his domain. Peter was the illegitimate son and heir of Stephen III (r. 1457–1504), and so his ambitions to assert his authority over the Moldavian throne were palpable from the outset.[49] Soon after he took control, Peter designated the church of Saint Nicholas at Probota Monastery, completed in 1530, as his princely mausoleum, just like his father had established Putna Monastery to serve this function (Fig. 6).[50] With support from Grigore Roşca, the abbot of Probota and Peter's spiritual advisor, the Moldavian ruler's efforts to establish Probota as a new princely mausoleum was contested by the community of monks at Putna, who likely felt threatened by the decision.[51] Peter's determination to establish a new funerary foundation for his own family line, just like his father had done before him at Putna, was meant to solidify his position within the Moldavian ruling elite.[52] In so doing, Peter elevated the status of Probota to be on par with Putna.[53]

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[49] On Peter Rareș, see Sullivan, *The Eclectic Visual Culture of Medieval Moldavia*, 7, and select portions of Chapters 2, 3, 4, 5, and 6; Ion Ursu, *Die auswärtige Politik des Peter Rareș, Fürst von Moldau (1527–1538)* (Vienna: Carl Konegen, 1908); idem, *Petru Rareș: Domn al Moldovei de la 20 ian. 1527 până la 14 sept. 1538 și din feb. 1541 până la 3 sept. 1546* (Bucharest: Convorbiri Literare, 1923); Dumitru Almaș, *Petru Voievod Rareș* (Bucharest: Meridiane, 1970); Leon Șimanschi, ed., *Petru Rareș* (Bucharest: Editura Academiei, 1978); Ștefan S. Gorovei, *Petru Rareș* (Bucharest: Editura Militară, 1982); Maria Magdalena Székely, *Sfetnicii lui Petru Rareș: Studiu prosopografic* (Iași: Editura Universității "Alexandru Ioan Cuza," 2002).

[50] Alice Isabella Sullivan, "The Reach of the Gothic: Monastic Architecture and the Intersection of Traditions in Eastern Europe," in *The Worlds of Villard de Honnecourt: The Portfolio, Medieval Technology, and Gothic Monuments*, ed. George Brooks and Maile S. Hutterer (Leiden: Brill, 2022), 543–582. For the dedicatory inscription at Probota, see Nicolae Iorga, ed., *Inscripții din bisericile României* (Bucharest: Minerva, 1905), I: 56.

[51] See *Holy Putna Monastery 1466– 2016: 550 Years Since the Laying of the Foundational Stone* (Putna: Editura "Mitropolit Iacov Putneanul," 2016); English translation of *Sfânta Mănăstire* Putna (Putna: Editura "Mitropolit Iacov Putneanul," 2010), 55 (my translation of Ștefan S. Gorovei's contribution to the volume), and n. 66 citing Ioan Caproşu, ed., *Documenta Romaniae Historica, A. Moldova (1546–1570)* (Bucharest: Editura Academiei, 2008), VI: 557.

[52] See Maria Crăciun, "Burial and Piety in Comparative Perspective: Moldavia, 15th and 16th Century," in *Studii Istorice: Omagiu Profesorului Camil Mureşanu la împlinirea vârstei de 70 de ani*, ed. Nicolae Edroiu (Cluj-Napoca: Presa Universității Clujeană, 1998), 119.

[53] Peter buried his wife Maria in the pronaos of Putna in the summer of 1529; her burial was the last princely grave in Stephen's mausoleum.

Fig. 6. Church of Saint Nicholas, 1530, Probota Monastery, Moldavia, modern Romania (source: A. I. Sullivan)

Little can be gleaned about Stephen's church at Putna from the building's current appearance, due to its numerous later transformations and additions, but Peter's church at Probota has experienced fewer changes, and so its structure is revealing.[54] One notable facet of Probota is how it reveals the developments in building methods and church decorations that are characteristic of Peter's patronage in the early decades of the sixteenth century. Whereas Stephen's churches were generally small in scale and consisted mainly of a triconch naos and a pronaos – as evident at the church of the Holy Cross at Pătrăuți Monastery, for example[55] – Peter's churches were more complex in form and decorative programs. Like Probota, they consisted of a triconch naos, burial chamber, pronaos, and exonarthex. Single doorways lead from one space to the next, the windows get

54 Sullivan, "The Reach of the Gothic: Monastic Architecture and the Intersection of Traditions in Eastern Europe," 549–560; 571–577.

55 On Pătrăuți, see Alice Isabella Sullivan, Vladimir Ivanovici, and Gabriel-Dinu Herea, "Space, Image, Light: Toward an Understanding of Moldavian Architecture in the Fifteenth Century," *Gesta* 60, no. 1 (2021): 81–100, with further bibliography.

increasingly smaller as one approaches the altar area, and the rooms are of different heights, thus controlling the experience and surprising those who progress through the interior. The theatricalization of the sacred experience inside the churches is thus manipulated so that the faithful are awe-inspired and struck by the grandeur and spiritual aura of the naos upon stepping inside it for the celebrations of the liturgy.[56] The conception of the Moldavian churches of this period differs from that of other neighboring regions, indicating a local adaptation and transformation of church building techniques in this Carpathian principality under Peter's direct control. Moreover, whereas Neagoe's mausoleum at Curtea de Argeş recalled the church of the Holy Apostles in Constantinople, Peter's princely mausoleum at Probota Monastery transformed a local, Moldavian visual idiom.[57]

The images painted on the interior and exterior walls of the church at Probota further accentuated the sacred experience. From the scenes of the Last Judgment on the west wall of the exonarthex, to those of the Menologium wrapping in registers around the inner walls of the pronaos and burial chamber, to Christological and Mariological cycles on the inner walls of the naos and altar areas, the Moldavian churches, including Probota, overwhelmed the senses. But this spiritual preparation was most prominently marked within the structure of the church by the presence of the burial chamber at the very heart of the building. At Probota, the burial room features the graves of Peter, his wife, Elena (Jelena Branković, d. 1552, and sister of Milita Despina of Wallachia), and their son Stephen VI (d. 1552) lining the central corridor leading to the naos.[58] The graves are marked by rectangular stone slabs with geometric and floral designs that surround carved dedicatory inscriptions. These texts were designed to direct viewer reception, encouraging mental and physical circumambulation of the graves. Peter's grave carries the following inscription in Church Slavonic: "This is the grave of the devout servant of God … John Peter voivode, son of the old Stephen voivode, who passed on to the eternal dwelling; his eternal remembrance."[59] As Stephen's illegitimate son, Peter was deeply concerned with his family line and his right to rule. As such, church burials during his reign gained a new architectural and visual vocabulary closely interwoven with

[56] On the structuring of the sacred spaces in the Moldavian churches, see Sullivan, *The Eclectic Visual Culture of Medieval Moldavia*, esp. Chapters 4 and 5.

[57] On the transformations of the Moldavian visual idiom, and their implications, see Alice Isabella Sullivan, "A Post-Byzantine Visual Idiom in Moldavian Art and Architecture," in *Afterlife of Byzantine Monuments in Post-Byzantine Times, special issue Études Byzantines et Post-Byzantines III (X)*, ed. Elena Boeck (Bucharest: Romanian Academy, 2021), 57–82.

[58] Voica Maria Puşcaşu, "Lespezile funerare de la Mănăstirea Probota," *Arhiva genealogică* 3 (1996): 255–268.

[59] Iorga, ed., *Inscripţii din bisericile României*, I: 56–57.

Peter's dynastic concerns and his desire to be perpetually remembered. Indeed, the Moldavian princes took great care of the monastic churches, which were designated to serve as "the gate through which Moldavia's princes and their families passed to the Kingdom of Heavens."[60] By the time of Peter's rule in the third decade of the sixteenth century, the burial chamber had become an integral component of Moldavian monastic churches, built regardless of whether burials were imminently expected for that space. Peter's princely mausoleum at Probota was meant to complement Stephen's at Putna, serving, in turn, as a model for how future rulers of Moldavia should fashion their places of eternal rest and remembrance for generations.[61]

Peter's presence within his mausoleum at Probota is also indicated by his votive mural, which adorns the west wall of the naos, to the south of the entrance into the burial chamber (Fig. 7). The painting shows Peter, his wife Elena, and their children, presenting a model of the church to Christ in heaven via the intercessory role of Saint Nicholas, to whom the church at Probota is dedicated. As Christine Peters observes, in the Moldavian context, the preference for "the saintly mediatory figure commending the donor to Christ enthroned suggests a greater emphasis on the cult of the saints and on Christ as person and sacrament."[62] Moreover, most of the figures present in the votive painting at Probota are the very individuals buried in the funerary chamber directly beyond the naos. As such, the votive painting at Probota would have signaled to the faithful, once they crossed the threshold into the space of the burial chamber, to keep the significant individuals under whose patronage the monastic establishment was built – especially Peter as the key patron – in their prayers.

Just as the faithful faced reminders of the patron through the votive mural and the passage through the burial chamber, the clergy in the altar area regularly cast their eyes upon a revelatory inscription carved in the proskomidi-niche.[63] The text calls for Peter's eternal remembrance alongside members of his family line, including his father:

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60 Liviu Pilat, *Între Roma şi Bizanţ: Societate şi putere în Moldova (secolele xiv– xvi)* (Iaşi: Editura Universităţii "Alexandru Ioan Cuza," 2008), 375.

61 In addition to Probota, Peter's other churches with funerary rooms include the katholika at Humor and Moldoviţa. By the 1530s, it was well established that all of the monastic foundations where a member of the ruling elite was to be buried had to have a funerary chamber at the center of the church building.

62 Christine Peters, "The Relationship Between the Human and the Divine: Towards a Context for Votive Images in Mural Painting in Moldavia and Wallachia," *Revue des Études Sud-Est Européennes* 32, no. 1–2 (1994): 41.

63 See also Sullivan, *The Eclectic Visual Culture of Medieval Moldavia*, 156–158, and Fig. 3.13.

Remember, God, the souls of your servants John Stephen voivode and his son John Peter voivode, and his [Stephen's] mother, Maria, and his wife, Maria, and their children, and his [Peter's] wife, Elena, and their children, and Maria and Ana [Peter's sisters]. Remember, God, the soul of your servant, hieromonk kyr Grigore [Roșca] hegumenos.[64]

Fig. 7. Votive mural showing Peter, his wife Elena, and their children, west wall of naos, Church of Saint Nicholas, Probota Monastery, Moldavia, modern Romania (source: A. I. Sullivan)

64 Iorga, ed., *Inscripții din bisericile României*, I: 57.

Such an inscription was intended for clergymen, who would celebrate the Divine Liturgy at this site long after the donor and his family had died. The desire for commemoration through texts and images stresses the importance for the church founders and patrons to be perpetually present and remembered by all individuals who gaze upon their inscriptions, images, or places of burial and are thus reminded of their names and deeds.

The lines of text in the altar of Probota also reveal Peter's concern with his lineage, as does another votive painting in the naos of the church of the Descent of the Holy Spirit at Dobrovăț (Fig. 8). The mural was created with Peter's support, presumably shortly after he took the throne, as the inscription in Church Slavonic in the upper-left corner of the mural reads:

> The devout and lover of Christ John Peter voivode, through God's grace prince of the land of Moldavia, son of the old Stephen voivode, inscribed and embellished this church dedicated to the Descent of the Holy Spirit, in the monastery at Dobrovăț, in the year 703 … month …[65]

The damage makes it difficult to confirm, but the date could have ranged from 1527 (7035) to 1531 (7039), thus falling within the initial years of Peter's rule in Moldavia. The mural depicts three of the monastery's primary patrons, Peter Rareș (on the right), closest to Christ; his father, Stephen III (on the left); and Stephen's legitimate heir, Bogdan III (in the center).[66] All three men wear richly brocaded and embroidered attire, as well as jewel-encrusted golden crowns. What is noteworthy about this votive portrait is that it does not show Peter along with his wife and children, as seen at Probota and elsewhere. Rather, the image presents Peter as Stephen's descendent. Although he is an illegitimate son, Peter is depicted in scale and through the rich garb on par with Stephen's legitimate heir, Bogdan III.

[65] Iorga, ed., *Inscripții din bisericile României*, II: 206.

[66] Elena Firea, "Concepție dinastică în tablourile votive ale lui Petru Rareș," *Ars Transsilvaniae* 14–15 (2004): 143–161.

Fig. 8. Votive mural of Peter Rareș, Bogdan III, and Stephen III, 1527–1531, west wall of naos, church of the Descent of the Holy Spirit, Dobrovăț Monastery, Moldavia, modern Romania (source: A. I. Sullivan)

Peter leads the majestic trio in the votive mural at Dobrovăț, holding the model of the church he helped refurbish before the enthroned Christ. In contrast to other Moldavian votive images, the intercessory figure is omitted here, thus emphasizing the direct interaction between the earthly ruler and Christ. Since the church at Dobrovăț was dedicated not to a saint but to the Descent of the Holy Spirit – which lacks an explicit figural means of representation – the absence of an intercessory figure in the votive painting may be explained by the church's dedication. Nevertheless, the iconography stands in sharp contrast to other contemporary votive images, underscoring Peter's desires to establish his direct lineage through some of Moldavia's greatest leaders.

Peter's patronage of Dobrovăț follows a familial Moldavian tradition. In a document issued in Suceava on 7 October 1503, Stephen III outlines his wishes for the future ktetors of his monastery at Dobrovăț:

> And after us, whoever is prince of our country, either from among our children or our people or whoever God chooses to be the leader of this land, Moldavia, that individual should not ruin our donations and our efforts, but to strengthen and continue them.[67]

Peter's contributions thus aligned with his father's requests, Bogdan III's deeds at the site, and served as a model for Moldavia's future leaders to continue to protect and endow the monastic complex. This practice of patronage, moreover, aligns with the themes of dynastic lineage that are evident in key facets of the architecture and iconographic cycles of the Moldavian churches, including the votive murals, the various inscriptions, and the presence of the burial chamber at the center of the monastic churches.

Proclaiming dynastic legitimacy, however, is only one function of the votive murals and burial chambers in the Moldavian churches. These images and spaces transform the building into a site of perpetual remembrance through prayer and ritual of the deceased and of the patron – a concern central to donors throughout the Middle Ages. The site of burial reminded the faithful of the interred patron and his immediate family while also continually reminding the clergy of their spiritual obligations to the living and the dead. As such, the Moldavian funerary room presented a site for commemoration. Preserving memory, especially through liturgical ritual, was evidently of utmost concern to Moldavia's rulers. This was manifested in the design and decoration of the churches, but also through the gifts and donations extended to other sites, local and more distant, in efforts to ensure the ongoing remembrance and eventual salvation of the patrons.

Especially after the fall of Constantinople in 1453, the Moldavian patronage of both local and Athonite monasteries intensified, as revealed by the building projects, the monetary donations, and the array of manuscripts, icons, metalwork, and textiles gifted to select sites. Monk Isaiah from Hilandar Monastery even wrote in 1489 that Zographou Monastery was, in fact, "built by Stephen of Moldavia."[68] This did not mean that Stephen oversaw the initial construction of the site but, rather, that he served as its new ktetor, based on an initial familial ownership and his choice. This appellation of ktetor thus designated Stephen and his heirs as protectors of Orthodoxy in their own domain and beyond and, perhaps most

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[67] *Documenta Romaniae Historica*, B, III: 526–530; Nicolae N. Puşcaşu and Voica Maria Puşcaşu, *Mănăstirea Dobrovățului: Monografie arheologică și istorică* (Putna: Editura Mitropolit Iacov Putneanul, 2012), 144–146.

[68] Năsturel, *Le Mont Athos et les Roumains*, 183, n. 25; Teodor Bodogae and Florin Șindrilaru, *Ajutoarele românești la mănăstirile din Sfântul Munte Athos* (Pitești: Paralela 45, 2003), 218; Angela Zubco, *Biserica în Țara Românească și Moldova în secolele XIV–XVII: Relațiile cu Muntele Athos* (Chișinău: Pontos, 2001), 116.

importantly, rendered them akin to the Byzantine emperors who first took on this special role.

Stephen was an avid patron within and beyond Moldavia, including of the monasteries on Mount Athos and Saint Catherine Monastery at Mount Sinai, despite little evidence for the latter.[69] His heirs similarly engaged in acts of artistic and architectural patronage, but it was not until Peter took the throne in 1527 that we begin to see a renewed interest in such activities both in Moldavia and abroad. Like his father, Peter served as a patron of numerous Athonite monasteries. The Protaton pomenik lists him among the sponsors of the church, as does the one from Zographou.[70] To Karakalou Monastery, Peter directed funds for the rebuilding of the monastery's tower in 1534 and the restoration of the entire complex beginning in 1535.[71] A document issued in 1536 by Sultan Süleyman I accorded Peter the right to restore the monastery, noting that, in the past, this site was in the care of the Moldavian ruler.[72] Peter may have also been responsible for the patronage of a luxurious silver cover for a Tetraevangelion completed in 1462 and gifted to Esphigmenou Monastery in the north, near Hilandar.[73] This donation likely occurred after the fire of 1533 as an attempt to renew the institution's liturgical books and objects needed for the celebration of the liturgy.

Xeropotamou Monastery also received from Peter a richly executed and embellished Tetraevangelion (Vienna, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, Cod. Slav. 2).[74] The colophon on fol. 164v, at the conclusion of the Gospel of Mark, states the date of completion, 21 November 1534, as well as the strong desires of the patron to endow this luxurious manuscript to the Athonite monastery:

> Through God's grace, the instruction of the Son, and the action of the Holy Spirit, I, John Peter voivode, the servant of my master Jesus Christ, through God's grace prince of the land of Moldavia, burning with desire and with immense love for all things divine, requested the writing of this Tetraevangelion. And I completed it and gifted it to Xeropotamou Monastery,

[69] A panagiarion of ca. 1500 from a Moldavian workshop is now in the Sinai collection. See Cândea, *Mărturii românești peste hotare*, II: 65. On Moldavia and Mount Athos, see Alice Isabella Sullivan, "The Athonite Patronage of Stephen III of Moldavia, 1457– 1504," *Speculum* 94, no. 1 (2019): 1–46. See also Radu G. Păun, "Mount Athos and the Byzantine-Slavic Tradition in Wallachia and Moldavia after the Fall of Constantinople," in *The Balkans and the Byzantine World Before and After the Captures of Constantinople, 1204 and 1453*, ed. Vlada Stanković (Lanham: Lexington Books, 2016), 117–163.

[70] Cândea, *Mărturii românești peste hotare*, II: 638.

[71] Cândea, *Mărturii românești peste hotare*, II: 513.

[72] Cândea, *Mărturii românești peste hotare*, II: 514.

[73] Cândea, *Mărturii românești peste hotare*, II: 446.

[74] Cândea, *Mărturii românești peste hotare*, II: 77.

> dedicated to the Forty Martyrs of Sebaste. And if anyone will ever try to remove it from there, or strip it of its silver [cover], may he be damned in this world and the next one. In the year 7043 [1534], month November, day 21.[75]

This colophon also offers an example of the kind of spiritual sanctions such dedicatory inscriptions often included. Peter's commissions, especially the manuscripts he sponsored, often conclude with a curse. The text follows a long medieval tradition, demonstrating the patron's appreciation for the work created, as well as their efforts to protect it in perpetuity.

Like Neagoe Basarab of Wallachia, Peter extended donations to Dionysiou Monastery, thus following in a familial tradition of patronage. An inscription from 1547/48 (7056) at Dionysiou reveals that Peter and his wife, Elena, rebuilt and painted the church and the refectory of the monastery.[76] Peter and his family even appear in a votive mural in the interior of the church. In addition, the Moldavian prince and his wife gifted two epitrachelia executed in gold thread and colored silks in Moldavian workshops.[77] Dionysiou also received from the Moldavian princely family an epitaphios completed on 15 January 1545 (Fig. 9).[78] The collection of the monastery also preserves a wooden icon stand with inlaid bone decorations – characteristic of Venetian woodwork – that dates to the time of Peter's patronage and could be another of his impressive gifts to Dionysiou (Fig. 10).[79] Much more remains to be determined about the extent of his patronage, or how his deeds compared to those of Neagoe, for example, based on surviving evidence and close analysis of visual and textual sources.

75 Ioan Caproșu and Elena Chiaburu, eds., *Însemnări de pe manuscrise și cărți vechi din Țara Moldovei* (Iași: Demiurg, 2008), 51–52.
76 Cândea, *Mărturii românești peste hotare*, II: 424; Năsturel, *Le Mont Athos et les Roumains*, 151–161.
77 Cândea, *Mărturii românești peste hotare*, II: 434.
78 Cândea, *Mărturii românești peste hotare*, II: 434.
79 Karakatsanis, ed., *Treasures of Mount Athos*, 369–370.

Fig. 9. Epitaphios with gold and silver thread gifted by Peter Rareș and his family to Dionysiou Monastery on 15 January 1545 (source: Dionysiou Monastery)

Fig. 10. Wooden icon stand with inlaid bone decoration, 1547, Dionysiou Monastery, Mount Athos (source: Dionysiou Monastery)

Conclusions

Donors and their donations profoundly impacted the cultural, spiritual, and artistic landscapes of Eastern Europe and the Mediterranean basin in the late medieval and post-Byzantine periods, as the examples of Neagoe Basarab of Wallachia and Peter Rareş of Moldavia demonstrate in this study. As evident through their deeds, these two rulers continued and transformed a tradition of patronage of key religious sites within and beyond the borders of their respective realms, serving, in turn, as examples to their heirs. As such, examining the textual and material evidence in a broader context of patronage can yield richer insights than just limiting the research to a particular time, figure, or place. The patronage of these two individuals, therefore, was impacted by their relationships with family members and spiritual mentors – Saint Niphon in the case of Neagoe and Grigore Roşca for Peter – who spiritually guided and informed their decisions to commission art, initiate endowments, and support particular sites. As such, it is important to acknowledge that no single individual should be considered responsible for any given creation at this time. All output was the result of prolonged collaborations that negotiated between the desires of the patron, the learned guidance of their mentors and advocates, the abilities of artists, and the availability of materials and resources. The picture that emerges is complex and can yield exciting insights into donors and their donations, as well as the transfer of knowledge across large distances at this time through the movement of people, objects, and ideas.

In addition to following a tradition of patronage and reflecting the compromises that unfolded in local contexts, the deeds of Neagoe and Peter reflect their humanity, personal piety, and ideological concerns with rulership. Through their gifts and donations, the rulers of the north-Danubian principalities demonstrated their concerns with creativity and visual expression, as well as ensured their commemoration among the communities of the faithful who received their gifts. Their remembrance in the afterlife was a key impetus behind such efforts. But perhaps more importantly, the donations confirmed that these Eastern Christian rulers followed in the footsteps of the Byzantine emperors who had been notable patrons, including of the key monastic communities on Mount Athos and at the Monastery of Saint Catherine on Mount Sinai. Byzantium's legacy, both directly and indirectly, played a key role in shaping the cultural, religious, and political life of Eastern European regions before and especially after 1453.[80] The imperial model was thus transformed in Wallachia and Moldavia at various moments in the post-Byzantine period, through the deeds of key rulers,

[80] Nicolae Iorga, *Byzantium after Byzantium.*

as the two principalities adapted Byzantine cultural, artistic, and ideological traditions in their own local contexts.[81] The legacy of Byzantium endured, as did the Orthodoxy of the people. Yet it was the people who made the decisions in the end, and their donations speak as much to the breadth of patronage as to the humanity, piety, and ambitions of the donors themselves.

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[81] See Zachary Chitwood, Mihai-D. Grigore, "Byzantinisches Stiftungswesen ohne byzantinischen Staat: Die Entwicklung der byzantinisch-orthodoxen Stiftungskultur von 1204 bis zu den Fürsten der Walachei im 15. und 16. Jahrhundert," in *Byzanz und seine europäischen Nachbarn. Politische Interdependenzen und kulturelle Missverständnisse*, ed. Lüdger Körntgen, et al (Mainz: RGZM, 2020), 91–102.

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APPROACHING ORTHODOX SACRED SPACE IN OTTOMAN ISTANBUL: THE WANDERINGS OF PROTESTANT HUMANISTS THROUGH THE BYZANTINE MONUMENTS OF CONSTANTINOPLE

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ABSTRACT. This paper deals with the reception of the Byzantine churches of Constantinople by Protestant scholars who visited the building complex of the Pammakaristos, then the seat of the Patriarchate of Constantinople, as well as other churches within the Patriarchate's jurisdiction in the Ottoman capital. In their travel accounts, these scholars reported on the architecture, the mural decoration, the icons, liturgical structures, and relics they saw, as well as on the liturgy and other offices celebrated in monuments dating from the Byzantine period and still in the hands of Christians (Orthodox and Armenian). They also witnessed the Hagia Sophia and other historic Byzantine churches that had been converted into Islamic shrines. Their remarks on the ways Christians and Muslims used the Byzantine monuments and approached Byzantine art and architecture reveal their knowledge of as well as their position toward Orthodox Christianity and its Byzantine background.

Keywords: Constantinople – Istanbul; Christians in the Ottoman Empire; Orthodox – Protestant relations; Travelers in the Ottoman Empire; Byzantium and the Reformation; Humanism and Byzantium, Byzantine churches of Constantinople

Introduction: Protestant Travelers to Constantinople

Since the early years of the Reformation, there was a lively interest in learning about Orthodox Christianity among the followers of Martin Luther due to the widespread belief that the Greek Church preserved many elements from

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the first years of Christianity; knowing about them could therefore provide additional arguments in the ongoing disputes with the Pope. Indeed, Martin Luther and Philipp Melanchthon believed in the importance of the Greek Church Fathers and of the Ecumenical Councils, studied sources about the disputes between the Churches of Rome and Constantinople, and posited that the mere survival of Eastern Christianity under Muslim rule, i.e., beyond papal jurisdiction, was sufficient proof that a church without the Pope was possible[1]. This attitude relied primarily on knowledge acquired through the study of texts and from Greeks and Slavs who sojourned in German-speaking lands during the 16th century. In the second half of the century, a number of Protestant scholars and pilgrims travelled to Istanbul, witnessed the physical space of Christians in Istanbul, and established direct contact with the Church of Constantinople, which was facilitated by the correspondence between the Tübingen theologians and officials of the Patriarchate of Constantinople[2]. This mobility of people and written texts contributed to an enhanced image of Orthodox Christians in the Ottoman Empire and of practices inherited from Byzantine religious life.

Protestant travellers were eager to discover facts about the Patriarchate of Constantinople and to explore the liturgical life of Orthodox Christians in the Ottoman capital. Their research was facilitated by the presence of Lutheran officials selected by Emperor Maximilian II, himself a tolerant Protestant, to head the Habsburg delegation in Istanbul. Thus, in 1573, David Ungnad and, in 1578, Joachim von Sitzendorf were sent to the Ottoman capital, accompanied by a large suite of officials and attachés, including theologians who served as chaplains to the delegation's residence: in 1573, Stephan Gerlach and, in 1578 Salomon Schweigger, both of them learned humanists from the Tubingen circles of Martin Crusius and Jacob Andreae were present in the former Byzantine capital. Apart from their tasks as clergymen serving the residence, they were entrusted with contacting the Patriarchate of Constantinople and discussing a rapprochement between the Lutheran Church and the Orthodox[3]. At the same time, they were

1 Daniel Benga, *David Chytraeus (1530-1600) als Erforscher und Wiederentdecker der Ostkirchen* (Wettenberg: VVB Laufersweiler Verlag, 2012), 45-69.

2 Andreas Rhoby, "The Letter Network of Ioannes and Theodosios Zygomalas," in *Ιωάννης και Θεοδόσιος Ζυγομαλάς: πατριαρχείο, θεσμοί, χειρόγραφα*, ed. Stavros Perentides and Georgios Steires (Athens: Daidalos, 2009), 139–52; Colton Moore, "Wittenberg and Byzantium: Lutheran Incentives to Correspond with the Patriarch of Constantinople (1573–1581)", *Journal of Religious History* 46 (2022), 3-23; Dorothea Wendebourg, „Standen politische Motive hinter dem Briefwechsel zwischen der Tübinger Theologischen Fakultät und Patriarch Jeremias II.?", *Jahrbuch der Österreichischen Byzantinistik* 32/6 (1982), 125-33.

3 Dorothea Wendebourg, *Reformation und Orthodoxie: der ökumenische Briefwechsel zwischen der Leitung der Württembergischen Kirche und Patriarch Jeremias II. von Konstantinopel in den Jahren 1573-1581* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1986); Ernst Benz, *Wittenberg und Byzanz; Zur Begegnung und Auseinandersetzung der Reformation und der östlich-orthodoxen Kirche* (Marburg: Elwert-Gräfe und Unzer Verlag, 1949).

interested in the forms of Orthodox worship and ritual practices within the Orthodox churches in the Ottoman Empire, which they recorded in their travel accounts and correspondence with their colleagues in Germany. Gerlach's journal was only published posthumously[4], but his letters to Martin Crusius, as well as the travelogue published by Schweigger in 1608[5], were important sources of knowledge for their readers north of the Alps. Their texts transmit elements of the space wherein they witnessed the Orthodox ceremonial, such as the form and layout of the Byzantine churches and how they were used by Christians in the Ottoman Empire.

Before these two chaplains, Hans Dernschwam, a learned Protestant merchant employed by the Fugger enterprise, had also sojourned in Istanbul in 1553-1555 as an attaché of the Habsburg delegation and recorded his impressions in a journal, which remained unpublished for centuries.[6] A similar case was the educated pharmacist from Königsberg Reinhold Lubenau, a Protestant with strong anti-Catholic convictions, who joined the diplomat Bartholomaeus Petzen on an embassy sent by Rudolph II to Murad III and stayed in the Ottoman capital in 1587-1588. Lubenau's diary, which contains observations on the sites he visited during his stay, was published in the 20th century[7]. Besides these official visitors, other individuals made a stopover in Istanbul as part of their journeys in the East, such as the Protestant pilgrims Hans Breuning in 1579 and Samuel Kiechel in 1589, both of whom published travel accounts upon their return[8]. They, too, inserted descriptions of Byzantine churches into their pilgrimage

4 Stephan Gerlach, *Tage-Buch, der von zween glorwürdigsten Römischen Käysern, Maximiliano und Rudolpho beyderseits den Andern dieses Nahmens, höchstseeligster Gedächtnüß* (Frankfurt a. M.: Zunner, 1674)

5 Salomon Schweigger, *Ein newe Reiss Beschreibung auss Teutschland nach Constantinopel und Jerusalem* (Nuremberg: Lantzenberger, 1608); Peter Burschel, "Topkapı Sarayı oder Salomon Schweiggers Reise ans Ende der Zeit" in *Räume des Selbst: Selbstzeugnisforschung transkulturell*, ed. Andreas Bähr, Gabrielle Jancke, and Peter Burschel (Köln: Böhlau, 2007), 29–40.

6 Franz Babinger, *Hans Dernschwam's Tagebuch einer Reise nach Konstantinopel und Kleinasien (1553-1555) nach der Urschrift im Fugger-Archiv* (Munich – Leipzig: Duncker & Humblot, 1923); Marianna Birnbaum, "The Fuggers, Hans Dernschwam, and the Ottoman Empire," *Südost-Forschungen* 50 (1991), 119-44.

7 Wilhelm Sahm, *Beschreibung der Reisen des Reinhold Lubenau*, 2 vols. (Königsberg i. Pr.: Thomas & Oppermann, 1912-1930); Johannes Koder, "Early modern times travellers as a source for the historical geography of Byzantium: The Diary of Reinhold Lubenau", in *Géographie historique du monde méditerranéen* (Paris: Éditions de la Sorbonne, 1988), 141-48.

8 Hans Jacob Breuning, *Orientalische Reyß Deß Edlen unnd Besten Hanß Jacob Breüning von und zu Buochenbach so er selb ander in der Tuerckey under deß Tuerckischen Sultans Jurisdiction und Gebiet so wol in Europa als Asia unnd Africa ohn einig Cuchtum oder Frey Gleit benantlich in Griechen Land Egypten Arabien Palestina das Heylige Gelobte Land und Syrien nicht ohne sondere grosse Gefahr vor dieser Zeit verrichtet* (Strasbourg: Johann Carolo, 1612); Samuel Kiechel, *Die Reisen des Samuel Kiechel aus drei Handschriften* (Stuttgart: Literarischer Verein, 1866).

accounts as part of their interest in, and curiosity about, Christian life in the Ottoman Empire. Their information could be classified as ethnographic knowledge according to Almut Hoeffer's thesis but filtered through their Protestant background and beliefs[9].

By the middle of the 16th century, the former capital of the East Roman Empire had been restored to its former splendour. Constantinople had been embellished with religious and secular buildings. The city's infrastructure, urban planning and public spaces had been upgraded. The Topkapi Palace, built on the eastern tip of the historic peninsula, was the seat of the government, and several high-ranking dignitaries had their residences and their religious foundations in the vicinity[10]. Despite the decades that had elapsed after the end of the Byzantine Empire, the material remains of Byzantine Constantinople were still present and visible within the context of Islamic Istanbul. The famous Hagia Sophia, converted into the Ayasofya Mosque in the aftermath of the Conquest, was the greatest shrine in the city and historic landmarks, such as the fortifications, the aqueduct, the Hippodrome, and the honorific columns that marked the imperial fora of Byzantine times, played a significant role in defining the cityscape, attracting the gaze of locals and foreigners, and connecting the Ottoman urban layout with its Byzantine past. This setting was the backdrop to the activity of a variety of institutions, including the Patriarchate of Constantinople, which had emerged as a leading non-Islamic authority in Istanbul and claimed the cultural heritage of Byzantium[11].

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9 Almut Höfert, *Den Feind beschreiben. "Türkengefahr" und europäisches Wissen über das Osmanische Reich 1450-1600* (Frankfurt am Main: Campus, 2003), 34-44, 179-98; Ralph Müller, *Franken im Osten. Art, Umfang, Struktur und Dynamik der Migration aus dem lateinischen Westen in das Osmanische Reich des 15./16. Jahrhunderts auf der Grundlage von Reiseberichten* (Leipzig: Eudora, 2005), 179-82, 189-92.

10 For the transformation of Constantinople during the first 150 years of Ottoman rule, see Çiğdem Kafescioğlu, *Constantinopolis/Istanbul: Cultural Encounter, Imperial Vision, and the Construction of the Ottoman Capital* (University Park, PA: Pennsylvania State University Press, 2009); Gülru Necipoğlu, *The Age of Sinan – Architectural Culture in the Ottoman Empire* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2005).

11 On the Patriarchate of Constantinople in the 16th century, see Otto Kresten, *Das Patriarchat von Konstantinopel im ausgehenden 16. Jahrhundert. Der Bericht des Leontios Eustratios im Cod. Tyb. MB 10* (Vienna: Böhlau u. Komm, 1970; Tom Papademetriou, *Render unto the Sultan: Power, Authority, and the Greek Orthodox Church in the Early Ottoman Centuries* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2015), as well as the classic Nicolae Iorga, *Byzance après Byzance - Continuation de l'Histoire de la vie byzantine* (Bucharest: Editions de l'Institut d'Études Byzantines, 1935), 79-125. On lay magnates and the Christian communities of Ottoman Istanbul in general, see Paris Konortas, *Orthodox and Muslim Coexistence in the Ottoman Empire. An Example in the 15th and 16th Centuries: the Relationship Between the Orthodox Post-Byzantine Archontes and the Muslim-Ottoman Administration*, in *Model of Historical Coexistence Between Muslims and Christians and its Future Prospects* (Amman: Royal Academy for Islamic Civilization Research, 1987), 77-90.

After the Ottoman Conquest and the conversion of the Hagia Sophia and after a few months of uncertainty, the Patriarchate was reconstituted in the early months of 1454 and found a new home in the building complex of the Byzantine Monastery of the Virgin Pammakaristos[12]. This was a Middle Byzantine foundation renovated in the Palaiologan period, which apparently survived into the Ottoman period in a relatively good condition. The 16th-century patriarchs, especially Jeremias II, often thanks to the generous support of the Moldavian and Wallachian princes, maintained and even expanded the patriarchal compound, which quickly became the centre of the Greek community of Istanbul, concentrated in the hilly area West of the mosque complex of Sultan Selim I (built around 1520). A number of Byzantine churches apparently remained in the hands of the Orthodox during these first 150 years after the Conquest: the church of the Virgin Mouchliotissa nearby, which still functions today, Saint John in Troullo, now the Hirami Ahmed mosque across the street from the gate of the Pammakaristos, the remains of the great Petra monastery further to the West, as well as a number of smaller shrines along the north and south coasts of the historical peninsula and close to the Land Walls, in addition to those in Galata[13]. On the other hand, Byzantine churches and monasteries closer to the Ottoman centres of secular and religious life were gradually ruined or converted into mosques: the remains of the church of the Holy Apostles were demolished to make way for the Fatih mosque complex of Mehmed II, the nearby Pantokrator monastic complex was used as a madrasa, and the Mangana monastery, on the eastern slope of the hill occupied by the sultan's Saray, was temporarily turned into a dervish lodge and later disappeared. A more systematic wave of conversions occurred during the reign of Bayezid II, when the Stoudios, Saints Sergios and Bakchos, and Lips monasteries, for example, were transformed into mosques with adjoining tekkes[14].

The fate of the Byzantine churches of Constantinople was a major concern of visitors from Western Europe and of audiences reading about the situation in the capital of the Ottoman Empire. Indeed, the conversion of the legendary Hagia Sophia and its use as a Muslim prayer house was regarded as one of the

[12] Cyril Mango, "The monument and its history", in Hans Belting, Cyril Mango, and Doula Mouriki, *The Mosaics and Frescoes of St. Mary Pammakaristos (Fethiye Camii) at Istanbul* (Washington, D.C.: Dumbarton Oaks Center for Byzantine Studies, 1978), 25-34, Peter Schreiner, "Eine unbekannte Beschreibung der Pammakaristoskirche (Fethiye Camii) und weitere Texte zur Topographie Konstantinopels". *Dumbarton Oaks Papers* 25 (1971), 217-48.

[13] Nicholas Melvani, "Patronage in Constantinople after 1453", in *En Sofía mathitéfsantes: Essays in Byzantine Material Culture and Society in Honour of Sophia Kalopissi-Verti,* ed. Charikleia Diamanti and Anastasia Vassileiou (Oxford: Archeopress, 2019), 419-22.

[14] A general survey of the converted churches of Istanbul is found in Süleyman Kırımtayıf, *Converted Byzantine Churches in Istanbul: Their Transformation into Mosques and Masjids* (Istanbul: Ege Yayınları, 2001).

most humiliating consequences of Ottoman victory, a clear indication of the imminent threat to Christianity in general. Thus, the Hagia Sophia, but also the new seat of the Patriarchate, is frequently referred to in travel accounts written by envoys from Venice, France, and the Holy Roman Empire in the 16th century[15].

Wandering among the Byzantine Churches of Istanbul

The *katholikon* of the Byzantine monastery of the Virgin Pammakaristos was the centre of Orthodox religious life in 16th-century Istanbul. Therefore the church appears in almost all accounts written by travellers who visited the city. Descriptions of the patriarchal church of the Pammakaristos do not include information on the building itself but rather focus on the interior decoration and on the liturgical action that went on there (see below). The chaplain Salomon Schweigger dismisses the patriarchal church by stating that it is "quite large, but not handsome, rather badly built", revealing his negative feelings toward the sight of a Komnenian/Palaiologan religious building[16]. The pilgrim Jakob Breuning, on the other hand, adopted a more positive approach and noted the marble columns ("several beautiful columns of polished marble"), apparently a reference to the pairs of columns supporting the north, West, and south arches and separating the ambulatory from the core of the main church[17]. These columns are no longer extant since the vaulting of the monument was heavily remodelled when the church was converted into a mosque around the end of the 16th century, but the layout and the overall spatial configuration probably resembled the monument now known as the Koca Mustafapasa Camii (formerly the Byzantine church of the monastery of Saint Andrew in Krisei), with which the Pammakaristos church shares the same plan[18].

The laconic description in Schweigger's account is supplemented by the general view of the monastic-patriarchal complex that illustrates the text and reproduces the spatial organization of the Patriarchate, which apparently the author perceived as a reflection of the institution itself (fig. 1)[19]. In it, the church is represented as a minuscule building constructed of masonry blocks (a simplified

15 See for example, Jean-Pierre, Grélois, *Pierre Gilles, Itinéraires byzantins. Lettre à un ami. Du Bosphore de Thrace. De la topographie de Constantinople et de ses antiquités* (Paris: Association des amis du Centre d'histoire et civilisation de Byzance, 2007).

16 "ziemlich weit aber nicht statlich, sondern gar schlechtlich erbawt": Schweigger, *Reiss Beschreibung*, 118-21.

17 " viel schöner seulen von ballierten Marmel": Breuning, *Orientalische Reyß*, 66-68.

18 Hansgerd Hallensleben, "Untersuchungen zur Baugeschichte der ehemaligen Pammakaristos-kirche, der heutigen Fethiye camii in Istanbul", *Istanbuler Mitteilungen* 13/14 (1963/64), 128-34, 144-46; Mango, "Monument", 3-4.

19 Schweigger, *Reiss Beschreibung,* 118-19.

interpretation of the actual cloisonnée masonry that includes tiles inserted into the mortar joints), occupying the top left corner of the monastic cluster (which Mango and Hallensleben have shown corresponds to the northeast part[20]). For the illustrator, the main features of the church appear to have been the cubic shape, the small scale (in relation to its surrounding structures), and the multiple domes that crown the main church. Also notable is the much lower outer narthex with the tower-like belfry (which, indeed, reflects the actual relationship between the main building and the annexe).

Fig. 1. View of the building complex of the Pammakaristos monastery from Schweigger, Reiss Beschreibung (Heidelberg University Library, A 4170 RES, page 118)

The Pammakaristos reappears in Schweigger's general view of Constantinople, which includes the city's most important monuments, at least according to the author (fig. 2)[21]. Again, the entire complex is depicted, this time with the correct orientation, i.e., with the church at the top right side of the enclosure. The bell

[20] Mango, "Monument", 30-31; Hallensleben, "Untersuchungen", 133.
[21] Schweigger, *Reiss Beschreibung,* 102.

tower, the domes and the difference in the height of the main church and the narthex are reproduced, although, in this miniature version, there are fewer details. There is a clear effort to make the Patriarchate occupy a large portion of the cartographic representation, which does not agree with the actual proportions of the monastery in relation to its neighbouring buildings, especially the mosques. Perhaps this is an attempt to emphasize Christian presence in the Ottoman capital and especially in this corner, which was indeed characterized by a strong presence of Orthodox Christians[22].

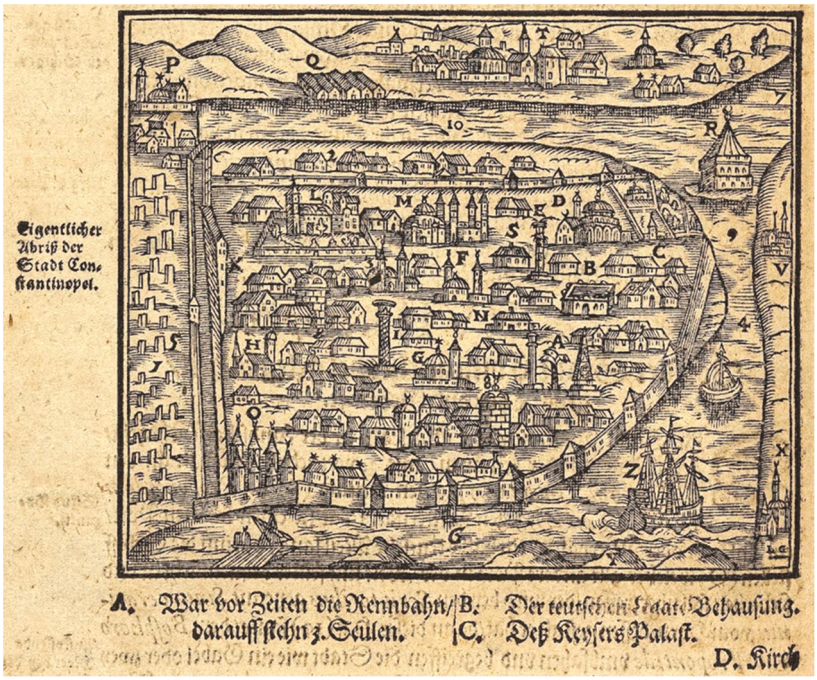

Fig. 2: View of Istanbul from Schweigger, Reiss Beschreibung (Heidelberg University Library, A 4170 RES, page 102)

The Pammakaristos, together with the Virgin Peribleptos, are the only functioning Byzantine churches selected for this view of Istanbul. The only other Byzantine religious structure included is the Hagia Sophia. The representation of the Peribleptos appears to be an inaccurate image of the building, which is known

[22] Stéphane Yerasimos, "Les Grecs d'Istanbul après la conquête ottoman", *Revue des Mondes Musulmans et de la Méditerranée* 107-110 (2005), 375-99.

to have been a domed building (although there is no consensus among scholars regarding its original form, as it is no longer extant[23]), whereas here, it is shown as a basilica with a slanted roof. It is difficult to explain this discrepancy since Schweigger's text gives the impression that he actually visited the place. The church of the Peribleptos, the seat of the Armenian Patriarchate at the time[24], seems to have been particularly impressive (it was one of the so-called great imperial foundations of the 11th century and consistently praised by visitors as one of the city's wonders until the end of Byzantine Constantinople[25]), but it did not benefit from anything more detailed than phrases about its size and vague references to its beauty (Schweigger, for example says it was "pretty and large"[26]). Other Byzantine churches rarely receive analogous attention from writers.

The fact that Byzantine churches apart from the Hagia Sophia (on which, see below) are not described is in stark contrast to the long praises of Ottoman mosques and mausolea, some of which, such as the Süleymaniye and the Şehzade, are singled out and favoured with encomiastic passages[27]. The general evaluations of the Ottoman buildings of Istanbul often include references to the wonderfully built domed structures, the brightly polished or coloured columns, the elaborate interior decorations with ceramics, metalwork, and carpets, and the skilled craftsmanship of Ottoman builders and artists who created them. The performance of Muslim prayer rites in these admired shrines – which were consistently condemned and ridiculed as expressions of a false religion, did not deter scholars trained in humanist environments from admitting the architectural beauty of mosques. Humanist and Protestant attitudes towards Islam have been treated from several points of view and are beyond the scope of this article, but

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23 Cyril Mango, "The monastery of St Mary Peribleptos (Sulu Manastır) at Constantinople revisited", *Revue des études arméniennes* 23 (1992), 474-89; Ken Dark, "The Byzantine Church and Monastery of St Mary Peribleptos in Istanbul", *The Burlington Magazine* 141, no. 1160 (1999), 656–64; Ferudun Özgümüş, "Peribleptos (Sulu Manastır) in İstanbul", *Byzantinische Zeitschrift* 93, no. 2 (2000), 508-20; Örgü Dalgiç and Thomas Mathews, "A New Interpretation of the Church of Peribleptos and its Place in Middle Byzantine Architecture" in *Change in the Byzantine world in the 12th and 13th centuries. First International Sevgi Gönül Byzantine Studies Symposium,* ed. Ayla Ödekan*,* Engin Akyürek, and Nevra Necipoğlu, (Istanbul: Ege Yayınları, 2010): 424-31.

24 Markus Rahn, *Die Entstehung des armenischen Patriarchats von Konstantinopel* (Münster – Hamburg - London: Lit Verlag 2002), 155-58.

25 George Majeska, *Russian Travelers to Constantinople in the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Centuries* (Washington, D.C.: Dumbarton Oaks Center for Byzantine Studies, 1984), 276-83; Cirac Estopañán Sebastián, "Tres monasterios de Constantinople visitados por Españoles en el año 1403", *Revue des Études Byzantines* 19 (1961), 374-77.

26 "hübsch und groß": Schweigger, *Reiss Beschreibung*, 121-22.

27 For example, Lubeanau admired the columns of the Süleymaniye (Sahm, *Beschreibung*, 165-66) and Breuning stated that the Sehzade was "herrlich gebawen" (Breuning, *Orientalische Reyß*, 66).

the appreciation of Ottoman religious architecture should be considered an important factor in the discussion[28].

Although modern viewers are impressed mostly by the frescoes and mosaics adorning Byzantine interiors, this was not the case with the 16th-century visitors under discussion. In general, Byzantine paintings still visible in the churches accessible during the 16th century do not often appear in the general descriptions of Christian life in Ottoman Istanbul or in the passages dealing with specific churches. The travellers noted the frescoes and mosaics, especially the way they fill the surfaces and dominate the interiors, as well as the absence of sculpted images. Hans Dernschwam, for example, does not mention anything at all about the decoration of the patriarchal church in the Pammakaristos, and his only references to the interior concern the relics preserved and venerated by the Greeks (on which, see below)[29]. In any event, the mural decoration of the Pammakaristos, of which all that remains visible today are the mosaics of the south *parekklesion* and a few frescoes adorning the south exterior wall of the *katholikon*, all of them part of the early Palaiologan phase of the building[30], did receive some attention. The authors' reactions upon viewing Byzantine monumental paintings in the historic monument were mixed: Schweigger dismissed the images by saying that they had no artistic merits ("there is no art to be found in them")[31], but Hans Breuning was more enthusiastic, at least about the mosaics, which he characterized as "*sehr schön*" and beautifully created, while he emphasized the gold background of the images ("which are very beautiful mosaics, splendidly laid and gilded")[32]. Reinhold Lubenau ("adorned with beautiful images in mosaic") and Stefan Gerlach agreed with this approach and likewise seemed to have been positively impressed by the mosaics[33].

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28 Thomas Kaufmann, *Türkenbüchlein: Zur Christlichen Wahrnehmung "Türckischer Religion" in Spätmittelalter und Reformation* (Göttingen: Vandenhoek & Ruprecht, 2008); Andrei Pippidi, *Visions of the Ottoman World in Renaissance Europe* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012); Adam S. Francisco, *Martin Luther and Islam: A Study in Sixteenth-Century Polemics and Apologetics* (Leiden: Brill, 2007).

29 Babinger, *Tagebuch*, 143-44.

30 Belting, Mango, and Mouriki, *Mosaics and Frescoes*; Vassileios Marinis, "The Mosaics of Theotokos Pammakaristos (Fethiye Camii) in Istanbul," in *Mosaics of Anatolia*, ed. G. Sözen (Istanbul: HSBC, 2011), 321-32.

31 "darinn gar kein Kunst zu finden": Schweigger, *Reiss Beschreibung*, 119;

32 "welche sehr schön von opere mosaico, herrlich eingelegt und verguldt": Breuning, *Orientalische Reyß*, 67.

33 "mitt schönen Bildern auf mosaische Art geziret wahr": Sahm, *Beschreibung*, 173; Gerlach, *Tage-Buch*, 92.

The subject matter of the mosaics and frescoes was of particular importance to the authors. In the Pammakaristos there are vague allusions to images of Christ the Savior and the Virgin, which could refer to the now disappeared decoration of the dome and apse or even to the (no longer extant) sanctuary barrier of the *katholikon*, as well as to the mosaics still visible in the south chapel. Schweigger identifies the figures of the Greek Church Fathers ("images of their ancient Church Fathers"), apparently, the officiating bishops once adorning the apse of the main church (which is no longer extant, having been replaced by a completely new structure at the east end of the main building when it was converted into a mosque around 1600): he singles out SS Athanasios, Basil, and John Chrysostom[34]. These bishop portraits must have adorned the apse of the main church; there is not enough space in the apse of the south chapel, which is occupied by a triple window, so the authors cannot be referring to images in the apse of the *parekklesion*. The same information is repeated by Lubenau and Breuning, as well as by Gerlach, who adds that the images of the Church Fathers were notable also from the artistic point of view[35].

Images of SS Constantine and Helena are also mentioned in this context. These were most probably the figures comprising the composition of Constantine and his mother dressed in imperial attire holding the cross, also known as the True Cross, flanked by Constantine and Helena since the cross is the main theme and the focal centre. This was a common image for Byzantine church decoration of the Middle and Late Byzantine periods and is found in various parts of Byzantine religious buildings, most frequently near entrances[36]. However, it is not possible to determine where in the Pammakaristos the composition was to be seen. Whether the images of the bishops and of the first Christian emperor with his mother were part of the Komnenian or of the Palaiologan phase of the Pammakaristos is likewise impossible to tell based on the information transmitted by the German texts. Gerlach reports that in another church, that of Saint Constantine in Samatya to the southwest of the city (on which, see below), the eponymous saint and his mother with their imperial crowns and gold-embroidered costumes were painted above the entrance, where a portrait of Saint Athanasios was also found[37].

Other passages describe the imperial portraits once visible at the gate of the Pammakaristos (not extant since nothing remains of the original monastic complex save for the main church with the adjacent chapel and a few cisterns

[34] "Bildnussen irer alten Kirchenlehrer": Schweigger, *Reiss Beschreibung,* 119.

[35] Gerlach, *Tage-Buch*, 462.

[36] Natalia Teteriatnikov, "The True Cross Flanked by Constantine and Helena. A Study in the Light of the Post-Iconoclastic Re-evaluation of the Cross", *Deltion tes Christianikes Archaiologikes Etaireias* 18 (1995), 169-88.

[37] Gerlach, *Tage-Buch*, 217.

and retaining walls in the outlying area)[38]. Portraits of Andronikos II or III with his wife with their imperial dress, accompanied by Greek inscriptions identifying them as Emperors of the Romans impressed almost all protestant authors who visited the Pammakaristos and stressed the effects of the imperial insignia. Schweigger illustrated his account by inserting a reproduction of the imperial couple (fig. 3). Although the rendering is free and is not reminiscent of Byzantine painting, the imperial iconography succinctly conveys the impact of the Byzantine imperial image on viewers, with the emperor's crown, loros, bejewelled ornate garments, and staff[39]. Breuning also attempted to reproduce the script of the inscription, as he was drawn by the phrasing of the imperial title[40]. Lubenau included a description of the portraits of Michael VIII and his wife Theodora, likewise with their inscriptions (but translated into Latin), he saw in the church of the Peribleptos monastery, although without specifying where it was[41].

Fig. 3. Imperial portraits in the Pammakaristos from Schweigger, Reiss Beschreibung (Heidelberg University Library, A 4170 RES, page 121)

[38] On these portraits, see Rudolf Stichel, "'Vergessene Kaiserporträts' spätbyzantinischer Kaiser. Zwei frühpalaiologische kaiserliche Familienbildnisse im Peribleptos- und Pammakaristoskloster zu Konstantinopel", *Mitteilungen zur Spätantiken Archäologie und Byzantinischen Kunstgeschichte* 1 (1998), 85–125; Mango, "The monument", 23.

[39] Schweigger, *Reiss Beschreibung*, 121.

[40] Breuning, *Orientalische Reyß*, 67.

[41] Sahm, *Beschreibung*, 176-177. For these portraits, see John Osborne, "New Evidence for a Lost Portrait of the Family of Michael VIII Palaiologos", *Thesaurismata* 23 (1993), 9–13 and Stichel, "Vergessene Kaiserporträts", 75-84.

Although it is not always explicitly stated, the images mentioned as adorning the interior appear to have been works of monumental painting. This is evident by the joint references to painting and mosaics and from the iconographic subjects described, especially the images of officiating bishops. However, the two accounts written by chaplains of the Habsburg delegation also focus on panel paintings. Gerlach mentions images (*Bildnuß*) of Christ and the Virgin and refers to the veneration and the act of kissing; these must have been portable icons on *proskynetaria* (it is less likely they were wall paintings situated at eye level)[42]. Gerlach adds that on major Dominical and Marian feast days, icons with the appropriate narrative scenes were made available for veneration on lecterns. Gerlach's successor to the chaplaincy also reports that the interior of the Pammakaristos was full of panel paintings ("*gemahlte Bilder auff Tafeln*"). He singles out the images of Christ the Savior and of the Virgin and Child located at the right-hand side of the nave and describes congregants venerating them by kissing them upon entering the church[43]. It is unclear whether the two theologians include in their general references the two Palaiologan mosaic icons now preserved in the patriarchal church of Saint George at Fener in Istanbul, which represent the Virgin Hodegetria with the epithet Pammakaristos and Saint John the Baptist. Evidently, the two icons, the only surviving icons from the monastery, were donations by their Late Byzantine patrons and were installed in the iconostasis of the main church, where they remained visible in post-Byzantine times and incorporated into the 16th-century iconostasis installed under Patriarch Jeremias II (1572-1579, 1580-1584, 1587-1589). They later accompanied the Patriarchate's move to its current location at the end of the 16th century[44].

