SERGEI M. SOLOVIEV

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The Tsar and the Patriarch

Stenka Razin Revolts on the Don

1662-1675

Edited and Translated

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PREFACE

This book is an unabridged translation of Volume XI, Chapters 4 and 5, which comprises pages 192-330 in Book VI of Soloviev's *Istoriia Rossii s drevneishikh vremen* (History of Russia from Earliest times, 29 vols., St Petersburg, 1851-1879), published from 1959 through 1966 in Moscow. For the sake of convenience I have divided Soloviev's text into eight chapters. Chapter I of the translation corresponds to pages 192-197, Chapter II to pages 197-215, Chapter III to pages 215-230, Chapter IV to pages 230-242, Chapter V to pages 242-254, Chapter VI to pages 254-286, Chapter VII to pages 286-308, and Chapter VIII to pages 308-330 of the Soviet edition. The uneven length of the chapters in the translation reflects the space devoted by Soloviev to a given theme.

The present translation endeavors to render the text and Soloviev's thought as accurately as possible. No attempt has been made to reproduce his style and text word for word for this would have yielded a bizarre Russianized text. The main consideration has been to make his history as readable as possible consistent with accuracy, while retaining at least something of the flavor of the language of the era. An effort has been made to find English-language equivalents for all technical terms Soloviev employs (ranks, offices, titles, legal, administrative and so forth) in the belief that English is no less rich in such terms than other languages. This is intended to smooth the flow of the narrative for the reader and to avoid marring the pages with annoying untranslated words. The exception involves Russian words which have become common in English—boyar, tsar, cossack. In all of this the translator remains painfully aware of the inevitable shortcomings that may remain.

Soloviev's pages are featureless and interminable, one long and complex sentence marching after the last. To make the text easier to follow for today's readers, long paragraphs and sentences have been broken into shorter ones. Most of the subtitles are based on the descriptive topic headings clustered at the beginning of the Russian original. These headings

have been moved into the body of the text as subtitles to mark and ease for the reader the transition from one subject to another. In some cases the topic headings have been used as chapter headings in the translation. New subtitles have been created to show topics not listed by Soloviev. Soloviev's arrangement of the material has been followed strictly.

The general policy followed in annotating has been to identify prominent personalities at first mention, and to give explanations and elucidations of less common or obscure terms and passages, assuming the typical reader to have relatively little familiarity with Russian history. These appear as numbered footnotes at the back of the book by chapters. Explanations for the numerous ranks, financial and legal terms appearing in this volume have been taken from *Real- und Sachwörterbuch zum Altrussischen* (Lexikon for Old Russian Terminology), ed. H.W. Schaller et al. (Neuried, 1985). With a few exceptions, Soloviev's own notes are not included because of their highly specialized archival, documentary and bibliographic nature. In addition, most of the notes added by the editors of the edition published in the Soviet Union which are also technical in nature–fuller bibliographic citations than those in Soloviev's notes–have not been included. When the author's notes and those of the Soviet editors are included, they are so designated. All other notes are those of the present editor.

Russian personal names are preserved in their Russian form with a few exceptions: Alexander, Alexis, Nicholas, Jonas, Joseph, Peter, Sergius. The names of many important ecclesiastical figures have been recast into their Latin or Greek equivalents. This applies to prominent individuals; Russian forms usually are used for the less prominent. Certain other names and terms have been anglicized for the sake of clarity and because they are used widely—Casimir, Sophia, boyar, versts, Dnieper river, and others.

The editors of the edition published in the USSR frequently have added patronymics and other names, and these have been retained without brackets. Patronymics appearing in the original edition also have been included. Plural forms for names and terms which might be confusing have been anglicized—the Miloslavskys and not the Miloslavskie, and so forth. Most Slavic surnames show gender, and this has been preserved. Since an "a" at the end of a name usually signifies a female, Lvov would have a wife or daughter Lvova. The final "iia" in feminine personal names has been shortened to "ia"—"Maria" instead of "Mariia."

Non-Russian names, locations, terms, ranks and so on are spelled according to the language native to the person or particular to the city, region or culture when this can be determined. Confusion arises at times because the text is not clear about nationalities. Individuals whose names were once non-Russian but were in Russian service for generations are given in the original spelling of the family name. Turkish, Tatar, Persian and other names and terms are spelled in the original according to accepted forms in scholarly books. In some instances, if not otherwise ascertainable, they are translated from the Russian as given by Soloviev. The names of geographical locations conform to commonly accepted English usage—Podolia, Moscow, Copenhagen, and so forth. Plurals have been anglicized (efimoks rather then efimki).

Finally, with respect to transliteration, this translation follows a modified Library of Congress system omitting diacritical marks and ligatures, and rendering initial "ia" and "iu" as "ya" and "yu" (Yaroslav and Yury), the suffixes "ii", "skii" as "y", "sky" (Yury Cherkassky) while "skaia" and "skoe" are retained (Polianskaia, Poliansko), and the form "oi" has been replaced by "oy" (Svinoy not Svinoi). Except for final "ei" in "Andrei" and "Sergei" (Soloviev), "ei" has been rendered "ey." In some cases "i" has been inserted in place of hard and soft signs, or apostrophes indicating these signs. Hence Soloviev, not Solov'ev. The soft sign is not indicated by an apostrophe, as is some transliteration systems, but is dropped completely.

All dates, as in the original, except where otherwise specified, are according to the Julian calendar (Old Style), that is, for the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, ten days behind the Gregorian used in the West. The discrepancy arises only beginning with the year 1582 when the Gregorian calendar was introduced in the West. A table of weights and measures is included at the front of this volume for the convenience of the reader.

In preparing this volume I have drawn on the resources of the libraries of the University of Alberta and Newman Theological College in Edmonton and the Pontifical Institute of Medieval Studies in Toronto. I would like to express my sincere appreciation to the general editor, G. Edward Orchard, for his numerous helpful suggestions.

T. Allan Smith

INTRODUCTION

Soloviev opens and closes the present volume with a description of the violent suppression of popular uprisings, the copper riots of 1662 in Moscow and the Solovetsk insurrection of 1668-1676. It is interesting that both events were sparked by the introduction of innovations by the government, copper currency and the resultant inflation on the one hand, revised liturgical books and the perceived loss of Russian church tradition on the other hand. These events only mirror in miniature the dramatic confrontations to which Soloviev devotes the bulk of his attention in this portion of his History. For here Soloviev describes in considerable detail the elimination of two serious challengers to the increasingly autocratic authority of Tsar Alexis Mikhailovich, namely Patriarch Nikon and the cossack leader Stepan Razin.

Even before the introduction of copper coinage Muscovy was perilously close to financial ruin and social collapse. The main culprit seems to have been the exhausting Thirteen Years War (1654-1667) which drained not only the crown's coffers but also depleted the human resources needed to maintain such a protracted military campaign. Before the war itself could exact its toll on human life, the plague ravaged the countryside and major towns of Muscovy. Death rates of from fifty to seventy percent of local populations were common, and just as high a percentage of the populace fled infected areas. To compensate for the loss of able-bodied men Tsar Alexis increased the annual levy and even ordered men mustered from Patriarch Nikon's three monasteries. These peasant soldiers were without training and had to be entrusted to foreign officers for their transformation from tillers of soil into killers of men. Alexis turned to foreign sources to supplement his beleaguered armies, appealing for troops from England, Holland, Lübeck and Hamburg. The foreign soldiers had to be paid and Alexis proved very generous, as the single case of Patrick Gordon demonstrates. He received a gift of twenty-five rubles in cash in addition to his regular salary and an abundance of cloth and sables.[1]

Foreign visitors corroborated internal observations about the steadily rising cost of living, the hardships suffered by the general populace, the roaming bands of deserters and various black market and other criminal activities that appeared in Muscovy.[2] After alluding to the troubles scourging Muscovy, Soloviev mentions Alexis's authorization of minting copper coins with the face value of silver coins, and draws attention to the rapid devaluation of this currency. He fixes his sights on the activity of numerous counterfeiters and the tsar's efforts to deal with them instead of pointing an accusing finger at the tsar himself, who was ultimately responsible for the financial disarray of the realm. The usual types of corporal punishment and executions, repugnant to modern sensibilities, were meted out against counterfeiters and other profiteers, to no avail. In Soloviev's narration of events this policy served merely to set the stage for the tsar's overreaction to the Moscow riot of 1662. As Soloviev notes, the actual rioters numbered roughly two hundred men, yet Alexis ordered the arrest of some seven thousand people, many of whom were killed, mutilated or sent into exile for what amounted to being in the wrong place at the wrong time.

Explanations for Alexis's excessive use of force are not given in this volume by Soloviev. Certainly the reference to the 1648 protests against the policies of Boris Morozov suggests that Alexis feared a repetition of that scene. Soloviev also alludes to the terror which seized Tsaritsa Maria, again with the hint that Alexis was motivated by concern for the safety of his wife and family. Whatever the reason, Alexis misjudged the gravity of the situation and added to the decline in morale in his embattled realm.

From fiscal calamities Soloviev moves on to a more personal calamity that befell Tsar Alexis, his gradual estrangement from Patriarch Nikon. In keeping with his idealist views of history and his focus on great personages and their character, Soloviev attributes the rupture of the long-standing friendship between the two men to their contradictory personality traits and does not examine the possibility of a deeper ideological chasm separating the two heads of Muscovy. Though assuming on airs of impartiality, Soloviev clearly assigns the greater part of the blame to Nikon whom he characterizes as arrogant, lacking in self-mastery and overly ambitious. Tsar Alexis, on the other hand, is held up as the model of patience and long-suffering fidelity. Curiously, by the time this volume ends Soloviev has undermined that image of the "most gentle" tsar with his vivid descriptions of Alexis's forceful repression of opposition to his rule. Soloviev's outlook does not allow him to suspect in Nikon

motives more noble than self-aggrandizement, whatever his other character faults. Nikon was struggling against the autocratic inclinations of Alexis in order to secure for the church an important role in social and religious life in the evolving realm, in keeping with the Byzantine model of government which classically saw the emperor and the patriarch operating in harmony as earthly representatives of the one divine authority.

According to this conception, the emperor represented Christ's power as king of the universe and was expected to care for the welfare of the church and see to the expansion of Christian belief throughout the world. His authority rested on his orthodoxy. A heretical emperor forfeited this role. In the ninth century Patriarch Photios gave a more tendentious formulation of this political theory in his famous Epanagoge, a collection of canons and laws in which diarchy was proposed. The emperor and patriarch were regarded as equals, contrary to the earlier Byzantine notion of an asymmetrical relationship.

To what extent Nikon advocated such political theology remains a matter of scholarly debate, the majority agreeing that Nikon was striving after something more grandiose than a mere balance of powers.[3] In support of this view scholars point to Nikon's inserting an excerpt from the famous Western forgery, the Donation of Constantine, into the revised code of canon law prepared in 1653. In that document the superiority of the church's authority over civil authority was upheld. The famous oath of submission to Nikon's episcopal authority sworn by Alexis and the boyars as a condition for Nikon's acceptance of the patriarchal office has been interpreted in this way.[4] Konrad Onasch has argued that Nikon relied on the Photian idea and on the famous Novgorod legend of the White Cowl to bolster his own pretensions to power.[5] According to the legend,[6] the tsar's crown came from the earthly emperor Constantine to Rus whereas the white cowl or miter of the archbishop of Novgorod was bestowed by Christ himself, thereby indicating the superiority of priestly over royal authority. Unfortunately for Nikon, this political theology was already anachronistic, barely half a century after Moscow attained patriarchate status in the Eastern church (1589).

A different view of the conflict between Patriarch Nikon and Tsar Alexis is provided by Christiane Hemer. She argues that Nikon's sole political interest was to guarantee the traditional importance of the Russian church in society as an institution working in close and supportive harmony with the tsar. In his absence Tsar Alexis relied on Nikon's authoritative and well-organized management of the affairs of church and

state, and Nikon clearly understood that by cooperating wholeheartedly with the tsar he could achieve his goal of restoring the church to a position of prominence in Muscovite society and government. The church reforms which Alexis promoted with such zeal gave Nikon another opportunity to demonstrate the church's participation in the governance of the sole Orthodox Christian nation on earth and to bring uniformity and unity to a chaotic state of liturgical and devotional affairs. As opposition to the reforms grew in intensity, especially among the boyar class, Alexis grew less and less supportive of Patriarch Nikon, who bore the brunt of the opposition. He let him fall, according to Hemer, for reasons of state. Hemer also holds that the lengthy literary conflict between the tsar and the exiled patriarch concerning the relationship of secular and ecclesiastical power was less a matter of principles and more a pragmatic, even desperate, attempt by Nikon to regain his patriarchal throne. Hence his efforts to discredit on theological grounds the tsar's claim to jurisdiction over the clerical state.[7]

Another difficulty facing Nikon and something which he inherited from the Byzantine tradition of church-state relations was how to maintain the independence of the church from the government of the day while at the same time demonstrating the church's loyalty to the tsar's initiatives. Cooperation does not imply servitude necessarily, yet the events of Russian church history show that the secular rulers often interpreted it in this way. The steady erosion of ecclesiastical autonomy began in earnest under Peter the Great.

Soloviev identifies the strong opposition to Nikon among the boyar and service classes as a contributing factor to the eventual demise of the patriarch, though he still holds Nikon personally responsible for his own fall from power. He partially exonerates Nikon by pointing out the woeful state of learning in seventeenth-century Muscovy which provided fertile soil for Nikon's character deficiencies to flourish. Tsar Alexis's own faltering steps towards autocracy and modernity flowed in part from the same low educational standards.

The reader of this volume is permitted to relive the agony of Nikon's fall from grace thanks to Soloviev's careful reconstruction of the events. As the reader comes to expect, Soloviev introduces a great deal of primary source material, including letters and transcriptions of dialogue, which enlivens the narrative flow and in the present volume helps create and sustain dramatic tension. Whether intentional or not, this feature of Soloviev's history lends added insight into the personalities of the main

protagonists otherwise lacking in a more straightforward narrative style. As we reach the end of Chapter VI the drama has played itself out and where once there stood two imposing figures we find two broken men. The imprisoned Nikon worries about "cells, kitchens, cellars, apples and grapes," as Soloviev notes, and Alexis now stands in open conflict with members of the clerical and monastic ranks contrary to his own deep religious convictions.

The second part of this volume concerns the threat posed to the tsar's authority by popular unrest that crystallized under the leadership of Stepan Razin. Soloviev does not go into much detail concerning the reasons compelling so many people to flock to Razin, nor does he highlight the scope of the danger this rebellion posed to Moscow's rule. Resentment towards the government of Tsar Alexis was widespread. Peasants and townsmen resented increased levies and taxation or longed to escape serfdom, many despised the religious reforms of Nikon, some supported Nikon against the tsar, and others identified themselves as Old Believers after the council of 1666. Others who turned to Razin as a way of venting their anger against a real or imagined enemy in far-off Moscow included soldiers wanting to escape the cruelty of Muscovite military discipline, renegades and fugitives from the law, adventurers and misfits. All of these groups are mentioned in passing by Soloviev but they recede into the background as Soloviev once again focuses his attention on the central figure of the drama, Stepan Razin.

One segment of Muscovite society does merit Soloviev's attention, the musketeers. He writes "The cossack spirit exercised its most powerful charm, of course, on the musketeers. The musketeer came from the same levels of society as the cossack. He was a warrior, accustomed to wield weaponry, but was not disciplined like a soldier. He was a half-cossack and it is easy to comprehend how a musketeer, at his first encounter with an actual free cossack, at the first chance of fighting for himself, that is, of plundering and acquiring booty, would throw off the banners of the realm and join the cossacks."[8] According to Soloviev, not only musketeers but merchants, peasants and townsmen all were bewitched and beguiled by Razin and the cossacks and all too quickly yielded to the temptation of easily gotten wealth by abandoning their station in society and joining Razin's men.

Therein lies the problem with Soloviev's account. It is a romanticized view of the cossack as a type of noble savage, living a free and unbounded life on the frontier, outside the constraints of civilized society.

Soloviev reduces the earnestness of the popular unrest to the level of a swashbuckling romance, with daring deeds of robbery and pillaging countered by equally daring police action by the tsar's military governors. While it makes for exciting reading, as does the first part of this volume, this fixation with personalities and great individuals leaves out much of interest.

Soviet scholars, including Yu. A. Tikhonov, the editor of the Russian text on which this translation is based, took Soloviev to task for glossing over the economic causes behind the popular movements of rebellion. While beholden to a Leninist interpretation of history, Tikhonov was certainly correct to chastise Soloviev for ignoring the antifeudal struggle of the peasantry and concentrating instead on the cossacks themselves as the primary agents of change.[9] This accusation seems most on target when the reader considers what Soloviev proposes as the reason for the social upheaval in the south, namely the lack of easy access to the Caspian Sea for acts of piracy. As Soloviev notes, "deprived of any hope of roaming about the Caspian Sea, the huge band spilled over into the realm in the hope of taking advantage of its unreadiness and of raising the lower levels of the population against the upper."[10] The implication is that the cossacks simply exchanged the open sea for the open steppe on which to indulge their criminal inclinations, enlisting the support of the impoverished and disgruntled in their quest for riches. Thus the entire struggle is stripped of any meaning beyond mere criminality, even if Soloviev is correct to document the destructive character of Razin's actions.

In his analysis of what he termed cossack unrest Soloviev introduces his familiar theme of education or enlightenment. He suggests that it is the lack of education which underlay the readiness of cossacks and the social underclass to embrace the violent projects of someone like Razin. The reader then is exposed to the clash of two worlds, one dominated by brute force, the other exuding refinement and courageous civility, as Soloviev depicts Razin's capture and looting of such towns as Tsaritsyn and Astrakhan. The contrast is especially acute in the section devoted to the torture and murder of Metropolitan Joseph of Astrakhan. Whereas Joseph exemplified the best in Muscovite society and courageously defended it, his tormentors seem nothing more than a drunken blood-thirsty mob momentarily overcome by superficial piety when the enormity of their crime becomes evident. Such contrasts are repeated at each encounter of the rebels with representatives of the tsar, culminating in the cool and calculated victory of the government forces over the disorganized and irrational insurgents.

The final portion of this volume concerns the siege and capture of Solovetsk monastery. For eight long years, from 1668 until 1676 the monastery resisted all attempts by government forces to subdue it. Soloviev focuses on the opposition of the monks to the innovations of Nikon as the root cause for their rebellion, yet also links the monastery with the cossack and peasant unrest in the far south. In so doing he shows some awareness of deeper social and economic issues that brought the monastery to active resistance to the crown, without examining them further. He highlights the dissension among the Solovetsk monks as the conflict wore on, thereby indicating one of the reasons for the eventual success of the government counteroffensive.

By the end of this volume the reader is left with the impression of a country in continual upheaval. The sincere efforts of the tsar and patriarch to reform and modernize church and crown failed to captivate the large segments of the populace which remained firmly attached to their traditional way of life. The resulting alienation weakened Muscovite society further and introduced a dangerous rift between the ruling class open to new ideas, especially from Western Europe, and the lower classes who willingly or of necessity remained hostile to innovations. The ground is prepared for the violent transformation of Russian society by Alexis's son, Peter the Great.

Further information on the events described in this volume is available in a number of English-language studies and translations. With respect to Tsar Alexis, the reader may consult profitably Philip Longworth, *Alexis. Tsar of all the Russias* (New York, 1984) and Joseph T. Fuhrmann, *Tsar Alexis. His Reign and His Russia* (Academic International Press, 1981). General histories of Russia with sections devoted to the seventeenth century include Paul Dukes, *The Making of Russian Absolutism, 1613-1801* (London, 1982), V. O. Kliuchevsky, *A Course in Russian History. The Seventeenth Century*, tr. H. Duddington (Chicago, 1968), and George Vernadsky, *The Tsardom of Moscow, 1547-1682* (Yale, 1969). Paul Avrich, *Russian Rebels, 1600-1800,* supplies basic information and analysis of the social unrest in the south of Russia. With regard to Patriarch Nikon, the reader is well advised to consult William Palmer, *The Patriarch and the Tsar*, 6 volumes (London, 1871-1876). The liturgical reforms undertaken by Alexis and Nikon are discussed in Paul Meyendorff, *Russian Ritual and Reform. The Liturgical Reforms of Nikon in the 17th Century* (Crestwood, N. Y., 1987).

I

THE COPPER RIOTS

FINANCIAL DISARRAY

The first two years of the Thirteen Years War[1] were the happiest and most illustrious of times in the reign of Alexis Mikhailovich,[2] even though they were overshadowed by an epidemic of plague. Brilliant military successes and personal campaigns lifted the spirits of the impressionable tsar. His euphoria clearly expressed itself in the earlier mentioned letter to Matveev[3] concerning relations with Sweden. The unsuccessful campaign against Riga[4] was the beginning of his misfortunes. Sedition in the Ukraine dragged out the war which had taken a turn for the worse. Konotop,[5] Chudnovo,[6] and Khovansky's[7] defeats reverberated gravely in Moscow. Although they did not have such disastrous consequences as might have been expected at first glance, the war nonetheless continued with no end in sight. This was a dreadful calamity for a poor, sparsely populated country barely recovered after the Time of Troubles,[8] in which the distressing condition of the manufacturing class produced recent unrest, and which lately was devastated by plague.[9]

COPPER MONEY

Onerous levies fell on the populace, and merchants were depleted by the payment of the fifth coin tax.[10] As early as 1656 the treasury could not pay salaries to the soldiers, and it was said that on the advice of Fedor Mikhailovich Rtishchev[11] the sovereign ordered the issue of copper currency having the face value of silver coins.

In 1657 and 1658 these coins in fact circulated like silver coins, then beginning in September 1658 they declined in value. Six dengas had to be added to the ruble. Beginning in March 1659 ten dengas had to be added to the ruble. Devaluation increased to such degree that in 1663 twelve copper rubles were needed to exchange one silver ruble. Frightful inflation ensued. Decrees prohibiting price increases for necessary consumer goods had no effect. Moscow's soldiers in the Ukraine found themselves in dire straits since they received their salary in copper dengas which no one would accept.

Large quantities of counterfeit copper dengas made their appearance. People caught with counterfeit money were seized and tortured. Their answer was always "We do not counterfeit money ourselves, we unknowingly take it from others." Coiners, silversmiths, coopers and tinsmiths were placed under watch. It was observed that now that copper coin was in use these people, who previously were not well off, built themselves stone and wooden manors, had clothes made for themselves and their wives in boyar fashion, and began purchasing various goods, silver plate and foodstuffs in the stalls at high prices without begrudging the money. The cause of this rapid enrichment came to light when counterfeit dengas and currency were removed from their houses. Transgressors were punished with death, their hands chopped off and nailed to the walls of the mints, their homes and property confiscated. In the face of the insurmountable allure of sudden riches, this cruelty was of no avail. The criminals continued their trade, especially as the wealthy among them saved themselves from misfortune by generously greasing the palm of the tsar's father-in-law Ilia Danilovich Miloslavsky[12] and the conciliar noble Matiushkin,[13] behind whom was the tsar's maternal aunt. In the towns thieves saved themselves by bribing the governors and officials.

For the examination, acceptance and disbursement of copper and dengas at the mints, guild representatives and sworn officials from among merchants and tradesmen were appointed, honest and prosperous men. Yet even they could not overcome temptation. They purchased copper in Moscow and Sweden, brought it to the mints with the tsar's copper, ordered coins made from it and carted them off to their own homes. Information against them was not slow in coming from the musketeers and master minters. The accused testified under torture that they had given bribes to Miloslavsky and Matiushkin, to clerks and scriveners. Hands and feet of crown secretaries, scriveners, representatives and sworn officials were chopped off and the transgressors exiled to distant towns. The tsar was angry with Miloslavsky for a long time and dismissed Matiushkin from the chancellery. The people were not satisfied, and ventured to repeat the reprisal of 1648.[14]

THE MOSCOW RIOT OF 1662

In the spring of 1662, after Easter, rumors circulated around Moscow that the common people were assembling and would ignite a massacre at the courts of the boyar Ilia Danilovich Miloslavsky, the leading merchant

Vasily Shorin[15] and other wealthy men because of the change in fiscal policy, and because Shorin and a certain cooper were coining money. In the week of July 20 it was said that leaflets about the lord-in-waiting Rtishchev arrived from Poland. The tsar was living then in Kolomenskoe. In Sretenka early on the morning of July 25 members of the community gathered to seek advice about the fifth coin. Their deliberations came to a rapid end. Men passing by Sretenka [street] from the St. Nicholas gates shouted "A letter has been stuck on a post in Lubianka!" The whole crowd poured into Lubianka to see what kind of letter. Glued with wax to a post was a piece of paper and on it was written "The traitor Ilia Danilovich Miloslavsky, and the lord-in waiting Fedor Mikhailovich Rtishchev,[16] and Ivan Mikhailovich Miloslavsky,[17] and the leading merchant Vasily Shorin."

Meanwhile Captain Pavel Grigoriev of the Sretenka hundredmen already had submitted a report about the letter at police headquarters. From there the nobleman Semeon Larionov and Crown Secretary Afanasy Bashmakov came to Lubianka and tore down the letter. The crowd began to make a noise. "You will take the letter to the traitors! The sovereign is not in Moscow, but the letter should be read by everyone." Darting back and forth the musketeer Kuzma Nogaev shouted louder than them all. "Orthodox Christians! Stop for the sake of the whole community! The nobleman and the crown secretary will take the letter to Ilia Danilovich Miloslavsky, and that will be the end of the affair."

The throng pursued Larionov and Bashmakov, overtook them, grabbed Larionov's legs and his horse and shouted to Captain Grigoriev. "Take the letter from him! If you don't take it, we'll pound you with stones." Grigoriev snatched the letter from Larionov, the crowd surrounded the captain then headed back for Lubianka towards the church of St. Feodosy. Nogaev led Grigoriev through the gates. When they all reached the church Nogaev mounted a bench and read the letter aloud to everyone, adding that they all must stand up for it. From Lubianka they went to the police headquarters. There too they set up a bench, hoisted Grigoriev onto it and ordered him to read the letter, but he refused. Then Nogaev read the letter once again, and a clerk read it to another group. Grigoriev used the time to move away and ordered the corporal of his company, Luchka Zhidky, to take the letter from the clerk although the throng wanted to keep it. They surrounded Zhidky and brought him to the sovereign in Kolomenskoe.

The tsar was at divine liturgy, celebrating the birth of a daughter. Glancing out a window he saw a crowd of people entering the village and the compound. Although unarmed they repeated with shouts and clamors the names of the Miloslavskys and Rtishchev. The sovereign guessed what was going on and ordered the Miloslavskys and Rtishchev to hide in the tsaritsa's and tsarevnas' chambers. As for himself, the tsar remained in the church to listen to the completion of the liturgy. The tsaritsa, tsareviches and tsarevnas sat locked in their rooms fearfully scared. The rioters did not let the tsar listen to the whole liturgy and advanced towards the palace. Luchka Zhidky went in front carrying in his cap the letter found in Lubianka. The sovereign came out onto the porch. Martin Zhedrinsky from Nizhny Novgorod took the cap and letter from Zhidky and approached the tsar, saying "Great sovereign, deign to read the letter to the community, and bring the traitors before you." "Go home," answered the tsar, "and once the liturgy ends I'll return to Moscow and start an investigation and issue a decree." Then the rioters held him by his robe and buttons and said "Why should we believe you?" The tsar swore by God and offered his hand and, when one of the rioters shook his hand, they all set out peacefully for Moscow.

Even though he had soldiers, the sovereign ordered that the rioters not be touched. He went back into the church and heard out the liturgy, then sent the boyar Prince Ivan Andreevich Khovansky[19] ahead of him to Moscow. There another crowd of rioters was busy plundering Shorin's house. Old Shorin took cover in the Kremlin in the house of Prince Cherkassky although the insurgents seized his fifteen-year-old son to serve as their witness against his father. He would have to relate how his father had fled to Poland with boyar documents. Just then Khovansky arrived and tried to convince them to end the disturbance and not plunder anyone's house. The tsar himself soon would arrive for an inquiry. "You, boyar," they shouted to him in reply, "are a good man, and many are your acts of service for the tsar against the Polish king. We have nothing against you. Let the tsar hand over for punishment the traitor boyars we seek." Khovansky returned to Kolomenskoe, the crowd following after him bringing the young Shorin in a cart.

Outside town they met the original rioters already coming from Kolomenskoe, whom they convinced to turn back. Soldiers too came along with them. They met Boyar Semeon Lukianovich Streshnev[20] and chased him with sticks. He barely got away from them across the river. The tsar was mounted on his horse to ride to Moscow when the rioters brought the

young Shorin who screamed out the fabricated tale about his father heading for Poland with boyar documents. When the boy stopped, shouts sounded in the crowd, saying "Hand over the traitors!" "I am the sovereign," replied Alexis Mikhailovich, "it is my business to investigate and mete punishment to those convicted on the basis of the investigation. As for you people, go to your homes. I shall not leave this matter as it is now, and I give my wife and children as sureties." The shouting did not stop. "Don't let us perish in vain!" shouted some. Others cried out and waved their sticks. "If you please, unless you hand over those boyars we will take them from you, in our own way!" Then Alexis Mikhailovich turned to the musketeers and household guards standing around him and ordered them against the rioters who, not having come to fight at all, started running in all directions. The soldiers caught some, a few defended themselves in vain. About one hundred men drowned in the river, more than seven thousand either were slaughtered or rounded up, although the actual rioters numbered not more than two hundred. The rest had come out of curiosity to see what would happen. Those captured were brought to the St. Nicholas monastery on the Ugresha river and interrogated. The main ringleader, who had written and posted the letter, was not found, but those who willingly or unwillingly were involved in the riot more than others were punished. Some were hanged, others had their feet and hands cut off, and others were exiled to remote towns.

ABOLITION OF COPPER MONEY

Moscow grew quiet although grievances against the copper currency continued. Governors reported that debtors brought copper currency to police posts to pay creditors, who would not take them without the tsar's decree and demanded silver currency. Finally in 1663 a decree was issued. In Moscow, Novgorod and Pskov the mints for copper currency were to be shut down, the old mint for silver currency in Moscow would resume operations, the minting of silver coins to begin there on June 15. Salaries were to be paid to servicemen of all ranks in silver coins. Customs duties and all cash dues must be brought to the treasury in silver coinage. Likewise, trading in all goods in the stalls must be done in silver coin, whereas copper coins were withdrawn. After June 15 copper coins found in each chancellery were recorded, sealed and held until a decree. The coins were not to be used for expenses. Private individuals were ordered to melt down their copper coins.

This last stipulation was ignored. A decree on January 20, 1664 stated that copper coins covered with quicksilver and others silver-plated or tinned were turning up in Moscow and other towns. The sovereign repeated the injunction against keeping copper coins, under pain of cruel punishment, reduction to penury and exile to remote towns.

The Novgorod governor, Prince Ivan Borisovich Repnin,[21] received high praise from the sovereign in 1663. Out of consideration for the poor Repnin enforced the lawful price on all grain and comestibles and forbade merchants from purchasing foodstuffs before the villagers. As a result, food grew less expensive. It was said that more than seven thousand were put to death for falsifying currency, that more than fifteen thousand had their hands and feet severed, were exiled and their property confiscated. From her fright during the Kolomenskoe riot, the tsaritsa lay ill for more than a year.

Thus ended tragically the first attempt to rectify the disorderly state of finances by issuing a kind of crown credit note, for what else were these copper coins with the nominal value of silver coins? Pushkar,[22] the regimental commander in Poltava, explained the matter in this way. Vygovsky,[23] who either did not understand or did not want to understand the significance of the copper coins, inquired "What kind of money is this? How are we to accept it?" "Were the great sovereign to cut paper coins and circulate them," responded Pushkar, "were the name of the great sovereign on the paper, I would gladly accept this salary from the sovereign."

So long as circumstances favored the realm its credit was strong, and the copper coins held their value for two years. They began to depreciate in September 1658, that is, beginning with Vygovsky's treason, which extended the war. A serious blow was struck to the copper coins when people in the Ukraine started looking at them as Vygovsky had done, not as Pushkar, and stopped accepting them from Moscow's soldiers. Counterfeit coins struck the second and decisive blow.

II

THE TSAR'S QUARREL WITH THE PATRIARCH

CAUSES

From without was an unsuccessful and destructive war whose end was not in sight, from within were natural disasters, the exhaustion of the populace, its cry and unrest, and then there was the corrupting, unprecedented enmity of the tsar for the patriarch—the enmity of Alexis Mikhailovich for Nikon,[1] his *personal* friend!

At the start of the war this personal friendship was thriving. The most notable, distinguished and intimate of the tsar's boyars knelt with reverence before the powerful patriarch, asking his intercession should their initiatives fail. The patriarch took an active part in the tsar's enterprises. In keeping with his character he sought success and encouraged the tsar to further projects. During the pestilence Nikon found himself among the tsar's family and brought them to Alexis Mikhailovich in Viazma. Nikon styled himself as *great sovereign*.[2] In this way two great sovereigns appeared again in Muscovy. Patriarch Filaret once bore this title, not as patriarch, but as the tsar's father and co-regent. Everyone well remembered that it was not an empty title for Filaret.[3] Now Nikon received the title as patriarch, with the result that the patriarch's authority equaled that of the tsar.

The tone of Nikon's official documents pointed directly to diarchy. For example, "From the great sovereign, the most holy Nikon, patriarch of Moscow and all Russia, to Vologda, to the governor, Prince Ukhtomsky. The sovereign tsar and grand prince Alexis Mikhailovich of all Russia and we, the great sovereign, have decreed that all monasteries shall provide transport service with wagons and drivers for his majesty's service at Smolensk and they shall send them to the sovereign at Smolensk. You personally are not to place our sovereign decree in abeyance. When you have collected the transport duty with wagons and drivers, send them to us in Moscow immediately." When the great sovereign and tsar was on a campaign, the great sovereign and patriarch governed the realm from Moscow. The campaigns and military action, and his complete independence at the head of the army, developed the tsar and saw him fully

mature. Thanks to the new milieu, the new activity, he experienced much in a short time. New habits and outlooks arose.

The great sovereign, returning to Moscow, found there a second great sovereign who, while he ruled without bounds, likewise developed fully with respect to his character, views and methods. Nikon was not one who knew how to stop, how not to push to extremes or how to exercise authority with moderation. Nature, having bestowed on him the faculty for advancing and acquiring influence and authority, failed to grant him the moral strength to restrain his outbursts of passion. Education, not available to him anywhere at the time, was powerless to assist nature in this regard. Finally, extraordinary good fortune completely unbridled him, driving the unpleasant aspects of his character sharply into the light.

The vocation of patriarch, which in a more gentle nature would serve as a powerful moral restraint by compelling a shepherd to be a constant example to his flock, annihilated all restraint whatsoever when it encountered Nikon's harsh nature. His entire attention was consumed by the rights of the supreme pastor and interpreter of divine law, and for himself in this sense he considered all things permissible. Given his deficiency in the Christian principle, the spirit of meekness and humility, the trappings of episcopal authority and the profound respect of the tsar and all who imitated the tsar (and there were, of course, a great many such people) easily blurred Nikon's mind and compelled him actually to consider himself the one who binds and looses in everything, the possessor of supreme spiritual gifts.

Finally, let us turn our attention to the times and the society. An extremely young society, it presented so few moral restraints for the powerful. Every powerful person was carried away so easily by his own interests and considered all things permissible with respect to the less powerful. In this society even the most gentle and most humane nature as, for example, that of Tsar Alexis Mikhailovich, could not resist actions which to us now seem very unattractive. What might people with a crueler nature allow themselves when there were no limits to the right of the powerful to subdue their inferiors, when such subdual usually was immediate, and its force measured only by the strength of the agitation produced in the soul of an enraged subduer? This youthfulness of society, its deficiency in such education as develops the mind, constrains outbursts of feelings, tempers a person and gives him regularity in his actions, this very youthfulness of society and deficiency in education produced unsteadiness, inconsistency, abrupt transitions, powerful degradation. All of this we will see in Nikon.