Stefan Gerlach also transmits details about the iconostasis of the church of Saint Constantine, a Byzantine building in the southwest corner of the city, close to Yedikule and to the historic monastery of Saint John of Stoudios. Gerlach mentions an image of Christ flanked by John the Forerunner and, to the left, Mary and Saint Theodore, an arrangement which agrees with the standard iconography of the icons placed in the intercolumnar spaces of the templon since Byzantine times. Above one door of the sanctuary, there was the Dormition with the Apostles, and above the other, the Assumption of the Virgin[45]. This is apparently the painted

42 Gerlach, *Tage-Buch*, 166.

43 Schweigger, *Reiss Beschreibung*, 119.

44 On these icons, see Nikolaos Gioles, "Οι ψηφιδωτές εικόνες του Οικουμενικού Πατριαρχείου και οι αναθέτες τους, *Deltion tes Christianikes Archaiologikes Etaireias* 17 (1993-94), 249–58; Georgios Soteriou, *Κειμήλια τοῦ Οικουμενικού Πατριαρχείου* (Athens: Estia, 1938), 23-25; Mango, "The Monument", 9-10, 29.

45 Gerlach, *Tage-Buch*, 217.

epistylion surmounting the iconostasis, which was traditionally decorated with busts of apostles and narrative scenes from the lives of Christ and the Virgin[46].

Both chaplains mention separately the veneration of the crucifix in the Pammakaristos. This was most likely an allusion to the painted crucifix attached to the top of the iconostasis. The latter would be in accordance with the rising importance of the crucifix on top of iconostasis known from the monuments of Mount Athos since the 14th century; the oldest surviving example is the image from the Pantokrator monastery, although they became widespread in the 16th century when their form was perfected by Cretan workshops[47]; thus, it is conceivable that this cross or crucifixion icon in the Pammakaristos main church was a post-Byzantine addition within the framework of the remodelling of the templon commissioned by patriarch Jeremias II[48]. Indeed, the Greek sources about the interventions under Jeremias clearly refer to the painted crucifix as a dominant feature of the church's interior, which must have made an impression on the German scholars. Gerlach, in fact, mentions a similar item in the sacristy, namely the Palaiologan chapel to the south of the main church.

The Tübingen theologians, especially Gerlach, were particularly curious about the veneration of icons. In a paragraph dealing with the use of images among the Greeks in general, Gerlach relates that Orthodox Christians (including Bulgarians – i.e., South Slavs – Moldavians, Wallachians, Russians – i.e., Kievans and Ruthenians – and Muscovites) would display great emotion while praying before the painted images of Christ and the saints, and most of all of the Virgin. This included beating their chests and kissing the icons, especially women with their children[49]. The kissing of icons is also mentioned in descriptions of mass in specific churches by Gerlach and Schweigger, such as the Pammakaristos and Saint Constantine[50]. Also, the faithful would consistently materialize these honours

46 For the iconography of Byzantine templa, see Manolis Chatzidakis, "L'évolution de l'icône aux 11e-13e siècles et la transformation du templon", in *Actes du XVe Congrès international d'études byzantines,* vol. 3 (Athens: Bibliotheke tes en Athenais Archaiologikes Etaireias, 1979), 182-88; Christopher Walter, "A New Look at the Byzantine Sanctuary Barrier", *Revue des Études Byzantines* 51 (1993), 203-28.

47 Titos Papamastorakis, "Εικόνες 13ου-16ου αιώνα", in Titos Papamastorakis, Katerina Kalamartzi-Katsarou, and Ioannis Tavlakis, *Εικόνες Μονής Παντοκράτορος* (Mount Athos: Mone Pantokratoros,1998), 74-78; Maria Kazanaki-Lappa, "Ο ξυλόγλυπτος σταυρός της Ευαγγελίστριας του Λιβόρνου (1643) και οι σταυροί επιστυλίου στα κρητικά τέμπλα", in *Ευφρόσυνον- Αφιέρωμα στον Μανώλη Χατζηδάκη*, vol. 1 (Athens: Tameio Archaiologikon Poron, 1991), 219-38.

48 Mango, "The Monument", 29, Iohannes Bekker, *Patriarchica Constantinopoleos historia, in Historia politica et patriarchica Constantinopoleos. Epirotica* (Corpus Scriptorum Historiae Byzantinae) (Bonn: Weber, 1849), 197-203.

49 Gerlach, *Tage-Buch*, 166-67.

50 Schweigger, *Reiss Beschreibung*, 119.

by adorning their icons with gold and silver revetments, coins, and various votive offerings in front of them, as well as clothes and other hangings (the so-called "*podeai*").

Descriptions of the interior of the Pammakaristos also included references to the liturgical structures and other implements that determined the action taking place in the patriarchal church, in addition to the *iconostasia*, the tall sanctuary barriers separating the sanctuary from the nave already discussed. The patriarchal throne, apparently the wood-carved seat with inlaid ivory decoration with the inscription of patriarch Jeremias II, dated 1577, still in the patriarchal church of Saint George at Fener, is one of the main focal points in the description of the offices by Hans Breuning and by Stefan Gerlach[51]. The latter scholar mentions the throne in his account of the celebrations in the church on 1 August 1578 and is thus one of the earliest eyewitnesses to have recorded the existence of the newly installed seat. Gerlach also noted the position of the altar in the middle of the sanctuary and of the pulpit in the middle of the nave. Gerlach also mentioned seats and carpets arranged for special services held outside the patriarchal church (during the summer months), apparently in the courtyard, as well as the pulpit in the church of Chrysopege at Galata[52]. With the exception of the throne of Jeremias, it is unclear whether these furnishings were Byzantine items or post-1453 additions.

The priests and their vestments were an indispensable part of church interiors – including in the Pammakaristos main church, with the dominant figure of the patriarch – and of visualizations of what the authors perceived as the Greek or Orthodox character of the liturgy. Thus, the garments worn by the patriarch and his retinue when officiating are described in some detail. For example, Gerlach reports on the patriarchal vestments worn by Jeremias II during the ordination rite in the church of Chrysopege at Galata. He mentions the gold embroidered ornament and the images of the Crucifixion and of the Virgin, as well as the colours and the way the vestments were wrapped around the body. His account of the patriarchal liturgy includes a reference to the patriarch's retinue, which consisted of monks dressed in black or black-grey capes with hoods[53].

Liturgical vestments also drew the attention of Gerlach's successor Salomon Schweigger, who focused on the officiating clergy and illustrated his account of Orthodox life in Istanbul with an image depicting three priests, according to the caption accompanying the figures "An illustration of how

51 Breuning, *Orientalische Reyß*, 67; Gerlach, *Tage-buch,* 504-505.
52 Gerlach, *Tage-buch,* 229-230, 167.
53 Gerlach, *Tage-buch,* 29-30.

the Greek priests are adorned when officiating and preaching in the church"[54]. The accompanying text adds details about the depicted items in order to acquaint the reader with the essential terminology used in the Greek Church: the ἐπιτραχίλιον, made of white silk, the στυχάριον, of green silk, the πωγωνάτιον (the *epigonation*), of red silk, the πολιστάυριον, coloured black with white crosses. What Schweigger and his counterparts saw must have been embroidered liturgical vestments systematically produced in Istanbul by local Greek workshops continuing to a certain extent the Byzantine tradition, already since the first years after the Ottoman Conquest; items of this sort are still extant in various collections, mostly in Romanian monasteries and on Mount Athos[55]. Depicted in Schweigger's image are also the headcovers (although the terminology for the headgear is not given). The reference to colours is also noteworthy, as it is a clear attempt to reconstruct the visual impact of the priestly figures that populated the Greek churches. To these figures are contrasted the figures of monks with their plain and austere garb depicted on another page of Schweigger's travelogue[56].

In addition to liturgical furniture and vestments, vessels and implements were also included in the descriptions. Thus, the staff and cross wielded by the patriarch were also deemed worthy of mention, as were the spoons, patens, and chalices used during Eucharist[57].

Worshippers' behaviour in the Greek churches caused scholars to mention and comment on the veneration of relics by the Orthodox Christians of Istanbul. The richest collection of relics, all of them well documented since the Byzantine period, was that on display in the Pammakaristos and consisted of items that had been salvaged from various sites in 1453 and deposited in the patriarchal monastery. Indeed, the relics kept in various parts of the building complex (the nave of the main church, the south *parekklesion*, and the chapels of the north arm of the perambulatory) were among the main attractions that caught the attention of almost all writers under discussion[58]. In fact, the relics and their wooden reliquaries are all that is mentioned from the entire complex by Hans Dernschwam[59]. Gerlach, who was more meticulous in his depiction of Orthodox cult practices, noted the veneration of the relics of Saint Euphemia (preserved in the north arm of the perambulatory) and of the Column of the

54 "Ein gemahlter Augenschein, wie die Griechischen Prießter in der Kirch, so sie Ampts pflegen und predigen, gezieret seyn": Schweigger, *Reiss Beschreibung*, 215.

55 Elena Papastavrou and Daphni Filiou, "On the beginnings of the Constantinopolitan School of embroidery", *Zograf* 39 (2015), 161-76.

56 Schweigger, *Reiss Beschreibung*, 218.

57 For example, Gerlach, *Tagebuch,* 64, 179-80.

58 Mango, "The Monument", 34; Arne Effenberger, "Zu den Gräbern in der Pammakaristoskirche", *Byzantion* 77 (2007), 188-90.

59 Babinger, *Tagebuch,* 144.

Flagellation (in the nave of the main church)[60]. Elsewhere, he also added details about the veneration of the reliquary of the finger of Saint Constantine in the eponymous church at Samatya on the saint's feast day (21 May): he describes the intense reactions of the faithful who kissed the relic and the procession of the reliquary around the church[61].

Reinhold Lubenau is more explicit in his account: he lists the flagellation column, the relics of St Euphemia, and those of St Salome. However, he expressed doubts about their authenticity (for example, he writes of the Column: "whether this is the real column, I let everyone believe what they will") and was sceptic about relics in general, especially regarding their role in contemporary Christians' lives[62]. He does reveal his curiosity about the subject, as he records some information from his knowledge of church history, mentioning that the relics of Andrew and Luke had been brought to Constantinople by Constantine the Great. He also added that patriarch Jeremias II told him stories about the number of relics once in Constantinople during Byzantine times. In short, it seems that, despite his negative attitude toward the cult of relics, Lubenau's interest in the topic lay in the historical aspects of these practices, especially their early Christian roots. It seems that he was trying to trace the origin of the errors regarding relics, which characterize the Catholic and the Orthodox Churches alike, to the time of the Church Fathers and, therefore, that he took for granted the patristic background of the Greek Church. The reliquaries in which the relics were encased are rarely discussed, and when they are, they are referred to as mere boxes; apparently, they did not catch the attention of Protestant viewers.

Gerlach obtained special permission from the patriarchal officials to attend the offices in the Pammakaristos and other churches of Constantinople during his stay and thus managed to witness the Byzantine buildings as they were being used by the Patriarchate and its clergy in the 16th century. His reports are purposefully detailed as part of his task to transmit information to his colleagues in Tubingen and correspond with the thorough research into Orthodox practices carried out among Protestant scholars toward the end of the century. The lengthiest descriptions are from three churches: the patriarchal church itself, the Church of Saint Constantine in the neighbourhood of Karamania – Samatya, and the Virgin Chrysopege at Galata.

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60 Gerlach, *Tage-buch,* 179.

61 Gerlach, *Tage-buch,* 348-349; Jean-Pierre Grélois, "Saint Constantin, les Caramaniens et les Anasténarèdés", in *Le saint, le moine et le paysan: Mélanges d'histoire byzantine offerts à Michel Kaplan,* ed. Olivier Delouis, Sophie Métivier, and Paule Pagès (Paris: Éditions de la Sorbonne, 2016), 230-32.

62 "ob es nun von der rechten Seulen, las ich jeden glauben, was er will": Sahm, *Beschreibung*, 173-74.

Gerlach witnessed mass in the Pammakaristos on various occasions[63]. On 12 May 1575, the feast day of the Ascension, he recorded that mass began with the patriarch entering through the main door blessing the interior with the cross and standing in front of the sanctuary, escorted by a monk carrying a candle and preceded by other monks making the sign of the cross and bowing toward the patriarch. The group was led by a monk who recited the Kyrie Eleison invocation alternating with the chorus of monks responding Σὺ Κύριε. As the monks in the sanctuary chanted, the Gospel book was carried toward the patriarch (Gerlach stresses the obvious fact that it was the Greek Bible), escorted by two monks carrying tapers. The patriarch kissed the book as everyone watched in humbleness and awe of the presence of the Gospel (the author notes that everyone had their eyes closed as if they were unworthy to witness the presence of the Word), after which the Bible was returned to the sanctuary. This was followed by more chanting and then by a reading from Acts (on the Ascension) by a priest in the middle of the church, more chanting, and further reading from the last chapter of the Gospel of Luke (again on the Ascension), this time by a monk (apparently a hieromonk). Gerlach notes that the congregation listened attentively to the readings by bending their heads toward the ground. After the readings, the bread and wine were processioned solemnly, to which the bystanders reacted humbly. The sanctuary doors were subsequently closed off as the patriarch recited the Nicaean Creed, and the bread and wine were consecrated; later, the curtain of the sanctuary barrier was pulled away, and a monk recited prayers for the patriarchs and the patriarch pronounced the Lord's Prayer. Then, communion was administered to the faithful. This marked the end of mass, and the patriarch distributed bread, the *antidoron*, to the congregants, who kissed his hand and proceeded to receive their share of the agape communal meal. As they exited the church, they stopped to venerate the icons placed at the pulpit and at the gate. Afterwards, the patriarch left the church and blessed the faithful in the courtyard by making the sign of cross[64].

Gerlach visited the Church of Saint Constantine in the southwest district of the city on three occasions (29 June 1576, 21 May 1577, and 21 May 1578).

[63] Matei Cazacu, "Le patriarcat de Constantinople dans la vision de Stephan Gerlach (1573-1578)", in *Le patriarcat oecuménique de Constantinople aux XIVe-XVIe siècles: rupture et continuité. Actes du colloque international, Rome, 5-7 décembre 2005* (Dossiers Byzantins 7) (Paris: Centre d'études byzantines, néo-helléniques et sud-est européennes, École des hautes études en sciences sociales, 2007), 373-76; Jean-Pierre Grélois, "Le patriarcat de Constantinople vu par quelques voyageurs occidentaux (XVIe-XVIIe siècles)", in *Bibliothèques grecques dans l'Empire ottoman*, ed. André Binggeli, Matthieu Cassin, and Marina Detoraki (Turnhout: Brepols, 2020), 49-60.

[64] Gerlach, *Tage-buch,* 91-92.

His descriptions of the celebrations for the feast day of Saint Constantine in the eponymous church are particularly eloquent[65]. On that day (May 21), the faithful entered the church and received the blessing of the priest, who placed the gospel book on their heads and made the sign of the cross. They would also kiss the icons and the relics of the emperor-saint on display in the church. Most of the action took place outside, however, with the dancing and other acts in the courtyard, in front of the entrance. After the celebration of mass, a common meal was organized outside the church in the presence of the patriarch.

The third church described by Gerlach in the context of the liturgy is the Virgin Chrysopege at Galata[66], which the German theologian visited on 25 March 1576, i.e., on the double feast day of the Annunciation and the Veneration of the Precious Cross, on the Third Sunday of Lent (wrongly referred to by Gerlach as *Creutzes Erhebung*, the Exaltation of the Cross). Here, he witnessed the patriarch celebrating mass aided by 12 priests, perhaps the church's clergy[67]. Again, the main focal points within the building were the sanctuary and altar, the gate of the sanctuary barrier, and the throne for the patriarch installed toward the back of the church (i.e., near the entrance), as well as the entrance gate itself. The author also singled out the elevated women's area, separated by a chancel, which was reached from a separate entrance, and offered a view of the liturgical action while ensuring that women were not visible to the rest of the congregation. Gerlach again mentions the prominent role of the gospel book, the cross, the censing, the readings from the Gospel and the Epistles, the preparation and administration of Communion, the reciting of the prayers, the elaborate chanting, the preaching, which lasted three-quarters of an hour, and the distribution of the antidoron and the ensuing meal at the end.

In addition to the Byzantine churches still in the hands of Christians, the Protestant authors noted the shrines that had been converted to accommodate

65 Gerlach, *Tage-buch,* 348-49; Grélois, "Saint Constantin", 229-34. For the church, see also, Zafer Karaca, *Rum Ortodoks Kilisileri İstanbul'da Tanzimat Öncesi* (Istanbul: Yapı Kredi Yayınları, 2008), 194-208.

66 The location of this church is uncertain (it has not survived), and it is probably identical to the Greek church of the Virgin, attested in documents since the 14th century. According to Sercan Sağlam, it should be identified with the church later taken over by the Benedictines and now known as Saint Benoit (currently part of a private French-speaking school): Sercan Sağlam, "Transformation and Continuity of Sacred Places: The Case of Galata (Istanbul)", *İDEALKENT* 11 (2020), 1846. However, this contradicts the 16th-century and 17th-century references to the church (including Gerlach's), which date from the same time as the references to Saint Benoit. The Chrysopege is known in later years as the church where the scholar Meletios Syrigos was active in the 17th century: Jules Pargoire, "Mélétios Syrigos, sa vie et ses œuvres (suite)", *Échos d'Orient* 11 (1908), 331-40.

67 Gerlach, *Tage-buch,* 167-169.

Muslim prayer rites. The most visited and praised monument overall was the Hagia Sophia mosque, which is referred to as the greatest and most beautiful church of Christendom and is admired for its exterior form and for the marble decoration of its interior. Indeed, knowledge of its original function as an imperial church serving Christian worship under the Roman emperor Justinian triggered intense emotions among visitors, Catholics and Protestants alike. Lubenau could apparently imagine the imperial liturgy performed in the great church, as he noted that he was shown the exact place where the Byzantine Emperors would stand when attending services[68]. In addition, the Byzantine mosaics that were still visible in the 16th century likewise generated positive responses, especially the images of Byzantine Emperors in the south gallery, one of which was misidentified by Lubenau as a portrait of Constantine the Great[69]. In Schweigger's above-mentioned panoramic view of Constantinople, the colossal Hagia Sophia dominates the entire illustration and overshadows all other Byzantine and Ottoman monuments depicted. Interestingly, it is shown as a round domed building, a fact which agrees with Reinhold Lubenau's statement that it resembled the Pantheon in Rome, apparently because of the dominant sphere of the dome. When he visited the interior, he did not fail to notice the effects of the marble pavement, which he characterized as "very artistic" ("*ganz kunstlich*"), whereas he also appreciated the marble decoration and the way the sun illuminates it[70]. However, the building's use as an Islamic shrine produced negative feelings and judgements and was viewed as a deplorable fact that compromised its beauty. On the other hand, most of the authors were not disturbed by the addition of the Ottoman imperial mausolea attached to the south of the Hagia Sophia in the last quarter of the 16th century, which they refer to in very positive terms[71].

The same negative feelings are evoked in the description of the basilica of the Stoudios monastery and the Chora monastery, the Imrahor Camii and Kariye Camii, respectively (both functioning as Muslim houses of worship with attached dervish lodges since the time of Bayezid II); their Byzantine identities

68 Sahm, *Beschreibung,* 142-146. On this topic, see Rudolf Stichel, "Die Hagia Sophia Justinians, ihre liturgische Einrichtung und der zeremonielle Auftritt des frühbyzantinischen Kaisers", in: *Byzanz – Das Römerreich im Mittelalter*, ed. Falko Daim and Jörg Drauschke (Mainz: Schnell & Steiner, 2010), 25-57.

69 Cyril Mango, *Materials for the Study of the Mosaics of St. Sophia at Istanbul* (Washington, D.C.: The Dumbarton Oaks Research Library and Collection, 1962), 27-29, 119-20.

70 These comments agree with recent approaches to the Hagia Sophia and its sensory features, for example, in Nadine Schibille *Hagia Sophia and the Byzantine Aesthetic Experience* (Farnham: Ashgate, 2014).

71 Kiechel, *Die Reisen,* 410; Sahm, *Beschreibung*, 146.

were noted by Breuning and Gerlach[72]. The latter was particularly enthusiastic about the iconographic cycles of the Old and New Testament in the narthexes of the Chora Church[73]: "adorned with beautiful artfully painted figures from the Old and New Testament, made of gilded square tesserae, and with Greek captions"[74]. In the *parekklesion* Gerlach noted the frescoes, including the funerary portraits in the *arcosolia*, but did not write anything about the rest of the decoration, apparently because it had been whitewashed upon the building's conversion in the early 16th century[75]. Gerlach describes the new use by pointing out that the floor was covered in Turkish carpets at the time. Gerlach also noted the painted decoration he saw in the basilica of the Stoudios monastery, which was apparently still visible in his time, despite the site's use as a mosque (some traces of frescoes are still visible on the east wall, but they have not been systematically studied – otherwise the mural paintings of the Stoudios church are known only from the written sources)[76]. Dernschwam was also drawn to the images adorning various parts of the former monastery, especially the portrait of Saint Constantine in the basilica and the composition of the Last Supper in the refectory (which is no longer extant)[77].

72 Breuning, *Orientalische Reyß*, 76, Gerlach, *Tage-buch,* 217, 455-56.

73 Gerlach, *Tagebuch,* 455-456; Robert Ousterhout, "A Sixteenth-Century Visitor to the Chora", *Dumbarton Oaks Papers* 39 (1985), 117-24. On the mosaics in the narthex, see Paul Underwood, *The Kariye Djami* (New York: Bollingen Foundation, 1967), 108-51; Paul Underwood, "Some problems in Programs and Iconography of Ministry cycles", in *The Kariye Djami. Studies in the Art of Kariye Djami and Its Intellectual Background*, ed. Paul Underwood, (Princeton: Routledge & Kegan Paul PLC, 1975), 243-302.

74 "mit schönen auff vergüldten viereckichten gläsern Taffeln künstlich gemahlten Figuren aus dem Alten und Neuen Testament und mit Griechischen Uberschrifften gezieret ist".

75 The frescoes of the parekklesion were barely visible in the 19th century, hidden beneath the whitewash (although there is no direct evidence of when this occurred): Robert Ousterhout, "(Re)Presenting the Kariye Camii: Architecture, Archaeology, and Restoration", in *Restoring Byzantium: The Kariye Camii in Istanbul & the Byzantine Institute Restoration*, ed. Holger Klein and Robert Ousterhout (New York: The Wallach Art Gallery, 2004), 32-33.

76 On the mural decoration of the Stoudios monastery, see Warren Woodfin, "A Majestas Domini in Middle-Byzantine Constantinople", *Cahiers Archéologiques* 51 (2003), 45-55; Nicholas Melvani, "The History of the Stoudios monastery", in Tarkan Okçuoğlu, Esra Kudde, and Nicholas Melvani, *Stoudios Monastery in Istanbul. History, Architecture and Art* (Istanbul: Koç University Press, 2021), 143, 161.

77 Babinger, *Tagebuch,* 52-53.

Approaches to Byzantine Architecture and Art

The term "Byzantine" to describe the East Roman Empire had already been introduced in 1564 by Hieronymus Wolf[78], but was not used by travellers to Istanbul to refer to the art and architecture of Byzantium. However, there is no doubt that the travellers were aware of the Byzantine identity of the churches they visited. Even if they refer to the dates of buildings in vague terms (Lubenau describes the Pammakaristos simply as very old – "*gar uhralte*" – and the Peribleptos as an ancient Greek church – "*alte griechische Kirche*"), it is clear that they recognized them as Christian remnants of the East Roman Empire and as parts of Istanbul's Byzantine heritage. The imperial portraits in the Pammakaristos and the Peribleptos, which were described as images of the Greek or Eastern Emperors ("*Griechischer Kaiser*" or "*Orientalischer Kaiser*"), provided a tangible link between the 16th-century Orthodox community and the pre-1453 phase of Constantinople, in addition to the orally transmitted information circulating among local Greeks. Thus, the images and the structures they adorned were perceived as reminders of the Byzantine phases of the respective building complexes, which in turn were treated as material remains of the capital of the East Roman Empire, in accordance with the Habsburg scheme of *Translatio Imperii,* i.e. the transfer of the empire to the Greeks in the East and to the Franks in the West[79].

Research into the origins of early Christian architecture was not advanced in the 16th century; knowledge of early churches was confined to the basilicas of Rome and to a few renowned buildings in the East, particularly the Holy Sepulchre and the Hagia Sophia[80]. Likewise, there is little evidence that scholars

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78 Hans-Georg Beck, *Der Vater der deutschen Byzantinistik: das Leben des Hieronymus Wolf von ihm selbst erzählt* (Munich: Institut für Byzantinistik und neugriechische Philologie der Universität, 1984); Dieter Reinsch, "Hieronymus Wolf as Editor and Translator of Byzantine Texts," in *The Reception of Byzantium in European Culture since 1500*, ed. Przemyslaw Marciniak and Dion C. Smythe (Farnham: Routledge, 2016), 43-53.

79 Matthias Schnettger, "Nostrum, nostrum est Romanum Imperium. La présence de Rome dans l'exercice du pouvoir du Saint-Empire romain germanique", in *L'imperium Romanum en perspective. Les savoirs d'empire dans la République romaine et leur héritage dans l'Europe médiévale et moderne*, ed. Julien Dubouloz, Sylvie Pittia, and Gaetano Sabatini (Besançon: Institut des Sciences et Techniques de l'Antiquité, 2014), 341-54; Notker Hammerstein, "Imperium Romanum cum omnibus suis qualitatibus ad Germanos est translatum. Das vierte Weltreich in der Lehre der Reichsjuristen", in *Neue Studien zur frühneuzeitlichen Reichsgeschichte* (Zeitschrift für Historische Forschung, Beiheft 3), ed. Johannes Kunisch (Berlin: Duncker & Humblot, 1987), 187-202.

80 For descriptions and illustrations of the Holy Sepulchre, see Andres Betschart, *Zwischen Zwei Welten: Illustrationen und Berichte Westeuropäischer Jerusalemreisender* (Würzburg: Königshausen & Neumann, 1996), 118-38.

of the Reformation were interested in the origins of church building and planning. That the travellers to Istanbul tended to focus more on sixth century-churches (the Hagia Sophia is explicitly attributed to Justinian and praised in lengthy paragraphs) and less on the Komnenian and Palaiologan periods is no surprise: the Pammakaristos church, a Komnenian building with Palaiologan additions, is described in less flattering terms, and it seems that monuments from later periods were viewed as signs of the empire's decline.

This general preference for early monuments is consistent with the humanist background of the scholars, who were motivated by their passion for antiquity, as well as with their eagerness to discover Roman elements, especially when they were representing the Holy Roman Emperor. Besides this predilection for late antique buildings, there is little effort in the texts to distinguish between different periods of Byzantine architecture. Likewise, the authors do not distinguish between the cross-in-square Middle Byzantine churches and early Christian basilicas, such as the Stoudios church (they do not comment on the fact that the latter was not a domed building, thus different from the majority of early and later Byzantine monuments in the city). Overall, there are no signs that the Protestant travellers to Istanbul viewed the form and layout of the Byzantine churches of Constantinople as an argument regarding correct Christian practices, as they placed greater emphasis on what went on inside these buildings. In any case, their descriptions of the ritual reflect their gaze, which was likely affected by their own Protestant ideas of sacred space and places of worship in their homeland[81].

For example, Gerlach appears to have been concerned with visibility within Orthodox churches when he commented that the sanctuary was blocked from view by the tall chancel screen, especially during the time the doors were closed and the curtain was drawn[82]. Lubenau's interest in windows and lighting in the churches might be an indication of his sensitivity toward visibility. The praises of marble and the responses to the sensory effects of the lavish decoration appear to be more connected with the writers' humanist background and their curiosity for the art of antiquity, but it is likely that they were not happy with the numerous columns and piers in the Pammakaristos patriarchal church, which resulted in the separation of the central space from its surrounding ambulatory and must have hindered the view toward the performance of the

[81] Bridget Heal, "Sacred Image and Sacred Space in Reformation Germany," in *Sacred Space in Early Modern Europe*, ed. Will Coster and Andrew Spicer (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005), 39-59.

[82] Visibility enabling a clear view toward the sanctuary was a major concern for Lutheran worship and church planning: Joseph Leo Koerner, *Die Reformation des Bildes* (Munich: H.C. Beck, 2017), 480-81.

offices[83]. The detailed description of the Pammakaristos complex with the various auxiliary structures and annexes, also in the woodcut illustrating Schweigger's description, shows the interest in the monastic character of the Patriarchate as part of its institutional identity. Likewise, the Germans were certainly interested in attendance, as they were eager to report on the congregational practices of the Orthodox: thus, Gerlach was pleased to observe that the majority of the congregation was present during mass for most of the time in the Pammakaristos and that the Chrysopege was packed with people on the feast day of the Dormition, resulting in a crowded space due to the small scale of the building[84].

The wealth of painted images adorning church interiors caused mixed reactions among the Protestant viewers[85]. On the one hand, the veneration and constant kissing of icons were condemned as an idolatrous practice that was close to those of the Catholics, but on the other, the beauty of mosaics and frescoes attracted positive statements about the ways they contributed to the creation of aesthetically pleasing interiors. The iconography and subject matter were certainly of interest to the travel writers, as they conveyed important aspects of Orthodox theology. For example, the biblical scenes in the Pammakaristos, but also in the converted Chora, certainly agreed with the emphasis on the didactic and evangelizing character of narrative painting, as exemplified in the first Lutheran churches of the 16th century[86]. Thus, the extensive cycle of the Ministry of Christ in the Chora must have struck a sensitive chord with Gerlach[87]. The omnipresence of the cross and of the Crucified Christ, especially its function as a focal point in the liturgy, was particularly significant and stressed accordingly, as the crucifix was considered a key subject for contemplation in Lutheran worship[88]. The authors also insisted on the depictions of the officiating bishops in the apse of the sanctuaries of Greek churches, which was probably in line with their interest in Greek Fathers and their role in the Orthodox Church as guarantors of continuity and originality. This interest was matched by their desire to acquire manuscripts preserving works of Chrysostom, Basil of Caesarea, Gregory of Nyssa and others during their stay in Istanbul[89].

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83 For this configuration and its liturgical-funerary use, see Vassileios Marinis, *Architecture and Ritual in the Churches of Constantinople: Ninth to Fifteenth Centuries* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2014), 191.

84 Gerlach, *Tage-buch,* 167 ("die Kirche zimlich eng und der Leute sehr viel gewesen").

85 Sergiusz Michalski, *Reformation and the Visual Arts: The Protestant Image Question in Western and Eastern Europe* (London: Routledge, 1993), 99-168.

86 David Price, *In the Beginning Was the Image: Art and the Reformation Bible* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2020), 209-60.

87 This was a favoured theme in early Reformation art: Price, *In the Beginning*, 115-29.

88 Koerner, *Reformation des Bildes,* 219-42.

89 Cazacu, "Le patriarcat de Constantinople", 375-76.

The texts also frequently mention the presence of portraits of Constantine the Great among the figures depicted in fresco. Although these were primarily images of the saintly ruler with his mother next to the Cross, the emperor's imperial dress must have surely struck viewers. Constantine was indeed a central figure in Habsburg ideology and for representatives of the Reich visiting the Ottoman capital: Constantine was the main reference point in passages recounting the history of Constantinople and its role as New Rome with repeated references to the transfer of the seat of government to the Bosporus by the first Christian emperor[90]; this probably accounts for the attention his image in the Greek churches received. Moreover, this was a time when scholars of the Reformation were investigating facts about the so-called Constantinian Donation and questioning its authenticity[91], in search of arguments against the claims of the Papacy; the presence of an imperial portrait inside a church must have resonated particularly with theologians concerned with the relations between church and state, especially in the case of the first Christian ruler. Depictions of rulers in Lutheran churches in Germany were indeed a favoured theme and the Byzantine examples detected in Constantinople may have been received as a positive aspect[92]. In the same vein, the authors were consistently interested in images of later emperors, including those in the converted Hagia Sophia (which were still visible) and the Palaiologan ones in the Patriarchal monastery of the Pammakaristos.

In addition to images, the Protestant visitors were fascinated by the role of scripture and the presence of the written and spoken (as well as the sung) word in the Byzantine churches as part of their research concerning the Greek Church[93]. Thus, they consistently mentioned inscriptions, legends, and captions they could read on icons, frescoes, and mosaics and focused on the Greek texts. At the same time, they accurately described how the Gospel book was processioned around the various parts of the church accompanied by candles in the ceremonial of the offices. Likewise, the preaching that followed communion received a detailed description of the contents, the duration, and the public's attentiveness to the sermons[94]. However, Gerlach noted that preaching in classical Greek was

90 For example, in Schweigger, *Reiss Beschreibung*, 124-125, where he describes the Column of Constantine (the monument now known as Çemberlitaş).

91 Christian Gastgeber, "Iohannes Sambucus und die Donatio Constantini", in *Johannes Sambucus, János Zsámboki, Ján Sambucus (1531–1584). Philologe, Sammler und Hofhistoriograph am Habsburgerhof*, ed. Christian Gastgeber and Elisabeth Klecker (Vienna: Praesens Verlag, 2018), 241-68.

92 Naïma Ghermani, "Das sprechende Porträt. Fürstenbildnisse und Konfession zwischen 1520 und 1550", in *Reformation und Bildnis. Bildpropaganda im Zeitalter der Glaubensstreitigkeiten*, ed. Günter Frank and Maria Lucia Weigel (Regensburg: Schnell & Steiner, 2018), 81-98.

93 Koerner, *Reformation des Bildes*, 306-31, 467-79.

94 Gerlach, *Tage-buch,* 154.

occasionally unintelligible by contemporary audiences[95]. Curiously, the melismatic chant characteristic of Byzantine music was well-received, as Gerlach spoke highly of the "wonderful coloraturas" ("*wunderbarliche Coloraturen*") he heard during the liturgy and did not complain that they obscured the clarity of the words.

Concluding Remarks

To sum up, the Protestant travellers who visited and described Byzantine churches in use by the Orthodox population of 16th-century Istanbul had a rather vague impression of the main characteristics of Byzantine art and architecture. Even though to them, the Hagia Sophia represented a high point in Christian architecture and the later Byzantine buildings were signs of a declining culture, the defining aspects appear to have been the domes and the interiors populated by brightly coloured marbles, mosaics, and icons. Lubenau's comment that the sanctuary of the Hagia Sophia was "in the Greek style" ("*nach griechischer Art*"), perhaps a reference to the layout of the windows and the mosaic decoration, might be an indication that the writer recognized this layout, albeit in a church converted into a mosque, as a characteristic Byzantine feature he could see in other buildings.

What was of more interest to the scholars under discussion was the ways sacred space was configured and used based on the ritual and the conduct of the congregation within these buildings, but they did not fail to notice that the iconography of images, the monumental inscriptions, and the position of liturgical structures had an impact on bystanders and that they were an integral part of experiencing Orthodox churches. Images of Greek Fathers and representations from the New Testament, in conjunction with the readings of the Gospels and the performance of the liturgies of Saint Basil and John Chrysostom, were consistent with the perception that the Greek Church was based on its patristic origins. Indeed, Protestants who visited the Byzantine churches of Constantinople in the last decades of the 16th century recognized that these buildings and their decoration, just like books, were an important source of knowledge on the past and present of Orthodox Christians: they were fascinated to see the words of the Gospel inscribed and performed in Greek, decipher pictorial cycles of biblical scenes, and view portraits of the Greek Fathers and images of events from Church history represented on the walls and on portable icons.

[95] Gerlach, *Tage-buch,* 168.

The contribution of these travel accounts to the wider understanding of Orthodox worship and practices was vital: even if some of the journals and diaries discussed above were not published until several decades later, their authors were in a position to orally disseminate information on what they witnessed and to communicate their findings in their written correspondence; those that were actually published with illustrations within a few years made this newly acquired knowledge accessible to a wide readership in Vienna and in south Germany and provided scholars north of the Alps with fresh visual evidence from Byzantium. Indeed, the information on the spatial characteristics of the Pammakaristos, for example was eagerly received by Martin Crusius in Tübingen, who reproduced the view of the monastery in his *Turcograecia* in 1584 (i.e., before Schweigger's book appeared in print in 1608) and studied the data he received from Gerlach and Schweigger, as confirmed by his notes and drawings in his (unpublished) diary[96].

Therefore, the travelling Protestants and the circulation of people and information between Istanbul and Tubingen, as well as the increasing mobility of Orthodox monks and laymen from Eastern Europe, resulted in an enhanced perception of Orthodoxy and opened new ways in its communication with the humanist circles of Europe.

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[96] Martinus Crusius, *Turcograeciae Libri Octo. Quibus Graecorum Status Sub Imperio Turcico, in Politia & Ecclesia, Oeconomia & Scholis, iam inde ab amissa Constantinopoli, ad haec usq[ue] tempora, luculenter describitur* (Basel: Henricpetrus Ostenius, 1584), 190.

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IDIORRHYTHMIC INQUEST: SYLVESTER, PATRIARCH OF ALEXANDRIA, JEREMIAH II, PATRIARCH OF CONSTANTINOPLE, AND THE MISSION TO RESTORE COMMUNAL MONASTICISM ON MOUNT ATHOS IN THE 1570s*

Zachary CHITWOOD**

ABSTRACT. Over the second half of the sixteenth century a new form of monasticism, *idiorrhythmia* ("living according to one's own devices"), seemed to be spreading across the Orthodox monasteries of the Eastern Mediterranean. The communal regime practiced for centuries in the venerable monasteries of the East was gradually collapsing: first at St. Catherine's on Sinai around 1557, then at the monasteries of Palestine, including the Monastery of the Cross in Jerusalem. When the patriarchs of Alexandria (Sylvester [1569-1590]) and Constantinople (Jeremiah II [1572-1579; 1580-1584; 1587-1595]) came together to celebrate Christmas at Thessaloniki in 1573, Sylvester was tasked with travelling to Mount Athos to investigate the state of the monastic life there. His inquest revealed a shocking state of affairs: monks moving without hindrance to and from Athos and engaging in the sale of goods to the outside world, including spirits which they drank themselves. Beardless youths and laypersons lived in monasteries; livestock were allowed to pasture on the Holy Mountain. This contribution will examine Patriarch Sylvester's inquest and the subsequent effort to restore communal life at the major monasteries on Athos.

Keywords: Mount Athos; Orthodox Church in the Ottoman Empire; Patriarchate of Alexandria; monasticism; *idiorrhythmia*

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Introduction

This contribution will explore a historical event – the attempt to restore communal monasticism on Mount Athos in the 1570s – at the intersection of two very different aspects of movement. The first, more obvious aspect is the pronounced mobility of the hierarchs of the Orthodox Church in this period, of whom Patriarch Sylvester of Antioch is but one example. Though little is known about the precise details of the movements of high-ranking members of the Orthodox clergy in the medieval period, there is no evidence that they travelled extensively. At least in the Byzantine world, long-distance travel is mainly attested as a monastic phenomenon.[1] Bishops, archbishops and patriarchs did not leave their sees without good reason, and truly footloose ecclesiastics were, unsurprisingly, monastic clergy, like Sava of Serbia.

The mobility of the high Orthodox clergy of the first century and a half of Ottoman rule presents us with a very different picture. Patriarchs in particular seem to have led a very peripatetic lifestyle, which was at least in part prompted by their new role as tax collectors for their community and the need to raise vast sums of money to secure their appointment as patriarch by the sultan.[2]

The patriarchs of Constantinople are thus known to have often undertaken visitations or tours of the lands under their jurisdiction: to cite just two examples, the two longest-serving patriarchs of the sixteenth century, Jeremiah I (1522-1546) and Jeremiah II (1572-1595) each undertook sojourns far away from Constantinople that lasted years. Jeremiah I had only been on the patriarchal throne a few months when he decided to go on a pilgrimage which brought him to Cyprus, Egypt, the Holy Land and Sinai.[3] By contrast, instead of moving south, his later successor Jeremiah II made his way northward through the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth from 1586, arrived in Moscow in the summer of 1586 and oversaw the establishment of the new patriarchate there in January 1587 before returning to Constantinople.[4] Drives for the collection of alms, often led by the patriarch himself into the territory of a fellow patriarch, which was apparently accepted by the latter without comment in our sources, were a common feature of the Orthodox Church in the Ottoman Empire.[5]

Besides this obvious peripatetic activity of the hierarchs of the Orthodox Church under Ottoman rule, a second major aspect of "Orthodoxy on the Move"

1 For Middle Byzantine period, see Ritter 2019. The outstanding travelers of the late period were also monastic, such as Gregory of Sinai and Sabas of Vatopedi.
2 On the fiscal role of the patriarchs of Constantinople in this period, see Papademetriou 2015.
3 On Patriarch Jeremiah's pilgrimage, see Stroumpakes 2005: 36-43.
4 Hannick and Todt 2002.
5 Çolak 2015: 215-216.

which this paper will explore is the question of monastic *stabilitas loci*, and in particular the status of this principal of communal monasticism within a unique form of monasticism, which was termed *idiorrhythmia* in the sources. The *stabilitas loci*, considered one of the defining features of Christian cenobitic monasticism, was based on the principle that monks were to stay within the confines of their cloisters at all times, leaving only on exceptional occasions. Monastic travel could be divided into two broad categories: the much-maligned *vagratio*, the self-indulgent Wanderlust of the itinerant beggar-monk, and the pious *peregrinatio*, a journey undertaken for spiritual edification.[6] In the Orthodox tradition such beggar-monks or gyrovagues eventually became known, at least in the post-Byzantine period, as *kabiotas* (καβιῶτας).[7]

The *stabilitas loci* was especially emphasized both in the sixth-century *Benedictine Rule* and the somewhat earlier *Rule of the Master*.[8] While the *stabilitas loci* had an extremely important role in the monasticism of the Latin West during the Middle Ages, its role in Byzantine monasticism, while not negligible, was not nearly as prominent.[9] Indeed, more recent scholarship on Byzantine monasticism has underlined the wide variety of forms monasticism took, where eremitic monasticism retained a prominent place and even within cenobitic monasteries the obligation of the *stabilitas loci* was often not strictly observed in the breach.[10]

Silvester, Patriarch of Alexandria (1569-1590): A Life on the Move

Even though Patriarch Sylvester of Alexandria (1569-1590) occupied one of the longest patriarchates of Alexandria during the Ottoman period, little is known about his life and thought, and there is a surprising dearth of scholarship on his person.[11] Sylvester came to be overshadowed by his two immediate

6 Delouis, Mossakowska-Gaubert and Peters-Custot 2015: 3-5.

7 De Meester 1942: art. 9. This term for gyrovagues does not seem to be attested in the medieval period.

8 Sena 2008.

9 The classic study on *stabilitas loci* in Byzantine monasticism is Herman 1955; the canonical sources for the obligation of *stabilitas loci* are listed in de Meester 1942: art. 122, §2-3.

10 In this regard see especially Talbot 2019.

11 Longer treatments of his patriarchate are to be found only in Mazarakis 1932: 102-129 and Papadopoulos 1935: 612-638. Sylvester is only mentioned in passing in the standard works on the Orthodox Church under Ottoman rule: Panchenko 2016: 135 (as signatory for a petition to the qadi of Jerusalem to install Sophronios as patriarch there), 254 (on the forged addition of his signature to certain documents); 299 (as a recipient of alms from an embassy of Ivan the Terrible), 370 (need of Patriarch Sophronios to consult with Sylvester regarding union). Podskalsky 1988: 129-130 (within a section on Meletios Pegas); Runciman 1968: passim.

successors, Meletios Pegas (1590-1601) and Cyril Loukaris (1601-1620). Born as Sergios in the village of Stephanon on the island of Crete, he entered Agarathos Monastery on Crete and became its abbot; his successor as patriarch, Meletios Pegas, would have the same *cursus honorum*, as he also became a monk and then abbot at that monastery.

Why Sylvester was chosen as patriarch, like many of the details of his life, is unclear: Crete certainly had strong connections with Egypt, and St. Catherine's Monastery on Mount Sinai had an important presence on the island through its dependent monastery or *metochion*.[12] Whatever the precise reasons for Sylvester's election, the defining feature of his patriarchate was his prolonged absence away from his see. Though the existing scholarly literature does not permit an accurate and thorough presentation of his travels, his signatures on synodal decisions as well as the exchange of some letters present a clear pattern of extended journeys outside of the Alexandrian Patriarchate, particularly in Jerusalem and above all in Constantinople.

Already relatively early in his patriarchate, Sylvester seems to have spent five years in Constantinople (1574-1579), before coming to Jerusalem in 1579.[13] Perhaps on the way from Constantinople or Jerusalem Sylvester spent some time at the famed Monastery of St. John the Theologian on Patmos; in any case, he would attempt to intervene in monastic life there, as evidenced by his letter to the monks of March 1579[14], reinforced by a similar letter of his colleague Patriarch Sophronios of 1580[15], as well as an undated missive of Sylvester to the Christians of the island of 1580.[16] Letters from Meletios Pegas to Sylvester written while the patriarch stayed at Damietta in 1581 attest to his presence once again within his own jurisdiction.[17]

These extended absences away from his flock must have prompted Sylvester to find someone to manage the Alexandrian Church during these long sojourns. His choice fell upon his fellow Cretan and abbot of Agarathos Monastery, Meletios Pegas, whom he called to Egypt around the year 1574, while gradually entrusting him with ever more important offices, as *protosynkellos*, *epitropos* and then archimandrite.[18] Meletios thus had become the de facto patriarch of Alexandria when Sylvester left once again for Constantinople in 1583, arriving

[12] For a discussion of the problem of this *metochion* of Saint Catherine's on Crete, see Sevcenko 2006: 22, n. 46.
[13] Papadopoulos 1935: 616.
[14] *MM*, vol. 6, 266-269.
[15] *MM*, vol. 6, 277-281.
[16] *MM*, vol. 6, 266-269.
[17] Papadopoulos 1935: 616-617.
[18] Mazarakes 1932: 113; Papadopoulos 1935: 614.

in time to sign on November 20th a joint decision of Patriarch Jeremiah II rejecting the Gregorian Calendar Reform.[19] Fittingly enough, Sylvester died while travelling at Lindo on Rhodes in 1590.[20]

The Rise of Idiorrhythmia: The Background to Sylvester's Athonite Visitation of 1574

On the basis of the diary of the German scholar Stephan Gerlach, who was present in Constantinople at the time, we know that Patriarch Jeremiah II went on a visitation through Macedonia, the Morea and the Peloponnese from October 1573 to July 1574. The purpose of this journey was to collect the annual tribute due to the sultan, amounting to 4,000 ducats.[21] According to the documentation restoring cenobitic life at Lavra and Vatopedi on Athos discussed below, Jeremiah celebrated Christmas at Thessalonike with his fellow patriarch Sylvester, in 1574. During the days they spent together, Sylvester informed Jeremiah of his intention to go on pilgrimage to Mount Athos and correct monastic life there. He had, apparently, heard of the spread of irregular monastic practices to the Holy Mountain, and it was agreed by the representatives of the Athonite monasteries found in Thessalonike at that time that after his visitation an official document would be issued to this effect.

The heterodox monastic practices that had caused Sylvester's visitation were described as *idiorrhythmia* (ἰδιορρυθμία). What exactly are we to understand by this term? Given its importance for the history of monasticism in the Orthodox world, there is surprisingly little scholarship on this form of monastic living, and almost all of it is written from the perspective of the church authorities. These authorities, among whom we must of course include Sylvester as well, took an extremely negative line: indeed, there are almost no balanced descriptions of this practice.[22]

The defining feature of *idiorrhythmia*, and what clearly set it apart from communal monasticism, was its rejection of the notion of apostolic poverty: instead, each monk could own and otherwise dispose of property. Other features of the system that are described as idiorrhythmic in the scholarship must be taken with a grain of salt and reflect the system of *idiorrhythmia* in a particular

[19] Mazarakes 1932: 114-117; cf. Hannick and Todt 2002: 578 (no. 14).
[20] Mazarakes 1932: 128.
[21] De Gregorio 1996: 360-361.
[22] See, for instance, de Meerster 1942: art. 8, with further abundant references there to the negative assessments of *idiorrhythmia* from the scholarship of the late nineteenth and early twentieth century. Less biased descriptions in Laurès 1901; Talbot 1991; Talbot 2019: 39-43.

time and place, namely on Mount Athos from the eighteenth to the twentieth century. It is on Athos that all monasteries had become idiorrhythmic by the middle of the eighteenth century. Even after the tide had begun to turn towards communal monasticism, nine of the twenty principal monasteries were still idiorrhythmic by 1900, and it was not until 1992 that *idiorrhythmia* disappeared from the principal monasteries, though it continues to survive in smaller monastic establishments (*sketes*) even today.

The features of this Athonite system of *idiorrhythmia* included the division of a monastery into "families" or groups, each headed by a godfather-like senior monk or *proestos* (προεστώς), who together formed a ruling council (*synaxis*) within each monastery. A president, who represented the monastery at the Athonite central administration at Karyes, was elected every year by the council. His duties were, however, mostly ceremonial. The main pillar of communal life within idiorrhythmic monasteries on Athos around 1900 was the "family": each family dined together in its own dining room, and all necessities beyond the basic allowance of food and wine, including clothing and medical expenses, was provided by its head, the *proestos*.[23]

Since the official line of the Orthodox Church throughout the Late Byzantine and Ottoman periods was to support cenobitic monasticism and condemn *idiorrhythmia*, our descriptions of *idiorrhythmia* when it first emerged as a discernible system of monasticism, that is from the end of fourteenth century, are very one-sided and biased. To my knowledge, the first extensive description of *idiorrhythmia* stems from the monk Pachomios in a manuscript of Iviron Monastery written in the year 1540:

> There are four excellent virtues which the monk possesses and is so-called: refraining from women and meat, poverty and obedience. All [monks], both the cenobites and the *idiorrhythmoi*, have the first two of these, while the cenobites alone have the remainder, namely that it happens that the *idiorrhythmoi* are imperfect and between the secular and monastic estate and trespassers of their own customs. And if one were to answer that the cenobites own possessions, as well as those not living in obedience [in a communal monastery] but in *hesychia*, know that that which the cenobites possess is not theirs, but held in common and each thing [the cenobite] possesses is his brother's, not his own. If someone does not possess anything, he lives in poverty, for ownership is not prohibited by scripture, but rather evil ownership. The anchorites, however, are not subject to anyone, since, being in the wilderness, they do not possess something, which they shall subordinate. By the same.

[23] The role of these families or groups of monks within monasteries, consisting of seven or eight monks, is vividly described for Athos around 1900 by Laurès 1901.

> Those participating in the monastic life through *idiorrhythmia*, since they are without leadership and are content with their own rule and regulations, rather than that of the Holy and Universal Church, are like a single woman mixing unlawfully with each person, or prostitute, and, those in the *koinobion*, if they live cenobitically, are like a woman of utmost decency, who does not know another man unlawfully, but if they do not live according to the coenobium but idiorrhythmically, they are like an adulteress, not content with her own man, and with impunity mixing and defiling with others, on account of which she is instead more blameworthy than the prostitute.[24]

Thus, in Pachomios' view it was the idiorrhythmic monks' lack of poverty and obedience which rendered them "imperfect" monastics, even though they did not eat meat and were chaste.[25] According to this interpretation, only cenobitic monks and anchorites were valid forms of monastic life. The complex governance of Athonite idiorrhythmic monks of the eighteenth century onward is not evident in critiques like that of Pachomios: we can only speculate whether or not idiorrhythmic communities before the golden age of *idiorrhythmia* on Athos were organized along similar lines. The details of how idiorrhythmic communities operated, however, were clearly of little interest to their critics: much more concerning was their claim to share the status of monks despite

[24] *Haupturkunden* 212-214 (nr. XIV: Συναγωγὴ διαφόρων κεφαλαίων, ὅτι δεῖ τοὺς ἐν τῇ αὐτῇ μονῇ μοναχοὺς κοινῶς βιοῦν κατὰ πάντα καὶ ἀρκεῖσθαι τοῖς ἀναγκαίοις), at 213: Τέσσαρές εἰσιν ἐξαίρετοι ἀρεταί, ἃς ὁ κεκτημένος μοναχός ἐστί τε καὶ ὀνομάζεται, τὸ ἀπέχεσθαι γυναικὸς καὶ κρέατος καὶ τὸ ἀκτήμονα εἶναι καὶ ἐν ὑποταγῇ. Καὶ τὰς μὲν προλαβούσας δύο πάντες ἔχουσιν, οἵ τε κοινοβιᾶται καὶ οἱ ἰδιόῤῥυθμοι, τὰς δὲ λοιπὰς μόνοι οἱ κοινοβιᾶται, ὡς ἐντεῦθεν συμβαίνειν τοὺς ἰδιορῥύθ- μους ἀτελεῖς καὶ μέσους εἶναι τῆς τε κοσμικῆς καὶ μοναδικῆς πολιτείας καὶ παραβάτας τῶν συνθηκῶν αὐτῶν. Εἰ δέ τις ἀντιλέγοιτο, ὅτι καὶ οἱ κοινοβιᾶται κτήματα ἔχουσι, καὶ οἱ ἐν ἡσυχία ἀνυπόκτατοί εἰσιν, ἴστω, ὅτι οἱ κοινοβιᾶται ἅπερ ἔχουσιν, οὐκ ἰδίως ἔχουσιν, ἀλλὰ κοινῶς καὶ ἕκαστον, ὅπερ ἔχει, τοῦ ἀδελφοῦ αὐτοῦ ἐστιν, οὐχ ἑαυτοῦ ἐπειδὲ οὐκ ἐξουσιάζει τις αὐτῶν τι, πάντως ἀκτήμων ἔστιν, οὐδὲ γὰρ κεκώλυται τὸ ἔχειν παρὰ τῇ γραφῇ, ἀλλὰ τὸ κακῶς ἔχειν· οἱ δὲ ἀναχωρηταὶ οὐχ ὑποτάσσονταί τινι, διότι ἐν ἐρημίᾳ ὄντες, οὐκ ἔχουσι τόν, ὃν ὑποταγήσονται. Τοῦ αὐτοῦ·Οἱ ἐν ἰδιορῥύθμῳ τὸ μοναχικὸν μετερχόμενοι, ὡς ἀκέφαλοι καὶ τῷ ἰδίῳ κανόνι καὶ τύπῳ στοιχοῦντες, μὴ μέντοι τῷ τῆς ἁγίας καὶ καθολικῆς ἐκκλησίας, ἐοίκασιν ἀπολελυμένῃ γυναικὶ καὶ ἀθέσμως ἑκάστῳ συγγινομένῃ, ἤγουν πόρνῃ, οἱ δὲ ἐν κοινοβίῳ, εἰ μὲν κατὰ κοινόβιον πολιτεύονται, ἐοίκασι γυναικὶ κοσμιωτάτῃ, καὶ ἕτερον ἄνδρα παρὰ τὸν νόμιμον οὐ γινωσκούσῃ, εἰ δὲ οὐ κατὰ κοινόβιον ἀλλ' ἰδιορῥύθμως, μοιχαλίδι ἐοίκασιν, ἣ τῷ ἰδίῳ ἀνδρὶ οὐκ ἐξαρκουμένη, καὶ ἑτέροις ἀδεῶς συμφύρεται καὶ μιαίνεται, διὸ καὶ μᾶλλον περισσοτέρως τιμωρεῖται τῆς πόρνης. On this excerpt, see Amand de Mendieta 1972: 107.

[25] In later centuries, in contrast to other forms of monastic life on Athos, the consumption of meat was allowed in idiorrhythmic establishments: see Amand de Mendieta 1972: 228.

rejecting poverty and obedience. In the same tract Pachomios also criticized the lavish dress of idiorrhythmic monks.[26]

Well into the middle of the sixteenth century, cenobitic monasticism seems to have retained its pride of place on the Holy Mountain. The last of the twenty principal monasteries on Mount Athos, Stavronikita, was founded in the 1540s by Patriarch Jeremiah I of Constantinople as a cenobitic institution.[27] Nonetheless, there are indications that cenobitic monasticism was losing ground already in the fifteenth century: thus, cenobitic life was (re-)instituted at Vatopedi in 1449.[28] The economic basis of Athonite monastic life was no worse in the first century and a half of Ottoman rule than it had been in the Late Byzantine period, and indeed the major monasteries seem to have enjoyed a period of substantial economic prosperity.[29]

The true catalyst for the rise of idiorrhythmic monasticism on Mount Athos, as well as elsewhere in the Ottoman Empire, was the changing legal status of monasteries. As a starting point in examining this question, it must be underlined that a coherent doctrine for how Christian monasteries were to be treated under Islamic law in the first centuries of the Ottoman Empire was apparently never formulated. Instead, an ad hoc system seems to have been employed, which varied from region to region. In the former provinces of the Mameluke Sultanate such as Egypt, Syria and Palestine that were conquered by Selim I (r. 1512-1520) in 1516-1517, the Ottoman state simply continued the arrangements that the region's monasteries had made with Muslim rulers going back centuries.

The monasteries in the former Byzantine territories of Asia Minor and the Balkans were a different matter, since in most cases the Ottoman conquest was their first experience with Muslim rule. The Ottoman approach to taxing and governing the monks and their properties was marked by pragmatism: by and large, monasteries had their lands and privileges confirmed by the Ottoman sultan. Yet the question of whether monasteries fulfilled the criteria of being an endowment (Ar. *waqf*, Turk. *vakıf*) was not addressed in detail until the middle of the sixteenth century. Even so, jurists from the Hanafi School of Islamic

[26] *Haupturkunden* 212-214 (nr. XIV: Συναγωγὴ διαφόρων κεφαλαίων, ὅτι δεῖ τοὺς ἐν τῇ αὐτῇ μονῇ μοναχοὺς κοινῶς βιοῦν κατὰ πάντα καὶ ἀρκεῖσθαι τοῖς ἀναγκαίοις), at 213-214.

[27] On the founding of Stavronikita, see Chitwood 2017.

[28] *Acts of Vatopedi* 339-342 (no. 231).

[29] See Zachariadou 1996; Zachariadou 2006. For the situation of Byzantine monasteries more generally at the time of the Ottoman conquest, see Oikonomidès 1976; Smyrlis 2008; Smyrlis 2009. The broader issue of authority and control over the land in the last centuries of Byzantium is examined *in extenso* by Estangüi Gómez 2014.

jurisprudence, the dominant strand of legal thought in the Ottoman Empire, had already begun to grapple with this question at the time of Mehmet II.[30]

The legal status of monasteries in the European half of the Ottoman Empire – interestingly enough, there is no evidence for a similar process in the empire's Near Eastern territories – changed dramatically during the reign of Selim II (r. 1566-1574). In 1568 and 1569, in what is known as the "Confiscation Affair", Selim II issued fermans that ordered the confiscation of monastic property, arguing that their agricultural land, *miri*, in fact belonged to the fisc, although it could be purchased back by the monks, and that endowments to monasteries did not fulfill the requirements of a *waqf*.[31] One of the major problems in recognizing monastic endowments was that such foundations were, from the perspective of Muslim jurists, aimed at the upkeep of buildings (churches), while valid charitable *waqfs* were only supposed to benefit the needy, including the poor, travelers and sick. Under the Hanafi jurist Ebussuud Efendi, one of the foremost legal thinkers of the first Ottoman centuries, a loophole was found whereby monastic endowments could be considered valid if they were categorized as family *waqfs*.

Though this clever bit of legal reasoning preserved the status of the Christian monasteries as endowments, the effects of the Confiscation Affair were ruinous: since monasteries were forced to repurchase their agricultural lands from the Ottoman fisc, only the wealthiest monasteries survived. Although the question has never been explored in detail, the financial distress of the Confiscation Affair undoubtedly had a hand in the rise of *idiorrhythmia*. With traditional monastic endowments no longer able to support the large cenobitic communities they had sustained in earlier centuries, and now subject to the ever-increasing scrutiny of the Ottoman fisc and Islamic jurists, alternative forms of monasticism offered a means of continuing monastic life.

Championing Communal Monasticism: Sylvester's Letter to the Monks of the Monastery of St. John the Theologian, March 1579

One last subject needs to be explored before examining Patriarch Slyvester's visitation of the Athonite monasteries in 1574: the patriarch's own views on monasticism. Other than the documents describing his stay on Mount Athos, it is difficult to gain a sense of Sylvester's ideas about communal monasticism. He had been a monk and then abbot of Agarathos Monastery on Crete, which seems to have been a wealthy, albeit otherwise unremarkable monastery.[32]

[30] See the overview of Kermeli 2012.

[31] Among the numerous studies of the Confiscation Affair include: Alexander 1997; Fotić 1994; Kermeli 2000.

[32] Psilakes 2002[3]-2003[2], vol. 1, 9-39.

We can, however, learn something of the patriarch's views on monasticism from his letter of March 1579 to the monks of the Monastery of St. John the Theologian on Patmos.[33] In many respects, this letter established a pattern for combating idiorrhythmic monasticism that had crystallized some five years after his Athonite visitation.

The letter, which in fact was a document bearing the patriarch's seal (τὸ σιγιλλιῶδες γράμμα τῆς ἠμῶν μετριότητος) and thus an epistle with legal force, begins with Slyvester's admission that he had been prompted to write the letter out of concern for the constitution and correction of the monastic community on Patmos. It follows with a discussion of the basic function of monasticism with reference to the writings of Basil of Caesarea (undoubtedly his *Asketikon*). Since the basic principle of monasticism is to achieve the salvation of one's soul, it is necessary to discard all worldly cares upon entering the monastic life; Sylvester compares this process to disrobing before entering a bath. Monks were to imitate the apostolic life, and Sylvester explicitly mentions monasteries on and around Mount Sinai, Jerusalem, Mount Athos and Meteora as places that ought to "thus live communally, with one heart, one will and one desire among all."[34] *Idiorrhythmia* is then explicitly named: "Tell me, beloved [ones], what good or profit benefits the monk in the salvation of his soul through *idiorrhythmia*? Nothing, except much concern for worldly cares."[35]

According to Sylvester, there are three types of monasticism: eremitic (living in solitude), semi-eremitic (living with one to two other monks) or communal.[36] He then relates the story of the invention of communal monasticism by Pachomios, who caused this form of ascetic life to spread throughout Libya, Ethiopia and Egypt. Was Sylvester here perhaps expressing some pride in communal monasticism having been invited within his patriarchate? He then makes a reference to John Klimakos and, finally, to the founder of the island's monastery, Christodoulos, who, according to Sylvester, had intended his monastery to be a *koinobion*.

We then learn the immediate reason for Sylvester's letter: an ordained monk from the monastery, Joseph, had gone on pilgrimage to Jerusalem and met both Sylvester as well as the Patriarch of Jerusalem and other prelates gathered together in a synod there. Upon being questioned by the assembled hierarchs about the circumstances at his monastery, he was berated for the fact that his

33 *MM*, vol. 6, 266-269.

34 *MM*, vol. 6, 267: πολιτεύονται οὕτως κοιωοβιακῶς καὶ τὸ μία ἐν πᾶσι καρδία εἶναι καὶ θέλημα ἔν καὶ μία ἐπιθυμία.

35 *MM*, vol. 6, 267: εἴπατέ μοι, ἀγαπητοί, τί ἐσθλὸν ἢ τίς καρποφορία πλουεῖ τῷ μοναχῷ τῇ ἰδιορυθμίᾳ περὶ ψυχικὴν σωτηρίαν; οὐδεμία, πάρεξ φροντίδα πολλὴ καὶ μερίμναις βιωτικαῖς.

36 *MM*, vol. 6, 267-268.

congregation was no longer a communal monastery.[37] It was then decided that the monastery must return to being a *koinobion*, which the present letter was meant to accomplish.

Any monks opposing the return to communal monasticism were to take their belongings and leave the congregation, and in the future any members of the congregation opposing communal life would be censured. A recalcitrant ordained monk was not to participate in any divine service, while a regular monk was to become a private person once again: they would be outside the church and inherit the lot of Judas.[38]

Some salient features of Sylvester's monastic thought can be gleaned from his letter to the Monastery of St. John the Theologian on Patmos. First, communal monasticism was a legitimate form of monastic life, indeed one of three forms, alongside that of the eremitic and semi-eremitic variety. Second, idiorrhythmic monasticism was not a valid expression of monastic life, since its practitioners were not able to focus on the salvation of the soul, as they remained burdened with earthly cares. Third, the monastery's founder, Christodoulos, had intended his foundation to be a cenobitic establishment: thus, any attempt to introduce *idiorrhythmia* represented a violation of the founders' wishes. These three points were already apparent in the reintroduction of communal monastic life at the Great Lavra five years earlier.

Sylvester's Athonite Visitation of 1574

As related at the beginning of this study, during Christmas of 1573 the two patriarchs, Sylvester and Jeremiah II, met in Thessalonike. It was there agreed that Sylvester would journey to Mount Athos and correct errant monastic practices, and these corrective provisions would be officially endorsed by Jeremiah upon Sylvester's return. In September of 1574 a synod was held in Constantinople with both Sylvester and Jeremiah present that ratified the measures suggested by Sylvester.

It is worth briefly discussing the documentation that has survived for this visitation. As Giuseppe de Gregorio has convincingly demonstrated, two versions have survived of the patriarchal letter.[39] The first and more extensive document, which was sent to the Great Lavra and was edited by the German theologian and church historian Philipp Meyer in the nineteenth century, was

[37] *MM*, vol. 6, 268-269.
[38] *MM*, vol. 6, 269.
[39] For all this, see de Gregorio 1996: 367-368.

dispatched to this monastery as an official act.[40] Later, a second and more cursory ratifying letter was sent to individual monasteries. Though no one has been able to consult the Lavra version of the letter since Meyer used it for his edition, de Gregorio edited the second abbreviated version, which is transmitted in Vat. gr. 2646, as well as reprinting Meyer's version. A later copy of this first version is transmitted by Vatopedi Monastery.[41]

As with Sylvester's letter to the monks of St. John the Theologian on Patmos, pilgrimage was the reason which prompted the events leading to the visitation, for Sylvester wanted to make a pilgrimage to the monasteries there and, at the same time, make an inspection and correct errant practices.[42] As part of these efforts, Sylvester first restored the Great Lavra as a *koinobion* once again:

> "Behold, he then physically departed with God to the Holy-named Mountain, and, having spent some time there, among the other things he corrected was the practice of the cenobitic life and ordered [them] to live in peace and harmony, and restored the most divine monastery of the Holy Lavra and the holy and God-bearing Athanasios on Athos, as a pure coenobium, for it had for many years functioned poorly as an idiorrhythmic monastery, and he now brought about that it was run again as a coenobium, as was said, because its holy founder also ordered [these] rules."[43]

As with the Monastery of St. John the Theologian on Patmos, Sylvester justified his reintroduction of communal monasticism at the Great Lavra on the grounds that the monastery's founder (*ktetor*), this time Athanasios the Athonite instead of Chrysodoulos, had intended his establishment to be a *koinobion*. Thus, by introducing idiorrhythmic monasticism, the monks at the Great Lavra were denying the will of their founder. At this point in the patriarchal letter, however, Sylvester's activities were restricted to the Great Lavra alone.

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40 *Haupturkunden* 215-218 (no. XIV).

41 *Acta Vatopedii* 136-144.

42 *Patriarchal Letter of Jeremiah II and Sylvester for the Great Lavra* 370, line 5: Ἁγιώνυμον Ὄρος, ὡς ἠβούλετο καὶ διὰ μελέτης εἶχε τοῦ προσκυνῆσαι τὰ ἐκεῖ σεβάσμια μοναστήρια, ἐξέτασιν ποιήσηται καὶ διορθώση, καὶ εἰς τὸν τοῦ δικαίου τόπον ἀποκαταστήση πάσας τὰς διαφοράς.

43 *Patriarchal Letter of Jeremiah II and Sylvester for the Great Lavra* 371, lines 9-12: ἰδοὺ ὅτι σὺν θεῷ ἀπῆλθε σωματικῶς εἰς τὸ ἁγιώνυμον ὄρος, καὶ καιρὸν ἱκανὸν ἐνδιατρίψας, μετὰ τῶν ἄλλων ὧν διωρθώσατο, καὶ κοινοβιακῶς ζῆν καὶ διάγειν ἐρυθμίσατο ἐν εἰρήνῃ καὶ ὁμονοίᾳ, ἀποκαταστήσας καὶ τὸ θειότατον μοναστήριον τῆς ἱερᾶς λαύρας τοῦ ὁσίου καὶ θεοφόρου πατρὸς ἡμῶν ἀθανασίου τοῦ ἐν τῷ ἄθῳ, κοινόβιον καθαρόν, ἐκ πολλῶν χρόνων ἰδιόρυθμον οὐ καλῶς διαρκέσαν, νῦν δὲ πάλιν κοινοβιακῶς διάγειν ἐκτελέσας, ὡς εἴρηται, ὡς καὶ καταρχὰς ὁ ἱερὸς αὐτῆς κτήτωρ ὡρίσατο (…).

In the next part of the letter, the remit of the provisions was expanded to the entire Holy Mountain. It is for this reason that this document is sometimes seen as a *typikon* applying to the entirety of Mount Athos, even though its provisions seem to have been a dead letter until the end of the eighteenth century, when Patriarch Gabriel IV issued a decree for Mount Athos echoing the language of the patriarchal letter and, perhaps in the lead-up to this decree, a copy of the letter was made.[44] For this purpose, Sylvester had undertaken research on the documents governing monastic life on Athos: "[I]n the presence of the entire holy synaxis, and the most holy protos, the abbots of the reverend monasteries, and the remaining monks, but also the local pious [bishop] of Ierissos and the Holy Mountain, he inspected and read the reverend chrysobulls of the famed emperors, and the seal-bearing documents of the most holy patriarchs, which give information on how life was to be structured at their time, to do that which is blessed, beneficial and useful and to abstain from that which is harmful and not beneficial to those who ought to live piously and virtuously. That which is canonical, blessed and pleasing to God they have transmitted as customs."[45]

On the basis of this research, performed in the presence of the dignitaries listed above, Sylvester then returned to Constantinople and, together in a synod with Jeremiah II, promulgated a number rules for monastic life on the Holy Mountain. The departures from communal monastic life listed in the letter can be broadly categorized into the correction of economic and disciplinary infractions. In sum, they paint a remarkable picture of monastic life.

The regulations of the synod regulating economic life on the Holy Mountain attest to the varied attempts of the monks to survive in the difficult years after the Confiscation Affair of 1568-1569. The keeping of female livestock

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[44] De Gregorio 1996: 349: the copy was supplied with numbered provisions, giving the letter a legal character which the original did not have. Though the letter is not explicitly identified as a *typikon* (used with qualification by Amand de Mendieta 1972: 108-109, a designation not accepted by de Gregorio 1996: 347), its ordinances were to apply to the whole Holy Mountain, and can thus be justifiably included amongst the constitutions governing monastic life on Athos in the Early Modern period (it is printed with other constitutions in the study of Papachysanthou 1999: 59-61).

[45] *Patriarchal Letter of Jeremiah II and Sylvester for the Great Lavra* 371, lines 12-15: ἐθεάσατο παρούσης πάσης τῆς ἑκεῖ ἱερᾶς συνάξεως, τοῦ τε ὁσιωτάτου πρώτου, τῶν σεβασμίων καθηγουμένων, τῶν λοιπῶν ἐνασκουμένων, ἀλλὰ δὴ καὶ τοῦ κατὰ τόπον θεοφιλεστάτου ἱερισοῦ καὶ ἁγίου ὄρους, καὶ ἀνέγνω τά τε σεπτὰ χρυσόβουλλα τῶν ἀοιδίμων βασιλέων καὶ τῶν ἁγιωτάτων πατριαρχῶν σιγιλλιώδη τίμια γράμματα, τὰ κατὰ καιροὺς δοθέντα αὐτοῖς περὶ τοῦ πῶς δεῖ διάγειν αὐτοὺς, τίνα τὲ ποιεῖν εὐλόγως καὶ συμφερόντως καὶ ἐπ' ὠφελίᾳ καὶ τίνων ἀπέχεσθαι, ὡς ἐπιβλαβῶν καὶ μὴ συμφερόντων αὐτοῖς, τοῖς θείως καὶ ἐναρέτως πολιτεύεσθαι ὀφείλουσιν, ὡς κανονικὸν καὶ εὔλογον, θεῷ τε φίλον καὶ ὡς τὰς συνθήκας δεδώκασιν (…).

on Athos, banned already under Athanasios the Athonite in the tenth century, was apparently being practiced, and thus was banned by the synod; male animals needed by the monasteries, presumably above all beasts of burden, were, by contrast, excepted from this ban.[46] The monks were also engaged in the distillation of raki – this marks perhaps one of the first references to the drink – which the synod forbade them from producing or drinking.[47] Chestnuts were not to be collected for sale, only for one's own consumption.[48] The cultivation of grain and barley on the Holy Mountain was completely forbidden; legumes were, however, excepted from this rule.[49] In sum, these regulations aimed at curtailing the economic exploitation of Athos, especially by idiorrhythmic monks.

The economic activities of monks living in hermitages or small monasteries (*sketes*) received particular attention. The inhabitants of *sketes* were forbidden from practicing viticulture beyond what was necessary for their own use.[50] The churches at the Athonite "capital" at Protaton served as a central market for economic transactions on the Holy Mountain, where the price of certain foodstuffs was fixed by the synod: six aspers per serving of nuts, five per serving of cherries and eight per pound of olive oil.[51] The purchase of a hermitage, whether on the grounds of one of the principal monasteries, at Protaton or within a *skete* was also regulated by the synod, in that, if the monk chose to leave, he was not to take anything from the hermitage with him, only that which he had himself brought.[52]

Of particular interest for the topic of this special issue were regulations issued for the travel of hermits, either monks or ordained monks. It seems that these monastics left Athos to seek support outside of the Holy Mountain in the form of *adelphata* or *sarantia*;[53] this activity was forbidden and henceforth restricted only to the "public" monasteries (*katholikoi monasteria*), that is monasteries not in private ownership or control, thus presumably excluding many hermitages and small monasteries on Athos.[54] Finally, individual monks were forbidden from buying or selling monastic clothing: such monks were only to receive

46 *Patriarchal Letter of Jeremiah II and Sylvester for the Great Lavra* 372, line 20.
47 *Patriarchal Letter of Jeremiah II and Sylvester for the Great Lavra* 372, lines 20-21.
48 *Patriarchal Letter of Jeremiah II and Sylvester for the Great Lavra* 372, line 21.
49 *Patriarchal Letter of Jeremiah II and Sylvester for the Great Lavra* 373, lines 23-24.
50 *Patriarchal Letter of Jeremiah II and Sylvester for the Great Lavra* 374, line 28.
51 *Patriarchal Letter of Jeremiah II and Sylvester for the Great Lavra* 373, line 24.
52 *Patriarchal Letter of Jeremiah II and Sylvester for the Great Lavra* 373, line 23.
53 The precise meaning of both terms is not entirely clear. Rather than the sort of old-age pensions known from the Late Byzantine period, it is more likely that *adelphata* in this sense were simply incomes or allowances for an individual monk. The meaning of *sarantaria* ("forty" in some sense) is more unclear (see de Gregorio 1996: 374, n. 11).
54 *Patriarchal Letter of Jeremiah II and Sylvester for the Great Lavra* 374, line 26.

compensation for their labor and a fair price for the material, while the clothing itself would only be bought or sold communally, and even this activity was to only cover the monastery's own needs.[55]

A second category of ordinances issued by the synod consisted of disciplinary measures imposed upon the monks of Athos. Of these regulations, one addressed a problem often bemoaned in Athonite *typika*: the presence of boys on the Holy Mountain. The synod forbade the presence of such youths either in the monasteries or in hermitages, not even on the grounds of education, kinship, monastic training or any other reason.[56] In a similar vein, lay workmen on Athos had to be tonsured within three years or leave the Holy Mountain.[57] The forgery of documents related to the ownership of hermitages was also forbidden.[58] Indeed, the transition to Ottoman rule resulted in a bout of forgeries of supposed grants from Orthodox rulers in Byzantine times, which were intended to establish a monastery's claims to property that had actually been acquired more recently or whose documentation was lacking.[59]

Particularly vexing was the practice of housing nuns (*monachai kalograiai*), so-called "fellow sisters" (*synadelphoi*), in hermitages outside of Athos and in villages.[60] This certainly violated the spirit, if not the letter, of the *abaton* custom on the Holy Mountain, which prohibited the female presence (including animals) there. Though the nuns do not seem to have resided on Athos itself, it is interesting to note the formation of these loose monastic communities containing both men – Athonite hermits – and women.

Conclusion

The patriarchal letter and synod were not the only interactions that Sylvester would have with Mount Athos.[61] He had already been attested as a signatory in a patriarchal act resolving a dispute between Esphigmenou and

55 *Patriarchal Letter of Jeremiah II and Sylvester for the Great Lavra* 374, lines 26-27.
56 *Patriarchal Letter of Jeremiah II and Sylvester for the Great Lavra* 372, lines 18-19.
57 *Patriarchal Letter of Jeremiah II and Sylvester for the Great Lavra* 372, lines 19-20.
58 *Patriarchal Letter of Jeremiah II and Sylvester for the Great Lavra* 373, line 22.
59 Fotić 2005: 68-72.
60 *Patriarchal Letter of Jeremiah II and Sylvester for the Great Lavra* 374-375, lines 29-30.
61 Problematic in this respect is his signature, along with that of the patriarchs Jeremiah II of Constantinople and Sophronios IV (1579-1608) of Jerusalem, in a document granting the Monastery of St. John the Baptist in Adrianople stauropegial rights, in what is supposedly a document of June 1591: *Acts of Pantokrator* 47-49 (no. 16); not listed in Hannick and Todt 2002 (probably due to the problematic dating).

Vatopedi monasteries on Athos in July of 1577.[62] Whether Sylvester cultivated relations outside of these instances is not known, but merits further research.

To return to subject of this special issue, two types of mobility – "Orthodoxy on the Move" – are evident in Sylvester's visitation to Mount Athos in 1574. On the one hand, Sylvester's peripatetic existence was representative of the footloose patriarchs of the early Ottoman era. On the other, in his attempt to regulate *idiorrhythmia* on Mount Athos he also sought to limit the movement of these monks. As seen above, one of their more blameworthy practices was to seek support outside of the Holy Mountain by traveling in search of benefactors. In this endeavor the patriarch seems to have failed, at least in the short to medium term: *idiorrhythmia* continued to spread throughout the Eastern Mediterranean world in the following centuries, and it was not until the end of the nineteenth century that a more concerted effort was made to suppress it on Athos. The "restoration" of cenobitic life at the Great Lavra and Vatopedi thus seems to have been a dead letter for around two centuries.

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[62] *Acts of Esphigmenou* 53-54 (no. 28); cf. Hannick and Todt 2002: 577 (no. 3).

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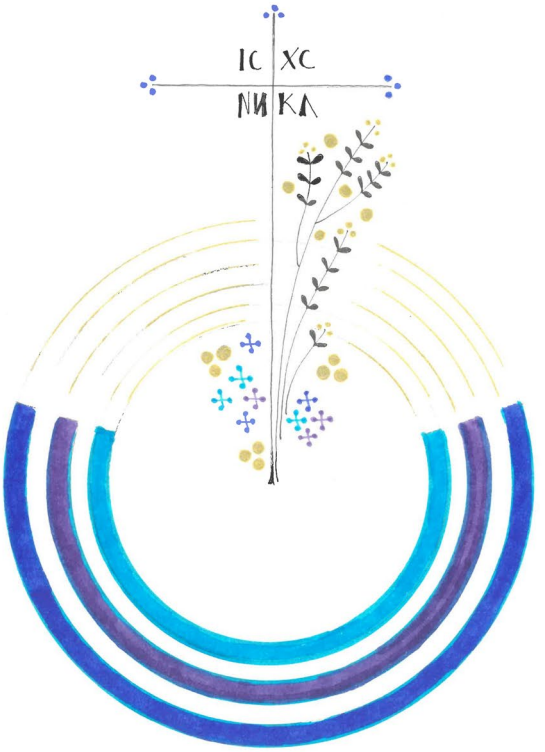
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"MAKING THE LORD'S TABLE A TABLE OF DEMONS": ORTHODOXY IN FAITH, HETERODOXY AND ORTHOPRAXY IN THE WORKS OF PACHOMIOS ROUSANOS (1508–1553)*

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ABSTRACT. This paper discusses how the sixteenth-century Athonite monk Pachomios Rousanos (1508–1553) constructs his vision of "orthodoxy in faith," "heterodoxy" and "orthopraxy" in an age dominated by intense confessional polarization and adaptation of the Greek Orthodox to the Ottoman rule. Through his corpus of polemical works, the Greek theologian endeavoured to impose as authoritative his own vision about which beliefs and ritual practices are to be held correctly by the community of believers. In his attempt at social disciplining, Rousanos criticized what he considered "heterodox" religious practices, deviant teachings from the Orthodox norms, and deplored the low level of religious instruction among both the clergy and simple believers. As a tireless traveller into the Eastern Mediterranean lands, he was able to diagnose *in situ* many of the religious issues of the Orthodox during the first half of the sixteenth century and proposed remedies for the spiritual edification of the community of believers.

Keywords: Mount Athos, Orthodoxy, Orthopraxy, Heterodoxy, Pachomios Rousanos, Popular religion, Ioannikios Kartanos, Religious Instruction, Conversion, Social Disciplining, Vernacularization

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1. Preliminaries

> When I was on my way through Chrysoupolis, I entered the city. When arriving at the church, as it was the time of the divine liturgy, I saw an epileptic holding a sign on which was written what had to be done about his epilepsy. After reading the divine Gospel, the priest takes him, holding him by his right hand, before the holy Table [in the altar], reciting some things to him. When I saw this, I left the church, but they stayed until the end [of the liturgy]. And making some rope ties, they placed them under the Table, after which they greased them with tar. And pasting a shard of pot on them, they proceeded to make the Lord's Table a table of demons.[1]

It is through these harsh words that the sixteenth-century Athonite monk Pachomios Rousanos (1508–1553) denounced one of the many religious practices, which he considered "heterodox" rituals performed by members of the Greek Orthodox communities in the Ottoman times. At first sight, Rousanos' reaction is not at all unusual for a theologian and monk. Members of the clergy and the monastic communities constantly condemned pagan religious practices and non-Christian elements that survived and infiltrated the liturgical life of the Church and the Orthodox popular culture since the first centuries of Christianity.[2] But what makes Rousanos' criticism relevant is that it was voiced in a specific religious and cultural climate for the Orthodox Greeks of the Ottoman Empire.

The first half of the sixteenth century ushered in what was labelled by scholars as the "Age of Confessionalization" in the Eastern Mediterranean, which coincided with the state-building process of the Ottoman polity into a global

[1] Spyridon Lambros, ed., "Ἀνέκδοτος λόγος Παχωμίου τοῦ Ῥουσάνου περὶ δεισιδαιμονιών καὶ προλήψεων κατά τὸν ΙΣΤ΄ αιώνα," *Δελτίον τῆς Ἱστορικῆς καὶ Ἐθνολογικῆς Ἑταιρίας τῆς Ἑλλάδος* 1 (1883): 105–12, here 109.

[2] From the large bibliography on the topic, see Demetrios J. Constantelos, "Paganism and the State in the Age of Justinian," *Catholic Historical Review* 50:3 (1964): 372–80; Arnaldo Momigliano, "Popular Religious Beliefs and the Late Roman Historians," in *Popular Belief and Practice: Papers Read at the Ninth Summer Meeting and the Tenth Winter Meeting of the Ecclesiastical History Society*, ed. G. J. Cuming and Derek Baker (Cambridge: University Press, 1972), 1–18; Garth Fowden, "Bishops and Temples in the Eastern Roman Empire, A.D. 320–435," *Journal of Theological Studies* [NS] 29:1 (1978): 53–78; K. W. Harl, "Sacrifice and Pagan Belief in Fifth- and Sixth-Century Byzantium," *Past & Present* 128 (1990): 7–27; Ramsay MacMullen, *Christianity and Paganism in the Fourth to Eighth Centuries* (New Haven and Yale: Yale University Press, 1997); Fritz Graf, *Roman Festivals in the Greek East: From the Early Empire to the Middle Byzantine Era* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2015); Maijastina Kahlos, *Religious Dissent in Late Antiquity, 350–450* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2020).

empire in a post-Mongol Eurasian context.[3] At the same time, the inter-imperial rivalry that emerged between the Ottomans and the Safavids of Iran led to new articulations of Ottoman Sunnism and Safavid Shiism.[4] Along with the incorporation of Egypt and Syria in 1516–17, which were perceived as the main areas of Sunni Islam in the Muslim world, the Ottoman sultans attempted to move away from what has been labelled by scholars as "confessional ambiguity," and initiated complex religious reforms to fashion their imperial Sunni religious ideology, which also affected the religious life of all the non-Muslim religious groups of the empire.[5] The Ottomans' adherence to the Ḥanafī School of Islamic law (*madhhab*) facilitated their task of incorporating and managing the non-Muslim people of the empire, as this particular school of law was more lenient and practical in the interpretation of Islamic law (*sharīʿa*).[6] Complex religious, cultural, and social processes, such as the Islamization and Turkification of the newly conquered territories, peaked during the early sixteenth century and changed the dynamics between non-Muslims and their rulers as conversion to Islam became widespread among the

3 Tijana Krstić, "Illuminated by the Light of Islam and the Glory of the Ottoman Sultanate: Self-Narratives of Conversion to Islam in the Age of Confessionalization," *Comparative Studies in Society and History* 51:1 (2009): 35–63; Idem, *Contested Conversions to Islam: Narratives of Religious Change in the Early Modern Ottoman Empire* (Stanford CA: Stanford University Press, 2011); Derin Terzioğlu, "Sufis in the Age of State-Building and Confessionalization," in *The Ottoman World*, ed. Christine Woodhead (Abingdon: Routledge, 2012), 86–99; Tijana Krstić, "State and Religion, 'Sunnitization' and 'Confessionalism' in Süleyman's Time," in *The Battle for Central Europe: The Siege of Szigetvár and the Death of Süleyman the Magnificent and Miklos Zrínyi (1566)*, ed. Pál Fodor (Leiden and Boston: Brill, 2011), 65–91; Guy Burak, "Faith, Law and Empire in the Ottoman 'Age of Confessionalization' (Fifteenth-Seventeenth Centuries): The Case of 'Renewal of Faith'," *Mediterranean Historical Review* 28:1 (2013): 1–23.

4 Adel Alouche, *The Origins and Development of the Ottoman-Safavid Conflict (906–962/1500–1555)* (Berlin: Klaus Schwarz Verlag, 1983); Marcus Dressler, "Inventing Orthodoxy: Competing Claims for Authority and Legitimacy in the Ottoman Safavid Conflict," *Legitimizing the Order: The Ottoman Rhetoric of State Power*, ed. Hakan T. Karateke and Maurus Reinkowski (Leiden and Boston: Brill, 2005), 151–76.

5 Derin Terzioğlu, "How to Conceptualize Ottoman Sunnitization: A Historiographical Discussion," *Turcica* 44 (2012–13): 301–38; Idem, "Where *ʿİlm-i Ḥāl* Meets Catechism: Islamic Manuals of Religious Instruction on the Ottoman Empire in the Age of Confessionalization," *Past & Present* 220 (2013): 79–114; Tijana Krstić, "From *Shahāda* to *ʿAqīda*: Conversion to Islam, Catechization, and Sunnitization in Sixteenth-Century Ottoman Rumeli," in *Islamisation: Comparative Perspectives from History*, ed. Andrew Peacock (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2017), 296–314; Tijana Krstić and Derin Terzioğlou, eds., *Historicizing Sunni Islam in the Ottoman Empire, c. 1450–c. 1750* (Leiden and Boston: Brill, 2021); Idem, eds., *Entangled Confessionalizations? Dialogic Perspectives on the Politics of Piety and Community-Building in the Ottoman Empire, 15th–18th Centuries* (Piscataway NJ: Gorgias Press, 2022).

6 Colin Imber, *Ebu's-suʿud: The Islamic Legal Tradition* (Stanford CA: Stanford University Press, 2009); Guy Burak, *The Second Formation of Islamic Law: The Ḥanafī School in the Early Modern Ottoman Empire* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2015).

Christian and Jewish communities.[7] As a corollary to the phenomenon of changing and defining faith, the main question of religious orthodoxy became a topic of paramount importance for scholars and religious officials from both Christian and Muslim polities. All these actions, religious changes and contexts fueled the production of texts by Ottoman and non-Muslims, which address questions of religious identity, belief and orthopraxy in the early modern Mediterranean.

In their quest to explore the heuristic usefulness of the "confessionalization" paradigm for the Ottoman context – a thesis fashioned in the early 1980s German historiography by Wolfgang Reinhard and Heinz Schilling to investigate the emergence and development of the confessional churches in the post-Reformation European context[8] – scholars of the Ottoman Empire argued that the concepts of "orthodoxy" and "orthopraxy" were instrumental in articulating religious identity in the Ottoman context. As Tijana Krstić stated, these concepts are not perceived as "fixed sets of beliefs and practices, but rather as discursive processes by which different social actors were seeking to impose as authoritative their own understanding of which beliefs and practices should be viewed as 'correct'." [9] Driven by the new challenges posed by these historiographical discussions, scholars of Greek Orthodoxy began to consider the empirical utility of talking about "confessionalization" in the Eastern Christian context, and even proposed to conceptualize it through "entangled confessionalizations" with Western and Islamic developments, and through the epistemic lenses of "knowledge

7 From the large bibliography on the topic, see Michel Balivet, "Aux origins de l'islamisation des Balkans ottomans," *Revue des mondes musulmans et de la Méditerranée* 66 (1992): 11–20; Anton Minkov, *Conversion to Islam in the Balkans:* Kisve Bahası *Petitions and Ottoman Social Life, 1670–1730* (Leiden and Boston: Brill, 2004); Heath W. Lowry, *The Islamization and Turkification of the City of Trabzon (Trebizond), 1461–1583* (Istanbul: The Isis Press, 2009); Krstić, "Illuminated by the Light of Islam"; Krstić, *Contested Conversions to Islam*; Philippe Gelez and Gilles Grivaud, eds., *Les conversions à l'Islam en Asie Mineure, dans les Balkans et dans le monde musulman* (Athens: École Française d'Athènes, 2016); Krstić, "From *Shahāda* to *'Aqīda*".

8 Wolfgang Reinhard, "Zwang zur Konfessionalisierung? Prolegomena zu einer Theorie des konfessionellen Zeitalters," *Zeitschrift für historische Forschung* 10 (1983): 257–77; Heinz Schilling, "Die Konfessionalisierung im Reich: Religiöser und gesellschaftlicher Wandel in Deutschland zwischen 1555 und 1620," *Historische Zeitschrift* 246 (1988): 1–45; Wolfgang Reinhard, "Reformation, Counter-Reformation, and the Early-Modern State: A Reassessment," *Catholic Historical Review* 75 (1989): 383–404. For other discussions, see Joel Harington and Helmuth Smith, "Review: Confessionalization, Community, and State Building in Germany, 1555–1870," *Journal of Modern History* 69:1 (1997): 77–101; Heinz Schilling, "Confessionalization and the Rise of Religious and Cultural Frontiers in Early Modern Europe," in *Frontiers of Faith: Religious Exchange and the Constitution of Religious Identities, 1400–1750*, ed. Eszter Andor and István György Tóth (Budapest: Central European University, 2001), 21–36.

9 Tijana Krstić, "Introduction," in *Entangled Confessionalizations?*, 5.

transfer."[10] As well, for early modern Greek Orthodoxy too, "orthodoxy" (to which one can also add "heterodoxy" or "heresy") and "orthopraxy" were crucial notions employed in crafting the religious discourse of theologians and literati in their attempts to define the boundaries and principles of their belief.

Without claiming any definite discussions on the topic, this essay takes the Athonite monk Pachomios Rousanos as a study case for the Greek Orthodox context and explores how he instrumentalizes the concepts of "orthodoxy (in faith)," "heterodoxy," and "orthopraxy" in order to construct his version of what Orthodoxy is and how its rituals should be performed. Rousanos is a relevant case as he is one of the few figures of sixteenth-century Greek Orthodoxy whose corpus of works allows discussions in this regard. He was a polemist animated by confessional fervour, who concentrated his career towards the moral reformation of his Greek Orthodox compatriots and, in the process, he polemicized not only against them, but also against other Christian confessions and other religions. Lastly, the travels he undertook within both the Ottoman-ruled lands and the Venetian-dominated territories allowed him to provide first-hand information about the social status and moral situation of the Orthodox too.

2. Prosopographical excursus

Pachomios Rousanos was a native of Pigadakia from the island of Zakynthos, which was under Venetian dominion.[11] He was born on November 11,

[10] Mihai-D. Grigore and Florian Kührer-Wielach, eds., *Orthodoxa Confessio? Konfessionsbildung, Konfessionalisierung und ihre Folgen in der östlichen Christenheit Europas* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2018); Kostas Sarris, Nikolas Pissis and Miltos Pechlivanos, eds., *Confessionalization and/as Knowledge Transfer in the Greek Church* (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 2021).

[11] On Rousanos, see Andreas Moustochydis, "Παχώμιος," in *Ἑλληνομνήμων ἢ σύμμικτα ἑλληνικά: Σύγγραμα ἑλληνικόν* 10 (1847): 624–32; 11 (1852): 633–96; 12 (1853): 697–712; Konstantinos Sathas, *Νεοελληνικὴ Φιλολογία: Βιογραφίαι τῶν ἐν τοῖς γράμμασι διαλαμψάντων Ἑλλήνων ἀπὸ τῆς καταλύσεως τῆς Βυζαντινῆς Αὐτοκρατορίας μέχρι τῆς ἑλληνικῆς ἐθνεγερσίας (1453–1821)* (Athens, 1868), 150–2; Ioannis Karmiris, *Ὁ Παχώμιος Ῥουσάνος καὶ τὰ ἀνέκδοτα δογματικὰ καὶ ἄλλα ἔργα αὐτοῦ* (Athens: Verlag der Byzantinisch-Neugriechischen Jahrbücher, 1935), 3–13; O. Lampsiadis, "Ὁ Παχώμιος Ῥουσάνος καὶ ὁ βίος τῶν συγχρόνων τοῦ," *Ἐπετηρίς Ἑταιρείας Βυζαντινῶν Σπουδῶν* 13 (1937): 385–92; Borje Knös, *L'histoire de la littérature néo-grecque: La période jusqu'en 1821* (Stockholm, Göteborg and Upsala: Almqvist & Wiksell, 1961), 281; George Maloney, *A History of Orthodox Theology since 1453* (Belmont: Nordland Publishing Company, 1976), 106–10; Gerhard Podskalsky, *Griechische Theologie in der Zeit der Türkenherrschaft, 1453–1821: Die Orthodoxie im Spannungsfeld der nachreformatorischen Konfessionen des Westens* (München: C.H. Beck, 1988), 98–101; Dimitrios Gonis, ed., *Παχώμιος Ρουσάνος: 450 χρόνια ἀπὸ τὴν κοίμησή του (†1553)* (Athens: Iera Mitropolis Zakynthou kai Strofadon, 2005); Manolis Sergis, *Εκκλησιαστικός λόγος και λαϊκός πολιτισμός τον 16ο αιώνα: Η περίπτωση του Παχωμίου*

1508, and took the monastic habit at the Monastery of St George of Zakynthos quite early in his life. Although information about his education is scarce, it is clear that he was trained as a theologian. It is assumed that he learned theology and Greek literature at the monastery of St George, while a later study sojourn in Venice is still a matter of discussion. Nevertheless, Rousanos was well acquainted with the humanist and Renaissance ideas that circulated in the Venetian sphere of influence. He taught at the popular schools organized around the monasteries of Lesvos and Chios, which counted for his subsequent works on grammar.[12] Around 1530, he moved from Zakynthos to Mount Athos and became a member of the monastic community of the Iviron Monastery. He transformed Iviron into his point of departure for the many travels he undertook around the Eastern Mediterranean territories and managed to visit most of Thessaly, Peloponnesus, the Aegean Islands, Constantinople, Palestine, Egypt, and parts of Anatolia. Because the monastic communities and monks of Mount Athos benefited from special status under Ottoman rule, being awarded a series of religious and fiscal privileges,[13] Rousanos was able to travel constantly into the Ottoman lands. To this one can add the *idiorrhythmic* monastic style adopted by the monasteries, which allowed monks to have personal property, travel more and live separately from the community.[14] It was at Iviron Monastery where Rousanos composed

Ρουσάνου (Athens: Ekdotikos Oikos, 2008), 23–38 [first published as Idem, *Ο Ζακύνθιος μοναχός Παχώμιος Ρουσάνος και ο λαϊκός πολιτισμός του 16ου αιώνα* (Athens, 2000), 23–36]; Octavian-Adrian Negoiță, "Discursul anti-islamic în tratatele apologetico-polemice grecești din perioada post-bizantină (secolele XVI–XVIII)," Phd Thesis (University of Bucharest, 2020), 26–31; Idem, "Pachōmios Rousanos," in *Christian-Muslim Relations, 1500–1900 [Online]*, ed. David Thomas and John Chesworth (Leiden and Boston: Brill, 2022), http://dx.doi.org/10.1163/2451-9537_cmrii_COM_33814 (Accessed April 17, 2023).

12 Ioannis Karmiris, "Παχωμίου Ρουσάνου ανέκδοτος γραμματική συγγραφή," *Byzantinisch-neugriechische Jahrbücher* 14 (1937–38): 340–7.

13 Nicolas Oikonomides, "Monastères et moines lors de la conquête ottomane," *Südost-Forschungen* 35 (1976): 1–10; Heath W. Lowry, "A Note on the Population and Status of the Athonite Monasteries under Ottoman Rule (ca. 1520)," *Wiener Zeitschrift für Kunde des Morgenlandes* 73 (1981): 115–35 [rep. in Idem, *Studies in Defterology: Ottoman Society in the Fifteenth and Sixteenth Centuries* (Istanbul: The Isis Press, 1992), St. XII]; Elizabeth Zachariadou, "'A Safe and Holy Mountain': Early Ottomans," in *Mount Athos and Byzantine Monasticism: Papers from the Twenty-Eight Spring Symposium of Byzantine Studies, Birmingham, March 1994*, ed. Anthony Bryer and Mary Cunningham (Aldershot: Ashgate, 1996), 127–34; Elizabeth Zachariadou, "Mount Athos and the Ottomans c. 1350–1550," in *The Cambridge History of Christianity*, vol. 5: *Eastern Christianity*, ed. Michael Angold (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006), 154–68.

14 This monastic style was opposite to the cenobitic one and became popular in Byzantium especially during the Palaeologan period. However, it has been criticized in the Eastern Church. See Alice-Mary Talbot, "Idiorrhythmic monasticism," in *The Oxford Dictionary of Byzantium*, vol. 2, ed. Alexander Kazhdan (New York and Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1991), 981–2. See also the contribution by Zachary Chitwood in this volume.

most of his works, copied ancient and medieval Greek texts, and commented upon them.[15] While composing his works he benefited also from the impressive libraries of Athos, collecting and producing manuscripts from his own library. After his death, most of Rousanos' library was transferred from Athos to Venice, where his editions and manuscripts entered various repositories. Today, the manuscripts of his works are spread across Europe and the Eastern Mediterranean, from Oxford to Jerusalem *via* Berlin, Dresden, Venice, and Athos. Rousanos died in 1553 in the diocese of Nafpaktos (Epirus).

Rousanos was a theologian and a fierce defender of the Orthodox faith and practices, who left behind an impressive body of works composed in a wide array of literary genres (e.g., hagiography, homiletics, theological treatises, hymnography, epistolography).[16] Scholars argued that he theologized without any drop of originality but, as I will argue throughout the paper, it was his mindset not to deviate from the official teachings of the Greek Orthodox Church and place his discourse within its theological tradition.[17] As a consequence, Rousanos' originality should be observed in the way he organizes his polemical material and employs the corpus of Orthodox dogmas and teachings transmitted to his own times through theological texts. During his career, Rousanos strived to articulate the boundaries of Orthodoxy in the face of what he considered as religious challenges posed to the Greek Christian communities, whether by the Ottomans or Western influences. He was the first Greek theologian who wrote

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15 Carlo Castellani, "Pacomio Rusano, grammatico greco del secolo XVI e i manoscritti autografi delle sue opera," *Atti del Reale Istituto veneto di scienze, lettere ed arti* [Seria 7] 6 (1894–5): 903–10; Domenico Surace, "Copisti greci in tre codici sconosciuti della Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale di Roma (S. A. Valle 100, 102-103)," *Νέα Ῥώμη* 8 (2011): 219–304; Dionysios J. Mousouras, *Αι μοναί Στροφάδων και Αγίου Γεωργίου των Κρημνών Ζακύνθου (Μελέτη φιλολογική και παλαιογραφική)* (Athens: The Monastery of Strophades and Saint Dionysos, 2003), 192–207; Reinhart Ceulemans, "A Post-Byzantine Reader of Prokopios of Gaza: Pachomios Rousanos in MS Venice, Marc. gr. II. 105 [Diktyon 70267]," *The Byzantine Review* 2 (2020): https://www.uni-muenster.de/Ejournals/index.php/byzrev/article/view/2751/2662 (Accessed April 19, 2023).

16 Karmiris, *Ὁ Παχώμιος Ῥουσάνος*.

17 See, for instance, Anastasios Maras, "Ο Παχώμιος Ρουσάνος και η εποχή του: *Κατά Αγιοκατηγόρων*," *Μνημοσύνη* 13 (2013): 315–28. The dominating reductionist historiographical conception that the Greek Orthodox knowledge culture was static and ossified during the early modern period is currently challenged by scholars, who instead argue that it was in fact dynamic and ever-changing according to historical context(s). See Nikolaos A. Chrissidis, "The World of Eastern Orthodoxy," in *The Oxford Handbook of Early Modern European History, 1350–1750*, vol. 1: *Peoples and Places*, ed. Hamish Scott (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2015), 626–51; Tassos Anastassiadis, "Eastern Orthodoxy: An *histoire croisée* and Connected History Approach," *Bulletin de correspondance hellénique modern et contemporain* 2 (2020): https://journals.openedition.org/bchmc/463 (Accessed April 19, 2023); Sarris, Pissis and Pechlivanos, *Confessionalization and/as Knowledge Transfer*, 4–5.

a systematic treatise of the Orthodox dogmas under Ottoman rule, which the Athonite monk composed in five chapters and entitled *Syntagma or Dogmatical Discourses* (Σύνταγμα ἢ λόγοι δογματικοὶ) in which the accent falls on the Christological dogma.[18] Rousanos was a fervent reader of the Scriptures, the Fathers of the Church and classical literature, which transpire throughout his works. Due to his travels, he was able to observe directly many aspects of the Orthodox religious life during the first half of the sixteenth century, and he attempted to propose remedies for strengthening the spiritual and social status of the community of believers. As will be seen further in this essay, Rousanos did not refrain from harsh criticism against clergy and simple believers alike. His agenda for defending Orthodoxy spans from his attempts at social disciplining of his fellow Christians to polemical engagement with other Eastern Christian traditions (e.g., Monophysites), Latins (Catholics), and even Muslims, which makes him one of the most renowned Greek Orthodox polemists of the early modern period. Finally, Rousanos advocated against the use of vernacular Greek in ecclesiastical matters and for the benefit of using the Scripture as a valuable tool of learning. He himself constantly employed biblical Greek language often infused with archaic forms throughout his writings, which he considered fit to express the Orthodox tenets.

3. The Kartanites

In 1536, the Greek monk Ioannikios Kartanos (c. 1500–c. 1567) managed to publish in Venice his opus *The Old and New Testament, that is Florilegium and Its Necessity* (Παλαιά τε καὶ Νέα Διαθήκη ἤτοι τὸ ἄνθος καὶ ἀναγκαῖον αὐτῆς), which was also known as *Florilegium* (Ἄνθος).[19] Through this edition, Kartanos became the first Greek theologian who attempted to make the biblical text available in vernacular Greek for a larger audience, following thus a trend of vernacularizing the biblical texts that peaked in Western Europe also during the

[18] Karmiris, *Ὁ Παχώμιος Ῥουσάνος*, 81–162.

[19] Ioannikios Kartanos, *Τὸ παρὸν Βιβλίον ἔναι ἡ Παλαιά τε καὶ Νέα Διαθήκη ἤτοι τὸ ἄνθος καὶ ἀναγκαῖον αὐτῆς, ἔστι δὲ πάνυ ὠφέλιμον καὶ ἀναγγαῖον πρὸς πᾶσα χριστιανόν. Non sine Priuilegio* (Venice: In ædibus Bartholomæi Zanetti Casterzagensis, 1536). For the modern edition, see Eleni Kakoulidi-Panou, *Ιωαννίκιος Καρτάνος: Παλαιά τε και Νέα Διαθήκη [Βενετία 1536]* (Thessaloniki: Kentro Ellenikis Glosas, 2000). For presentations of the edition, see Émile Legrand, *Bibliographie hellénique ou description raisonnée des ouvrages publiés en grec par des grecs aux XV^e^ et XVI^e^ siècle*, vol. 1 (Paris: Ernest Leroux, 1885), 226–33 (no. 95); Evro Layton, *The Sixteenth Century Greek Book in Italy: Printers and Publishers for the Greek World* (Venice: Hellenic Institute of Byzantine and Post-Byzantine Studies, 1994), 160–161 (the *Florilegium*) and 513–21 (the publisher).

first half of the sixteenth century.[20] Kartanos was a Greek theologian living between two worlds. He was born around 1500 in Corfu under Venetian dominion, as the son of a shipbuilder, and undertook an ecclesiastical career early on in his life, being ordained a hieromonk (priest-monk) around 1524 at the Pantokrator Monastery (Kerkyra) and later received the monastic distinction of protosynkellos.[21] In terms of education, he might have received theological instruction at the monastery, but after he moved to Venice he definitely became acquainted with the humanist ideas and trends disseminated in the capital of the Most Serene Republic. He also made use of Venice's impressive libraries and its importance as a hub of production and circulation of books. But as daring as Kartanos' initiative of making available the Scriptures in the vernacular was for its own time and for the Greek intellectual history too, it did not escape harsh criticism, as his contemporary Orthodox theologians disapproved it on both linguistical and theological grounds.

The fiercest adversary of the "kartanite" movement was Rousanos himself. He even took a step further and called Kartanos and his followers heretics, thus inventing a heresy in sixteenth-century Orthodox context out of nothing.[22] Through his aggressive stance on "kartanism," Rousanos even managed to have

[20] Eleni Kakoulidi-Panou, "Ο πρώτος μεταφραστής της Αγίας Γραφής στη δημοτική γλώσσα Ιωαννίκιος Καρτάνος 1536," in *Εισηγήσεις Δ΄ Συνάξεως Ορθοδόξων Βιβλικών Θεολόγων* (Thessaloniki, 1986), 221–8. For the general topic of translating the Bible into Greek milieu, see G. Metallinos, *Το ζήτημα της μεταφράσεως της Αγίας Γραφής εις την νεοελληνικήν κατά τον ΙΘ΄ αιώνα*, 2nd edition (Athens: Ekdoseis Armos, 2004); Athanasios Despotis, "Orthodox Biblical Exegesis in the Early Modern World (1450–1750)," in *The New Cambridge History of the Bible*, vol. 3: *From 1450 to 1750*, ed. Euan Cameron (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2016), 518–31; Idem, "Theology, Philosophy, and Confessionalization: Eastern Orthodox Biblical Interpretation after the Fall of Constantinople up to the Late Seventeenth Century," in *The Oxford Handbook of the Bible in Orthodox Christianity*, ed. Eugen J. Pentiuc (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2022), 275–87.

[21] For Kartanos, see Sathas, *Νεοελληνικὴ Φιλολογία*, 147–50; Philipp Meyer, *Die theologische Litteratur der griechischen Kirche im 16. Jahrhundert* (Leipzig, 1899), 39–40; A. Palmieri, "Cartanos, Joannikios," in *Dictionnaire de theologie catholique*, vol. 2 (Paris: Letouzey et Ané, 1908), 1805–6; Ch. Papadopoulos, "Ιστορικὰ σημειώματα: α΄. Ἰωαννίκιος Καρτάνος," *Θεολογία* 4 (1926): 5–7; Takis Hristopoulos, "Καρτάνος, Ἰωαννίκιος," in *Θρησκευτικὴ καὶ Ἠθικὴ Ἐγκυκλοπαιδεία*, vol. 7 (Athens, 1965), 373–4; Eleni Kakoulidi-Panou, "Ιωαννίκιος Καρτάνος: Συμβολή στη δημώδη πεζογραφία του 16ου αιώνα," *Θεσαυρίσματα* 12 (1975): 217–56 [republished in Idem, *Συμβολές: νεοελληνικά μελετήματα* (Ioannina, 1982), St. II]; K. Zaridi, "Ioannikios Kartanos inconnu comme copiste," *Biblos* 45:1 (1996): 49–54; Christian Gastgeber and U. Horak, "Nocheinmal der Diebzauber, nocheinmal Ioannikios Kartanos, II, Notitiunculae zum Theol. gr. 19: Der Restaurator Ioannikios Kartanos," *Biblos* 45:1 (1996): 219–24; Knös, *L'histoire de la littérature néo-grecque*, 281–83; Podskalsky, *Griechische Theologie*, 99.

[22] Yorgos Tzedopoulos, "Orthodox Martyrdom and Confessionalization in the Ottoman Empire, Late Fifteenth-Mid-Seventeenth Centuries," in *Entangled Confessionalizations?*, 335–381, here 355.

Kartanos anathematized by Athanasios, the bishop of Nafpaktos. All this polemic against Kartanos fueled furthermore the publication of an entire *dossier* by the Athonite monk, which comprises texts through which he dismantled Kartanos' teachings and discussed what he considered to be the proper approach towards the biblical texts: 1) *On the benefit gained from reading the Scriptures* (Περὶ τῆς ἐκ τῶν θείων γραφῶν ὠφελείας); 2) *Homily against those who slander the Holy Scriptures by ignorance* (Ὁμιλία πρὸς τοὺς ἀγροίκως τὴν θείαν Γραφὴν διασύροντας); 3) *On the Kartanite heretics* (Περὶ Καρτανιτῶν αἱρετικῶν); 4) *On the heresy of the Kartanites* (Περὶ τῆς τῶν Καρτανιτῶν αἱρέσεως); 5) *On the heresy of cursed Kartanos, its nonsense and followers* (Αἱ τοῦ καταράτου Καρτάνου αἱρέσεις καὶ φληναφίαι καὶ ἡ τούτων ἀνατροπὴ); 6) Letter to Athanasios of Nafpaktos (Ἐπιστολὴ Ἀθανασίῳ Ναυπάκτου); and 7) *Against the Venetian typographers* (Αἱ κατὰ τῶν τυπογράφων τῆς Βενετίας).[23]

Kartanos composed his *Florilegium* between October 10, 1534, and the end of September 1537, while he was imprisoned in Venice due to a quarrel with the Greek Catholic Metropolitan of Monemvasia, Arsenios (Aristoboulos Apostolis, 1465–1535).[24] The reason for his arrest was that he attempted to stop the metropolitan from preaching in the Greek church of Venice on one of the days of the Great Lent, although Arsenios had the permission of the Venetian authorities. Kartanos believed that the publication of the *Florilegium* would lessen his further ascension into the ranks of the Church hierarchy, so he went to Constantinople and asked Patriarch Jeremias I (1522–1524; 1525–1546) to ordain him bishop as a reward for this achievement. Contrary to his high expectations, the patriarch rejected his request and, after analyzing the *Florilegium*, Jeremias labelled Kartanos a heterodox along with his work and teachings.[25] Being remised, Kartanos took refuge in the diocese of Nafpaktos (Epirus) where he started to gather adherents and spread his teachings.