NIKON'S ENEMIES

Thanks to his character, Nikon succeeded long beforehand in making enemies among the magnates. Tsar Alexis had to entreat the then-metropolitan of Novgorod to hold his lordly ways in check. His elevation to the patriarchate on condition of obedience from those who so elevated him,[4] the extent of the political influence conceded to the patriarch by the tsar, and finally his governance during the tsar's absence, developed this imperiousness to the highest degree and necessarily led to a clash with the magnates and with the tsar himself, who discovered a change in his personal friend. He discovered it all the easier because a change had occurred in himself. Now he looked at many things differently. Anyone who thought he had a right to any type of authority or any kind of influence necessarily clashed with Nikon, who had no respect for anyone else's rights and pretensions. He who was unafraid and who despised his enemies considered it humiliating and unnecessary to acquire allies. The tsaritsa herself, her relatives the Miloslavskys, the Streshnevs, relatives of the sovereign on his mother's side, and all other close magnates became Nikon's enemies. Joining them were important churchmen offended by Nikon's imperiousness, his stern demeanor and the cruelty of the punishments he inflicted on the guilty. Ultimately Nikon excited powerful indignation against himself through the correction of books and punishments inflicted on those refusing to accept the corrections.[5]

The innovations supposedly introduced by Morozov,[6] Rtishchev[7] and Nikon caused dissatisfaction. Similar innovations, or at least attempts to innovate, occurred much earlier. First, during the reign of Ivan III and his son Vasily [III] there was the passive use of foreign learning and craftsmanship, and the challenge presented by foreign master craftsmen. Ivan IV wanted to broaden the scope of the challenge. The obstacle to his desire presented by the Livonians naturally led to the idea of the necessity of direct communication with Western Europe and of acquiring the Baltic coast, for which the Livonian war[8] was begun. The unhappy outcome of this war made rapprochement with Western Europe all the more necessary.

Under Godunov[9] foreign retainers appeared and grievances against the Russians' weakness for foreign customs and the tsar's indulgence in this weakness were heard. Russians went abroad to study. False Dmitry[10] undertook a reorganization on a broad scale, but he perished. The Time of Troubles halted movement toward the new, especially when its adherents appeared for the most part in the Tushino encampment and before Smolensk with the Polish king, when a popular uprising directed against

them triumphed in the name of the faith of their fathers. As soon as the Time of Troubles calmed, the yearning to introduce Western innovations grew all the more powerful. Russian armies were organized on a western model. An unprecedented influx of foreigners into Moscow occurred. Foreign master craftsmen introduced their products and received privileges on condition they instruct Russians. More active use of the fruits of civilization produced by foreign hands was aimed for.

If the government and those possessing a broader view sensed the necessity of the new and the necessity of transformation, approaching this at first gropingly and with wavering steps, nonetheless they must encounter powerful obstacles, powerful and numerous opponents. These obstacles arose naturally from the long-term stagnation and time-honored distinctive life of Russians far removed from the society of other educated peoples, from lack of domestic progress. The horizon of the Russian was narrow to the extreme, life transpired amid a short series of invariable events. This invariability necessarily led to the idea that they were eternal and hallowed by God. They received a religious character, a religious inviolability. To alter them was considered sinful. "Thus did our grandfathers and fathers live. Altering their way of life would be a sinful insult to their memory."

Constant immobility of society smothers the human spirit, takes away its faculty for activity and striving to prevail over the surrounding world and change it in accordance with one's needs. On the contrary, here the natural environment dominated individuals and for them assumed religious significance. Such is normally the life of a rural population which thus clings to the old so stubbornly and finds it so painful to move forward. Here everything new, every change, appears as something frightening, hostile, sinful, the work of higher, mysterious and hostile powers. In a developed society the town is the basis for movement. Here a person continually clashes with new people, with new types of activity, through which his horizon expands. He grows accustomed to change, stops fearing novelty. He begins to exercise his intellectual powers, to display his dominion over the material world by changing it, to display his dominion over the forces of nature by forcing them to serve him, whereas in village life and in agricultural pursuits the individual especially senses the might of the forces of nature and finds himself under their influence.

In Muscovy the town could not have the significance which it enjoyed in Western Europe, could not be a source of progress and development

to the same degree. Muscovy was a rural society in contrast to the western maritime states, which were predominately urban. In Muscovy the town was a large enclosed village. Agriculture was among the occupations of town dwellers. Manufacturing was little developed and commerce was very weak. Russian merchants declared they could not compete with foreign merchants, who were richer, more skilled and knew how to cooperate. Thus did village life, with all its inauspicious conditions for development, prevail in Muscovy. Clearly the introduction of innovations must disturb society forcefully. The very continuation of stagnation strengthened resistance to change, which conditioned the strength of the opposite tendency and produced the reversal which we now approach in our account.

CAUSES OF SCHISM

If in a society such as that of Russia in the seventeenth century the entire outward aspect of life, as a result of its time-honored immutability, generally enjoys religious esteem. If it is considered a sin to touch, change and correct it, clearly an attempt to introduce change into the forms of religion, into liturgical ritual, must appear all the more sinful. In the absence of enlightenment, which allows the possibility of distinguishing the essential from the non-essential, change in what is external and alterable appears to be alteration of the essential, an alteration of religion. The notion that change is correction is impermissible. "Our ancestors and the holy fathers prayed thus and were saved. They pleased God and were glorified through their miracles. Now we are told that we must not pray in this way, that the *saints* did not pray in the proper manner!"

It is easy to understand how an ancient Russian must have grown anxious in the face of such innovations or new-fangled ideas. It is easy to understand that the first thought of many was "We must stand up for the faith handed down by our fathers! Not long ago Russians joined together against Lithuania, fearful that the Lithuanian king's son would extirpate the Orthodox faith. Now our own people seek to alter the faith and introduce another." Difference in belief, something new or alien, was imagined as nothing but Latinism, which gave rise to the thought that Orthodoxy was to be taken away from the Russian people and Latin innovations introduced, that suffering for the faith as the ancient holy martyrs suffered was necessary. "It becomes all of us Orthodox Christians to die for a single *az* which our accursed enemy has tossed out of the Creed where it is said about the Son of God, Jesus Christ, 'begotten *but* not made.' A very great power indeed is hidden in this *az*."[11] The ancient

martyrs suffered, and their sufferings led to the triumph of the Christian faith. Is it not the same now? Why the necessity of suffering again? The revelation of the Theologian[12] says that in the last days a terrible persecutor will arise, the enemy of Christ, Antichrist, who will lead people away from the true faith and torment those who do not obey him.

It is well known what power apocalyptic ideas have over people for whom science does not moderate their still excessively vivid imagination. During every important change, battle or calamity it seems to them that the final days have arrived. It is well known how stimulated a person is who is convinced that he lives in the times portrayed in the mysterious book of the Theologian, and that the battle he is conducting must soon end in the triumph of the Lamb and all His faithful. Protestants in their struggle with Catholicism were inspired by the notion that they were waging war against Babylon of the Apocalypse, Rome, and against Antichrist, the Pope. In Western Rus, when Rome made an attempt to tear the Rus church from its Eastern roots by means of the Union,[13] the idea of the end times immediately appeared.

Finally in Muscovy, when the correction of books occurred and significant changes in civil life thereupon commenced, the times depicted in the Apocalypse and the actions of Antichrist loomed before the terrified imagination of the adherents of the old ways. As a result of the influence of Western Rus literature produced at the time of the Union, the notion of the three eras of Antichrist appeared. The first era was the fall of papal Rome from Orthodoxy. The second was the fall of Western Rus into the Union. The third was the fall of Eastern Rus from Orthodoxy in the wake of ecclesiastical and civil changes.

None of these ideas, regardless of how easily they arose in the prevailing intellectual climate of Muscovy, could have inspired a schism had the church's pastors and the whole priestly caste acknowledged by virtue of their education the legitimacy of the changes and explained that they were corrections, a return to the original texts. Among the priests, even the most notable and prominent, and the monks whose asceticism drew popular attention, even among bishops, there were men who viewed the ecclesiastical innovations or corrections as violations of the true faith. They provided leaders and support to the movement against reforms and learning.

Here as everywhere, human passions exerted a powerful influence. The striving for enlightenment, innovations and reform emerged principally in the younger generation. Young people, once they had acquired

learning, perforce pointed to irregularities and commented on the corrections. They became the teachers. Whom did they teach? The elderly and high dignitaries accustomed to consider their authority incontestable, accustomed themselves to be teachers. Now they found the eggs teaching the hen, that youngsters were raising their voice because they had studied grammar with Ukrainian monks. This offended the elders, who took arms against new opinions and the learning which introduced harmful innovations and incited young people against the old. The younger generation, seeing the stubbornness of their elders, lost all respect for them. To shake their authority and strengthen their own they branded them ignoramuses lacking all understanding of this issue. With self-esteem now added to the skirmish, the battle intensified.

CORRECTION OF BOOKS UNDER PATRIARCH JOSEPH

Those who corrected church books during the reign of Tsar Michael were subjected to various forms of persecution. In turn they repaid their tormentors with clever tricks against their ignorance. Corrections continued, for it was impossible to print books without first correcting and bringing uniformity to the text. Where were the correctors to begin? Lack of erudition could introduce distortions into books by way of an apparent correction. This in fact was done by the correctors at the time of Patriarch Joseph.[14] They included Stefan Vonifatiev,[15] archpriest of the Annunciation church and confessor to the tsar; Ivan Neronov,[16] sacristan of the Dormition cathedral and later archpriest of Our Lady of Kazan in Moscow; Fedor,[17] deacon of the Annunciation cathedral; Avvakum,[18] archpriest of Yurievets Povolzhsky; Lazar, a priest from Romanov; Nikita, a Suzdal priest; Longin, archpriest in Murom; Daniel, archpriest in Kostroma, and others. They introduced the teaching about the double alleluia and the two-fingered sign of the cross into church books. Both doctrines were confirmed in the sixteenth century and entered into the Hundred Chapters.[19] In this way they prevailed in Muscovy. Patriarch Joseph made the sign of the cross with two fingers. As metropolitan of Novgorod and at the beginning of his term as patriarch, Nikon made the sign of the cross in the same way.

These same correctors, who usually are considered the instigators of the schism, were in their own day progressive men who demanded reforms and improvements, for which they endured censure as innovators.

MONOPHONIC CHANT AND PREACHING

Whereas the abstruse question concerning book correction could be ignored by many, the dreadful disorder in the liturgy stared the better people in the face. At one and the same time in the churches people sang and read in two, three and several voices, so that nothing could be sorted out. Rtishchev forcefully pleaded for the eradication of this stumbling block and spoke to Patriarch Joseph, to the bishops and the boyars.

His assistant was Archpriest Ivan Neronov, who convinced the Moscow clergy to introduce monophony.[20] Finally it was introduced. Cantors were summoned from the Ukraine. From there too, thanks to Rtishchev and his monks from St. Andrew's, the previously unheard-of custom of preaching was brought to Moscow. Certain people looked suspiciously at Rtishchev's activities, just as they did at the Ukrainian monks and their learning, and at those who headed to Kiev for advanced studies.

UNREST AT INNOVATIONS

Innovations such as monophonic chanting and preaching likewise aroused indignation. Whenever Prokofy, priest at St. Nicholas church, got together with Ivan, priest at St. Gabriel's, he said to him "You sanctimonious man, you introduce a new heresy, monophonic chanting and instructing people in the church. We never used to teach people in church, we taught them in private. You have a devil in you, all you hypocrites, and the archpriest of the Annunciation church is a hypocrite like the rest of you!"

On February 11, 1651 some priests gathered in the outer entrance hall of the crown tax agent's office and an argument began about monophony. Savva, priest of St. Luke's church, and his companions shouted "I refuse to sign the decision about monophony. First let them order the boyars and lords-in-waiting to sign the decision about monophony. Will they really prefer monophony?" "You despise God's will, the canon of the holy fathers," Ivan the priest at St. Gabriel's objected, "the typikon,[21] the sovereign's order and the bishop's blessing." "You're a hypocrite, young fellow!" shouted his opponents. "You already have been in the patriarch's dungeon, and you will be there again. Even if we must die, we will not put our signature on the decision about monophony!"

Neronov helped Rtishchev. Stefan Vonifatiev worked with them as well, because the adherents of the old ways called him sanctimonious. About one question Vonifatiev, Neronov and their companions strongly

disagreed with Rtishchev's Ukrainians, Epifany Slavinetsky[22] and his companions. That question concerned the correction of books. The learned Epifany saw the distortions introduced into the books by ignorant printers and he did not keep quiet. The adherents of the old ways complained that the disciples of the Kievan monks had no regard for the devout archpriests Ivan, Stefan and others. It was under such strained relations that matters rested when Nikon ascended the patriarch's throne.

Vonifatiev, Neronov and their companions had no cause to fear the new patriarch, who was very friendly with them when he was abbot, archimandrite and then metropolitan of Novgorod. He often came to the confessor at their house and consulted with him about everything on friendly terms. The question about the books was not raised. Like all the correctors, Nikon made the sign of the cross with two fingers. As for bringing some decorum to the liturgy, Nikon did not lag behind the Moscow zealots, even though as metropolitan of Novgorod he did not lead the way.

CORRECTION OF BOOKS UNDER NIKON

Roughly a year after Nikon's elevation to the patriarchate their relationship changed. Based on indications from Slavinetsky, the Greek clergy and on his own investigation, Nikon was convinced that the books were corrupt. It is easy to understand how the self-esteem of the correctors was offended by this conviction, for they now were revealed to be distorters. Nikon paid no heed to their offended self-esteem. At court in the presence of the tsar (at the end of 1653 or at the very start of 1654) the patriarch held a council, pointed out the differences between the printed Russian books and the Greek and ancient Slavonic manuscripts and posed the question "Should we follow our new printed service books or the Greek and our old books?" The majority responded affirmatively to the second part of the question. Bishop Paul of Kolomna,[23] the old correctors and a few other clerics roundly opposed this decision. Vonifatiev yielded and remained in his former station. Neronov and his companions and Bishop Paul refused to budge and were exiled.

The work of correcting the books was entrusted to Epifany and his associates, and to the Greek monk Arsenios.[24] Nikon summoned him from Solovki where he had been exiled for acquiring an education in the Latin schools of the West. To be admitted to these schools he temporarily adopted the Latin faith.

A synod of Greek bishops in Constantinople confirmed the decision of the Moscow synod. In Moscow it was thought that only a few ancient Greek and Slavonic books were to be found in Russia. Accordingly the monk Arseny Sukhanov[25] was sent to Mount Athos and elsewhere to obtain Greek manuscripts. Arseny, a zealous Old Believer, nonetheless cooperated with the work of correction and brought back nearly five hundred manuscripts. Greek bishops sent no less than two hundred. The Antiochene patriarch Makarios, who arrived in Moscow with other Eastern bishops, solemnly declared in the Dormition cathedral on the Sunday of Orthodoxy[26] that the sign of the cross must be made with three fingers, and he condemned those who used two. The Moscow synod of 1656 definitively confirmed the matter.

PREVIOUS CORRECTORS OPPOSE CHANGES

Some individuals were dissatisfied with the synodal decisions and the testimony of the Greek bishops. Neronov and his comrades sent a petition to the tsar. "Arsenios the Greek is received in Moscow and lives in a cell with Patriarch Nikon. Nikon installs him, the enemy, as a witness but he alters the witness of the ancient great men and holy miracle workers. Alack and alas! Pious tsar! Be so good, son of the church, and attend to the lament and prayer of your majesty's intercessors. We pray you again, sire, do not receive in counsel foreign monks who introduce heresy. We find not a single virtue in them. They refuse to make the true sign of the cross and they oppose our way of holding our fingers together. They refuse to genuflect in honor of the Lord's repose."

The tsar paid no attention to these missives and handed them over to Nikon. Among the people they received much attention and in 1654 during the pestilence in Moscow a crowd spoke out against Nikon and Arsenios the Greek.

THE CONCEPT OF ANTICHRIST

The danger of losing the right belief of their ancestors through innovations and the fear of Antichrist's times stirred up not only the lower classes. Neronov's spiritual son, the nobleman Pleshcheev,[27] wrote to him in his place of confinement, the Savior on the Rock monastery. "I think that dissensions are soon to come and pains and sufferings shall fall upon those who do not submit. Inevitable dissensions shall come to pass according to the prediction in the book about faith, where it is written about

the apostasy of the West and the desertion of the Uniates to the Western church according to the number from Antichrist. For it commanded us to be on guard against such sins when the 1,666th year since the incarnation of the Son of God is fulfilled. The spirit of Antichrist, like a broad and spacious path leading to perdition, has begun mightily to shake the true barque of Christ."[28]

Pleshcheev and his companions turned to Neronov in vain for confirmation of their fears of Antichrist. The Moscow archpriests Neronov and Vonifatiev could not possibly head the schismatic movement, nor could they impart to it their particular vigor. They were progressive men. If they regarded the correction of books and Nikon with animosity, it was as a consequence of their offended self-esteem and not because of a fanatical adherence to the letter *az*. Prompted by wounded vanity, Neronov was prepared to work against Nikon and Nikon's cause by every means. He was not capable of suffering either death or imprisonment for the sake of the letter *az*. For his part Nikon did not treat the issue of correction fanatically. In keeping with his nature he could deal cruelly with those who raised their voice against him, his authority and his affairs, yet as soon as these people brought their sins before the Most Holy God, he was prepared to make concessions.

Thanks to the mediation of Vonifatiev the father confessor, Neronov returned to Moscow, declaring that he would submit to the decision of the ecumenical patriarchs. At his own request Neronov was tonsured and took the name Gregory. Others imprisoned for the schism were also released. Nikon, as a sign of letting bygones be bygones, gave Neronov all the letters written to the tsar and Vonifatiev against him. Moreover, the patriarch informed Neronov that, as far as he was concerned, he could celebrate the liturgy according to the old service books. He paid no attention to the fact that in the Dormition cathedral itself, in keeping with Neronov's exhortations, the alleluia was said twice. Most people could not understand these concessions, for the chief point escaped their grasp, namely that it was a matter of externals, not essentials. The change with respect to the twofold or threefold repetition of the alleluia was considered a change in belief. For this reason most people could not be reassured that it was possible to confess equally the right and the wrong belief, as each pleased. Vonifatiev and Neronov could strike a bargain, but their companions Avvakum, Longin and Lazar would not. Their inability to bargain and their boundless zeal and readiness to die for the letter *az* created quite

a strong impression and gained adherents for a cause which had such desperate fighters. They soon gained a new and powerful ally in the monk Kapiton[29] who attracted attention by his unusual asceticism, thereby passing for a righteous man.

THE SOLOVETSK MONKS OPPOSE CORRECTIONS

Finally one of the most renowned monasteries declared itself against Nikon's innovations. In August 1657 a junior boyar from the court of the Holy Wisdom[30] arrived in Kholmogory with newly printed church books and an order from the Novgorod metropolitan Makary to distribute the books throughout the eparchy. He ordered the Solovetsk monk Joseph summoned to his quarters, unloaded eighteen books on him and settled the account at twenty-three rubles, eight altyns and two dengas. Joseph sent the books to the monastery. Archimandrite Elias summoned the chapter and announced the delivery. The priests and deacons examined the books and said "We shall celebrate the liturgy according to the old service books from which we first learned and to which we are accustomed. We are old men. We cannot keep up our weekly cycles even following the old service books, and as for learning from the new books in our old age, we cannot. There is no time, and we see only a little of what was learned. No matter how much we study, we are sluggish monks, slow to understand and unaccustomed to reading and writing. We'll never get used to it. It is better to be with the brothers doing monastery chores." Then the brothers shouted out "If the priests celebrate according to the new service books we will not receive communion from them. If any grief or severe reprimand comes to our father, Archimandrite Elias, we'll offer our own heads to the patriarch and metropolitan on behalf of the whole brotherhood. We will stand together as one and we will not hand over the archimandrite for any reason."

Not everyone agreed with this decision or, at least, some dissociated themselves from it subsequently, and in 1658 a letter from them appeared before the patriarch. "Your intercessors, priests of Solovetsk monastery, Vitaly, Kirill, Sadof, Nikon, Spiridon and German, petition and make known the following against Archimandrite Elias and his advisors. Last year, 1657, the service books corrected by your sovereign authority were sent to the Solovetsk monastery. Archimandrite Elias and his advisors secretly took them. Without showing them to any of us, they placed them in the treasury where they lay unbound for another year. When we learned about them, we asked each other 'For what reason did they not

show us these service books?' Now, in 1658 in the sixth week of Lent, the archimandrite and his advisors wrote up a statement about the service books. The archimandrite summoned us, all priests, and with serious threats and injunctions compelled us to affix our signature to his idle statement. Fabricating unrest and hardship between himself and us, he claimed that he gave us the service books but we did not accept them from him. On the contrary, we asked him to let us examine the service books, which he would not permit us to do. I, the priest German, twice was beaten with the lash for the sole reason that I sang the liturgy using the new service books.

"Pilgrims arriving in the monastery from Rus denounced the use of the old service books in Solovetsk. When he learned of this, the archimandrite devised a new statement, no longer secretly. He announced to all the brothers that under no circumstances were they to receive the current service books, and that we, all the brothers, were to stand behind the archimandrite. After composing the statement on June 8, he assembled the entire brotherhood in the refectory for a chapter. At the time pilgrims from various towns happened along and a great clamor arose. The archimandrite spoke to the whole brotherhood with tears. 'Don't you see, brothers,' he said, 'the end times are upon us. New teachers have arisen, turning us away from the Orthodox faith and the traditions of the fathers. They command us to celebrate the liturgy using Polish crosses according to the new service books. Let us pray, brothers, that God will make us worthy to die in the same Orthodox faith as our fathers!' Then they all shouted with loud voices 'We shall not accept the Latin service and the heretical ritual, we refuse to receive communion at such a liturgy. You, our father, we shall not hand over for any reason.' Throughout the maritime regions and in all the monastery's territories and saltworks the archimandrite asserts this and forbids the new service books to be accepted on any account. We refused to affix our signature to the statement, so the archimandrite and his advisers howled at us like wild beasts, saying 'You want to celebrate the heretical Latin liturgy! We shall not let you out of the refectory alive!' We took fright and affixed our signatures."

PETITION TO THE TSAR AGAINST NIKON

This petition arrived in Moscow before Nikon reached Solovki. The patriarch provoked so much hatred by his grandiose style of governing. The enemies of innovation presented the sovereign with a lengthy complaint against Nikon in which they attacked him not only as an innovator but

also as a bad patriarch. "He refused to collect the previous fees for ordination from the clergy and established a new system. He ordered candidates to bring registry copies from the tithe collectors and deans of priests outlining where in which deanery each person lived. For such a copy it takes from two to four weeks, and the expenses run about two rubles. The candidate brings his copy to Moscow and lives there for fifteen to thirty weeks. Not counting his expenses and the bribes for the archdeacon and clerks, he becomes a priest for five or six rubles. Others linger in Moscow for ten or more weeks only to be sent to Kazan for ordination. Other candidates waste their time and worry their livelihood away in obscurity. They go for an audience, and finally in about two weeks they get one. Then they wait until the fifth hour, and even until the sixth hour at night during winter. A candidate paces for another night in his room in the bishop's guest house and vanishes without a trace, yet he is not allowed anywhere in the patriarchal court.

"Under former patriarchs, except Joseph, all the candidates used to spend the night in the bakery. Under Patriarch Joasaph[31] candidates waited in the reception hall during the winter, and they spent the night in the bakery for free. Now they are forbidden to stand even in the inner entrance. During the winter they freeze in the outer porch. Under former bishops they could go without restriction as far as the reception rooms to the treasurer and wardrobe keeper, and into the treasury itself, early and late. Now at the bishop's it is set up like an image of hell itself. It is terrifying to approach the gate because there is only one and it is always shut. Priests do not dare go to the church for a blessing nor ask a question about unfamiliar things, whereas at every hour of the day without restriction women and girls go to the church for blessings. There is always time for this, and he even receives petitions from them without restriction. Widowed priests now celebrate the liturgy in Moscow. Have they become saints? Or was there a sign from heaven concerning them? Yet poor village priests are prohibited from celebrating the liturgy. One priest is left with orphans, sometimes with five, six or more, and they work the land themselves.

"The patriarch's territory is enormous. Some places are about eight hundred versts from Moscow. In an earlier age priests from there were ordained by the nearest bishop. Patriarch Joseph forbade this because he wanted to gather property for himself, and so it remains now. Joseph forbade issuing letters of transfer to priests in towns with tithe collectors' offices. He commanded instead that they be issued by the treasury

office, aiming to make his own secretary Ivan Kokoshilov and the scriveners wealthy. A letter of transfer was issued to a priest without an advocate for six, seven, ten and fifteen rubles, not counting personal expenses, after some twenty to thirty weeks dragged by, whereas another poor fellow lives ten or more weeks in Moscow and spends five, six and more rubles on food, and then leaves without his letter of transfer. Many come two or three times to Moscow for letters of transfer, and in their absence their wives and children wandered begging from house to house. Bishop Nikon tenaciously held to this entire routine, although in the canons it is written that no one may transfer from one church to another. Priests do not transfer willingly from one church to another. Out of a hundred priests not even five will be found who would have transferred willingly and without coercion. They all transfer sobbing and lamenting because on the estates of boyars and nobles, priests and deacons are put in the stocks and in chains, are beaten and sent away from their church.

"If any priest wishes to petition you, sovereign, half a year or even a year will go by. The priest or cleric will barely get through because the guards let no one into the chancellery for free, and there is no point in bribing the scrivener and secretary. When Ivan Kokoshilov was commissioned in the treasury by the patriarch, petitioners had to pay his men a poltina and a ruble each, and to him five or six rubles in cash each, in addition to the presents, mead and fish. Of course the fish had to be fresh. They brought his wife presents of soap and berries worth a ruble or more. Without gifts for his men they simply were not admitted to the court. If someone must pay a fine for dishonoring a priest or deacon he has nothing to fear because, on the good advice of your boyars, the very heavy fine for dishonoring a Mordvinian, a Cheremiss or a priest is set at five rubles. A fourth-rate dog costs five rubles! A praiseworthy saying now makes the rounds among nobles and boyars who do not fear God. "Beat a priest like a dog within an inch of his life and you lose five rubles!" Foreigners are amazed and others lament because the ecclesiastical office is so dishonored!

"About two years ago the archpriest of the new town of Korsun arrived with the bishop's levy. About ten rubles passed from him to the secretary Ivan Kokoshilov and his wife and men, and they accepted the levy. He also required a quittance from the secretary. At this point he gave no money and much time was wasted. Not wishing to die of starvation, the archpriest indentured himself as a slave for ten rubles and brought this amount to the secretary's wife, who took the money from

him. At this time, in keeping with your decree, Kropotkin was beaten with the knout for graft. The secretary feared that the archpriest would not stop petitioning him, and he told the patriarch that the archpriest had slipped his wife ten rubles. The patriarch ordered the archpriest placed in chains. After torturing him for a long time in the patriarchal chancellery of justice, he ordered him sent into exile, whereas the thief lives as in the old days and continues to steal.

"It never happens that the dean of priests arriving with revenues is received by the patriarch in the reception hall and questioned about every measure. Under former patriarchs, when the dean of priests arrived from any deanery, he first went to the patriarch's reception hall for a blessing. The bishop welcomed him and ordered him fed, and instructed the secretary to accept the levy without delay. At that time the payment from a large deanery to the secretary was set at three or four rubles, and to the scrivener, two or three rubles. He spent ten days in Moscow for the sake of the payment, many spent about two weeks, and every day he visited the bishop who enquired about all measures. He favored him with presents almost every day. Now, on account of their transgressions they are deprived of everything. The bishop has ordered a census throughout the region in the towns and districts, imposing the tribute again. He ordered eight dengas for each priestly household to be levied in the group assessment, one altyn for every deacon's household, one grosh from each subdeacon's, sacristan's and altar bread baker's household, and from each beggar two dengas, as well as six dengas on a chetvert of land and two dengas on every haycock. It is much better to live under the Tatar mullahs! Nikon had horses collected from the churches throughout the realm. He petitioned the sovereign (1655), and then sent about four or five hundred horses around all his estates. Do you see, all-merciful light, how he prefers to cast a big shadow and travel like a king? Is it the custom for bishops to support the needs of the military? This same bishop received the authority to pay for pole axes instead of the gospel, and shovels instead of crosses to help you and your martial needs."

Here they first of all accused Nikon of not removing those customs burdensome for the clergy which his predecessor had introduced for personal profit. The chief concrete accusation against Nikon was that he destroyed the previous sociability between the supreme bishop and the clergy subordinate to him, principally the parish clergy. The patriarch surrounded himself with unapproachable grandeur, "he preferred to cast a big shadow and travel like a king." "I do not wish to be under the oath

of the ecumenical patriarchs," Neronov once told Nikon, "but such is the honor due you, holy father, that you are frightening to everyone, and they all say to each other menacingly 'Do you know who he is? A ferocious beast, or a lion or bear, or a wolf?' I am amazed that no one listens to the sovereign-tsar's authority any longer. Everyone is in dread of you. Your emissaries are feared more than the tsar's. No one dares talk with them. 'If you knew the patriarch!' they repeat. I do not know what example or calling you have accepted."

THE FINAL BREACH WITH THE TSAR

There were many close to the tsar too who told him over and over that the tsar's authority no longer was heeded, that the patriarch's emissaries were feared more than the tsar's, that the great sovereign patriarch was not satisfied with sharing equal authority with the sovereign tsar but strove to exceed him. "He meddles in all affairs of state and in civil courts, sends memoranda in his own name to the chancelleries, and takes on any matters from the chancelleries without the sovereign's order. He harms many people, seizes patrimonial lands, accepts runaway servitors and peasants."

It is not known when Alexis Mikhailovich finally believed these intimations. Very likely he could not pinpoint with precision that sad moment for him when the last, perhaps insignificant, drop fell into the vessel and filled it to overflowing. Love and enmity sneak up unnoticed and take possession of the soul. Someone is certain that he still loves or that he is still indifferent, while some insignificant circumstance finally lays bare the condition of the soul already prepared for some time.

In keeping with his nature and his former relationship with the patriarch, the tsar could not bring himself to a straightforward clarification, a direct settling of accounts with Nikon. He was too weak, and preferred evasion. He began to avoid the patriarch. Nikon noticed this and in keeping with his own nature and the situation to which he was accustomed, he too was unable to come to a straightforward clarification with the tsar and thereafter held his behavior in check. To begin with, the tsar's coldness and remoteness exasperated Nikon, who was used to the opposite. Taking offense, he would not lower himself to find an explanation and by humble means destroy the enmity at the outset. So induced, Nikon likewise stood aloof, thereby giving his enemies complete freedom to act and set the sovereign against him more and more.

As soon as magnates hostile to the patriarch were convinced that their side had taken the lead, they did not hesitate to let their enemy feel their triumph.[32] In the summer of 1658 a banquet was held in the palace on the occasion of the arrival in Moscow of the Georgian tsarevich Teimuraz. Lord-in-waiting Bogdan Matveevich Khitrovo[33] cleared the path for the tsarevich. He did this in the customary manner dispensing blows of his cane to those who leaned out too much from the crowd. It happened that a member of the patriarch's court fell under his cane. "Don't scuffle with me, Bogdan Matveevich!" he shouted, "I didn't just come here, I'm on business." "Who are you?" asked the lord-in waiting. "I'm one of the patriarch's staff and I have been sent on business," answered the official. "Don't swagger!" shouted Khitrovo, and with those words he struck him a second time on the forehead. The official ran to complain to the patriarch, who wrote the tsar in his own hand, requesting an investigation into the case and Khitrovo's punishment. Alexis Mikhailovich likewise replied with a handwritten note that he would order an inquiry and that he would meet with the patriarch. There was no meeting.

July 8 came, the feast of the Mother of God of Kazan, and a solemn procession. The tsar did not attend a single service in the Kazan cathedral. On the tenth, there was another great festival recently established in Moscow to honor the Deposition of the Lord's Tunic,[34] brought from Persia under Tsar Michael. Before liturgy, Prince Yury Romodanovsky[35] appeared before the patriarch with an instruction from the tsar not to wait for him at the liturgy in the Dormition cathedral. To this instruction Romodanovsky added another. "His majesty the tsar is angry with you," he said. "You style yourself 'great sovereign' but we have only one great sovereign, the tsar." "I do not call myself great sovereign of my own accord," answered Nikon. "His majesty the tsar wished and commanded it so, as these charters written in his own hand bear witness." "His majesty the tsar," continued Romodanovsky, "esteemed you as father and pastor, but you did not understand this. Now his majesty the tsar has ordered me to tell you henceforth not to sign your name or call yourself great sovereign, nor will he any longer hold you in esteem." With this the conversation ended.

Nikon headed for the cathedral to celebrate the divine liturgy, and after communion he ordered the sacristan to place a guard so that no one might leave the church, as there would be an instruction! "May the name of the Lord be blessed" was sung. The people crowded about the ambo to listen to the instruction and they heard strange words. "I was lazy teaching

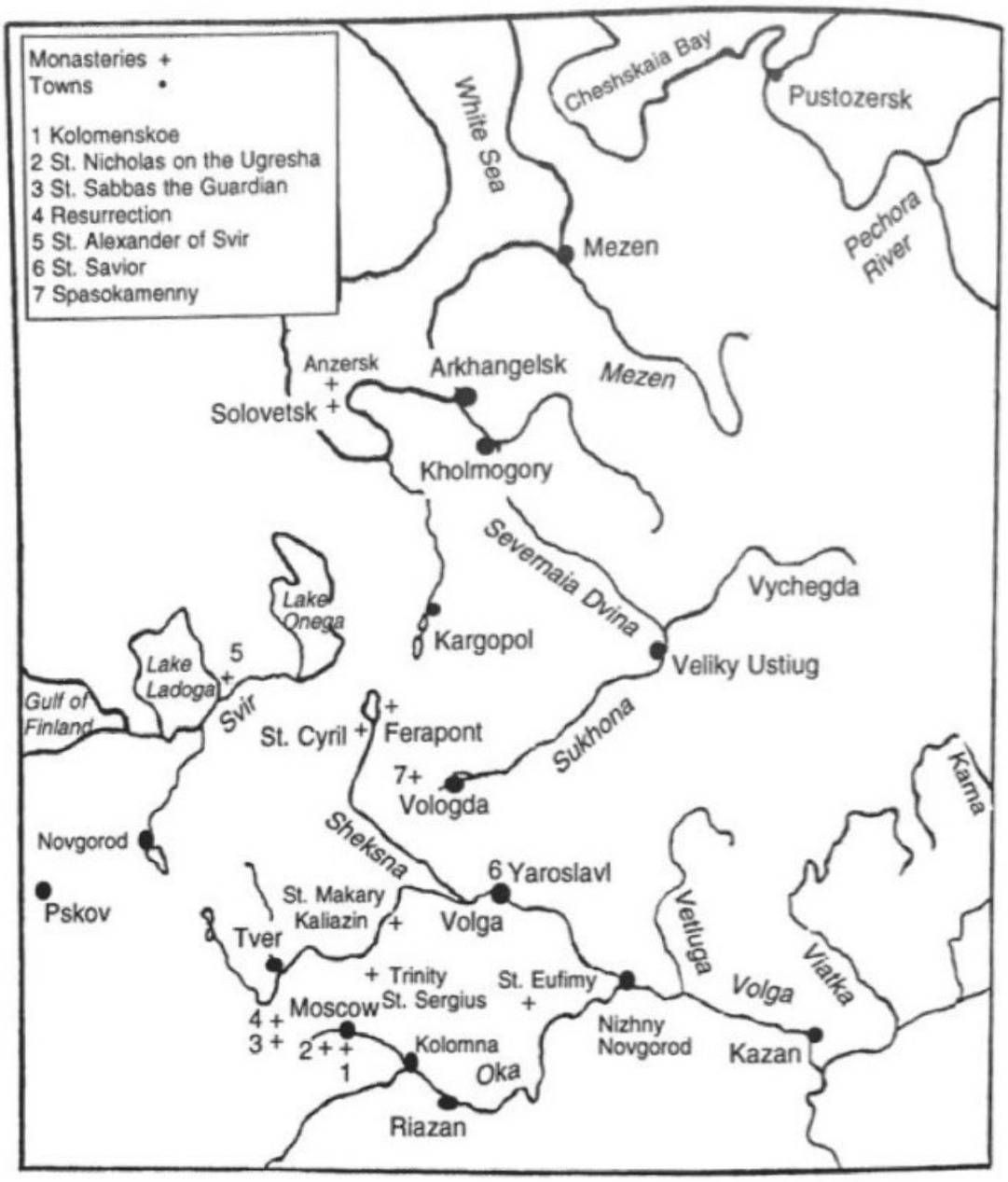
you," said the patriarch. "I was not cut out for it, and from my laziness I have developed mange. Seeing how I did not instruct you, you too have developed mange on account of me. From this moment on I shall no longer be your patriarch. If I think of being patriarch, let me be anathema. At the same time as I went with Tsarevich Alexis Alekseevich to the Kalazin monastery, many people assembled in Moscow at the Place of the Skull and called me an iconoclast because I removed and cleaned many icons. For this they wanted to kill me. I removed Latin icons painted from the model which a foreigner brought with him from his own land. There is the kind of image you should believe in and venerate (at this he pointed to an icon of the Savior in the iconostasis). I am not an iconoclast.