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[23] The *dossier* is available in Ioannis Vasilikos, *Κανέλλου Σπανού, Γραμματική της κοινής των Ελλήνων Γλώσση; Παχωμίου Ρουσάνου, Κατά χυδαϊζόντων και αιρετικών και άλλα του αυτού* (Trieste: Typois tou Austriakou Loud, 1908); Spyridon Lambros, "Ἐκ τῶν Ὁμιλιῶν τοῦ Παχωμίου Ῥουσάνου," *Νέος Ελληνομνήμων* 13 (1916): 56–67.

[24] Besides his ecclesiastical career, Arsenios was a famous scholar and bibliophile, who composed prefaces to printed editions of ancient Greek authors and a collection of apophthegms of ancient figures, which he published in Rome in 1519. See Sathas, *Νεοελληνικὴ Φιλολογία*, 126–30; Legrand, *Bibliographie hellénique*, clxv–clxxiv; A. Papadia-Lala, "Ὁ Ἀρσένιος Μονεμβασίας ὁ Ἀποστόλης καὶ ἡ Ἑλληνική Αδελφότητα Βενετίας (1534–1535)," *Θεσαυρίσματα* 14 (1977): 110–26; Helene Perdicoyianni-Paleologou, "Famous Grammarians & Poets of the Byzantine Empire," *World History Encyclopedia*, https://www.worldhistory.org/article/1709/famous-grammarians--poets-of-the-byzantine-empire/ (Accessed April 13, 2023).

[25] Hristoforos Filitas, *Περὶ Ἰωαννίκιου Καρτάνου, Δαμασκήνου τοῦ Στουδίτου καὶ Παχωμίου Ῥουζάνου: Ἐπιστολιμαια διάλεξις* (Kerkyra: Typografias tis Kyverniseos, 1847), 7.

The publication of the *Florilegium* in Venice also inscribes itself in an emerging interest among the Greek intellectuals of the sixteenth century towards the vernacular language. It should be noted that shortly after Kartanos' *Florilegium* the *Grammatical Introduction* of the renowned Nikolaos Sophianos (c.1500–after 1551) was printed in 1544, which was, in fact, a compilation of vernacular Greek forms, dedicated to the Cardinal of Lorraine Jean de Guise (1518–1550).[26] In his attempt to provide Greek audiences with a tool to easily access the biblical text, Kartanos emulated the work *Anthology of the Virtues* (Ἄνθος τῶν χαριτῶν, *Fior di virtù*) published in Venice in 1529 – the first printed vernacular Greek text in prose – which was also one of the most circulated and translated pieces of pious content from the early modern Orthodox world.[27] With an impressive rate of success, Kartanos' work was successively reprinted at least five times between 1536 and 1567 (editions updated with corrections by Kartanos himself), and circulated widely among clergymen and simple believers alike. Its influence can be detected even after his death, as followers of his teaching can be traced in the Orthodox milieu and the *Florilegium* became a bestseller, being referenced until the eighteenth century.[28] Aware of its popularity, even the famous Tübingen professor and classicist Martin Crusius (1524–1607) acquired a copy of Kartanos' book in 1578.[29]

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26 For Sofianos and his grammar, see Sathas, *Νεοελληνικὴ Φιλολογία*, 141–3; Émile Legrand, *Νικολάου Σοφιανοῦ τοῦ Κερκυραίου Γραμματικὴ τῆς κοινῆς τῶν Ἑλλήνων γλώσσης νῦν τὸ πρῶτον κατὰ τὸ ἐν Παρισίοις χειρόγραφον ἐκδοθεῖσα* (Paris and Athens: Librairie Maisonneuve et Cie, 1870); Theodor Papadopoulos, *Νικόλαου Σοφιανοῦ Γραμματικὴ τῆς κοινῆς τῶν Ἑλλήνων γλώσσης* (Athens: Kedros, 1977); M. Vernant, *La Grammaire de Nicolas Sophianos (Transcription diplomatique du manuscrit gr. 2592 de la Bibliothèque nationale et établissement du texte)* (Paris, 1990); Layton, *The Sixteenth Century Greek Book*, 460–72; A. Koumarianos and G. Tolias, "Ο αναγεννησιακός Νικόλαος Σοφιανός," in *Βυζάντιο–Βενετία–νεώτερος ελληνισμός: Μια περιπλάνηση στον κόσμο της ελληνικής επιστημονικής σκέψης: Πρακτικά συνεδρίου, Αθήνα, 7-9 Νοεμβρίου 2003* (Athens, 2004), 147–58; George Tolias, "Nikolaos Sophianos's *Totius Graeciae Descriptio*: The Resources, Diffusion and Function of a Sixteenth-Century Antiquarian Map of Greece," *Imago Mundi* 58:2 (2006): 150–82; Marc. D. Lauxtermann, "The *Grammatical Introduction* by Nikolaos Sofianos: Manuscripts, Date, and Linguistic Models," *Byzantine and Modern Greek Studies* 44:1 (2020): 124–36.

27 Spyridon Lambros, "Τὸ *Ἄνθος Χαρίτων* καὶ τὸ *Ἄνθος* τοῦ Ἰωαννικίου Καρτάνου," *Νέος Ἑλληνομνήμων* 13 (1916): 329–33; Eleni Kakoulidi-Panou, "Fior di virtù – Ἄνθος Χαρίτων," *Ἑλληνικὰ* 24 (1971): 165–311 [rep. in Idem, *Συμβολές: νεοελληνικά μελετήματα* (Ioannina, 1982), St. I]; Eleni Kakoulidi-Panou and Komnini D. Pidonia, *Άνθος των Χαρίτων–Φιορ δε Βερτού: Η Κυπριακή Παραλλαγή* (Lefkosia: Kentrou Epistimonikon Ereunon, 1994); Stamatia Koliadimos, *Άνθος των χαρίτων: Παράλληλη έκδοση υστερομεσαιωνικών και νεότερων ελληνικών παραλλαγών με αντικριστή παράθεση του ιταλικού προτύπου* (Athens, 2022).

28 Asterios Argyriou, "La Bible dans le monde orthodoxe au XVI^{e} siècle," in *Les temps des Réformes et la Bible*, ed. Guy Bedouelle and Bernard Roussel (Paris: Beauchesne, 1989), 385–400, here 396–7.

29 Martin Crusius, *Turcogreciæ libri octo* (Basel: Per Leonardvm Ostenivm Sebastiani Henricpetri Impensa, 1584), 48, 63, 195–196, 199.

The *Florilegium* was in fact, a paraphrase of the Bible, and it was structured into four large parts. The core is a compilation of Old and New Testament episodes Kartanos considered relevant for the history of the Church. This was prefaced by a summary of popular theology and followed by nineteenth homilies on various sins and vices. The last part was a brief explanation of the Liturgy followed by a paraphrase of the Lord's prayer. It seems that Kartanos did not have a theological reason in mind for composing the *Florilegium*, as he explains in the prologue:

> I did not compose it for the learned, but for the unlearned like me, so that all the craftsmen and the unlearned would understand the Holy Bible, the sailors and craftsmen, women and children and every little person, as long as they know how to read.[30]

He intended the *Florilegium* to be a manual of instruction for the simple people about the Scripture, popular theology, and the history of salvation in their own spoken language, which is a unique initiative for this period, considering that such attempts can be tracked in the Greek milieu mainly with the advent of Enlightenment.[31] However, scholars pointed out that the style and quality of the language and contents of the *Florilegium* were deficient in many regards.[32] Kartanos assembled diverse elements he borrowed carelessly from both Italian and Greek sources, which made scholars argue in favour of an Italian prototype for the *Florilegium*.[33] The *Fioretto di tutta la Biblia historiato* was a very popular book that circulated in Renaissance Italy, and was eventually condemned at the Council of Trent (1545–1563) for its theological imprecisions and usage of apocryphal material.[34] Kartanos used it extensively and extracted from it precisely biblical episodes also included in apocryphal materials, such as the Gospel of Thomas, that narrates the well-known episode about the child Jesus

[30] Kakoulidi-Panou, *Ιωαννίκιος Καρτάνος*, 103.

[31] See, for instance, Paschalis M. Kitromilides, *Enlightenment and Revolution: The Making of Modern Greece* (Cambridge MA: Harvard University Press, 2013); Idem, *Enlightenment and Religion in the Orthodox World* (Oxford: Voltaire Foundation, 2016).

[32] Kakoulidi-Panou, *Ιωαννίκιος Καρτάνος*, 17–85; Yorgos Vlantis, "Η κριτικὴ τοῦ Παχωμίου Ῥουσάνου στὸν Ἰωαννίκιο Καρτάνο," in *Παχώμιος Ρουσάνος: 450 χρόνια ἀπὸ τὴν κοίμησή του (†1553)*, ed. Dimitrios Gonis (Athens: Iera Mitropolis Zakynthou kai Strofadon, 2005).

[33] Kakoulidi-Panou, *Ιωαννίκιος Καρτάνος*, 47–50.

[34] *Fioretto di tutta la Biblia historiato et de novo in lingua Tosca corretto: Con certe predicationo tutto tratto del testamento Vecchio. Cominciando dalla creatione del mondo infino a la Nativita di Jesu Christo* (Venice: Nicolo Zopino et Vincentio Compagni, 1521); Graziano Ruffini, "Une vente de livres à Gênes en 1583," in *Selling & Collecting: Printed Book Sale Catalogues and Private Libraries in Early Modern Europe*, ed. Giovanna Granata and Angela Nuovo (Macerata: Università di Macerata, 2018), 79–144 here 98, 102 and 115.

breathing life into birds made out of clay. As such, Kartanos' *Florilegium* was not criticized only because of the vernacular, but it was its theological framework that attracted the attention of its contemporaries.[35]

In his polemic, Rousanos built the main argument specifically on Kartanos' usage of apocryphal texts. He argued that these altered the Orthodox teachings and even provided inaccurate and unsubstantiated images of crucial events of the salvation history. As a dogmatist, Rousanos awarded particular attention to deviations from the Orthodox dogma, and he criticized Kartanos over the way in which he presented the Trinitarian and Christological dogmas, accusing thus Kartanos of a form of Arianism and pantheistic tendencies.[36] Regarding the linguistical aspects, Rousanos dismissed the translation of the Scripture in any of the Greek dialects. He believed that archaic Greek is, in fact, the source of all Greek dialects spoken in the sixteenth-century Ottoman lands, and their usage in ecclesiastical matters damages, in fact, the correct expression of the Church dogmas and teachings, which are of vital importance for the survival of Orthodoxy in Ottoman context.[37] In this regard, Rousanos found Kartanos' vernacular unacceptable and the *Florilegium* infused with an Italian vocabulary.

But what made Rousanos polemicize in such a way against Kartanos? It is clear that throughout his writings, polemical attitudes, and criticism towards everything he considered foreign to the Orthodox dogma, as it was transmitted in the Church, Rousanos posed in a *fidei defensor* entitled to draw clear lines between the "true" Orthodox teachings and the "heretical" deviations. Secondly, his reticence towards printing is also noticeable. Rousanos argued that mistakes can infiltrate the printed text due to the negligence of typographers, who are not always familiar with the theological arguments (or even the Greek language), and, in their turn, these mistakes can affect the correct rendering of the dogmas. As Yorgos Tzedopoulos showed, Rousanos' arguments regarding the vernacularization of the Bible are similar to those of the Catholics who were discussing the issue for the Western Christian milieu at the Council of Trent, and ultimately favoured Latin over vernacular translations of the Bible.[38] Rousanos instrumentalized Kartanos' case to support his own views regarding the usefulness of the Bible for instruction, and follow his agenda on social

35 Georgios D. Metallinos, *Παράδοση και αλλοτρίωση* (Athens: Ekdoseis Domos, 1994), 116.

36 Vlantis, "Ἡ κριτικὴ τοῦ Παχωμίου Ῥουσάνου," 535–40.

37 Vlantis, "Ἡ κριτικὴ τοῦ Παχωμίου Ῥουσάνου," 541–43.

38 Tzedopoulos, "Orthodox Martyrdom and Confessionalization," 355. For general discussions, see Hubert Jedin, *A History of the Council of Trent*, vol. 2: *The First Sessions at Trent 1545–47*, trans. Dom Ernest Graf OSB (London, Paris and New York: Thomas Nelson and Sons LTD, 1961), 67–69; Wim François, "Vernacular Bible Reading in Late Medieval and Early Modern Europe: The 'Catholic' Position Revisited," *Catholic Historical Review* 104:1 (2018): 23–56.

disciplining among the Orthodox by playing on the notions of "heresy" and "orthodoxy". Although Eleni Kakoulidi-Panou believed that Kartanos' theological errors were not heretical teachings but subtle deviations from the official dogmas of the Orthodox Church, which she assigns to Kartanos' ignorance and incapability to properly address his sources, it is clear that this opinion was not shared by Rousanos in the sixteenth century.[39] Kartanos removed the problematic passages from the 1567 edition of the *Florilegium*, but he still did not manage to obtain the desired position nor to rehabilitate his name among his adversaries. Nevertheless, his attempt to transpose the biblical text into vernacular Greek lay the path for later developments in Greek Orthodoxy, the first being the bilingual edition of the New Testament of Maximos of Gallipoli (d. 1633), printed in Geneva in 1638 under the patronage of Patriarch of Constantinople Kyrillos Loukaris (1572–1638), who became notorious in the Orthodox world because of his *Confession* of faith and connections with the Protestants.[40]

4. Priests, Monks, and Simple Believers

The polemic against Kartanos offered Rousanos the possibility to develop even further his adversity towards members of the clergy and the "heterodox" printed books that influenced them, considering the priests responsible for the poor moral situation of the believers:

> However, we should also talk about our own priests, considered all-knowing. They utterly reject both the Old and New Scripture, and not only these, but also any rational knowledge – God have mercy! – not

[39] Kakoulidi-Panou, *Ιωαννίκιος Καρτάνος*.

[40] See *Ἡ Καινὴ Διαθήκη τοῦ Κυρίου ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ, Δίγλωττος. Ἐν ᾗ ἀντιπροσώπως τό τε θεῖον πρωτότυπον καὶ ἡ ἀπαραλλάκτως ἐξ ἐκείνου εἰς ἁπλὴν διάλεκτον, διὰ τοῦ μακαρίτου κυρίου Μαξίμου τοῦ Καλλιουπολίτου γενομένη μετάφρασις ἅμα ἐτυπώθησαν* (Geneva, 1638). For the presentation of the edition, see Legrand, *Bibliographie hellénique*, 363–88 (no. 267). For discussions, see Nomikos M. Vaporis, "Patriarch Kyrillos Loukaris and the Translations of the Scriptures into Modern Greek," *Ἐκκλησιαστικὸς φάρος* 59 (1977): 227–41; Manousos I. Manousakas, "Νέα στοιχεία για την πρώτη μετάφραση της Καινής Διαθήκης στη δημοτική γλώσσα από το Μάξιμο Καλλιουπολίτη," *Μεσαιωνικά και Νέα Ελληνικά* 2 (1986): 7–70; Dimitris Livanios, "'In the Beginning was the Word': Orthodoxy and Bible Translation into Modern Greek (16th–19th Centuries)," *Mediterranean Chronicle* 4 (2014): 101–20; Ovidiu Olar, "« Un trésor enfoui »: Kyrillos Loukaris et le Nouveau Testament en grec publié à Genève en 1638 à travers les lettres d'Antoine Léger", *Cahiers du Monde russe* 58:3 (2017): 341–70. On Loukaris, see Ovidiu-Victor Olar, *La Boutique de Théophile: Les relations du patriarche de Constantinople Kyrillos Loukaris (1570–1638) avec la Réforme* (Paris: Centre d'études byzantines, néo-helléniques et sud-est européennes, École des Hautes Études en Sciences Sociales, 2019).

> knowing how to bring any offering or perform any other sacrament. And how could they when they neither know how to write nor read, nor have they any books, but have borrowed from everywhere some which are corrupt in body, letters and conception?[41]

and he continues:

> "But why is it that Christ allows his holy churches and monasteries to be trespassed by unbelievers, [one may ask]?" "Why?" When you see them trespassed by the priests are you not upset? Nor do you cry too when you see how the monasteries and the flocks [of believers] are damaged by some questionable shepherds? For you might run away from war through cunning, but when your own companion becomes an adversary, what can you do?[42]

Regardless of the superior tone in which Rousanos voices his remarks, he managed to grasp some major aspects of the clergy's existence during Ottoman rule. Since the Byzantine times and well beyond in the early modern era, the Orthodox clergy experienced many periods of syncope in their existence due to political instability (or transition) in the territories. These periods affected not only the number of clergymen but also the competence of those who occupied the available positions.[43] As it was in the case of the high clergy, priests often paid amounts of money to their bishops in order to be ordained and given a certain parish, although such practices were in direct violation of the Church's canons and moral values. Later, even patriarch Loukaris will remark in his *Short dialogue* (Διάλογος βραχύς) of 1616 that takes place between two fictional characters, the Zealot and Philaleth ("lover of truth"), that the purchase of offices was damaging the Church life during the Ottoman rule, and this situation also lessened the

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41 Rousanos, "Πρὸς τοὺς ἑλληνίζοντας," 109.

42 Ioannis Karmiris, ed., "Ὁ ἀνεκδοτος λόγος πρὸς τοὺς δυσανασχετοῦντας πρὸς τὰς ἐκ τῶν ἐθνῶν ἐπαγομένας ἡμῖν θλίψεις τοῦ Παχώμιου Ρουσάνου," *Ἐκκλησία* 16 (1938): 216–19 and 231–35, here 233.

43 There is a lot of research to be conducted on the Greek Orthodox lower clergy. From the available bibliography, see P. Akanthopoulos, "Η ιστορία των ενοριών του Οικουμενικού Πατριαρχείου κατά την Τουρκοκρατία," Ph.D. Thesis (Aristoteleian University of Thessaloniki, 1984); E. Papagianni, *Τα οικονομικά του έγγαμου κλήρου στο Βυζάντιο* (Athens, 1986); Eleonora Kountoura-Galaki, *Ο βυζαντινός κλήρος και η κοινωνία των « σκοτεινών αιώνων »* (Athens: National Hellenic Research Foundation, 1996); Elizabeth A. Zachariadou, "Glances at the Greek Orthodox Priests in the Seventeenth Century," in *Living in the Ottoman Ecumenical Community: Essays in Honour of Suraiya Faroqhi*, ed. Vera Constantini and Markus Koller (Leiden and Boston: Brill, 2008), 307–16.

conversion of the Orthodox to other confessions or religions.[44] Along with the Ottoman conquests in Anatolia and the Balkans, members of the lower clergy (*papades*) were incorporated within the Ottoman administration too, but unlike the members of the high clergy (patriarchs, metropolitans, and bishops), they were not appointed through official documents (*berāt*s). Although they were directly under the jurisdiction of their appointed bishops or metropolitans, the Orthodox priests were still part of the Ottoman administration as "semi-official ecclesiastical figures, comparable to the agents who operated on the fringes of the Ottoman institutional system."[45] The priests were in charge of the religious and communal life of their parishes, performing the liturgical services and attending to the spiritual needs of the Orthodox while being responsible for the material assets of their churches.

What is alarming to Rousanos is that the priests would often deviate from the Orthodox praxis, especially regarding the performing of sacraments which ultimately transform into "heterodox" rituals. Besides the episode at the start of this essay, Rousanos recounts how during his travels he observed a priest who allowed a midwife to cast a handful of salt in the water prepared for performing the baptism. When Rousanos confronted him about the issue, the priest had no objections to the midwife's actions, although they were in direct violation of the Church's canons.[46] Rousanos instrumentalizes the "religious ignorance" theme to denounce the poor level of religious and theological instruction among the lower clergymen.[47] The lack of proper teaching manuals and unfamiliarity with the Bible – whose utility in education is constantly advocated by Rousanos – made the Athonite monk accuse such priests of the decadent moral status of the Orthodox communities.

But Rousanos was not the only early modern Greek theologian voicing criticism towards the clergy. Various theologians, such as Gennadios II Scholarios (c. 1400–c. 1472), the first patriarch of Constantinople after 1453, Theodore Agallianos (c. 1400–1474), an official of the Patriarchate, or the renowned theologian Damaskenos Stoudites (d. 1577) were critical about the situation of the Church and the Orthodox people under the Ottoman rule. In their writings, they sanctioned a series of issues that contributed to the decline of the Church,

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[44] For this text, see A. Papadopoulos-Kerameus, *Ἀνάλεκτα Ἱεροσολυμιτικῆς Σταχυολογίας*, vol. 1 (Sankt Petersburg, 1891), 220–30.

[45] Zachariadou, "Glances," 311 who draws upon Gilles Veinstein, "Sur les *na'ib* ottomans (XV^{ème}–XVI^{ème} siècles)," *Jerusalem Studies in Arabic and Islam* 25 (2001): 247–67.

[46] Rousanos, "Πρὸς τοὺς ἑλληνίζοντας," 109–10.

[47] On ignorance, see Matei Cazacu, "Moines savants et popes ignorants dans le monde orthodoxe post-byzantin," in *Histoires des hommes de Dieu dans l'Islam et le Christianisme*, ed. Dominique Iogna-Prat and Gilles Veinstein (Paris: Flammarion, 2003), 147–76.

such as the practice of office buying within the ecclesiastical system, the illiteracy that characterized most of the members of the monastic communities, or the absence of religious education among the community of the faithful. Writing in the immediate years after 1453, Scholarios complained about the apostasy of the faithful, the ignorance of the clergy, and the hypocrisy of the Orthodox, by pointing to the fact that all these are connected to the divine punishment (received through the Turkish rule) casted by God upon the Orthodox for their sins.[48] In his turn, Agallianos emphasized the decadence of the Church in the following years after the fall of Constantinople, and criticized the large influence that the *archontes* (laymen connected to the Patriarchate) had in the ecclesiastical affairs.[49] Stoudites, one of Rousanos' contemporaries, builds on Agallianos' ideas regarding the *archontes*, highlighting the destruction of the true monastic spirit by allowing lay people to build monasteries.[50]

Rousanos extended his polemics towards Church's hierarchy and to monasticism too. Being a monk, he was able to know from inside the monastic life and the theological ideas that circulated among monastic circles. Although the *idiorrhythmic* style adopted by most Athonite monasteries allowed Rousanos to travel constantly, he opposed it as he believed it encouraged the emergence of monastic vagabondage and disinterest towards the "true" values of Orthodox monasticism.[51] During Ottoman rule, monks began to wander around the Mediterranean and European lands to collect alms for their monasteries. They carried relics of saints, spread various ideas of Orthodox spirituality and even disseminated texts of theological content.[52] Moreover, monks became acquainted

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[48] Gennadios Scholarios, "Lamentation de Scholarios sur les malheurs de sa vie," in *Oeuvres complètes de Gennade Scholarios*, vol. 1, ed. L. Petit, X. A. Sidéridès and M. Jugie (Paris: Maison de la Bonne Presse, 1928), 283–94 and Gennadios Scholarios, "Κατὰ τῆς σιμονιανῆς αἱρέσεως ἢ ἀπιστίας," in *Oeuvres complètes de Gennade Scholarios*, vol. 3, ed. L. Petit, X. A. Sidéridès and M. Jugie (Paris: Maison de la Bonne Presse, 1930), 239–51. On Scholarios, see Marie-Hélène Blanchet, *Georges-Gennadios Scholarios (vers 1400–vers 1472): Un intellectuel Orthodoxe face à la disparition de l'empire Byzantin* (Paris: Institut Français d'Études Byzantines, 2008).

[49] Ch. Patrinelis, *Ὁ Θεόδορος Ἀγαλλιανὸς ταυτιζόμενος πρὸς τὸν Θεοφάνην Μηδείας καὶ οἱ ἀνέκδοτοι λόγοι του* (Athens, 1966). On Agallianos, see Marie-Hélène Blanchet, *Théodore Agallianos: Dialogue avec un moine contre les Latins (1442). Édition critique, traduction française et commentaire* (Paris: Publications de la Sorbonne, 2013).

[50] E. Kakoulidi-Panou, "Δαμασκηνού Στουδίτη « Διάλογος »," *Δωδώνη* 3 (1974): 446–58. On Stoudites, see Lamprini Manos, *Δαμασκηνός ο Στουδίτης, ο βίος και το έργο του* (Athens: Syndesmos ton en Athenais Megaloscholiton, 1999).

[51] Sergis, *Εκκλησιαστικός λόγος*, 60–6. Another example of this dispute about the free movement of monks and vagabondage, see in the contribution of Taisiya Leber to this volume.

[52] Aleksandar Fotić, "Athonite Travelling Monks and the Ottoman Authorities (16th–18th Centuries)," in *Perspectives on Ottoman Studies: Papers from the 18th Symposium of the International Committee of Pre-Ottoman and Ottoman Studies (CIEPO)*, vol. 1, ed. Ekrem Čaušević, Nenad Moacanin and Vjeran Kursar (Berlin, Münster and Vienna: LIT Verlag, 2010), 157–65; Stefano Saracino, "Greek

with new ideas in the course of their travels, which they brought back to their homelands. In this regard, Rousanos penned a short treatise entitled *Against the Accusers of Sanctuaries or Hinderers of Those Who Depart for Worship of the Venerable and Holy Places and against Fra. Martin Luther* (Κατὰ ἁγιοκατηγόρων, ἤτοι τῶν κωλυόντων τοὺς ἀπερχομένους είς προσκύνησιν τῶν σεβασμίων καὶ ἱερῶν τόπων· καὶ κατὰ τοῦ Φρᾶ Μαρτὶ Λούτερι), in which he denounces those – Orthodox monks included – who opposed the spiritual utility of pilgrimage to the Holy land and Sinai.[53] Although the treatise mentions in the title Martin Luther's name, the work is not directed against the Protestant reformer, nor does it mention him once throughout the text, which can be understood, in fact, as a hint towards the Protestant stance on pilgrimage. Anastasios Maras argued Rousanos attempted to validate in this text the Christian pilgrimage through a theological framework,[54] but I will add that it is yet another attempt by the Athonite monk to discuss orthopraxy from a confessional perspective, as pilgrimage is an external manifestation of the faith, containing not only spiritual elements but also performative acts connected with biblical knowledge and meaning.

Not even the simple believers escaped from Rousanos' criticism. Scholars have noted Rousanos' adversity not only towards their limited understanding of the Orthodox faith and practices but also towards their language, as can be observed from the polemic against Kartanos.[55] In their case, Rousanos comments' upon the Jewish reminiscences that still survive in the rituals, namely the animal sacrifices performed on church's grounds during holidays, the pagan practices performed by the Orthodox on burials,[56] which reminds Rousanos of the ancient Greek manifestations described in the works of the Classics, or even the holy springs which are improperly used by the believers, who burn incense

Orthodox Alms Collectors from the Ottoman Empire in the Holy Roman Empire: Extreme Mobility and Confessional Communication," in *Confessionalization and/as Knowledge Transfer*, 79–108; Idem, "The *Album Amicorum* of the Athonite Monk Theoklitos Polyeidis and the Agency of Preambulating Greek Alms Collectors in the Holy Roman Empire (18th Century)," in *Power of the Dispersed: Early Modern Global Travelers beyond Integration*, ed. Cornel Zwierlein (Leiden and Boston: Brill, 2022), 63–97.

53 Konstantinos Oikonomos, ed., *Σιωνίτης προσκυνητής, ἤτοι τοῦ ἐν ἁγίοις πατρὸς ἡμῶν Γρηγορίου Νύσσης αἱ περὶ τῶν Ἱεροσολύμων διαλαμβάνουσαι δύο ἐπιστολαί, μετὰ σημειώσεων καὶ Παραρτήματος· ᾧ προσετέθη καὶ τὸ μέχρι νῦν ἀνέκδοτον Κατὰ ἁγιοκατηγόρων Παχωμίου μοναχοῦ τοῦ Ῥουσάνου* (Athens: Ph. Karampinis & K. Baphas, 1850), 141–51.

54 Maras, "Ο Παχώμιος Ρουσάνος."

55 Sergis, *Εκκλησιαστικός λόγος*, 73–122 and 139–169.

56 Margaret Alexiou, "Modern Greek Folklore and Its Relation to the Past: The Evolution of Charos in Greek Tradition," in *The "Past" in Medieval and Modern Greek Culture*, ed. Speros Vryonis (Malibu 1978), 211–16; Idem, *The Ritual Lament in Greek Tradition*, 2nd edition revised by Dimitrios Yatromanolakis and Panagiotis Roilos (New York and Oxford: Rowman & Littlefield Publishers, 2002); Idem, *After Antiquity: Greek Language, Myth, and Metaphor* (Ithaca and London: Cornell University Press, 2002).

around them.[57] In Rousanos' work, *Against Those Who are Hellenizing and Desecrate the Divine Mysteries* (Πρὸς τοὺς ἑλληνίζοντας καὶ τοὺς τὰ θεῖα μυστήρια βεβηλοῦντας) – from which these examples are extracted – Rousanos invests in the heuristic utility of the term "hellenizing" to capture features of the popular culture of the Orthodox and its "heterodox" character. To him, the actual rituals and principles followed by the members of the community do not fit the "orthodoxy in faith" he envisions for the normative Orthodoxy. Rousanos did not perceive the popular culture of the Orthodox from a diachronic perspective as a "living demonstration of the continuity of the Greek nation",[58] but rather Orthodoxy was the binder that connected the Greeks with their religious tradition. His vision was not shared, for instance, by the renowned scholar of Chios and curator of the Vatican Library Leo Allatios (1586–1669), who gathered extensive material in his works about Greek popular culture.[59] Allatios took a sympathetic stand to the popular religion of the Greek Orthodox, voicing "neither the popular Orthodox perspective […] nor the official Orthodox view of popular religion," but an integrative part of the Orthodox religious tradition.[60]

Regardless of his harsh criticism of popular religion, Rousanos was aware, however, of the full spectrum of the confessional intricacies in which Greek Christians had to operate during Ottoman rule. His concern regarding the phenomenon of conversion to Islam drove him to compose around 1550 a treatise titled *On the Faith of the Orthodox and of the Saracens* (Περὶ τῆς τῶν ὀρθοδόξων καὶ τῶν σαρακηνῶν πίστεως) in which he approached religious difference between Orthodoxy and Islam by a thorough dogmatic argumentation (based on Byzantine anti-Islamic treatises) in a comparative approach, while understanding, at the same time, that both Muslims and Christians had to find ways to coexist.[61] Rousanos' arguments against the "heterodox" religious practices among the Orthodox found echoes in the Ottoman world too, where the renowned Muslim intellectual Birgivī Meḥmed Efendī (d. 1573) argued through his catechetical works for a reformation of Ottoman Ḥanafī piety;[62]

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57 Rousanos, "Πρὸς τοὺς ἑλληνίζοντας."

58 Margaret Alexiou, "Folklore: An Obituary?," *Byzantine and Modern Greek Studies* 9 (1985): 5.

59 Karen Hartnup, *'On the Beliefs of the Greeks': Leo Allatios and Popular Orthodoxy* (Leiden and Boston: Brill, 2004).

60 Hartnup, *'On the Beliefs of the Greeks'*, 321.

61 Asterios Argyriou, "Pachomios Roussanos et l'Islam," *Revue d'histoire et de philosophie religieuses* 51 (1971): 143–64; Idem, "Ἡ ἑλληνικὴ πολεμικὴ καὶ ἀπολογητικὴ γραμματεία ἔναντι τοῦ Ἰσλὰμ κατὰ τοὺς χρόνους τῆς Τουρκοκρατίας," *Θεολογία* 1 (2013): 133–65, here 134–136; Negoiță, "Discursul anti-islamic," 46–90; Idem, "Pachōmios Rousanos."

62 Katharina A. Ivanyi, Virtue, *Piety and the Law: A Study of Birgivī Meḥmed Efendī's* al-Ṭarīqa al-muḥammadiyya (Leiden and Boston: Brill, 2020). See also Shaykh Tosun Bayrak al-Jerrahi al-Halveti, *The Path of Muhammad (al-Tariqah al-Muhammadiyyah), A Book on Islamic Morals and*

later, Birgivī's ideas were inspiring for the purist Muslim *kadızādeli* movement that was preoccupied as well with denouncing "heterodox" religious practices in Ottoman society.

5. Final Thoughts

Rousanos' discourse on "orthodoxy in faith," "heterodoxy," and "orthopraxy," as seen through the polemics he initiated against Kartanos or the Orthodox Greek clergy, monks, and simple believers, is not a solitary attempt of a common Greek Athonite monk to define and delineate the boundaries of belief during the sixteenth century Ottoman Empire. In fact, as scholars argued, it was around 1500 that discourses of orthodoxy and orthopraxy occurred and spanned from Europe to the Middle East, being "motivated by the calls for religious and moral renewal and implicated in the redefinition of communal and political authority that fueled the processes of state and community building in a competitive and mimetic fashion across large parts of early modern Eurasia."[63] By playing on these notions, Rousanos follows his reformist agenda that envisages the spiritual and cultural revitalization of Greek Orthodox communities during Ottoman rule.

Without any doubt, Rousanos' discourse is that of a systematic theologian, infused with copious biblical and classical references. He made use of the theological knowledge he acquired through reading foundational texts for the Orthodox faith, which he combined with his sharp observance as a tireless traveller. In this regard, even if Rousanos writes his works with special attention to the theological tradition forged in Byzantine times, he articulates his discourse to resonate with the religious challenges of his own time. Nevertheless, considering the level of Greek he employed in his polemical treatizes in which he criticizes both clergy and common folk on their ignorance and "heterodox" beliefs and practices, as well as the level of theological knowledge one should master to understand his arguments, it can be suggested that Rousanos' intended public is definitely not the simple believers. In fact, he targeted an ecclesiastical audience that could have validated his arguments and bestowed his works with authority among the clerical circles of his time. He was an active agent for observing and commenting upon a dynamic Orthodoxy in motion, an Orthodoxy *on the move*, which makes his works valuable pieces for reconstructing the religious life of his fellow Orthodox during the "Age of Confessionalization."

Ethics & The Last Will and Testament (Vasiyyetname) by Imam Birgivi, a 16th Century Islamic Mystic (Bloomington IN: World Wisdom, 2005).

63 Tijana Krstić, "Introduction," in *Entangled Confessionalizations?*, 4.

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ORTHODOX MONASTIC EXPERIENCE AND HERMITIC PRACTICE IN THE POLISH-LITHUANIAN COMMONWEALTH*

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ABSTRACT. This paper is dedicated to a famous Ukrainian monastic saint – Jov Knjahynyc'kij (ca. 1550–1621), a founder of Manjava Skete (also known as the Great Skete) in the Carpathian Mountains, an Orthodox monk, who spent a big part of his life *en route* between the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth, Mount Athos, Moldavia, and Muscovy. His itinerary can be reconstructed on the basis of his Vita, which was composed probably soon after his death. Its author is known as hieromonk Ignatij from Ljubarov. The Vita was published in 1860 by Anthony Petrushevych (1821–1913),[1] a Ukrainian historian and linguist. It was also Petrushevych, who edited the most important sources for the early history of the Manjava Skete – the Spiritual Testament by Theodosius as well as the monastic rule of the skete.[2] Already the first monograph on the history of Manjava Skete, from its establishment in 1611 until its closure in 1785 by Julian Celevič (1843–1892), was based on Petrushevych's editions.[3] The translation of Jov's Vita and

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1 "Žizn' prepodobnogo otca Iova, osnovatelja stavropigial'noj skitskoj obiteli činu sv. Vasilija, spisana sovremennikom ieromonachom Ignatiem iz Ljubarova." In: *Zorja Halickaja jako Al'bum na hod 1860* (Lviv: Tipom Instituta Stavropihijskoho, 1860), 225–251.

2 "Zavet duchovnyj v ioroschimonasech Feodosija, igumena byvšago obiteli Svjatoj Skitskoj, k vospominaniju i sveditel'stvu, duchovnomu nastojatelju iže po mne suščemu igumenu, i vsem jaže o Christe Otcem i bratiam moim i čadom po duchu ich že sobra blagodat' božija". In *Akty otnosjaščiesja k istorii Južnozapadnoj Rusi*, ed. Antonij Petruševič (Lviv: V tipografii Stavropigijskogo Instituta poz darjadom Stefana Gugkovskogo, 1868), 56–100.

3 Julian Celevič, Istorija Skytu Manjavs'koho vid joho zasnuvannja až do zamknennja (1611–1785) (Lviv: Nakl. NTŠ, 1887), repr. Ivano-Frankivs'k: Ukraïns'ka Pravoslavna Cerkva Kiïvs'kogo Patriarhatu. Ivano-Frankivs'ka Eparhija, 1993. Some further works on the history of the Skete, are: a descriptive one by Bohdan Sušins'kij, *Slovo pro Skit Manjavs'kij. Istorija Skitu Manjavs'kogo XVII – počatku XXI stolit' – na tli christijans'kogo svitu* (Lviv: Dobra sprava, 2004); on historiography of the Manjava Skete, see Mikola Kuhutjak, "Istorija Velikoho Skitu jaž naukova problema." In *Haličina* 22/23 (2013), 455–471.

of the spiritual testament of Theodosius into English was prepared in a critical edition with commentaries by Sophia Senyk.[4]

Keywords: Manjava skete, Mount Athos, Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth, Moldavia, Muscovy, heremit, female patrons, monastic rules

Introduction

What makes Jov Knjahynyc'kij interesting in the context of the mobility of Orthodox monks is that he himself spent a considerable part of his life on the move. Was it his own choice or what circumstances were responsible for his frequent travelling? What was his own idea of being on the way? Was it appropriate for a monk to leave his monastic community and travel that much or to reside in foreign monasteries? Are there any reflections about the general mobility of monks in Jov's Vita? How does his way of life characterised by mobility correspond with the rules of the monasteries he was connected with and first of all with his own hermitic foundation – the Manjava Skete? Which role did networks play in the mobile biography of Jov Knjahynyc'kij?

It seems that mobility in the case of Jov Knjahynyc'kij was crucial for his experience of the Orthodox monastic way of life and the ascetic hesychastic practices, he was able to become acquainted with during his stay on Mount Athos. His connections with various Orthodox monastic centres in the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth could be established only through his physical presence in these communities. It is also most probable that the financial support he needed for his own monastic foundation was connected with his mobile biography, transferred experience from the Mount Athos, and readiness to share and to implement his knowledge of hesychastic and hermitic traditions and practices into the local monastic landscape of Ruthenia.

Mobile biography

Ioan (known under the monastic name of Jov) Knjahynyc'kij was born in a noble family around 1550 in the town Tysmjanycja, in the part of the Halyč region known as Pokuttja, in the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth, on the

[4] Sophia Senyk, *Manjava Skete. Ukrainian Monastic Writings of the Seventeenth Century* (Kalamazoo – Spencer – Coalville: Cistercian Publications, 2001)

territory of today-Ukraine. As a child, he was schooled at the monastery of Univ, an important Galician monastic centre in the Lviv province, where "he listened attentively to the reading of the divine scriptures and came to know the order of monastic life, so that everyone marveled".[5] From the Univ Dormition Monastery, Jov Knjahynyc'kij moved to the town Ostroh (Rivne oblast of Western Ukraine) in order to finish his studies at the school there.[6] The school was founded by the influential ruler of Ostroh – Prince Konstantin Basil (c. 1526–1608)[7] with Ruthenian and Greek scholars as teachers; it would be later known as the Orthodox Academy of Ostroh.[8]

The next Jov's relocation followed his studies in Ostroh – he was sent as an envoy of the Orthodox Prince Konstantin Basil to Mount Athos. Jov Knjahynyc'kij was assigned to bring the prince's alms and letters to the monasteries on the Holy Mountain.[9] During his visit to Mount Athos, Jov visited many monasteries as "prince's servant and an honoured guest", he "saw the common [monastic] life like a second paradise and the monks like other immaterial angels".[10] Because of his obligations towards Prince Konstantin Basil, Jov had to return to Ostroh, where he asked his patron to discharge him. He left Ostroh and his family (which intended to marry him to a girl from a rich family) and moved back to Mount Athos.[11] He spent some time in a skete together with a certain hieromonk Isidor, before the latter sent Jov to the Vatopedi monastery, as he considered the coenobitic life more appropriate for a young person than a skete, an institution mainly aimed at ascetic hermitic isolation.[12]

According to his Vita, Jov learned perfectly Greek during his stay on Mount Athos. That is why, after Jov spent twelve years in the Vatopedi monastery "without ever going away", he was sent on a long trip to Muscovy (1597–1598) together

5 "Žizn' prepodobnogo otca Iova", 228; English translation: Senyk, *Manjava Skete*, 74.

6 "Žizn' prepodobnogo otca Iova", 228; Senyk, *Manjava Skete*, 74.

7 To the person, see: Johannes Krajcar, "Konstantin Bazil Ostrožski and Rome in 1582–1584," *Orientalia Christiana Periodica* 35 (1969), 193–214; Tomasz Kempa, *Konstanty Wasyl Ostrogski (ok.1524/1525–1608) Wojewoda Kijowski i Marszałek Ziemi Wolyńskiej* (Toruń: Wydawnictwo Naukowe Uniwersytetu Mikołaja Kopernika, 1997).

8 Leonid Timošenko, "Heneza ta ideja Ostroz'koï akademiï u svitli istoriografiï ta novych hipotez," *Ostroz'ka davnyna* 3 (2014), 148–191. On the school of Ostroh and the idea of the Orthodox revival in Ruthenia, see: Borys A. Gudziak, *Crisis and Reform. The Kievan Metropolitanate, the Patriarchate of Constantinople, and the Genesis of the Union of Brest* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1998), 128–132.

9 "Žizn' prepodobnogo otca Iova", 229; Senyk, *Manjava Skete*, 74–75.

10 "Žizn' prepodobnogo otca Iova", 229: "ıако кнѧжїй слѳга и гость честный", "видаше бо ıако вторый рай обще житїе, и ıакоже вторыхъ ангеловъ безвещъныхъ"; Senyk, *Manjava Skete*, 75.

11 "Žizn' prepodobnogo otca Iova", 229–230; Senyk, *Manjava Skete*, 76.

12 "Žizn' prepodobnogo otca Iova", 230; Senyk, *Manjava Skete*, 76–77.

with other monks in order to gather alms. The reason the monks chose him for this mission was that he was acquainted with both, the Greek and the Ruthenian language.[13] It was a regular practice to send monks from Mount Athos to Muscovy for alms. Russian rulers wanted to be seen as imperial patrons of Mount Athos, as legitimate heirs of the Byzantine emperors also in this role, among other things. For instance, Tsar Ivan IV the Terrible (1530–1584) sent bigger donations to Mount Athos, especially after 1581, as his son Ivan Ivanovič's died by his hand. Monastery Vatopedi received on this occasion the biggest donation among all Athonite monasteries. Certainly, the spiritual influence of Mount Athos was one of the reasons to donate to the monasteries there, as Athonite monastic prayers for the salvation of one's soul and remission of one's sins were considered particularly valuable among Orthodox rulers and nobles.[14]

Jov and other Athonite monks arrived in Muscovy during the last years of the reign of Feodor Ivanovič (1584–1598). They were able to bring generous alms back to the Holy Mountain. That is why some years later Jov was asked again to go to Muscovy and he had to set off, even though, according to his Vita, he did not want to go again.[15] The reason why Jov was specifically sent to Muscovy was once more his knowledge of the language and of the land.[16] The author of the Vita does not provide any explanation as to why Jov Knjahynyc'kij was not keen on travelling to Moscow. It may be that he wanted to show how Jov would have preferred to live the solitary life on Mount Athos instead of spending months or even years on the way to Muscovy and back. This kind of mobility would have in that case been an enforcement against the wish of the Jov himself due to the hegumen of Vatopedi. Another explanation for the refusal could be Jov Knjahynyc'kij's possible negative experiences during his first mission to Muscovy, which led him to prefer not having to deal with them again for a second time. Or it was simply the fate of Maksim the Greek (c. 1470–1556) who scared Jov, that former monk of Vatopedi, who once was sent as a translator to Muscovy and had to spend most of his life in captivity in Russian monasteries until he died in 1556. It can only be speculated about the exact reasons, why Jov

[13] "Žizn' prepodobnogo otca Iova", 230; Senyk, *Manjava Skete*, 78.

[14] Vatopedi received 820 rubles, and monasteries Hilandar and St. Panteleimon received a little less. It was a considerable amount of money, considering that at that time for 100 rubles you could buy ca. 100 cows or 100 horses; Kira Egorova and Ksenia Zubacheva, "The ruble's journey through time, from the Middle Ages to the present day," *Russia Beyond*, 14 May 2020, https://www.rbth.com/business/332176-history-russian-ruble (last accessed on 3 April 2023). The money was brought by the tsar's emissary, Ivan Mišenin, in 1582; *Rossija i grečeskij mir v XVI veke*, edited by Sergej M. Kaštanov. Vol. 1 (Moscow: Nauka, 2004), 24.

[15] "Žizn' prepodobnogo otca Iova", 230; Senyk, *Manjava Skete*, 79.

[16] Ibid.

preferred not to be sent to Muscovy. Anyway, as it is clear from his Vita, even against his will, he did not have a choice, but to obey his hegumen and go.

Luckily for him, their mission which took place in 1601 had to be cancelled halfway, as the monks learned during their stay in the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth about riots and revolts in Muscovy in the so-called "Time of Troubles" (*Smutnoje vremja*); the Athonites went instead to Moldavia, to the *metochion* of the Vatopedi-monastery, whereas Jov remained at a monastery in Tysmjanycja,[17] his birth town on the territory of today-Ukraine. In the following years, Jov Knjahynyc'kij stayed in Ruthenia. Shortly after the Union of Brest (1596), many Orthodox dioceses in the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth were transferred to the jurisdiction of Rome.[18] Especially in the monastic circles, there was strong opposition to the Union. However, Ruthenian monasticism was rather undeveloped during the early modern period. The wish to progress and reform Orthodox monasteries in this area was, nevertheless, widespread among the church hierarchy.[19] This setting could be helpful in explaining the further "trajectories" of Jov Knjahynyc'kij.

Firstly, Jov was invited to the monastery Univ (Holy Dormition Lavra) by the hegumen Isaiah Balaban and his relative Gedeon Balaban, the Bishop of Lviv, to share his monastic experience from Mount Athos.[20] After his stay in Univ, Jov wished to return to his monastic community on the Holy Mountain, but became ill, lost his hearing, and assumed the *schema* ("Great Schema", the supreme vow of monks[21]).[22] After Jov partially recovered from his illness, he was invited by one noble couple – Adam Balaban[23] and his wife – to come to Uhornyky (today district Ivano-Frankivsk), where a church dedicated to the Archangel Michael was situated on their property. Jov was suggested to live

17 "Žizn' prepodobnogo otca Iova", 231; Senyk, *Manjava Skete*, 79–80.

18 Gudziak, *Crisis and Reform*, 239–242.

19 See, on the Orthodox reaction to the Union of Brest, Antonij Mironovič, "Pravoslavnaja cerkov' i unija na territorii Reči Pospolitoj v 1596 – 1620 godach" in *Die Union von Brest (1596) in Geschichte und Geschichtsschreibung: Versuch einer Zwischenbilanz*, ed. Johann Marte and Oleh Turij. Lviv: Institut für Kirchegeschichte der Ukrainischen Katholischen Universität, 2008), 49–78.

20 "Žizn' prepodobnogo otca Iova", 231; Senyk, *Manjava Skete*, 80.

21 See, Alice-Mary Talbot, "Schema," in *Oxford Byzantine Dictionary* (N.Y./Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1991), Vol. 3, 1849; on the discussion on the role of the "greater habit" in Byzantium, see: Daniel Oltean, ""Petit" et "grand" habit. Une dispute monastique à l'époque de Théodore Stoudite," *Byzantinoslavica* 1/2 (2015), 35–56.

22 "Žizn' prepodobnogo otca Iova", 232; Senyk, *Manjava Skete*, 81.

23 Adam Balaban was an Orthodox noble in the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth in the 16th – 17th centuries. He was a relative (possibly brother) of Isaiah Balaban, the later hegumen of the Holy Trinity Monastery in Derman' (since 1606).

there in solitude or establish a monastic community on his own.[24] But he could not solitarily live for a long time, as he was soon visited and joined by some monks and laymen. Later he received another invitation, this time from the hegumen Isaac of Derman' monastery, himself an Athonite monk. Therefore, Jov left his just-established monastery in Uhornyky under the supervision of one of the monks and moved to the monastery of Derman'. In Derman' he was supposed to help in organising the communal life, so he gladly participated at spiritual as well as communal works.

He even helped in the printing press of the monastery, where during his visit in 1603 a liturgical book, *Octoechos*, was being printed.[25] Afterwards he returned to his new monastery in Uhornyky, where he received a visit from another Athonite monk of Ruthenian origins and his friend, an Orthodox scholar and polemist, Ioan Vyšenskij (c. 1550 – after 1620).[26] Again Jov Knjahynyc'kij could not stay long with his community. He appointed a substitute monk to be in charge and set out on a journey looking for a solitary hermitic life in a secluded place, far from worldly disturbance. That is how with the help of another patron, a noble Peter Ljaxovyč, Jov found a place in Manjava, in the Carpathians and established a cell to live in solitude.[27]

After the death of Jov's acquaintance, the Bishop Gedeon Balaban of Lviv, in 1607, Jov Knjahynyc'kij felt obliged to get again involved in ecclesiastic matters, which meant this time that he had to travel to Moldavia, to Iaşi, in order to supervise the correct procedure of ordination of a new bishop of Lviv.[28] And again, his wish to return to Mount Athos could not be fulfilled. Jov Knjahynyc'kij decided to establish a new monastery in Ruthenia which should be similar to the Vatopedi monastery on the Holy Mountain, with the intention of forming youth for the monastic life. Under the patronage of Lady Anastasia Balaban, a

[24] "Žizn' prepodobnogo otca Iova", 232; Senyk, *Manjava Skete*, 82–83.

[25] "Žizn' prepodobnogo otca Iova", 233; Senyk, *Manjava Skete*, 83–84. As a patron of the printing press at the monastery of Derman' prince Konstantin Basil of Ostroh is known. On the press there, see: Ivan Ohijenko (mitropolit Ilarion), *Istorija ukraïns'koho drukarstva* (Kiev: naukovo-vidavničij centr "Naša kul'tura i nauka", 2007), 260–269.

[26] "Žizn' prepodobnogo otca Iova", 233; Senyk, *Manjava Skete*, 84. Ioan Vyšenskij is a very famous person in Ukrainian and Russian historiography, because of his polemical writings in defense of Orthodoxy against the Union of Brest. See, e.g., an article by Serhij Šumilo on Vyšenskij's biography: Serhij Šumilo, Starec Ioann Višenskij: afonskij podvižnik i pravoslavnaj pisatel'-polemist. Materialy k žizneopisaniju blažennoj pamjati velikogo starca Ioanna Višenskogo Svjatogorca: https://azbyka.ru/otechnik/Zhitija_svjatykh/starets-ioann-vishenskij-afonskij-podvizhnik-i-pravoslavnyj-pisatel-polemist-materialy-k-zhizneopisaniyu-blazhennoj-pamjati-velikogo-startsa-ioanna-vishenskogo-svjatogortsa/1 (last access on 21 April 2023).

[27] "Žizn' prepodobnogo otca Iova", 233–235; Senyk, *Manjava Skete*, 85–88.

[28] "Žizn' prepodobnogo otca Iova", 235; Senyk, *Manjava Skete*, 88–90.

new cell was founded in 1611.[29] With funding from several lay donors, a bigger church and a monastery were built in Manjava, being consecrated in 1612.[30] Instead of staying here, Jov Knjahynyc'kij set off on foot again, this time on a pilgrimage to Kyiv, desiring to visit the Caves-monastery there.[31] The hermitic character of this place corresponded to the hesychastic ideals Jov got to know on Mount Athos.

Jov came back from Kyiv, took a short break in Manjava and decided to finally go to Mount Athos, but he could not reach further than the town of Kolomyja, because of "great illness". His subsequent attempt to reach the Holy Mountain, in response to an invitation from Patriarch Kyrillos Loukaris of Alexandria (1602-1620) to accompany him on a journey through Moldavia, also ended in failure. According to the Vita, God intervened to prevent his return to Mount Athos, recognising the importance of his role in developing the monastic tradition in his homeland, Ruthenia.[32]

At this time, Theodosius, the later author of the monastic rule of Manjava, was ordained priest and was later to become hegumen of Manjava, while Jov was away to Kyiv, being commissioned to instruct the hegumen and monks at the monastery of the Caves on common life after Athonite model.[33] In the meantime, a new bigger church was erected in Manjva. In 1620, the skete received from the Patriarch of Constantinople Timotheos II (1612–1620) and Patriarch of Alexandria Kyrillos Loukaris a privileged status of a *stauropegion* (a monastery subordinated directly to the patriarch).[34] Again, Jov had to leave his skete, as he was asked by the above-mentioned lady Balaban to take care of the monastery in Uhornyky. She wanted to become a nun, so she gave away her possessions and moved with her spiritual father, Gerasym – the former hegumen of Uhornyky – to Volyn'. Jov established a monastic community there and appointed a hegumen.[35] After that, Jov returned to the Manjava skete, where he died on 29 December 1621. He was buried in the new church, on the right side of the narthex.[36]

It is hard to imagine a monk, who would spend more time on journeys than Jov Knjahynyc'kij, even though only a smaller part of his trips were really long distances. Apart from his journeys to and back from Mount Athos, to

[29] "Žizn' prepodobnogo otca Iova", 239; Senyk, *Manjava Skete*, 99.
[30] "Žizn' prepodobnogo otca Iova", 239–242; Senyk, *Manjava Skete*, 100–104.
[31] "Žizn' prepodobnogo otca Iova", 242; Senyk, *Manjava Skete*, 104–106.
[32] "Žizn' prepodobnogo otca Iova", 242–244, Senyk, *Manjava Skete*, 106–107, 109–111.
[33] "Žizn' prepodobnogo otca Iova", 246; Senyk, *Manjava Skete*, 114–115.
[34] Ieromonah Dosoftei Dijmărescu, "Două manuscrise de la Schitul Mare (Maniava) aflate la mănăstirea Putna." *Analele Putnei* 1 (2008), 209.
[35] "Žizn' prepodobnogo otca Iova", 248; Senyk, *Manjava Skete*, 119.
[36] "Žizn' prepodobnogo otca Iova", 248–249; Senyk, *Manjava Skete*, 119–124.

Muscovy, and Moldavia he spent most of his life in the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth, visiting numerous monasteries, instructing hegumens and monks, making his own monastic endowments. His knowledge and experience of the Orthodox monastic tradition in its common and hermitic form were in great demand in Ruthenia, which made him wanted by numerous hegumens and lay patrons of monasteries.

As Jov Knjahynyc'kij's biography implies, the mobility of early modern monks was rarely completely voluntary. They depended on their lay and monastic patrons, who chose for them, where they were needed, and they showed obedience. Political and ecclesiastical circumstances limited or favoured mobility – wars and uprisings hindered monks from their missions; ecclesiastic issues had to be solved in the presence of bishops and patriarchs and thus contributed to the necessity of movement. Not less important for the mobility of early modern monks was the mentioned obedience to the Lord, their wish to follow the divine plan for them. In the case of Jov Knjahynyc'kij, the Vita shows that his wish of travelling back to Mount Athos was repeatedly prevented through divine interference in the form of illnesses or other issues he had to deal with, which made him stay in Ruthenia and fulfil his destiny through the development of monasticism in his homeland.

Monastic centres and networks

Monastic networks were crucial for the mobility of monks. Jov Knjahynyc'kij had contact with numerous Orthodox monasteries, first of all in the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth, but also certainly on the Mount Athos, where he had been tonsured at the Vatopedi monastery. His education was connected with Univ monastery; he spent time at Derman' monastery and supported its printing activities, he established the monastic communities of Uhornyky and Manjava, and played as well an important role in the spiritual revival of the monastery of the Caves in Kyiv. Apart from monastic centres, also people – friends and acquaintances among monks as well as lay patrons constituted a broad network, which supported Jov Knjahynyc'kij in his peregrinations. Alone his Vita mentions more than forty-five names of contemporaries he was in regular contact with.[37]

Mount Athos played a particular role in the mobile biography of Jov Knjahynyc'kij. Although Mount Athos was far away from Ruthenia under Ottoman rule, the Orthodox noblemen and church hierarchs seemed to be interested in maintaining close contact with the Holy Mountain. For the Prince of Ostroh

[37] Beljakova, "Afon i Manjavskij skit", 62.

Konstantin Basil, supporting monasteries and monks on Mount Athos was fundamental for his prestige as a local Orthodox ruler, patron and sponsor of the Orthodox Greek hierarchs and monks. Not least, he supported the printing press with Church Slavonic and Greek typefaces and established an Orthodox academy. Good connections to the Athonites were a part of this image and it needed to be kept alive by exchanging letters and books, sending alms and showing hospitality to envoys.[38] For Jov Knjahynyc'kij, who first got to know Mount Athos as an emissary of Prince Konstantin Basil, Mount Athos became a place of perfect monastic life and solitude, where he spent most of his younger years. It appears that Mount Athos held a dual significance for Jov. On the one hand, it was a tangible location where he resided as a monk. On the other hand, it represented an idealised and heavenly space that he sought to recreate in his homeland. It was a model of perfect monastic life he wanted to implement in his own monasteries. His wish was surely to live on Mount Athos, but the divine intervention ensured that he remained in Ruthenia and spread the Athonite ideals there. Other Athonites of Ruthenian origins became part of Jov's networks, among them the hegumen of Derman' monastery, Isaac, as well as the famous publicist and Jov's friend, Ioan Vyšenskij.

Manjava Skete was also known beyond Ruthenia. There is evidence from Moldavia, Wallachia, and Muscovy about existing connections with this skete. Some manuscripts from Manjava were found at the monastery Putna in Moldavia, among them the copy of Jov's Vita and Spiritual Testament by Theodosius containing also an icon with both saints – Jov and Theodosius.[39] In Bucharest were discovered manuscripts from the Manjava Skete as well.[40] From Muscovy, Manjava Skete (known there as the Great Skete) received a number of printed liturgical books.[41] Consecrated by the Eastern Patriarchs, the Skete Manjava continued to maintain contact with Greek hierarchs. Among the well-known monks in Manjava Skete was Theodosius, a hieromonk from the Moldavian Putna Monastery[42] and another Jov, the later hegumen of the famous Ukrainian Pochaiv Lavra and an Orthodox saint.[43]

38 Krajcar, "Konstantin Bazil", 207–214.

39 Ieromonah Dosoftei Dijmărescu, "Două manuscrise de la Schitul Mare (Maniava) aflate la mănăstirea Putna." *Analele Putnei* 1 (2008), 205–228.

40 Mikola Kuhutjak, "Istorija Velikoho Skitu jaž naukova problema." *Haličina* 22/23 (2013), 455–471, on p. 462.

41 Beljakova, "Afon i Manjavskij skit", 61.

42 "Žizn' prepodobnogo otca Iova", 237; Senyk, *Manjava Skete*, 93–94.

43 Dijmărescu, "Două manuscrise", 209.

Patrons and friends

It seems that during his studies in Ostroh, Jov learned Prince Konstantin Basil and his family pretty well, as he copied out for Konstantin's son Alexander the Psalter.[44] The prince himself became obviously a patron of Jov Knjahynyc'kij, as he later demanded Jov to go to Mount Athos at his request. A noble from Uhornyky, Adam Balaban, and his wife were happy to become Jov Knjahynyc'kij's patrons, as they invited him to move to their lands, to take care of their church and possibly to establish a monastery on their estate in order to keep close a famous monk to pray for them. Another patron, Peter Ljachovič, was essential for founding the skete in Manjava. He also sponsored the building of a church there.[45]

Later acquaintances of Jov Knjahynyc'kij were famous Ruthenian scholars like Ioan Vyšenskij – a publicist and Athonite monk himself. His letter to Jov Knjahynyc'kij is preserved, where he appears as an advocate of wandering monks. He draws a parallel between the Slavic verb "скитати" and a "skete" (скит) for anchorites.[46] Also in further writings he vigorously defended the idea of monks wandering to the desert in search of solitude and ascetic living instead of staying at urban monasteries.[47] An Orthodox hieromonk and author Zacharija Kopystenskij (died in 1627),[48] who knew Jov, wrote a complimentary passage about the monastic life and the skete of Manjava in his book "Palinodia" (1621).[49] Among other major contacts were Isaias Balaban, a hegumen of the Univ Dormition Monastery, and later the head of the printing shop in Ostroh, as well as Gedeon Balaban, the bishop of Lviv (1569–1607).[50] All of them are mentioned in his Vita, as deeply interested in, and fascinated by, Jov Knjahynyc'kij's experience of hermitic life in solitude and silence or by his knowledge of the Eastern monastic traditions, rites, and rules.

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44 Senyk, *Manjava Skete*, 74.

45 "Žizn' prepodobnogo otca Iova", 238

46 See Ivan Vyšenskij, Sočinenija ("Poslanie Iovu Knjaginickomu"). Edited by E.P. Eremina. (Moscow/Leningrad: Izdatel'stvo Akademii Nauk SSSR, 1955), 209: от кѣлия до велия и от монастыря до монастыря скитати.

47 Ivan Vyšenskij, Sočinenija, 212–218. See also here: Beljakova, "Afon i Manjavskij skit", 65.

48 Zacharija Kopystenskij is well-known as an Orthodox scholar and polemist, who was active in Kyiv as a member of the Orthodox brotherhood. He supported the activity of the printing press in Kyiv, wrote several books and became the hegumen of the Cave monastery in 1624.

49 See, "Palinodija. Sočinenie kievskogo ieromonacha Zaharii Kopystenskogo, 1621 – 1622 goda." In: *Russkaja istoričeskaja biblioteka, izdavajemaja Archeografičeskoju kommissijeju*. Vol. 4: *Pamjatniki polemičeskoj literatury v Zapadnoj Rusi*, 1. (Saint Petersburg: Archeografičeskaja kommissija, 1878), 313–1200, on p. 856.

50 Elena V. Beljakova, "O nekotorych osobennostjach rasprostranenija kirilličeskich pamjatnikov cerkovnogo prava u slavjan v rannee novoe vremja." *Slavica slovaca* 55, no. 1 (2020), 37–45, on p. 41.

An interesting aspect is a question on the relationship between Jov Knjahynyc'kij and women. As we have seen, from his Vita it is known that he avoided marriage. This was partially the reason, why he took refuge in the Holy Mountain. As he arrived at Mount Athos, "he saw no one of the female sex, not even animals, unless a wild one or a bird flying through the air".[51] The rules of Manjava Skete, formulated by Theodosius in the Spiritual Testament, forbade all contact of monks with women. Communication with women was considered to be worse than one with the devil; the testament specifies that it is better for a monk to take deadly poison than to dine with a woman, even if she is his mother or sister.[52]

But this aversion towards women was hard to be seen in the description of Jov's life in Ruthenia; he seems to have appreciated female patronage and women's interest in his person and his monastic way of life. To mention is Anastasia (Voljanovskaja), Adam Balaban's wife, who welcomed Jov at first at their estate in Uhornyky, where they entrusted to Jov Knjahynyc'kij their church of St Michael the Archangel. Jov contacted her later, as he needed help to establish a hermitic cell in Manjava. This is how Vita describes their relationship: "He [Jov] began to clear off a place for the cell, then told the brethren to continue clearing it, while he himself went to a certain Christ-loving lady, Anastasia Balaban. He told her about his proposal [of establishing a cell "with the rules and customs that he had observed on the Holy Mountain"] and what he had started and asked her to build a cell. She gladly straightway sent skilled workers to build a spacious cell. Thus, he moved to the new cell, [to live] further off in solitude, in 1611."[53]

It seemed that they had been well acquainted with each other, as Anastasia Balaban not only supported his monastic plans financially, but she also stayed by Jov Knjahynyc'kij, when he was ill. Lady Balaban took care of him, "put cold compresses on him" until he got better.[54] Later, when Anastasia Balaban was already a widow, she decided to become a nun and to move away from her estate in Uhornyky. She, therefore, addressed again Jov Knjahynyc'kij to take over the control of the monastery there, which he was glad to comply with. She acted as a patroness (ктиторка) of this male monastery, which needed to elect a new hegumen, since she intended to take the previous hegumen, her spiritual father, with her on the search for a suitable nunnery. Jov did as he was asked to, took care of the monastic community, found new brethren and a new hegumen for the

[51] Senyk, *Manjava Skete*, 75–76; "Žizn' prepodobnogo otca Iova", 229: наипаче же невидѣ женска пола, даже до скотъ, развѣ звѣрѧ или на возд8х8.
[52] "Zavet duchovnyj," 63; Senyk, *Manjava Skete*, 140.
[53] "Žizn' prepodobnogo otca Iova", 239; Senyk, *Manjava Skete,* 99.
[54] "Žizn' prepodobnogo otca Iova", 243; Senyk, *Manjava Skete,* 110.

monastery in Uhornyky.[55] Lady Balaban went presumably to the monastery in Četvertnja (that had been founded in 1618 by her nephew, a noble, Prince Grigorij Ostafijovič). The first hegumen of this nunnery became Anastasia's spiritual father Gerasim.[56] Supposedly some other ladies actively supported the Manjava Skete – among them Maria Movilă (ca. 1592–1644), daughter of the Moldavian voivode Ieremia Movilă (c. 1555–1606), Stefan Potocki's wife.[57] It seems that female patrons could also influence the level of mobility of the monks. In this case, Jov felt supported in his monastic activities, knew that his hermitic plans would be sponsored by a patroness, and could expect to be valued and respected as a monk and human being.

Another connection to a woman, according to the Vita, was intended to show the respect and influence that Jov Knjahynyc'kij enjoyed not only among Orthodox inhabitants of the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth, but also among representatives of other denominations. In this case, he convinced a noble Lutheran lady, Anna Korec'ka,[58] to choose Orthodoxy over her own confession. This is how Vita reports on this event: "Princess Anna Korec'ka, although she was a fanatical adherent of the Lutheran faith, wanted very much to see the elder. He did visit her; she was very happy to see him and opened her conscience to him. The elder taught her and told her to abandon her damnable heresy, to submit to the teaching of her [local Orthodox] bishop and to keep to Orthodoxy. She carried this out with alacrity; he commended her to the bishop and departed."[59] Jov's ascetic reputation and monastic authority were definitely important in his contacts with lay women and, as it seems, even to the ones of other confessions.

The Rule of the Manjava-Skete Regarding the Mobility of Monks

As Jov Knjahynyc'kij biography showed, he used to travel a lot, and his monastic habit was not an obstacle to his mobility. It seems, however, that the author of his Vita strove to explain that the reasons for Jov to leave his monastery were by no means that he grew tired of staying in one place or that he enjoyed

55 "Žizn' prepodobnogo otca Iova", 248; Senyk, *Manjava Skete*, 119.

56 On Adan Balaban's widow, although the author calls her "Marina" (possibly her monastic name?), see Oleh Duch, *Prevelebni panni. Žinoči černeči spil'noti L'vivs'koï ta Peremišl'skoï eparhij u rann'omodernij period* (Lviv: Vidavnictvo Ukraïns'kogo katolic'koho universitetu, 2007), 385.

57 Dijmărescu, "Două manuscrise", 210.

58 About Anna Korec'ka it is only known that she was involved in the legal conflicts with the monastery Vydubyčy near Kiev. See, Laurent Tatarenko, "Violence et luttes religieuses dans la Confédération polono-lithuanienne (fin XVIe – milieu du XVII siècle): l'exemple de la confrontation entre uniates et orthodoxes," *Revue historique* 4 (2008) no. 648, 857–890, here p. 859.

59 "Žizn' prepodobnogo otca Iova", 244; Senyk, *Manjava Skete,* 110.

travelling and visiting other places and monasteries. He travelled because this was what God intended for him. The hagiographer emphasises Jov's repeated attempts to return to the Athos monastery, in which he had been professed.[60] On the other hand, it does not seem that Jov's many journeys were considered a contradiction to the monastic habitus.

His predecessor – the already mentioned monk of Vatopedi, the famous philologian and translator Maksim the Greek, who had spent his early years travelling from Arta in Ottoman Greece to Italian cities, such as Florence, Milan, Venice, or Padova, where he studied[61] – seemed to be happy to stay for a lifetime at Vatopedi after taking the monastic vows on Mount Athos. But like Jov Knjahynyc'kij decades later, Maksim was also sent in 1516 from Vatopedi with a mission to Muscovy. The task was to translate "divine, namely Greek books".[62] He was never allowed to leave Muscovy and join his monastic community on Mount Athos again. He was kept in captivity at different Russian monasteries after being accused of heresy, collaboration with Ottoman authorities, etc.[63] According to Maksim the Greek, who authored several treatises on Orthodox monastic life, free movement contradicted flagrantly the monastic profess and vows. He assessed the strict prohibition of travelling and living outside the monastic community as being the traditional practice of the monastery of Vatopedi and other Athonite monasteries. Maksim wrote in his letter to the Grand Prince of Muscovy Vasilij III in 1518/19 that in the monasteries on Mount Athos, "if someone wants to move to another monastery, he is not allowed to do so. If he secretly evades, he is repeatedly called by his hegumen to return. If he does not obey, the hegumen threatens him with excommunication. Being afraid of excommunication, he comes back to his monastery and obeys to his shepherd."[64]

In his other writings on Eastern monasticism, Maksim the Greek pointed out as well the importance of a sedentary life for monks in one and the same monastery, without free movement, staying true to one's vow, and basically

[60] Sophia Senyk wrote here on monks' mobility in the pre-modern period: Senyk, *Manjava Skete*, 40.

[61] On the 'Italian period' in the life of Maksim the Greek, see Jack Haney, *From Italy to Muscovy: the life and works of Maxim the Greek* (Munich: Wilhelm Fink Verlag, 1973), 16–27.

[62] *Rossija i grečeskij mir,* no. 3, 130: ѡсудихом мы, смиренныи служ(е)бники ц(а)рствіа твоег(о), послати к тебѣ возлюбленног(о) брата н(а)ш(е)го Маѯима, искусна суща и пригожа к толкованію и преведению всѧких книг ц(е)рк(о)вных и гл(а)г(о)лемых елинских, понеж(е) ѿ юноскіа младости в сих возрасте учениахъ [...]

[63] Haney, *From Italy to Muscovy,* 67–68.

[64] Here in my translation. See Prepodobnyj Maksim Grek, *Sočinenija*, vol. 1 (Moscow: Indrik, 2008), 126: Но аще въсхощет нѣкто къ инои обители преходити, не попущается; аще же утаився избежит, призывается многажды от игумена своего, и аще не послушает, тогда под юзами отлучениа его полагаеть, он же отлучениа боязнию наказан, възвращается въ свои монастырь и своему пастырю повинуеться.

denying any form of physical mobility in favour of the spiritual one in search of virtue.[65] Several decades later, he writes again even more unequivocally that "in order to know how to please God, you have to listen to Himself, as he clearly put in the law and commanded to us, monks, as follows, 'Which temple you enter, you have to stay there until you pass away, and do not move from temple to temple.' That is how the Lord, the ruler of all, clearly commands to us, monks, who emulate apostles in their way of life that we stay until the end there, where we have been called upon in the beginning, without moving from one monastery to another, or from one country to another until we pass away from this mundane life."[66]

For Maksim the Greek, it was his conviction about the spiritual benefit of staying in the same monastic community which came with prayer, monastic discipline, and contemplation instead of wandering in the world outside that made him critical of monks moving around. But certainly, his own fate of being kept apart from his homeland and his monastery motivated him to focus on this particular subject, in order to persuade Russian rulers that his wish to return to Mount Athos was more than a personal aspiration, but truly his *obligation* as every monk had to fulfil: to remain in his monastery until he died. Otherwise, he would have failed his own monastic vows, and would thus have been deprived of his achievements. His longstanding efforts and endeavours would be annulled, as he would not be able to fulfil his promises to Christ. [67] Maksim the Greek not only gave his personal opinion on monastic mobility, but vehiculated a *Zeitgeist*.

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[65] Neža Zajc, "U istokov monašeskogo mirovozzrenija prep. Maksima Greka (k 550-letiju so dnja roždenija svjatogo", Germenevtika drevnerusskoj literatury 20 (2021), 250–272, here 257.

[66] Prepodobnyj Maksim Grek, *Sočinenija*, edited by Nina Sinicyna. Vol. 2 (Moscow: Rukopisnye pamjatniki Drevnej Rusi, 2014), 144: "Како же ли угодно есть Ему, услышите Самого, сицѣ явьственѣ узаконяюща и повелѣвающа нам иноком: «В ню же храмину внидите, в тои пребываите, дондеже изыдете, и не преходите исъ храмины въ храмину.» Се явѣ Владыка всѣхъ повелительнѣ повелѣваетъ намъ инокомъ, апостольское житие подражающимъ, идежѣ изначала кождо призвани // быхомъ, ту и до конца пребывати, не преходящим от монастыря в монастырь ниже от страны въ ину страну, дондеже изыдемъ от житиа сего суетнаго." My translation.

[67] He addressed in numerous letters the great prince Vasilij III and later the Tsar Ivan IV and asked them to let him go back to the Mount Athos. See, e.g., Maksim Grek, *Sočinenija*, vol. 1, 165: Мнѣ же и сущим со мною братии възвращение къ Святѣи Горѣ за вся просящим даровати да изволиши, от долгыа сеа печали свободити. Въздаи пакы нас добрѣ и опаснѣ честному монастырю Ватопеди, издавна нас ждущу и чяющу по вся часы, по подобию птенцовъ питающиа их ждущих. Да не лишимся многолѣтных тамошних трудов и потовъ нашихъ, ихь же положихом тамо о надежи нашего о Господѣ скончаниа. Даруи нам, о самодръжче богочестивѣишии и милосердѣишии, тамо съвършити нам Господеви иноческая обѣщаниа, идѣже волею обѣщание сътворихом пред Христом и страшными аггелы Его въ день постриженииа нашего. See Maksim Grek, *Sočinenija,* vol. 2, 143.

His writings were copied and distributed in handwritten form not only in Muscovy, but also in the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth, where some of his treatises – about the sign of the cross (Vilnius, 1585/1595), and against the Latins (Ostroh 1588) – were even printed and distributed among Orthodox Ruthenians.

For Jov Knjahynyc'kij mobility was an intrinsic part of his life, but similar to Maksim the Greek he always cultivated the strong desire that was fundamental for him to return one day to the monastery, where he had been tonsured, in order to spend the rest of his life there accordingly to the canons. His Vita states, "he knew well that if someone ends his life in the same monastery where he was tonsured […] such a monk will unfailingly be crowned with the crown [of victory] by the Judge on the terrible day of his coming."[68]

The rule of the Manjava-Skete given by Theodosius is quite strict in regard to the mobility of monks. Its chapter 17 forbids monks to leave the monastery without the permission (blessing) of the hegumen.[69] As the main reason for this prohibition of free movement, Theodosius mentions the spiritual danger for the monk – on the one hand, it is harmful to the monk to demonstrate disobedience towards the hegumen and to leave the monastery without permission. On the other hand, free moving from place to place is risky because of the devil, who enjoys leading wandering monks into sin or even into illness and death. At this point, Theodosius tells a story about an older monk, who – after many years of living in his monastery without ever getting out and being thus a proper monk –, was tempted by the devil and determined to go. He left his cell without the hegumen's permission, got injured, bled out, and died.[70] It is, however, relevant that this part of the Spiritual Testament leaned on the writings of the Muscovite spiritual authority of Ioseph Volotsky (1439–1515) and was hence a product of earlier perceptions on the mobility of monks, which originated in the rather conservative Muscovite religious landscape.[71]

Theodosius's Spiritual Testament was inspired among other things by the so called *Skitsky ustav*, a Slavonic compilation of rules for monastic hermitic communities in the manner of sketes.[72] It is a rule which similarly restricts the mobility of monks, who are ordered not to leave their cells without major need. In the case of urgency, they are allowed to go out on Saturdays or Sundays.

68 Senyk, *Manjava Skete*, 81.
69 "Zavet duchovnyj," 80.
70 "Zavet duchovnyj," 80.
71 According to Elena Beljakova, this chapter 17 matches with the Seventh Word of the Ustav of Yoseph Volotsky, Beljakova, "Afon i Manjavskij skit", 65.
72 Beljakova, "Afon i Manjavskij skit", 64–65.

Particularly important for the monks was to not abandon their cells and to avoid neglecting the canon during Holy Thursday and Good Friday, not to mention the whole period of Lent.[73]

It can, furthermore, be argued that although written rules and treatises were often critical towards the free movement of Orthodox monks, the reality was more complex and made it necessary for some of them to be constantly on the move, in order to fulfil their obligations of teaching and instructing (as it the case of Jov Knjahynyc'kij). They had to respond to the call of their lay patrons or ecclesiastical authorities. For "ordinary" monks, the movement was limited to the bare minimum, anyhow, or was even entirely forbidden.

Conclusion

Jov Knjahynyc'kij is a fascinating example of the high mobility of Orthodox monks in the early modern period. Born and schooled in Ruthenia, he moved to Mount Athos, where he became a monk and stayed for many years at the monastery of Vatopedi. Because of his Ruthenian origins and knowledge of the Slavic language, he was chosen to be sent on missions to collect alms in Muscovy. Later, in the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth, it was his knowledge of the Greek language and his experience with monastic life on Mount Athos that made him be demanded in questions connected to the implementation and development of the Orthodox monasticism, the initiatives of religious foundations, and the articulation of monastic and hermitic rules for the new establishments. He became the founder of the new Manjava Skete in the Ukrainian Carpathians. The rule for his skete praised the role of sedentary living in a cell and prohibited free movement for the monks without the permission of the hegumen. It is clear that Jov himself stood, certainly, above the rule and travelled to different Orthodox monasteries of the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth and Moldavia, counselled not only monks and hierarchs but lay people as well on the specifics of monastic and hermitic life. He cultivated impressive networks among Ruthenian intellectuals, theologians, and printers, and stayed in contact with some lay women, whom he encouraged to donate to the monasteries, or even to choose – when living in multi-confessional societies – the "right" faith.

[73] Elena Beljakova, "Ustav po rukopisi RNB Pogod. 876", *Drevnjaja Rus'. Voprosy medievistiki* 1/11 (2003), 63–95, folio 306, on p. 85.

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A BRIEF HISTORIOGRAPHICAL NOTE RELATED TO NORTH ASIA: NICOLAE MILESCU (1636–1708) & JOHN FREDERICK BADDELEY (1854–1939)

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ABSTRACT. Russian exploration in the 17th century attracted the attention of twentieth-century geographers, a fact that also resulted in a series of translations of texts produced by Russian embassies in the Far East, especially those beginning to deal with the Qing dynasty. The British geographer John F. Baddeley was one of these geographers, as he was also a member of the Royal Geographical Society. He not only translated texts, but also explored the Russian territories under discussion using the corpus of manuscripts compiled by the Russian ambassador to the Qing, Nicolae Milescu. The reception of his translations and his venture into North Asia by historians of science and geographers is remarkable, and it is equally a nuance where the history of the 17th century seems to 'encounter' Baddeley's time of exploration in the 20th century.

Keywords: Northern Asia, geography, explorations, Russians in the Far East, historiography.

> *"I was with Spatahary's account of his journey from Chinese frontier to Peking and sojourn there that, in May 1912, I began my work of translation."* (John Frederick Baddeley, 1919)[1]

The beginning of historiographical attention in texts related to Nicolae Milescu Spathary's mission perfectly coincides with the logic of the dissemination of the manuscript texts resulting from his journey between Tobolsk and Peking:

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1 *Russia, Mongolia, and China. Being some Record of the Relations between them from the beginning of the XVIIth Century to the Death of Tsar Alexei Mikhailovich A.D. 1602-1676. Rendered mainly in the form of Narratives dictated or written by the Envoys sent by the Russian Tsars or their Voevodas in Siberia to the Kalmuk and Mongol Khans & Princes; and to the Emperors of China. With Introductions, Historical and Geographical also a Series of Maps showing the progress of Geographical Knowledge in regard to Northern Asia, during the XVIth, XVIIth, & early XVIIIth Centuries. The Texts are taken more*

the interest in the geographical, topographical, ethnographic[2] and cartographic knowledge transmitted by Nicolae Milescu.

Nicolae Milescu Spathary (1636–1708), a scholar and diplomat, was part of the administration in the Romanian Principalities and later in Russia. Considered *vir doctus variæque eruditionis* even by his contemporaries, Milescu is ranked among the most important representatives of south-eastern European humanism in the 17th century. He was born in the Vaslui region in Moldavia in 1636 into a family of Macedonian-Wallachian origin (from Peloponnese in Greece), at that time landowners in the Mileşti-Moldova area, hence his patronymic. He remains in the intellectual and political memory of Europe, one of the protagonists of Moscow's relations with the Qing dynasty, in the prelude to an imminent Russian conflict in the Albazin area, the Sino-Russian peace treaty of Nerchinsk (1689) and the first border between Russia and China. Milescu also served the foreign policy interests of Tsar Peter the Great in missions such as the one to Armenia, despite a brief but troubled period of disseminating Russia's domestic interests immediately after the death of Tsar Alexey Michailovich and the exile of the foreign minister, Artamon Sergeevich Matveyev (1625–1682). Nicolae Milescu ended his diplomatic career late in life, settling permanently in Moscow and maintaining political, academic, and ecclesiastical relations between Russia and the Romanian Principalities as well as with the Ecumenical Patriarchate until 1708, the year that marked the end of his life.

The corpus of texts delivered by Milescu to the Moscow *Duma* as soon as he returned from Beijing remained in oblivion for two centuries, before the geographer Yuri Arsenev discovered the aforementioned manuscripts in the Kremlin treasury. Between 1891 and 1916, during the time of Tsar Nikolai II, the world's longest railway, the Trans-Siberian Railway, was also finalized. Concern in these areas was also greater from the point of view of transnational infrastructure. Geographers' attention in the access routes between Moscow and Beijing via Siberia had motives that were related to Russia's new structural plans, thus, at least in part, explains the interest in the layered knowledge of transcontinental

especially from Manuscripts in the Moscow Foreign Office Archive. The Whole by John F. Baddeley, Author of The Russian Conquest of the Caucasus, Macmillan and Company, London 1919, Vol. I-II, pp. 15-ccclxv + 1 f. er. + tab. geneal. A-I, maps, etc., xii-466, New York 1963[2]; Mansfield Center CT, Martino 2007[3]. [In the following "RMC", it is the English translation of massive excerpts from the *PSTNK* and *SSPNSK*, with additional documents, notes, bibliography, index, annexes, etc..]; the motto quoted from *RMC* I, p. 8.

[2] I became interested in the subject by reading the studies of Eugen Ciurtin, "L'ethnographie sibérienne dans l'œuvre du Roumain Nicolas 'Milescu' le Spathaire (1675-1678)," *Archævs*, vol. 4, nr. 1-2, 2000, 413-437; *idem*, "L'Asie dans l'œuvre du Roumain Nicolas 'Milescu' le Spathaire (1636-1708) et son contexte européen (II[e] partie)", *Studia Asiatica* vol. 1, nr. 1-2, 2000, 177-208.

transit routes from the 16th to the 19th centuries or the dawn of the 20th century. There are also two maps of Spathary, generically entitled *geograficheskie chertyozhi posol'stva N. G. Spafarij* (En. "Geographical maps - the mission of N. G. Spafarij"), known as *The Spatharios Map*, 1682 (16 x 21 cm.), Leo Bagrow coll., ms. Russ. 72, Houghton Library, Harvard University, Cambridge, MA, respectively *Tabula S[c]lavonica Idiomate Typo ligneo impressa in Sybiris esilio*, Sloane ms. 2910, British Library. From a territorial-administrative point of view, these cartographic representations, together with the description of Northern Asia, form the auroral outline of the first Russian-Chinese frontier in 1689 and are included in the cartographic index of reference, alongside those by Semyon Remezov (1642-1720), Nicolaas Witsen (1641-1717), Johan Gabriel Sparwenfeld (1655-1727), Engelbert Kaempfer (1651-1716), etc. The strategic value of the cartographical and geographical information provided by Milescu to Russia and the representatives of the *Societatis Jesu* in Moscow and Peking, essential mediators in the Russian-Chinese border negotiations, is a chapter in itself in the biography of the Moldovan diplomat, one of the most important.

There was an extremely interesting phase for Milescu's corpus of texts on North Asia after his return to Moscow, not to mention that all his contacts with the Jesuits at the court of Peking developed into an immense source of topographical and cartographical data, nevertheless without sophisticated geodesic calculation.[3] When arrived in Beijing, Milescu was met by the *alichachava*, Ferdinand Verbiest (1623-1688), whose Chinese name we know to be Nan Huai-jen or Nan Tun-po. *Alichachava* in Manchurian *aliha hafan*, corresponds to the Chinese word *qing*, chief of cabinet. After Adam Schall von Bell (1591-1666) assignment, Verbiest was the best known and most popular Jesuit of the imperial court, having already in 1673 assumed the dignity of director of the Astronomical Observatory in Beijing, coordinator of ballistic production in the Chinese capital and tutor of the young Kangxi in the exact sciences: mathematics, arithmetic, trigonometry, and astronomy. These are aspects that we find in the official report made by Nicolae Milescu at the end of his mission. Ferdinand Verbiest was to remain, throughout the entire mission, the most useful and experienced

[3] The triangular measurement or the trigonometric computation in accordance with the angular or astronomical observation is inexistent in Old Russian map making. In the seventeenth century, topographic measurement methods were quite rudimentary: the unique reticulate structure consists of the angle formed by the disposition of the rivers belonging to the Siberian hydrographical system; the distance measurements between two geographical units are evaluated in a day's journey; there were "no geographic coordinates, uniform scale nor cartographic projections of any kind" and before the eighteenth century, there is "no mathematical foundation in the *Ptolemaic* sense", see: Alexei V. Postnikov, "Outline of History of Russian Cartography", in K. Matsuzato, *Regions: A Prism to view the Slavic Eurasian Word*. Proceedings of the July 1988 international Symposium of the Slavic Research Center, Sapporo, 2000, 8-9.

mediator between Milescu and the Kangxi emperor, as he was the translator of the entire corpus of diplomatic correspondence from Beijing to Moscow and the translator from Latin into Manchurian of the two dignitaries. We often catch him acting as a spy for Moscow, as he and Nicholas plan an accessible overland route between Europe and the Far East for the use of Jesuit Catholic missionaries destined to evangelize and promote European science in China. The Moldovan diplomat would not hesitate to offer confidential information himself to the Jesuits in Moscow about the access routes to the Siberian plateau and the peace negotiations in Nerchinsk, a sort of exchange of services and gratitude for the help he had received in Beijing in 1676. Explorations into Chinese Tartary and discoveries of several overland routes between Siberia and Northern China, mainly as a result of the Russian missions and Jesuit explorations, overcome a large number of toponyms and ethnonyms. Part of these early modern European maps and geographical descriptions are made to a certain extent use of Renaissance cartographic sources and late medieval Chinese cartography. Another part, substantially added observations in situ indicating a straight interaction between the European explorers and the indigenous people settled in Northeast Asia.[4]

The Manchus represented a powerful multi-ethnic group settled in the north-eastern areas of China who, within a few decades, succeeded in moving the capital from Mukden to Beijing, the seat of the new dynasty. The Dogon prince (1612-1650), the fourteenth son of Nurhaci (1558-1626) was in fact the founder of the Qing dynasty, who entered Peking with his army in June 1644, supporting the proclamation of Shenzhu or Shunzhi (r.1643-1661) as emperor of China. The conquest of the Chinese capital by the Manchus shows the ascendant and decisive phase of the progressive extension of power over the Korean, Mongolian and Chinese populations. Mainly, Lifanyuan 理藩院 the office for "submitted territories" (in Mongolian *Γadaγu mongγol-un törö-yi ĵasaqu yabudal-un yamun*). This office dealt with the tributary countries of Central and North Asia, an integral and innovative part of the Qing's administrative system of the empire. Among other things, it performed an important function, namely that of receiving foreign diplomats during their stay in the Forbidden City, preparing them for an audience with the emperor. Only Manchus and Mongols had access to the top of this institution as the Chinese were excluded from the highest offices. Indeed, Nicolae Milescu was protected throughout his mission by General Ma-la, Vice-president of Lifanyuan. Ma-La (? - 1698), a member of the Manchu Bordered White Banner and a noble of *the ahaha hafan*, that is the sixth rank of the noble

[4] See also my book review of Noël Golvers, Efthymios Nicolaidis (eds.), Ferdinand Verbiest and Jesuit Science in 17th century China. An annotated edition and translation of the Constantinople manuscript (1676), National Hellenic Research Foundation vol. 108, Athens-Leuven 2009, 382 p., *Stvdia Asiatica* 11 (2010), 344-352.

hierarchy of the Qing, he was among those responsible for relations with the Russian delegations, even before Milescu's mission to Beijing. Milescu met him in Nahum and later went with him to Peking in 1675. Following Milescu's mission, Ma-La was promoted to the position of Chairman of the Board of Works, but unable to fulfil his duties, he was discharged. He is known above all as a high-ranking intelligence agent, the author of detailed espionage reports. Moreover, Milescu mentions the constant pursuit of the Russian delegation from Nahum to Beijing and the capital of the Qing, complaining of not being able to move freely in that environment at the imperial court and its surroundings.

The territories of south-eastern Siberian Russia were completely unknown and inaccessible to most Catholic missions in Asia, not to mention diplomatic missions between European states and the Far East in the 17th century. Thus, to exemplify, any foreign delegation in Moscow, knowing of Milescu's mission, would secretly try to obtain information regarding the geography of the Siberian territories and especially cartographic and topographical representations.[5] This is a separate chapter, which I have also discussed elsewhere,[6] which is why I will only make a note of the incipient phase of the rediscovery of the manuscripts of the above-mentioned Milescu texts. An extremely important point must be made: the texts written by Milescu relating to North Asia and his mission to the Qing administration, over seven hundred manuscript pages (descriptions, diplomatic correspondence, translations enclosed in the report relating to Chinese territories in areas where his exploration did not reach, or generic information[7] relating to the end of the Ming dynasty, translated from Martino Martini's books), as well as various cartographic sketches, were never published before the Arsenev edition (1882), in Russian, and those of Baddeley (1919), in English, and not in full. They were placed among the documents relating to the

5 In my doctoral thesis I dealt with this aspect in detail, but I will only refer for now to my "John G. Sparwenfeld e Nicolae Milescu (Mosca, 1684). Rapporti diplomatici, scambi d'informazione e convergenza delle fonti", *Stvdia Asiatica. International Journal for Asian Studies*, Bucharest, X (2009), pp. 297-307.

6 *La missione di Nicolae Milescu in Asia Settentrionale, 1675-1676*, doctoral dissertation in *Biblioteca Nazionale di Firenze*, 2007, pp. 430.

7 Martino Martini, *Novus Atlas Sinensis [Atlas Sinicus, Sive Magni Sinarum Imperii Geographica descriptio* o *Atlas Extremæ Asiæ sive Sinarvm Imperii Geographica Descriptio*], J. Blaeu editore, Amsterdam 1655. [Martino Martini, *Opera Omnia* (vol. I: *Lettere e documenti*, vol. II: *Opere minori*, vol. III, 1-2: *Novus Atlas Sinensis*), eds. by Giuliano Bertuccioli, Franco Demarchi, University of Trento, Trento, 1998-2002. [vol. IV: *Sinicae Historiae decas Prima*; vol. V: *De Bello Tartarico Historia, Documentazioni aggiuntive*]; *idem*, *Novus Atlas Sinensis: tavole/*Martino Martini s.j., (eds. by Riccardo Scartezzini, Giuliano Bertuccioli, Federico Masini), (17c. illustrations, 5 fasc.), Trento, University of Trento, 2003. *De Bello Tartarico Historia* had had tremendous success in the seventeenth century: four Latin editions, two at Antwerp, one at Köln and one at Vienna and successively had added translations in five languages, German, Italian, French, English and Dutch.

earliest official relations between Russia and the Middle Empire (late Ming and early Qing China). It was his mission report, rigorously[8] conceived after instructions from the Ministry of Foreign Affairs between 1673 and 1675.[9]

The very close connections between Yuri Arsenev (or Arsenieff), keeper of the imperial jewels in the Kremlin treasury in Moscow and a full member of the *Imperial Geographical Society* in St. Petersburg and John Frederick Baddeley, a British explorer in North Asia in 20th century, member of the *Royal Geographical Society* in London, arose thanks to the existence of the North Asian route travelled and outlined by Nicolae Milescu between 1675 and 1676. Due to Arsenev's careful attention to the rapid publication of those manuscripts as well as his skills in promoting the information he discovered, he also exchanged correspondence with Émile Picot (1844-1918), a well-known linguist, Italianist, and philologist who was extremely connected to the Renaissance culture and literature of south-eastern Europe (professor at the *École des Langues Orientales vivantes*). The French scholar in the field of 20th-century Slavistics was also fascinated by Milescu's personality and work. Most probably, Picot intended[10] to realize a

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8 See "Nicolae Milescu in Asia Settentrionale (1675). Preliminari alla sua missione diplomatica presso la corte imperiale dei Qing", *Stvdia Asiatica. International Journal for Asian Studies*, Bucharest, X (2009), pp. 167-232.

9 I have commented on this on several occasions, trying to prove that Milescu's texts are not plagiarism, which is a completely unfounded issue. See Daniela Dumbravă, "*Il Novus Atlas Sinensis* di Martino Martini vs *Opisanie Kitay* di Nicolae Milescu?" in *La storia della cartografia e Martino Martini*, ed. by Elena Dai Prà, Scienze Geografiche Franco Angeli, Milano, 2015, p. 162-177; *idem*, "The first political borders of the Eurasian continent at the northern «entrance» to the Son of Heaven? Tow European chronicles on the Manchu-Russian negotiations in the 17th century: Seicento *Statejnyj spisok & Relaçao diaria da viagem*", in Proceedings of the International Symposium (ed. Luis Filipe Barreto) "Tomás Pereira S.J. (1645-1708). Life, Work and Time", Ed. Centro Cientifico e Cultural de Macau, I. P., Lisbon, 2010, pp. 317-352; *idem*, "Nicolae Milescu nu a plagiat": http://www.romlit.ro/index.pl/nicolae_milescu_nu_a_plagiat, *România literară* 41, 2007; idem, "Ripensando Nicolae 'Milescu' Spathar (1636-1708) – Breve saggio storiografico", *Archaevs* vol. 8, nr. 1-4, 2004, p. 193-234.

10 "Ayant pris connaissance lors de mon dernier séjour à St. Petersburg de Votre intéressante et savante notice sur Nicolas Spathar Milescu publiée dans les Mélanges Orientaux de 1883, je me suis trouvé très honoré de la mention que Vous avez bien voulu y faire de ma publication de l'itinéraire de Spathar en Sibérie en 1675. C'est un sujet auquel je continue à consacrer mes recherches et je me ferais un devoir et un plaisir de Nous en communiquer les résultats. La Société Géographique de St. Petersburg s'étaient chargée de Vous faire parvenir ma dernière publication, je prends la liberté de Vous demander. [...] L'attention éclairée que Vous avez portée sur cet intéressant personnage et sur l'activité qu'avait été en grand partie consacrée à notre pays, m'encourage particulièrement à me recommander à Votre bienveillance en Vous adressant ces lignes". (Le 19 Avril 1885, Georges Arsenieff, membre effective de la Société Géographique de St. Ptg.)"- unpublished letter of Yuri Arsenev to Émile Picot, sent from Petersburg on 19 April 1885, currently in the holdings Émile Picot at *Bibliotheque Nationale de France* in Paris, FRBNF 31734370; TOL MFILM Z PICOT - 941].

French edition of the same North-Asian itinerary; to judge the correspondence with Yuri Arsenev, it appears that the Russian scholar had sent him the text of the *PSTNK* edited in 1882. It should be noted that the French scholar was already in possession of the *Slavonic ms. 35*, i.e., the *Opisanie Kitay*, located in Picot's collection of the BNF. In practice, it resulted in a fascinating *Notice biographique et bibliographique* dedicated to Aleksej Michajlovich's ambassador to China and presented at the Congress of Oriental Studies in 1882 and further published in *Mélanges Orientaux* in 1883.[11]

Simultaneously, the first publications of texts concerning the same embassy in China appeared, all of them edited by Yuri Arsenev, an impressive publishing achievement considering the complexity of the subject, the difficulties related to the chronology of these texts, and the systematization of a large amount of geographical knowledge of the North Asian space. Indeed, I believe it is relevant to briefly dwell on the genesis and reception with which this historiographical subject was received in the various academic worlds.

The narrative content resulting from Milescu's exploration of North Asia stimulated 20th-century scholars with an encyclopaedical intellectual background to venture into the actual investigation and exploration of the same spaces, as in the case of Baddeley, and ultimately, into the enterprise of reconstructing the history of Russian expeditions to the Pacific, a fundamental element for understanding the pre-modern history of the peoples settled in the Eurasian macro-regions. Thus, Arsenev's editions contained many valuable additions pertaining to the history of 17th-century exploration in Siberia, and this critical apparatus enabled John Frederick Baddeley to tackle the translation of the Russian texts and edit the two volumes of the work *Russia, Mongolia, and China*. In fact, Anglo-American historiography specializing in pre-modern and modern relations between Russia and China or in the history of North Asian cartography in the 17th century has never ceased to refer to Baddeley's[12] translation of the

[11] Émile PICOT, "Notice biographique et bibliographique sur Nicolas Spatar Milescu, Ambassadeur du tsar Alexis Mihajlovič en Chine", [Sixième Congrès International des Orientalistes] *Mélanges Orientaux* 1 (1883), p. 433-492.

[12] Petre P. Panaitescu, "Nicolas Spathar Milescu (1636-1708)", *Mélanges de l'École Roumaine en France*, vol. 1, nr. 1925, 33-180; Constantin Bărbulescu (a cura di), Jurnal de călătorie în China (N. Milescu Spătarul), Bucureşti 19582, p. v-xlviii; Joseph Sebes, The Jesuits and The Sino-Russian Treaty of Nertcinsk. The Diary of Thomas Pereira S.J., Istitutum Historicum S.I. volumen XVIII, Rome, 1961, 76-122; Mark Mancall, Russia and China. Their Diplomatic Relations to 1728, Harvard U.P. [Harvard East Asian Series 61], Cambridge Massachusetts, 1971, 14-17; 63; Leo Bagrow, A History of Russian Cartography up to 1800, eds. by Henry W. Castner, Wolfe Island, The Walker Press, Ontario, 1975; Beate Hill-Paulus, *Nikolaj Gavrilovič Spatharij (1636-1708) und seine Gesandtschaft nach China*, Gesellschaft für Natur- und Völkerkunde Ostasiens Mitteilungen LXXI, Hamburg, 1978, 89; E. Alexandre, "Note sur Nicolas Spathar, grec de Moldavie, ambassadeur russe auprès de K'ang-Hsi en 1676", *Actes du IVe Colloque international de Sinologie*, Chantilly, 1983, 1-11; Rudolf Loewenthal,

texts of Nicolae Milescu Spathar's mission to *Katay*[13], most probably because of the easy access to these sources and not to those existing in the Moscow archives, which were often inaccessible before the fall of the Berlin Wall.

Returning to the nexus of history and historiography of Milescu's Asian itinerary, a curious aspect attracts the attention of the historian, namely the factuality arising from the translation of the same texts:

> "It was with Spathary's account of his journey from the Chinese frontier to Peking and sojourn there that, in May 1912, I began my work of translation. […] I then translated the diary of his travels from Tobolsk to the Chinese frontier, and by that time had become so deeply interested in the subject that I settled down in Moscow and began the work on the musty MS. Records of earlier Russian mission, whether to the Court of China, to the Mongol khans, or to the Kalmuk princes. All this led, naturally enough, to geographical enquiries…"

The testimony of the British explorer is truly remarkable, as it indicates the impact between the bio-bibliography of two intellectuals from different eras and the interest in the cognitive process that took place in the pre-modern period of Asian Russia, Mongolia, and China. The analysis of late-medieval, Renaissance, and pre-modern maps, accompanied by an explanation of the exhibition guides of the same territories, suggests the appropriate method of evaluation of a member of the *Royal Geographical Society*[14], as well as enlightening

"Nikolai Gavrilovich Spafarii-Milesku (1636-1708). A Biobibliography", *Monumenta Serica* 37 (1986-87), 95-111; M. Tolmachëva, "The Early Russian Exploration and Mapping of The Chinese Frontiere", *Cahier du Monde Russe, Paris* 41 (2000), no. 1, 41-56, etc.

[13] *Katay* derived from the Old Turkic *Qïtań*, it appears as a plural [Kitat/Kitad] in the *Secret History of Mongols* and also in Chinese, Tibetan, and Turk transcription, usually refers to the Jurčen people; medieval western sources mentioned it as well, and following the orientalist scholar Denis Signor, the earliest Latin mention is probably made by the Franciscan John of Plano Carpini, who travelled in Mongolia between 1245 and 1247. The same ethnonym occurs in Franciscan William of Rubruk's account on Mongolia. The Russian name of China is *Kitay*, most probably introduced into Slavonic thesaurus from Turkish, Mongolian, or even Arabic. Relevant enough, the historian of Central Asia Denis Sinor adds that *Kitay* is linked with the cartographic toponymy – *Kÿtaia lacus* – quoted by Abraham Ortelius in his *Tartarie sive Magni Chami Regni*, published in 1570; also, in the Anthony Jenkinson's or Sigmund Herberstein's maps, usually as the headwater of the Ob, which flows into Arctic Ocean ("Mare Glaciale" or "Mare Septentrionale"), situated into the land of Ugrians. In this regard, see the extensive explications, to which it adds bibliographic basic references, offered by Denis Sinor, "Western Information on the Kitans and Some Related Questions", *Journal of the American Oriental Society* 115 (1995), no. 2, p. 262-269.

[14] Baddeley became a prominent member of the *Royal Geographical Society*, one of the first British explorers of northern Asia to reach Aigun and Tsitsiqar (or Qiqihar), first in 1909, and a second time in 1912.

us on the historical context in which Baddeley began the drafting of the *RMC* and how he himself went on to explore the East-Asian territories. Reading the preface to the *RMC*[15] and the autobiographical pages enclosed in the volume *Russia in the "Eighties"*[16] …, one can follow in detail the stages that preceded the completion of such a project: the invitation by Count Peter Schouváloff (1827-1889)[17] to Moscow, learning the Russian language, the task of correspondent for the British press in Russia, contact with the aristocratic class in Moscow and St. Petersburg, trips to northern Asia (Irkutsk in 1900; Amur in 1907; Caucasus in 1908, Aigun and Tsitsiqar in 1909; the frontier of the northern part of China in 1912) which, however, also anticipated Sir Marc Aurel Stein's missions to the same regions. In fact, John F. Baddeley lived the whole time in Russia, of which he was absent only briefly, from 1879 through the dawn of the Bolshevik revolution, in 1917. Surely, a monograph dedicated to the British explorer could clarify the detailed chapters of his fascinating biography.

What was the impact of the *RMC* in the academic world, and who commented on Baddeley's contribution to the history of North Asian geography and cartography? There was a particular historiographical interest manifested by scholars, seemingly far removed from the usual profile of the "specialized" scientist (e.g., in the field of the history of geography and cartography), an interest linked to broader fields than those normally considered. Take the example of the multifaceted scholar George Alfred Leon Sarton (1884-1956), one of the reviewers of *RMC.* Sarton's[18] focus was: (i) on the ways in which a seventeenth-century scholar offered in his description details pertaining to a referential memory of the geographical units and ecosystem of Northeast Asia, and thus, information pertaining to an empirical (observable) transmission. (ii) on the multiple modes of transmission of knowledge aimed at a single geographical unit and on the dynamics of the cognitive process on the North Asian territories.

As far as Russian cartography is concerned, I will make a brief remark, in order to understand the importance of cartographic information in the *RMC*. The transition from traditional large-scale cartographic representation (*bol'shoy chertyozh*) to cartography performed on a scientific basis only developed in Moscow in the 18th and 19th centuries. In the 17th century, the methodology of

15 J. F. Baddeley *RMC* 1919, 7-10.

16 Baddeley was initially rejected by *The Times* and the *Daily News*. According to Baddeley, it was Count Peter Schouváloff who had secured him the post of special correspondent from Saint Petersburg for *The Standard*. See his preface to F. Baddeley, *Russia in the 'Eighties'. Sport and Politics.*, Longmans, Green & Co., London, 1921, 1-47.

17 Count Peter Schouváloff, Russian diplomat, and representative of Russia at the Berlin Congress.

18 George Sarton, "Russia, Mongolia, China", book review, *Isis* 4:1 (1921), 86.

large-scale mapping followed the model of Semyon Remezov (1642-1720): the distance between two localities was measured in days of travel; hydrographic systems represented the only reticulated structures; in the auroral phase of the cartographic representation of Siberia in Tobolsk in 1667, symbols were used to create distinctions between towns, fortresses, villages, shores, lakes, and nomad settlements, in order to emphasize the rudimentary system of differentiation in a map, etc. An intricate link between geography, ethnography, and history characterizes the mapping process of the *bol'shoy čertež*, indicating the main feature of traditional Russian map-making. With their specific richness of toponyms and ethnonyms, the Old Russian cartographic drawings are completely different from early modern European maps.

The execution of the first ethnographic map in 1673, attributed to the prelate of the Russian Orthodox Church, Metropolitan Cornelius of Siberia and Tobolsk, constituted one of the most important moments in 17th-century Russian cartography. In fact, it is one of the most comprehensive ethnographic maps of the indigenous peoples of the Eurasian territories ever, a primary source for subsequent European cartographic representations and for all geographical descriptions of the North-East Asian world. The land of the Manchus (of the *Bogdoi*) and those of the Yellow Mongols, Koreans, of the Chinese Empire, the Khiva domain, the Buhara kingdom, the Qizilbāsh, the Manguts included in the Nogai group, the Tanguts (Tibetans), the lands of the Calmucchi, Khoshout, Zungari, Derbet, Lamunut, Kamchadal, Yakut, with many other tribes, the lands of the Black Mongols and that of the White Mongols, are all included in the index of this map.

John F. Baddeley dedicates an extensive commentary in *RMC* on Metropolitan Cornelius' masterpiece. The northern frontier of China was a strategic area, where the relationships with the Mongol tribes were managed through defence and trade, the stability and balance of these relations being substantially determined by the privileges conferred to the various clans, stationed in and around Inner and Outer Mongolia. In fact, the fluctuations (the periods of greater cohesion or lack of unity) of the Mongol tribes are considered a crucial indicator of the 17th-century history of this frontier, representing a chapter of North Asian history awaiting further elaboration. Throughout the 17th century, ethno- and geo-historical information as well as cartographic representations undergo a process of transformation and also enucleate the history of the transition from the Ming to the Qing dynasty, not only that of the relations between the Qing and Russia.

A second evaluation of the *RMC* was carried out by the British scholar (librarian) Edward Heawood[19] at the headquarters of the *Royal Geographical Society* itself. He noted, in agreement with the author of the book, how paradoxical it was to think that the Russians had started their explorations in the northern parts of Asia because of the lack of access to the regions of northern Siberia (the huge space between Irtysh and Ob') in the pre-modern period, which had a different cause from the assumed difficulty generated by the physical characteristics of the space; the real reason was the lack of knowledge regarding the populations settled in this macro-region. The Russians' fear of the possibility of encountering barbarian and potentially warlike populations was gradually removed during the period when Ermak's expeditions began and the Kazan and Astrachan regions were occupied. These first subjugated Asian lands marked the beginning of the process of Russian expansion towards the Pacific Ocean, a process that developed over more than two centuries.

Edward Heawood, also an expert on late medieval and Renaissance cartographic history, built his account of the *RMC* volumes on the basis of the cartographic history dedicated to the "Land of Darkness", recalling Marco Polo's *itineraria scripta* and the later representation of the North Asian regions in the Catalan Atlas (1375), in addition to more remote representations of the Volga or Volga River in various portolans or late medieval maps, a correlative topography of Eastern Europe and Siberia in Renaissance maps such as the map of Fra Mauro (1457-1459), in Battista Agnese's Atlas (1554) or in the *itineraria picta* of Anton Wied (1542), Sigismund Herberstein (1554) or Aanthony Jenkinson (1562), etc. This assessment also demanded critical remarks on the various transmission errors in the maps edited by Baddeley;[20] and as it centered on a discourse combining exploration with the representation of the space explored, he emphasized the author's special attention to the topographical information of northern Asia reported by Spathary, an unprecedented contribution in the early modern history of Russian descriptions in this regard.

Both Russian cartography and European cartography made with or by the Jesuits did not lead to a perfect representation of northern China in the 17th century, but they were crucial for the delimitation of the first frontier between the Romanov and Qing empires sanctioned in Nerchisnk in 1689. There is a very specific reason for this: the territories incorporated by the Qing dynasty – Xinjinag, the lands of the Oirat and Khalcha Mongols, i.e., the territories of Outer Mongolia, the lands of the Jurchen people, i.e., Inner Mongolia and, finally, the Tanguts,

[19] Edward Heawood, "The Historical Geography of Northern Eurasia", *The Geographical Journal* 56 (1920), no. 6, 491-496.

[20] *Idem,* "Obituary: John F. Baddeley", *The Geographical Journal* 95 (1940), 407-408.

and the people of Tibet would all be incorporated by the Qing administration. Finally, at the festive general meeting held on 30 May 1921, the President of the *Royal Geographical Society*, Sir Francis Younghsband, recalled the name of Mr John Frederick Baddeley to present him with *The Victorian Medal* – an award established in memory of Her Majesty Queen Victoria – for his travels dedicated to the exploration of Siberian territories, for his studies of Russian expansion in the Caucasus, and for the special subject that led to the award:

> "Beginning to study the narrative of Russian envoys who had made this journey in the seventeenth century, especially the work of Spathary, he was led to study the whole history of Russian intercourse with China, and embodied the results in his great work in two volumes – 'Russia, Mongolia, China' – which is the particular subject of our Award."

At the time of the ceremony, the British geographer and explorer was unable to join into the festive atmosphere of the assembly due to an illness that kept him in Italy.