"After this the people called me a heretic, because I introduced new books! All of this happened on account of my sins. I set before you many instructions and the testimony of the ecumenical patriarchs, but you in your stone-hard hearts wanted to stone me to death. Christ redeemed us once for all with His blood, but you would stone me to death, even though I cannot deliver anyone with my blood. Since you would stone me to death and call me a heretic, it is best that from this moment on I no longer be your patriarch."

He finished and began to disrobe. Sobbing voices were heard. "To whom are you leaving us orphans?" "To him whom God gives," replied Nikon, "and whom the all-holy Mother of God is pleased to choose." A bag with simple monastic attire was produced, but the crowd suddenly moved and took away the bag. Nikon entered the vestiary and wrote a letter to the tsar. "I am leaving because of your anger," he wrote, "thereby fulfilling scripture 'Give way to anger,' and again 'When they drive you out of this town, go to another town and if they do not welcome you, shake the dust from your feet as you leave.'" In the vestiary Nikon put on a striped cope.[36] The black veiled headgear and Metropolitan Peter's staff he left on the bishop's seat, and took a simple walking stick. As he was about to leave the cathedral the crowd rushed to the doors and did not let him pass, allowing only Pitirim, metropolitan of Krutitsa, who went to the palace to tell the tsar what was happening in the cathedral. Alexis Mikhailovich was very troubled. "I was just resting with open eyes and I saw all of this in a dream," he said, and sent to the cathedral the most high-ranking boyar, Prince Alexis Nikitich Trubetskoy.[37]

Much had changed since the time in 1654 when this same Trubetskoy, before being dispatched on campaign, devotedly received the blessing of Nikon who was then in all his power and glory! Even now Trubetskoy

began by approaching the patriarch for a blessing. Instead, he received this reply. "My blessing is gone, I am not worthy to be patriarch." "What is this unworthiness of yours? What have you done?" asked Trubetskoy



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innocently. "If you want, I will confess to you," replied Nikon. Trubetskoy was even more confused. "That is not my business," he said. "Don't confess, just tell me why you are running away, why you are abandoning your throne. Stay, do not abandon the throne! Our mighty sovereign

regards you with favor and is pleased with you." "Take this to the sovereign," Nikon said, handing Trubetskoy the letter, "and ask his majesty the tsar to favor me with a cell." Trubetskoy headed for the palace.

Nikon, greatly agitated, now sat on the lowest step of the patriarch's stall,[38] now stood up and walked towards the doors. The crowd, weeping, would not let him pass. Finally Nikon too began to cry. All expected that the tsar would appear, that a clarification and reconciliation of the two would follow. Instead of the tsar, Trubetskoy entered again. Handing back to Nikon his letter, he said in the name of the tsar that Nikon was not to leave the patriarchate, and that there were many cells in the patriarchal court. "I shall no longer change my word," answered Nikon, "and I vowed a long time ago not to be patriarch."

After bowing to the boyar, the patriarch left the church. When he wanted to take his seat in a carriage, the people rushed at it and unharnessed the horse. Nikon walked on foot through the Kremlin towards Savior gates. The people ran ahead and barred the gates. Nikon sat in one of the pits (on a small oven). There envoys from the palace appeared and forced the gates open. Nikon stood and once again walked on foot across Red Square to St. Elias street, to the guest house of the Resurrection monastery (New Jerusalem)[39] which he had built. He blessed the weeping people, dismissed them and after a short time departed for the Resurrection monastery.[40]

RETIREMENT TO RESURRECTION MONASTERY

On the third day, July 12, Prince Alexis Nikitich Trubetskoy and Crown Secretary Larion Lopukhin went to the monastery to see him. "Why, most holy patriarch," asked Trubetskoy, "did you leave Moscow with such haste, without informing the great sovereign or bestowing your blessing on him? Had the great sovereign known, he would have ordered you escorted with honor. You could have bestowed a blessing on the great sovereign, the sovereign tsaritsa and their children. You could have blessed him whom God wills to take your place as patriarch, and while there is no patriarch you could have blessed the metropolitan of Krutitsa to lead the church as patriarch." "Let the sovereign," Nikon replied, "the sovereign tsaritsa and their children favor me and forgive me. As for me, I send them my blessing and forgiveness, and I bless whoever becomes patriarch. I ask that the church not be widowed and without a pastor, and I bless the Krutitsa metropolitan to lead the church. That I left quickly

without informing the great sovereign, in this I am guilty before him. I grew fearful lest sickness befall me and I die while still patriarch. I no longer wish to be patriarch. If I do desire it, let me be condemned, anathema."

NIKON PACIFIED

Evidently Nikon had settled down completely, firmly resolved not to return to the office of patriarch, devoting himself exclusively to his beloved Resurrection monastery. A letter to the tsar, sent with Trubetskoy or after him, breathes an unusual humility. "I, your greatly sinful intercessor, the humble Nikon, *former* patriarch, pray to God with tears, alas, for the salvation of your soul and the health of your body, and beg for mercy and forgiveness from you, sovereign. Forgive me, for the sake of God, my many transgressions, the number of which truly exceeds reckoning. Following the departure of your boyar Prince Alexis Nikitich and his companions, I expected a pardon from you, great sovereign, in keeping with my request. Not waiting until it arrived and owing to my many pains I commanded that I be taken to the Resurrection monastery."

The lord-in-waiting Ivan Mikhailovich Miloslavsky[41] arrived at the Resurrection monastery and in the name of the tsar told Nikon that Boyar Boris Ivanovich Morozov was dangerously ill, and that if he had caused the patriarch any aggravation, he should forgive the dying man. "We experienced no aggravation from Boris Ivanovich," Nikon answered the sovereign in writing, "only love and kindness. Even if there were something, we, Christ's imitator, and the Lord God forgive him if he, as a man, is guilty before us. Now we are impoverished in all things and thus do we beg your gentleness to grant us something for the construction of the temple of Christ's resurrection, and for a subsistence for us paupers. We are happy to remember the boyar. Nothing so benefits our soul as the building up of the holy church. All the more beneficial would it be for his soul if he were pleased to be buried in the house of the life-giving Resurrection, near holy Golgotha. For the memory of so great a boyar would never fade, and God would give him rest on account of our humble prayers."

III

RESUMPTION OF CONFLICT

CONFLICT RENEWED

The tone of Nikon's letters and his conversation with the tsar's envoys soon changed. Decisively irritated by the words of Romodanovsky on July 10, Nikon decided to strike the tsar and the people with his resignation. The effect was powerful indeed, but all was not as Nikon might have expected. The tsar did not come to the Dormition cathedral for explanations with him, did not beg him to stay, did not ask solemnly for forgiveness. The scene which occurred at Nikon's election to the office of patriarch was not repeated.[1] Then, too, the words which Romodanovsky permitted himself were not repeated further. The tsar's envoys treated Nikon with reverence and the tsar communicated in warm words which recalled their earlier relationship.

These communications and the tsar's slowness in choosing a new patriarch frightened Nikon's enemies. They saw how the tsar was troubled by serious doubts. Had he acted properly with Nikon, was he really guilty? Thus did Nikon's enemies try to convince Alexis Mikhailovich that the former patriarch really was guilty. The tsar himself let Nikon know of the dangers, sending to tell him that only he the sovereign and Prince Yury (Dolgoruky?) were well-disposed towards him. Soon thereafter Nikon learned that his enemies were looking for accusations to bring against him and that they intended to demonstrate his injustices, his sins and his unworthiness. They planned to show that Nikon vainly tried to suggest that he retired as a consequence of unjust persecution, unable to bear the tsar's injustice and the people's sins, and that instead he ought to have stepped down as patriarch because of his own personal unworthiness.

Nikon saw the abyss to which his act on July 10 brought him. There was no turning back, and that is where temptations arose. A man accustomed to being first and foremost, accustomed to having everything and everyone referred to him, to having everyone bow before him, is abandoned, forgotten! Moreover, he is handed over for sacrifice to enemies

who defame him! A man accustomed to far-reaching and visible activity is compelled to make do with petty worries about the construction of a monastery. Other temptations also appeared. Accustomed to luxury and abundance in everything, Nikon strongly felt the absence of this luxury and abundance in the Resurrection monastery. All of this began to agitate and irritate a nature so prone to agitation and irritation. Nikon lacked the moral greatness and Christian spirit to overcome temptations. Thus he sought means to maintain himself in an advantageous situation with regard to both his honor and his livelihood. He insisted on his rights, which were such as could seem uncanonical and dangerous even to those not his enemies. The irritation, battle and temptation intensified.

The patriarch was informed that his papers were being examined and that people of all ranks were forbidden to visit him at the Resurrection monastery. "I beg you," wrote Nikon to the sovereign, "not to be angry with your intercessor. I have decided to write to you about some very needful matters, trusting in your customary past good behavior in God. I have heard that you gave orders to have returned what you previously gave to the holy great church. I pray you in the Lord not to do this. You, great sovereign, through your table attendant Afanasy Ivanovich Matiushkin[2] sent me your gracious forgiveness, and now I hear that you are treating me not as a forgiven man but as the ultimate malefactor. The shabby things left in my cell are being examined, my letters are being examined, even though they contain many secrets which no layman ought to know, because I was chosen as chief hierarch and I keep many of your secrets in my dwelling. In addition to these are the many letters from other people who requested absolution of their sins from me, and this no one may know, not even you. I am amazed at how quickly you have come to such audacity!

"In the past you used to fear to pronounce judgment on a simple cleric in minor orders. Now you desire to see the sins and secrets of him who used to be pastor of the whole community. Not only do you want to see these things yourself, you also want to show them to laymen. Wherefore are we now judged by the unrighteous rather than by the saints? We hear that all this is being done in order to remove your charters in which you styled us great sovereign, not according to our will but according to your pleasure. I do not know whence this title was taken, though I think that it is from you. You used to write that way in all your charters, and that is also the style used in the legal correspondence from all the regiments, in every affair, and it is impossible to emend this. My evil, haughty and

accursed title is so used, even though I obtained it unwillingly. I rely on the Lord that your men will not find any desire or command on my part for this title anywhere, unless they make up false tales. I have suffered much on account of these false stories and I suffer for the Lord at the hands of false brethren. The things I said with humility are passed on as if I had said them with pride, what I said piously is reported as blasphemy. By such false words your anger against me is magnified. My enemies extort from me what I neither wanted nor sought, to be called great sovereign. Before everyone I am reproached and profaned in vain. I think, and you will recall, that even during the holy liturgy I heard that they shouted 'great lord' and not 'great sovereign,' according to our decree.

"I once enjoyed great wealth and shared the same table with you. I am not ashamed to boast of this. In keeping with your sovereign custom I was fed with many rich foods like a calf for slaughter. As I took great pleasure in this, I cannot soon forget it. Thus now on July 25 everyone was rejoicing, everyone was celebrating the birth of the pious tsarevna Anna Mikhailovna. I alone, like a dog, was deprived of your rich table, but a dog is fed from the scraps which fall from its master's table. Were I not considered an enemy, I would not have been deprived of a small morsel of bread from your rich table.

"I am writing this not because I am deprived of bread, rather do I request mercy and love from you, great sovereign. I entreat you for the Lord's sake to cease being angry in vain. I more than anyone have been slandered to you, defamed and reproached unjustly. For this reason I entreat you, change your attitude towards me for the Lord's sake and do not be merciless to me, a sinner. Do not do to others what you do not wish upon yourself. Surely you would not like everyone to know your secrets against your will, would you? How will you receive mercy if you yourself are not merciful?

"Not I alone, but many people are suffering on account of me. Not long ago you made a commitment to me with Prince Yury because only you and Prince Yury were well-disposed towards me. Now you alone have shown yourself very merciless towards me, your wretched intercessor. You hinder those who wish to be merciful, and you have strictly forbidden anyone to visit me. For the sake of God I entreat you, stop! Even if you are the great tsar ordained by God, you are nevertheless ordained for the cause of justice. What injustice have I done in your sight? That for the sake of the church I asked for judgment against the offender? Instead of a just judgment I received responses devoid of mercy! Now I

hear that contrary to church law, you yourself dare to judge the clergy, something not permitted you by God. Some say that I took a great treasure with me. I did not. However much is expended for the needs of the church, I intend to pay back in time. They say that the amount was paid into the Resurrection treasury at the time of my departure. Even this was paid not because of profit-seeking, but in order not to leave the brothers in debt, because there was nothing with which to settle accounts with the workmen. Other expenditures are paid before the eyes of all. The Moscow residence was completed, costing two or more thousand desiatki.[3] A shipping warehouse cost about ten thousand. To you, great sovereign, I presented ten thousand for the sustenance of the armed forces. I paid personally about ten thousand into the treasury, nine thousand are given now for a cargo vessel. Last year horses were purchased for three thousand rubles. The chief hierarch's cap cost five or six thousand, and of the other expenditures Holy God knows how much was distributed to beggars, orphans, widows and the poor. Books for all this are in the treasury. I for my part repent all this. If you forgive for the Lord's sake, you yourself will be forgiven."

Nikon correctly reported that no one was permitted to visit him. In 1659 the cantors Ivan Tveritinov and Savva Semenov visited the patriarch in the Resurrection monastery despite the decree. They were taken for interrogation, and they retold their conversation with Nikon. "Hear what kind of bad news will soon come to you!" said the patriarch. About Vygovsky[4] he said "When I was in Moscow people were whispering against me that I received Vygovsky but, you see, in my day he had done nothing wrong at all. Now he has rebelled against the great sovereign for reasons unknown. When I was patriarch I used to petition the great sovereign about him and his men and I interceded on his behalf in everything. Now I need write only two lines to Vygovsky and he will serve the great sovereign as before, for he obeys me. Even before, he listened to me in all goodness, but I had to use skill to keep his men loyal."

Similar conversations of Nikon with visitors, his effort to set forth how necessary to the realm he was, how everything was proper during his tenure of office and how everything had gone awry after him, understandably could not stimulate a desire in Moscow to permit everyone to go to the Resurrection monastery. The tsar sent Crown Secretary Dementy Bashmakov[5] to Nikon to explain that there was no prohibition for the clergy to visit him in the Resurrection monastery. Bashmakov found the patriarch in a hermitage near the monastery. In the name of the sovereign

he requested prayers for salvation and presented a donation consisting of church wine, wheat flour, honeycombs and fish. Nikon made a reverence for the donation, prayed that the sovereign would be healthy for many years, and then went to liturgy.

After liturgy the patriarch set out from the hermitage for the main monastery. In front of him went junior boyars. At the monastery gates along the sides stood about ten musketeers, and the archimandrite and brothers met him at the monastery. Entering his cell with Bashmakov, Nikon complained that he was forgotten and no longer was considered patriarch. "Among the church authorities," he said, "there are many of my own candidates, and they are obliged to respect me. They gave me a letter in their own hand that they would respect and obey me. I left the bishop's throne in Moscow of my own volition, I do not call myself Moscow patriarch nor shall I do so ever again. The office of patriarch, however, I have not abandoned, and the grace of the Holy Spirit has not been taken from me. In the Resurrection monastery there were two men possessed by the falling sickness. I prayed for them and they were freed from their illness. When I was patriarch, many were freed from various illnesses through my prayers."

IMPOSSIBILITY OF ELECTING A NEW PATRIARCH

These claims of Nikon powerfully troubled the tsar and must have disturbed many people, even Nikon's well-wishers. It was now impossible to proceed with the election of a new patriarch without first answering the question about the type of relationship the new patriarch would have with the old. Nikon's claims clearly demonstrated that he wished to preserve his preeminent position, to preserve his former authority over the bishops, for he pointed out that they were ordained by him and had sworn to be obedient to him. Would there then be two patriarchs? How might a new patriarch be chosen? What importance should be given to Nikon in this undertaking, for Nikon would not be satisfied with a minor role! He said that grace had not left him, that he was a wonder-worker!

Nikon soon expressed himself about the kind of role he desired to play in the election of a new patriarch. The metropolitan of Krutitsa, in consequence of Nikon's withdrawal, assumed control of the affairs of the patriarchate. He considered himself within his rights to replace the patriarch even at the well-known ceremony on Palm Sunday when the patriarch rode a donkey in imitation of Christ's entry into Jerusalem. When Nikon learned about this, he sent a letter to the sovereign. "Someone has

dared covet the seat of the great high priest of all Rus and performs the rites on Palm Sunday. I am writing this not for my own sake, nor do I desire to be leader again and to return to authority like a dog to his own vomit. If you wish to elect a patriarch canonically, justly and divinely, let our humility be summoned with a blessing, honorably. Let the election begin in council and let it be conducted piously, as a divine matter. Whomever divine grace chooses as the great chief hierarch, him shall we bless and to him shall we transfer divine grace, as we ourselves received it. Just as light shines forth from light, so too does divine grace pass from its holder to the newly elected by the imposition of hands, nor is it diminished in the first, just as a candle which lights many other candles shows no decrease in its light."

After this it was clear that a dual patriarchate was in store for the Russian church. On April 1, 1659 the conciliar noble Prokofy Yelizarov and the conciliar secretary Almaz Ivanov[6] were sent by the tsar to Nikon to remind him that he had renounced the patriarchate, and that for this reason he must not interfere in church affairs. "You sent instructions with Prince Trubetskoy," said Yelizarov, "that you would never be Moscow patriarch and that you had no interest in the high-priestly rank, but now you write that the Krutitsa metropolitan has dared to covet the seat of the great high priest. Having abandoned your flock, you have no occasion to write this. The metropolitan took action following the sovereign's decree. That is how it was in earlier times as well."

"The chief bishop," answered Nikon, "is in the image of Christ, but the metropolitans, archbishops and bishops are in the image of the apostles. It is unbecoming for a slave to dare occupy the seat of his master. This used to happen in earlier times out of ignorance, and I myself acted so in Novgorod out of ignorance. While I was chief bishop busy with many cares I did not succeed in correcting this. I left the patriarchal throne of my own volition, not compelled by anyone. I did not renounce the name of patriarch, I only wish not to be called patriarch of Moscow. As for returning to my former throne, it has never even crossed my mind."

"Henceforth," continued Yelizarov, "you are not to write the great sovereign about these matters, because you abandoned the office of patriarch."

Nikon: In times long gone even anchorites informed the pious Greek emperors about the correction of spiritual matters. I left my flock of my own volition. I have not abandoned my concern for the truth, neither shall I remain silent about the correction of spiritual matters.

Yelizarov: Under the former Greek emperors heresies flourished, and the anchorites exposed those heresies, but now there are no heresies and you may not accuse anyone.

Nikon: If the metropolitan acted in accordance with the great sovereign's decree, I will forgive the great sovereign and give him blessing.

NIKON SENT TO THE HOLY CROSS MONASTERY

Terror struck Moscow when news of the defeat at Konotop[7] arrived. Its residents expected the khan and Vygovsky before the capital. The tsar remembered Nikon and sent to suggest a less dangerous refuge to him, namely the fortified St. Makary Kaliazin monastery.[8] Nikon met this suggestion stiffly and told the messenger "Inform the most pious sovereign that I shall not go to the Kaliazin monastery. It will be better for me to remain at the Conception monastery.[9] Even without the Kaliazin monastery, by the mercy of God and his sovereign I have my own fortified monasteries, the Iversk and the Holy Cross.[10] After I have made a report to the great sovereign, I shall go to my own monasteries. As for now, inform the great sovereign that I am coming to Moscow to report to him on my several needs." The messenger did not understand about which Conception monastery the patriarch spoke, and he asked for clarification. Nikon replied "The one on Varvara Krestets below the hill by Conception." "There is only a big dungeon there, not a monastery," objected the messenger. "Well that is the Conception monastery," answered Nikon.

The patriarch arrived in Moscow and was met by the tsar and tsaritsa. They received him with respect and gave him gifts, but no resolution was forthcoming. Interesting information from a foreigner who was in Moscow at the time has been preserved. When Nikon arrived in the capital he wished to sway the people in his favor, so he put on a banquet for pilgrims and washed their feet himself. Wishing to place the blame for the ongoing burdensome war on the sovereign, he inquired if peace was concluded with the Poles, as though he knew nothing. When they answered him that it was not, he sighed deeply and said "The holy blood of Christians is being shed on trifles," and so on. When the tsar learned of these conversations, he immediately ordered Nikon to leave Moscow. Nikon made for the Holy Cross monastery.

THE SYNOD OF 1660

At the beginning of 1660 the tsar ordered the convocation of a church synod and proposed that it decide the difficult question. The synod

opened on February 17. First of all Boyar Peter Mikhailovich Saltykov[11] brought written accounts about how Nikon had left his office as patriarch. The most reverend participants accepted the accounts and began to interrogate witnesses, members of the clergy on the basis of their ordination, other witnesses by swearing on the gospels. The accounts of Metropolitan Pitirim of Krutitsa and Prince Trubetskoy recorded that "Patriarch Nikon renounced his office with an oath." No mention of the oath was made in the remaining accounts, but all concurred that Nikon had renounced the office of patriarch and promised henceforth not to act as patriarch. The synod sent Boyar Saltykov to report to the great sovereign that it ascertained that the most holy Patriarch Nikon voluntarily stepped down from the patriarch's throne, and that it wished to know the degree of the great sovereign. Saltykov returned with the answer. The sovereign instructed the synod to copy all passages pertaining to similar situations from the canons of the holy apostles and fathers. He ordered Archbishop Markell of Vologda, Archbishop Hilarion of Riazan, Makary of Pskov, Archimandrite Paul of the Miracles monastery and Abbot Simon of the St. Alexander monastery on the Svir river to attend the copying.

On February 27 the synod listened to the extracts and decided that Nikon had not heeded the great sovereign's request explained to him by Prince Trubetskoy nor the request of the bishops and other clergy present in the Dormition cathedral when he made his renunciation. He had not explained the reason for his renunciation to the great sovereign, to the bishops or to the synod, nor indeed had he left any explanation at all, simply declaring that he was abdicating by reason of his ignorance and sins. After this decision the synod ruled on the basis of the canons that when a bishop renounces his episcopacy without just cause, another bishop shall be installed after six months have transpired.

In addition the synod ruled that Nikon must be stripped of the episcopal office, of both the dignity and the priesthood. Three times they presented to the sovereign the canons on which the synod based its decision. The tsar hesitated but finally directed that the Greeks who were then in Moscow be invited to the synod. These were Parthenios, metropolitan of Thebes, Cyril, former archbishop of Androssa, and Nektarios, archbishop of Panagia. The Greeks corroborated the decision of the Russians and the tsar ordered the decision confirmed in the Dormition cathedral in the presence of himself and the boyars. The case was closed. The synodal decision annulled Nikon's entire claims to his former role and to the right of ordaining the new patriarch. He lost the episcopal office, and he lost his priesthood!

SLAVINETSKY'S PROTEST

Epifany Slavinetsky,[12] the principal learned authority then in Moscow, submitted a protest. "The Greeks at the synod" he wrote, "read from their Greek books the statement 'it is irrational to renounce the episcopacy and retain the priesthood,' and they said that this was canon sixteen of the first and second councils. I thought that this was true, did not dare contradict, and gave my consent to the deposition of Nikon, former patriarch. Then I began to search for but did not find this statement in the canons. For this reason I retract my consent to Nikon's deposition, and I repent. Your majesty directed me to compose the synodal definition. I am ready to do this with respect to the election and installation of a new patriarch, because this is just, beneficial and correct. I dare not write about the deposition of Nikon because I have not found any such canon which would depose a bishop who leaves his throne but does not renounce the episcopal rank."

This letter of the most learned monk brought the matter of how to choose a new patriarch to a halt. What should be done with the old patriarch who did not cease to present his pretensions to supreme authority in the church and who would protest that the new patriarch was installed uncanonically because it was done without the knowledge and imposition of hands of the old patriarch? Would not this protest give cause to doubt the legitimacy of the new patriarch and produce corruption and division in the church, when even without this there was much corruption and division? Epifany's letter showed that it was impossible to believe a synod of Moscow clergy and foreign Greeks, and that the tsar could err by executing the decision of the synod, something which Alexis Mikhailovich feared most of all. He was gravely perplexed, all the more so because Nikon stubbornly stood his ground.

At the same time as the synod in Moscow was judging Nikon's case, in February 1660, the table attendant Matvey Pushkin[13] went to the patriarch in the Holy Cross monastery with flattering words from the tsar which had as their goal to secure a written blessing from Nikon for the election of a new patriarch. "You were pleased to step down from the patriarch's throne," said Pushkin, "and when the great sovereign repeatedly sent Prince Trubetskoy to you, commanding you to say that you would return to the patriarch's throne, you declined. You did not return, and you gave your blessing to the great sovereign to choose the patriarch whom he pleased. Afterwards the conciliar boyar Prokofy Yelizarov and the crown secretary Almaz Ivanov were sent to you, and you told them the same story, that henceforth you were unwilling to occupy the

patriarch's throne. In this way you would give a blessing for the election of a patriarch to replace you and write about this to the great sovereign."

"Prince Alexis Nikitich Trubetskoy did not summon me to the office of patriarch," answered Nikon. "He only said to me in the cathedral church in Moscow that I should return. Yelizarov did not summon me to the office of patriarch, but only reprimanded me. My blessing for the great sovereign always is ready. It is impossible for a slave not to bless his sovereign. Yet I give no blessing to install a patriarch without me. Who besides me is to consecrate him and who is to place the miter on him? For the ecumenical patriarchs gave the miter to me, and it is impossible for a metropolitan to place the miter on a patriarch. Who is to take the staff from the patriarch's stall and give it to the new patriarch? I am alive and the grace of the Holy Spirit is with me. I stepped down from the throne, but I did not relinquish the episcopal rank. The great sovereign knows well that I took both the patriarchal dignity and omophorion[14] with me, but I long ago set aside the desire to be patriarch in Moscow.

"Among you all powers stem from my act of ordination. When bishops are ordained they curse Gregory Tsamblak[15] in their profession of faith because he stole the episcopal throne while the metropolitan was still alive. Bishops vow at their ordination that they will not seek another patriarch. How then are they to install a new patriarch without me? If the great sovereign permits me to be in Moscow, I will install the newly-elected patriarch. Once I have received merciful forgiveness from the sovereign, bidden farewell to the bishops and given them my blessing, I shall go to a monastery. May the great sovereign order that none of the monasteries I built be taken from me. Let him decree that a portion from the cathedral church be given to me by which I may live without want."

Demanding permission to travel to Moscow and the right to consecrate the new patriarch as a way of guaranteeing his authority and his material well-being, Nikon at the same time did not hesitate to compare himself with Athanasius, Basil the Great and St. Philip the metropolitan.

Of all the boyars only Ziuzin[16] maintained relations and corresponded with the patriarch. "We read in your letter," Nikon wrote to him from the Holy Cross monastery, "that you pity us, but we rejoice in our peace and are not saddened in the least. The episcopacy in its full legitimacy and honor is a good thing, it necessarily shows concern for recent events affecting the whole nation. When evangelical faith began to shine, then too was the office of bishop respected, but when the malice of pride became widespread, so too was the episcopal honor betrayed. Even here in Moscow

a guiltless patriarch was deposed and Hermogen[17] was elevated while the old patriarch was still alive. How much evil has been done! Your nobility well knows that all the bishops were conscrated by us, but few serve the Lord with our blessing. In what way does a man deprived of our blessing differ from an excommunicate? As for us, there are many prototypes. Here is a list of them: John Chrysostom, Athanasius the Great, Basil the Great, and from local figures, Metropolitan Philip."

ACCUSATIONS OF POISONING

Based on his June 28 letter to Ziuzin it was possible actually to recognize in Nikon the martyr from whom his enemies wished to be delivered by any possible means. "There is nothing else to write about myself except sickness and many sorrows," thus does Nikon begin. "I am barely alive in my sickness. The metropolitan of Krutitsa and the archimandrite of the Miracles monastery sent Deacon Feodosy with many potions to poison me, and he almost would have poisoned me had the Lord not had mercy. He gave me bezoar and tusk powder to drink. He made the four other monks with me sick with the same medicine given to me and now I have serious pains in my stomach."

By September the criminals were already in Moscow. On September 5 the boyar Prince Alexis Nikitich Trubetskoy, the conciliar noble Prokofy Yelizarov and the conciliar secretary Almaz Ivanov interrogated the hierodeacon Feodosy and Timoshka Gavrilov, master tailor, about Patriarch Nikon's accusatory letter. Timoshka said that he made the compound following Feodosy's instructions. He burned wheat flour, tore hairs out of his head and rolled them in sweat. The deacon ordered him to make this compound for unmentionable purposes and for attracting men and women to him. Feodosy denied this.

In the visual confrontation Timoshka said the same thing and added that Feodosy gave the patriarch a written admission of guilt. Feodosy did not confess and said that he wrote the admission of guilt on orders and against his will, fearing the Pole Mikołaj Olszewski, who beat him ten times with the lash. Under torture Timoshka pleaded guilty and defended himself against the deacon, explaining that the sergeant of St. Sabbas monastery, Osip Mikhailov, who was now with the patriarch, ordered him to speak against the deacon. This Mikhailov together with Olszewski forced him under torture to speak against Feodosy, but it was the patriarch's blacksmith from Ostashkov, Kuzma Ivanov, who taught him how to make the compound. Timoshka repeated the same thing at the

torture. Feodosy reiterated his earlier words during torture, not confessing to anything.

THE BOBORYKIN AFFAIR

This compromising affair reinforced all the more the irritation on both sides. Under such circumstances Nikon returned to the Resurrection monastery from the Holy Cross and there in 1661 he entwined himself in a new compromising affair over land with his neighbor, the lord-in-waiting Roman Boborykin.[18] Nikon petitioned the sovereign because Boborykin was occupying land of the Resurrection monastery. He requested an investigation on the basis of deeds of purchase. No decree followed the petition. Nikon wrote a second time that if the sovereign's mercy was not forthcoming, he would defend himself. The threat was carried out. By the command of the patriarch, peasants from the Resurrection monastery harvested the rye on the disputed fields and transported it to the monastery. Boborykin petitioned the sovereign who ordered the prosecution of the case and had the peasants of the Resurrection monastery brought in for interrogation.

NIKON'S LETTER TO THE TSAR

Nikon flared up and wrote the sovereign a lengthy letter. "Our letter to you begins with words without which none of us dares write to you. The words are 'I pray to God and petition.' I pray to God for you out of duty and in keeping with the command of the blessed apostle Paul who commanded that first of all the emperor be prayed for. In both word and deed we fulfill our obligations towards your nobility, but we are unable to move your generosity in any way. Not as a bishop, not even as a slave, but as a scullery maid, from all sides we have been treated badly, from all sides persecuted, from all sides hemmed in.

"Seeing the holy church persecuted I listened to the word of God, 'If they persecute you in the town, flee to another town.' I withdrew and settled in a desert place, but even here I found no peace. In truth the prophecy of John the Theologian is being fulfilled about the woman whose child a dragon wished to devour. The child was taken up into heaven to God, the woman fled into the desert, and the mighty dragon, the ancient dragon, was cast down to the earth.[19] Theologians understand the woman to represent the church of God, for which I now suffer on account of the divine command 'No one has greater love than this, to lay down his life for his friends.' When we saw our brothers beaten, we

complained to your nobility, but we received only hollow words, reproach and humiliation. We then retired to a desert place.

"The maleficent dragon does not leave us in peace anywhere. Now he stirs up against us his chosen vessel Roman Boborykin who unjustly took control of church land. We beg your gentleness to desist from anger and leave off fury. Where did you receive such audacity to investigate us and judge us? Which divine laws command you to rule us, God's servant? Are you not satisfied with judging justly the men of the kingdom of this world? In your orders is written a new command, to seize the peasants of the Resurrection monastery. According to which law codes do you do this? Hear for the sake of God what happened of old to Egypt, Sodom and King Nebuchadnezar for such daring! The theologian was expelled to Patmos. There he was made better disposed for grace and wrote his gospel and apocalypse. John Chrysostom was expelled and returned to his throne again. Metropolitan Philip was expelled, but still he stood up against those offending him. What more shall we add? If you are not moved by these recollections, you will not believe even if the whole of Scripture were set out before you.

"If your nobility still requires it, I shall flee, shaking the dust off my feet in testimony for the day of judgment. I no longer call myself great sovereign, so in what manner am I contradicting you? Your hand rules over the whole episcopate. It is terrible to say, but I cannot endure the kind of rumors that reach me here, that by your decree bishops are consecrated, and archimandrites, abbots and priests are installed; that in ordination letters 'by the grace of the Holy Spirit and the decree of the great sovereign' is written as though you were equal to the Holy Spirit. Without your decree the Holy Spirit lacks power to consecrate! There is no forgiveness for someone who blasphemes against the Holy Spirit. If this has not terrified you, what can terrify you, when already you have become unworthy of forgiveness, on account of your audacity?

"In addition you take by force and without pity movable and immovable property everywhere, from the holy metropolitan's territories, from eparchies and monasteries, without any consultation or blessing. You entirely disregard all the laws of the holy fathers, pious emperors and Greek and Russian grand princes, even those of your father Michael Fedorovich, as well as you own charters and codes. The Code of Law,[20] although written under duress on account of popular unrest, nonetheless stipulates that 'in the Monasterial Chancellery[21] shall sit in judgment from every rank archimandrites, abbots, archpriests, priests and worthy

monks.' You have abolished all of this. Secular judges pass judgments and coerce. Because of this you have assembled against yourself for the day of judgment a host of those crying out on account of your injustice.

"You preach that everyone should fast. Now, thanks to the scarcity of grain, who does not fast? In many places people are fasting to the point of death, because there is nothing to eat. None are spared. The poor, the blind, the crippled, widows, monks and nuns, all have been saddled with heavy tributes. Everywhere there is lamentation and contrition, everywhere there is moaning and sighing. There is no one who rejoices in these days.