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PUBLIC RECONVERSIONS TO ORTHODOX CHRISTIANITY IN THE OTTOMAN EMPIRE, 1730–1820

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ABSTRACT. The christianization of Muslims turned upside down the one-way logic of religious conversion under Ottoman rule, which dictated that a non-Muslim (Christian or Jew) could become a Muslim, but a Muslim could not abandon their faith. The conversion of Muslims to Orthodox Christianity constituted thus an act of defiance of Ottoman political order, and the converts were exposed to the charge of apostasy that could cost them their lives. Given the above, it is not surprising that abandoning Islam for Christianity was a marginal phenomenon; it occurred either outside Ottoman territory or after losing an Ottoman region to a Christian state. However, the period between 1730 and 1820 saw the emergence of a particular form of Christianization that was a double conversion; namely, the public renouncement of the Muslim faith by Christian converts to Islam who proclaimed their return to Christianity wishing to wash out the sin of apostasy with an atoning death. Several of them were executed and were hailed by Greek-Orthodox subjects of the sultan as martyrs for the faith. In this study I analyze the dynamics of double conversion from three points of view: that of the makers, that is, of those who promoted reconversion to Christianity at the price of death, provided it with a theoretical framing, and formed networks of training and support for the double converts; that of the actors, namely, of the double converts themselves, of their social backgrounds, and of the reasons behind their fatal decisions; and that of the public, of the various social groups and individuals who witnessed this liminal form of conversion, assessed it and responded to it. The interpretation endeavours to shed light on a radical aspect of Greek-Orthodox confessionalization at a time of intense sociocultural conflict and political upheaval, and to highlight the complexity of responses to, and instantiations of, modernity.

Keywords: Religious conversion, Martyrdom, Counter-Enlightenment, Confessionalization, Socio-cultural conflict, Identity formation.

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The predominant form of religious conversion in the Ottoman Empire was the conversion of Christians and Jews to Islam. The opposite, namely the Christianization of Muslims, usually took place outside the Ottoman territory, in Venice, Malta and other European countries. Conversion of Muslims to Christianity in the Ottoman Empire is rare. Abandoning Islam for another faith was an act of apostasy, for which Ḥanafi Islamic law prescribed the death penalty, unless the apostate repented and re-embraced Islam.[1] The sporadic cases of Christianization on record are, in fact, instances of re-Christianization. They concern Christian converts to Islam who abandoned their adopted faith and returned to their previous one, often paying the price of death for their apostasy. The latter were hailed as martyrs for the faith by at least some of their Christian coreligionists and constituted a substantial part of the so-called neo-martyrs of the Ottoman period.[2]

Until the mid-seventeenth century, most of these occasions relate to Muslim proselytes who were charged with apostasy by former friends, neighbors, and colleagues, and, when faced with the dilemma between adherence to Islam or execution, chose to die as Christians than live as Muslims. Others fall in the category of "contested conversions".[3] A *cause célèbre* in seventeenth-century-Istanbul concerns Nikolaos, a young Christian grocer who pronounced the *şahada*, the Islamic confession of faith, when a Muslim neighbor, who was also his teacher in Ottoman Turkish, presented it to him as a reading exercise. Nikolaos was brought to the kadi, accused of having formally embraced Islam but not acknowledging his new identity, refused to accept Islam and was executed in 1672.[4]

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1 Yohanan Friedmann, *Tolerance and Coercion in Islam: Interfaith Relations in the Muslim Tradition* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003), 120-159. For Ottoman views and regulations on apostasy in the framework of Sunni confessionalization see Guy Burak, "Faith, Law and Empire in the Ottoman 'Age of Confessionalization' (Fifteenth-Seventeenth Centuries): The Case of 'Renewal of Faith'," *Mediterranean Historical Review* 28 (2013): 1–23; Nabil Al-Tikriti, "*Kalam* in the Service of State: Apostasy and the Defining of Ottoman Islamic Identity," in *Legitimizing the Order: The Ottoman Rhetoric of State Power*, ed. Hakan Karateke and Maurus Reinkowski (Leiden: Brill, 2005), 131–149.

2 Philippos Iliou, "Pothos martyriou. Apo tes vevaiotetes sten amhpisvetese tou M. Gedeon. Symvole sten historia ton neomartyron," *Historica* 12 (1995): 267-271; Ioannis Zelepos, *Orthodoxe Eiferer im osmanischen Südosteuropa: Die Kollyvadenbewegung (1750-1820) und ihr Beitrag zu den Auseinandersetzungen um Tradition, Aufklärung und Identität* (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 2012), 295-296.

3 Tijana Krstić, *Contested Conversions to Islam: Narratives of Religious Change in the Early Modern Ottoman Empire* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2011).

4 M. de la Croix, *La Turquie chrétienne* (Paris: P. Hérissant, 1695), 327-379; Auguste Carayon, ed., *Relations inédites des missions de la Compagnie de Jésus à Constantinople et dans le Levant au XVIIe siècle* (Paris: Ch. Douniol, 1864), 238-239; Vasileios Doukoures, "Mia anekdote dytike pege gia to martyrio toy Nikolaou tou Pantopole," *Gregorios ho Palamas* 72 (1989): 767-775;

But such occasions are rare. Everyday co-existence and interaction between Muslims and non-Muslims carried with it the preconditions for eventual communal and personal strife, yet the latter reached only seldom such dramatic peaks as an accusation of apostasy, let alone a condemnation to death. It must be noted here that the execution of the young grocer was due to a rigorist interpretation of the sharia, and that it took place in the apogee of the fundamentalist *kadızadeli* movement that had prevailed for some time in the Ottoman capital.[5] The seventeenth century witnessed a "bottom-up" wave of Sunni confessionalization that led to an unprecedented disciplinary project aiming at cancelling "evil innovations" and restoring pure Muslim morals. As the story of the young grocer shows, the *kadızadeli*s' zeal had repercussions not only for the Muslims, but also for Christians and Jews. The conversion of non-Muslims, seen as the victory of a purified Islam over fallacy, was propagated with zeal and properly ritualized.

But this confessional awareness was not restricted to the Muslims. It is precisely at the time of the *kadızadeli* movement that we can identify not only the rise of the cult of new martyrs among Christian urban communities, but also the emergence of an assertive, polemical form of re-Christianization: the unprovoked public denouncement of Islam by former converts who desired for themselves a martyr's crown.[6] This paper deals with the social and discursive aspects of this double conversion, which peaked in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth century in the southern Balkans. I will try to interpret the re-Christianization of Muslims as an indicator and at the same time as an agent of socio-cultural crisis and of the delegitimization of Ottoman rule that preceded the Greek revolution of 1821.

Soterios Balatsoukas, ed., *To neomartyrologio tou Ioannou Karyophylle* (Thessaloniki: Higher Ecclesiastical School of Thessaloniki, 2003), 39-46; Symeon Paschalides, *He autographe neomartyrike sylloge tou monachou Kaisariou Daponte (1713–1784)* (Thessaloniki: Mygdonia, 2012), 207-212; Demetrios Gones and Patapios Kausokalyvites, eds, *Papa-Iona Kausokalyvitou († 1765) neomartyrike sylloge (Eisagoge – Kritike ekdose tou keimenou)* (Thessaloniki: Stamoulis, 2020), 277-301.

5 Eleni Gara and Yorgos Tzedopoulos, *Christianoi kai mousoulmanoi sten Othomaniki Autokratoria: Thesmiko plaisio kai koinonikes dynamikes* (Athens: HEAL-Link, 2015), 215-218, http://hdl.handle.net/11419/2882. On the *kadızadeli*s see Madeline Zilfi, *Politics of Piety: The Ottoman Ulema in the Postclassical Age (1600-1800)* (Minneapolis: Bibliotheca Islamica, 1988); Marc David Baer, *Honored by the Glory of Islam: Conversion and Conquest in Ottoman Europe* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2003); Marinos Sariyannis, "The Kadizadeli Movement as a Social and Political Phenomenon: The Rise of a 'Mercantile Ethic'?", in *Political Initiatives from the Bottom-Up in the Ottoman Empire*, ed. Antonis Anastasopoulos (Rethymno: Crete University Press 2012), 263-289.

6 Yorgos Tzedopoulos, "Orthodox Martyrdom and Confessionalization in the Ottoman Empire, Late Fifteenth – Mid-Seventeenth Centuries," in *Entangled Confessionalizations? Dialogic Perspectives on the Politics of Piety and Community- Building in the Ottoman Empire, 15th-18th Centuries*, ed. Tijana Krstić and Derin Terzioğlu (Piscataway, N.J.: Gorgias Press, 2022), 365-367.

But let us take things from the beginning. Being a performance, the voluntary martyrdom of re-Christianization based on the interaction of three distinct categories of agents: makers, actors, and publics. The makers, those who provided and explained the script for the final – and fatal – conversion, were mainly zealot Athonite monks. As a rule, they did not operate within the organizational framework of the Greek-Orthodox Church, which had become in fact a part of the Ottoman state machinery,[7] but followed a rigorist agenda of their own.

Makers

The ascetic monk Akakios of the *skete* of Kausokalyvia on Mount Athos (d. 1730),[8] a man who was later regarded as the charismatic pioneer of voluntary martyrdom, trained two Islamized Christians for martyrdom in the first decades of the eighteenth century.[9] One of them was an Albanian from Berat (or Vithkuq, according to other sources); on Mount Athos he converted again to Christianity and adopted the monastic name Nikodemos. After being properly prepared for neo-martyrdom, he came back to his place of origin, proclaimed his return to Christianity and was executed as an apostate. His relics were venerated by local Christians.[10]

The re-Christianization of Nikodemos was exploited by the monk and preacher Nektarios Terpos from Voskopojë (Moschopolis) in his battle against Islamization, which was reaching a peak in Albania.[11] Terpos, who was active in

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7 Paraskevas Konortas, *Othomanikes theoreseis gia to Oikoumeniko Patriarcheio, 17os – arches 20ou aiona* (Athens: Alexandreia, 1998); Tom Papademetriou, *Render unto the Sultan: Power, Authority, and the Greek Orthodox Church in the Early Ottoman Centuries* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2015); Gara and Tzedopoulos, *Christianoi kai mousoulmanoi*, 90-119.

8 Typically, a skete is a dependency of one of Mount Athos' monasteries, comprising a small number of monks and cottages clustered around its own church. Dimitri Conomos, "Mount Athos," in *The Encyclopedia of Eastern Orthodox Christianity*, vol. 1, ed. John Anthony McGuckin (Oxford: Wiley and Blackwell, 2011), 403-404.

9 The *vita* of Akakios was composed by his disciple Ionas. Gones and Patapios, *Papa-Iona Kausokalyvitou sylloge*, 350-380.

10 Gones and Patapios, *Papa-Iona Kausokalyvitou sylloge*, 367-370. For other versions of Nikodemos' martyrdom and questions about the date of his execution see pages 94-95.

11 Gara and Tzedopoulos, *Christianoi kai mousoulmanoi*, 184-187; Konstantinos Giakoumis, "Nektarios Terpos and the iconographic programme of Ardenica Monastery," *Byzantine and Modern Greek Studies* 41:1 (2017): 83-85; Antonina Zhelyazkova, "Islamization in the Balkans as a Historiographical Problem: The South-East European Perspective," *The Ottomans and the Balkans: A Discussion of Historiography*, ed. Fikret Adanır and Suraiya Faroqhi (Leiden: Brill, 2002), 241-245.

a multilingual area where Greek was used as a language of written communication, included an account of Nikodemos' martyrdom in his work *Pistis* (Faith) which was written in Greek and published in Venice in 1732. His aim was, as he wrote, to dissuade those who were tempted to convert to Islam and to make them steadfast in the faith of Christ. The re-Christianization of Nikodemos was meant to prove the superiority of Christianity, since it could still produce saints like those of Antiquity, and to underline that, for the proselytes to Islam who repented, the only way to salvation passed through the second conversion of martyrdom.[12]

In his work, Terpos dismissed decisively the tacit toleration of syncretistic "crypto-Christian" practices in a clement spirit of ecclesiastical economy. Instead, he reminded his readers of Christ's pledge in the Gospel, and preached damnation for all who denied Christ, independently of their motives.[13] Interestingly enough, his attack against the multiple identities of Christianizing Muslims echoed, and partly were parallel to, the renewed provisions of the Catholic Church against crypto-Catholicism in the Albanian regions.[14] Without a doubt, the hardening of the position against crypto-Christianity was due to the rise of Islamization in the western Balkans. Moreover, we can assume that Terpos' proximity to the Catholic world contributed to his adopting a strict stance on apostasy (and eventual reconversion) that conformed more to post-Tridentine confessional policies than to the lenient tradition of the economy as practiced by the Orthodox Church under Ottoman rule.[15]

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12 Konstantinos Garitsis, ed., *Ho Nektarios Terpos kai to ergo tou. Eisagoge – kritike ekdose tou ergou tou* Pistis (Santorini: Thesvites, 2002), 265-267. With its emphasis on "salvation and glorification through suffering and passion", the 1744 iconographic programme of the *katholikon* at the monastery of Ardenica in south Albania, of whom Terpos had been the abbot, seems to be inspired by the preacher's fiery teachings – if not directly dictated by him. Giakoumis, "Nektarios Terpos."

13 Garitsis, *Nektarios Terpos*, 233, 319, 327, 328; see also Giakoumis, "Nektarios Terpos," 99-100. Terpos, like the propagators of martyrdom who would follow him, echoed Christ's words from Mt. 10:33: "But whosoever shall deny me before men, him will I also deny before my Father who is in heaven."

14 Noel Malcolm, *Rebels, Believers, Survivors: Studies in the History of the Albanians* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2020), 63-64; Peter Bartl, *Kryptochristentum und Formen des religiösen Synkretismus in Albanien* (Munich: Trofenik, 1967), 118ff; Georg Stadtmüller, "Das albanische Nazionalkonzil vom Jahre 1703," *Orientalia Christiana Periodica* 22 (1956): 68-91, on pp. 73-74.

15 On the notion of economy (*oikonomia*) as practiced by the Orthodox Church under Ottoman rule see Tzedopoulos, "Orthodox Martyrdom and Confessionalization," 341-343; Socrate Petmézas, "L'organization ecclésiastique sous les Ottomans," in *Conseils et mémoires de Synadinos, prêtre de Serrès en Macédoine (XVIII siècle)*, ed. Paolo Odorico (Paris: Association "Pierre Belon", 1996), 532-549; Dimitris Apostolopoulos, "Les mécanismes d'une conquête: adaptations politiques et statut économique des conquis dans le cadre de l'Empire ottoman," in *Économies méditerranéennes. Équilibres et intercommunications, XIIIe-XIXe siècles*, vol. 3 (Athens: National Hellenic Research Foundation, 1986), 191-204.

A second milestone in the making of voluntary martyrdom is the work of the monk Ionas of Kausokalyvia (d. 1765), a disciple of Akakios. Unlike Akakios, Ionas did not train any prospective martyrs. He collected and translated in the Greek vernacular *vitae* of previous martyrs, originally written in an archaic Greek language, and composed *vitae* of new martyrs like Nikodemos.[16] The activity of Ionas helped establish the script of re-Christianization *via* martyrdom, as evident in the *vita* of Konstantinos (d. 1742), whose story is also documented in Italian and Russian sources. Konstantinos, the pastor of the Russian *chargé d'affaires* Vishnyakov in Istanbul, converted to Islam after a row with the diplomat. Some days later he repented, declared his return to Christianity and was executed in front of a large public in the Ottoman capital.[17] It seems that his martyrdom triggered confessional zeal among the Orthodox: according to our sources, his reconversion inspired the priest-monk Anastasios to violently rebuke an Islamized Christian who had become a preacher at the Yeni Cami of Istanbul, to revile Islam and to invite the Muslims to convert to Christianity to save their souls. After he rejected to embrace Islam to save his life, Anastasios was martyred in his turn as an instigator of apostasy and reviler of the dominant religion. Ionas did not fail to compose his *vita* and add it to his collection.[18]

The activity of Ionas provides a link between martyrdom and socio-cultural conflict. He was an ardent supporter of *anabaptism*,[19] a rigorist movement that had swept the Greek-Orthodox craftsmen of Istanbul in the mid-18th century and, for a brief time, had prevailed in the Patriarchate, too. In all probability, the movement was fed not only by commercial and confessional competition between Orthodox and Catholics, but also to intra-Orthodox conflicts: the power struggles inside the Patriarchate, the reaction against the emergence of a secular culture among the upper social strata of the Orthodox community in the Ottoman capital, and the guildsmen's claim to assume the leadership of the community at the expense of Phanariot archons.[20] However, the orbit of the

16 On Ionas and his extensive martyrology see Gones and Patapios, *Papa-Iona Kausokalyvitou sylloge*.

17 Gones and Patapios, *Papa-Iona Kausokalyvitou sylloge*, 331-332. According to Ionas, the martyr's name was Konstantios and his execution took place in 1743. The correct name and time of Konstantinos' death have been established with the help of Russian and Italian sources. See the relevant bibliography in Gones and Patapios, *Papa-Iona Kausokalyvitou sylloge*, 84-87.

18 Gones and Patapios, *Papa-Iona Kausokalyvitou sylloge*, 332-334. For other sources on Anastasios' martyrdom see pages 87-88.

19 Gones and Patapios, *Papa-Iona Kausokalyvitou sylloge*, 51-58.

20 Euangelos Skouvaras, "Steleteutika keimena tou 18ou aionos (kata ton anavaptiston)," *Byzantinisch-Neugriechische Jahrbücher* 20 (1970): 50-228, on pp. 52-54; Athanasios Komnenos Hypselantes, *Ta meta ten Alosin (1453-1789)* (Istanbul: I. A. Vretos, 1870), 370; Theodore Papadopoullos, *Studies and Documents Relating to the History of the Greek Church and People under Turkish*

movement reached a wider audience mainly through its connection to a zealot preacher-monk of Constantinople who said to perform miracles and to have the gift of prophecy.[21] This is why the issue of *anabaptism* unleashed a fierce social, cultural and political struggle in the Ottoman capital, which has been documented in various libels (mostly in verse) against the movements' leaders, one of whom was Ionas.[22]

The *anabaptists* required that the Catholics and Gregorian Armenians who embraced Orthodoxy be re-baptized; their confessional zeal, together with the glorification of Islamized Christians who returned to Christianity *via* martyrdom, reveal strict understandings of conversion and reconversion to Orthodox Christianity. It is this institutionalization of identity, focused on ritualized speech acts and performances, that places the anabaptist project squarely in the framework of European confessionalization, much like the *kadızadeli* movement of the previous century. The spread of both rigorist movements, the Muslim and the Orthodox, among the craftsmen and merchants in the Ottoman capital puts into relief common patterns of "confessionalization from below",[23] as well as comparable processes of class formation and identity-building.

The decisive step in the making of voluntary martyrdom was taken in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth century by a group of Greek-Orthodox theologians and monks who had played a leading role in the fundamentalist movement of the *kollyvades* on Mount Athos.[24] They published extensive compilations of neo-martyrs' *vitae* in the vernacular; they formulated a theory of voluntary martyrdom in print, urging Christian converts to Islam to re-convert and pay the price of double apostasy with a sanctifying death; they created networks for the recruitment and training of potential martyrs; they

Domination (Aldershot: Variorum, 1990²), 276; Dimitris Apostolopoulos, "Koinonikes dienexeis kai Diaphotismos sta mesa tou 18ou aiona: He prote amphisvitese tes kyriarchias ton Phanarioton," in idem, *Gia tous Phanariotes: Dokimes ermeneias kai mikra analytika* (Athens: Greek National Research Foundation, 2003), 31-44; Elif Bayraktar Tellan, "The Patriarchate of Constantinople and the 'Reform of the Synod' in the 18th Century Ottoman Context," *Chronos* 39 (2019): 7-22.

21 Kaisarios Dapontes, "Historikos katalogos," in *Mesaionike vivliotheke*, vol. 3, ed. Konstantinos Sathas (Venice: Chronos, 1872), 129.

22 Skouvaras, "Steleteutika keimena," 94-227; Papadopoullos, *Studies and Documents*, 265-392; Joseph Vivilakis, *Auxentianos Metanoemenos* [1752] (Athens: Academy of Athens, 2010).

23 Compare with Tzedopoulos, "Orthodox Martyrdom and Confessionalization," 365-366.

24 On the *kollyvades* see the extensive work by Ioannis Zelepos, *Orthodoxe Eiferer*. See also Socrates Petmezas, "On the formation of an ideological faction in the Greek Orthodox Church in the second half of the eighteenth century: The Kollyvades," *Bulletin de correspondance hellénique moderne et contemporain* 2 (2020), http://journals.openedition.org/bchmc/416. On the connection between the *kollyvades* and re-Christianization *via* voluntary martyrdom see particularly Zelepos, *Orthodoxe Eiferer*, 293-310.

used martyrdom and its cult as a weapon in the struggle against secularization and Enlightenment; and they deployed confessional death as a marker of identity in the formation of zealot Greek-Orthodox community.[25]

They did not mince their words. "You must go to the place where you denied Christ, renounce the religion you have embraced, confess the faith of Christ, and by this confession shed your blood and die," wrote the monk Nikodemos Agioreites in his address to converts to Islam, contained in the prologue of *Neon martyrologion* (New martyrology, 1799), the seminal work on Orthodox neo-martyrdom under Ottoman rule.[26] And he explained: "Sooner or later, you will die. Turn the necessity into diligence and use death to gain eternal life […]. This, dear brethren, is a profitable business; […] you sell blood, you buy heaven."[27]

Symbolic capital, according to Pierre Bourdieu, is the only valid form of accumulation when economic capital is not recognized.[28] Indeed, economic profit is banished in Nikodemos' book *Chrestoetheia* (Christian Morality, 1803). There, Christian peasants and craftsmen (merchants are considered a priori sinful) are urged to refrain from any pursuit of wealth and to confine themselves to the bare subsistence of their family and to helping the poor.[29] The craftsmen and scholars who take pride in their wisdom and success, wrote Nikodemos, are committing a grave sin in putting human wisdom before that of God.[30] This was not only a recourse to traditional moral teachings; it was also a reaction to the rise of a prosperous mercantile class dealing with international trade and supporting secular education.[31] As such, it constituted an indirect but articulate attack against economic and cultural change promoted by the agents of mercantile capitalism and secularization.

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[25] See also Yorgos Tzedopoulos, "Rejoicement, Defiance and Contestation: Contextualizing Emotional Responses to Greek-Orthodox Voluntary Martyrdom in the Long 18th Century," in *Balkan Society in Turmoil: Studies in the History of Emotions in the "Long" 18th Century*, ed. Ivan Părvev [*Yearbook of the Society for 18th Century Studies on South-Eastern Europe* 4 (2021)], 21–41.

[26] Nikodemos Agioreites, *Neon martyrologion* (Venice: Nikolaos Glykys, 1799), 21.

[27] Nikodemos, *Neon martyrologion*, 25. See also the remarks by Iliou, "Pothos martyriou," 275-276.

[28] Pierre Bourdieu, *Le sens pratique* (Paris: Les Editions de Minuit, 1980), 200-201.

[29] Nikodemos Agioreites, *Vivlion kaloumenon chrestoetheia ton christianon* (Venice: Nikolaos Glykys, 1803), 144. On the economic mentalities of the Greek-Orthodox see the seminal article of Spyros Asdrachas, "He oikonomia kai oi nootropies: He martyria tou Chronikou ton Serron, tou Nektariou Terpou kai tou Argyre Philippide," *Tetradia Ergasias* 7 (1984): 91-125.

[30] Nikodemos, *Vivlion kaloumenon chrestoetheia*, 145-148.

[31] Philippos Iliou, *Koinonikoi agones kai Diaphotismos: He periptose tes Smyrnes*, trans. Ioanna Petropoulou (Athens: EMNE-Mnemon, 1986); Paschalis Kitromilides, *Enlightenment and Revolution: The Making of Modern Greece* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 2013), 264-266.

Martyrdom was also contrived as a weapon against political change associated with European Enlightenment and the French Revolution. The scholarly monk Athanasios Parios, the leading figure of Greek counter-Enlightenment,[32] juxtaposed the "false freedom" of the French republicans with what he saw as genuine freedom, i.e. the choice of martyrdom over compliance.[33] Athanasios' argumentation was, in fact, complementary to the elaborate attack against political liberalism in the *Didaskalia patrike* (Paternal instruction) by the patriarch of Jerusalem Anthimos, a pamphlet that was printed in 1798 and became notorious for preaching loyalty to the Ottoman regime.[34] Furthermore, apart from juxtaposing the "atheist Europeans" to the self-assertive piety of the Greek-Orthodox martyrs,[35] Athanasios almost included in their ranks the French prelates and abbots who fell victim to the guillotine. The only thing that prevented this inclusion, he wrote, was that they were Catholic.[36] Despite his confessional strictness, Athanasios' statement considerably widened the canon of martyrdom beyond the limits set by the tradition and the cultural memory of the Orthodox Church. In this way, he turned martyrdom into the marker of a European-wide divide between *ancient régime* and revolution.

It is no wonder, then, that the makers of voluntary martyrdom did nowhere challenge Ottoman legitimacy. Athanasios himself was an ardent supporter of the Ottoman *status quo*, in which he saw the manifestation of God's will for the salvation of the Greek-Orthodox.[37] His ire was directed at the close connection between the Enlightenment and the formation of a new Greek national identity.[38] In the *vita* of the prelate and monk Makarios Notaras, the most prominent trainer of voluntary martyrs, Athanasios drew another clear juxtaposition between three interconnected pairs of opposites: "Greek race [*genos*]" *vs.* "Christian race", "new philosophers" *vs.* Orthodox monks, and secular instructions *vs.* preparation for martyrdom.[39]

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32 Kitromilides, *Enlightenment and Revolution*, 297-300.

33 Athanasios Parios, *Apologia christianike* (Leipzig: Naubert, 1805), 10, 19-33.

34 Anthimos Ierosolymon, *Didaskalia patrike* (Istanbul: Pogos Ioannes ex Armenion, 1798).

35 *Neon leimonarion* (Venice: Panos Theodosiou, 1819), part 2, 82 (the one-volume book is divided into two parts with separate page-numbering).

36 Parios, *Apologia*, 33.

37 Tzedopoulos, "Rejoicement, Defiance and Contestation," 32.

38 Paschalis Kitromilides, "'Imagined Communities' and the origins of the national question in the Balkans," *European History Quarterly* 19 (1989): 149-192; Stratos Myrogiannis*, The Emergence of a Greek Identity (1700-1821)* (Newcastle: Cambridge Scholars Publishing, 2012). See also Stathis Gourgouris, *Dream Nation: Enlightenment, Colonization, and the Institution of Modern Greece* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2021[2]).

39 *Neon chiakon leimonarion* (Athens: Nea hellenike eos, 1930), 200.

Re-Christianization via martyrdom opened new vistas of conflict. The theory of martyrdom, as expounded by Nikodemos Agioreites, based on a rigorist and selective interpretation of Christian canon law,[40] much like the interpretation of the sharia by the *kadızadeli*s one and a half century earlier. This posed a challenge to the Church. On the one hand, the glorification of apostasy from Islam could endanger the delicate position of the Church as an imperial institution; on the other, the cult of martyrs challenged the claim of the Church to exercise control over the religious practices of the faithful. According to Athanasios Parios, the veneration of the martyrs of double conversion as saints did not depend on their recognition as such by the Church but on the spontaneous worship of the faithful.[41] Even more blatant was Nikodemos' contempt of ecclesiastical conformism in favor of confessional zeal. In the *vita* of Polydoros (d. 1794, Kuşadası), he recounted that the would-be martyr rejected the offer of the authorities to let a priest talk with him (with the aim of bringing him to reason) saying that he knew his faith better than any priest and he did not need anyone to instruct him.[42] He had already been instructed by Makarios Notaras, his trainer in martyrdom.

The discursive elaboration of voluntary martyrdom went together with the formation of networks for the detection, recruitment, and training of potential martyrs. This was a complex operation requiring strict selection procedures, logistical infrastructure, financial management and reproductive activities. Starting from Makarios Notaras' charismatic leadership in preparation for martyrdom in the late eighteenth century,[43] the operation was developed further in the next decades until it reached the sophistication of a rationalized productive activity. At the *skete* of Timios Prodromos of Iveron Monastery on Mount Athos, where

[40] Yorgos Tzedopoulos, "Orthodoxoi neomartyres sten Othomaniki Autokratoria: He synkrotese tes praktikes kai tes hermeneias tou homologiakou thanatou," (PhD diss, University of Athens, 2012), 70-75, 339-340; Zelepos, *Orthodoxe Eiferer*, 306-308, 312; Iliou, "Pothos martyriou," 276, 280. The selective use of Church history and canon law in the *Neon martyrologion* stands in sharp contrast to a canonical text of the fifteenth century, attributed to an authority no less than Gennadios Scholarios, the first patriarch of Constantinople after its restitution by the Ottomans. In the canonical text, the process for the re-acceptance of apostates to Christianity – most probably with a special view to those who had been previously Islamized – was modified to allow for much milder expiations than the Byzantine tradition. Marie-Hélène Blanchet, "Une acolouthie inédite pour la réconciliation des apostats attribuée au patriarche Gennadios II. Édition princeps et commentaire," in *The Patriarchate of Constantinople in Context and Comparison*, ed. Christian Gastgeber et al. (Vienna: Austrian Academy of Sciences Press, 2017), 183-196.

[41] Panteles Paschos, *En askesei kai martyrio* (Athens: Armos, 1996), 81–82.

[42] Nikodemos, *Neon martyrologion*, 280-281.

[43] Zelepos, *Orthodoxe Eiferer*, 302-304. On Makarios' role as a martyrs' "anointer" (in the martyrological sources *aleiptes*, trainer of athletes) see also *Neon chiakon leimonarion*, 194-204.

four Christian converts to Islam were trained for martyrdom between 1814 and 1818, the division of labour was the following: the monk Nikephoros, who was in charge of the operations, evaluated the prospective martyrs and delivered the most promising ones to Akakios, his superintendent (*epistates*), who attended to their training in ascetic practices that would strengthen their steadfastness in the face of death. After the training, the monk Gregorios accompanied and supported psychologically the would-be martyr on the journey to the place of confession (and, hopefully, execution), making use of connections with like-minded Christians who provided easy and cheap transport, accommodation and food. After the execution, Gregorios attended to the purchase and transfer of the martyr's relics to the *skete*, while he also provided first-hand information to a fourth monk, Onouphrios, who composed the *vita*.[44]

As a rule, these operations took place outside the hierarchical structures of the Church and the Orthodox communities, which they penetrated horizontally through non-institutionalized networks of sympathizers who facilitated the circulation of books and martyrs' relics. This was an identity-making process based on shared knowledge and secrecy. Through his correspondence, Makarios Notaras created and maintained channels of contact with the martyrs' relatives, gave information about the relics, and organized the distribution of copies of Nikodemos' *Neon martyrologion* with the advice of caution: "Pray, give them [the copies] to familiar and cautious persons in a mindful manner, so that nothing harmful takes place."[45] After all, to support martyrdom was to support the commitment to a grave offence against the religious-political order.

Neon leimonarion (New spiritual pasture, 1819) was the second book devoted to martyrdom.[46] As the *Neon martyrologion* of Nikodemos twenty years before, it was written in vernacular Greek. This time, it was the product of the collaboration between the scholarly monks Nikodemos Agioreites, Athanasios Parios, Makarios Notaras, and Nikephoros Chios. The book is impressive for the collective effort of its editors to include as many recent martyrdoms as possible, followed by meticulous documentation of each case (including reports of eyewitnesses or beneficiaries of miracles) for reasons of validation and proof of the martyrs' sanctity. The above show that the making of martyrdom was not just a pouring of "new wine in old bottles", but a radical endeavor comparable

[44] Onouphrios Agioreites, *Akolouthiai kai martyria ton hagion endoxon tessaron neon hosiomartyron Euthemiou, Ignatiou, Akakiou kai Onouphriou* (Athens: He philomousos Lesche, 1862). For additional sources on the activity of this group see Konstantinos Nichoritis, *Sveta Gora – Aton i bălgarskoto novomăčeničestvo* (Sofia: Akademično Izdatelstvo "Prof. Marin Drinov", 2001), 180–182.

[45] *Neon chiakon leimonarion*, 341-345.

[46] *Neon leimonarion* (Venice: Panos Theodosiou, 1819).

to an "invention of tradition" in terms of Eric Hobsbawm.[47] Its main point was not simply to glorify the martyrdoms of the past, but to organize them, together with those of contemporary times, into a cohesive whole that re-shaped the past for the needs of a present purpose: to legitimize and promote voluntary confessional death as a vehicle for the formation of a community of fundamentalist piety that would oppose secularization and liberalism and even assert itself against ecclesiastical conformism.[48] The words of David Sabean about a German visionary at the time of the Thirty Years' War, apply also to the makers of voluntary martyrdom: "we will not handle [them] correctly by asking about the structure of [their] ideas; rather the issue is to understand [their] ideas as structuring."[49]

Actors

The documented cases of re-Christianization *via* martyrdom for the period between 1700 and 1821 are about 40 to 50, with a significant peak in the early nineteenth century.[50] The martyrdoms took place in the cities and ports of the southern Balkans, with a particular density in the islands of the Eastern Aegean and the city ports of Western Anatolia. The circumstances of the martyrs' death and veneration are documented in hagiographical texts, polemical treatizes, texts of European travelers and missionaries, and entries in sharia court records. A careful cross-examination of the texts that takes into account their diverge narrative functions shows that as a rule the martyrs' *vitae* display much factual overlap with the other categories of sources and that their descriptions of everyday life, social relations, and court procedures are accurate.[51]

But who were those martyrs of reconversion? The analysis of the sources shows that most of them were young men from the lower social strata, mainly immigrants in the cities and ports around the Aegean, placed at the margins of the stratified Christian communities: wage workers, minor craftsmen, servants, sailors, young men who broke away from abusive fathers or masters. As it seems, the motives for their conversion to Islam were expectations of social inclusion and better fortune.

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47 Eric Hobsbawm, "Introduction: Inventing Traditions," in *The Invention of Tradition*, ed. Eric Hobsbawm and Terence Ranger (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1983), 1-14. Of course, this should not be taken to mean that the martyrdoms evoked in the works are fictitious.

48 See also Zelepos, *Orthodoxe Eiferer*, 305-308.

49 David Warren Sabean, *Power in the Blood: Popular Culture and Village Discourse in Early Modern Germany* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1984), 91.

50 See also Iliou, "Pothos martyriou."

51 On this issue see also Tzedopoulos, "Orthodox Martyrdom and Confessionalization," 336-337.

This was not novel *per se*: for the non-Muslim subjects of the sultan, Islamization had always been a means to improve their social position. But now the divide between faiths was deeper and the cost of conversion was higher. The second half of the eighteenth century saw the transformation of the empire's confessional communities into "proto-national" collectivities with separate institutions, social hierarchies, productive activities, and fiscal obligations, particularly in the Balkans. To this we must add the politicization of Muslim-Christian relations due to Ottoman defeats at the hands of the Russians and to the unfavorable position of the Islamic empire *vis-à-vis* Christian Europe.[52] In this polarized context, some converts to Islam found themselves doubly alienated as defectors in the eyes of the Christians and opportunistic proselytes in the eyes of the Muslims. When conversion fell short of expectations, an eventual return to Christianity could, at least, mend a part of the damage. The words of a Christian convert to Islam in front of the provincial council of Volos (Golos) from 1853 shed light on this impasse: "I became a Muslim, but I remained hungry and naked, and could find no bread, now I want to go back to my old religion."[53]

By 1853, in the midst of the Tanzimat reforms, eventual reconversions to Christianity were treated much more mildly than fifty years before,[54] when open apostasy invited execution. In the framework of Greek-Orthodox fundamentalism, the requirement of Christian confessional penance interweaved with the provisions of Islamic law on apostasy and was seamlessly internalized in terms of voluntary martyrdom. A few of the converts to Islam, plagued by guilt and social frustration, took refuge in an ideology of martyrdom that gave meaning to life through the transcendence of death and expectations of sanctity.

Let us take three cases that highlight the above.

The young man Nannos (d. 1802), an immigrant from Thessaloniki, had settled in Smyrna (İzmir) with his father, a shoemaker, and his elder brother. According to his *vita*, he spent his everyday life in his father's shop, where he and his brother worked, ate, and slept. When, after a row with his father, Nannos converted to Islam and vanished from the workshop, his relatives' first thought was that he was arrested by the authorities on the street because he did not have any certificate of having paid the poll-tax that was levied on

52 Gara and Tzedopoulos, *Christianoi kai mousoulmanoi*, 72-74.

53 Selim Deringil, "'There Is No Compulsion in Religion': On Conversion and Apostasy in the Late Ottoman Empire: 1839–1856," *Comparative Studies in Society and History* 42:3 (2000): 563.

54 Gara and Tzedopoulos, *Christianoi kai mousoulmanoi*, 227-228; Selim Deringil, *Conversion and Apostasy in the Late Ottoman Empire* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2012), 74; Turgut Subaşı, "The Apostasy Question in the Context of Anglo-Ottoman Relations, 1843-1844," *Middle Eastern Studies* 38:2 (2002): 1-34.

non-Muslims.[55] Is seems that before his conversion to Islam Nannos was living a life at the fringe of the Greek-Orthodox community and of Ottoman categories of subjecthood, much like an "illegal immigrant" of today.[56]

A little time after his conversion, Nannos met his cousin on the street and greeted him, but the latter did not return the greeting. And, when some Christian migrants from Thessaloniki who knew him saw him dressed in his old Christian clothes, they required him to stop walking around as one of them. Finally, Nannos went to the kadi's court and declared his return to Christianity. Despite the efforts of the Ottoman authorities to make him change his mind, he stayed firm in his decision and suffered the death penalty.

The story of Nannos puts into relief some of the contradictions that divided the society of Smyrna and allowed us to take a closer look at the world of poor migrant artisans limping along in the port city and trying to make up for their lack of economic means and social capital with the coalescence around networks of kinship and origin. Nannos emerges as the personification of the impasses experienced by persons of his class and age: in Smyrna, the city of wealth and inequality, of opportunity and dashed hopes, poverty and its closed horizons were most difficult to endure. On the other hand, the choice of Islamization with its necessary consequences, the cutting off from the stifling but familiar cocoon of relatives and neighbors, was not always manageable. It is on this background that voluntary martyrdom, already postulated by its preachers as both a penance and a passage to sanctity, could sometimes acquire the status of a heroic transgression, a rebellion that resorted to absolute metaphysical truth and renounced a world of frustrated expectations. Martyrdom became an iterative process that fed off its own growth: the veneration of some martyrs prompted others to follow in their footsteps and exchange their social obscurity for a prominent place in communal memory. This is what some critics of

[55] The tax reform of 1691 changed the poll tax (*cizye*, in Greek sources, *charatsi*) from a communal to a personal obligation: the tax was now assessed on an individual basis and in three categories, depending on the taxpayers' income. Most importantly, Christians or Jews who moved were required to carry with them the receipt for the tax's payment, which they had to show to the authorities whenever requested. This strict procedure of social control against non-Muslims made the poll tax a symbol of personal inferiority. Gara and Tzedopoulos, *Christianoi kai mousoulmanoi*, 68-69; on the tax reform see Marinos Sariyannis, "Notes on the Ottoman Poll-Tax Reforms of the Late Seventeenth Century: The Case of Crete," *Journal of the Economic and Social History of the Orient* 54 (2011): 39-61.

[56] *Neon leimonarion*, part 1, 221-232; Elias Nikolaou, "Anekdoto engrapho tou archeiou tes metropoleos Samou peri tou martyriou tou hag. Ioannou tou Thessalonikeos († 1802)," *Apopseis* 6 (1992): 403-410.

voluntary martyrdom referred to when they charged the would-be martyrs with obstinacy and arrogance.[57]

The stories of the double converts trace trajectories of movement, if not restlessness. It would be naive to ascribe them, as the martyrs' *vitae* often imply, to psychological unease and pangs of remorse. Rather we should see in them the interplay between three factors: the generalized mobility around the ports of the Aegean, boosted by international trade, the socioeconomic conditions of poor migrants, and their quest for social inclusion and self-realization. The migrants who were cut off (or had broken with) kinship networks were more likely to convert to Islam; conversion, however, was no guarantee of social success.

Demetrios from a village in the Peloponnese left his family to escape poverty as well as conflict with his stepmother and became a builder, going from place to place in search of work, until he came to the town of Tripoli (Tripoliçe), became a servant in the household of a Muslim barber and converted to Islam. As it seems, his conversion did not produce the expected results. After some time he left again, went to Smyrna and later to Magnesia (Manisa), worked at a coffee-house in Moschonesia (Ayvalık Adaları) and became a barber at Aivali (Ayvalık), until he met the monk Makarios Notaras on the island of Chios. Makarios, building on the young man's restlessness and frustration, trained him for martyrdom and sent him back to Tripoli. There Demetrios proclaimed his reconversion to Christianity and was executed in 1803.[58] Twenty-five years later, the Protestant missionary John Hartley was told that "the plague had never visited the town of Tripoli since the martyrdom of a certain individual".[59] It is very probable that this individual, transferred with this martyrdom from social marginality into protection-granting sanctity, was our Demetrios.

Another missionary, Charles Williamson, described in two letters from Smyrna the martyrdom of Athanasios (d. 1819), a poor Christian from Ainos (Enez) in Thrace who had converted to Islam while in the service of a Muslim. After a row with his master, he left for Mount Athos and later came to Smyrna, the place where he had denied Christianity, renounced Islam and was beheaded as an apostate. Here is an excerpt from Williamson's letter:

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[57] Adamantios Koraes, *Prolegomena stous archaious ellenes syngrapheis*, vol. 2 (Athens: MIET, 1988), 409-410; Konstantinos Veinoglou, "Historia tes en Nea Epheso oikogeneias Veinoglou," *Mikrasiatika Chronika* 12 (1965): 418-419.

[58] *Neon leimonarion*, part 1, 237-249.

[59] John Hartley, *Researches in Greece and the Levant* (London: Seeley and Sons, 1831), 57-58.

> *The Turkish guard instantly threw buckets of water upon the neck of the corpse and dissevered head, to prevent the multitude of expecting Greeks from dipping their handkerchiefs in his blood* […]. *The body* […] *was afterwards given up to the Greeks and buried in the principal Churchyard.* […] *In such a circumstance it is difficult to say who is the most culpable, the Turks or the Greeks? The Turks are savages always ready to shed the blood of a Christian. But how abominable that a Church, a Christian Church, should refuse mercy to a once fallen member!*[60]

Williamson's orientalist analysis was wrong. From other sources we know that the Ottoman officials had tried to save the convert's life: they attempted to persuade the offended Muslims that Athanasios was mad and thus not accountable for his actions, and they gave him the option to go free and live elsewhere as a Christian (or crypto-Christian).[61] At the same time, the monk who had accompanied Athanasios from Mount Athos handed to the metropolitan and to the Greek-Orthodox notables letters by an Athonite abbot calling them to gather the Christians and hold prayers for Athanasios to succeed in his goal. But the monk delivered the letters only after Athanasios had renounced Islam in the sharia court, because "[…] if they received them earlier, they might prevent the martyr, as they did with others".[62] Neither the Ottoman authorities nor the Church welcomed declarations of apostasy from Islam to Christianity that caused inter-communal friction and threatened public order.

The martyrdom of double conversion required an impressive effort of persistence and endurance. This is evident in the cases of would-be martyrs who recanted before the court. Understandably, their stories have left no trace in the martyrological literature of the period; but they are mentioned in the sharia court records, a fact that testifies both to the dynamics and the complexity of voluntary martyrdom.[63] The above is well illustrated in an episode from the *vita* of Nannos, which will sum up the analysis on the actors of confessional death.

The tenacity of Nannos in rejecting any comeback (even a nominal one) to Islam after he had declared his Christian identity led some Ottoman officials to conceive the idea of getting rid of the troublemaker by putting him on a ship leaving for Algiers. To make the plan abort, Nannos asked for and received a deadline to decide whether to return to Islam; when the deadline expired, the

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60 Richard Clogg, "A little-known Orthodox Neo-Martyr, Athanasios of Smyrna (1819)," *Eastern Churches Review* 5 (1973): 35.

61 Konstantinos Doukakes, *Megas synaxaristes*, vol. 4 (Athens: Kollarakes and Triantaphyllou, 1892), 270, 275.

62 Doukakes, *Megas synaxaristes*, 273.

63 Tzedopoulos, "Rejoicement, Defiance and Contestation," 26.

ship had already sailed. During his stay in prison, Nannos was acquainted with another prisoner, a poor Christian sailor who had been imprisoned for wearing red shoes, a garment that, as it seems, was restricted for Muslim sailors and for Christian sailors serving in the Ottoman navy.[64] Given that dress regulations were crucial as a visible marker of social (and religious) categories,[65] this could have severe repercussions. In the past, transgressors of sumptuary laws had even been forced to choose between formal conversion to Islam or execution.[66] In one of his sumptuary decrees, Sultan Selim III (1761-1808) ordered that offenders be executed.[67]

In the discussions between Nannos and the sailor, as given in the *vita*, the latter seemed to take his imprisonment lightly: he had no money to give, he argued, so his captors had nothing to gain from him. Moreover, while he was incarcerated, he was fed free of charge. After his release, he concluded, he would go to sea again and would again wear red shoes whenever he liked.[68] It is of no great importance whether things happened as described in the *vita*; what matters is that the story, real, half-real, or fictitious, was persuasive. Readers could recognize in the sketch of the sailor a kind of insolent and sometimes deviant behavior pattern typical for the social environment of the ports and boat crews. The sailor of the story had committed the offence with the aim to appropriate and display personal status. His getting away with imprisonment and punishment would probably add the flavor of having defied and ridiculed the authorities.

Nannos, on the other hand, was portrayed as having fooled the authorities not to escape, but to receive punishment as a reward. This active and often manipulative quest of confessional death, documented not only in the martyrs' *vitae* but also in accounts of travelers or even of those who did not see in

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64 William Eton, *A Survey of the Turkish Empire* (London: T. Cadell and W. Davies, 1801[3]), 98; Komnenos Hypsylantes, *Ta meta ten Alosin*, 764.

65 Donald Quataert, "Clothing Laws, State, and Society in the Ottoman Empire, 1720-1829," *International Journal of Middle East Studies* 29 (1997): 403-425; Suraiya Faroqhi and Christoph Neumann (ed.), *Ottoman Costumes: From Textile to Identity* (Istanbul: Eren, 2004); Madeline Zilfi, "Women, Minorities and the Changing Politics of Dress in the Ottoman Empire, 1650–1830," in *The Right to Dress. Sumptuary Laws in a Global Perspective, c.1200–1800*, ed. Giorgio Riello and Ulinka Rublack, 393-415 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2019).

66 Matthew Elliot, "Dress Codes in the Ottoman Empire: The Case of the Franks," in Faroqhi and Neumann, *Ottoman Costumes*, 107; Krstić, *Contested Conversions*, 149-150; Gara and Tzedopoulos, *Christians and Muslims*, 213.

67 Zilfi, "Women, Minorities," 398. For such an execution that took place during the reign of Selim III see Eton, *A Survey*, 98. The obvious orientalist bias of the author should not lead us to dismiss his account as exaggerated, particularly when we have supporting evidence.

68 *Neon leimonarion*, part 1, 226-227.

voluntary martyrdom but superstition and arrogance, shows more than anything else that the martyrdom of double conversion was neither self-evident nor expected.

Publics

"Slaughter me, ağa, so that I may become a saint" (*sphaxe me, aga mou, n' agiaso*).[69] The irony of this Greek proverbial phrase indirectly shows the reaction of many Christian subjects of the sultan to voluntary martyrdom that triggered social unrest, threatened communal hierarchies, and provoked tension between Christians and Muslims.

Re-Christianization *via* martyrdom ignited strong reactions that cut across the social spectrum. For some, the voluntary martyrs were saints; for others, they were ignorant fanatics.[70] Understandingly, the most violent attack against martyrdom and its cult came from a radical fraction of Greek Enlightenment. The anonymous author of a libel written in Smyrna in the early nineteenth century used the typical metaphor of light *vs.* darkness to sketch the contrast between secularism and religious zeal. On the one side he placed the new scientific and philological books that, he said, aimed at enlightening the Greek community; on the other side he listed some recent religious publications mostly from the milieu of the *kollyvades*, like the *Neon martyrologion* of Nikodemos Agioreites, which, he claimed, were intended to keep the community in the darkness of ignorance, an easy prey to corrupt Church prelates.[71]

The makers of martyrdom often speak of a sharp distinction between "martyr-lovers" and "martyr-haters". It is doubtful that the split was as clear-cut as that. Yet reconversion at the price of death could not pass unnoticed: it forced people to take sides and brought forth contestation. In fact, the reception of voluntary martyrdom helps us shed light on ideological strife and social conflict.

There is strong evidence of the emotions provoked by martyrdom and of the martyrs' veneration. Some examples of the latter we saw earlier in the accounts of the Protestant missionaries Hartley and Williamson. Men and women, mostly of the medium and low social strata, tried to obtain or have access to a part of the martyrs' relics or even to drops from their blood in the hope of

[69] *Ağa* was an honorific title for military commanders and individuals of wealth and high social status. Harold Bowen, "Agha," in *Encyclopédie de l'Islam*, accessed March 13, 2023, http://dx.doi.org/10.1163/9789004206106_eifo_SIM_0361. In the proverbial phrase the term denotes in general the Ottoman authorities and power holders.

[70] Tzedopoulos, "Rejoicement, Defiance and Contestation," 30-32.

[71] Paschalis Kitromilides, "Ideologikes synepeies tes koinonikes diamaches ste Smyrne (1809–1810)," *Deltio Kentrou Mikrasiatikon Spoudon* 3 (1982): 32.

protection and salvation-bringing miracles.[72] Protection could be extended even to the whole community, as we saw with Demetrios, whose martyrdom was thought to safeguard the town of Tripoli from the plague. It seems that there was a strong connection between the pool of "supporters" of martyrdom and the social milieu that opposed the role of wealthy merchants in communal affairs, as well as liberal education, and claimed communal leadership for the guilds.[73]

It is no coincidence that the highest density of reconversions to Christianity (and respective martyrdoms) is to be found in the region of western Asia Minor and the nearby islands, places that were often theatres of intra-communal conflict. In 1819, the guildsmen of Smyrna, with the help of the Church, forced the closure of the liberal school *Philologikon Gymnasion* that was supported by Greek-Orthodox merchants and scholars of the Enlightenment. The conflict is indicative of the socioeconomic and cultural cleavages that were at play.[74] In the nearby island of Chios, the direction and ideological orientation of the local school was a matter of conflict between Athanasios Parios, one of the major proponents of martyrdom, and those who were in support of a secular-minded education.[75] It is no coincidence that at the same period the voluntary martyrdom of Markos (d. 1801 on Chios) split the inhabitants of the island into two opposite camps, with many refusing to recognize him as a saint.[76]

The cult of the new martyr-saints reveals an urge for the protective enclosure and sacralization of the community. This was not only a reaction against secularism, liberalism, and Enlightenment, but also a step outside established socio-cultural patterns and institutions: as it seems, the Church and its teachings were sometimes insufficient to satisfy this quest for communal regeneration. Yet re-Christianization *via* martyrdom also constituted a challenge for the Ottoman socio-political order. As we saw, it did not contest its legitimacy. But the martyrs' renouncement of Islam at the price of death, together with the public veneration of their apostasy, were clear instances of defiance. A closer look on the history of Christian martyrdom during Ottoman rule shows that this form of defiance had already emerged in the past, always in periods of local or generalized crisis; but in the long eighteenth century it assumed an unprecedented intensity.[77]

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72 Tzedopoulos, "Rejoicement, Defiance and Contestation," 33-36.

73 Ibid., 32.

74 Iliou, *Koinonikoi agones*; Kostas Lappas, "Dyo stichourgemata schetika me ten koininike krise ste Smyrne to 1819," *Ho Eranistes* 21 (1997): 259–283.

75 Kitromilides, *Enlightenment and Revolution*, 304.

76 *Neon leimonarion*, xv–xvi.

77 Tzedopoulos, "Orthodox neomartyrs," 309 ff.

Remarkable evidence on the challenge posed by re-Christianization *via* martyrdom offers by the physician and scholar Michael Perdikares, a man whose critical stance to Enlightenment was rooted more in political loyalty than in religious fervor.[78] Perdikares emphasized religion as a dominant factor of collective identity that could effectively repel both the "defilement of French philosophy" and the appeal of revolutionary action. But his stance was combined with a genuine repulsion against mysticism, fanaticism and superstition that owed much to Enlightenment. Perdikares' view on religion was in fact worldly-minded. He understood institutionalized religious plurality as a factor that could guarantee the maintenance of the Ottoman *status quo*. This is why he was hostile to any form of religious conversion, from Judaism to Christianity or from Christianity to Islam, which could lead to problems of integration into the new community and destabilize the smooth reproduction of the religious-political system.[79] But what weighed most on his mind was public re-Christianization and its repercussions. Too cautious to speak directly of voluntary martyrdom and of its delegitimizing potential, he referred disparagingly to the Christian converts to Islam who sought to "come back to their previous religion with abundant tears for having renounced it earlier".[80]

Conclusions

Perdikares was right in recognizing that the rupture of re-Christianization *via* martyrdom tended to destabilize Ottoman order. Of course, the legitimacy of Ottoman rule was not challenged in the martyrological texts, where the faithful are urged to regard the taxes they must pay to the authorities, and particularly the poll-tax levied on the non-Muslims, as a ticket to paradise.[81] However,

[78] On Perdikares see Kitromilides, *Enlightenment and* Revolution, 292–293; Ioannis Zelepos, "'Sy de egenou lipopatris.' Zur Entwicklung vornationaler Identitätsmuster in Südosteuropa. Der 'osmanischorthodoxe' Heimatbegriff von Michailos Perdikaris (1766–1828)," in *Schnittstellen. Gesellschaft, Nation, Konflikt und Erinnerung in Südosteuropa. Festschrift für Holm Sundhausen*, ed. Ulf Brunnbauer, Andreas Helmedach, Stefan Troebst (Munich: R. Oldenbourg Verlag, 2007) 189–200.

[79] Leandros Vranoussis (ed.), "Regas e kata pseudophilhellenon. Anekdoton ergon tou Michael Perdikare (1811)," *Epeteris tou Mesaionikou Archeiou* 11 (1961): 112-114, 165.

[80] Vranoussis, "Regas," 109-110.

[81] Nikodemos, *Neon martyrologion*, 13. Compare this with one of the teachings of the eighteenth-century Christian preacher Kosmas Aitolos: "like the martyrs who shed their blood and bought heaven, […] the Christians buy heaven with the money [the taxes] they pay." Ioannes Menounos, *Kosma tou Aitolou didaches kai biographia* (Athens: Akritas, 2002), 187.

renouncing Islam for the sake of going back to Christianity and claiming as a right the punishment awaiting the apostates instrumentalized the requirements of the sharia and subverted the nexus of toleration and inequality that defined the position of the non-Muslims.

This did not openly contest the Ottoman order, but it gave a serious blow to its prestige. It is no wonder that the Ottoman authorities not only were reluctant to proceed with the executions, but also tried to find out the instigators of the martyrs' apostasy or at least prevent acts of public veneration of the dead as saints. The persistence of the double converts transformed them in the eyes of many from offenders to heroes, from passive victims to agents of self-formation, while the execution they claimed as a reward emphasized – and in a way evoked – the "ubiquity of death and violence" in the confirmation and destabilization of power relations.[82] Public reconversion to Christianity was not an open act of political revolt; nevertheless, it manipulated, and in the end subverted, the fundamental inequality between Muslims and non-Muslims.

Open re-Christianization was also a fundamentalist reframing of Christian cultural memory, shaped by the accounts and the worship of ancient martyrs, into an identity-building project.[83] The martyrs' successive – and in the end fatal – appropriation of identities (from Christian to Muslim and back to Christian) formed a circle of experienced and rejected extroversion, of sin and sacrificial atonement, that was meant to enclose and sacralize the Orthodox community. This was evident in the martyrs' extrovert corporality. Contrary to the pious censorship imposed on the bodies, mouths, and minds of the faithful in Nikodemos' *Chrestoetheia*, the martyrs displayed – and suffered – a physical and verbal aggression that culminated in their physical extermination. After that, their bodies, filled with symbolic capital, poured out their plenty in a eucharistic distribution: limbs, blood, and clothing were venerated as miraculous relics by the faithful.

For Athanasios Parios, the "martyrophiles" (*philomartyres*) who fell on the corpse of Demetrios (d. 1802) to get an amount of his spilled blood, a part of his clothes or a limb of his body, were "martyrs by volition" (*martyres te proairesei*).[84] Participation in the martyrs' cult was meant to form new communities of piety inside Ottoman Orthodoxy in the face of deepening socioeconomic divides.

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82 Matthew Recla, "Autothanatos: The Martyr's Self-Formation," *Journal of the American Academy of Religion* 82:2 (2014): 472–494, on p. 473.

83 Elizabeth Castelli, *Martyrdom and Memory. Early Christian Culture Making* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2004). On cultural memory see Jan Assmann, *Das kulturelle Gedächtnis. Schrift, Erinnerung und politische Identität in frühen Hochkulturen* (Munich: C. H. Beck, 1992), especially pp. 48-59.

84 *Neon leimonarion*, part 2, 111.

Based rather on experiences of cultural crisis and liminality than on established social structures, and construed around the rite of passage that was martyrdom, those communities in the making were in fact manifestations of *communitas*, "a spontaneously structured relationship which often develops among luminaries, individuals in passage between social statuses and cultural states".[85]

The proponents of martyrdom instrumentalized it against secularism, Enlightenment, and nationalism. But their effort was marked by their own encounters with modernity. They embraced the very methodologies and conceptual categories their opponents also used: the printed word, the polemic argumentation, the use of the vernacular, the formation of identity, and – most of all – the positive connotation of religious-cultural change and renewal.[86] Voluntary martyrdom tended to destabilize established hierarchies: it challenged the absolute power of the Church in things confessional and undermined *de facto* Ottoman legitimacy. Most of all, however, reconversion to Christianity *via* martyrdom became an arena of contestation, a – directly or indirectly – debated issue that reflected and reshaped sociocultural conflict. We must bear in mind that, when Athanasios Parios stressed the spread of the cult of new martyrs,[87] he was less describing reality than he was seeking to impose it.

In the 1930s, Manouel Gedeon, an official of the Patriarchate of Constantinople and prominent historian of the Great Church, scorned re-Christianization *via* voluntary martyrdom as "Athonite-Japanese hara-kiri".[88] Ironically, his words echoed the most violent attacks of anticlerical Enlightenment more than a century before. But the complexity of voluntary martyrdom shows that, rather than a mere display of zeal for the faith, it was an imprint of conflicting experiences and understandings of historical change.

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85 Victor Turner, *Revelation and Divination in Ndembu Ritual* (Ithaca & London: Cornell University Press, 1975), 22. On the notions of liminality and *communitas* see also Victor Turner, *The Ritual Process: Structure and Anti-Structure* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1977[2]). On the use of *communitas* in the analysis of martyrdom see John Knott, *Discourses of Martyrdom in English Literature, 1563-1694* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1993), 89-91.

86 See also Zelepos, *Orthodoxe Eiferer*, 306-310.

87 Paschos, *En askesei kai martyrio*, 82.

88 Manouel Gedeon, *Historia ton tou Christou peneton, 1453-1913*, ed. by Philippos Iliou, vol. 2 (Athens: MIET, 2010), 78-79; Iliou, "Pothos martyriou," 277-284.

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"GOD PREPARES THE WAY FOR HIS LIGHT TO ENTER INTO THE TERRIBLE DARKNESS OF MUSCOVY". EXCHANGE AND MOBILITY BETWEEN HALLE PIETISM AND RUSSIAN ORTHODOX CLERGY IN THE 18TH CENTURY

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ABSTRACT. This contribution analyses the relationship between Halle Pietism and Russian Orthodoxy with a focus on the mobility of actors on both sides. This included Halle Pietists travelling to Russia, but also young Russians being invited to Halle to study theology. The paper uses unpublished sources from the Archives of the Francke Foundations in Halle to paint a comprehensive picture of this mobility of people, but also of ideas and literature, which might not have achieved the intended aims on either side, but was still an important episode in German-Russian relations that has received very little attention in existing research. The relationship is looked at over four distinct chronological stages from the final decade of the 17th century to the Catherinian era in the 1760s, with an additional section focusing on Russian academic migration to Halle. Each of these stages must be seen both within the context of what happened in Russia at this time, as well as the developments in Halle. This paper takes all these aspects into account.

Keywords: Halle Pietism, Francke Foundations, Russian Orthodoxy, academic migration, education, Feofan Prokopovich, Tsar Peter I the Great, Simeon Todorsky, Anton Friedrich Büsching, Justus Samuel Scharschmidt

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The "terrible darkness of Muscovy" in the quotation from 1705 in the title illustrates a common Western perception of the religious development in Russia in the early 18th century, especially among Protestants.[1] The idea that Protestant Christianity was destined to prepare the way for a divine light beam to spread to all nations across the globe developed in a situation of increased awareness of global humankind in early modernity. Among the most articulate of these conceptions was the one that is associated with Halle in Germany. Halle Pietism became a vastly influential current within Protestant Christianity in the first half of the 18th century. Its influence was not confined to Halle, but aspired to a global scope, *inter alia* through missionary endeavours and the worldwide presence of Hallensian students inspired by Pietism.[2]

This paper seeks to analyse how Halle Pietism imagined this divine light to reach Russia, based on the archival records in the Archives of the Francke Foundations (*Franckesche Stiftungen*) in Halle.[3] It is impossible to comprehensively grasp the attitude from these sources, but together with other tangential scholarship, they point to important aspects that allow for an analysis. One of the chief Pietist strategies was to invite Orthodox clergy to study theology in Halle. This led to a Russian Orthodox academic mobility that had recognisable outcomes over a large part of the 18th century. This contribution aims to paint a picture of this mobility in the context of the wider Hallensian interests regarding the Orthodox Church in Russia.

The Golden Age of Halle Pietism was roughly the first half of the 18th century, when August Hermann Francke (1663-1727) and his son Gotthilf August Francke (1696-1769) were leading figures in the Pietist movement. Next to being professors at the university, these two theologians led the "Waisenhaus" (Orphanage) or "Glauchasche Anstalten" (Glaucha Institutions, named after the Halle suburb Glaucha), from which the present Francke Foundations emerged.

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1 See Alfons Brüning, "Symphonia, kosmische Harmonie, Moral. Moskauer Diskurse über gerechte Herrschaft im 16. und 17. Jahrhundert," in *Gerechtigkeit und gerechte Herrschaft vom 15. bis zum 17. Jahrhundert*, ed. Stefan Plaggenborg (Berlin: De Gruyter 2020), 23-52.

2 We use the term Pietism to refer to the current associated with August Hermann Francke in Halle only. Other currents conventionally grouped under the heading Pietism are marginal for this paper. On the Moravian Brethren and Russia, see Otto Teigeler, *Die Herrnhuter in Russland. Ziel, Umfang und Ertrag ihrer Aktivitäten* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck und Ruprecht 2006).

3 For an overview of some relevant sources in Halle, see Michail Fundaminski, *Die Russica-Sammlung der Franckeschen Stiftungen zu Halle. Aus der Geschichte der deutsch-russischen kulturellen Beziehungen im 18. Jahrhundert. Katalog*, (Tübingen: Max Niemeyer, 1997). Sebastian Rimestad carried out archival research for this article thanks to a Dr. Liselotte Kirchner Scholarship of the Francke Foundations during three months in the summer of 2021. The contribution of Daniel Haas was funded by the German Research Foundation (DFG) – GRK 2008 – 242138915.

This large complex not only included the orphanage, but also several schools, a publishing house, a pharmacy, a library, and a *Wunderkammer*. The influence emanating from Halle Pietism to a large extent stemmed from the outreach of alumni from these foundations, who became missionaries in India and North America, for example, or acted as private tutors (*Hauslehrer*) and pastors all across the world.

The influence of Halle Pietism in a variety of geographical, confessional, and linguistic contexts has been thoroughly analysed from a plethora of theoretical angles. Also the relationship of Halle Pietism to Russia has been repeatedly treated, focusing on individual Pietists[4] or on the importance of Halle for knowledge of Russian developments in the West.[5] Finally, the theological affinities between Halle Pietism and Russian Orthodox Christianity have also received some attention,[6] but the influence of Hallensian concepts of education on the role of the clergy as educators has been surprisingly little researched.

Arguably, the 18th century was the time in Russian history that was most open to Western influences. This openness inspired many European intellectuals, who saw Russia as a space in which to realise their ambitious ideas. This Russian openness was, however, to a large degree utilitarian: Russia happily accepted the ideas of Western Enlightenment, but only to the extent that this strengthened its own political clout on the one hand and did not impact the dominating position of the Orthodox Church in the Russian Empire on the other. Nevertheless, the 17th and 18th centuries – understood not as chronological

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4 Günter Rosenfeld, "Justus Samuel Scharschmid und seine Bedeutung für die deutsche Rußlandkunde am Anfang des 18. Jahrhunderts," *Zeitschrift für Geschichtswissenschaft* 2 (1954): 866-902; Christiane Schiller and Māra Grudule, ed., *"Mache dich auf und werde Licht – Celies nu, topi gaišs" Zu Leben und Wirken Ernst Glücks (1654-1705) Akten der Tagung anl. seines 300. Todestages vom 10. bis 13. Mai 2005 in Halle (S)*, (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 2010); Holger Zaunstöck, "Georg Friedrich Weise – an invisible agent of Pietism in Russia", *Kunstkamera* 3 (5), (2019): 19-38.

5 Eduard Winter, *Halle als Ausgangspunkt der deutschen Rußlandkunde im 18. Jahrhundert*, (Berlin: Akademie, 1953); Johannes Wallmann and Udo Sträter, ed., *Halle und Osteuropa. Zur europäischen Ausstrahlung des hallischen Pietismus* (Tübingen: Max Niemeyer, 1998); Rainer Lächele, ed., *Das Echo Halles. Kulturelle Wirkungen des Pietismus* (Tübingen: Bibliotheca Academica, 2001).

6 Stefan G. Reichelt, *Johann Arndts „Vier Bücher zum wahren Christentum" in Russland: Vorboten eines neuzeitlichen interkulturellen Dialogs* (Leipzig: EVA, 2011); Andrey V. Ivanov, *A Spiritual Revolution. The Impact of Reformation and Enlightenment in Orthodox Russia* (Madison, WI: UWP, 2020), 138-152; Elena Belyakova and Taisiya Leber, "Die Verbreitung des Pietismus in Russland und die Kirchenreformen in der Zeit Peters des Großen," in *Ausstrahlung der Reformation. Ost-westliche Spurensuche*, ed. Natalia Bakshi, Georg Pfleiderer and Yvonne Pörzgen (Leiden: Brill, 2020), 45-65; Tatiana V. Chumakova, "Пиетизм в русской религиозно-философской мысли XVIII–XIX веков" [Pietism in Russian Religious and Philosophical Thought of the 18th-19th Centuries], *Философические письма. Русско-европейский диалог* 5 (2022), 84-103.

timeframes, but as cultural patterns, divided by the Petrine reforms – co-existed in Russian society for a long time. That explains why Russian society constantly oscillated between periods of anti-western tendencies and times with openness and all kinds of innovation over the 18th century.

It is important to emphasise that in this process of cultural transfer, the Russian side was not as much interested in abstract "ideas of Enlightenment" as in concrete institutional models that could be adapted to the Russian context. Among those models, maybe the most fashionable one was that of the religious leader actively and competently participating in the process of education and instruction of the empire's subjects. As Tsar Peter the Great mentioned in his conversation with the terminally ill Patriarch Adrian (1637-1700): "The clergy are almost illiterate. They should learn to administer the sacraments before being raised to this rank. To do this, a man is needed – not only one – and a definite place to do it in."[7] However, it was not only about creating the corresponding schools. Archbishop Feofan Prokopovich, who plays an important role in this paper, himself introduced the idea of seminaries for the clergy in every diocese in Russia. In spite of the archbishop's anti-Latin leanings, this idea was largely taken from the Catholic context. It was clear that the priests needed education, but it was all the more difficult to understand on which basis they should acquire this education. Which pedagogical agenda should they aspire to and how should it be elaborated? From where should this agenda and its elements be taken?

The paper is divided into five sections, with the four first ones each covering a chronologically distinct phase of the relationship. The first section is devoted to the initial phase from the end of the 17th century until 1711, when the first contact between Halle Pietists and the Russian Orthodox bishop and later reformer Feofan Prokopovich was established. This passed on to a second phase, in which the Pietists considered Prokopovich the key to a Russian awakening. The death of Russian Emperor Peter the Great in 1725 and the waning of Prokopovich's influence put an end to this phase. The third phase began 1730, when the Russian throne was occupied by Germanophile Anna Ioannovna, and ends 1754, when the only Russian Orthodox bishop that is known to have received a theological education from Halle, Simeon Todorsky, passed away. Even though there were few direct links between Halle and Russia after this date, there is a fourth phase, highlighting how conceptualisations derived from Halle Pietism did have an impact also in Russia during the reign of Empress Catherine II the Great in the 1760s. Catherine's reign represented a

[7] Georges Bissonnette, "Peter the Great and the Church as an Educational Institution," in *Essays in Russian and Soviet history in honor of Geroid Tanquary Robinson*, ed. John Shelton Curtiss (New York: Columbia University Press, 1963), 3-19, here 6.

pinnacle of Russian openness to Western ideas and not only Pietist influence waned after that. The fifth section then delves into a specific aspect of the intellectual exchange between Halle Pietism and Russian Orthodoxy, namely the presence of Russian Orthodox in the Faculty of Theology of Halle University. Such academic migration occurred throughout the 18th century and had a lasting impact on both sides.

Phase I – 1694-1711: First Contacts

The worldview of the great pietist spiritual entrepreneur and reformer August Herrmann Francke in Halle can be glanced from his "Great Project" (*Großer Aufsatz*), an unpublished manifesto that he continuously refined at least since 1704. Here, he laments that the world is in a dire state, claiming that the only solution "must begin with the teaching class fulfilling the command of Christ and his Apostle, truly becoming the salt of the earth".[8] The *teaching class* (*Lehrstand*) was a grouping that for Francke included mainly clergy and teachers, two professions that were interlinked in the early 18th century. In the second chapter of his great project, Francke boasts of how the orphanage he had founded outside the Halle city wall and its schools were to be the nucleus of a new order restoring the teaching class to its due task. From there, his idea was to spread the reform throughout the world via missionary enterprises, foreign theologians having studied in Halle, and connections with dignitaries and authorities.

This includes Russia, which is mentioned in passing in the project (once as "Russia" and twice as "Moscow"). These mentions go back to the first connections between Halle and Russia, which were connected with the names Heinrich Wilhelm Ludolf (1655-1712) and Justus Samuel Scharschmidt (1664-1724). Ludolf was a travelling diplomat who visited Russia on a secret diplomatic mission for King Christian V. of Denmark in 1692-94, where he learnt Russian and started writing a grammar for the language.[9] Ever since, he was interested, *inter alia*, in bringing religious enlightenment to Russia, and found an ally in Francke with whom he entertained good relations until his death. In the following, his diplomatic missions brought him to "the Orient" including Constantinople, and he was instrumental in recruiting Greek Orthodox students to study at the

[8] "Wenn eine *Beßerung* gesucht werden soll, muß sie nach der jetzt angezogenen Anweisung Christi und seines Apostels vom Lehr=Stande angefangen werden, als welcher das Saltz der Erden seyn muß." Otto Podczeck, ed., *August Herrmann Franckes Schrift über eine Reform des Erziehungs- und Bildungswesens als Ausgangspunkt einer geistlichen und sozialen Neuordnung der Evangelischen Kirche des 18. Jahrhunderts. Der Grosse Aufsatz* (Berlin: Akademie, 1962), 75.

[9] See Joachim Tetzner, *H. W. Ludolf und Russland*, (Berlin: Akademie, 1955).

Collegium Orientale Theologicum that was opened at the Francke Orphanage in Halle in 1702.[10] Scharschmidt, on the other hand, was a young Pietist preacher whom Francke and Ludolf selected to go to Russia to prepare for the coming "Ecclesia Universa".[11]

Scharschmidt went as a preacher to the German congregation in Moscow in 1696, where his Pietist preaching was not appreciated, however. He never settled in, instead travelling around in Russia, reporting his experiences to Francke in Halle.[12] The grand project to infuse the Russian Orthodox Church with Pietist ideas did not show significant progress, but Ludolf and Scharschmidt were instrumental in laying the foundations for knowledge of Russia in Francke's foundations in Halle,[13] including a specific view of the Russian Orthodox Church.

The access to Russian Orthodox clergy at that time was very limited. After returning from Russia, Ludolf only encountered the Russian embassy priests in The Hague, such as Christopher Rastoviecki, of which he reports the following in a letter to Francke on 25th October 1700:

> I am satisfied that Mr. Scharschmidt made his acquaintance in The Hague and I hope that their friendship will remain blessed in the Lord. It would be a good fruit of this acquaintance, if a correspondence could be established with somebody from the Kiev University to promote the interest *totius corporis Christi*. When you write to such a priest, you could ask for a suitable partner in Kiev.[14]

[10] Ulrich Moennig, "Die griechischen Studenten am Hallenser Collegium orientale theologicum," in Wallmann and Sträter, *Halle und Osteuropa*, 299-329; Stefano Saracino, *Tischgespräche, Wohngemeinschaften, fromme Praktiken: Die Alltags- und Wissensgeschichte der griechisch-orthodoxen Studenten am pietistischen Collegium Orientale Theologicum in Halle (1703–1707)* (Erfurt: Universität Erfurt, 2018).

[11] Tetzner, *H. W. Ludolf*, 64. On Ludolf's idea of an "Ecclesia Universa", which influenced Protestant missionary efforts among Orthodox and Oriental Christians beyond Halle, see Adelisa Malena, "Promoting the Common Interest of Christ. H.W. Ludolf's 'Impartial' Projects and the Beginnings of the SPCK," in *British Protestant Missions and the Conversion of Europe, 1600–1900*, ed. Simone Maghenzani and Stefano Villani (New York: Routledge, 2020), 140-163.

[12] Rosenfeld, "Justus Samuel Scharschmid".

[13] See Winter, *Halle als Ausgangspunkt*.

[14] "Es ist mir lieb, daß sich H Scharschmidt in Haage mit ihm bekandt gemacht, hoffe ihre Freundschafft werde noch meistens im Herrn gesegnet seyn, eine gute Frucht davon würde seyn, wann mann mit einem oder andern seiner Menschen von der Universität Kiov könte in Correspondenz trethen und das Interesse totius corporis Christi dadurch befördern. Wann der Bruder an sothane Priester schreiben solte, könte er hiervon Vermehrung thun und sich ein oder ander zu diesem Topo dienliches Subiectum in Kiov nennen laßen." Letter from H. W. Ludolf to A. H. Francke, London, 25.10.1700, AFSt/H D 71 : 62-63.

However, Scharschmidt does not mention such a correspondence, and also Ludolf's continued attempts to reach out to Rastoviecki did not yield any results. The suggestion to contact the Kiev theological academy seemingly did not succeed. The initial unbridled optimism had settled down by 1706, when Ludolf wrote to Francke:

> The Kingdom of God is opposed here, just as in other countries, most of all by the clergy, as the most pious priests, such as the one at the Russian Embassy in the Hague, are the most ardent supporters of flashy ecclesiastical ceremonies. At the same time, such priests seem to aspire to something good, which could be fostered by moving in the right circles – if only the poor chap would know another language.[15]

Scharschmidt also had limited encounters with Orthodox clergy, even if he stayed for several decades in Russia. He repeatedly complained that he did not speak Russian. In fact, the German preachers were only supposed to cater to the German Lutherans who often lived in distinct suburbs and did not need to have much contact with Russians at all. The "German Suburb" (literal translation of *Nemetskaia Sloboda*) of Moscow, for example, was a largely closed community of foreigners.[16] The contact that existed, happened on the level of the upper nobility, including the occasional high episcopacy.

At the same time, reports of the enlightened and progressive nature of the new Tsar Peter I, who had, incidentally, spent much of his childhood in the Moscow German Suburb, encouraged Western actors to raise their hopes of asserting influence in Russia. Ludolf in 1705 reported that a Russian traveller had given him hope that "God also prepares the way for his light to enter into the terrible darkness of Muscovy".[17] In fact, enlightenment influence from Germany, primarily from Leipzig, had seeped into the Russian elite for several decades already, and many German artists and intellectuals had entered Russian

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[15] "Unterdeßen wird im selbigen Lande wie in andern das Reich Gottes wohl den größten Widerstand vor der Clerisey haben, in dem ich [auch?] die frömbsten Priester, wie derjenige einer mit ist, welchen die Rußische Ambassaden in Haage hinterlaßen, die allergrößte Veneration an ihrem Kirchengeprange haben. Gleichwohl scheinen sothanen Priester ein Verlangen nach was gutes zu haben, welches durch guten Umbgang einigen Wachsthumb erlangen könte, wenn der arme Man einige andere Sprache könte." Letter from H. W. Ludolf to A. H. Francke, Amsterdam, 18.05.1706, AFSt/H A 112 : 59-62.

[16] Vera A. Kovrigina, *Немецкая слобода Москвы и ее жители – в конце XVII – первой четверти XVIII века* [The German Suburb of Moscow and its inhabitants] (Moscow: Arkheograficheskii Tsentr, 1998).

[17] "Dieu prepare aussi le chemin de sa lumière entre les terribles ténèbres de Moscovie". Letter from H. W. Ludolf to C. H. von Canstein, 04.02.1705, AFSt/H A 112 : 227-230.

service at least since 1667.[18] Their most lasting contribution was in teaching, initially as private tutors for the sons of Russian nobility.

Some few of these German enlighteners endeavoured to establish educational institutions of various scope and permanence. For this early period, the most topical ones were the makeshift schools Scharschmidt set up wherever he went[19] and the "first Russian gymnasium", founded by the Livonian Lutheran Pastor Johann Ernst Glück in Moscow in 1704.[20] This latter enterprise, for which Tsar Peter released Glück from his war captivity, only strenuously relates to the Halle Pietists, though. Glück was no Pietist, even if he entertained good relations with them, including Francke.[21] Even when the assistant teacher, Johann Werner Paus, later became a staunch Pietist, the fact that the curriculum included dancing classes indicates that it was not a Pietist project. Moreover, it was rather short-lived, as Glück died before the end of the first schoolyear and the continuation proved contentious. The school continued to exist until 1715, but it was no longer the lighthouse institution it had had the potential to become.[22]

A last important aspect of this first period was the foundation of the new Russian capital Saint Petersburg. The city was planned from scratch on the basis of patterns Peter had come to know in Western Europe. Consequently, the city had a non-Russian appearance, with a foreign population of about 10-13 % in 1725.[23] Each of the confessional groups (Catholics, Lutherans, and Anglicans) were entitled to their own church building on the city's main street, the Nevskii Prospekt.[24] The first pastor at the Lutheran church, Wilhelm Tolle, wrote to

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18 Günter Mühlpfordt, "Halle-Leipziger Aufklärung in Rußland – ein Faktor der Modernisierung. Von den petrinischen zu den katharinäischen Reformen. (Mit Vorstufen seit Zar Aleksej und Spätstufen bis zur Regierungszeit Alexanders II.)", in *Russische Aufklärungsrezeption im Kontext offizieller Bildungskonzepte (1700-1825)*, ed. Gabriela Lehmann-Carli et al. (Berlin: Arno Spitz, 2001), 405-425.

19 Rosenfeld, "Justus Samuel Scharschmid", 898.

20 Vera A. Kovrigina, "Glück als Schulgründer in Russland", in Schiller and Grudule, *"Mache dich auf"*, 193-213.

21 Veronika Albrecht-Birkner, "Glücks Verhältnis zu P. J. Spener und A. H. Francke, oder: war Glück ein Pietist?", in Schiller and Grudule, *"Mache dich auf"*, 57-78.

22 There are indications that the Russian Orthocox clergy was opposed to Glück's school project, see Ingeborg Fleischhauer, *Die Deutschen im Zarenreich* (Stuttgart: dtv, 1991), 79; Jan Kusber, *Eliten- und Volksbildung im Zarenreich während des 18. und der ersten Hälfte des 19. Jahrhunderts* (Stuttgart: Franz Steiner, 2004), 39.

23 Aleksandr N. Andreev and Iuliia S. Andreeva, "Иноземное население Санкт-Петербурга первой половины XVIII столетия: опыт статистической реконструкции" [Foreign Inhabitants in Saint Petersburg in the First Half of the 18th Century: a statistical reconstruction attempt], *Вестник Томского государственного университета* 478 (2022): 72-79, here 74.

24 Arkhimandrit Avgustin, *Храмы Невского Проспекта* [The Churches of the Nevsky Prospect] (Moscow: Tsentrpoligraf, 2015).

Francke in Halle shortly before his death, requesting two assistant preachers for the parish. The two, Heinrich Gottlieb Nazzius and Johann Georg Sorger arrived end of 1710 after a strenuous journey via Arkhangelsk. Especially Nazzius became an important Pietist focal point in Saint Petersburg in the years to come.

Phase II – 1711-1730: Optimism

The idea to come in and reorganise Russian religious life on the basis of Pietist principles had waned, but the network of Pietist preachers and collaborators in Russia grew, which gave rise to a new optimism regarding Pietist influence in Russia. Moreover, this second phase is closely connected with the rising star of Russian Orthodox Bishop Feofan Prokopovich. Prokopovich was repeatedly mentioned in the reports to Halle by various Pietists, who saw in him an erudite and potentially useful prelate in opposition to Latin-minded camp that dominated the Russian Orthodox Church at the time. Scharschmidt mentioned "my particular friend, the monk Feofan Prokopovich"[25] in a letter from 1713 and fractions of a correspondence between the two has survived.

The usefulness of relations with Prokopovich came to the fore in 1716 when the latter was elevated to Bishop of Pskov with residence in Peter's capital Saint Petersburg. This change of direction in Russian church politics was recognised with elation by Francke and his entourage. The young Pietist preacher and Halle alumni Eberhard Gutsleff the Younger (1691-1749) from Estonia put it most unambiguously in words in 1718:

> My naïve thoughts on this issue of religion is that such a vast empire cannot easily be swayed towards this or that particular sect. It would therefore be judicious for the Tsar retain the name of the Greek religion[26], calling the planned changes a reformation of the ancient Greek Church according to its original purity and integrity. And when a foregoing thorough investigation confirms that this religion was based on the pure word of God all along, its rule and guideline must remain this divine word also after the purification. To achieve this aim, we should involve Greek *patres* for Scriptural exegesis, organise courses in the Greek language for the Russian youth and encourage the study of the Church Fathers.

[25] "[…] ist Theophanes Procopovitz [...] mein sonderlicher Freund". Letter from J. S. Scharschmidt to A. H. Francke, 01.08.1713, AFSt/H C 296 : 50. See also Rosenfeld, "Justus Samuel Scharschmid", 901.

[26] "Greek religion" was the Pietist term for the Orthodox Church, both in the Ottoman Empire and in Russia. The sources from Halle refer to Orthodox Russians as either "Greek", "Russian" or even "Oriental Christians".

> That would, no doubt, open many eyes to help discern whether this or that sect is closer to the true Church. It would certainly be useful if some *studiosi* in Halle would be inclined to learn the Russian language.[27]

No other letter in the Francke Foundation archives speaks so openly about a strategy to reform the Russian Church in favour of Pietism, even though this ambition also shines through in other documents. Gutsleff had spent many years in Halle since 1707, where he studied theology under Francke, and it is possible that he had encountered Greek students there. The Lutheran parish in Reval (Tallinn), where he resided, could hardly provide any such experience. A year later, Gutsleff enthusiastically wrote to Halle about Tsar Peter's curiosity, which could be used to further the Reign of the Lord Christ.[28] Gutsleff's zeal with regard to the Russian Church wanes away after that, but he was intimately involved in a local school project in Alp, Estonia, modelled on the Halle orphanage.[29] Actually, the institution was mentioned by Feofan Prokopovich in a letter he sent to Francke in 1720, praising the initiative and wishing it good luck.[30] Later that year, the bishop even passed through the orphanage in person.

Francke quickly realised that Prokopovich was a key figure in order to increase the Pietist influence on the future Russian Church and sought to foster good relations with this prelate wherever he could.[31] This was facilitated by the

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[27] „Meine einfältige Gedancken bey dieser Religionssache wären diese, daß, da ein so groses Reich [sich] nicht leicht zu dieser oder jenen particulairn Secte wurde adstringiren laßen, ob es nicht rahtsam, daß der Zaar den Nahmen der griegischen Religion behielte und die vorhabende Veränderung angebe als eine Reformation der uhralten griegischen Kirche nach ihrer ersten Reinigkeit und Lauterkeit, und wann man dann nach vorhergegangener Untersuchung finden würde, wie dieselbe allein das reine Wort Gottes im Grunde ihrer Religion gehabt, eben dieses auch in der vorhabenden Repurgation ein Regel und Richtschnuhr seyn müste. Hienechst könten die griegischen Patres als Exegeten der heil. Schrift zur Beyhülfe gezogen, die rußische Jugend in der griegischen Sprache vor andern unterrichtet und also das Studium Patrum vor andern in Flor gebracht werden. Zweifelsohn würden da vielen die Augen aufgehen, daß sie desto leichter würden prüfen können, wer von dieser oder jener Secte der wahren Kirche am nechsten kommen würde. Sollten in Halle einige Studiosi Gelegenheit und Lust haben, sich auf die rußische Sprache zu legen, möchte es nicht undienlich seyn." Letter from E. Gutsleff to A. H. Frankce, 16.01.1718, AFSt/H C 35 : 12. The transcription is provided as found in Winter, *Halle als Ausgangspunkt*, 432-435. However, some words on the line ends were not accessible to Winter, who incorrectly conjectured them. Those have been corrected.

[28] Letter from E. Gutsleff to A. H. Francke, Reval, 05.05.1719, AFSt/H A 188a : 123.

[29] Winter, *Halle als Ausgangspunkt*, 267-275.

[30] Letter from F. Prokopovich to A. H. Francke, Petersburg, 04.03.1720, reproduced in Winter, *Halle als Ausgangspunkt*, 437-438.

[31] Winter, *Halle als Ausgangspunkt*, 123-160; Ivanov, *A Spiritual Revolution*, 41-55. On the relationship of Prokopovich to Pietism at large, see also Robert Collis, *The Petrine Instauration* (Leiden: Brill, 2012), 339-354.

Pietist preacher Caspar Matthias Rodde (1689-1743) in Narva, who described his first encounter with Prokopovich as follows:

> Other than that I cannot report anything, except that there is a certain bishop of Narva and Pskov, a man of great erudition who is eager for the truth, he especially propagates the teaching of justification publicly, while he is an enemy of superstitious people and keenly preaches against them. This man is highly esteemed by his Majesty the Tsar, while the old popes regard him with suspicion.[32]

Rodde, who was a gifted translator, helped prepare several German pietist texts in Russian for distribution and also translated some of Prokopovich's Russian writings for Francke to survey.[33] The first German translation of the 1721 Spiritual Regulation, reforming the Russian Church on the model of Lutheran consistories, is probably from Rodde's pen.

In this document, which would remain the foundational text for the Russian Orthodox Church for the next two centuries, there was a strong emphasis on the proper education of the clergy.[34] It is likely that this section was based, amongst other sources, on the foundational documents of Francke's Halle orphanage and the orphanage in Alp.[35] However, there are few mentions of the Spiritual Regulation in the Francke Foundation archives until 1727, when Tsar Peter the Great was no longer alive and a fierce battle for his succession had thrown a shadow on the future of all Russian reform plans. Prokopovich had lost his most enthusiastic patron and decided to lay low. The domestic Pietist preacher Johann Loder in Saint Petersburg reported in a letter to Halle about Prokopovich's current position:

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32 "Sonst weiß ich von hier nichts zu berichten, als daß ein gewißer Bischoff von Narva und Pleskow ist, ein Mann von großer Gelehrsamkeit, und einen Eyfer vor die Wahrheit hat, insonderheit die Lehre von der Rechtfertigung sowohl öffentlich als insbesondere fleißig treibet und dagegen feind ist dem superstitieusen Weesen, auch dawider scharff prediget; derselbe ist von Ihro Zaarischen Majest. sehr aestimiert; hingegen sehen die alten Pfaffen scheel auf ihn." Letter from C. M. Rodde to P. Anton, Narva, 27.09.1720, AFSt/H D 111 : 382. Transcribed following Winter, *Halle als Ausgangspunkt*, 361. An alternative transcription of most of this quote can be found in Michail Fundaminskii, "Caspar Matthias Rodde als Übersetzer und Verbindungsmann zwischen Halle und Rußland" in Lächele, *Das Echo*, 359-374, here 363.

33 Fundaminskii, "Caspar Matthias Rodde". Another important link between Halle and Prokopovich was Albert Anton Vierorth (1697-1761), the domestic preacher of General von Hallart in the Tsarist Army. See Winter, *Halle als Ausgangspunkt*, 154-156.

34 For the regulation, see also Sebastian Rimestad, "Russian Orthodox Approaches to Secularity in the Petrine Reforms of the Early 18th Century," *Working Paper Series of the HCAS "Multiple Secularities – Beyond the West, Beyond Modernities"*, forthcoming, 2023.

35 See Winter, *Halle als Ausgangspunkt*, 269.

> I have heard that Archbishop Feofan Prokopovich is currently a lone wolf [*solitarius*], whom the majority voice would rather have displaced to Kazan […] I do not feel any spiritual consequences of the former Regulation at the moment. Some act this way, others that way.[36]

Phase III – from 1730: Attempts at Direct Influence

The unbridled optimism about the prospect of winning Russia to Pietism through Prokopovich and Tsar Peter had taken a hit, but the "Russian" project was still alive. Moreover, August Hermann Francke had died in 1727, and his son, Gotthilf August Francke (1696-1769), was destined to succeed him. This necessarily involved some restructuring and reorientation. The rise to power of Empress Anna Ioannovna in 1730, Peter's niece, therefore opened up a new phase in the relationship between Halle and Russia. Anna had married the Duke of Courland in 1710, but he died a year later, making her the ruling Duchess of Courland for two decades before becoming Empress of Russia. Since she had spent several decades in a German court and had a German lover, Duke Ernst Johann von Biron, her rule is considered a dark period in Russian historiography, but for the Halle Pietists, it was great news. With German culture at the helm of the Russian Empire, eager to continue and cement the reform projects of Peter the Great, a more direct approach to enlightenment could be pursued.

Even Anna Ioannovna did not dare to touch the prominent position of the Russian Orthodox Church, though, leaving it in the able hands of Archbishop Feofan Prokopovich. The latter immediately began removing the opponents of his idea of reform from influential positions.[37] At the same time, his new prominent position no longer allowed him to entertain direct relations with Halle, but the circle around Francke decided to step up the efforts to educate Russian theologians in Halle and send them back to Russia to further their cause. As mentioned already, there had been a short-lived stunt of Greeks in Halle at the beginning of the century and Eduard Winter mentions several Russian students of theology from the 1710s,[38] but the endeavour only had tangible results from the 1730s.

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[36] "[…] vernommen habe, dasz der Ertzbischoff Theophan Procopowitsch p.t. ein Solitarius seÿ, welchen die plurima Vota lieber nach Casan hätten. […] Von seeligen würckungen des ehemaligen Reglement spühre ich pro tempore nichts. Einer schafft disz, der andere das." Letter from J. Loder to A. H. Francke, Petersburg, 08.03.1727, AFSt/H C 191a : 1. Transcription from *Briefe an August Hermann Francke*, ed. Theodor Geissendoerfer (Urbana, IL 1939), 198.

[37] Ivanov, *A Spiritual Revolution*, 114-120.

[38] Winter, *Halle als Ausgangspunkt*, 105.

This was most notably the merit of Simeon Todorsky, who entered the University of Halle in 1729 and returned to Russia six years later to teach at the Kiev theological academy.[39] Todorsky was an avid student and a gifted translator. His most successful translation was of the fundamental text "Four Books on True Christianity" [*Vier Bücher vom wahren Christentum*] by the Proto-Pietist Johann Arndt (1555-1621). Once the Russian version was ready to be printed, the Halle Pietists sought to dedicate it to the Russian Empress Anna Ioannovna, who had contributed 500 roubles to the publication costs. However, this would not have been well received in the Russian Church, and Archbishop Prokopovich convinced the Hallensians to drop the dedication and even omit the translator's name. 3,000 copies of the translation were produced in 1736,[40] but since Prokopovich died in that year, the books could not be openly distributed in Russia. Pastor Nazzius reported from Saint Petersburg in 1737 that "the Russian Arndt is not displayed for public sale in the local bookshop, but those that ask receive a copy."[41] The books were shipped to various Pietist agents in the Russian Empire, who sold them clandestinely, for the book was never cleared for public sale by the Russian ecclesiastical authorities.

Gotthilf August Francke authored annual reports to the missionaries that were sent from Halle to North America and India. These reports include developments at the institutions in Halle as well as Pietist developments worldwide, so they allow for an undisguised view of how Francke and his entourage viewed developments at home and around the world. In the report for 1734, for example, the future plans of Simeon Todorsky are listed:

> He thinks that once the publication of the Russian Arndt is complete, he will return to the Russian University in Kiev and, knowing Greek and Hebrew quite well, teach these subjects as well as catechetical practice. We do therefore hope that he can achieve, with divine assistance, that the good and just inhabitants of the Russian lands might get to know the Lord's word better.[42]

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39 Winter, *Halle als Ausgangspunkt*, 226-229, 239-240; Ivanov, *A Spiritual Revolution*, 138-141.

40 Reichelt, *Johann Arndts*, 27-53; Winter, *Halle als Ausgangspunkt*, 232-233; Swetlana Mengel, "Russische Drucke aus Halle – , ein vergessenes Kapitel der Geschichte der slavischen Philologie'," in *Dmitrij I. Tschižewski. Impulse eines Philologen und Philosophen für eine komparative Geistesgeschichte*, ed. Angela Richter and Brigitte Klosterberg (Berlin: LIT, 2009), 21–30.

41 "Mit dem Russischen Arnd ists so weit kommen, daß er zwar nicht publice im hiesigen Buchladen feil vor Augen lieget, doch heimlich an die so danach fragen verkaufft wird". Letter from H. G. Nazzius to A. H. Francke, Petersburg, 04.06.1737, Berlin Staatsbibliothek – Preußischer Kulturbesitz, Nachlass A. H. Francke 28/24 : 11.

42 "Er gedencket denn wenn mit den Druck des Rußischen Arnds fertig seyn wird auf der Rußischen Universitaet Kiow zu gehen und daselbst weil er die hebraeische und Griechische Sprache gründlich verstehet zu dociren und catechetische Übungen anzustellen; dahero man wohl

The death of Anna Ioannovna in 1740 again plunged the Russian royalty into chaos, until Elisabeth, a daughter of Peter the Great, usurped power through a coup d'état end of 1741. These developments are pessimistically commented upon in Francke's report for that year:

> God has ordered us to perform prayer and intercession, and especially for His servants in Russia during this time of *revolution*. For it is to be feared that the Russians might unleash their ancient hatred against all foreigners living among them, the Germans in particular.[43]

Luckily, it did not come to the worst, as the following report for 1742 is again optimistic. This report also mentions Todorsky, who

> has worked diligently in Kiev, but is now summoned to Moscow. He is said to be charged with educating the Prince of Hollstein [the 14-year-old successor to the throne, who had spent his childhood in Germany] in the teachings of the Greek Church, for which he deserves much compassion. May God safeguard him from betraying the once recognised valuable truth and protect him in this dangerous position.[44]

Thus, Francke hoped that the "once recognised valuable truth" that Todorsky had acquired during his studies in Halle would still influence his activities. He seemed to disregard that Todorsky – as a Russian Orthodox Bishop that was positively inclined to the spiritual values of Pietist Protestantism – remained firmly within the "Greek religion". Pietism was, for Todorsky, a reservoir for the renewal of spiritual education in Russia, rather than the basis for a religious reform.

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hoffet, daß durch denselben künftig mit Goetl. Beistand in Rusland etwas gutes und gerechtes u. denen Einwohnern desselben Gottes Wort mehr bekandt werden möchte." G. A. Francke's report to the missionaries in India for 1734, AFSt/M 3 M 1 : 2.

43 "Gebet und Fürbitte aber hat Er uns befohlen, die wir auch bey gedachten Revolution allen in Rußland befindlichen Knechten Gottes schuldig sind, wie man fürchte, daß bey dieser Gelegenheit die Rußen ihren alten Haß gegen die unter ihnen wohnenden Ausländer sonders Deutsche, einmal auslaßen dürffen." G. A. Francke's report to the missionaries in India for 1741, AFSt/M 3 M 2 : 5.

44 "[…] der zu Kiow in Segen gearbeitet, ist von dort ab, und nach Moscau berufen worden. Auch sagt man, daß er den Printz von Hollstein in der Lehre der Griechischen Kirche habe unterrichten müssen, da man gewiß groß Mitleÿden mit ihm zu tragen hätte. Gott wolle Ihn vor Verleugnung der von Ihm einmal erkandten theuren Wahrheiten bewahren, und auf diesen gefährlichen Posten beschützen." G. A. Francke's report to the missionaries in India for 1742, AFSt/M 3 M 2 : 4a.

A year later, Francke explained to the missionaries that "one must pity his soul, which seems to be mostly torn due to royal benevolence."[45] Todorsky's difficult position was well known to the Hallensians, who realised that direct communication between Saint Petersburg and Halle could be detrimental to his position, especially if they fuelled the suspicions of his still secret involvement in the translation of Arndt's text. The Professor of Oriental Languages in Halle, Johann Heinrich Callenberg, wrote to an unidentified "Evangelical Christian" in Saint Petersburg in 1746:

> the good Sir E. (a prelate of the Greek Church) has good reason to be careful: may the Lord reign over him and strengthen him, that he does not overstep his bounds, letting so much good come to waste.[46]

The "good Sir E" is Todorsky. Callenberg had founded the *Institutum Judaicum et Muhammedicum* in 1728 to promote the mission among Jews and Muslims, but he expanded it in 1746 to include mission among Orthodox and Oriental Christians.[47] In his printed reports, which he sent to friends and patrons of the institute, Callenberg also mentioned the relations to Russia in detail. In order to protect the Orthodox actors that appear in these reports, he only rarely mentions their actual names, instead using an intricate system of letter codes, some of which are difficult to decrypt.

In another letter, probably to the Pietist intermediary Johann Gottfried Pflug in Saint Petersburg, Callenberg suggests that Pflug pay regular visits to Todorsky: "Do not refrain from visiting prelate E. as often as possible".[48] The Hallensians could rely on a network of active Pietist agents and Pietist-friendly partners to keep the contact with compromised actors, like Todorsky. One of these active Pietists in Russia was Georg Friedrich Weise (1696-1781), who has received surprisingly little attention in the literature.[49] Weise, who came to Saint Petersburg as a domestic preacher in 1730, stayed there until 1741, occupying,

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[45] "man hat billig Mitleiden mit seinem Gemüth, welches durch die Gunst des Hofs meistentheils hingerissen zu seÿn scheint." G. A. Francke's report to the missionaries in India for 1743, AFSt/M 3 M 2 : 3.

[46] "Der gute Herr - (E. ein Prälat der griechischen Kirche,) hat ja wol Ursach, behutsam zu seyn: der HErr regiere und stärke ihn aber: daß er darin nicht zuweit gehe, und unzehlig viel Gutes darüber versäume [...]." Johann Heinrich Callenberg, ed., *Einige Fürsorge für die alte orientalische Christenheit überhaupt*, Vol. 1. (Halle: Orientalische Buchdruckerey, 1750), 17.

[47] This institute is at the core of Daniel Haas's current research project at the University of Hamburg: "Institutum Judaicum et Muhammedicum and 'Oriental Christianity': Interconnections between Halle Pietism and Eastern Christianity in the Eighteenth Century."

[48] "So unterlassen sie doch ja nicht, den - (Prälaten E.) so oft es sich will thun lassen zu besuchen [...]." Callenberg, *Einige Fürsorge*, Vol. 1, 24.

[49] Zaunstöck, "Georg Friedrich Weise".

inter alia, the position of pastor in Ekaterinburg and Astrakhan. He kept a detailed diary and also sent extensive reports of his activities to several of his former teachers in Halle. Even though he worked in the middle of the Russian Empire, he had surprisingly little contact with Russian customs and religious representatives. He mentioned Russian everyday religiosity, such as the sign of the cross or the celebration of Epiphany, in the beginning of his sojourn in the country. After some time in the Empire, however, he became increasingly concerned with the other peoples of Russia, such as the Samoyed and Cheremis. At the same time, he complained that he could not bring these people to Christianity, as that was the prerogative of the local "Archi-Ree", meaning the Orthodox Bishop.[50] It would therefore be necessary to start with inspiring the bishop, who "would be inclined to enjoy receiving good theological books in the Latin language".[51]

The distribution of religious literature was another important attempt of Halle Pietism to influence Orthodoxy, next to the education of Orthodox clergy in Halle. Todorsky's translation efforts in Halle should also be seen in this light. But Todorsky was not only a producer of suitable text, but at the same time an important recipient of Hallensian missionary literature. Callenberg alone provided him with more than 200 copies of missionary treatises in German, Latin and Modern Greek, printed at his own print shop in Halle.[52] The Hallensians were eager to supply him with any other literature he demanded via their Saint Petersburg intermediaries.[53]

Pastor Weise initially thought that wide distribution of Pietist literature might suffice to bring about a religious revival. On the other hand, the recipients must be able to read the language of the books before they could make any difference. In the end, Weise remains pessimistic about the prospect of awakening the peoples of the Russian Empire to Pietist Christianity. His experience with the Todorsky-translation of Johann Arndt, for example, is sobering: The translation

50 Letter from G. F. Weise to J. A. Freylinghausen, Cathrinenburg, 28.05.1733, Berlin Staatsbibliothek – Preußischer Kulturbesitz, Nachlass A. H. Francke 28/40 : 18. The Russian word "arkhi-erei" means "Arch-shepherd" and is used to designate the Orthodox Bishop.

51 Ibid.

52 See Callenberg, *Einige Fürsorge*, Vol. 1, 1750; Vol. 2, 1754; Vol. 3, 1759; „Oerter, wohin für die Muhammedaner Bücher gesendet worden", AFSt/H, K 34; „Oerter, wohin für Juden Bücher gesendet worden.", AFSt/H, K 35. For the missionary print shop at the *Institutum Judaicum et Muhammedicum*, see Christoph Bochinger, *Abenteuer Islam. Zur Wahrnehmung fremder Religion im Hallenser Pietismus des 18. Jahrhunderts* (Munich, unpublished manuscript, 1996); Christoph Rymatzki, *Hallischer Pietismus und Judenmission. Johann Heinrich Callenbergs Institutum Judaicum und dessen Freundeskreis (1728–1736)* (Tübingen: Max Niemeyer, 2004); Grit Schorch and Brigitte Klosterberg, ed., *Mission ohne Konversion? Studien zu Arbeit und Umfeld des Institutum Judaicum et Muhammedicum in Halle* (Halle: Harrassowitz, 2019).

53 Callenberg, *Einige Fürsorge*, Vol. 2, 56; Vol. 3, 46.

would be most useful to please those Germans who have lived in Russia for so long that they begin to forget the German language.[54] Weise, who complained about his inability to speak Russian throughout his decade there, seemed not to consider the Russians as objects of mission, but imagined his own role only in relation to his compatriots, the Germans in Russia, as well as towards the other non-Russian peoples, primarily in an ethnographic fashion.

Gotthilf August Francke also asked Pflug in Saint Petersburg 1752 to pass his greetings on to Simeon Todorsky, "together with the wish that his past suffering may help him discern the Truth and that the Lord may always accord him a glorious position."[55] Francke did not give up on Todorsky being a saviour of Russia, and the contact between the latter and Halle did have several fruitful results. Todorsky repeatedly encouraged and suggested that Orthodox theologians go to study at the university in Halle, as the last section of this contribution will elaborate. However, his demise in 1754 signalled the end of the correspondence between Halle and Russia. There are occasional archival records also after that point of time, but they are few and do not pertain to our topic.

Phase IV – the 1760s: Indirect Influence

There is, nevertheless, a fourth phase to this influence, even if the direct relationship between Halle and Russia had somewhat dried out by 1754. For, even without a direct link, the influence of Halle on developments in Russia continued, and for our purposes most notably in the work of the Pietist preacher, Anton Friedrich Büsching (1724-1793). Büsching was born in Stadthagen near Hannover and came to Halle as a student in the 1740s after falling out with his father. In his writings, he recounted how he first encountered the Eastern Church via "Monks from Kiev" who frequented the university at that time.[56] Büsching is remembered primarily as the geographer of Enlightenment; his "New Description of the World" [*Neue Erdbeschreibung*] was published in numerous languages and editions well into the 19th century. At the same time, however, he was a theologian and pastor with Pietist leanings. His insistence on Pietist Protestantism had disqualified him from continuing an academic career at the University of Göttingen, so in 1761, he took up the offer to become the

[54] Letter from G. F. Weise to G. A. Francke, Astrakhan, 15.07.1739, Berlin Staatsbibliothek – Preußischer Kulturbesitz, Nachlass A. H. Francke 28/40 : 39.

[55] "mit dem Wunsch seine bisherigen Leiden zum Urtheil der Wahrheit gereiche und ihm der Herr ein herrlich Sitz nach dem anderen bedancken wolle". Letter from G. A. Francke to J. G. Pflug, Halle, 01.11.1752, AFSt/H C 492 : 4.

[56] *Wöchentliche Nachrichten von neuen Landcharten, geographischen, statistischen und historischen Büchern und Sachen* 11/39, 29.09.1783, 305.

second pastor in the German Lutheran parish in Saint Petersburg. He was already familiar with Russia and the city of Saint Petersburg as he had spent several years there after finishing his studies tutoring a German nobleman.[57]

Büsching's responsibilities as second pastor of the German parish revolved among other things around the parish school, which had been in disarray for some years. To remedy the situation, Büsching set up an ambitious reform programme for the school, certainly inspired by his memories of Halle and the Francke orphanage. As a result, the "Petrischule" in Saint Petersburg became a beacon of education in the Russian Empire, while Büsching's arrogance and intransigence increasingly hindered constructive cooperation with the parish board. After only four years in Russia, Büsching suddenly left his position to return to Germany, eventually becoming school director of a famous educational institution in Berlin, the "Gymnasium zum Grauen Kloster".

Unlike the actors surveyed this far, Büsching was an avid observer who did not shy away from criticism. The preface to the second volume of his "History of the Lutheran Parishes in the Russian Empire", written in 1767, is devoted entirely to the "erudition [*Gelehrsamkeit*] of the Russian clergy":

> This is a subject worthy of my readers' attention, in so far as it relates to the content of this book. There is no doubt that Protestant [*evangelische*] parishes in Russia and their teachers have been instrumental in furthering and enhancing the education of the Russian clergy. I assert this opinion about the Protestants, for between the Russian and the Roman-Catholic clergy there lies the centuries-long hatred between Greeks and Latins. This hatred still persists for well-known reasons and thus, the Russian clergy can display much more love and trust towards the Protestant clergy than the Roman-Catholic one.[58]

At the same time, it is clear to Büsching that only a very minor portion of the Russian clergy could be considered educated at all, most importantly those who

[57] On A. F. Büsching, see Peter Hoffmann, *Anton Friedrich Büsching (1724-1793) Ein Leben im Zeitalter der Aufklärung* (Berlin: Arno Spitz, 2000).

[58] "Diese Materie ist überhaupt der Aufmerksamkeit meiner Leser werth, sie stehet auch mit dem Inhalt dieses meines Buchs in so fern in Verbindung, weil es gewiß ist, daß die in Rußland befindlichen evangelischen Gemeinen und derselben Lehrer, zur Verbesserung und Vergrösserung der Gelehrsamkeit der rußischen Geistlichen etwas beygetragen haben. Ich versichere dieses von den Evangelischen, weil zwischen den rußischen und römisch-katholischen Geistlichen der viele hundert Jahre alte Haß der Griechen gegen die Lateiner, und dieser gegen jene, aus bekannten Ursachen fortdauert, daher die rußischen Geistlichen zu den evangelischen Geistlichen weit mehr Liebe und Vertrauen haben, als zu den römisch-katholischen." Anton Friedrich Büsching, *Geschichte der evangelisch-lutherischen Gemeinen im Rußischen Reich – Zweiter Theil*, (Berlin, 1767), [preface].

teach in the theological seminaries as well as some individual bishops and abbots. Even this education was limited to language and theology, however, as the following anecdote illustrates:

> The director of a certain Seminary came to me in Saint Petersburg, asking me to provide him with a Latin language book [on physics]. He had been tasked with teaching this science, but knew nothing of it, except what is written about it in Ernesti *Initiis*, and had no books. Of Latin handbooks, I only had Horrebow's *Initiamenta philosophiae naturalis* and Bratzenstein's *Systema physicae experimentalis* at hand, which I gave to him. He was exceptionally pleased with this gift and thought that they would be enough to make him a perfect teacher of physics.[59]

At the end of the preface, Büsching expresses his surprise that only the children of the clergy have religious instruction in school. When reforming his own school in Saint Petersburg, he organised religious instruction even for the Russian pupils by hiring a monk from the nearby Alexander-Nevsky monastery. The "Archijerej" (Bishop) of Saint Petersburg had told him that this would be "something new and unusual among them", but welcomed it.[60] Thus, the "Petrischule" was a pioneer not only in the field of general school education in Russia, but also in religious instruction.

The pedagogue Ivan Beckoj, whom Empress Catherine II (the Great) tasked with reforming the system of primary and secondary education in the Russian Empire in 1764, asked Büsching if he would be willing to help him out, but he declined. In fact, Empress Catherine II herself tried to persuade Büsching to stay in Russia to help oversee the reforms, but he declined, purportedly because he did not know the Russian language.[61] Thus ended the direct influence of Halle Pietism in Russia.

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[59] "Es kam der Vorsteher eines gewissen Seminarii nach St. Petersburg und zu mir, und bat mich, ihm ein lateinisches Buch zu verschaffen, weil er diese Wissenschaft lehren solle, und ausser demjenigen, was in Ernesti *Initiis* davon stehe, nichts davon wisse, und kein Buch davon habe. Ich hatte nur Horrebows *initiamenta philosophiae naturalis,* und Bratzensteins *Systema physicae experimentalis*, an lateinischen Handbüchern, welche ich ihm schenkte. Er freuete sich über dieses Geschenk ungemein, und glaubte, blos durch Hülfe dieser Bücher einen volkommenen Lehrer der Physik abgeben zu können." Ibid.

[60] "daß ich etwas neues und ungewöhnliches unter ihnen einführe". Ibid.

[61] Hoffmann, *Anton Friedrich Büsching*, 87-88. In fact, Büsching very hurriedly returned to Germany in May 1765, purportedly because of differences of opinion between him an the parish council. See Letter from C. G. Minau to G. A. Francke, Moscow, 03.07.1765, Berlin Staatsbibliothek – Preußischer Kulturbesitz, Nachlass A. H. Francke 28/22 : 1. "Zu Ende May Mohnat ist der H. D. Büsching aus Petersb. abgereiset, weil er (wie es heißt) mit seinem Kirchen Convent sich dergestalt überworffen, daß er das Consilium abeundi als das zuträglichste Mittel angesehen und auch ergriffen. Er will sich in Hamburg oder Altona niederlaßen."