"We wish to set the account straight. On January 12, 1661 we were at orthros[22] in the church of the Holy Resurrection. After the reading of the first kathisma[23] I sat in my place and dozed off a little. Suddenly I saw myself in Moscow, in the cathedral church of the Dormition. The church was ablaze and standing there were some already deceased bishops. Metropolitan Peter rose from his grave, approached the throne and placed his hand on the Gospel book. I and all the other bishops did the same. Peter began to speak. 'Brother Nikon!' he said. 'Ask the tsar why he has offended the holy church and fearlessly desired to control the immovable property which we gathered, for this will be of no use to him. Tell him he must return what he took, for the mighty wrath of God has fallen on him because of this. Twice there was a plague, and how many people perished! Now he has no one to stand against his enemies.' 'He does not listen to me,' I answered. 'It is better if one of you appeared to him.' 'Divine providence,' Peter continued, 'does not permit this to happen. You must speak. If he does not listen to you, he will not listen even if one of us appeared to him. Look, here is a sign for him.'

"Following the gesture of his hand I turned towards the west to the tsar's palace and what did I see? The church had no walls and the whole palace was visible. The fire in the church converged and raced towards the tsar's palace, which then caught fire. 'If he does not return to his senses, divine punishments shall be added greater than the first,' said Peter. A second grey-haired man said 'Do you see the palace now which you bought for members of the clergy? The tsar wants to seize it and make a merchant's court there for the sake of Mammon. He will not rejoice in his profits for long.' It was all just like that, whether from God, or by my imagination I do not know. I only know that that is how it was. If someone thinks in human fashion that I invented this myself, let that very fire which I saw consume me."

It is understandable how heavily this letter must have lain on the heart of the tsar, and how Nikon's enemies were gladdened by it, for it enabled them to demonstrate to Alexis Mikhailovich the impossibility of squaring accounts with Nikon.

PAISIOS LIGARIDES

At this time the Greek bishop Paisios Ligarides,[24] metropolitan of Gaza, was in Moscow. As the most educated and impressive of the Greek clergy then in Moscow he was to assume major importance. That renowned corrector of books, the monk Arseny, pointed Paisios out to Nikon as a man of vast learning who could be very useful in Moscow.

Before he stepped down from office Patriarch Nikon wrote to the hospodars of Moldavia and Wallachia in 1657 asking them to let Ligarides pass through their lands to Moscow. "We have heard," he wrote to Ligarides, "of your philosophy from the monk Arseny and that you desire to see us, the great sovereign. We too wish to receive you with love like our beloved child in the spirit."

ATTEMPT TO RECONCILE NIKON WITH THE TSAR

When he arrived in Moscow at the start of 1662 under the name of metropolitan of the monastery of St. John the Forerunner in Jerusalem, Ligarides was shown much kindness by the tsar as well. As a result he found himself in an awkward situation between the tsar and the patriarch, who were equally inclined towards him. He made an attempt to reconcile them, and on July 12, 1662 wrote a solicitous letter to Nikon urging him to return to the office of patriarch by submitting to the traditions of the Eastern church and yielding to the tsar's authority.

"I do not know where I am to turn, because no one can serve two masters," so candidly did Ligarides begin his letter. "I will say without fawning, Alexis and Nikon, autocrat and patriarch. The one shows mercy every day, the other prays and blesses. It is not good to have many rulers. Let there be one lord (from Homer!) and one tsar, because God is one and there is one sun among the planets. I know that you always had a good purpose in your actions. A good purpose must be achieved by good means. Most blessed one! Not every servant of the tsar represents the tsar and not every servant of the patriarch represents the patriarch. Having important reasons you left the throne and shook Moscow's dust from your feet for its recalcitrance. Nonetheless, it is said 'Let not your flight be on

the sabbath and in the winter, during sedition and conflict.'[25] What benefit has your angry departure brought?"

Then Ligarides expatiated on the tsar's patience. "Who is more well-versed in virtue? Nikon, repent!" he exclaimed. "The autocrat Alexis sings the same hymn, 'he who endures until the end will be saved.' Be a good shepherd and not a hireling! Raise your eyes and look around and see your child asking for a father's guidance. Obey my words, O golden head of this golden-fleeced flock! Reunite with your members. It is harmful for the church, calamitous for the realm and unworthy of you to remain away from the throne. I am becoming a thunder-voiced preacher because my zeal does not let me be silent. All clamor against you, all insist on a retreat from anger. Let the rumors of those who love censure fall silent, let the debates of squabbling furious men vanish! Behold, four patriarchs are thirsting to see an end to the quarrel. Go and do not decline to give to Caesar what is Caesar's. To which Caesar? To the most humble and wise! It is fitting for you to be reconciled."

DIALOGUE BETWEEN STRESHNEV AND LIGARIDES

Nikon's reply remains unknown, although it can be guessed how Nikon would answer someone trying to persuade him to be reconciled. One thing is clear. Paisios soon afterwards went over to the side of Nikon's enemies. Boyar Semeon Lukianovich Streshnev[26] handed him some reports in which Nikon's conduct was set forth and asked for a response. On August 15, 1662 Paisios presented his replies, all of them tending towards a condemnation of the patriarch. Streshnev accused Nikon of having been reconsecrated and reordained openly before everyone at his installation in the patriarchal office. He charged that Nikon did not permit criminals to confess and receive communion; that when he dressed, he combed his hair and admired himself in a mirror; that he consecrated priests and deacons after his renunciation; that he never called bishops his brothers but treated them much beneath himself because they were consecrated by him. Nikon was now building a monastery which he named New Jerusalem. Was it good that the name of the holy city be thus translated, given to another place and defamed? Nikon brought to ruin the Kolomna eparchy for the sake of his own monastery, saying that it was the neighboring eparchy to Moscow and that it was improper for bishops to be hard by the patriarch. Is it good for bishops to build transport convoys and towns because Nikon liked to live in desert places and filled

them with hirelings and boyar subjects? Nikon says that he is not absent from his throne and eparchy, only that he left for certain reasons. These he will reveal before the throne of the true and just judge. Paisios answered all these items with condemnation of Nikon's actions.

Still other questions were raised. (1) Can the tsar convoke a synod against Nikon or does he need the patriarch's command? Paisios answered that following the example of the Roman emperors the tsar can convoke a synod.

(2) Nikon declared the synod convoked by the tsar null and void and named it a Jewish mob! *The response*: He should be damned as a heretic.

(3) Can the rank and file clergy judge the head, their leader? *The response*: All priests, as heirs of the apostles, have the authority to bind and loose.

(4) Nikon called himself great sovereign because our sovereign so named him, wishing to honor him more than usual. Did Nikon sin by accepting such a lofty title for himself? *The response*: He truly sinned.

(5) Was it proper for Nikon to flee out of fear? *The response*: He who does good deeds has no reason to be afraid.

(6) Does the sovereign sin if he leaves the church of God widowed? *The response*: If he does this for worthy reasons, he has no mortal sin. Nonetheless he is not free from venial sin because many are led astray and think that he does this out of negligence.

(7) Do bishops and boyars sin who do not petition the tsar or induce him to issue a definitive decree on this case? *The response*: Most surely.

(8) Nikon utters curses. Are they significant? *The response*: A curse is like lightning. It consumes the guilty. If a curse is pronounced unworthily, it falls on him who pronounced it.

(9) Is it decorous for a bishop to fight and to send people into exile? Nikon does all of this. *The response*: Patience is the highest virtue, anger is the worst vice.

(10) The most serene sovereign and fortune-blessed tsar entrusted Nikon with the supervision of the church courts, and he gave him many privileges similar to Constantine the Great who gave privileges to Pope Sylvester.[27] *The response*: Honors from the tsar must be accepted with caution. It would have been more useful for Nikon to have fewer privileges, because others have puffed him up. He admired himself in them as in a mirror. The same thing happened to him that the bards wrote about Narcissus, who saw his own face in a stream, wanted to kiss it and drowned.

(11) Can the sovereign remove privileges? *The response*: He can if he to whom he gave them abuses them.

(12) Nikon rails against the Monasterial Chancellery where the tsar has put laymen to judge cases, and he censures the tsar because he appoints whom he wishes as archimandrites and abbots in the monasteries. *The response*: Though previously there was no Monasterial Chancellery, the fact is that the tsar established it for better order and better trials. Did Nikon organize a better court? Did he ever serve on his own judiciary? Never! He retained laymen who judged in his chancelleries, he issued petitions to his officials and they made the straight crooked.

(13) According to the holy canons, what is fitting for the person who calls our tsar a torturer, offender and plunderer? *The response*: If he is a cleric, let him be deposed.

(14) Is Nikon justified by saying that he was not called to the synod where he would have explained the reasons for his departure? *The response*: Nikon ought to have appeared at the synod in person or sent a letter.

(15) Nikon accuses his bishops that they have not kept their oaths given in his presence, but have renounced him and abandoned their obedience to him. *The response*: A promise is not an oath. Bishops do not swear oaths. They promised obedience in matters which are just.

(16) Nikon cursed the boyar Semeon Lukianovich Streshnev because he apparently taught his dog to bless like a patriarch. Is he worthily cursed for this? *The response*: If a mouse takes consecrated bread, it cannot be said that it received communion. Thus too the blessing of a dog is not a blessing. It is not proper to make a mockery of sacred actions. Nevertheless, petty matters do not deserve imprecations, because they are held for naught.

NIKON DISAGREES

The questions and answers were relayed to Nikon. With his customary ardor he wrote his objections, and filled a large notebook. He handily refuted the accusations of appropriating the title great sovereign and of naming the Resurrection monastery New Jerusalem. "What other kind of meaning are you seeking, inquirer," Nikon addressed Streshnev, "when you yourself testify that the tsar called me great sovereign? The Lord God will search him and judge him on judgment day on the basis of his handwritten charters. He was in the Resurrection monastery at the consecration of the church, he wanted to name the monastery New Jerusalem, and in his own charters he confirmed it in writing with his own hand."

Nikon easily refuted the reproof concerning his appropriation of the Kolomna eparchy to the patriarchate. "You say that I destroyed the Kolomna eparchy. That eparchy lies next to the patriarchate's district, whereas Viatka and Great Perm are more than fifteen hundred versts distant. That is an immense country with many people, and there are numerous remnants of pagan practices there. It is said that even idolatry has been preserved. On this basis and in keeping with the advice of the great sovereign, Kolomna was united to Moscow, and in its place the eparchy of Viatka and Great Perm was erected, not for the Resurrection monastery. At the time there were not even any foundations for the Resurrection monastery. Whatever revenues the Kolomna eparchy had were paid there from the patriarchate's eparchy. The same is true for the number of peasant farms in the eparchy, but the Kolomna diocesan villages were taken for the sovereign. Later the sovereign donated them to the Resurrection monastery while attending the consecration of the church, saying 'Holy things are belong to the holy.' It was not I who took or destroyed."

Among the accusations against Nikon figured his abrupt actions, his battles and exiles. He answered this accusation, saying "Even now we do not recoil from acting thus with enemies and reckless men in accord with the example of Christ and the canons of the holy apostles and fathers."

Streshnev's affirmation that the fortune-blessed tsar entrusted Nikon with the supervision of ecclesiastical courts and gave him many privileges angered Nikon even more. Here Nikon expressed his opinion on the relations of the tsar's authority to the patriarch's, an opinion which in no way coincided with the traditions of the Eastern church confirmed by history in Russia. "Concerning the good fortune of the sovereign we need not answer, for everyone knows the tsar's fortune and misfortune, each has received some grace from his fortune. You say that he entrusted to us the supervision of all ecclesiastical courts. That is filthy slander and exceeds the pride of the morning-star. Not from tsars is the primacy of the priesthood received, but by the priesthood are men anointed as tsars. It has been shown many times that the priesthood is greater than the dignity of tsar.

"With which privileges did the tsar favor us? The privilege to bind and to loose? We know no other lawgiver for ourselves but Christ. The tsar did not give us rights, he stole our rights, as you testify, and all his actions are unlawful. And what actions! He takes possession of churches and enriches and provides for himself with sacred objects. He glories in them, for the metropolitans, archbishops, priests and all the clergy submit, work as slaves, pay quitrent, and quarrel, and he controls the court

and the fees. The Lord God Almighty, when He made heaven and earth, ordered the two luminaries, the sun and the moon, to shine, and through them he showed us the authority of bishop and tsar. The bishop's authority shines like the day, it is an authority over souls. The tsar's authority is in the things of this world and his sword must be ready against the enemies of the Orthodox faith. The episcopate and the entire clergy request that tsars defend them against all injustice and violence. Secular men are obliged to do this. The laity needs the clergy for spiritual deliverance, the clergy needs the laity as a temporal bulwark. In this neither the clerical nor the lay authority is higher than the other, for each one proceeds from God."

Finally, since Paisios declared that a clerical figure deserves to be deposed for censuring the tsar, Nikon replied "All are prohibited from vexing the tsar, but no one is forbidden to expose him according to the truth. A great host of martyrs already has assembled in the Lord because they exposed the unseemly acts of tsars and ended their lives in violent deaths and tortures."

IV

OUTSIDE HELP

WOEFUL CONDITION OF THE CHURCH

According to an official report, in December of 1662 Tsar Alexis Mikhailovich, while attending the all-night vigil on the feast of St. Peter the Metropolitan in the Dormition cathedral, was moved to compassion for the cathedral church. Without a pastor, she had been a widow for five years and Patriarch Nikon, not caring about her widowhood, had gone off to live in the monasteries which he recently had built. Church services were conducted in a disorderly manner. The patriarch condemned Metropolitan Peter of Saray and other bishops without a synod and without trial, and did other similar things. Therefore the great sovereign was pleased to convoke a synod and write to the ecumenical patriarchs for them or their representatives to agree to come to Moscow. The sovereign ordered that all the reverend bishops be invited to the synod. Those from distant towns should leave by March 25, and those from nearby towns by May 9.

Archbishop Hilarion of Riazan was to appear in Moscow without delay in order to assemble "each and every charge" in preparation for the synod. The boyar Peter Mikhailovich Saltykov,[1] the conciliar noble Yelizarov and the crown secretary Golosov were ordered to assist him. They were to gather information about the following: how many icons and various church vessels Nikon took from the Dormition cathedral with and without a receipt while he was patriarch; how much money and grain and how many horses he took from the household treasury when he traveled from Moscow; during his tenure of office how many editions of printed books were there, and of which books. Further, whether the editions of individual books agreed with each other entirely, and if not, how they differed; whether all the old printed books and manuscripts and those translated from the Greek books on loan from which the new books were printed were whole and intact in the printing house and, if some were missing, where they might be. From the monasteries they were to gather information about how many of which items Nikon took. From the monk Arseny Sukhanov they were to garner information about the quantity and types of books he purchased in Palestine, how much money he paid for them and to whom the books were given.

That same December the hierodeacon Meletios the Greek, who was in Moscow to organize choristers and who was a friend of Ligarides, was sent to the Eastern patriarchs with an invitation to come to Moscow. "For love of the One who perfects us all," it read, "by imitating His humility, be moved to visit our sorrowing mother, our ailing genetrix. Like a spiritual physician skilled in his art, be compelled to heal. Make haste to come to us in our capital personally, and illumine the gloomy mournfulness of holy mother church like a certain luminary, with judgment proceeding from the height of your intellect aided by the power of the Most High."

BOBORYKIN DENOUNCES NIKON

Meanwhile the Boborykin affair continued. The settlement to which Nikon had agreed did not go through because Boborykin demanded too much compensation for his losses. Nikon showed that only sixty-seven chetverts of rye were harvested, whereas Boborykin maintained that it was six hundred chetverts. "There never will be enough money for your false claim and it could not be paid off even with the whole monastery!" said Nikon, who tore up the deal and then had recourse to a curse, his usual remedy against enemies. Boborykin reported that Nikon cursed the tsar and his family. Alexis Mikhailovich summoned the bishops and said

"I am a sinner, but in what manner have my children, the tsaritsa and the whole court sinned? Why must he pronounce an oath of ruin over them?"

ODOEVSKY AND LIGARIDES SENT TO THE RESURRECTION MONASTERY

The bishops decided to investigate the matter, and they sent the boyar Prince Nikita Ivanovich Odoevsky,[2] the lord-in-waiting Rodion Streshnev[3] and the crown secretary Almaz Ivanov[4] to the Resurrection monastery. Ligarides, Archbishop Joseph of Astrakhan[5] and the archimandrite of the Epiphany monastery represented the clergy. On July 18, 1663 they arrived at the Resurrection monastery. The patriarch was at vespers. Odoevsky sent to tell him of the arrival of the tsar's envoys and everyone assembled to meet him according to rank. Nikon let it be known that everyone might enter except Paisios, unless he had charters for him from the ecumenical patriarchs.

Despite this, Paisios went ahead and intended to be the first to speak, but when Nikon caught sight of him he was beside himself with anger, and abusive words poured out. "Thief, Antichrist, dog, impostor, lout! Have you been wearing bishop's vestments long? Do you have any letters for me from the ecumenical patriarchs? This is not the first time that you travel from realm to realm and stir up trouble! Now you want to do the same thing here!" Joseph of Astrakhan began to speak but Nikon lunged at him. "Do you remember your promise, poor soul? You promised that you would not obey even the tsar, but now you talk! Or did they give you something, poor soul? I shall not listen to you nor shall I talk with you." The clerics had been given a dressing down. Now it was the turn of the laymen.

"The metropolitan, archbishop and archimandrite," began Odoevsky, "were chosen by the consecrated assembly which reported the elections to the great sovereign, and you dishonor them. With this disrespect you cause the great sovereign grievous annoyance. The metropolitan of Gaza came to the great sovereign and the patriarch of Jerusalem sent a letter with him for his imperial majesty." Paisios, recovering, said "You, patriarch, vainly call me a thief, a dog and an impostor. I was sent to you to reprimand your violence, I was sent by the consecrated assembly with a report for the great sovereign. You do not dishonor me, but the great sovereign and the entire sacred synod. I shall write about this to the ecumenical patriarchs. You will reap vengeance from God for having called me an impostor. I was ordained by Patriarch Paisios of Jerusalem and I have with me the ordination letter signed by him. If you were on your

patriarchal throne, I would show you my ordination letter, but you are no longer patriarch. You voluntarily abandoned your dignity and throne, and since there is no other patriarch in Moscow, I have with me no letters for the Moscow patriarch from the ecumenical patriarchs." Oil had been poured on the fire and the most sensitive spot touched. "I shall not talk with you about anything, you scoundrel!" Nikon shouted.

Joseph and the lay envoys then decided to move directly to the matter at hand and they asked him, on the basis of Boborykin's complaint "Why did you bring the sovereign's charter to the prayer services, place it under the cross and the icon of the Mother of God and order it read? Why did you select passages from the psalms and speak imprecatory words?"

"At the liturgy on June 26," answered Nikon, "after the prayer behind the ambo, I performed the prayer service with the entire assembly. I ordered the sovereign's charter to be read aloud, and I placed it under the cross and the icon of the Mother of God, but I uttered the oath against my defamer, Roman Boborykin, and not against the great sovereign, and I prayed to God for the great sovereign in the litanies."

The envoys were not satisfied with this explanation. "Even if you were insulted in some way by Boborykin or some one else," they said, "you had no reason to curse them. Boborykin's land is not described in the sovereign's charter. Tell the truth. Why did you bring the sovereign's charter into church and place it under the icon, and against whom did you pronounce curses?"

"I cursed Boborykin, not the great sovereign," repeated Nikon. "If I cursed the great sovereign, let me be anathema. I brought the sovereign's charter into church because in it are recorded all the lands belonging to the Resurrection monastery. Boborykin's patrimony is registered in the Chancellery of Military Tenures in accordance with the sovereign's decree. At the prayer service I prayed to God for the great sovereign, and after the service I read a prayer over the charter."

Here Nikon went to the back room and brought out a small book. "See, this is the kind of prayer I read over the charter," he said and began to read it, but the envoys interrupted him. "You are free to show us another prayer," they said, "but at the prayer service you spoke imprecations taken from the psalms, and even you have not denied that you recited such psalms at the service." This could try the patience even of a person more composed than Nikon. If it was said in order to exasperate him, force him to lose his head and utter things harmful to himself,

the goal was achieved. "If I did such things to the great sovereign's face," shouted Nikon, "well? For such injuries I shall pray even now, 'Bring evil, O Lord, upon the glorious of the earth!'"

"How you have forgotten the sovereign's exceeding mercy!" the envoys replied. "The great sovereign honored you more than previous patriarchs, yet you do not fear God's just judgment, and you say such indecent words about the tsar! What injuries did you receive from the great sovereign?"

"He does not fulfill the law of God," continued Nikon. "He meddles in spiritual affairs and in the episcopal courts, his officials settle every case in the Monasterial Chancellery and force us to serve."

"His majesty the tsar, the pious sovereign," the envoys replied, "observes the law of God and does not meddle in spiritual affairs or bishops' courts. The Monasterial Chancellery was established by former sovereigns and patriarchs, and not recently. It was established for settlements of lay offenses. His officials collect auxiliaries and service obligations from the monastery peasants for the deliverance of Orthodox Christians from the attacks of foreigners, not for gain and profit. You committed every sort of injustice when you were patriarch, meddling in the tsar's affairs and in civil courts, signing yourself 'great sovereign,' sending memoranda to the chancelleries in your own name, and taking all sorts of cases from the chancelleries without the sovereign's permission. You offended many people, seizing their patrimonies and receiving fugitive servitors and peasants. Many petitions against you came to the tsar because you were acting not in the manner of a bishop, but contrary to the tradition of the holy fathers. For such offenses God has lost patience with you. Grown haughty before the great sovereign, you abandoned your patriarchal throne of your own volition and, living in a monastery, you have not cast aside your pride but do such wicked deeds that it is unbecoming for you even to think them. You oppose the great sovereign's command and the entire consecrated assembly in everything, and you do everything as you please."

Nikon did not respond to the lay envoys but addressed the clerics. "What kind of synod do you have now," he said, "and who instructed you to call it?"

"This synod," replied the clerics, "we have convoked on the instruction of the great sovereign, because of your violence. This synod is of no concern to you, because you renounced your patriarchal dignity."

"I did not renounce my patriarchal dignity," said Nikon.

"What do you mean, not renounce?" they all started together, both clerics and laymen. "Is this not your letter where you write that you will

not return to the office of patriarch like a dog to his own vomit? Did not you yourself sign your name 'former patriarch'? After this are you really fit to be called patriarch?" Once again they hit the most sensitive spot.

"Even now I am not patriarch for the sovereign," Nikon cried angrily.

Joseph and his companions continued to plunge their weapon ever deeper. "In keeping with your voluntary withdrawl from the patriarchal throne," they argued, "and based on your present violence you are not patriarch for any of us. You deserve exile and severe penance for your violence, because you cause the great sovereign much vexation and sow confusion among the people."

Nikon was beside himself. "You come against me like the Jews against Christ," he shouted. He clamored a long time but the envoys spoke not another word to him and left.

On his way out Odoevsky told Nikon "Send to us for interrogation the archimandrite, the vicar, the priests and the deacons who served you, and send your godson and other foreigners."

"I will not send any of my people to a civil court," answered Nikon. "If you need someone, take him yourself!" Those mentioned were summoned to the merchant's hall where Joseph and companions interrogated the archimandrite and vicar on the basis of their priesthood and monastic vows about the accuracy of Boborykin's complaint. The unanimous reply was that the patriarch had prayed to God for the tsar in the litanies. They did not know against whom he directed the psalms because Nikon did not mention the person by name. When sending the interrogation records to the sovereign the envoys wrote "Concerning his departure from the monastery the patriarch said not a word and we thus did not dare place a watch in the monastery before receiving your sovereign order."

They then placed under guard Nikon's godson, the German Dolman, and the White Russian Nikolay. Nikon's biographer Shushera and Paisios Ligarides, who looked at the affair with completely different eyes, concurred that every exit from the monastery was closed to Nikon. Shushera wrote that musketeers were placed on watch around the monastery and they told Nikon directly that they would not let him pass until they received the sovereign's order. According to Ligarides, Nikon fled, was captured and deprived of his freedom.

The envoys remained in the monastery for a time and various scenes occurred there. Once on a Sunday Nikon went to the elevation which represented Golgotha. "See," he said, "the cohort has arrived, Herod and Pilate have appeared at the court, the high priests Annas and Caiaphas have drawn near!"

Odoevsky and the bishops came again to question Nikon about Boborykin's complaint. "Just let me get to the synod," answered Nikon, "and I'll erase the great sovereign's name from the rolls of Christendom! I already have prepared the document."

"You have forgotten the fear of God to say such undignified things!" the tsar's envoys cried. "For such unseemly words God will strike you down. We are terrified even to hear such evil words. If you were not of such a rank, we would not leave you alive."

When Odoevsky and Paisios informed the sovereign about their conversations with Nikon a council comprised of clerical and laymen was called. They deliberated for a long time and decided to write a conciliar letter, which was sent to Paisios at the Resurrection monastery. According to the council's letter the metropolitan of Gaza was to speak to Nikon about his injustices and wrongful oath. If the former patriarch Nikon, contrary to the council's letter, showed in his words no evidence of complying and if he was not in the least inclined to the good, but continued to speak insolently as before, Prince Odoevsky and his companions were to reprimand him severely. If he, forgetting the fear of God and not remembering the reward at the last judgment, did not desist from his insolence, the great sovereign would hand him over to the judgment of Almighty God. Furthermore, they were to say that the great sovereign ordered a detachment of Moscow musketeers stationed at the Resurrection monastery. The St. Sabbas musketeers were to be transferred to St. Sabbas the Guardian monastery. Although sent to the Resurrection monastery to stand guard, they behaved like rogues and marched with batons before the former patriarch, as if he were the great sovereign.

When in keeping with the council's letter Paisios wished to speak, Nikon said that he would not listen to his words because he did not know of which see he was the metropolitan. Calling him an enemy of God and a brawler, Nikon stated that the canons did not command him to listen to such things. Reproaches and bickering began again.

When it was explained to Nikon that he could not leave the monastery before the synod, he said "Where a house is divided in two, it becomes empty." They answered him that the division proceeded from him and from no one else.

"For what reason," Paisios and Odoevsky asked Nikon, "did you introduce this great stumbling block into the world? Why did you publish three service books, each of them different, thereby creating enormous discord in the churches?"

"Now everyone sings as he wishes," answered Nikon, "and all of this happened because of disobedience. I may have changed the words in the books, but I corrected them following the letter and witness of the ecumenical patriarchs."

Paisios had some important evidence against Nikon. "You sent to me an excerpt from the canons," he said, "concerning the court of the Popes. Surely this was written in the canons because at the time the Popes were pious. Since then they have fallen away. You did not add that after them the supreme jurisdiction passed to the ecumenical patriarchs."

What did Nikon answer? "Why not respect the Pope for the sake of the good? The supreme apostles Peter and Paul are there, and he serves in their presence." "But we condemn the Pope at synods, do we not?" objected Paisios. "I know this," replied Nikon, "I know that the Pope does much that is disreputable."

Odoevsky, Paisios and their companions finally left the Resurrection monastery. Three months passed peacefully. At the beginning of November Nikon made himself known. He sent the sovereign a letter in his own name as well as in the name of Archimandrite Gerasim of the Resurrection monastery and the vicar Job.

"News has arrived," Nikon wrote, "that Polish and Lithuanian soldiers are entering your sovereign towns and they are not far from Viazma. They will go even further. We live in an uninhabited place and are utterly impoverished. There is neither bread nor money! Merciful great sovereign! Issue your generous decree by which we may be sustained and defended in our empty place. Remember your sacred word, how you sent your stablemaster Afanasy Ivanovich Matiushkin,[6] who said many times before the holy icon of Christ 'The great sovereign has ordered me to tell you that he will not forsake you forever.' When in years past the arrival of the Tatars was announced and I was in Moscow, the conciliar secretary Almaz Ivanov used to tell me in your sovereign words 'Go, live in your monasteries, the great sovereign does not forsake you, he orders your protection.' When you, great sovereign, attended the consecration of the church in the Resurrection monastery and I said to you that the place was lovely but there was nothing with which to build, you gave your word 'Build, for we shall not forsake you.'

"Remembering all this, return to kindness! If wicked men slander me to you, they are telling lies! I now am happy here, though I must die for the sake of your sovereign word. If you do not recall your word and your promise, God will make you answer for it, whereas for me death is rest,

as scripture says." Nikon sent this letter to Rtishchev requesting him to pass it on to the sovereign.

To Rtishchev himself Nikon wrote "We write trusting in your gentleness, and we recall that you were here after our departure from Moscow and gave your word to be our brother and to look after all the monastery's needs. In 1662, when you sent your brother Fedor Sokovnin, and on another occasion Porfiry, you instructed us to hold you in our love as before."

THE MONK MELETIOS DISPATCHED TO THE EAST

The entreating letters arrived too late. Hierodeacon Meletios the Greek had departed for the Eastern patriarchs and taken with him the following questions. "Must a local bishop or patriarch obey the emperor in all secular (political) affairs so that there is one government, or not? Can a bishop or patriarch arbitrarily excommunicate someone and are such persons excommunicated in this manner in actual fact guilty before God, or is he who excommunicated without a trial guilty by the canons? If someone says that patriarchal eparchies have been captured by Muslims and are now under the yoke, have they lost their ancient honor and former dignity, and how are patriarchs to judge and deal with church affairs? What if one of the bishops, because of pride, signs himself as 'sovereign'? Can a bishop spend his revenues as he chooses, to build monasteries and settle uninhabited lands? Can a bishop or patriarch manage secular affairs? Can a bishop who has descended to the rank of penitent once again take up his episcopal rank? Can a bishop who repudiated his rank and cast aside the episcopal vestments once again accept his former rank? What should be done if it happens that after this repudiation he who repudiated is summoned by the local authority, but out of pride ignores the summons and does not return? What should be done if the repudiator performs ordinations after his act of repudiation? Can bishops judge a metropolitan or patriarch if they were ordained by him? If someone strikes the slave of a bishop, is this offense referred to the bishop who alone may try the case, or must it be referred to a secular court?"

PATRIARCHS CENSURE NIKON

The patriarchs gave the answers Moscow desired. They condemned all the acts set forth in the questions. For certain of them they directly pronounced a sentence of dethronement for the guilty bishop. They proclaimed that the tsar must be the sole master in all secular affairs, that the

patriarch must be subordinate to him and that in secular affairs he must do nothing contrary to the tsar's decision, while in ecclesiastical affairs he must not alter the ancient canons. They defined that "neither a bishop nor a patriarch may excommunicate anyone before a guilty verdict. A complaint against a patriarch can be submitted to the Constantinopolitan throne, and if the other patriarchs agree with the patriarch of Constantinople, this decision is final. The right of final appeal once belonged to the Roman Pope but since he is separated from the ecumenical church owing to his pride and evil intentions, this right has been transferred to the Byzantine patriarch. Even though the patriarchs have been divested of the glory of their thrones, nevertheless the grace of the Holy Spirit never grows old, and anyone who does not accept their final judgment is subject to punishment as one who contravenes the will of God, who obeys only his senses and understands nothing higher." The patriarchs confirmed for local councils the right to install another bishop in the place of one who repudiated his rank and the right of bishops to judge the metropolitan or patriarch who ordained them.

UNREST AMONG PHANARIOT GREEKS

The patriarchs sent charters, but did not travel to Moscow themselves. Nikon had a powerful faction among the Greeks which grew agitated with southern passion. Once they learned of Meletios's arrival they used every means to hinder him. Letters from Nikon's Greek adherents in Moscow arrived in Constantinople saying that Nikon was a second Chrysostom and that the tsar loved him and visited him at night for spiritual conversation. They said that the boyars hated him for persuading the tsar to war against the Tatars who were taking Muscovites and cossacks prisoner. The boyars had no desire to go off on campaign and forsake their peaceful Moscow life. They wrote that Nikon loved Greeks and was a zealous defender of the dogmas of the Eastern church. They wrote that the letters produced by Meletios were composed by Ligarides, whom the boyars suborned with money and honors. They wrote that Meletios was given eight thousand gold coins which he used to secure answers harmful to Nikon's case. The Antiochene archimandrite reported all this in the presence of the patriarch himself and then went and shouted it out all over Constantinople, looking for Meletios.

A certain cleric named Michael, who received a letter from his brother-in-law Anastasios in Moscow about the eight thousand gold coins

brought by Meletios, alarmed the Greeks of Constantinople even more. For his part, Meletios wrote to Ligarides that a certain Emmanuel Maival secretly promised two patriarchs fifteen thousand gold coins if they would not give replies condemning Nikon, and that after failing in this he was looking to kill Meletios. Letters that Nikon was suffering for his exhortation to war against the Tatars, who were laying waste to Great and Little Russia, must have made a special impression on the Greeks of Constantinople. Every day three or four ships docked at the city, full of Russian captives. In the market squares stood priests, virgins, monks and youths. They were carted off in crowds to Egypt for sale. Some freely renounced their Christian faith, others were coerced into doing so by brute force.

ATHANASIOS OF ICONIUM ARRIVES IN MOSCOW

Nikon's adherents were not satisfied with stirring up the Phanariot Greeks against Meletios. They decided to resort to a desperate measure in Moscow itself. They let the tsar know that Metropolitan Athanasios of Iconium had arrived in his capacity as exarch. A nephew of the patriarch of Constantinople, he was sent by him and the entire synod. At his presentation to the tsar Athanasios spoke with unusual solemnity. "The patriarch of Constantinople and the whole synod sent me and instructed me to say that just as the Lord God came to his disciples although the doors were locked and said 'Peace be with you!' so do I in the name of the patriarch of Constantinople and the whole synod say to you, sovereign 'Be at peace with Patriarch Nikon and call him to the throne as before.'"

It seemed strange to Alexis Mikhailovich that this preacher of peace was sent without a charter and gave only a verbal command to summon Nikon. "Do you know about Meletios's mission?" inquired the sovereign of Athanasios. "I know," he answered, "that the patriarchs did not receive Meletios, nor did they accept your charters and alms." "How can that be?" continued the tsar. "Meletios wrote me something completely different!" Standing before the icon of the Savior, Athanasios explained that Meletios wrote falsely.

Unfortunately for Athanasios, Meletios arrived on May 30, 1664 and brought the answers signed by the patriarchs. The tsar assembled a synod of Russian and Greek clergy to verify the signatures. The synod declared that the signatures were genuine. Only Athanasios at first rejected their authenticity, then even he agreed that the signatures were authentic. Later it was disclosed why he so boldly accused Meletios of lying. He had

sought information about Nikon's case from Patriarch Nektarios of Jerusalem. Out of caution Nektarios told him that the patriarchs had not given Meletios any answer, nor had they signed their names to any documents.

THE TSAR'S DELICATE POSITION

In any event the tsar was not reassured. The patriarchs could have signed the answers and at the same time asked that the scandalous affair be set aside so that reconciliation with Nikon might result. The tsar was not resolved to act against Nikon on the basis of responses sent by the patriarchs. He knew with whom he was dealing, he knew that Nikon would begin to challenge a synod resting on dead charters which not long ago were the object of argument and in which Nikon's name was not even mentioned. To put an end to the dissension once and for all and to soothe his conscience, he needed the presence of the patriarchs themselves, all the more so because in the escalating partisan battle it was difficult to rely on the purity of the means used in these long-distance communications and negotiations with the patriarchs. The false mission of Athanasios of Iconium was not unique.

The monk Sava was sent to the Byzantine patriarch Dionysios.[7] "*Hagie despota*!"[8] he said to Dionysios, "Tsar Alexis Mikhailovich begs you, come to Moscow, bless his house and set aright various needful things. Say what the tsar is to do. Should he entreat Nikon to return or should he install another patriarch? Was Metropolitan Athanasios of Iconium sent by you and is he your relative? Did you instruct him verbally to entreat Nikon to return? How many documents did you send with Meletios the Deacon? Was Stephen the Greek with you and did you send a charter with him making the metropolitan of Gaza an exarch?"

"I cannot possibly go to Moscow," answered Dionysios. "I bless the sovereign so that he either may forgive Nikon or install someone else, who is humble and meek. If he fears to install another patriarch, we will take his sin upon our head. The tsar is autocrat, he can do whatever he pleases. Meletios did not come here humbly, all the Turks found out about him and he caused me to lose two hundred sacks [of gold]. Metropolitan Athanasios of Iconium is no relative of mine. He owed money to the Turks and asked for a week to pay and then he departed. I did not give him a single word of instructions. Hold him fast and do not let him go. If the tsar releases him he will cause great harm to the church. When Meletios the Deacon arrived Patriarch Nektarios[9] and I wrote two documents word for word and affixed our signatures. We sent one with

Meletios to Alexandria and the second Nektarios sent with his monk to Antioch. Stephen the Greek was not with me, only the chartophylax[10] who pestered me to write a charter making the Gaza metropolitan exarch. I did not approve. If such a document has turned up at the tsar's court, it is nothing but weeds sown by the chartophylax. Paisios Ligarides is not a vine of the throne of Constantinople, nor do I not call him Orthodox, for I hear from many people that he is a papist, a cunning man. Do not release Stephen the Greek because he too has caused great ruin to the church, just as Athanasios of Iconium has."

NEKTARIOS OF JERUSALEM SUPPORTS NIKON

The patriarch of Jerusalem, Nektarios, answered more decisively in Nikon's favor. In March 1664 he sent his envoy Sabellios to Moscow with two notes, one for the tsar and the other for Nikon, with the order not to give the notes to anyone except them. In his note to the tsar Nektarios exhorted him to call Nikon back to the patriarch's throne, presenting him the statements of the ecumenical patriarchs brought by Meletios as a guide for his future conduct. Should he promise to be guided by them, he was worthy of forgiveness. He asked the tsar not to lend an ear to the counsels of envious men who loved turmoil, especially if they were members of the clergy.

"In our present situation," wrote Nektarios, "we resemble ships foundering in ceaseless tempests. Only in your Russian church do we see Noah's ark." Nektarios exhorted the tsar to follow the humility of David and not set an evil and ruinous precedent during his reign by replacing patriarchs who think correctly about the dogmas of faith. He told him not to pay much attention to Nikon's renunciation of office. He pointed out examples when hierarchs' renunciations were annulled. As for Nikon, he did not even present a written renunciation. The tsar and people did not accept his renunciation, which consisted only of words. Nektarios concluded that the tsar without delay either must restore Nikon or elevate another in his place, but it were much better for him to settle on the first option.

Nektarios was informed that Ligarides was seeking the title of patriarchal exarch and was already so calling himself in Moscow. For this reason the patriarch instructed his envoy to declare in Moscow that this was an imposture, that no one had been invested with the title of exarch. Nektarios further requested that no one be received as envoys of the patriarch if the patriarch's seal was not on the documents. He requested that the translation of patriarchal documents be entrusted not to the

Greeks but to the tsar's translators because the Greeks would pervert the meaning of the documents. "I heard from the patriarch," Sabellios also declared, "that no one other than Nikon should occupy the throne because he is not guilty at all."

MELETIOS DISPATCHED ON SECOND MISSION

Even before the reception of Nektarios's document the same Meletios again headed to the East with this instruction from the tsar. "The patriarchs of Alexandria, Antioch and Jerusalem and the former patriarch Paisios must come without fail, or at least two, the patriarchs of Alexandria and Antioch, must come. If any of them wish to send others in their place, let it be firmly said that they send good, learned, reasonable, strong and upright bishops who are true to their word and able to judge God's affair in truth, not desiring reward or favor, not fearing anything except the dread of God's judgment. When you, Meletios, are with the ecumenical patriarchs, remember the fear of God and do not say any superfluous words about Nikon. Say only the truth."

In January 1665 Meletios found Nektarios of Jerusalem in Moldavia. He did not go himself to see him but sent Stephen the Greek and the clerk Oloveninov with the sovereign's letter. "The great sovereign," they told Nektarios, "asks and begs you, if you please, to be solicitous for a Christian matter and come to Muscovy."

"Meletios the Greek," replied Nektarios, "was sent to all of us by the great sovereign, and he knows that I traveled to Moldavia for the sole purpose of visiting Moscow from there. The war has made my progress completely impossible. We sent canons with Meletios to the great sovereign. Why has not action been taken in accordance with them?"

Oloveninov told about the arrival of Athanasios of Iconium and about the verification of the signatures. When Nektarios asked a second time why nothing was done on the basis of the canons, whose authenticity was attested, Oloveninov replied "Without the ecumenical patriarch it is impossible to summon Nikon and install another in his place. Furthermore, the great sovereign has other matters which cannot be settled without you, for the whole liturgical order of the church is in disarray. Each priest officiates in his church as he pleases, and there is no shepherd."

Learning during Oloveninov's departure the tsar still had not received the letters sent with Sabellios, the patriarch grew very anguished. "If my letter," he said, "had reached the sovereign, the affair would have been settled without us long ago."

Nektarios promised to go to Moscow. "I shall go to Moscow though I must accept death itself," he said, "because I consider the great sovereign to be the universal emperor. He is the sole Christian emperor, our only hope and praise." Despite this, Nektarios did not travel to Moscow. Meletios did succeed in convincing two patriarchs to go there, Makarios of Antioch and Paisios of Alexandria.[11]

V

NIKON'S RUSES

THE SYTIN AFFAIR

What was the man doing at the time whose name was repeated constantly in Constantinople and Jassy, in Egypt and Syria? What was Nikon up to? In 1663 a new scandal began. Once again it was one of Nikon's neighbors, Ivan Sytin,whose property abutted that of the Resurrection monastery. He submitted a petition to the sovereign claiming that the patriarch was torturing some of his peasants and hanging others. Nikon composed a self-aquittal. "I declare on the holy Gospel," he wrote, "that I neither know of this affair nor do I know whether a servant from other parts did it. After catching Ivan's peasants on the lake, he caned them without our knowledge, for he had no such order from me. He beat them because they stole fish from him. I sent the servant to you, great sovereign. You may question him even under torture. Make a just judgment, remembering the promise you made at our election before the whole synod and boyar council that you would not interfere in sacred affairs for any reason. Yet now you are causing us great injustices, you listen to slanderers and enemies of God and lead all ranks of people into sin with what is happening in the patriarch's chapel." The patriarch's junior boyar Luskin, summoned for interrogation, testified that he in fact did beat Sytin's peasants without Nikon's knowledge. When they began to brag about arson he took them off to the patriarch, who ordered them caned a second time.

In February 1664 Lord-in-waiting Sukin[1] and Crown Secretary Brekhov[2] headed for the Resurrection monastery with terrifying, shattering words. "You wrote that you did not know about the matter, but your servant said that you ordered the peasants caned in the monastery a second time, which means that you knew very well about the matter. You wrote that

a just judgment be given, but there is nothing here to adjudicate, because the peasants were caned twice without an investigation and without witnesses. Please clarify in your letter in what sacred affair the tsar is interfering, what kinds of injustice he commits against you and to which slanderers he listens? When they submit a petition against you and your monasteries he sends to inform you of the investigation, as he does even now in the Sytin case. Explain to us how the great sovereign is leading people into sin in the patriarch's chapel. Sitting now in the patriarch's chapel are the dignitaries Archbishop Hilarion of Riazan[3] and Boyar Peter Mikhailovich Saltykov.[4] They are investigating which church vessels and books were removed from the cathedral and the monasteries during your tenure as patriarch. These vessels and books were given to the churches and monasteries during the reign of earlier grand princes and tsars and under him, the sovereign. They are not investigating some monastic cell treasury. The great sovereign will always stand up for church property and will investigate as before."

Nikon began to dodge and he plunged ever deeper. "I said that I knew nothing about the beating of the peasants on the lake, but in the monastery I ordered them beaten for ignorance, and I ordered them beaten lightly. In this the sovereign is free to do as he pleases."

In order to recover, he hastened to move from being an accused to being an accuser. "Why," he asked, "do you say that the great sovereign does not interfere in sacred affairs? He controls the entire clerical estate. By his decree are signed petitions concerning who is ordained to the priesthood or diaconate and others concerning various spiritual matters. This is not his affair, his promise is not fulfilled. For this he will be judged by God. The injustices against me are great. His men seek out, instruct and bribe many people to speak against me and write every sort of falsehoods. They defame and dishonor me in every way possible and put me on the same level as a dog. Yet the sovereign does not care and he gives no orders to protect me from such people. My slanderers are Roman Boborykin and Ivan Sytin."

"You stepped down from the patriarch's throne of your own volition," the envoys answered him, "not because of some such banishment. Is it proper for the church to be without hymnody for such a long time? Why must metropolitans and bishops not ordain priests and deacons? Why must they not manage church affairs? If any improprieties have occurred, God will call you to answer for them, because you left your throne by your own choice."

Nikon: There is now no hymnody in the cathedral church. They have made it into a den of thieves or a cave. The church is now a widow. Even if there is a new patriarch, he will be an adulterer and for this reason. I left Moscow because of the many injustices and because of banishment, and both injustice and banishment came from the great sovereign. Not only did his men meddle in my affairs, but they began to beat my servitors. Khitrovo beat my junior boyar without reason, but the great sovereign did not order an inquiry into this.

Envoys: We do not know who dishonors you, who equates you with a dog and who told you about this. We have never heard about this from anyone.

Nikon: Everything secret is uncovered by God.

Envoys: So you have the gift of revelation, do you?

Nikon: That is just how it is.

Envoys: What! Perchance the brawlers are coming and telling lies?

Nikon: They are leading people into sin in the patriarch's chapel for this reason. They suborn many people against me and they compose all sorts of falsehoods. Who gave the archbishops authority to rule and manage? Prince Alexis Nikitich Trubetskoy fingered my cell furnishings and noted them down, and the great sovereign was pleased to take the best of them for his own use. Now they do not investigate just church cases, they investigate bribes and hush-money, and the sovereign's letters are sent to all the monasteries about this. I know that in keeping with the great sovereign's decree the metropolitan of Gaza tells stories against me and writes them down. I know that he was sent to bribe other such false witnesses to appear at the synod, buying about five hundred men. He was sent to buy others in Palestine, and for this thirty thousand rubles were sent from the treasury. I myself rejoice over the synod. Only let it be a just synod and not a suborned one and I will give the Gaza metropolitan an answer for everything, not only with the canons but also with the holy Gospel.

Envoys: If you call the dignitaries of Muscovy false witnesses, you will receive vengeance from God.

Nikon: What dignitaries? Who will speak with learned authority and by the canons? They can't even read!

Envoys: Are you the only one in the realm of Moscow who knows how to read, or is there some one else?

Nikon: There are not many, and Metropolitan Pitirim does not even know why he is a man.

Envoys: It is futile for you to say that you alone know how to read. There are people from every rank who are prepared to discuss with you, using scholarship and the canons, and there is something to be said too. It's just that everything is being held back by the sovereign's mercy until the synod. The ecumenical patriarchs will be at the synod.

NIKON WRITES TO AVERT A SYNOD

When he learned this terrifying news about the patriarchs' coming to the synod, Nikon wrote the tsar a letter. The aim was to frighten him with the fact that many embarrassing things would be disclosed at the synod. He wanted to scare the Russian bishops as well.

"We will not sweep the synod aside," Nikon wrote, "and we will praise your decision as divine, if the patriarchs themselves wish to be there to judge everything according to the divine Gospel commands and the canons of the holy apostles and holy fathers. This we will not sweep aside. All the same, we pray your grace first to listen with humility and long-suffering to this our brief exhortation. Your grace was pleased to convoke the metropolitans, bishops and archimandrites for a trial after our departure, notwithstanding the divine commands, because there is no such law by which bishops may try their own patriarch, especially those ordained by him, and to try him *in absentia*."

Nikon described the Gospel narratives about the sentence pronounced over Christ. "See, most Christian tsar!" he continued. "Even in the midst of such wicked Jewish envy nothing was done contrary to law or without witnesses or in private, although everything was done iniquitously. For this reason I say that he who betrayed me to you shall bear the greater sin. So too here he who troubled your grace shall bear the greatest sin of all. If the synod wishes to condemn us solely for our departure it properly must expel Christ himself, because he went away many times on account of Jewish envy. When your grace was in good counsel and love with us and once, owing to wicked hatred, we wrote to you that we could not preside in the holy great church, what then was your answer and what did you write? This letter is concealed in a secret place of one church, which no one but us knows. You take care, pious tsar, lest something from these your letters be held against you, lest you be on trial before God and the ecumenical synod called by you. I am writing this not out of a desire for the patriarch's throne. I desire that the holy church be without confusion and that sin not be imputed to you before the Lord God. I write without fearing the great synod and without causing disgrace to the holy

imperium, for since among two or three all manner of talk arises, all the more so in a multitude.

"Our bishops accuse us with one canon of the first and second councils, which was not written about us. Yet if a multitude of canons be presented against them from which no one shall remain unscathed, then I think not one bishop, not one presbyter will remain worthy! At their ordination all Russian bishops swear an oath to the patriarch of Constantinople. Then the metropolitan of Krutitsa together with Ivan Neronov and other advisors look through their own acts like bats and confuse your blessedness. You sent Meletios, but he is a wicked man. He signs his name to everything and forges seals. There was a case concerning him even here, I think, and now there is one in the Patriarchal Chancellery. There are in your own household, great sovereign, many of your own men in addition to such a little scoundrel."

NIKON ARRIVES UNEXPECTEDLY IN MOSCOW

There was no response. Everyone in this uneasy situation expected a resolution of the case through the patriarchs' presence. Winter of 1664 began and the feast of the Nativity of Christ drew near. In the night of December 17-18 at the time of orthros a few sleighs pulled up to the gates. "Who goes there?" shouted the guards. "Dignitaries from the St. Sabbas monastery," was the reply. The train was admitted immediately and headed for the Kremlin.

In the Dormition cathedral orthros was being celebrated with Metropolitan Jonas of Rostov[5] in attendance. At the second kathisma clamoring suddenly began, the doors started to clatter and then burst open, and a crowd of monks entered. Behind them came a cross and behind the cross appeared Patriarch Nikon, who stood at the patriarch's stall. A well-known imperious voice, which had not been heard for a long time in the Dormition cathedral, resounded, saying "Stop reading!" The subdeacon of the Rostov metropolitan who was reading the Psalter obeyed, and the Resurrection monks accompanying Nikon began to sing "*Eis polla eti, despota!*"[6] followed by "It is worthy." When the singing ended Nikon ordered the cathedral deacon to recite the litany, while he himself went to kiss the icons and relics. Having done this, he returned to the patriarch's stall and pronounced the prayer "Most merciful Lord!" He then ordered Metropolitan Jonas of Rostov summoned to him for a blessing. He came, followed by the archpriest and all the clergy. Nikon said

to Jonas. "Go tell the great sovereign of my arrival." Jonas and the cathedral sacristan Job headed off together.

They found the sovereign at orthros in the church of St. Evdokia. "Patriarch Nikon has come to the cathedral. He is standing at the patriarch's stall and sent us to announce to you, great sovereign, his arrival," proclaimed Jonas. Torches soon darted through the palace, messengers were sent after bishops and palace chamber boyars. There was noise and commotion, as if news had arrived that the Tatars or Poles were before Moscow. Bishops and boyars intermingled, everyone clambered up stairways. Finally the bishops assembled: Paul, metropolitan of Saray (Krutitsa), Paisios of Gaza, and Fedor of Serbia. The palace chamber boyars assembled too. The tsar, in great agitation, announced the news to them. The boyars began to shout, the bishops, shaking their heads, repeated "O Lord, O Lord!" The meeting did not last long.

Some men whose appearance did not augur well for Nikon headed for the cathedral, the boyar princes Nikita Ivanovich Odoevsky[7] and Yury Alekseevich Dolgoruky,[8] Lord-in-waiting Rodion Streshnev,[9] and Crown Secretary Almaz Ivanov.[10] They addressed Nikon with a question. "You voluntarily abandoned the patriarch's throne, you vowed henceforth not to be patriarch, went off to live in a monastery and wrote about all this to the ecumenical patriarchs. So why have you now come to Moscow and entered the cathedral church without the great sovereign's knowledge and without the counsel of the whole consecrated assembly? Go back to the monastery as before."

"I left the throne chased by no one," said Nikon, "and now I have come to the throne called by no one, that the great sovereign might staunch the blood and make peace. I do not flee the judgment of the ecumenical patriarchs, but I have come to my throne on the occasion of their appearance. Here is a letter, take it to the great sovereign."

"Without the great sovereign's knowledge we dare not accept the letter," answered the envoys. "We shall go and tell the great sovereign about this." They went off to the palace, and after a short time they again entered the cathedral and told Nikon "The great sovereign has instructed us first of all to inform you that you are to return to the Resurrection monastery, and are to take the letter."

"If my arrival is of no use to the great sovereign, I shall go back, but I cannot not leave the church until there has been a response to my letter."

They brought the letter to the sovereign and began to read it. "Hearing the commotion and great rumor about the patriarch's throne, some

saying this, others saying different depraved things, each one saying what he wishes, hearing this, I retired on November 14 to a hermitage outside the monastery for prayer and fasting, that the Lord God might make known what ought to happen. I earnestly prayed to the Lord God with tears but no revelation came to me. On December 13 I was wounded by divine love more than before, I added prayer upon prayer, tears upon tears, vigils upon vigils and fasts upon fasts. I even fasted for seventeen days, I neither ate nor drank nor slept, I lay on my side. Exhausted I sat for about an hour each day.

"Once while seated I was transported in a brief dream and saw that I was standing in the Dormition cathedral. A great light was shining, but there was not a living soul there, only departed bishops and priests standing along the sides where the graves of metropolitans and patriarchs lie. One of the saintly men made the rounds of all the others with a parchment and a jar of cinnabar in his hands, and all signed their names. I asked him what they were signing? 'A letter,' he answered, 'concerning your return to the holy throne.' I asked again. 'Did you sign it too?' 'Yes,' he answered, 'I signed,' and he showed me his signature 'Humble Jonas,[11] by the mercy of God metropolitan.' I went to my stall and saw the hierarchs standing in it! I grew frightened, but Jonas told me 'Do not be horrified, brother, for such is the will of God. Ascend your throne and shepherd Christ's rational flock' [followers of Christ based on the Greek "logos" applied to Christ in the New Testament]. It was really so, as the Lord is my witness. Amen.

"Today I find myself in the cathedral church of the holy Mother of God, confessing to your majesty the tsar, since I have fulfilled the debt for my departure. I did what I intended to do. I now come to view your all-luminous features and bow to the all-holy glory of your dominion, taking for a pretext the holy Gospel where it is written 'You, he said, go up to the festival. I shall not go up to this festival because my time is not yet fulfilled. When his brothers went up to the festival, then he too went up, not openly but in secret.'[12] Again in another scripture, 'Paul said to Barnabas "Return and visit our brethren in all the towns where we preached the word of God, and see how they are."'[13] So too have we come. How fares your sovereign household and all who live in the imperial city of Moscow and in all the towns? We come in meekness and humility. Do you wish to receive Christ himself? We will point to your grace as if to the Lord who bears witness 'Whoever receives you, receives me, and whoever hears you, hears me.' In the name of the Lord receive us and open the doors to your house lest your recompense for all this be rescinded. I

wrote this to your majesty the tsar not on my own. We do not traffic in the Word of God. We speak before God in Christ out of a purity as from God. Not out of deception, nor out of impurity, not with guile do we say this, nor as one who pleases men, but as one who pleases the God who tests our hearts. Amen."

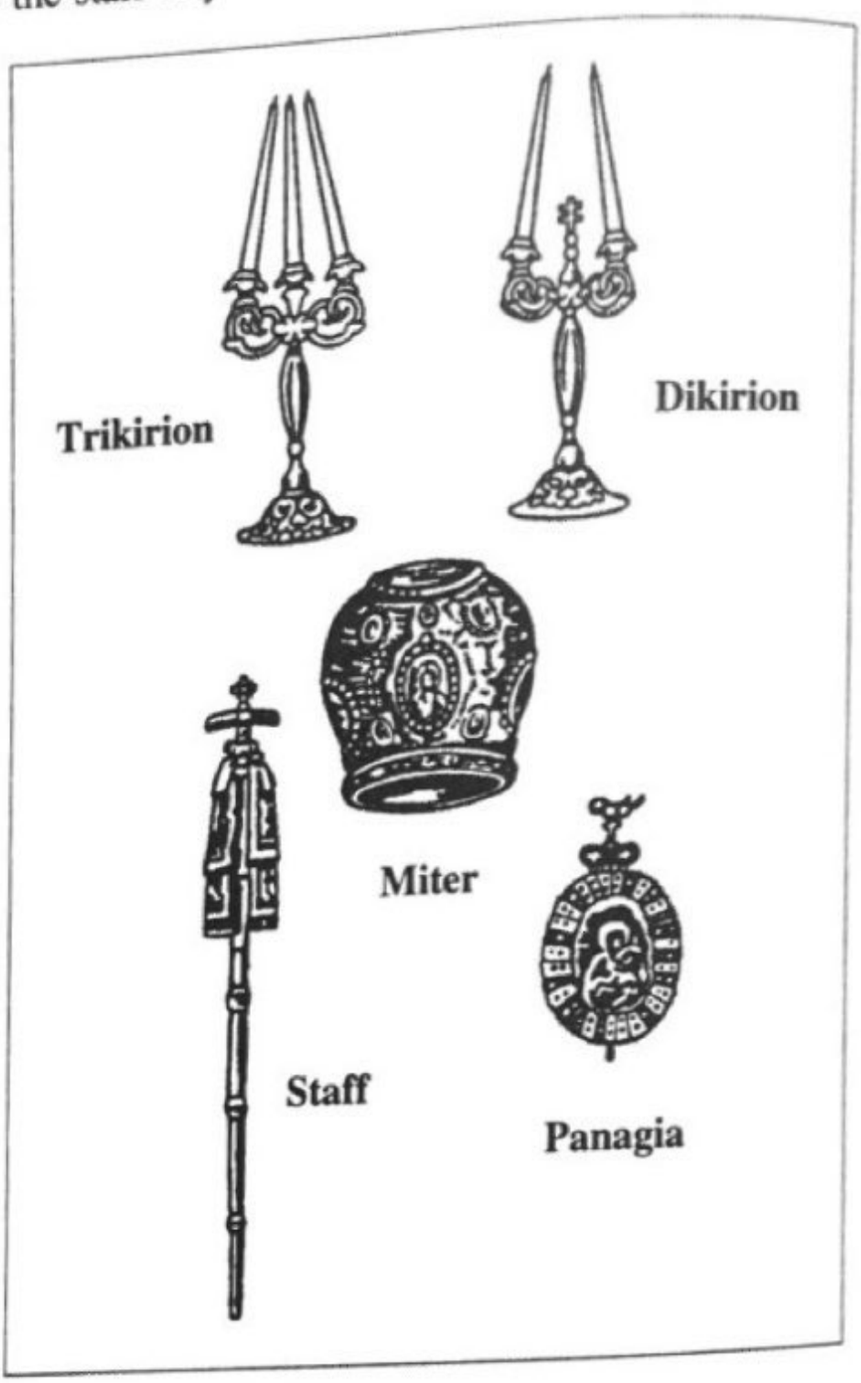
A third time Metropolitan Paul and the boyars made for the cathedral and declared to Nikon "Your letter was presented to the great sovereign. He, the ecclesiastical dignitaries and boyars listened to the letter but you, patriarch, must leave the cathedral for the Resurrection monastery as before." Nikon kissed the icons, took the staff of Metropolitan Peter and went to the doors. "Leave the staff," the boyars told him. "You'll have to take it by force," answered Nikon and then left the church.

There still remained an hour until light. A comet[14] with a tail burned in the sky. Taking his seat in the sleigh, Nikon began to shake his feet while pronouncing the Gospel words 'Wherever they do not welcome you, shake off the dust which clings to your feet as you are leaving that town, as a witness against them.'[15] The musketeer regiment commander assigned to escort Nikon said "We will sweep up this dust!" "May the Lord God sweep you away with that divine broom that has been appearing for many days!" answered Nikon, pointing to the comet. The sleighs started to move. The lord-in-waiting Prince Dmitry Alexeevich Dolgoruky[16] and the tsar's favorite, Artemon Sergeevich Matveev,[17] rode behind the patriarch. Once they were beyond Earthen Town, they stopped. Dolgoruky walked up to bid farewell and said to Nikon "The great sovereign gave orders to ask you for a blessing and for forgiveness, most holy patriarch." "God will forgive him if the disturbance is not from him," replied Nikon. "What disturbance?" asked Dolgoruky. "I came following some news, you know," replied Nikon.

Upon returning to the palace, Dolgoruky immediately transmitted Nikon's words to the tsar, and so it happened that Metropolitan Paul of Krutitsa, Archimandrite Joachim of the Miracles monastery, Rodion Streshnev and Almaz Ivanov galloped along the Resurrection road with orders to take Metropolitan Peter's staff from Nikon and to find out what news caused him to come. The envoys caught up with the patriarch in the village of Chernevo.

"I did not come to Moscow of my own accord but because of information from Moscow," began Nikon, "and I shall not hand over the staff because there is no one to whom I should hand it. I abandoned the patriarch's throne for a time because of the great foreign assault and on

account of vexation." Then, turning to the Krutitsa metropolitan, he continued "I knew you as one of the priests, but as a metropolitan I do not know you. Who installed you as metropolitan? This I do not know. I shall not give the staff to you nor will I send it with any of my own people



Bishop's Insignia

because there is no one who may have the staff. As for who sent me information, this I will explain in time. There is the letter! I accepted the letter for this reason. When the great sovereign was in St. Sabbas monastery I sent to him my archimandrite, and the great sovereign's mercy towards me was such as was never the case since my departure from Moscow."

The envoys did not leave him. They sat in Chernevo from the fifth hour of the day until the eleventh hour of night. Finally after much talk Nikon said "I will send the staff and letter to the great sovereign myself. I have learned that the great sovereign sent for the ecumenical patriarchs to settle the affair concerning my departure and installation of a new patriarch. I am petitioning the great sovereign not to send for the ecumenical patriarchs. As I vowed at the start, so now do I vow not to return to the patriarch's throne. Such a thing has not even entered my head. I want a patriarch to be chosen in my place. When the new patriarch is installed, I shall not interfere in any patriarchal affairs whatsoever, nor will I be interested in them at all. Would that the great sovereign decreed that I live in the monastery built in accordance with his sovereign decree, and that the newly installed patriarch have no authority over me, and consider me a brother. Would that the great sovereign not withdrew his mercy towards me with regard to necessities, that I might be sustained until death. My time is not long, for I am now already nearly sixty years old."

Nikon fulfilled his vow and sent the staff and letter with his own envoys. They were obliged to appeal to the tsar's confessor with a request that the tsar permit Nikon to come to Moscow to pray to the Mother of God and to see the sovereign face to face. In response he received the previous rejection, seasoned with a sentence and a threat. "The great sovereign," it said, "has given instructions to tell you that on account of much public rumor it is inappropriate for you to come now to Moscow because among the people there is much talk about differences in the church service and printed books. Because of your arrival in Moscow, we must be ready to expect many transgressions among the people, for you left the patriarch's throne of your own will, not by banishment. Thus, owing to the general rumor and commotion please return now to the Resurrection monastery, while a synod concerning this convenes in Moscow. The ecumenical patriarchs and dignitaries are coming to the synod. At that time they will inform you, that you too might attend the synod, and the great sovereign will speak about everything at the synod. You wrote on your own to Metropolitan Paisios of Gaza and complained that you were driven from your throne, though innocent, and about other related matters. In all of this you have tried the great sovereign's patience sorely. When the time comes for the synod he, the great sovereign, will speak of all these things."

THE ZIUZIN AFFAIR

The last hope to terminate the affair in a peaceful fashion had vanished. Nikon headed for the Resurrection monastery. Moscow occupied itself with the consequence arising from the letter summoning Nikon there. It turned out that the letter was written by Boyar Nikita Ivanovich Ziuzin,[18] who at one time was an ambassador and then served as governor in Putivl. He alone of all boyars continued to correspond with Nikon after his ultimate withdrawal from Moscow. The contents of the letter are as follows.

"Afanasy (Ordin-Nashchokin)[19] and Artemon (Matveev) appeared before me and related that on December 7 in the St. Evdokia church the tsar spoke with them in private during orthros. 'The patriarch,' he said, 'sent the archimandrite to see me in St. Sabbas monastery. I was glad for his advice, he is a good archimandrite! I sat with him in private and he tearfully said that we should not believe the quarrel. I said under oath that I would not believe any such quarrel for any reason. Now on St. Nicholas Day [December 6] the monk Gregory Neronov came to me with all manner of invectives against the patriarch. I know who is conspiring with him, only I do not believe any of this. Our concord and vow the Lord alone knows and in my soul I am not separated from the patriarch. For the sake of the clergy and conciliar boyars, in keeping with our imperial custom, I myself cannot summon the patriarch or write to him about it, because he knows why he left and who now rebukes him in the church and everywhere. As he went, so shall he arrive. He is free and I do not oppose him in this at all, as you know.

"'I cannot possibly write to him about this, knowing his nature. In his rage against the bishops and boyars he will not be restrained. He will say that I ordered him to come, or he will refuse because of my letter and this will of course embarrass me. This will be an obstacle to our concord and everyone will put it down to my inconstancy. Even if I send to inquire in the church for the sake of decency, removing suspicion and concealing our agreement, he still will say that he left of his own accord for the sake of church needs and returned for the same reasons. Who, he will say, will rebuke me? Who is a legislator for me in the church? He will say, what if the clergy submitted a letter against me? I will give them an answer. They themselves know nothing about why I left and why I am coming back again, but they instigate a trial against me outside their own bounds and contrary to the canons. If they asked for forgiveness, he would be pleased to say on behalf of their ignorance "God forgives!'"

"'But I,' continued the sovereign, 'call God as my witness that I will never oppose him in anything and I sincerely advise that it be done so. How long has this discord continued between us? Only for the enemy is there joy in this, and for our foes who for their own caprices do not want us to be in harmony. This I thoroughly recognize. If the patriarch would only show favor and deign to come on December 19 to orthros in the cathedral, before the memorial of Peter the Wonder-worker [December 20], he would be for us a wonder-worker and mediator of our love, and he would drive out all our enemies. For this reason let him come so that he together with us might stop the flow of Christian blood. His word is necessary for the general populace. It will please them for certain and everyone will be glad and obedient to him because of it. As for me this will be a help and support, and I sincerely need it. With him I began this military campaign and all my actions as tsar and Christian. With his episcopal prayers may the Lord God make us worthy to accomplish it for the good, together, in keeping with his advice. You, Afanasy, instruct Nikita on my word to write all this to him secretly. I must decide together with him by this date your instructions for the embassy, and to assemble with all the ranks on this matter and to proclaim a fast. The Poles and Hungarians fasted on their uniting, and we have even greater need of this to halt to all hostility and hatred. This is our last chance for forbearance and resolution. Again I pray that it will happen quietly, without great recrimination, so that he does not embitter everyone. Everyone is apprehensive, they expect cruelty from him. He has left me alone in such misfortunes, assailed by visible and invisible enemies, yet it was not for this that we mutually swore not to abandon each other until death. There is an oath to this effect between us.'"

Ziuzin was summoned for interrogation. He said that the letter was in his hand, that he twice sent such a letter to the patriarch with the subdeacon Nikita and that the patriarch replied to him in writing. He burned the patriarch's letter and his own, and the patriarch sent him his letters back, except the last one. Nikita the subdeacon said that when he brought Nikon the note the patriarch read it through and said "Let God's will be done in this. The tsar's heart is in God's hands. I should be glad of peace."

"Nikita Ziuzin came to Moscow from Novgorod," Ordin-Nashchokin testified, "and told me that Patriarch Nikon wrote to him in Novgorod from the Resurrection monastery about his vision of Metropolitan Peter.

He, Ziuzin, traveled from Novgorod to Moscow and was with the patriarch in the Resurrection monastery. Nikon told him that he had written to the sovereign about the vision, and that in Moscow they decided that he was prophesying in Beelzebub. Soon afterwards the drying-rooms burned in the great sovereign's palace.

"Ziuzin," continued Nashchokin, "wanted to borrow money to export potash to Vologda, and he said 'Patriarch Nikon would not abandon me in penury, but I dare not petition him, on account of popular opinion. I hear that the patriarch bitterly weeps and speaks against the people because they bring to the great sovereign their improper grievances against him. On account of our public sins something happened that we did not expect. A quarrel erupted between the great sovereign and the patriarch! Even then I did not hear that the great sovereign said something about the patriarch. When he was in the St. Sabbas monastery he sent the table attendant Gregory Sobakin to the patriarch with his mercy. Ziuzin wept as he said this. I told him in addition to these his words that I heard from the great sovereign, as he was returning from St. Sabbas monastery, that the Resurrection archimandrite came to him from the patriarch, and that in Khoroshovo village the monk Gregory Neronov came to him and told him such absurd things about the patriarch as are not worth listening to."

At the second interrogation Ziuzin declared that he had cast aspersions on Nashchokin and Matveev, and that Nashchokin told him "It would be good if the patriarch were of use to my embassy and if the sovereign held no anger towards the patriarch." Then Ziuzin told him that he would write to the patriarch and summon him to Moscow, and Nashchokin replied "It is good if the patriarch is friendly towards you, so that the Lord God would pacify his church!"

To this point Nashchokin testified that nothing of the sort had taken place. He only added that Ziuzin borrowed fifty rubles from him and then, when Nashchokin was sick, he came to say that this was too little money for the transport of potash. Nashchokin asked the sovereign for forgiveness. "In 1662, in September or October, the sovereign told me that I should not associate with Ziuzin because he had a loose tongue and would implicate me in unwanted dealings. When I came to Moscow from Lvov, at the first meeting with Ziuzin I declared to him that he should not be seen with me anywhere because he was a disgraced man, but at that time because of his crocodile tears I did not give orders to barricade my house against him. In this I am guilty before the great sovereign and

worthy of punishment. Without the command of the great sovereign I dare not approach communion following confession on this December 24." Under torture Ziuzin said that he showed all of Nikon's letters to Nashchokin. He even told him about those letters which he wrote to Nikon, only not in the same person as he wrote in the letters. Nashchokin said "Good."

What does all this mean? In all likelihood Nashchokin told Ziuzin that from the tsar's side there would be no obstacles to reconciliation and that the tsar had no anger towards the patriarch. He probably approved Ziuzin's intention to incline Nikon to take the first step. Ziuzin, in order to act more forcefully, wrote the letter with its well-known contents, by which he in fact maligned Nashchokin and Matveev, having written *not in the same person*. The boyars sentenced Ziuzin to death. At the request of Ziuzin's sons the tsar commuted the boyar's sentence and ordered Ziuzin exiled to Kazan, where he was enrolled in service. His service estates and patrimonies were confiscated, his house and movable property were returned to him for his sustenance.