(Russian) Orthodox *peregrinatio academica* to Halle – an overview

It is important to maintain that not only was Halle Pietism interested in Russian Orthodoxy throughout the 18th century, but the good reputation of the educational institutions in Halle kept attracting Orthodox clergy from many parts of the Russian Empire to Germany to study. The culmination of this *peregrinatio academica* happened in the mid-18th century, the time when the Halle Pietist influence in Russia was at its most intense. An important figure in this constellation was the already mentioned Simeon Todorsky, on whom the Halle Pietists had pinned so much hope.

This new wave of Orthodox faithful coming to Halle in want of education was set off in 1745, when a group of Serbs under the leadership of hieromonk Arsenius Theophanović arrived from the Grábóc monastery in the Hungarian Kingdom.[62] Gotthilf August Francke was full of hope at this fateful arrival. He later informed the Pietist missionaries in India that "One should regard this as a new form of God's mercy, providing an opportunity to work for the salvation of the Greek Church."[63] An additional promising development was the idea to install a Protestant *alumnus* of Halle University as teacher on Mount Athos.[64] This project failed in the end, but the developments were enthusiastically perceived as an opportunity to directly increase the Pietist influence in the Orthodox world. The expansion of Callenberg's mission institute to include Orthodox and Oriental Christians in 1746 must be seen in this light.[65]

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[62] On Theophanović and other Serbs in Halle see Eduard Winter, *Die Pflege der west- und südslavischen Sprachen in Halle im 18. Jahrhundert. Beiträge zur Geschichte des bürgerlichen Nationwerdens der west- und südslavischen Völker*, (Berlin: Akademie, 1954), 169-173; Dragana Grbić, "The channels of transmissions of Pietistic ideas among Christian-Orthodox Serbs in the Balkans in the 18th century," in *Schrift soll leserlich sein. Der Pietismus und die Medien. Beiträge zum IV. Internationalen Kongress für Pietismusforschung 2013*, ed. Christian Soboth and Pia Schmid, (Halle: Harrassowitz, 2016), 753–765.

[63] „Es ist als eine neue barmhertzigkeit Gottes anzusehen, daß er eine gelegenheit zeiget, zum heil der griechischen kirche etwas zu wircken […]". G. A. Francke's report to the missionaries in India for 1745, 19.11.1745, AFSt/M, 3 M 2 : 1. Transcription from Zoltán Csepregi, *Pietas Danubiana/Pietismus im Donautal, 1693–1755. 437 Schreiben zum Pietismus in Wien, Preßburg und Oberungarn* (Budapest: Magyarországi Evangélikus Egyház MEDiT Kiadója, 2013).

[64] Ulrich Moennig, "Die neugriechischen Missionsdrucke im Verlagsprogramm Callenbergs," in *Übersetzungen und Übersetzer im Verlag J. H. Callenbergs. Internationales Kolloqium in Halle (Saale) vom 22.–24. Mai 1995*, ed. Walter Beltz, (Halle: Halle University, 1995), 53–65, here 61-62; Ulrich Moennig, Οι νεοελληνικές εκδόσεις της Typographia Orientalis του Johann Heinrich Callenberg (1746 έως 1749 ή 1751 περ.) [The Prints in Modern Greek from J. H. Callenberg's Typographia Orintalis (1746 to about 1749 or 1751)] (Athens: Hermes, 1999), 46-56.

[65] Moennig, "Die neugriechischen Missionsdrucke"; Moennig, Οι νεοελληνικές εκδόσεις.

More than 20 young Orthodox scholars came to Halle over the following 6 years. Depending on their age and knowledge of the German language, they were either placed in one of the orphanage schools to receive primary schooling or were immediately enrolled in the university. Most of them chose to study theology. Most of these pupils and students were Orthodox Serbs, whose stays were coordinated by Theophanović, even after he left Halle in 1747 to become abbot of the Grábóc monastery. Theophanović subsequently rose in the church ranks and became bishop of Kostajnica, while staying in contact with Halle until his premature death in 1753.[66]

As mentioned above, also Todorsky was instrumental in directing the stream of Orthodox students to Halle, albeit seemingly not as directly. Some of the pupils and students had previously studied under Todorsky at the Kiev Theological Academy. One of these students was Caspar Dorumin (or Dorumin Leontowiz, 1722-after 1786), as he is called in the sources in Halle.[67] According to Francke and Callenberg, he was Todorsky's cousin, sent to Halle by his famous relative.[68] There is no mention of this family relationship in the corresponding entry in the Russian Biographical Dictionary from 1913, which also does not mention any stay in Germany, only that he had taught German at the Kiev Academy. Once in Halle, he explained that Todorsky used material from Protestant Halle in his lectures in Kiev, and not only for teaching the German language.[69] Caspar Dorumin was so well-versed in German by the time of his arrival in Halle in 1746 that he had no problems making an entry in an anonymous *album amicorum*.[70] He was admitted directly to the university, but he soon ran into

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66 Some of the letters exchanged between Francke and Theophanovic are published in the source appendix to Winter, *Pflege*, 263-273.

67 There are very strong indications that Dorumin is the person indexed as "Theofan (Theodor Leontovich)" in the *Русский биографический словарь* [Russian Biographic Dictionary] Vol 25 (St. Petersburg: Glavnyi upr. Udelov, 1913), 394-398. Dorumin also turns up in a list of Russian diplomats to the Austrian Archduke as a student in service until 1753. See *Списки дипломатических лиц русских за границей и иностраных при русском дворе* [List of diplomatic persons – Russians abroad and foreigners at the Russian court] Vol. 1, Moscow 1892, p. 62.

68 G. A. Francke's report to the missionaries in India for 1746, 20.01.1747, AFSt/M, 3 M 3 : 5; Callenberg, *Einige Fürsorge*, Vol. 1, 21-22. Already in his report to the missionaries in India for 1745, 19.11.1745, AFSt/M, 3 M 2 : 1, Francke announces that "Insp. Grischow [i.e. Johann Heinrich Grischow, inspector at the Canstein Bible Institute] has received word from Kiev that a certain pupil of Mr. Todorsky is also ready to come here". "aus Kiow ist schon vor einiger zeit an h. insp. Grischow geschrieben worden, daß ein gewißer schüler des h. Todorsky gleichfals anhero zu kommen willens sey".

69 Callenberg, *Einige Fürsorge*, Vol. 1, 9.

70 Berlin, Staatsbibliothek – Preußischer Kulturbesitz, Alb. Amic. 238, Bl. 40r, 14.03.1746. Caspar Dorumin enrolled in Halle on 22.03.1746, see Halle, Universitätsarchiv Halle-Wittenberg, Rep. 46, Nr. 4.

financial difficulties. He switched to the neighbouring Wittenberg University already in 1748, where he claimed to be working on a Hebrew dictionary, a Latin grammar in "Slavonian" (*slavonischer Sprache*), as well as a project aiming at a "publication of the New Testament in Greek, Russian, and German[, as] those in Kiev demand such".[71] Dorumin later became a controversial abbot at a monastery in Vilnius, bringing him into trouble with the ecclesiastical authorities for his anti-Catholic rhetoric. His German sojourn seems to have been completely glossed over by his later notoriety, but it is likely that it helped shape his negative assessment of Catholicism.

There are certainly a host of complex reasons for the decline of the Halle euphoria regarding the Orthodox Church over the 1750s, when fewer Orthodox theologians chose to come to Halle, but they have not been disentangled yet. The demise of Halle's famous "Orthodox friends", Todorsky (1754) and Theophanović (1753), certainly played a role, as they had been the driving forces for the exchange with Halle on the Orthodox side.

It is important to emphasise that the developments in the middle of the 18th century represent only the culmination of Orthodox academic migration to Halle. There were Orthodox people in the city throughout the century, including a number of Russians. Andrey Andreev lists 33 ethnic Russians that were enrolled in the Halle university between 1711 and 1796, at least ten of which studied theology.[72] These include Afanasy Ianovsky (1722) and the brothers Anton and Mikhail Slotvinsky (1739), all three related to Orthodox bishops in Russia. Some of them returned to a clergy career in Russia, although only Todorsky is known to become bishop.[73] Petr I. Simonovsky (1748), for example, enrolled in Halle University in 1748, but then moved on to Wittenberg and Königsberg. From there, he recommended the two Gudovich brothers to go to Halle to study, where they enrolled in the Faculty of Law in 1754 and 1755, respectively.[74] Simonovsky later became one of the first Ukrainian historians. He wrote a short history of the Cossacks in 1765, where he mentions A.F. Büsching as an inspiration in the subheading.[75]

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[71] "Herausgabe des Neuen Testaments, in griechischer, rußischer und teutscher Sprache[, wie es] von denen in Kiew verlangt werde", Callenberg, *Einige Fürsorge*, Vol. 3, 54. On his projects, see Callenberg, *Einige Fürsorge* Vol. 2, 8:

[72] Andrei Iu. Andreev, *Русские студенты в немецких университетах XVIII – первой половина XIX века* [Russian students in German Universities, 18th – first half of 19th century] (Moscow: Znak 2005), 362-364. The majority of the names in Andreev's list are Germans living in Russia, but coming to Halle to study.

[73] Some of the Orthodox Serbs in Halle did become bishops, though.

[74] Andreev, *Русские студенты*, 165.

[75] Petr I. Simonovsky, *Краткое описание о козацкомъ малороссийскомъ народе и о военных его делахъ* [A short history of the Cossacks and the people of Little Russia and of their activities in war] (Moscow: Moscow University, 1847 [1765]).

There is most certainly a large dark figure, for the lists of Russian students include only those that enrolled in the university. Those that were only educated at the orphanage, because their previous education was lacking, remain outside of the radar. An example is Theodor Simonovich, who arrived to Halle in 1748 after graduating from the Kiev Academy.[76] He moved on to Wittenberg within a few months, because he refused to attend German classes together with young schoolboys at 23 years of age.[77] The support of the Orthodox visitors in Halle encumbered enormous costs, so they were expected to perform exceptionally and integrate well into the new surroundings.[78] The lectures in Halle were all in German, unlike in Wittenberg, where the language of instruction was still Latin. The Orthodox students therefore often played with the idea of transferring to the neighbouring university, which displeased the Hallensians. Their main grievance was that Wittenberg had remained a centre of Lutheran Orthodoxy,[79] unlike the Pietist stronghold of Halle.

Conclusion

Previous analysts have generally drawn an optimistic conclusion regarding the impact of Halle Pietism on the Russian Enlightenment. The charisma of Halle Pietism undoubtedly did play a significant role in the way numerous individual Russian enlighteners envisioned the future of their society, but it is important not to exaggerate this influence. There were numerous other facets and currents at play and the direct impact of Halle Pietists was by no means as extensive as these actors sometimes liked to believe. The "Great Project" of August Herrmann Francke, for example, which predicted a worldwide enlightenment due to Pietist-inspired education, never showed much promise in Russia. There were definitely single instances where Halle Pietism made a punctual impact in Russia, but the plethora of actors, often with very divergent approaches, ensured that no coherent picture emerged.

Moreover, the social and political context always needs to be taken into account. It was not always easy for the Hallensians to make an impact in the distant Russian society because of dynastic and diplomatic constellations beyond their

[76] He was admitted to the orphanage on 16.05.1748. Callenberg, *Einige Fürsorge*, Vol. 2, 13. He enrolled in Wittenberg on 14.10.1748 as "Theodorus Nisenez".

[77] Callenberg, *Einige Fürsorge*, Vol. 2., 60.

[78] Rich Orthodox students had to cater for their own financial needs in Halle. Orthodox clergy, on the other hand, were provided with free accommodation and food, and the study materials were partly provided for them.

[79] Not to be confused with Orthodox Christianity, this was a current that emphasised the importance of the writings of Martin Luther and the early Lutherans over the mystical and spiritual emphasis of the Pietists.

control. Many of them were too busy observing and understanding developments in Russia and report them back to Halle to become actively involved in changing anything. Pietism was an actor with little diplomatic or military force available to push through changes. Moreover, it was difficult to retain credibility as consistent religious reformers when not even the German inhabitants of Russia actually followed the Pietist commandments. It was therefore much easier to remain focused on the religious ministry to these Germans. Especially once Tsar Peter the Great had openly circumscribed the religious tolerance in the Empire to be linked to ethnicity, meaning that Protestant activity was legally limited to the German and English population.

The exchange between Halle Pietism and Russian Orthodoxy that is tangible today happened primarily via texts – translated Pietist literature and letters.[80] At the same time, as this contribution shows, there was a quite substantial mobility and exchange on both sides. The presence of Hallensians in Russia has been abundantly researched since the early 20th century, even if new facets and insights still occasionally come to light. The Russian academic presence in Halle in the mid-18th century, however, is still a largely unexplored field. Todorsky's influence in Russia, primarily through his translation of Johann Arndt's book on "True Christianity" has been repeatedly pointed out, but the activities and influence of other Russians at the Halle University are still largely left in the dark.

The few attempts to reach out to the Orthodox Russians, which occurred primarily in educational contexts, were moderated by the unbridgeable chasm that existed – and to some extent still exists – between the theological worlds of Protestantism and Orthodox Christianity. Indeed, the very concept that the clergy belong to the "teaching class" was not part of the Orthodox mindset and only took hold in Russia towards the end of the 19th century.[81] Also the decidedly Protestant emphasis on distributing edifying texts that would then lead to a spiritual awakening did not gain traction in Russia: the Orthodox clergy craved for those books, but used their content creatively to re-assert their own Orthodox identity – often in their battle with Roman Catholic missionary endeavours.

The question of clergy education, which had been theoretically broached in Feofan Prokopovich's "spiritual regulation" from 1721, was not practically institutionalised everywhere until after the so-called Alexandrian educational reforms of the early 19th century. These reforms certainly also owe some inspiration to the Pietist pastors of the previous century, but that is another topic that cannot be broached here.

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80 Already Büsching notes the importance and popularity of Pietist translations and Latin language texts in the preface to Büsching, *Geschichte*.

81 Daniel Scarborough, *Russia's Social Gospel. The Orthodox Pastoral Movement in Famine, War, and Revolution* (Madison, WI: UWP, 2022), 83-105.

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AN ICON'S JOURNEY FROM KYIV TO THE PACIFIC: RUSSIAN COLONIAL WARS AND ORTHODOX PIETY IN THE EARLY 20TH CENTURY

Stanislau PAULAU*

ABSTRACT. The article highlights the importance of material objects and practices of mobility for understanding the complex relationships between Christianity and war. It thus explores the potential of material-oriented research for studying the sacralization of military violence, focusing on Russian Orthodox contextual theology of war and using the Russo-Japanese War (1904–5) as a case study. Special attention is given to the icon known as "the Mother of God of Port Arthur", which is analyzed as an embodiment, a material manifestation, of the Russian Orthodox theology of war. The text is divided into four sections, (1) introducing the concept of Orthodox contextual theologies of war, (2) outlining the Russian colonial expansion project to the Pacific, (3) examining key features of Russian Orthodox theology of war in connection to the supposedly "miraculous appearance" and the mobility of the "Icon of the Mother of God of Port Arthur", and (4) summarizing the findings and their relevance for understanding recent developments in Russian Orthodoxy.

Keywords: Russian Empire, Russian Orthodox Church, Kyiv, Pacific, Japan, Orthodox Piety, Icon, Colonialism, material religion, contextual theology

Introduction: Orthodox Contextual Theologies of War and *Material Religion*

"Again war. Again useless, groundless suffering, again lies, again a general stupefaction, obduracy of the people. [...] And everywhere in Russia [...] the priests of the church that calls itself Christian are begging God – the God who commanded us to love our enemies, the God of love

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> – to help in the work of the devil, in the murder of human beings. [...] The Christian priests ceaselessly incite to the greatest crime and ceaselessly blaspheme, asking God for help in the cause of war."[1]

These words sound frighteningly current. They recall Russia's ongoing war of aggression against Ukraine, and the tireless efforts of the Russian Orthodox Church leadership to legitimize this war in religious terms. The quoted passage is not from the daily press, but is some 120 years old. Its author is Leo Tolstoy. He wrote these lines in response to the outbreak of the Russo-Japanese war in 1904, in his programmatic text entitled *Odumajtes'!* (*Change your mind!*).

The critical examination of the relationship between Christianity and military violence is by no means new. There are numerous examples from different periods, geographical areas and denominational contexts. However, in contrast to the Western tradition, Orthodox theology has until recently hardly reflected systematically on war. Orthodox social ethics have emerged only in recent years. These include, first and foremost, *Bases of the Social Concept of the Russian Orthodox Church* from 2000,[2] the document *The Mission of the Orthodox Church in Today's World,* adopted in 2016 by the Holy and Great Council of the Orthodox Church in Crete, [3] and the document issued by the Ecumenical Patriarchate in 2020 entitled *For the Life of the World: Toward a Social Ethos of the Orthodox Church*.[4]

All these recent texts deal with the question of war and peace from a systematic theological perspective, but they ignore the complex history of the Orthodox Church's lived relationship with war. And that history is indeed complex. One of the reasons for this is that Orthodoxy has not developed a binding doctrine on this question, and at the same time has not had at its disposal the instruments that have become established in Western Christianity on this question: for example, the criteria for judging a war as a "just war", as a *bellum iustum*. Rather, Orthodoxy had already established an attitude in the

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1 Leo Tolstoy, "Odumajtes'," accessed April 28, 2023, http://tolstoy-lit.ru/tolstoy/publicistika/odumajtes.htm. Translation – S.P. On Tolstoy's Christian pacifism, see: Iain Atack, "Tolstoy's Pacifism and the Critique of State Violence," in *Pacifism's Appeal. Rethinking Peace and Conflict Studies*, ed. Jorg Kustermans et al. (Cham: Palgrave Macmillan, 2019), 81–102.

2 Russian Orthodox Church, "Bases of the Social Concept of the Russian Orthodox Church," accessed April 28, 2023, http://orthodoxeurope.org/page/3/14.aspx.

3 Holy and Great Council, "The Mission of the Orthodox Church in Today's World," accessed April 28, 2023, https://www.holycouncil.org/mission-orthodox-church-todays-world.

4 Greek Orthodox Archdiocese of America, "For the Life of the World: Toward a Social Ethos of the Orthodox Church," accessed April 28, 2023, https://www.goarch.org/social-ethos. For an initial overview, see: Dagmar Heller, "Neuere sozialethische Entwicklungen in der Orthodoxie," *Materialdienst des Konfessionskundlichen Instituts* 72/2 (2021): 60–67.

time of the Byzantine Empire that regarded war as a necessary evil, but did not ascribe any specific theological relevance to it. Nevertheless, the Orthodox churches have had to take positions on war and violence throughout their history. In the absence of a binding doctrine on war, different views on war developed in the different contexts in which the Orthodox Churches existed after the fall of the Byzantine Empire. They were shaped by the political, cultural, and social circumstances in which Orthodox Christians lived. It is therefore possible to speak of a multiplicity of contextual Orthodox theologies of war.

The Russian Orthodox Church occupied a special position within Orthodoxy as a whole.[5] With only a few interruptions, the Russian state has always been led by Orthodox rulers who regarded the church as "*their*" church. This was not the case for Orthodox churches in the Middle East and south-eastern Europe, where for many centuries the Ottoman Empire was the dominant form of government for most Orthodox Christians. It is only in modern times that states of an Orthodox character (such as Greece, Bulgaria, Romania, and Serbia) have emerged in south-eastern Europe, while the Christians of the "old" patriarchates (Constantinople, Alexandria, Antioch, and Jerusalem), which have existed since antiquity, still live as minorities in predominantly Muslim countries. The existence of the Russian Orthodox Church in the socio-political context of a state that has been at war almost continuously throughout its history favoured the emergence of a set of ideas and practices that served to sacralize war. These ideas and practices can be understood as a Russian Orthodox contextual theology of war.

While the Christian sacralization of war is usually examined through various textual genres, I would like to emphasize the importance of practices and related material objects. A theology of war is by no means merely an abstract construct of thought or a rhetorical performance. Rather, such a theology, which aims at the sacralization of war, can only be effective if it is embedded in concrete religious acts, rituals and cultures of piety. In recent years, the turn to the material side of religion has triggered a burst of creativity in anthropology, theology, religious studies and history, leading to the establishment of a broad approach that has come to be known as *material religion*.[6] The purpose of this paper is to explore the hitherto largely unrecognized potential

5 Cf. Thomas Bremer, "Das Jahrhundert der Kriege: Die Russische Orthodoxie, der Krieg und der Friede," *Osteuropa* 64 (2014): 279–290.

6 Cf. Peter J. Bräunlein, "Die materielle Seite des Religiösen. Perspektiven der Religionswissenschaft und Ethnologie," in *Architekturen und Artefakte. Zur Materialität des Religiösen*, ed. Uta Karstein and Thomas Schmidt-Lux (Wiesbaden: Springer VS, 2017), 25–48. Specifically on Orthodox icons in the context of material religion, see: Martin Bürgin, "Material Religion," in *Ikonen. Abbilder, Kulturobjekte, Kunstwerke*, ed. Marc Seidel (Zürich: Seidel & Schütz, 2023), 74–87.

of material religion studies for the study of the sacralization of war. For this reason, the Russian Orthodox contextual theology of war will be examined from this perspective. The Russo-Japanese War of 1904–5, the last major colonial war of the Russian Empire, serves as a case study.

The article is divided into three parts. First, the Russian colonial expansion project in East Asia and the resulting Russo-Japanese War are outlined. Then the central features of Russian Orthodox war theology are elaborated on the basis of this case study, with particular emphasis on the role of material objects and mobility. Finally, the findings will be summarized and their relevance for understanding recent developments in Russian Orthodoxy will be examined.

Russo-Japanese War in the Context of Russian Colonialism

Russian colonialism, unlike that of most other European colonial powers, was characterized by the fact that it was not aimed at overseas territories, but primarily at continental expansion into neighbouring areas such as the South Caucasus and North, Central, and East Asia. This is why it is called internal colonialism.[7] Another feature of the Russian colonial regime was the role of Orthodox Christianity. In the 19th century, the Russian Empire continued its expansion in Siberia and Central Asia and began to extend its influence into East Asia, especially China and Korea. With the construction of the Trans-Siberian Railway, Russia secured an important link between the European part of the country and the Far East. In particular, Russia was keen to secure an ice-free port on the Yellow Sea to ensure year-round access to the Pacific and to strengthen its military presence in the region. In 1897, Russia occupied the Chinese port cities of Lushun (now Lüshunkou) and Dalian on the southern tip of the Liaodong Peninsula in southern Manchuria, which was also a desirable target for other imperialist powers, especially Japan, because of its strategic location. The pretext was the German seizure of the city of Tsingtau (now usually spelt Qingdao) and the nearby bay in the south of the Shandong peninsula. These areas became a German colony called Jiaozhou Bay and served as a naval base for the Imperial Navy in East Asia. The following year, Russia forced China to lease the occupied ports of Lushun and Dalian for 25 years and allow troops to be stationed in the region. The port city of Dalian was renamed Dalnij (Russian for "far away") and the port city of Lushun was renamed Port

[7] See Alexander Etkind, *Internal Colonization. Russia's Imperial Experience* (Cambridge: Polity, 2011); Dittmar Schorkowitz, "Was Russia a Colonial Empire?" in *Shifting Forms of Continental Colonialism. Unfinished Struggles and Tensions*, ed. Dittmar Schorkowitz et al. (Singapore: Palgrave Macmillan, 2019), 117–147.

Arthur (this colonial name was of British origin and dated from the time of the Second Opium War). Port Arthur became the main base of the Russian Pacific Fleet and the center of the Russian military presence in East Asia.

Two years later, in 1900, the Russians occupied the whole of Manchuria during the Boxer Rebellion. In this context, the colonial project of "Yellow Russia" (*Zheltorossiya*) was born. The aim was to wrest from the weakened Qing China some of its north-eastern territories, especially Manchuria, and to Russify them, both by settling Russian Cossacks and peasants, and by converting the Chinese population to Christianity on a massive scale.

The Russian expansionist project in the Far East increasingly became a foreign policy issue of the first order. In particular, it increased tensions with Japan, which also had colonial interests in Korea and Manchuria. Despite repeated attempts at negotiation, the two countries could not agree on their interests in East Asia. Tensions escalated, leading to a surprise attack by the Japanese navy on Russian ships anchored in the port of Port Arthur on 8 February 1904. This attack marked the beginning of the Russo-Japanese War and set in motion a series of naval and land battles over the following months, which ultimately led to Japan's victory. For the first time in modern history, an Asian country had decisively defeated a major European power. This gave further impetus to national and militant forces in Japan and set the tone in world politics for the decades to come.[8] The war had a global resonance, challenging European claims to dominance and becoming an important point of reference in the struggle against imperialism in numerous colonies and semi-colonial territories.

Betsy Perabo has recently pointed to the prominent identity-forming function of religion in the Russo-Japanese War.[9] This accurate observation can be extended to include an important dimension: Not only did religion play a role in the events of the war, but also the events of the war influenced religion. In what follows, I would like to substantiate this thesis using the example of a religious object and the practices of piety associated with it. The object most closely associated with the Russo-Japanese War is the so-called "Icon of the Mother of God of Port Arthur". In the Russian Orthodox Church it is considered to be the first icon to "appear" in the 20th century.

8 For an overview of the current research literature on the topic, see Gerhard Krebs, "World War Zero oder Der Nullte Weltkrieg? Neuere Literatur zum Russisch-Japanischen Krieg 1904/05," *Nachrichten der Gesellschaft für Natur- und Völkerkunde Ostasiens* 183/184 (2008): 187–248.

9 Betsy Perabo, *Russian Orthodoxy and the Russo-Japanese War* (London: Bloomsbury, 2017).

The "Icon of the Mother of God of Port Arthur" as an Embodiment of the Russian Orthodox Theology of War

The "Miraculous Appearance" between Popular Piety and the Poetics of Religious Narrative

Icon worship is often considered one of the most characteristic features of Orthodox piety. Accordingly, great importance is also attached to the stories of their "appearance". The "appearance" (*yavlenie*) of an icon refers to its supposedly miraculous discovery or revelation in a vision. Narratives or stories (*skazanie*) about the "miraculous appearance" of icons constitute a well-documented and exceptionally popular literary genre known in Russian literature since the Middle Ages. Walter Koschmal points out in this regard: "Few literary genres are so characteristic of a culture that they enable a direct access to it and immediately reveal its national specific traits. Russian icon narratives do this."[10] This literary genre deals with icons considered miraculous and usually focuses on two main aspects: First, on the "miraculous appearance" of icons and the signs of grace associated with them, and second, on the miracles emanating from them. In doing so, these narratives usually follow a basic poetic form structured by the compositional principle of the antinomy of vision and materialized appearance.[11] Thus, the material appearance of the icon is often preceded by its appearance in a vision. These basic principles, already found in ancient Russian literature, are essential for understanding the religious practices in the context of the Russo-Japanese War at the beginning of the 20th century.

The "Icon of the Mother of God of Port Arthur" is closely connected with Kyiv and the Kyiv Monastery of the Caves. The history of its appearance is presented below, first of all, on the basis of contemporary reports.[12] The Monastery of the Caves, also known as the Kievo-Pecherskaya Lavra, with its almost 1000-year history, is considered to be the oldest, largest, and most important monastery complex in the Slavic area and is one of the most important pilgrimage sites of the Orthodox Church par excellence. Even at the beginning of the 20th century, the monastery attracted numerous pilgrims. On December 11, 1903, two months before the outbreak of the Russo-Japanese War, among the numerous pilgrims who came to Lavra was an old sailor from Bessarabia. Like his aforementioned

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10 Walter Koschmal, "Die Ikonenerzählung zwischen Dogma, Politik und Aberglaube," *Zeitschrift für Slavische Philologie* 55/1 (1995–1996): 6–26, on p. 6.

11 Cf. Koschmal, "Ikonenerzählung," 12.

12 *Vladivostokskie eparhial'nye vedomosti* 16/17 (1904), 2 (1905), 10 (1905); *Russkij palomnik* 21 (1904), 46 (1904); V. N. Mal'kovskij, *Skazanie ob ikone "Torzhestvo Presvjatoj Bogorodicy", izvestnoj pod imenem Port-Arturskoj ikony Bozhiej Materi* (Tver': Tipo-Litografiya N. M. Rodionova, 1906).

contemporary Leo Tolstoy, this sailor belonged to the last living generation of those who had fought in the Crimean War of 1854–56. But he came to Kyiv not only to pray before the numerous relics of the cave monastery. In fact, the sailor wanted to tell the Kyiv monks about a mystical vision he claimed to have had not so long ago.

In contemporary accounts, this vision is described as follows. One night the old sailor was awakened by a strange noise, which sounded like a strong wind. When he woke up, he saw the Mother of God surrounded by angels, led by the archangels Michael and Gabriel. She was standing on the shore of a bay with her back to the water. In her hands she was holding a white cloth with the face of Christ in the center. Above her head, angels in clouds of light held a crown surmounted by another crown of two intertwined rainbows. Above this was a cross. Above the angels and crowns, on the throne of glory sat the Lord of Hosts in splendor, above whom were the words, "There shall be one flock and one shepherd".[13] The Mother of God was crushing a double-edged sword with her feet. The sailor is said to have been shocked and deeply confused by what he saw. After his account, the Mother of God gave him courage and said

> "Soon Russia will be involved in a serious war on the shores of a distant sea, and many hardships will befall her. Make an icon that accurately represents my appearance and send it to Port Arthur. When my icon is placed within the walls of the city, Orthodoxy will triumph over paganism, and the Russian army will receive victory, help, and protection."[14]

Then – so the story goes – a blinding white light of extraordinary beauty illuminated the man's room. And the vision faded.

Stories of various visions and miracles were not uncommon in the Kyiv Monastery of the Caves, and the monks listened to the story – as recommended by the Orthodox ascetic tradition – with due sobriety and caution. In other words, they did not attach any importance to the story. But after a few weeks, not only in Kyiv, but throughout the Russian Empire, people were talking about the vision of the appearance of the Theotokos. On the night of 8 February 1904, the Japanese attacked the port of Port Arthur, marking the beginning of the Russo-Japanese War.

In view of the outbreak of war, the faithful of Kyiv, who had heard about the apparition of the Mother of God, immediately decided to collect money for the production of the icon revealed in the vision. On the first day, the number of donors for the future icon reached several hundred, so a special committee was

[13] Cf. John 10:16.

[14] Mal'kovskij, *Skazanie*, 6–7. Translation – S.P.

hastily formed and decided to accept only five kopecks (one of the smallest coins in circulation) per person. This was done to ensure equality among the donors and to present the production of the icon as a wide popular action. When the number of donated coins reached 10,000 the collection of money was stopped. The icon was created by the Kyiv icon painter Pavel Shtronda. It is believed that the aforementioned sailor accompanied the entire process and was always on hand to advise and assist the icon painter. The work was completed after six weeks (Fig. 1).[15]

Fig. 1. "Icon of the Mother of God of Port Arthur", copy made in 1904 in Rostov-on-Don, 124x77 cm.

[15] N. A. Merzlyutina, "Port-Arturskaja Ikona Bozhiej Materi," in *Pravoslavnaja Jenciklopedija*, vol. 57 (Moskva: Cerkovno-naucnyj centr pravoslavnaja jenciklopedija, 2020), 480–483, here: 480.

It is noteworthy that the accounts of the apparition of the "Icon of the Mother of God of Port Arthur" from around 1900 follow exactly the compositional scheme and poetics of the classical Russian narratives about "miraculous appearances" of icons known since the Middle Ages. Icons demand a high degree of authenticity. For this reason, the narrative of the "miraculous appearance" of the Mother of God in a vision is directly linked to the icon. The vision is thus the immaterial counterpart, the complement to the concrete-material appearance of the icon in reality. In Orthodox icon devotion, material and performative elements play an important role. The physical proximity and materiality of the icon are usually considered indispensable condition for the deployment of its power. Thus, also in the context of the Russo-Japanese War, it was assumed that the "Icon of the Mother of God of Port Arthur" had to be physically present at the scene of the war (as already indicated in the vision) in order to be able to convey its protective power. Therefore, great importance was attached to bringing the icon to Port Arthur as soon as possible.

Iconic Mobility: A Journey from Kyiv to the Pacific

The icon was solemnly consecrated in the Kyiv Monastery of the Caves during Holy Week 1904, in the presence of a large crowd, and sent on its journey to the Pacific the same evening. Its destination was Port Arthur. The icon was first taken by train from Kyiv to St Petersburg with a special escort, where it was handed over to Admiral Vladimir Verkhovskij. The icon was accompanied by a letter with dozens of signatures in which the Kyiv people expressed their confidence and hope that "His Excellency will take every opportunity to bring the icon safely and as soon as possible to the fortress of Port Arthur."[16] Admiral Verkhovskij, however, was in no hurry to fulfil the Kievites' request. Like much of Russia's aristocracy and educated classes in the early 20th century, the admiral had a distant relationship with the church, let alone popular piety and belief in visions, or the special role of icons in war. The tsar's family, on the other hand, was characterized by intense religiosity and supported the transfer of the icon. The tsar's widow, Maria Fyodorovna (widow of the late Tsar Alexander III), was particularly zealous in this matter. She personally instructed the newly appointed commander of the Pacific Fleet, Admiral Nikolai Skrydlov, to bring the icon to the fortress of Port Arthur. However, when Admiral Skrydlov was on his way with the icon, it turned out that the railway to Port Arthur had already been cut.[17] The icon was taken to Vladivostok and placed in the cathedral there. As

16 Mal'kovskij, *Skazanie*, 17.
17 Ibid., 19.

Port Arthur was already besieged by the Japanese army, all attempts to bring the icon there remained unsuccessful.[18]

The last attempt took place in December 1904 and was initiated by the tsar's family. The retired captain Nikolay Fedorov traveled to Vladivostok especially for this purpose and managed to bring the icon as far as Shanghai and Yantai. However, the attempt to reach Port Arthur from there failed again and the icon was returned to Vladivostok.[19] On January 2, 1905, the Russian garrison surrendered and Port Arthur fell in Japanese hands.

The entire journey of the icon became a media event. Several Orthodox magazines and newspapers reported regularly on the icon's journey and received many letters from concerned readers. Although the icon never reached its destination, Port Arthur, it became increasingly well known in various parts of the Russian Empire. Millions of Orthodox believed that, even after the fall of Port Arthur, it was a "banner of victory", that the Russian army received special grace through it, and that prayers to it had special power. The widespread veneration of the icon is evidenced above all by the numerous copies made in Russia during the Russo-Japanese War and shortly afterwards.[20]

In view of the impending losses in the Russo-Japanese War, the icon was perceived in an extremely ambivalent way. On the one hand, the icon very quickly became an integral part of Orthodox piety. It was held in high esteem not only by many of the faithful, but also by influential clergy and parts of the Russian political elite, especially the tsarist family. On the other hand, the story of the apparition and the attempt to bring the icon to Port Arthur was dismissed as superstition by large sections of Russian society.

Among those who wanted to prevent the spread of the new cult around the icon was, surprisingly, the Russian Church leadership itself. In November 1904, the Metropolitan of St. Petersburg Antony (Vadkovsky) ordered the removal of the copy of the icon from the churches of his city and forbade the making of new copies. He justified his decision by saying that the icon had peculiarities that were unusual in Orthodox icon painting. At the same time, the Holy Synod forbade publishers to print color lithographs of this icon.[21]

Among conservative monarchists, the idea became popular that the war's losses were directly related to the lack of piety among the Russian military elite. So wrote John of Kronstadt, a highly influential (and now canonized) Russian Orthodox cleric of the early 20th century:

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18 Ibid., 22–27.
19 Ibid., 32.
20 Merzlyutina, "Port-Arturskaja Ikona," 481–482.
21 Ibid., 481.

> "The commander of our army, A.[leksej] N.[ikolaevich] Kuropatkin, left all the icons given to him with the Japanese pagans, while he took all the worldly things with him. What an attitude towards the faith and the holy things of the Church! That is why the Lord does not bless our weapons, and our enemies defeat us. For we have become a laughing stock and are trampled underfoot by our enemies."[22]

In this way of thinking, Orthodox piety and success in Russia's colonial wars stood in a relationship of cause and effect. And this relationship was first made tangible through material objects, through icons.

The Icon as a Medium of Colonial Discourse

There is hardly an important event in Russian history that has not been associated with the miraculous work of icons. This is especially true of icons of the Mother of God, which have played a special role in Russia since the Middle Ages. They are considered "the main, regional and national palladium and symbol of power."[23] Icons and the narratives associated with them vividly document the religious interpretation of political events and underpin the reassessment of historical events, including wars.

As the most visible and widely used religious objects in war, icons contributed significantly to its sacralization. They were carried in solemn processions both before and after the war to invoke divine assistance. Icons were also used in propaganda to portray the war as just and necessary and to make the combatants feel that they were under the protection and guidance of God. In this way, icons could help boost the morale of the troops and encourage the population to support the war effort. Icons were also widely used during the Russo-Japanese War.[24] However, the "Icon of the Mother of God of Port Arthur" was significantly different from the other icons and embodied the Russian Orthodox war theology in a very special way.

The "Icon of the Mother of God of Port Arthur" is remarkable for its iconography, which is unusual for the Orthodox tradition. The icon resembles the image motif of the "Veil of Veronica" or *Sudarium*, known in the Western tradition, but instead of a simple woman, here the Virgin Mary herself holds the veil with an image of the face of Jesus. The image motif of the cloth with the face of Christ has been known in the Eastern tradition since late antiquity, where it

[22] Ioann Kronshadskij, Dnevnik "Moja zhizn' vo Hriste," accessed April 28, 2023, https://www.fatheralexander.org/booklets/russian/johnkr.htm. Translation – S.P.
[23] Koschmal, "Ikonenerzählung," 14.
[24] Perabo, *Russian Orthodoxy*, 107.

is called acheiropoieta or "the image of Savior made without hands". This icon was often used in Russia as a military flag or standard. At the same time, the "Icon of the Mother of God of Port Arthur" has elements known from the icons of the feast of the "Intercession of the Theotokos" (*Pokrov*), where the Mother of God spreads her veil protectively over the faithful. Two crossed swords at the feet of the Mother of God recall the broken gates of hell that the Savior tramples on in the Orthodox icons of the Resurrection.[25] The icon thus refers the viewer to other familiar motifs and their respective theological messages, while at the same time linking them to Russian colonial discourse. This link is made on the one hand through the pictorial language, the iconography itself. On the other hand, through the story about the mystical vision in which the Theotokos appeared and revealed the news about the soon outbreak of the Russo-Japanese War. But what elements of this icon and its associated narrative reveal the link between Orthodox piety and Russian colonialism?

Firstly. The reference to war is already made in the caption of the icon. On the edges there is an inscription: "The Triumph of the Holy Mother of God. As a blessing and sign of triumph for the Christ-loving army of the Far Russia from the holy monasteries of Kiev and 10,000 pilgrims and friends." It is noteworthy at this point not only that the territories formally and legally leased by China to Russia are now referred to as Far Russia, and the Russian soldiers stationed there as the Christ-loving army. It is also significant that the city of Kiev is depicted here as the place of origin and spiritual center of the Russian Empire, thus linking it to the newly acquired territories in East Asia.

Secondly. The visionary story associated with the icon also establishes a historical continuity with Russia's earlier colonial wars. It is no coincidence that the mystical vision was received by a sailor and veteran of the Crimean War of 1854–56.

Thirdly. The depiction of the tsar's crown on the icon also expresses the idea of the divine consecration of the Russian monarch. Accordingly, the Russian tsar was considered to be appointed by God, and his political decisions, including the conduct of war, were often seen as an expression of divine will. The reference to the monarchy is also found in the reference to the Gospel of John (10:16), "There shall be one flock and one shepherd", which in this context could be interpreted as a political promise of imperial unity.

Fourthly. The icon and the narrative associated with it emphasize the central motif of the Russian Orthodox contextual theology of war, namely the defense of the faith. The words attributed to the Mother of God in the narrative make the war seem justified, since it was supposedly not about Russia's colonial

[25] Merzlyutina, "Port-Arturskaja Ikona," 482.

interests, but about the defense of Orthodoxy against paganism. Indeed, the Mother of God, crushing a double-edged sword with her feet, appears on the icon itself as a war party. The icon's imagery thus suggested that the Russian soldiers besieged at Port Arthur were fighting for the higher values of the faith, indeed for Orthodoxy itself, and that they could count on divine assistance.

The easy comprehensibility of the narrative embodied by the "Icon of the Mother of God of Port Arthur" became the basic condition for its astonishing dissemination – and this despite the opposition of the church leadership and despite its defeat in the Russo-Japanese War. These characteristics made it a suitable medium for the symbolization, the material manifestation, of war theology and Russian colonial discourse. The contextual theology expressed in the icon offered people, in the face of the oppressive, stressful and frightening experience of war, religious interpretations that made it possible to give meaning to the impositions of the time and thus to cope with them. At the same time, it promoted the civil-religious ideology of the superiority and cultural-political mission of the Russian Empire.

Epilogue: The "Icon of the Mother of God of Port Arthur" and the Revival of the Russian Orthodox Theology of War

Almost all the important places mentioned in the article are no longer situated in Russia: the historical region of Bessarabia is now the Republic of Moldova, Kyiv is the capital city of Ukraine, and Lüshunkou (Port Arthur) is in China. But a colonial gaze, which has again become popular in Putin's Russia, still sees them as part of the "Russian world". Influential political and religious actors in contemporary Russia, most notably Vladimir Putin and Patriarch Kirill, look to the (admittedly idealized) Russian Empire as a model and borrow some of its ideas and practices.

Against this background, it seems no coincidence that the "Icon of the Mother of God of Port Arthur" has experienced a revival in recent years. While at the beginning of the 20th century the official church leadership did not recognize the icon, thus calling into question the alleged miraculous appearance of the Theotokos in a vision, the contemporary Russian Orthodox Church has recently rediscovered the icon. In 2008, Patriarch Alexy II of Moscow gave his blessing for the commemoration of the icon to be included in the calendar of the Russian Orthodox Church.[26] Patriarch Kirill of Moscow, in office since 2009, has

[26] "Prazdnovanie Port-Arturskoj ikone Bozhiej Materi oficial'no vneseno v cerkovnyj kalendar'," Russian Orthodox Church, accessed April 28, 2023, http://www.patriarchia.ru/db/text/371120.html.

on several occasions expressed his particular devotion to the icon. Today, the "Icon of the Mother of God of Port Arthur" is considered by the Russian Orthodox Church to be the patron of the Russian army, its navy, and Far Eastern territories. As such, it continues to serve as the embodiment of the Russian Orthodox theology of war. Just one example. The official website of the Russian Orthodox Metropolis of Priamursk reports on the "Icon of the Mother of God of Port Arthur":

> "This is a true battle icon! It is the only icon that depicts the Virgin Mary as a warrior and patroness. All her other images are very gentle, feminine, but here she is standing on broken samurai swords, holding in her hand a veil with the icon of the Savior not-made-by-hands, next to her are the Archangel Michael with a flaming sword and the Archangel Gabriel, and above her is the Lord Sabaoth Himself. There is no other icon in the world like the icon of Port Arthur."[27]

The recent comeback of the "Icon of the Mother of God of Port Arthur" and the revival of the theology of war prove that a critical engagement with the entanglements of Russian colonialism and Orthodoxy is not only of historical importance but also of geopolitical relevance in the present.

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[27] Russian Orthodox Metropolis of Priamursk, "Port-Arturskaja ikona – samaja boevaja!," accessed April 28, 2023, http://pravkhabarovsk.ru/blog/port-artyrskaya-ikona--samaya-boevaya/. Translation – S.P.

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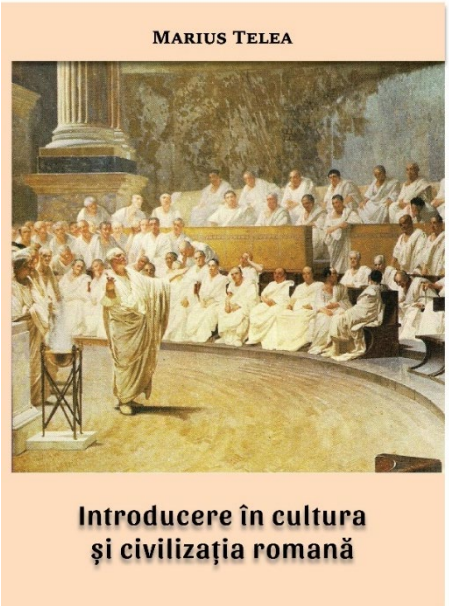
Book Review:

Marius Telea, *Introducere în cultura și civilizația romană*, [*Introduction to Roman Culture and Civilisation],* Alba Iulia, Editura Reîntregirea [Reîntregirea Publishing House], 2021, 246 p.



The work of PhD Associate Professor Marius Telea, *Introduction to Roman Culture and Civilization*, deals with the most critical aspects of the Roman Empire so that the reader has the opportunity to know as well as possible all the details of this grandiose Empire, which marked the history of our civilisation. The book is structured in eighteen chapters, and the relatively consistent appendices (over a hundred pages) facilitate the reader to understand Roman culture and civilisation as well as possible.

In Chapter I, entitled "From the City-State to the Roman Empire. Periodisation of Roman History", the author makes a foray into the history of ancient Rome, tracing the main eras of the history of the Roman state: the era of royalty (753-509 BC), the era of the Roman Republic (509-27 BC), the era of the Principality and Dominated (27 BC-476 AD). Thus, throughout its history, Rome became a Mediterranean state (developed around the Mediterranean Sea) and soon, a universal one. As the author says, it included almost all of the world then. In fact, at one point, the Roman Empire was officially called "The World" (Gr. *Οικουμένε*, lat. *Orbs*). The Roman Empire became the most significant known state in history through successive conquests, occupying huge areas on three continents. With an area of 33,000,000 km^2 and

a population estimated between 60,000,000 - 100,000,000 inhabitants, the Roman Empire stretched from the North Sea to the Sahara desert (the Roman province of Mauretania) and from the British Peninsula (the Roman province of Britannia) to the Euphrates River and the Persian Gulf.

Chapter II presents the Roman institutions and magistrates. The whole system was constituted in such a way as to prevent any excess of personal power. The magistrate, as elected by the people, was only their representative to act on their behalf. Also, he had to account for his release from office.

In the third Chapter, the author presents the army, which played a significant role in the development of the Roman Empire. The Roman army was divided into legions, and each legion was divided into ten cohorts. The number of soldiers in a legion varied between 4,200 and 6,000, all Roman citizens.

Classes and social strata, but also class conflicts, are presented in Chapter IV.

Finally, agriculture is presented in Chapter V. It was the occupation most valued by the Romans, who always considered themselves a people of peasants. Since ancient times, the main wealth of Italy was the fertility of the soil. A characteristic feature of Roman agriculture was the permanent struggle between small and sizeable agrarian property. Also, in this chapter, the author presents agricultural tools, fertilisers, and the cultures practised by the Romans.

In the sixth Chapter, the crafts practised by the Romans are presented. Among these are mentioned: the processing of metals, leather, ceramics, glass, and other crafts.

Chapter VII presents our commercial activity. Thus, due to its geographical position, located approximately 20 km from the seashore and crossed by the Tiber River, Rome could only remain within the heavy traffic from the western basin of the Mediterranean Sea. Also, Rome was at the intersection of great trade routes, which led far into the interior of the Italian Peninsula. Throughout its history, after the Romans turned the Mediterranean Sea into a Roman lake, trade intensified, both by sea and through the network of very well-developed and maintained roads.

In Chapter VIII, the author describes the homes of the Romans.

Finally, Chapter IX presents the diet of the Romans.

Thus, from what has been presented, we can ascertain that during the more than ten centuries of development of Roman society, there have been specific changes regarding the moments during the day when the Romans had their main meals. Added to this is that most of the time, people's occupations largely determined their eating and resting time. That is why some were the mealtimes of those from the urban environment and others for those from the

rural environment. As for the essential foods, at the beginning of Roman history, the diet was frugal, but it became varied over time, and the way of preparation was very different from ours.

The clothing of the Romans is described in Chapter X.

The family is introduced in Chapter XI. It was, for centuries, the foundation of Roman society, appearing as a subdivision of the gens after it went through a long process of disintegration due to the emergence and development of private property. In its beginnings, and for a long time afterwards, the family was dominated by the omnipotence of the head of the family (*pater familias*) over the wife and children and the slaves he had under his control. He exercised this power over people and their goods, even the wife's dowry. Towards the end of the Republican era, men's rights underwent many essential changes to mitigate its rigours from the beginning.

On the one hand, these transformations occurred as a result of the transformations that the Roman society and the Roman state went through, in general, but also under the influence of more liberal conceptions regarding the relationships between family members coming from Greece. In the imperial era, a radical change was reached in the relationship between the father and his sons, based more on affection and respect, sometimes going as far as excesses of goodwill and weakness towards their children, who began to do what they wanted with their parents. Also, this chapter describes the upbringing of children in the family, marriage, divorce, celibacy, family holidays and funeral rites.

Chapter XII, entitled "The Organisation of a Day", presents us with the division system of a day and night, the daily schedule of the Romans, the baths, and the evening meal (*cena*). Thus, if, in the beginning, the baths had the sole purpose of hygiene and physical health, they became more of a pretext for worldly life and a preparation for the evening meal, the main meal of the day. There was a striking contrast between the frugality of the meal taken by the farmers and small artisans from the city and its variety and abundance in the case of the rich, who sometimes turned it into an actual event.

The entertainment, games, and shows of the Romans are presented in Chapter XIII. Also, in this chapter, religious celebrations, performances *(ludis*), gladiator fights and theatrical performances are presented.

In Chapter XIV, the author presents the education of the Romans. Through its form of organisation and its content, education in Rome had a pronounced class character. According to the historical tradition transmitted by Titus Livius, the oldest educational institution in the Romans would date from the middle of the 5-th century BC. He states that in the Roman Forum, there were also some schools among the stalls of all kinds of sellers. Secondary education appeared only in the middle of the 3-rd century BC, under the leadership of a *grammaticus* -

teacher. He started at the age of 12. In the secondary school, education was more complex. For four years, the primary subjects were the Latin language and literature, but also Greek, and their study was mainly based on the texts of poetic works. Notions of history, geography, physics, and astronomy are also taught, but not as an end, so students can better understand literary texts. The efficient spirit of the Romans disregards these areas. At the beginning of the 1-st century BC, a higher education led by a rhetor orator also existed in Rome. Hence the name of the school of rhetoric or eloquence was given to it. This education was followed by young people from wealthy families, indispensable for a political or legal career, which required excellent oratorical skills. He was mainly in Greek. As a general rule, this form of education was followed by young people who wore the *toga virilis* (16-17 years old) and studied until around 20. In the beginning, this cycle of studies also took place in the Roman Forum, but this education took place in special rooms set up like a small amphitheatre starting from the imperial era. At the same time, schools of any grade were gradually transformed into state schools with the mission of training officials devoted to the imperial power. Some emperors granted material support, subsidies, and other favours to the heads of schools and the teachers who worked there.

The religious life and cults of the Romans are presented in Chapter XV. The religion of the Romans in the first centuries of their history was presented in the primitive form of animism. Over time the Romans worshipped many gods, but the Roman religion never took a stable form. Substantial changes had occurred in the evolution of their religious life since the 2-nd century BC when certain foreign philosophical and religious currents began to penetrate here. Due to some disastrous events and serious social problems, the population lost its trust in the official divinities, causing a spiritual restlessness and, in this context, new forms of religion appeared: the Orphic, Dionysian and Eleusinian mysteries. Even now, many Greek divinities entered, who managed to enter the Roman religious pantheon. These Eastern cults also brought certain moral concepts missing from the official Roman religion. With all the prohibitions and restrictive measures, they imposed themselves and settled in the Roman world. The Roman Senate and the College of Pontiffs had to admit foreign divinities and cults, but only by formally integrating them within the official cults, keeping them under control and imposing certain conditions on them. Among these, the first was that foreign divinities and cults could not benefit from public honours reserved exclusively for the official cult. With the expansion of the Roman Empire and the crystallisation of the concept of the state, religion increasingly entered the service of the authorities. However, with all the vigilance of the College of Roman Pontiffs, most citizens neglected the official cults more and

more, approaching the cults that preached moral concepts that promised them salvation. However, the ordinary people continued to practice the domestic cult: to honour the protective gods of the family, the field, and the crafts.

In the XVI-th chapter, sciences and technology are presented. In general, Romans' interest in science was reduced. An actual Roman "science" did not exist. In the Roman education system, scientific disciplines occupied a limited place. A genuine interest arose in astronomy, especially among the great Roman personalities (Cicero, Lucretius, Seneca, Pliny the Younger, Julius Caesar, etc.). The scientific concern of the Romans was summed up above all in the compilation of encyclopaedic works. At the head of them are the imposing works of Marcus Terentius Varro (116-27 BC), from the most varied fields, from grammar to agriculture, as well as the massive compilation (in 37 books) of all the scientific notions of the time, entitled *Historia naturalis* by Plinius the Elder (23-79), a work of great authority until the beginning of the modern era. The concerns of the Romans in the field of technique were purely practical, with technology prevailing over technological research. In the technical field - at least in specific fields - the contribution of the Romans was considerable.

First of all, in construction, the Romans were unsurpassed. Thus, regarding the plan of the cities of their military camps (*castra*), their most significant merit lies in the systematisation of the elements borrowed from the Etruscans and then from the Greeks. Certain types of constructions - the vast majority of them public buildings - were invented by the Romans: the triumphal arch, the amphitheatre, the aqueduct, the bridges, the pantheon, the ornate votive column, the villa, etc. The remarkable development they gave to the construction of vaults - a Greek invention perfected by the Etruscans - allowed them to build bridges with huge openings (some even with an opening of 27 or 32 meters). Mastering the same vault technique allowed the Romans to multiply the stairs system and obtain authentic technical performances, as with the spiral stairs inside Trajan's column. The aqueduct also existed in the Eastern civilisations and the Greek world. However, the Romans developed the principle by applying it on a large scale, building aqueducts that reached a length of 100 kilometres.

Roman diplomacy is presented in Chapter XVII. Thus, Roman diplomacy bears the stamp of the lifestyle, pragmatic spirit and military, legal and administrative virtues of this nation of conquerors. In order to maintain the condition of its durability and supremacy for a millennium, the Romans imposed rigour and discipline in everything they undertook.

In Chapter XVIII, the author presents the art of the Romans. In the oldest manifestations of Roman art, elements of the art of the other Italic populations with which the Romans came into contact can be found. The first phase of Roman art constitutes a synthesis of the contributions of these Italic populations.

Especially the Etruscan contribution was fundamental, especially in temple architecture and bronze sculpture.

Moreover, starting from the 6-th century BC, the artistic creation of the Romans evolved, for four centuries, parallel to the art of the Etruscans. Roman art began defining its personality only in the 2-nd century BC. Although the influence of Greek art had made its presence felt a long time before, through the Greek colonists from the south of Italy, after the conquest of the cities of Greece and those of Asia Minor, considerable quantities of monuments of Greek art were brought to Rome (paintings, statues from bronze and marble, columns with splendid capitals, bas-reliefs, etc.). Also, willingly or brought as slaves, many artists, artisans, architects, painters, and sculptors came to Rome. This is also because the Romans considered artistic occupations unworthy of a Roman citizen. Therefore, architecture, sculpture and painting are also presented in this chapter. An art particularly favoured by the Romans and very widespread throughout the Empire was mosaic. The technique and art of mosaic flourished in the imperial era, especially in the Byzantine era.

The three appendices are remarkably consistent and intended to facilitate the reader's access to Roman terms. With a rich bibliography, the present work is also an accurate research tool for those who wish to deepen one of the major topics that the author proposed for analysis and discussion, that of the grandiose and fascinating Roman Empire. Through this scientific work, PhD Associate Professor Marius Telea makes an important contribution to those who want to know the Roman culture and civilisation, which marked the history of humanity.

Considering the contributions made to the field of research, and the logical and analytical thread of the approach, I warmly recommend the book *Introduction to Roman Culture and Civilisation* and congratulate its author, PhD Associate Professor Marius Telea.

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