NIKON'S LETTERS TO PATRIARCHS SEIZED

Upon learning that there was nothing to be done in Moscow, Nikon appealed to the patriarchs, wanting beforehand to explain the affair to them in detail from his own point of view and to justify his behavior. It was difficult to send letters to the patriarchs. An occasion presented itself when in 1665 the Zaporozhian hetman Ivan Martynovich Briukhovetsky[20] arrived in Moscow. A nephew by his sister, the Kurmysh tradesman Fedot Timofeev Marisov, was one of the junior boyars living with Nikon in the Resurrection monastery. The patriarch sent this Marisov to Briukhovetsky with a request that he take him to the Ukraine and from there send him to Constantinople. The hetman refused. Then a servant of the patriarch, Ivan Shushera, the author of the famous life of Nikon, bribed the cossack Vasilkovets Kirill Davydovich who took Marisov with him, after declaring that this was his nephew taken prisoner during Buturlin's attack on Lvov. The deal was settled for fifty rubles and fifty gold pieces. Marisov safely left Moscow, but his departure soon became known there and in January 1666 a herald was sent to Briukhovetsky demanding the arrest of the patriarch's envoy. Briukhovetsky's men caught Marisov and sent him to Moscow along with the letters.

These letters were read through. In them Nikon described in detail for the patriarchs what had happened to him since his accession to the patriarch's throne. He described how, after returning from Solovki, he was removed forcibly from his house and brought to the cathedral where the tsar and the people, prostrating themselves to the ground, tearfully entreated him to accept the patriarchate; how he had agreed on condition that they all would obey him in everything as their chief and shepherd. At first the tsar was reverential and merciful, a seeker of God's commands in everything, but then began to act proudly and to exalt himself. The matter went as far as manifest affronts. Khitrovo beat the patriarch's servant in the palace and escaped without punishment. The tsar stopped appearing in the cathedral when the patriarch was officiating there. Prince Yury Romodanovsky openly proclaimed the tsar's anger to him. Because of this anger and the public outrage he then withdrew from Moscow to the Resurrection monastery.

"When I left Moscow," wrote Nikon, "I took with me the episcopal vestments, one piece each for the pontifical liturgy. I went away but I did not relinquish the episcopate as they now slander me, saying that I renounced the episcopal rank of my own will. I waited for his majesty the tsar to be reconciled with me. The tsar, learning that I wanted to go away to the Resurrection monastery, sent his boyars to tell me that I should not go until I met with him. I waited in the guest house for three days and only at the end of the three days did I leave for the Resurrection monastery. His majesty the tsar sent the same boyars to the monastery after us, and they questioned us. 'Why did you leave Moscow without the tsar's permission?' they asked. I replied that I had not gone off to some remote place. If his majesty the tsar resolves on mercy and quells his anger, we will come back.

"After this there was nothing more from his majesty the tsar concerning our return. We directed Metropolitan Pitirim of Krutitsa to rule for a time. After our departure his majesty the tsar forbade people of every rank to visit us and obey us. He prohibited them from giving us necessary things from the patriarchate. He decreed that whoever visited us without his permission would be tortured severely and sent into confinement in remote places. This frightened the entire populace. He ordered the metropolitan of Krutitsa to make inquiries of him, not us. He established the Monasterial Chancellery in which trials against the patriarch, metropolitans and the entire clerical order are now to be held. In this

chancellery laymen sit and judge. A book (the Law Code) was written which entirely contradicts the holy Gospel, the canons of the holy apostles and fathers and the laws of the Greek emperors, and this is honored more than the Gospels. In its thirteenth chapter are regulations concerning the Monasterial Chancellery. I cannot describe the other illegalities contained in this book because there are so many! Many times I spoke to his majesty the tsar about this accursed book so that he would revoke it. I received nothing but humiliation. I revised some books, and now the people call this 'new canons' and 'Nikonian dogmas'.

"My chief enemy in the tsar's entourage is Paisios Ligarides. The tsar listens to him and honors him like a prophet of God. They say that he comes from Rome and believes in the Roman fashion, that he was ordained a deacon and priest by the Pope, and that when he was in Poland with the king he celebrated the Latin liturgy. The Greek and Russian clergy who live with him in Moscow report that he never acts in keeping with the dignity of his episcopal rank, that he eats meat and drinks excessively, eats and drinks and then celebrates the liturgy, and that he is a sodomite. I sent a letter with this testimony to the tsar, but he paid no attention to it. Others slander me to the tsar saying that I cursed him, but I am innocent of this, apart from my secret prayer. Now everything is done by the tsar's wish. When someone desires to be installed as deacon, priest, abbot or archimandrite, he writes a petition to his majesty the tsar, and by the tsar's command they sign on the petition 'in keeping with the decree of the tsar install him.' In letters of ordination they write 'ordained by the order of the tsar.' When the tsar orders there to be a synod, it happens, and whom he orders the bishops to select and install, they select and install. If he orders them to judge and pass sentence, they judge, pass sentence and excommunicate.

"The tsar has seized for himself patriarchal property, and following his directive the property of other bishops and monasteries also is seized. His agents take men for service, they mercilessly take grain and money, the whole Christian race is burdened with double, triple and greater tribute, but it is all of no avail. Many times we wrote to his majesty the tsar, presenting him the examples of pious emperors blessed by God for their good deeds, and the impious who received torments from God. He regarded our exhortations as naught, only growing angered against us. He sent to us, saying 'If you do not stop writing, humiliating and shaming

us with the examples of former emperors, we shall no longer tolerate you.'

"Boyar Semeon Lukianovich Streshnev taught his dog to sit and bless with his front paws, thereby mocking God's blessing, and he called his dog 'Patriarch Nikon.' Hearing of this outrage we cursed him, but his majesty the tsar paid not the slightest attention to this and keeps Streshnev at his side in honor as before. We anathematized Pitirim the metropolitan of Krutitsa because he stopped commemorating our name in the liturgy and punished those priests who continued to commemorate it. He ordained Methodios bishop for Orsha and Mstislavl and sent him as *locum tenens* to Kiev, all the while that the Kievan metropolitanate was still under the jursidiction of the ecumenical patriarch. When we were in Moscow his majesty the tsar repeatedly told us to ordain someone as metropolitan of Kiev, but we refused to do this, nor would we ever do this without your blessing and without your consent."

This letter irritated the tsar against Nikon all the more. If previously Nikon had not spared bitter expressions concerning Alexis Mikhailovich, that was his business, a domestic matter about which only a few of his servants knew, but now Nikon resolved to expose the sovereign's behavior towards him, the church and the whole populace in a dark light before strangers, before those very people whose good opinion Alexis Mikhailovich highly valued, owing to his religiosity. He read this letter with great agitation and annoyance, which is evident from his personal marginal comments. Thus, for example, opposite the spot where Nikon said that the heavy tributes imposed on the people by the tsar would bring no benefit, Alexis Mikhailovich noted "But he has privileges and to what benefit?"

VI

RESOLUTION

THE PATRIARCHS OF ALEXANDRIA AND ANTIOCH ARRIVE

News arrived that the patriarchs were traveling to Moscow. Because of the state of war they could not travel by the European route through the European borderlands. Thus they traveled the Asian route by way of Astrakhan, where they arrived at the Volga. On March 11, 1666 the tsar wrote to Archbishop Joseph of Astrakhan[1] "When the patriarchs arrive in Astrakhan, you shall accompany them from Astrakhan to Moscow, honoring them and being solicitous towards them. If they ask you for which matters they are being summoned to Moscow, answer that since Astrakhan is far from Moscow, you are unaware why they have been summoned to Moscow. You think that they were summonded on the grounds of the departure of the *former* patriarch Nikon and for other important ecclesiastical matters. Do not say that you visited Nikon together with Prince Nikita Ivanovich Odoevsky. Be cautious and careful in everything, and firmly direct the servitors with you not to talk about anything with the patriarchs' attendants and to be cautious."

No expense was spared for the valued guests. Five hundred horses were allotted to the patriarchs! The tsar quickly learned that the patriarchs were bringing with them from Astrakhan to Moscow Ivan Lavrentiev, a typesetter in the Printing Office, who was exiled to Terek by the tsar's decree for having introduced a Latin renegade sect and many Roman temptations. They were bringing with them the merchant Shorin's servant Ivan Turkin, who wrote false documents for cossack bandits by which they plundered the tsar's barge and merchant vessels and beat to death many servitors.

On September 5 the tsar wrote to the *long-suffering* hierodeacon Meletios the Greek, who was escorting the patriarchs, telling him to treat the guests courteously and to reassure them with the sovereign's generosity in everything. He was to tell them not to quarrel with the great sovereign, and not to bring bandits to Moscow, surrendering them instead to the governors. Escorts in the patriarchs' suite reported that along the route,

in the towns and villages, the patriarchs were receiving petitions and instigating investigations. In Simbirsk they tonsured and ordered imprisoned in the dungeon Archpriest Nikifor on account of the sign of the cross and because he did not officiate according to the new service books. There they also tonsured the deacon of a convent because of his relations with a nun. In the stockade of Uren they tonsured a priest on the basis of a petition from a female penitent after questioning priestly character witnesses and many others. Authorities in Moscow could find nothing uncanonical in these activities.

A magnificent reception, expensive gifts and welcoming words awaited the patriarchs in Moscow. "We reverently welcome you like the most holy supreme apostles," the tsar himself told them, "and we lovingly embrace you as angels of God. We believe that the almighty providence of the All-powerful Monarch will uproot every doubt among the faithful by the arrival of your august reverend selves. We believe that your blessed correction will foster all that is desired by the pious, and will shine devoutly on our dominion even more than the sun. We believe you to be renowned witnesses who will gladden and console our holy Russian church and all the faithful. O holy and most honorable twosome! What shall we call you who undertake so great a soul-saving labor? Cherubim, since Christ has rested upon you? Or Seraphim, since you ceaselessly glorify him?" and so on.

JUDGMENT

They set to work. On November 5 the patriarchs sat for three hours with the tsar in private. On the seventh the bishops, boyars, lords-in-waiting and conciliar officials were admitted to the conference. The sovereign spoke about Patriarch Nikon's departure from Moscow, the bishops presented their stories and an excerpt from the canons. On November 28 the third session took place. The tsar read out the accusations against Nikon and asked the patriarchs to resolve the case in keeping with the canons and their own scrutiny. The patriarchs replied that Nikon must be summoned to the synod and an answer demanded from him.

The next day Archbishop Arseny of Pskov, Archimandrite Sergius of the Savior monastery of Yaroslavl and Paul of the St. Evfimy monastery of Suzdal headed to the Resurrection monastery to fetch Nikon. "I have my episcopal ordination and the patriarchal throne," Nikon answered them, "not from the Alexandrian or Antiochene patriarch but from the patriarch of Constantinople. The Alexandrian and Antiochene patriarchs do

not live either in Alexandria or in Antioch. One lives in Egypt [Cairo] and the other in Damascus. If the patriarchs have come with the consent of the patriarchs of Constantinople and Jerusalem for spiritual matters, I will go to the imperial city of Moscow for spiritual matters in order to provide information."

On November 30 the patriarchs, bishops and nobility assembled in the banquet hall. The sovereign sat in the tsar's place, the patriarchs sat close to him on the left side in chairs, the bishops sat on the right side on benches, and the boyars, lords-in-waiting and conciliar officials were on the left side on benches. Nikon's reply was made known and it proved to be vexatious. They decided to send Archimandrite Filaret of the monastery of the Nativity in Vladimir and the cellarer of the New Savior monastery, Varlaam Palitsyn, who brought this letter to Nikon.

"You did not obey the order of the great sovereign," it read, "or the command of the holy patriarchs. You did not come to Moscow, you refused dishonestly. The great sovereign, owing to his enormous forbearance and long-suffering, and the patriarchs and the most sacred synod, disdaining your aggravations and disobedience, have sent for you a second time telling you to come to Moscow on December 2 at the second or third hour of the night, and to stop at the Archangel monastery guest house in the Kremlin by the St. Nicholas gates. You are to come in a humble manner with ten men or less."

Having sent the envoys, the synod set about reading the canons sent by the patriarchs. Paisios and Makarios confirmed that the canons truly were sent by them, and they asked "According to this scroll, is Nikon guilty?" "He is guilty," answered the bishops and boyars. Meanwhile Filaret and Varlaam met Nikon already on the road to Moscow, which he reached at the twelfth hour of night.

The next day, December 1, at the third hour of day the synod convened in the banquet hall in the previous order. Our old acquaintance Methodios, bishop of Mstislav, and two archimandrites, were sent to fetch Nikon. They were to tell Nikon to come to the synod in humble fashion, but he came as he always did, with a cross borne before him. He entered the banquet hall as a patriarch would, reciting the entrance prayers and a prayer for the health of the sovereign and the entire ruling family, for the patriarchs and all Orthodox Christians. Those present all stood during the prayer. Having completed the entrance ritual, he prostrated himself to the tsar three times, and twice to the patriarchs. These addressed him with an invitation to sit on the right side near the sovereign's place. When Nikon

saw that they were inviting him to be seated on the same bench with the other bishops and that there was not a special seat for him, he answered "I did not bring a seat where I might sit by myself. Perhaps I am to sit where I am standing? I came to learn why the ecumenical patriarchs have summoned me."

The tsar rose from his place, stood before the patriarchs and began to speak. "From the beginning of the realm of Muscovy the ecumenical and apostolic church has not suffered such dishonor as the former patriarch Nikon has caused it. On account of his own desires, willfully, without our instruction and without synodal consent he abandoned the church and renounced the patriarchate, although persecuted by no one. Owing to his departure many troubles and rebellions arose, and the church has been a widow without a pastor for nine years. Ask the former patriarch Nikon why he left his throne and went off to the Resurrection monastery."

The patriarchs addressed Nikon with this question and he answered "Do you have the consent and agreement of the patriarchs of Constantinople and Jerusalem to judge me? Without their consent I will answer none of your questions, for I was ordained by the patriarch of Constantinople."

Paisios and Makarios showed him the scrolls containing plenipotentiary powers from the two other patriarchs. Nikon then petitioned the sovereign and patriarchs to expel from the synod his enemies, Metropolitan Pitirim of Novgorod and Paul of Saray, who wanted to poison and strangle him. Pitirim and Paul replied that this was a lie and that the matter of the monk Feodosy was with the tsar. The tsar presented this case to the patriarchs. The patriarchs again repeated the question to Nikon as to why he had renounced the patriarchate. Nikon began to talk about the Teimuraz dinner,[2] repeating his enumeration of all offenses sustained by him, as he had done in his letter to the patriarchs.

"Patriarch Nikon," the tsar replied, "wrote to me asking for protection against Khitrovo when I was dining with the Georgian tsar, but there was no time to investigate and provide protection." This answer was very unsatisfactory, for if there was no time during the meal, there would have been time afterwards. In any event the tsar hastened to turn the hearing in a direction more favorable to him. "Patriarch Nikon," he continued, "says that he sent his servitor to manage church affairs but at the time there were no church affairs pending at the Red Porch. Khitrovo bruised his servitor because like an ignorant lout he did not come on time and caused a commotion. This dishonor does not pertain to Patriarch Nikon.

I could not attend the festivities on account of many matters of government. I sent the boyar princes Trubetskoy and Rodion Streshnev to him so that he would return to his patriarchal throne, but he repudiated the patriarchate. He said that when he was selected for the patriarchate he took an oath upon himself to be patriarch only for three years. I sent Prince Yury Romodanovsky to tell him henceforth not to sign his name as great sovereign, because the former patriarchs did not do so. I said nothing about being angry with him."

Romodanovsky declared that he had not mentioned the sovereign's anger. "What insults," asked the patriarchs, "did you receive from the great sovereign?" "There were no insults," Nikon replied, "but when he began to be angry and stopped coming to church, I too abandoned the patriarchate."

Tsar: He wrote to me at his departure "You alone are the great sovereign, and I Nikon am like one of the commoners."

Nikon: I wrote no such a thing.

The patriarchs addressed the bishops with the question "Which insults did Nikon receive from the sovereign?" "None," was the reply.

Nikon: I am not talking about insult. I am talking about the sovereign's anger. Even former patriarchs fled the emperor's anger, for example Athanasius of Alexandria and Gregory the Theologian.[3]

Patriarchs: Other patriarchs have abandoned their throne but not the way you did. You repudiated it, saying that henceforth you would not be patriarch, and if you aspired to be patriarch, you were to be anathema.

Nikon: I did not talk like that. I said that I would go because of my unworthiness. If I had renounced the office of patriarch with an oath, I would not have taken bishop's robes with me.

Patriarchs: When a person is installed in holy orders, the congregation says "Worthy." When you took off your episcopal robes, you said "Unworthy."

Nikon: You have concocted that against me.

Tsar: Nikon wrote many dishonoring words and reproaches against me in his letters to the holy patriarchs, whereas I did not write even the least dishonoring word or reproach against him. Inquire of him whether he wrote the truth without any addition and whether he defended church dogmas. Does he respect Patriarch Joseph as a most holy man and as his brother, and has he sold movable and immovable church properties?

Nikon: What is written in the letters is written. I stood up for the church dogmas. I respect Patriarch Joseph as patriarch, but whether or not

he is holy, this I do not know. I sold church property in keeping with the sovereign's decree.

The tsar ordered that Nikon's letter to Patriarch Dionysios be read. At the reading of the sentence "I was sent to Solovetsk monastery for the relics of

Vestments of a Bishop

Metropolitan Philip whom Tsar Ivan unjustly tortured," Alexis Mikhailovich interrupted and said "For what reason did he disgrace and reproach Tsar Ivan Vasilievich in his letter but remain silent about himself? What about how he deposed Bishop Paul of Kolomna without calling a synod, stripped the episcopal robes from him and exiled him to the Khutyn monastery, where he vanished without a trace? Ask him according to which canons he did this."

Nikon remained silent about Tsar Ivan and answered only about Paul. "According to which canons I deposed and exiled him, I do not remember, and where he perished, I do not know. There is a proceeding about him in the patriarch's court."

"There is no case at the patriarch's court," objected the metropolitan of Saray, "nor was there ever one. Bishop Paul was excommunicated without a synod." Nikon was silent.

Again the letter was read. When they reached the place where it said that the tsar began to interfere in affairs of the patriarchate, Alexis Mikhailovich said to the patriarchs "Ask him in which episcopal affairs I interfere." "I do not remember what I wrote," answered Nikon. "I left the office of patriarch," they continued reading, "as a result of the sovereign's anger." "Ask him," interrupted the tsar, "what anger and insult?"

Nikon: He provided no protection against Khitrovo, and he stopped going to church. I left by myself, I did not renounce the patriarchate, the sovereign's anger is clear to heaven and earth, and except for a sakkos[4] and miter I took nothing with me."

Patriarchs: Although Bogdan Matveevich battered your servant, you could have suffered and imitated John the Merciful[5] and how he suffered at the hands of his slave. Even if the sovereign was angered against you, you ought to have consulted with the bishops concerning this and petitioned the great sovereign for forgiveness, instead of becoming irate.

Then the voice of Khitrovo, emboldened by the patriarchs' words, was heard. "At the time of the banquet I was fulfilling the tsar's charge," he began, "and the patriarch's servant arrived then and caused a disturbance, and I battered him unknowingly. I asked Patriarch Nikon for forgiveness for this, and he forgave me."

Voices resounded from both sides, from the bishops and the boyars. "Patriarch Nikon endured no insults from the great sovereign at all," they said. "He went not because of insult but in anger."

"When he took off the panagia[6] and cassock," said the bishops, "he said 'If I think about being patriarch, let me be anathema.' He left the panagia and staff behind and took a crutch, but he said nothing about the sovereign's anger. When he went to the Resurrection monastery his servitors carried behind him many chests with possessions, and two thousand rubles were sent to him from the patriarchal treasury."

Patriarchs: You abdicated the patriarchate. Removing the miter and omophorion, you said "Unworthy."

Nikon: They are giving false testimony about the abdication, for had I really abdicated, I would not have taken episcopal robes with me.

They read as far as Nikon's cavils against the Code of Law. "Patriarch Joseph and the whole consecrated assembly," said the tsar, "added their signatures to this book, and you also signed it. Why then, when you were patriarch, did you not revise this book? Who wanted to kill you on account of this book?" "I involuntarily added my signature," answered Nikon.

They read up to the account of the arrival of Prince Odoevsky and Paisios Ligarides in the Resurrection monastery. "The metropolitan and prince," said the tsar, "were sent to reprimand him for his injustices, because he wrote to me with much dishonor and an oath, and he placed my letters under the Gospel. He defamed the metropolitan of Gaza, although the metropolitan was vouched for by his confessor and although he has his letter of ordination."

Nikon: I prayed for him who offended me and did not curse him. According to the canons, the metropolitan of Gaza may not officiate at liturgy because he abandoned his eparchy and has lived in Moscow for a long time. I heard from Deacon Agafangel that he was excommunicated and anathematized by the patriarch of Jerusalem. I have many such louts. Boyar Prince Nikita Ivanovich told me in the sovereign's word that Ivan Sytin wanted to stab me.

Odoevsky: I said no such words, but Nikon told me 'If you want to stab me, command it,' and he bared his breast.

Patriarch Makarios: The metropolitan of Gaza was ordained to the diaconate and priesthood in Jerusalem, not in Rome. I know this for a fact.

Almaz Ivanov: When Nikon came to Moscow, following the news about his enemy, he told me that he resigned from his throne.

Nikon: I never told you that.

When the synod members read in the letter that the tsar had sent the *patriarchs* many gifts, Alexis Mikhailovich turned to Nikon and said "I sent no such gifts. I wrote that they might come to Moscow for the reconciliation of the church. You, however, sent your nephew to them with letters and gave Cherkashenin many gold coins."

Nikon: I did not give Cherkashenin money, but I did give money to my nephew for traveling expenses.

They read about Ziuzin, about his exile, about the death of his wife from grief.

Tsar: Ziuzin deserved the death penalty for his actions because he summoned Nikon to Moscow without my command and caused much turmoil,

but his wife died because of Nikon, for he abandoned her husband by showing his letter.

Nikon: I sent Ziuzin's letter to the great sovereign to prove that I came according to letters and not of my own design.

The tsar presented Ziuzin's case to the patriarchs and said "Nikon came to Moscow without being summoned by anyone and was about to remove Metropolitan Peter's staff from the cathedral, but his lads shook the dust from their feet. What good has he caused? What kind of teachers are his lads that they do such things?" "If my lads shook the dust off their feet, I did not see it," answered Nikon, "but when the tsar's men came to Chernevo for the staff, they tormented me and wanted to beat the others to death." "I gave no orders to beat anyone to death and no one was beaten," objected the tsar.

"All those who said a good word in my defense," they read, "or made certain letters known were sent to prison and handed over to tortures. Subdeacon Nikita died in chains, the priest Sysoy was ruined, the prior Aaron was exiled to the Solovetsk monastery."

"Nikita," the tsar interrupted, "left Nikon for Ziuzin with hostile letters, was imprisoned for sedition and died from some illness. Sysoy is a notorious criminal and brawler, and he was exiled for his great knavery. Aaron said indecent things about me and was exiled for this. Ask him who was tortured."

Nikon: They told me about this.

Tsar: You need not have believed the hostile words and you should not have written falsely to the ecumenical patriarchs.

"Bishops," they read, "are ordained for the eparchies contrary to the canons of the holy fathers which forbid moving from one eparchy to another." To this point the tsar said "When Nikon was patriarch, he transferred Archbishop Lavrenty from Tver to Kazan and moved many other bishops from one place to another."

Nikon: I did this contrary to the canons out of ignorance.

Pitirim: You yourself were brought to the Novgorod metropolitan see to replace the still living metropolitan Avfony.

Nikon: Avfony had lost his mind. Would that you likewise would lose your mind!

"Because of this illegitimate synod," they continued to read in the letter, "communion with the Eastern churches has ceased in Rus and all are deprived of your blessing. They have accepted of their own wills the first fruits of the Roman churches."

Tsar: Nikon removed us from the pious faith and from the blessing of the holy patriarchs and reckoned us to the Roman Catholic faith, calling us all heretics! If only Nikon's letter had reached the holy ecumenical patriarchs, all Orthodox Christians would be under his oath, and everyone would have to stand up for his false and fanciful letter, die for it and be purified by it.

The patriarchs asked Nikon "How was Rus separated from the ecumenical church?" "By the fact that Paisios of Gaza moved Pitirim from one metropolitan see to another and installed another metropolitan in his place," Nikon answered. "Other bishops were transferred from place to place, but he had no right to do this, because he was excommunicated and anathematized by the patriarch of Jerusalem. Even if the metropolitan of Gaza were a heretic, there is no reason for him to be in Moscow for such a long time. I do not consider him a metropolitan and he does not have a letter of ordination. Any lout can put on a mantel! That is how he is a metropolitan. I wrote everything about him, and not about Orthodox Christians."

His justification was too contemptible. Nikon's enemies triumphed. "He called all of us heretics," from everywhere the shout was raised, "not just the metropolitan of Gaza. A decree is needed about this according to the canons!" Nikon recognized where his habit of using forceful unconsidered words had led him. Yet once more, in keeping with his habit of always blaming others and not himself, he turned to the tsar and said "If only you feared God, you would not have done this to me."

The tsar said nothing in reply. When they all grew calmer they began again to read Nikon's letter to the patriarchs. They read his complaint against the ordination of clerics on the sovereign's order, against the heavy collections taken from churches and monasteries. The tsar explained the matter. "As it used to be when the patriarchal see was vacant," he said, "so too now does it happen with regard to the ordination of clerics. The bishops as a synod elevate candidates to the rank. If anything was taken from the patriarchate's treasury it was taken as a loan. Conscripts, money and grain were collected from bishops and monasteries according to established custom. For the construction of the New Resurrection monastery Patriarch Nikon took large sums of money from the household treasury collected from the bishops and monasteries along with conscripts. He also willfully took many transport requisites from bishops and monasteries." Nikon answered that he had never taken anything.

When they read the passage about Mefody of Mstislav, the tsar said "Bishop Mefody was sent to Kiev not as metropolitan but as *locum tenens*, and I wrote to the patriarch of Constantinople about this."

Concerning the conduct of Pitirim, the accused himself answered. "At the divine liturgies in the cathedral church," he said, "I stood and sat where I am supposed to, not in the patriarch's stall. On Palm Sunday I acted in keeping with the sovereign's order and not of my own accord."

Nikon: It was not your place to play a role belonging to our patriarchal dignity.

Tsar: When you were metropolitan in Novgorod you yourself played this role, and while your were patriarch the metropolitans in Novgorod, Kazan and Rostov did likewise.

Nikon: I did this out of ignorance.

They came to the matter of Streshnev's dog. To this point the tsar said "Nikon wrote nothing to me, but boyar Semeon Lukianovich said under oath in my presence that no such thing had happened." The clergy testified that Nikon vainly anathematized Streshnev without a synod. Boyar Peter Mikhailovich Saltykov added that the patriarch had released Streshnev from his anathema and forgiven him, and sent him a letter of forgiveness. Nikon said nothing but when the reading of the letter ended he told the tsar "God will judge you. I realized at my election that you would be good to me for six years and then I would be hated and tortured."

The tsar addressed the patriarchs. "Ask him how he realized this at his election." Nikon gave no answer to this question. At this point Hilarion of Riazan availed himself of the opportunity to mention Nikon's other prophecies. "He said that he saw a star with a tail and from this would come the ruin of Muscovy. Let him say by what kind of spirit he knew this?"

Nikon: As in the former law [Old Testament] such signs occurred, so too in Moscow will they come to pass. The Lord prophesied on the Mount of Olives about the destruction of Jerusalem after four hundred years.

Everyone was exhausted, especially the tsar and Nikon, who had been standing the whole time. The patriarchs ended the session and ordered Nikon to go to the guest house.

The voice of Paisios Ligarides was not among the various voices raised against Nikon at the synod. He even considered it beneficial for himself to avoid untangling the affair in which he so forcefully participated earlier, and submitted a request to the tsar. "I did not come here,"

he wrote, "to quarrel with Nikon or to judge him, but to lessen the debt burdening my eparchy. I received your generous alms, half of which the bandit Agafangel stole. I shall hand him over to eternal damnation like a new Judas! I ask you to release me before the entire synod has arrived in Moscow. If I have endured so much before the synod, what shall I not endure after the synod? It is enough, most merciful tsar! Enough! I can no longer serve your holy palace. Release your servant, release me! As I came here freely and unsummoned, so let me be free to depart from this place to my own metropolitan see." Paisios was not permitted to leave Moscow, but he reckoned it necessary to remain silent during the disputes with Nikon.

A second session met on December 3 without Nikon. The tsar revealed to the patriarchs that the day before, December 2, he sent Nikon food and drink, but Nikon did not accept , saying that he had many supplies of his own and that he gave no instructions about this to him, the great sovereign. "Nikon does everything as though he were insane," answered the patriarchs. When the accused entered, the tsar once again left his seat and spoke a word to the patriarchs. Everyone present petitioned against Nikon.

"While quarreling with the metropolitan of Gaza," read the accusation, "he wrote in his letter to the patriarch of Constantinople that the whole of Orthodox Christendom had set aside the Eastern church in favor of the Western church, when in fact the holy catholic Eastern church possesses the healing shroud of our Savior God and the relics of many holy Muscovite wonder-workers. There was never any excommunication. We hold firm and truly believe according to the tradition of the holy apostles and fathers. We petition the patriarchs to cleanse Orthodox Christians from such an intimation." The tsar and the entire synod at this point prostrated themselves before the patriarchs.

"This is a serious matter," answered the patriarchs, "and we must be resolute about it. When Nikon called all Orthodox Christians heretics, he also called us heretics. We supposedly came to Muscovy to judge heretics, but we find Orthodox Christians here. For this charge we shall try Patriarch Nikon and defend Orthodox Christians in keeping with the canons."

Having advanced in such solemn circumstances the principal point of their accusation against Nikon, and showing the impossibility of reconciliation with the shepherd who so cruelly had offended his flock by accusing it of unorthodoxy his accusers, to strengthen this impression, presented the patriarchs with their most important evidence against Nikon, which shook their confidence in his words and his justifications.

Until this point Nikon constantly asserted that he did not resign from the patriarchate. The tsar now gave the patriarchs three letters in which Nikon called himself the former patriarch.

The patriarchs declared "In the canons it is written 'Whoever is exposed as a liar three times may never again be believed.' Patriarch Nikon has revealed himself in many lies and it is unfitting to believe him in anything. Whoever has slandered someone is subject to the punishment imposed on him whom they accused. If anyone brings a charge of heresy against another and does not prove it, he deserves defrocking if a priest, excommunication if a layman."

The tsar presented Nikon's letter about the installation of a new patriarch to replace him. "When Teimuraz was at the tsar's table," the patriarchs continued, "Nikon sent his servitor to cause discord. In the canons it is written 'Anyone who causes discord between emperors deserves death.' God will forgive him who struck Nikon's servitor, because he acted properly."

At these words the Antiochene patriarch rose and made the sign of the cross over Khitrovo, then continued. "Nikon's peasants beat Archbishop Gavriil of Serbia in the village of Pushkin and Nikon gave no protection. Indeed, Nikon removed the miter from a certain bishop in the sanctuary of the cathedral during the Divine Liturgy because he was holding the thurible incorrectly. Nikon also does the procession of the Jordan river on the eve of Theophany and not on the feast day itself."[7]

The third session of the synod was held on December 5 with Nikon present. Before Nikon's arrival the tsar addressed the patriarchs, saying "Nikon came to Moscow and set the Judgment of God against me because I convened the synod and ordered him to come to Moscow with lesser servitors. When he arrived in Moscow his underling (Shushera) was seized on my orders, because for nine years he brought Nikon all sorts of news and caused many disagreements. Nikon defames and dishonors me on account of this underling and says 'The tsar tortures me, for he ordered my underling seized from beneath the cross.' Should Nikon speak about this at the synod, be forewarned, holy patriarchs. Know this too, that before his journey to Moscow Nikon confessed, received communion and was anointed with oil." The patriarchs were greatly astonished.

When Nikon entered, Patriarch Paisios accused him of renouncing the patriarchal throne under oath and leaving without licit cause. "I did not resign under oath," answered Nikon. "Heaven and earth are my witnesses that I left because of the sovereign's anger. Now I go where the great sovereign pleases. Good does not come about under duress."

Patriarchs: Many have heard that he resigned from the patriarchate under oath.

Nikon: They have organized this against me. If I am unfit, I shall go wherever his majesty the tsar pleases.

Patriarchs: Who ordered you to sign your name "Patriarch of New Jerusalem"?

Nikon: I neither wrote nor said such a thing. (Here Hilarion of Riazan showed his letter where it in fact was so written.)

Nikon: It is my hand. I must have made a slip. I heard from the Greeks that other patriarchs occupy the thrones of Antioch and Alexandria. Let the sovereign have them testify, let the patriarchs swear on the Gospel.

Patriarchs: We are real, not deposed patriarchs. We have not resigned our thrones. Perhaps the Turks have done something in our absence. If anyone has dared to take our thrones uncanonically, under pressure from the sultan, he is not a patriarch but an adulterer. The holy Gospel is not for this, and it is improper for a bishop to swear on the Gospel.

Nikon: From this hour, I testify by God that I will not speak before the patriarchs until the patriarchs of Constantinople and Jerusalem come here.

Hilarion of Riazan: How fearless you are of the judgment of God, dishonoring the ecumenical patriarchs!

The patriarchs appealed to the synod, saying "Tell the truth about Nikon's repudiation under oath!" Pitirim of Novgorod and Joasaph of Tver testified that Nikon resigned and that he had said "If I am patriarch, let me be anathema."

Nikon: I am not turning back and I am not saying that I must be on the patriarch's throne, but he who is patriarch after me will be anathema. Thus did I write to the sovereign that he would not install another patriarch without my consent. I will say nothing now about the throne; let it be as the great sovereign and the ecumenical patriarchs please.

The patriarchs ordered the metropolitan of Amasis to read the canons in Greek, and Bishop Hilarion of Riazan read them in Russian. "Whoever," they read, "willfully—except for slander—forsakes his throne shall never again be on the throne."

Nikon: These are not Apostolic canons, nor are they canons of the ecumenical or local councils. I neither accept nor heed these canons.

Paul of Krutitsa: The church has received these canons.

Nikon: They are not in the Russian Pilot Book,[8] and the Greek canons are specious. Their patriarchs wrote them themselves and heretics printed them. I did not resign from the throne. Others have organized this against me.

Patriarchs: Our Greek canons are sound!

Archbishop Joasaph of Tver: When he resigned from the patriarchal throne under oath we begged him not to forsake the throne, but he said that once he resigned he would no longer be patriarch. If he returned, he would be anathema.

As before, Nikon repudiated this testimony. Rodion Streshnev then stood up and declared "Nikon said that he promised to be patriarch only for three years."

Nikon: I shall not return to the throne. The great sovereign can do as he wishes.

Almaz Ivanov: Nikon wrote the sovereign that it would be unseemly for him to return to the throne like a dog to its own vomit.

Nikon denied this and added "Not only I, but Chrysostom too was banished unjustly." Then, turning to the tsar, he said "When the rebellion erupted in Moscow, you yourself, your majesty, witnessed the injustice, and I, taking fright, left because of your anger."

Tsar: You are speaking indecent words, dishonoring me. No one rebelled against me. The police officers arrived not to march against me but to petition me concerning injuries.

Shouts were raised from all sides. "How you lack the fear of God to say these indecent words and dishonor the great sovereign!"

Patriarchs: Why do you wear a monk's headdress with cherubim and two panagias?

Nikon: I wear the black headdress following the example of the Greek patriarchs. I wear the cherubim following the example of the Moscow patriarchs, who wore them on their white headdress. I left the patriarchate with one panagia, and the other is a cross which I wear to help me.

Bishops: When you resigned from the patriarchate you did not take the white headdress with you, you took a simple monastic one, yet now you are wearing it with cherubim.

Patriarch of Antioch: Do you know that the patriarch of Antioch is an ecumenical judge?

Nikon: Then judge for yourself. There now are no patriarchs in Antioch and Alexandria. The Alexandrian lives in Egypt [Cairo] and the Antiochene lives in Damascus.

Patriarchs: When the ecumenical patriarchs blessed Metropolitan Job of Moscow for the patriarchal dignity, where were they living at the time?

Nikon: I can't remember that far back.[9]

Patriarchs: Listen to the holy canons.

Nikon: The Greek canons are specious and heretics printed them.

Patriarchs: Sign your name to the effect that our nomocanon is heretical, and say precisely which heresies are contained therein (Nikon refused to do this).

Patriarchs: Tell us how many bishops judge a bishop and how many judge a patriarch.

Nikon: Twelve bishops judge a bishop, but the whole universal church judges a patriarch.

Patriarchs: You alone deposed Bishop Paul contrary to the canons.

Tsar: Do you believe all the ecumenical patriarchs? They signed with their own hands that the patriarchs of Antioch and Alexandria visited Moscow in accordance with their agreement.

Nikon examined the signatures and said "I do not know their signatures."

Patriarch of Antioch: These are the patriarchs' authentic signatures!

"You're just showing off," Nikon told the patriarch of Antioch. "How will you give an answer before the patriarch of Constantinople?"

Voices from different sides shouted, saying "Have you no fear of God? You dishonor the great sovereign and make a lie of the ecumenical patriarchs and of the entire truth!"

The patriarchs ordered that the cross borne in front of Nikon be taken from him on the grounds that none of the patriarchs practised such a custom, and that Nikon adopted it from the Latins. An argument about his resignation began once more.

SENTENCE

Finally the patriarchs said "It is written 'Out of necessity even the devil confesses the truth,' but Nikon does not confess the truth." They pronounced sentence. "Henceforth you shall not be patriarch nor shall you perform sacred actions, rather you shall be as a simple monk."

On December 8 the patriarchs sat with the sovereign in private for three hours. On December 12 they gathered with the clergy in the patriarch's chapel and sent to ask the tsar to dispatch one of the members of the boyar council to them. The tsar sent Prince Nikita Ivanovich Odoevsky, Boyar Peter Mikhailovich Saltykov, Conciliar Noble Yelizarov and Conciliar Secretary Almaz Ivanov. Nikon waited in the porch in front of the chapel. The patriarchs moved toward the church at the gates of the Miracles monastery, and stood in their stalls wearing their sakkos. The other bishops in sakkos stood according to rank. They summoned Nikon. He came, prayed to the icons, bowed twice to the patriarchs and stood on

the left side of the western doors. They began to read a copy of the synodal acts in Greek and Russian.

When the reading stopped, the patriarchs left their stalls and stood at the royal doors. They called Nikon before them and listed the charges against him, which consisted of the following. "He cursed the Russian bishops on the Sunday of Orthodoxy without availing himself of disputation or trial. He forced the church to live as a widow for eight years and six months by forsaking the throne. Speaking abusively of two bishops, he called one of them Annas and the other Caiaphas. He called one of the boyars Herod and another, Pilate. When he was summoned to the synod according to church custom, he did not come in a humble manner and did not stop censuring the patriarchs, saying that they did not occupy the ancient thrones but wandered outside their eparchies. He disparaged their court and rejected all canons of the general and local councils which followed the seventh ecumenical council. He called the nomocanon a heretical book because it was printed in the West. In his letters to the patriarchs he accused the most Orthodox sovereign of Latin leanings, calling him an unjust torturer and comparing him to Jeroboam and Hosea. He said that the nobility and the entire Russian church bowed down to Latin dogmas. He, however, who forsakes the flock entrusted to him is not a shepherd but a hireling.

"By himself alone he deposed a bishop. At the defrocking he removed the cope from Bishop Paul of Kolomna and handed him over for a cruel beating. This bishop lost his mind and perished in obscurity. He was either devoured by wild beasts, drowned or perished in some other manner. Nikon ordered his own father confessor beaten without mercy, and the patriarchs themselves saw his wounds. While living in the Resurrection monastery he punished many people, monks and lay brothers, not spiritually and not with gentleness for their transgressions, but rather he tortured them with secular punishments, with the knout and the cudgel, and some he burned with iron rods."

After his crimes were made public, the patriarch of Alexandria removed Nikon's headdress and panagia. He told him henceforth not to refer to himself in speech or writing as patriarch, but simply as the monk Nikon. He was to live in a monastery quietly and without rebellion, and pray to the all-merciful God for his transgressions.

"I know how to live even without your instruction," answered Nikon. "Since you have removed from me the headdress and panagia, divide the pearl among yourselves. The pearl should suffice to provide you each

with five or six zolotniks and ten gold coins each. You are the sultan's slaves, vagrants who go everywhere begging for alms to pay tribute to the sultan. Where did you get these laws from? Why do you act here secretly like looters in the monastery church in the absence of the tsar, the council and the people? I was asked to accept the patriarchate in front of the whole people. I agreed, seeing the people's tears, hearing the dread oaths of the tsar. I was installed as patriarch in the cathedral church before the general populace. So if now you want to condemn us and depose us, let us go to the same church where I accepted the pastor's staff. If I am shown to be worthy of defrocking, then expose me to what you wish."

They replied that it did not matter in which church the council's sentence was pronounced, only that it should be on the advice of the sovereign and all the bishops. They placed a simple headdress on Nikon, taken from a Greek monk, but his episcopal staff and cope they did not take from him, fearing the people according to one account, at the request of the tsar according to another.

NIKON EXILED TO FERAPONT MONASTERY

The Ferapont monastery[10] on White Lake was designated as the place of seclusion for the deposed patriarch. Two monastic priests, two deacons, one simple monk and two lay brothers accompanied him. Taking his seat in the sleigh, Nikon began to talk to himself, saying "Nikon! Why did all this happen to you? If you do not speak the truth, you won't lose friendship! Had you given rich banquets and dined with them, this would not have happened to you."

They transported Nikon out of the Miracles monastery under the protection of soldiers, but a crowd followed after him. Behind the sleighs walked Archimandrite Sergius of the Savior monastery of Yaroslav. When Nikon started to say something, Sergius yelled "Keep quiet, Nikon!"

Nikon addressed his former steward, saying "Tell Sergius that if he has the authority let him come and stop my mouth." The steward carried out his commission, in which he called Nikon most holy patriarch. "How dare you call a simple monk patriarch!" shouted Sergius. A voice from the crowd was heard in response "That you should yell! The name patriarch was given to him from on high, not from you, proud one." Sergius demanded that the musketeers arrest the impudent man. They answered that he already was under arrest and being taken away to the proper place.

Nikon spent the night at the court of the police. Departure was announced for the next day, December 13. The tsar sent Nikon some money

and a fur coat for the road, which he refused. The tsar asked for a blessing for himself and his entire family, but Nikon gave no blessing. People began to assemble in the Kremlin. They were told that Nikon was being moved along Sretenka street. When the crowd flooded back into the Kitay quarter, Nikon was taken by another road. Archimandrite Joseph of the Caves monastery of Nizhny Novgorod was sent to watch over Nikon.

NIKON IN EXILE

On December 21 Nikon was at the Ferapont monastery. Joseph's first act was to demand from him the episcopal cope and staff. Nikon surrendered them without any objection. He asked only that the monks and lay brothers who had traveled with him be released to go wherever they wished. To relieve Joseph of Nizhny Novgorod another Joseph was sent, the archimandrite of the New Savior monastery. He had the following order. "See to it that the monk Nikon writes no letters and sends nothing anywhere. Be especially careful that no one insults him in any way. Do not permit him to control anything in the monastery, but give him food and whatever he needs for peace and quiet in his cell."

This order relating to the Ferapont prisoner could not be executed easily. By nature Nikon could not remain at rest or leave others in peace. The importance of the patriarch was too great in Rus. When he was in Moscow and when he was in the Resurrection monastery Nikon made too much noise and produced too powerful an impression, and none of that strength was lost by separating him from the principal scene of action. Russians of the time so easily submitted to the influence of a figure who knew how to advance his rights by public demonstration, even though those rights were transitory, even though they had disappeared.

In the end the tsar himself, Alexis Mikhailovich, in keeping with his nature, did not let Nikon be reconciled to his situation. He supported his dreams of a possible reversal and his pretensions to an importance superior to that which the synod afforded him. Greatly irritated by Nikon's letter to the patriarchs, Alexis Mikhailovich came to serious blows with his former personal friend at the synod when he saw him face to face, just as angry and proud as ever, unyielding and quick to take offense. When the trial ended and sentence was pronounced, when instead of the most holy patriarch and great sovereign Nikon there appeared in the tsar's imagination the wretched monk Nikon exiled to the cold White Lake hermitage, his anger passed, and his earlier sentiments were reawakened. Alexis Mikhailovich started to feel sorry, he grew terrified.

In the tsar's devout soul a question arose as to whether he had acted in a Christian manner. Should he not seek reconciliation with Nikon even though he would be wrong to change the synod's sentence? Before Nikon's departure for the Ferapont monastery the tsar sent to ask for a blessing from him. Then in 1667 when a new bailiff, Naumov, was sent from Moscow to the Ferapont to replace the bailiff Shepelev,[11] the tsar likewise commissioned him to ask Nikon for a blessing and forgiveness. Nikon did not understand or did not want to understand the impulses guiding the tsar in this situation. It was not in his character to conform to the Christian commandment to forgive one's enemies, to be reconciled with one's brother before approaching the altar. He wanted to take advantage of the tsar's conscientiousness in this regard to improve his lot. "You fear sin," he replied, "you ask for a blessing and reconciliation from me, but I will not bless you for nothing. I will not be reconciled with you. When I return from seclusion, then shall I forgive you."

"When before my departure from Moscow," wrote Nikon to the tsar, "you sent Rodion Streshnev with alms and with a request about forgiveness and a blessing, I told him to wait for divine judgment. Again Naumov said the same words to me and I answered him the same thing, that it was impossible for me simply to give my blessing and forgiveness you condemned and imprisoned me, and thrice I cursed you in accordance with divine commands, more than Sodom and Gomorrah. The first time, when I left the patriarchate because of your anger, I shook the dust from my feet as I left the church. The second time, when I arrived before Christmas and was expelled, at all the town gates I shook off the dust. The third time, when I was with you in the banquet hall a second time, as I was leaving I stood in the middle of the hall and, turning towards you, I shook the dust from my feet and said 'My blood and the sin of all be upon your head!' "

With this same goal of intimidating the tsar, Nikon intended to repeat in the Ferapont what he had done in Moscow during the trial against him. On March 6, 1667 a monk appeared before Naumov and told him on Nikon's behalf "Send to the Resurrection monastery for all our provisions, for we do not wish to accept or eat the sovereign's provisions, because Patriarch Nikon is angry with the sovereign. The sovereign, not the ecumenical patriarchs, sent him into exile. Therefore we cannot accept the sovereign's charity." "How dare you call Nikon patriarch!" said Naumov to the monk. "I do not listen to you," the latter replied, "but to Nikon, and henceforth I shall call him patriarch and act under his blessing. We

have heard too that the new patriarch, Joasaph, has been installed, but he is an illegitimate patriarch. The ecumenical patriarchs are illegitimate, absentees and hirelings. They asked our patriarch Nikon for a bribe of three thousand and said 'You shall be patriarch for us as before.' Nikon did not give them the three thousand. Angered at him over this, they abandoned him."

The arrival of Crown Agent Ivan Obraztsov in July 1667 encouraged Nikon all the more. Seeing that Naumov was holding his prisoner under too strict a regimen, Obraztsov jailed Naumov in the guard house for about three hours. Nikon was angry and said "Stepan tortured me for thirty weeks and they jail him for only three hours!" Naumov visited him to ask for forgiveness, bowed low and said "I am an unfree man. I did what I was ordered."

Because of these words Nikon forgave him. From that point on friendship grew between them. The bailiff visited Nikon and told him all sorts of news from Moscow. Both men, the bailiff and the prisoner, believed every rumor with identical ease. One day when Naumov's men returned from Moscow they related how Nikon was to be Pope. Naumov was frightened and began to call Nikon "patriarch" and led him by the arm. "Give the sovereign a blessing and forgiveness," he explained, "and the sovereign will never abandon you, I stake my life on it!" He related that the sovereign dispatched him to the Ferapont with instructions to entreat Nikon to bless and forgive him. When he asked for the order in a letter, Alexis Mikhailovich grew angry and said "I should give you a note for you and your wife to read at home, when you do not believe my words!"

Beginning on July 23 people of every rank started visiting Nikon, burghers from the towns, the elder from the town hall of Beloozero, the crown taverner, people from Kargopol, monks from various monasteries, and Martha the abbess from the convent of the Resurrection. All these guests approached Nikon for his blessing, kissed his hand, extolled him as patriarch, and sat with him in his cell from morning until evening. Nikon sent for the nuns in the convent using the monastery's carts, and started to control the monastery and the monastery's holdings. Against representations Naumov answered angrily "The sovereign did not instruct you to govern me."

From Nikon's old patrimonies, from the villages of Korotkov and Bogoslovskoe, monks and peasants began arriving with petitions about the decree [unclear in text] and brought money. Naumov, obeying his instructions, forbade them to give Nikon paper and ink. Nikon teased him,

saying "You forbid them to give me paper and ink, but I brought with me from Moscow four inkwells and paper. Go look!" He showed him about eight quires of paper. Archimandrite Joseph and Abbot Afanasy of the Ferapont were carried away by the general example and began to call Nikon patriarch, kiss his hand and remember him in the litanies as in former days. Joseph berated the new patriarch Joasaph.[12] This greatly pleased Nikon and he gave Joseph presents of cloth and furs.

The respect shown him at the Ferapont could not console Nikon, who thirsted to return from exile, but there was not a sound about this return. In August a decree arrived from Moscow ordering the arrest and exile of the servant Yakovlev because he traveled everywhere on Nikon's errands without asking Naumov's permission. In keeping with his custom Nikon flared up, called Naumov a scoundrel, said that the tsar's letter was a forgery and shouted "Dementy Bashmakov[13] is doing all this without the sovereign's order!" After shouting for some time, he handed over the servant. This event demonstrated to him that Moscow was not thinking about his return, even less about a mitigation of the instructions to the bailiff. Nikon tested the possibilities of obtaining by tractability what he formerly wished to seize by severity and threat. He previously refused to give the tsar his blessing and forgiveness, demanding that the tsar first bring him back out of exile. He now sent his blessing and forgiveness in the hope that his return from the Ferapont would materialize as a result. He summoned Naumov and asked "What instructions for me do you have from the great sovereign?" Naumov repeated that the sovereign instructed him to ask Nikon for a blessing and forgiveness. Nikon then handed him a letter to be sent to the sovereign.

"Great tsar, sovereign and grand prince," it read, "your humble intercessor Nikon, patriarch by the mercy of God makes appeal with prayer to God. In the present year of [7]176 (1667), on September 7, Stepan Naumov approached me and told me by your sovereign word that he was ordered with great supplication to ask for and beseech reconciliation of your intercessor so that I might grant to you, great sovereign, my blessing and forgiveness, and that you, in keeping with your sovereign consideration, would favor me with your mercy. I indeed bless and forgive you, the tsaritsa, the tsareviches and tsarevnas. When I gaze on your sovereign eyes I shall forgive and absolve you more effectively, sovereign, with a sacred rite, because the holy Gospel and the Acts of the Apostles everywhere instruct us to perform forgiveness and healing through the imposition of hands."

A year passed but no answer came from Moscow. Nikon lost his patience and resolved to have himself remembered by other means. In October 1668 the monk Flavian appeared in Moscow and gave the tsar a letter. "I who am still alive," wrote Nikon, "made equal to those who go down into the pit, sitting in darkness and the shadow of death, fettered by poverty instead of irons, your humble intercessor Nikon, by the mercy of God, patriarch. I inform you on my own behalf, great sovereign, about your lofty sermon, although I ought not write you, for I fear your betrayers. Hearing of your great deed, they inform me, but it vanishes without a trace. Since Bailiff Stepan Naumov arrived, he has been telling me of your mercy hour after hour, day after day, month after month, but your mercy has been withdrawn from me, for I have aroused your fury.

"Seeing that this action of yours has been delayed, I summoned Archimandrite Joseph of the New Savior monastery, the musketeer captain Savrasov, the Ferapont abbot, the cellarer and all the musketeers to my cell on September 7. I told them your great word, that the archimandrite and the captain might give me a horse and cart with some good escorts with which I might send my servitor to you concerning this great affair. I revealed to them the treason against you, that in Moscow those who would betray you want to charm you or already have charmed you. The archimandrite, captain and musketeers agreed, but the traitor Makary the cellarer shouted 'By the sovereign's decree we cannot provide transportation.' I ordered the captain and the musketeers to take my horses and to write to you what they heard from me, but the cellarer did not provide a scribe for the letter. I told the captain to go himself even without a letter. The captain was willing to go, but Stepan Naumov sent his servitor ahead. The slave, when he reached the monastery, shouted that Stepan forbade anyone to pass and refused to provide horses. Stepan himself came to the stable with a bludgeon and wanted to beat the captain and musketeers. He took all the horses in his own hands and let no one have them, and he yelled 'I see who is going! How he scares me! I am not a little boy. I have a great responsibility even concerning the patriarch, and this I must carry out.' I said that the captain and musketeers would go on foot to St. Cyril's, but Stepan would not permit them to go even to St. Cyril's, and he yelled 'I stake my life on this!' His life is very cheap to you! The next day he sent his servitor Andriushko and the musketeer brigand Yakimko to Moscow, and gave orders to put me in chains and station seven guards around my cell."

On October 20 the boyars interrogated Brother Flavian in the presence of the tsar for details about this great affair with which Nikon had sent him. "During St. Peter's Fast,"[14] declared Flavian, "the hieromonk Pallady from the Resurrection monastery in Moscow visited the Ferapont monastery and told Nikon that he was in Moscow at the guest house of St. Cyril's monastery. There the hieromonk Joel told him about the lord-in-waiting Fedor Rtishchev.[15] 'Arrange it,' Rtishchev told Joel, 'so that I am the great sovereign's first boyar.' 'I cannot do this,' Joel told the lord-in-waiting, 'but you have in your residence an old gypsy woman who knows how to do these things better than I.' 'I cannot tell the old woman about this,' replied Rtishchev, 'because she wants to marry me.'" Nikon sent a letter after Flavian in which he likewise set forth Pallady's words, though instead of Rtishchev there figured the boyar Bogdan Matveevich Khitrovo[16] and a Lithuanian woman.

In Nikon's letter, Joel told Pallady "Nikon does not love me, he calls me a wizard and necromancer, but I am no such thing. I only know astrology and this I learned with great difficulty. The sovereign even brought me up when Tsarevna Anna[17] was ill and I said that she would not rise, which is what happened. The sovereign directed me to live in the Miracles monastery to be close by. Bogdan Khitrovo is my friend and he told me to cast a spell on the sovereign so that the sovereign would love and favor him more than anyone. I remembered the sovereign's mercy towards me and refused him, and he said to me 'Hold your tongue!' 'Your Lithuanian woman knows how,' I said to him. 'Here in Moscow there is none more powerful than she.' 'That's true,' said Bogdan, 'but it is bad to make big demands of her because she wants me to marry her, and I would take her, but the sovereign does not permit it.'"

Joel was summoned for interrogation. He declared that he visited Pallady to cure him but did not discuss anything else with him, and that he had never even been at Khitrovo's residence. Pallady was summoned. He declared that Joel had cured him but that he had not talked with him about anything. He stated that he said nothing to Nikon in the Ferapont monastery.

"Brother Nikon is free to malign me," he said, "he knows how to fabricate stories. When I was living in the Ferapont monastery, Crown Agent Ivan Obraztsov arrived and brought from the sovereign five hundred rubles for Nikon, and two hundred rubles for the monks who live with him. Nikon did not give them this money. I discussed this with the monks and when Nikon found out, he ordered me driven from Ferapont with cudgels."

Joel's premises were searched and some books were found. These included one Latin book, one book in Latin and Polish, a printed book of astrological charts printed in Wilno in 1586, a handwritten book with the moons, days and planets beginning in the month of March for the whole year and with genealogies in months and stars, a handwritten notebook about the letting of venous and subcutaneous blood, and a record of whom Joel had cured, where the same people signed their names in their own hand.

In November the musketeer commander Lutokhin departed for the Ferapont monastery. He was to relate to Nikon the entire affair, how a discrepancy was discovered between his letter and Flavian's report, for in one letter it was Khitrovo, and in the other Rtishchev. He was to inform him that Joel did not confess. Lutokhin was to ask Nikon if he carried water into his cell by himself and if he cut wood of his own will or unwillingly.

"I instructed Flavian to report about Khitrovo, not about Rtishchev," replied Nikon. "It isn't right to report on Fedor Mikhailovich because he is a married man. Flavian misheard me. I did not detain Pallady, nor did I send him to the sovereign because I was hoping soon to see the sovereign face to face myself. Naumov told me that the great sovereign favored me and ordered me brought to Moscow soon. He wheedled out of me a blessing and forgiveness for the great sovereign and his household by saying that the great sovereign favored me and ordered me released from the Ferapont and all my monasteries returned to me. After this agreement I endured a year and two months of confinement and spoke no maledictory words. I will be patient a little longer, then if the sovereign's mercy towards me, as agreed upon, is not forthcoming, I shall accept nothing of the sovereign's as before. I shall weep before God and speak the same words that I once spoke with an oath."

Lutokhin: Give me a list of what they do not give you for food.

Nikon: That I should give you lists! I never have anything but cabbage soup and watery kvas. They are starving me to death.

Lutokhin made inquiries. Naumov and the monastery dignitaries testified that Nikon was never without fresh fish or beer, and they showed the ponds where the fish for him were kept, including sterlet, pike, ide, perch and roach. Nikon said that he could not eat these fish because they spoiled. He said that he used to carry wood and water himself because there were no people around, but that he now did not. Lutokhin was shown the crosses which Nikon erected in various places with the inscription "Nikon, by the mercy of God patriarch, placed this cross of Christ while in confinement in the Ferapont monastery."

Just when Nikon intended to demonstrate his earnestness by revealing the great sovereign's business with Khitrovo and so pave the way for his return from exile, an important affair of state concerning him was made public which gave a new and dazzling triumph to Khitrovo and his companions, and encumbered the fate of the prisoner. Archimandrite Joseph came from the Ferapont monastery and gave this report.

"In the spring of 1668 brigands and Don Cossacks visited Nikon. I myself saw two men with him and Nikon told me that they were Don Cossacks. He said that the other men visited him in monastic garb and told him 'If you are in difficulty here, we'll get you out.' In a similar vein, Nikon told me 'Don Cossacks also visited me in the Resurrection monastery and said 'If you wish, we will put you on the patriarch's throne as before, we will gather some renegades, boyars' servitors." Nikon told me as well that at the request of the patriarch of Constantinople there would be a new synod in Moscow concerning him. Athanasios of Iconium wrote to him about this." The monk Prov reported that Nikon intended to escape from the Ferapont and appeal to the people with a complaint against his unjust confinement. Athanasios of Iconium was exiled to the St. Makary monastery in Unzha, and Nikon was locked in his cell.

The demise of Tsaritsa Maria Ilyinichna[18] again reminded the tsar about his old personal friend. He sent Privy Councilor Rodion Matveevich Streshnev[19] to the Ferapont with money for Nikon to commemorate the soul of the tsaritsa. Nikon refused the money. This was his last display of harshness. In the summer of 1671 Nikon endeavored to gain notice, to put forward his dignity, insight and service for the realm. He summoned the bailiff, Prince Shaisupov, who had replaced Naumov and told him the following.

"When Rodion Matveevich Streshnev came to me from the sovereign with alms on behalf of the tsaritsa, I predicted to him the death of Tsarevich Alexis Alekseevich[20] and the ravages of the cossacks, which had to be, but was revealed to me by the Lord God. Henceforth nothing good may be expected if the rash and prohibitive oath of the ecumenical and Moscow patriarchs against the entire Orthodox Russian people is not lifted. I wrote about all of this to the great sovereign.

"When Stepan Naumov was serving at the Ferapont monastery, three cossacks came to me, Fedka, Evtiushka and a third whose name I have forgotten. They previously were in the service of Prince Yury Alekseevich Dolgoruky.[21] They claimed to be on their way to the Solovetsk monastery to pray to God, but they were not pilgrims and they did not go to

Solovetsk. They came for me, and after deliberating they called me to go with them. About two hundred of their men came. They intended to beat Stepan Naumov to death, pillage the St. Cyril monastery and go to the Volga with its treasury, supplies and cannon. I did not yield to their criminal conspiracy and utterly refused. I quelled their criminal urges and instructed them with an oath to acknowledge their crimes to the great sovereign. They slipped away I know not where."

Shaisupov, of course, immediately informed Moscow of this conversation. There was no reply. Then Nikon resolved to take a third and final step to obtain freedom. At first he wanted to force his return from exile from the tsar by using threats, promising to give the tsar his blessing and forgiveness on condition of his release from the Ferapont. Then he sent his blessing and forgiveness in the hope that in exchange his release would follow without delay. In the end he made up his mind to ask the tsar himself to forgive his past behavior. On December 25, 1671, he sent this letter to the sovereign.

"Many years ago, in the year [7]160 (1652), by the will of God, by your pleasure, great sovereign, and by the election of the entire consecrated assembly, I was installed in the patriarchate against my will. Knowing my wretchedness and my intellectual shortcomings, I many times petitioned you not to saddle me with so great a task, but your word prevailed. After three years passed, I petitioned you to let me go to a monastery, but you kept me in office for three more years. After yet another three years went by, I again petitioned you about my dismissal to a monastery, but you did not issue your merciful decree. Seeing that I could not depart from you by means of petitions, I began to vex and irritate you and I left the patriarchal throne for the Resurrection monastery. Imitating the heavenly father in his bounties, you did not forget me through your kindness even in the Resurrection monastery, and sent me name-day pies and alms. I accepted your mercy with disdain and I purposely did all this so that you would forget me.

"Once I happened to fall ill in the Resurrection monastery. When you learned about this, you sent to me Afanasy Matiushkin with promises and comforting words that you would not abandon me unto death. I was not very happy about this mercy and then, through the calumnies of my enemies Roman Boborykin, Ivan Sytin and others, great discord arose between us. They offended me and they maligned me to you.

"Two baptized Jews who lived with me in the Resurrection monastery abandoned the Orthodox faith. They began to observe their old Jewish

beliefs and corrupt young monks. After thoroughly investigating the matter, I ordered the Jew Demian to be subdued and exiled to the Iversk monastery, but Demian told the other Jew Mishka 'You won't escape misfortune either. Run to Moscow and implore the sovereign's protection.' He did this. Because of this affair, you sent the conciliar secretary Dementy Bashmakov to see me. At the same time some young monks who formerly belonged to the Jewish heresy stole money and clothing from me and assisted those Jews. The archimandrite of Miracles monastery also helped them. He was my prior in the Resurrection and Iversk monasteries for a long time, but was passed over for promotion. When I was about to promote him, he left for Moscow. He was recommended to you by good people and you began petitioning to have him honored. When you sent Meletios to the Eastern patriarchs, I feared being condemned by them for I knew of his deviousness. So I wrote to the patriarchs. My letter was not concealed from you, as from an angel of God, and for this I ask for forgiveness for myself and for the rest who were guilty in this. Release me for the sake of him who was born Christ our God!

"So you convened a synod, at which you approached me and said 'We called you out of respect, but you make noise!' I spoke to you about preventing the reading of my letter at the synod, and that we should discuss it in private. I said that I would do everything according to your will. You were not so disposed and I, considering my own written words, instinctively spoke to you in a defiant and hurtful manner. For this I ask your forgiveness. You sent to me in the Lykov residence a table worthy of a patriarch, and I rejected your gift and in this way dishonored you. For the sake of God, forgive me. You sent money and furs with Rodion Matveevich Streshnev and I, sinner, rejected even this bounty. For the sake of Christ's birth, forgive me.

"Because of all of these sins of mine I have been an outcast in the Ferapont monastery for six years, and confined to my cell for four years. I am now ill, naked and barefoot and for the third year I have no cross. I am embarrassed even to visit the cell where they bake bread and prepare meals because many shameful parts are uncovered. Because my cell is bare and shortages abound, I suffered from cachexia.[22] My arms are sore and I cannot raise the left one. I have developed wall-eye from the fumes and smoke. Stinking blood runs from my teeth and they cannot take anything hot or cold or sour. My legs swell and for this reason I cannot perform the church typikon, but a lone priest who is blind mouths the words from books he does not see. The bailiffs give nothing to sell or buy, no one comes to me and there is no one from whom to beg alms.

"Stepan Naumov brought all of this upon me because I spoke about his injustices to his face and behind his back. He beat many monks, servants and peasants, tortured them and took bribes. I called him a torturer, usurer and incorrigible brigand. For this he left me for dead in my cell from May 9 until St. Elijah's day [July 20] and forbade that I be given any supplies. I carried water and cut wood myself. This reached you and you sent Ivan Obraztsov with a decree for leniency. He released us but did not exact the punishment ordered for Stepan, merely imprisoning him in the bakery for about two hours. A little later Stepan began to torment me worse than before. My servant went to him about ten times for one thing, but he never had time! If he peeps through the window, he says noisily 'I wrote the monasteries to send provisions, but they do not obey, and I have no orders to govern them. It's time to give up your caprices and eat what they give you.'

"When you sent Rodion Matveevich Streshnev with news of the tsaritsa's demise and with alms for her benefit, and asked me to forgive her and remember her eternally, I told Rodion that the Lord God will forgive her. I did not take any money to commemorate her ladyship because of her great kindness in the past, for I am not your hireling, sovereign. I said that I am indebted to your kindness and so must pray to God for you, even as I do pray. 'Take the sovereign's largesse now,' Rodion told me, 'and a large delivery will follow for you and all will be well.' 'If the sovereign is merciful,' said I, 'the money will not run out. Be an intermediary for this good deed.' The other thing was forgotten out of our great sorrow over the lady tsaritsa and your children, and for this I ask your forgiveness. I sang the Psalter and Canon throughout Lent for the sake of the lady tsaritsa and I commemorate her unforgotten to the present day.

"When news reached Stepan that your son, Tsarevich Alexis, had died, his serving girl came to the other hut, saying 'Now in Moscow there is anguish, but for our boyar there is joy. He says that now all the hope for our convict has vanished. The one in whom he hoped is dead, and he will be gentler.' Prince Samoila Shaisupov now does everything the way Stepan did. I beg you to relent a little for my sake and I will rest until I depart. I ask only to live in the house of the Lord all the days of my life."

The letter achieved its purpose. Alexis Mikhailovich was always ready to respond to the humble appeal of his old personal friend. Immediately upon receipt of the letter, in January 1672, Larion Lopukhin[23] rushed to the Ferapont as the tsar's envoy.

"The sovereign has instructed me to tell you, holy and great father," he began, "that from the beginning of the synodal affair and up until the synodal act he, the sovereign, always desired to make peace. This did not happen because you wished to initiate a new proceeding in Muscovy contrary to the custom of the ecumenical patriarchs when they left their thrones. The sovereign now desires to demolish the entire edifice of animosity more than before and to establish reconciliation with love in all things. He himself asks for forgiveness. The sovereign gave instructions to tell you that none of what you wrote in your letter concerning your discussion with him at the synod ever happened. You did not make a fuss before the sovereign, and the sovereign did not repress you, nor did you say that he should read your letter in private. The fuss was over the sentences which you wrote in your letter unjustly. As for the books which you corrected upon the advice of the sovereign, and which you afterwards vainly reviled, there were no vexing words at all, please remember.

"You were sent to the Ferapont monastery by the ecumenical patriarchs and the synod, not by the sovereign. A nobleman and musketeers were sent with you for your protection and not to straiten you. If Stepan Naumov caused you any straitened circumstances, he did it himself and not on the sovereign's orders. For this the sovereign has ordered a judicial inquiry. Rodion Matveevich was interrogated and declared under oath that he persistently told you to accept the money and commemorate her ladyship. He said no other words such as those written in your letter.

"Reveal who wanted to commence bloodshed in Vologda. The rebel Iliushka came from Galich not far from those places. The rebel Stenka Razin[24] said under questioning that one of your monks approached him by Simbirsk and told him to go up the Volga. He said that you, for your part, would come because you were disgusted with the boyars who were transporting the sovereign's seed grain, and that you had in readiness around five thousand men in Beloozero. This monk was at the battle and with his own hands slew a junior boyar in front of Razin, and then left Simbirsk.

"The prophecies which you told Prince Shaisupov you learned not from the Lord God but from criminals who visited you, and it must be thought that the commotion and bloodshed was caused by them. If you wished for every good thing in accordance with Christ's command, you would not have kept silent about so enormous a matter. You would have ordered those cossack brigands hunted down. You could have taken the three men yourself. You must now reveal everything in detail. You ask

for every mercy and forgiveness from the sovereign, yet you yourself show no such justice towards him."

"I left my throne and almost returned," Nikon answered. "This is nothing new. Even the former ecumenical patriarchs left their thrones and returned to them. I do not seek my previous rank, I desire only the great sovereign's mercy. I did not control anything except my own monasteries. The synod of Patriarchs Paisios and Makarios I consider invalid because they departed from their thrones and others were installed in their places. I submit to the patriarch of Constantinople and the other ecumenical patriarchs who retain their thrones. I wrote the truth about what was said at the synod, the sovereign knows this. Afterwards, at the time of Stepan Naumov and his emissaries, many times I uttered invidious words and wrote them to the sovereign. For this I ask his mercy and forgiveness. That the great sovereign did not take vengeance upon me for my many invidious attacks, for this he shall receive a great reward from God.

"I in no way reviled nor do I revile the newly corrected books. I did not accept the money from Streshnev because at the synod the sovereign reproached me, saying 'Boyar Semeon Lukianovich Streshnev was under your interdict, and you took one hundred rubles from him and forgave him.' In fact I forgave him because he petitioned and promised to serve the Resurrection monastery. He reported about many matters of the monastery to the sovereign, and sent money in bequest to the monastery about a year and a half after being forgiven.

"I know nothing about Vologda and Razin. The three cossacks told me that they were sent to Nevel on the sovereign's decree and ordered to settle the land, but they were not accustomed to live thus and to plow pasture lands. They said that they had no rewards or feeding from the sovereign, and that they were going to find freedom. I did not tell Naumov about the cossacks because they spoke about their multitudes of men and I was afraid that troubles would erupt, and there was no one to defend us against them. I then wrote to the sovereign about those cossacks and I informed Archimandrite Joseph.

"I did not speak to Rodion Streshnev about the death of the tsarevich or about a disturbance directly. I said that after the death of the tsaritsa there would be another misfortune no less bitter, and after this something still worse, because this was revealed to me by the Lord God. I said these things angrily, thereby annoying the great sovereign. I told Prince Samoila about the death of the tsaritsa and about the pillaging at the hands of brigands precisely because this already had occurred.

"If only the sovereign favored me and ordered me to reside in the Resurrection monastery or in some other of my foundations, preferably Iversk, and ordered someone whom he trusts to be with me! I am no longer young, severe debility has come upon me and there is no one to care for me. Let the sovereign be pleased to forgive all who were punished because of me."

Nikon was not transferred either to the Resurrection or to the Iversk monastery. His situation at the Ferapont changed the moment the sovereign renewed his relationship with him. He began to send him expensive gifts, and to extol him as a great and holy monk. Nikon, as if on purpose, hastened to prove that neither the one nor the other title suited him. He hastened to confirm the observation that grief disposes malleable natures to isolation and an interior, reflective life whereas restless natures become even more restless because of grief.

Beginning in 1672 Nikon had a petty and unpleasant struggle with the monks of the St. Cyril monastery in Beloozero on whom fell the obligation of providing him with food supplies. A series of complaints and reports to the tsar began, in which the new bailiff Prince Shaisupov was not forgotten. Thus Nikon once asked the tsar "Do not permit, sovereign, the archimandrite of St. Cyril's and the brethren to let loose devils in my little cell! The majordomo of St. Cyril's monastery said about me 'Why is he being fed by St. Cyril's monastery? For whom is he building sheds? What devils live in them?' Lo and behold, one evening a bird appeared from I know not where, like a black raven, and it flew through all the doors in my cell and vanished I know not where. That night the demons did not let me fall asleep. Twice they pulled my little quilt off me and caused me many kinds of improper misfortunes. After many days the demons caused great misfortunes, at one time appearing as servants of St. Cyril's, at another as monks, threatening all sorts of malice, and now they are soiling the windows. Sometimes they appear as frightening wild beasts threatening, sometimes as unclean birds."

Nikon was burdensome for the St. Cyril monks. They told the monks of the Ferapont "Your little father is devouring us." These words too gave Nikon an excuse for a new complaint. "I by the grace of God am not a cannibal," he wrote the tsar. "On Holy Thursday (1674)," Shaisupov reported to the tsar, "the monk Nikon was about to go to liturgy in the main church. Before him walked two musketeers and behind him the captain and six more musketeers. Before reaching the church he suddenly grew angered and went back to his cell. On the way he said that he did

not want to go to church under guard. On the festival of Bright Easter I visited him after orthros in his cell to receive a kiss in Christ, but he did not let me into his cell. He sent out a monk to tell me that I had deprived him of communion on Holy Thursday. From that time on Nikon, flared up with anguish as if from fire, refused to be seen with me or to exchange the Easter greeting."

What degree his quick temper reached can be seen best of all from his letter to Archbishop Simon of Vologda. Having learned that Nikon would not go to church, Simon wrote to Shaisupov to ask Nikon to explain the reason. "Were the abbot and brothers infected with schism and was the church service performed by them as the Orthodox church prescribed?"

What did Nikon reply? "Nikon, by the mercy of God, patriarch, to Simon, bishop. You, monk, have forgotten the sacred Gospel parable instruction about the Pharisees, and indeed the other instruction about noticing the small mote in the eye of a brother when you do not notice the beam in your own eye.[25] Have you forgotten how in the St. Alexander monastery you used to plow on a mare, and now ...." We will refrain from passing on to our readers the further accusations.

What else did Nikon not see and hear? The cook Larion had the habit of answering with *dobro-sta*[26] when someone said something to him. Nikon heard something entirely different in this *dobro-sta* and so the tsar received a letter. "The monks of St. Cyril's allege that I beat their monastery servitors, but I have not beaten anyone. When Prior Isaiah was in the Ferapont monastery on some domestic business, their little cook Larka was there and to everything I said to him he would say *dobro Astarte*. In ancient scripture a certain Astarte of Sidon was an idol, and those who revered it would shout '*dobr Astarte*.' I told Larka on many occasions "Do not call me Astarte. I am, by the grace of God, a Christian, and not Astarte, but that Larka did not stop calling me Astarte. I complained about him to Prior Isaiah and the prior pacified him in front of our cell with lashes. I myself did not beat him."

The tsar patiently received all these complaints and explanations, he sent to investigate the details of the affair, he calmed Nikon, set up his farm, an estate, sent him gifts, money and delicacies. Once, in addition to money, the sovereign sent him five beluga, ten sturgeons, two stellate sturgeons, two fresh salmon and some honey-cakes. Nikon wrote to thank him for the presents. "I used to wait for your sovereign charity, for vegetables, grapes in syrup, apples, plums, and cherries, whatever the Lord God inspired you to send, but here we never see this favor. If I find favor before

you, sovereign, send these things to your humble monk for the sake of God."

Another time the tsar sent a name-day pie, and two hundred rubles, twenty-five linens and twenty towels from the tsaritsa, and a sable fur from Tsarevich Peter.[27] Nikon answered that he could not get a fur coat from the fur and needed two vershoks[28] in addition, but that there was nowhere to buy it. As for the furs sent earlier, the sable and fox, they were lying unused because it was impossible to make a fur coat out of them. "Do your work of charity, for the Lord's sake," he wrote, "and order your gift to be completed." Additional furs were sent.

Surely Nikon did not allow himself to be engrossed only with petty cares about cells, kitchens, cellars, apples and grapes? No, yearnings for loftier activities were displayed. The sick thronged to Nikon's cell. He spoke prayers over them and gave them medicines. The monk Mardary, who lived with him, traveled to Moscow to buy these medicines, including lamp oil, benjamin, turpentine, herbs, strychnos, St. John's wort, sal ammoniac, alum, vitriol, camphor and bezoar. Nikon's enemies tried to disgrace even this activity. Do we have the right to believe his enemy-accusers? Unfortunately Nikon himself strove to prove how purity and impurity were mixed together in him. Thus he did not fail to send the tsar a list of people cured by him, and he told the tsar's envoys his current motto "The patriarchate was taken away from you, the medicinal cup is given to you instead. Heal the sick."[29]

THE MOSCOW COUNCILS OF 1666 AND 1667

Even before Nikon's fate was determined and before the arrival of the Eastern patriarchs, a council of Russian clergymen was deciding the fate of Nikon's opponents who inveighed against his innovations and the correction of books. In February 1666 ten bishops decided beforehand to recognize as orthodox the Greek patriarchs despite the fact that they lived under the control of the sultan. They further recognized the orthodoxy of Greek books being used by them and, finally, acknowledged as legitimate the Moscow council of 1654. Bishop Alexander of Viatka, Archimandrite Antony of the Savior monastery in Murom, Abbot Feoktist of the St. John Chrysostom monastery and Abbot Sergius Soltykov of the Biziukov monastery, the monks Efrem Potemkin, Sergius, Serapion, Gregory (Ivan Neronov) and the priest Nikita repented of their resistance to the newly-corrected books and received absolution from the council. The unrepentant were anathematized and punished. Archpriest Avvakum[30] was imprisoned

in Pustozersk fortress, the deacon Fedor and, afterwards, the priest Lazar had their tongues removed and were exiled there also.

The business concerning the correction of books was brought to an end in eleven sessions. The bishops wrote an instruction for the clergy admonishing them to use the newly-revised books and to conform to the Eastern Orthodox church in the disputed points relating to the sign of the cross, the alleluia and other matters. In addition, the council examined and published *The Scepter of Government*[31] by the scholarly White Russian monk, Simeon Polotsky,[32] directed against schismatics. The Eastern patriarchs who condemned Nikon confirmed the decisions of the 1666 council in concert with the new patriarch of Moscow, Joasaph II.[33] The council also decided against the rebaptism of Latin Christians who converted to Orthodoxy. The Antiochene patriarch Makarios wrote to Patriarch Joasaph in Moscow on his way from the St. Makary monastery of Zheltye Vody. "In this country there are many schismatics and opponents not only among the ignorant but also among the priests. Order them to be pacified and severely punished."

THE SOLOVETSK UPRISING

Measures had to be taken against one of the most famous monasteries in the realm, the Solovetsk monastery, which had revolted against the newly-revised books. At the very moment the question about those books was being decided in Moscow the Solovetsk monks again reminded the world of their existence in a petition against their new archimandrite Varfolomey and "against his favorite, the lord of the monastery, cellarer Savvaty Obriutin, who have violated the typikon and ritual of St. Zosima and St. Savvaty[34] through their drunken and disorderly life and have caused the holy monastery dishonor and ill repute throughout the Russian land. They beat to death priests, deacons and professed brothers for no reason. The deaf sit in dungeons and starve. Having plundered them, they send them away from the monastery so that no one might say anything more about them."

In 1666 Varfolomey was summoned to Moscow where he submitted this account. "In 1663 in the month of January I summoned the priests and deacons into the sanctuary and told them to chant and officiate according to the decree of the great sovereign and the council's rubrics. It was then that Deacon Nil started to shout against me. 'If you stick to the precentor, the heretic priest Geronty, you yourself are a heretic. He taught you heresies. Arsenios the Greek taught heresies to Patriarch Nikon and

Nikon taught them to the sovereign.' For this reason Deacon Nil was beaten without mercy." Despite the fact that Varfolomey indicated the reason for the Solovetsk brothers' dislike of him, the council fathers were reluctant to send him back as archimandrite, so they gave him another monastery. They installed a Solovetsk monk named Joseph in his place.

In the fall of 1666 Archimandrite Sergius of the Savior monastery in Yaroslavl made for the Solovetsk monastery. He assembled the monks and read them the sovereign's decree and the letters and instruction of the bishop's council. Shouts echoed in reply "We are obedient to the decree of the great sovereign," they cried, "and we submit to him in everything, but we shall not accept the decree about the creed, about making the sign of the cross or about the alleluia, nor shall we accept the new edition of printed books!"

Nikanor, former archimandrite of the St. Sabbas monastery who was living in Solovetsk in retirement, then stood up. He raised his hand, pressed his thumb and first two fingers together and shouted "This is Latin teaching and tradition, this is the tradition of Antichrist! I am prepared to suffer! You don't even have your head, the patriarch, now, and without him you are not strong!" "Choose someone with whom we might speak without a commotion," Sergius told the monks. "Geronty! Geronty!" resounded from all sides. Geronty stepped forward and began. "Why did you remove 'the Son of God' from the prayer 'Lord Jesus'?"[35] he asked. The orator was interrupted by a dreadful howl. "Oh no! Woe to us! They are taking the Son of God away from us! Where have you put the name of the Son of God?" When the shouts died down, Geronty picked up a book containing the life of St. Evfrosin,[36] stood on a chair and began to read and exhort "Do not be deceived and do not listen to such teaching!"

These words provoked even greater commotion and shouting. It was impossible to bring the crowd around. Sergius attempted to speak with Geronty in a cell in the presence of a few witnesses, but even this dispute ended nowhere. "The whole of Rus," said Geronty, "formerly was illuminated by the Solovetsk monastery, and the Solovetsk monastery knew no disgrace whatsoever. It was like a pillar and foundation and shone like a lamp. You now are learning a new faith from the Greeks, but these same Greek bishops were sent to our monastery under discipline. They do not know how to bless themselves. We teach them how to make the sign of the cross."

In order to crush his opponent, Sergius resorted to terrifying means. He began to inquire "Is the Great Sovereign Tsar Alexis Mikhailovich of good faith, pious and Orthodox? Is he a Christian tsar?" "He is of good faith, pious and Orthodox," answered Geronty and his companions. Sergius continued questioning. "Are the decrees he sent to you orthodox?" he asked. Taken unawares and compelled either to contradict themselves or to utter dreadful words against the tsar's decrees, his opponents remained silent. Sergius continued, saying "Is the sacred council orthodox?" "The patriarchs used to be orthodox," answered Geronty, "but now God only knows, because they live under duress, but the Russian bishops are orthodox." "Is the council's decree sent with us orthodox?" asked Sergius. "We do not revile the council's decree," answered Geronty, "but we do not accept the new faith and teaching. We hold to the traditions of the holy wonder-workers and for their traditions we all are willing to die."

Sergius was ordered to remove from the monastery any books which would be useful to "the council's acts" but the monks did not let him into the *book depository* building. They did not provide the register of their names. For the duration of their stay on the island Sergius and his companions lived outside the monastery's protection. The Moscow musketeers overheard the Solovetsk villagers discussing among themselves. "We'll enact the decree," they said, "for those Moscow musketeers who are here now in the monastery, and we'll take those who are outside the monastery in boats, and claim they perished at sea. We should stone them because they were sent by Antichrist to deceive us."

The monks were tormented. Could they maintain their convictions without resorting to violence, without breaking with the supreme authority. They sent a petition to the tsar. "Your loyal intercessors petition you, Cellarer Azary of the Solovetsk monastery, Nikanor, former archimandrite of the St. Sabbas monastery, Treasurer Varsanofy, the priests, deacons, all the council monks and the entire professed brotherhood, the infirmarians, the monastery servants and all bonded laborers.

"*Archimandrite* Sergius and companions were sent to us from Moscow to teach us church tradition according to new books and they ordered us to perform the rites and act according to the new dispensation. They prohibit us now from maintaining and following the traditions of the great and holy apostles and the holy fathers of the seven ecumenical councils by which your sovereign forefathers and the venerable founders, Fathers

Zosima, Savvaty and German, and most reverend Metropolitan Philip, lived. In keeping with the tradition of the holy apostles and holy fathers, we dare not alter the sacred typika and church rituals since in the new books issued by Patriarch Nikon, according to which we are taught the new dispensation, the name 'Isus' is written as 'Iisus' with the addition of a superfluous letter, something which for us sinners is terrifying not only to add but even to contemplate. Merciful sovereign! Have mercy on us, your humble intercessors and do not permit Archimandrite Sergius to violate the traditions of your forefathers and our venerable founders Zosima, Savvaty, German and Philip. Give instructions for us to remain in that same tradition so that we must not disperse hither and yon and so that your frontier place of pilgrimage not become deserted."

Following this petition the monks let it be known in Moscow that they were ready to accept death with gladness for the sake of the traditions of their great wonder-workers, and many elders prepared for that path to eternity by donning the great habit.[37]

Nikanor was called to Moscow where he evidently conducted himself differently. He promised before the council not to contradict anything, and to lead to the path of truth any whom previously he had deceived. In this hope the council sent him back to Solovetsk in 1667 along with the new archimandrite Joseph and the old archimandrite Varfolomey, who went to surrender the monastery.

In the month of July the cellarer Azary, who was governing the monastery, and the treasurer Geronty, received a note in the hand of Fadeika Petrov, Archimandrite Nikanor's servant, which read "The new archimandrite Joseph and the old one, Varfolomey, are coming. Take care not to welcome Joseph in your midst, do not go to him for his blessing and forbid the others to do so. He travels without the sovereign's decree, having conspired with former archimandrite Varfolomey."

The letter produced the desired effect. Joseph was not received. Even worse befell the old archimandrite Varfolomey. In the cathedral he had his head-dress torn from his head and his hair ripped out. He heard the shouts "When a dog leaps into a church, the church must be consecrated. This too is a dog, so even if we bruise him, there is no sin in it because it doesn't matter if a dog is bruised."

What a strange fate for Tsar Alexis Mikhailovich! Who less than he had the desire to fight with clerical figures? Nevertheless he was condemned to bear in his soul the heavy burden of the Nikon affair and then to wage a real war with the Solovetsk monastery! When he received the

petition, the tsar sent new admonishments, which received the same answer as before and directly provoked a call to battle. "Sovereign, command your imperial sword be sent against us and resettle us away from this turbulent life into that calm and eternal life."

The monks challenged the civil authority to serious battle, displaying themselves as defenseless victims who bent their heads beneath the imperial sword without resistance. When in 1668 the crown agent Ignaty Volokhov appeared beneath the walls of the monastery with a unit of musketeers he was met with gunshots instead of the humble submission of heads beneath the sword. An insignificant detachment such as Volokhov had could not overpower the besieged monks who had strong walls, many supplies and ninety cannon. The siege dragged on for many years, but the crown could not send greater forces to the White Sea, for a dreadful rebellion was seething at the realm's opposite end.

VII

COSSACK UNREST

COSSACK MOVEMENTS IN EASTERN UKRAINE

The outflow of an important segment of the population to the cossacks continued and grew even stronger in the period being described owing to the burdensome situation of the people during the Thirteen Years War. Fugitive peasants and slaves made their way to the Ukraine after its annexation. The crown in Moscow refused to recognize the Ukraine as a cossack country and constantly demanded the extradition of fugitives. As before, the road to the Don, whence there was no extradition, remained a free *orphans'* road, yet the misfortunes of the Thirteen Years War touched even the Don. The Crimeans barricaded the road to the sea and visited the cossacks in their dwellings. The Sea of Azov and the Black Sea were closed. What were the cossacks to live on, where were they to ply their trade? Their only solution was to break through to the Volga and sail down it to the Caspian Sea, so as to pillage the local Muslim coastal inhabitants. This was not so easily done. Earlier it was possible to leave the Don for the sea for the Don was in cossack hands, but the estuary of the Volga was controlled by the crown, which would not let the cossacks pass.

PIRACY ON THE VOLGA

Thus it was that small bands of rebels first took shape on the Volga.[1] The crown pursued them. Blocked from their exit to the sea, they naturally spilled over into the interior of the realm, where they sought allies among the lower levels of the population. At first this movement proceeded by small degrees. Then, after finding a capable leader, a huge band was formed which burst onto the Caspian Sea, raided the Muslim shores and returned with rich booty. How were the pirates to return to the Don? The crown did not let them through. They had to beg admission by means of sham submissiveness, promising not to go to the sea a second time. In fact how could they go a second time? The crown would not let them pass again, and they would have to force their way through. If they succeeded in fighting their way through, if they succeeded in pillaging the Muslim docks and shores, how would they then return again? It would be impossible to deceive the crown a second time, for it would take measures of its own. In this way, deprived of all hope of roaming about the Caspian Sea, the huge band spilled over into the realm in the hope of taking advantage of its unreadiness and of raising the lower against the upper levels of the population. Such was the intention of that incident known by history under the name of the rebellion of Stenka Razin.[2] Nor should it be forgotten that the same thing happened in Western Ukraine when Poland barred the cossacks' exit from the Dnieper to the Black Sea.

On September 29, 1659 Governor Danilo Khitrovo sat in the Saratov chancellery visibly preoccupied. Before him stood the Moscow merchant Selivanov's manager. "I was traveling," he recounted, "from Astrakhan up to Saratov in my master's boat carrying salt. When I was one hundred seventy versts from Saratov in Tsaritsyn waters, some marauding cossacks, about eighty men, approached me at night and beat and tortured me. They branded me and robbed my workers. At that time some Circassians were sailing down in two boats, traveling from Moscow to Astrakhan, the agents of the kazbulat-murza, Prince Mutsalov son of Cherkassky, and Murtoz Alekseev, with their comrades. The cossack pirates assaulted the Circassians and a lengthy battle ensued between them and the servitors whom the Circassians had as oarsmen and escorts. The cossacks hacked to pieces all the Circassians, took their goods and left the Volga river by the steppe for the Ilovlia river. To carry the stolen goods they took many of the bonded laborers, whom they then released, but others went over to the cossacks of their own inclination."

THE RIGA FORTRESS

After listening to the tale, the governor sent two hundred mounted and unmounted musketeers after the brigands along the upland side. The musketeers caught up with the cossacks on the Ilovlia river a day's journey from the Don, fought them and took two as prisoners. The others escaped up the Ilovlia on firm ground in the water meadows. Under hot irons and fire the captives related their story.

"People call us Kondrashko Khoderiakhin and Nefedka Zolotarev. We were born in Sokolinsk fortress and went to the Don of our own inclination. We lived in the Orphans' (!) fortress. This spring we received information from some traveling merchants that cossack pirates had appeared on the Volga from the Don. In the summer we left the fortress for the Ilovlia river to trap animals. The Don Cossack Nemytovsky let us pass for some booty. On the road we met eighty Don Cossacks and joined them to go looting. We were with them on two raids, and we robbed people on barges and boats, beat managers, tortured and burned them with fire. After looting all along the Volga river we left with the stolen goods for our robber fortress on the Ilovlia, which is located between the cossack fortress of Panshin and Ilovlin. Its name is Riga. It is impregnable until the winter freeze-up, because water surrounds the fortress on all sides."

When the existence of this new Riga became known in Moscow, the tsar sent out to the Don a brevet. "You must send a detachment against those marauding cossacks and order the arrest of the ataman, his lieutenant and their comrades. They are to be brought to headquarters and executed in keeping with martial law." The tsar's instructions were carried out, and a detachment of trustworthy cossacks headed for Riga.

The rebels were dug in to the death, and they began firing from their cannons and wounded many besiegers, who finally took them after a pitched battle and by undermining the fortifications. They slew many defenders and took the survivors prisoner, set fire to the fortress and razed it. They brought their officers, the ringleaders, the chieftain Ivashka and the second lieutenant Petrushka and their ten comrades to the [Don] Host for execution. Here a general assembly gathered. The cossacks interrogated and then hanged the rebels so that "it would not become a habit in the future for others to rob, to cross over to the Don with such brigandage and to direct such vain devilry against the Host and the whole river." "These rebels," the Don Cossacks wrote to Moscow, "did not let through

to us a single barque with cargo belonging to Rus merchants sailing on the Don. They stole the cargo. Had it not been for your mercy and subsidy, sovereign, we would have died from hunger."

Cossack Unrest

THE VASKA US REBELLION

Riga was taken, but reports about cossack piracy on the Yaik and the Caspian Sea did not decrease, because the Don Cossacks did not stop complaining. "We now have no booty on the Don, no longer can we travel on the sea, the Crimean khan has secured the Don and Donets rivers from

the lower mouth and the sovereign's subsidy will not last the year." In the summer of 1666 searchers for booty undertook a venture more dangerous than Volga piracy. A band of five hundred men under the leadership of ataman Vaska Us[3] pillaged localities around Voronezh and Tula, incited peasants and slaves, ravaged landholders and boasted about all their foolhardy feats. The Don Cossacks wrote the sovereign that they executed a cruel and merciless punishment on Us and his comrades. The punishment would have effected nothing, even if it were carried out. Us made preparations for new exploits of the same type, but he was already relegated to second place.

STEPAN TIMOFEEVICH RAZIN

Among the Don Host there was a famous and cunning cossack, Stepan Timofeevich Razin. He was of medium build, of strong constitution and around forty years old. In the spring of 1661 the Host sent him to the Kalmyks to persuade them to join forces with the Don Cossacks and serve the sovereign against the Crimean khan. On his return from the Kalmyks, Stepan Razin appeared in Moscow in the autumn of that year and went on a pilgrimage to the Solovetsk monastery. Such display of piety was not bizarre among the cossacks. "On account of their numerous turns of military duty, the blood and the wounds" they subsidized the Cherneev monastery in Shatsk district. Cossacks built it, made many bequests to it and their old and injured members were tonsured there.

Five years passed and there was not a sound about Razin. Then, in 1667, the Astrakhan governors received a letter from the tsar. "Be extremely cautious in Astrakhan and Cherny Yar," wrote the sovereign, "because many cossacks are massing on the Don and plan to go pirating on the Volga, take Tsaritsyn and settle there." The document explained the reason for this cossack movement. "In many Don fortresses fugitive boyar servitors and peasants with their wives and children have arrived from the Ukraine, with the result that hunger on the Don is great." Who was the ataman of this throng feeding on such dangerous conditions? Our famous pilgrim Stepan Razin! How did this miraculous transformation from pilgrim to brigand ataman occur?

Foreign accounts said that Razin's brother, who headed his own cossack detachment in the army of Prince Yury Dolgoruky, asked the general for a furlough to the Don. The general refused and the cossacks left of their own accord. They were pursued. The law stipulated the death

penalty for deserters. Dolgoruky carried out the law. Razin was hanged, and his two brothers Stepan and Frol planned to take vengeance on the boyars and generals. Can this story of foreigners be believed? Neither the official record nor popular opinion supports it. In any event the affair can be explained quite simply even without it.

Razin was a real cossack, one of those ancient Rus men, those folk heroes whom popular imagination identifies with cossacks. Their abundance of raw strength did not let them stay at home but drew them among the free cossacks, to the broad expanse of the steppe, or to the other broad expanse, the sea, or at least to Mother Volga. We have already seen what kind of man Razin was. In the spring he goes on an embassy to the Kalmyks and in the autumn he is ready to go on a pilgrimage to the opposite end of the world, to Solovetsk. "Many were killed and robbed," he explains. "I must save my soul!"

Razin returned to the Don from his pilgrimage but he was cramped on the Don, as if he were in a cage, and a multitude of booty-seekers and the "naked ones"[4] congregated. All of them, Russians, cossacks and Ukrainians, said that they had to go to the Volga to steal because on the Don there was for them no livelihood. When the sovereign's subsidy was divided among them, they said there was only enough for one portion for each man. Some got two portions, thirty altyns and two arshins of cloth apiece, others got one arshin apiece. With this, they said, they could not feed themselves. The way to the sea was still blocked and there was nowhere to find booty.

Razin assumed leadership over the "naked ones" and was about to burst onto the sea by way of the Don, but the Don Cossacks themselves barricaded this route because they were at peace with Azov. Thrust back, Razin sailed up the Don to the point where it nears the Volga. The Voronezh townsmen Ivan Gordenev and Trofim Khripunov lent him gunpowder and lead, and many Voronezh men resorted to thievery. They supplied gunpowder and lead to the rebels, buying scrap from them. Besides, the men of Voronezh could not help stealing, said contemporaries, because many had relatives on the Don.

The cossacks rose again and a new Riga rose between the Tishin and Ilovlia rivers close to Panshin fortress. Razin camped on the high knolls surrounded by floodwaters. There was no way to walk or ride there, nor could anyone discover their numbers or catch an informant. Some envoys of the Tsaritsyn governor, an archpriest and a monk, almost reached them

but turned around, for they could not ride beyond the waters and no one dared transport them.

Razin sat in his nest while booty began to appear on the Volga. A large convoy was sailing downstream. It included a prison boat with convicts traveling to exile in Astrakhan, a boat of the famous Moscow rich man Shorin with treasury grain, the patriarch's boat and a boat belonging to other notables. Musketeers escorted the convoy, but when Stenka and his thousand "naked ones" appeared out of the blue the musketeers did not move. The boat with the sovereign's grain sank to the river bottom, the officers either were hacked to pieces, their bodies blackened from the fire torture, or they swung from the gallows. The old Solovetsk pilgrim himself broke the arm of the patriarch's monk. The pirates did not touch the bonded laborers and hired hands, setting them free to go where they wished. One hundred and sixty hired hands joined Razin, as did the patriarch's junior boyar Lazunka *Zhidovin*. The convicts were released from their fetters and they began to a man to wreak havoc, torturing and plundering even worse than the Don Cossacks.

Popular imagination ran wild. The lucky ataman grew in stature, he turned into a sorcerer whom no bullet felled, whom nothing could withstand. Stenka sailed past Tsaritsyn where the governor gave orders to fire on the pirate vessels. Not a single cannon fired, for all the gunpowder for the charges had run out. The governor was stupefied with terror and when one of Razin's lieutenants appeared before him the governor fulfilled his every demand, handing over an anvil, bellows and farrier tackle.

After terrorizing the Tsaritsyn governor, Stenka sailed further. He now sailed with thirty-five vessels. Instead of the thousand men he now had fifteen hundred. He sailed past Cherny Yar, plundering and slaughtering. With the lash he carved up Governor Beklemishev who came out to meet him. He then sailed out by sea to the mouth of the Yaik where his men awaited him.

The erstwhile pilgrim, taking forty men with him, approached the gates of Yaitsk fortress and sent a message to the musketeer commander Yatsyn to let them into the church to pray. Razin and his comrades were admitted. The gates closed behind him, but he was already master of the fortress, for his comrades opened the gates and let in the rest of the throng. Yatsyn and his musketeers offered no resistance but neither did they openly join the rebels. This did not please the ataman. His men dug out a deep pit. The musketeer Chikmaz stood near the pit and began

executing his comrades, beginning with Yatsyn. One hundred and seventy corpses fell into the pit. The wild beast was satisfied and he announced to the remaining musketeers that he would give them a choice. Those who wished might remain with him, the rest could go to Astrakhan. Some remained and others left.

At the sight of those who were leaving because they did not sympathize with the booty-seekers, Stenka, to augment the means of his frightful and hateful regime, again flew into a rage and pursued the deserters by boat. The cossacks caught up with the musketeers and began yelling at them to stay with them. Seeing that the musketeers were not heeding them, the rebels started to cut them down and drown them. Some then submitted and joined the cossacks, others hid in the reeds.

RAZIN IN YAITSK FORTRESS

Stenka settled down for a long time in the Yaitsk fortress. In autumn his "naked ones" successfully carried on with cossack business, ransacking the Tatars in the Volga estuary and plundering Muslim vessels at sea. In November merchants and envoys from the Don arrived in Yaitsk with a brief from the great sovereign and a letter from the Host exhorting Razin to leave off his rebellion and return to the Don. A general assembly gathered and read the tsar's brief and the Host's letter. Razin told the envoys "When next the sovereign's brief comes to me, I shall bring my charges to the great sovereign." With this the envoys made their way back to the Don. At least they returned all in one piece. Not so fortunate were the envoys of the new governor of Astrakhan, Prince Ivan Semeonovich Prozorovsky,[5] who was sent to replace Prince Khilkov. On the way from Saratov Prozorovsky sent two envoys to Razin to convey his demands. One envoy returned to Saratov, but Razin killed the other at night and tossed him into the water.

The winter was passing. The "naked ones" had it free and untrammeled in Yaitsk. They struck up friendship with the neighboring Kalmyks and traded continually with them. Meantime news about Razin's good fortune unsettled the Don, where it was learned how he managed to bridge the Yaik, take up residence in a crown fortress and obtain a free corridor out to sea. In the Host and in all the downstream fortresses marauding cossacks were amassing in large assemblies to go to Tsaritsyn on the Volga, threatening to kill Ataman Kornily Yakovlev[6] and the elders who disapproved of their intentions. Razin's comrades awaited their own men. Instead the sovereign's soldiers arrived. The old Astrakhan

governor Prince Khilkov, prior to handing over to his successor, planned to spy on the rebels, and he sent his comrade Yakov Bezobrazov to the Yaitsk steppe. Before he began his espionage, Bezobrazov sent two musketeer commanders to Stenka to parley him into petitioning and meeting the new governor Prince Prozorovsky in Saratov. Gallows awaited the unlucky envoys in Yaitsk. Bezobrazov began spying on the unrepentant rebels, though his surveillance was unsuccessful. More than fifty musketeers were killed by Razin, a few crossed over to the rebels, and in the spring of 1668 Stenka already was roaming the sea in the direction of the shah's territory.

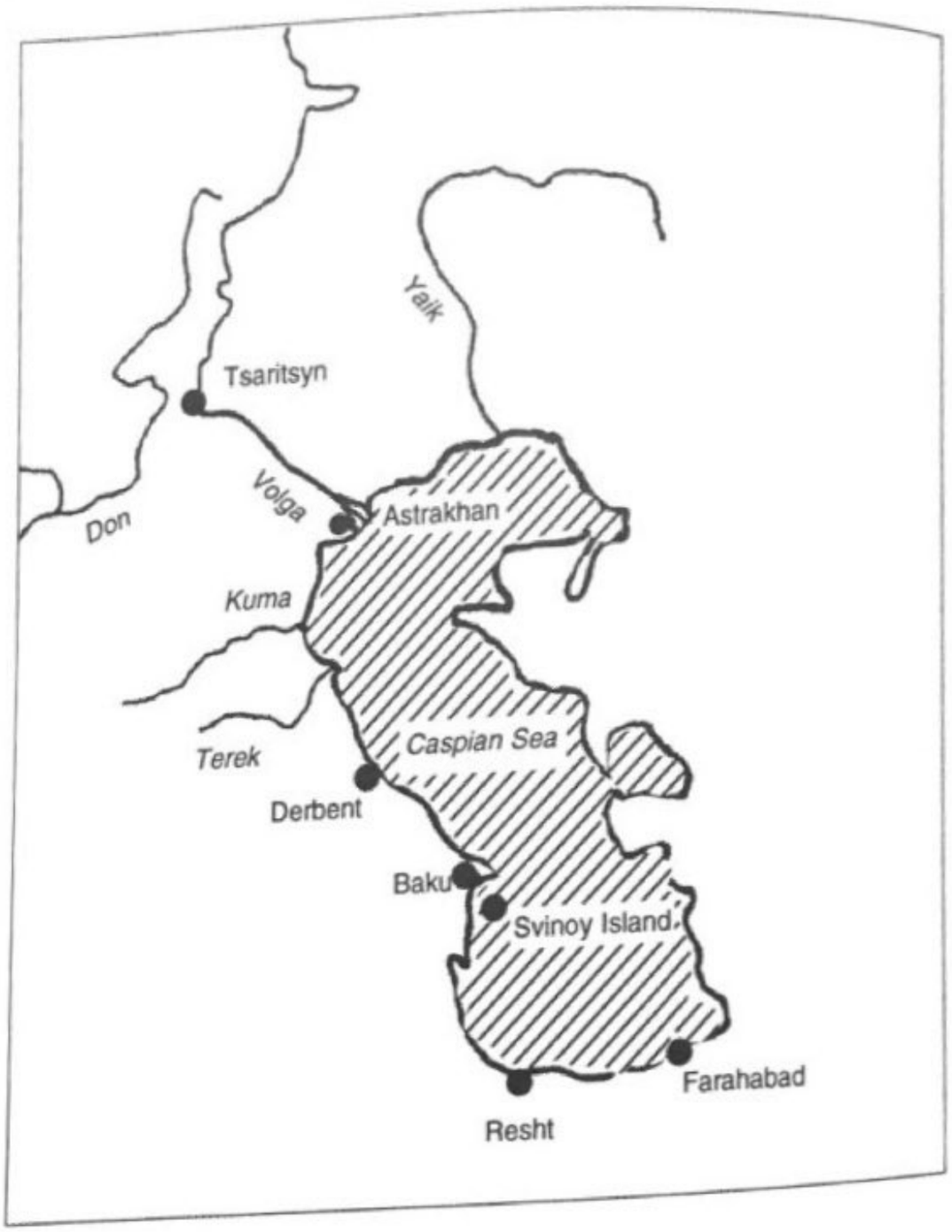
RAZIN'S SEA CAMPAIGN

Stenka went out to sea, but the Volga was not left in peace, and the rebel's course was established. A throng of about seven hundred men gathered on the Don under the leadership of Serezhka Krivoy and crossed over to the Volga. The Tsaritsyn servitors did not hinder them. The adjutant Aksentiev was sent from Astrakhan to intercept Krivoy. He pursued the cossacks and skirmished with them below Krasny Yar at Karabuzan. Krivoy overpowered the crown troops and about one hundred musketeers went over to the rebels. Aksentiev left in a small boat with a few men, but a German lieutenant of the West European-style regiment and a musketeer sergeant fell into captivity and were hung up by the feet. Other captives the rebels beat with bludgeons and tossed into the water. The victors left for the sea and Razin.

In June news reached Astrakhan that one hundred mounted Don Cossacks under Ataman Aleshka Protokin were camped about fifty versts from the Grebensk Cossacks, that another four hundred were at Kuma and that they were waiting by the Don for Aleshka Katorzhny and his two thousand cossacks. In many towns, on the Don and the Khopor, cossacks were boasting about going to the Volga, while others boasted about going straight to Tsaritsyn and faring better than Razin and Serezhka Krivoy. This was merely boasting, for the braggarts were in want of an ataman. They lacked a second Razin and they had to wait until Stepan Timofeevich returned from his maritime campaign.

Razin roved the sea. He ravaged the coast from Derbent to Baku in a frightful manner and when he reached Resht he offered his service to the shah, asking for territories in which to settle. Negotiations dragged on and the inhabitants of Resht attacked the cossacks unawares, killing four hundred. Razin sailed away from Resht and avenged his defeat on

Farahabad. He let the inhabitants know that he was approaching to trade with them, and he traded for five days. On the sixth day he straightened the cap on his head. This was the prearranged sign for the cossacks to rush for undefended plunder, which they divided among themselves in



Razin's Sea Campaign, 1669

cossack fashion. Capturing many prisoners, Stenka consolidated a winter camp on an island and conducted an exchange of slaves with the Persians. For every three or four Christians the cossacks gave one Persian.

In the spring of 1669 Razin crossed to the eastern shore of the sea and pillaged Turkmen villages, but he lost a stalwart comrade, Serezhka

Krivoy. The cossacks settled down on Svinoy island from which they made forays onto the mainland. There in the month of June a Persian fleet with about four thousand soldiers attacked them and suffered a total defeat. Only three vessels managed to escape with their leader Menedafeat. Only three vessels managed to escape with their leader Menedakhan. His son and daughter fell captive to the victors and the khan's daughter became the concubine of the fortune-blessed ataman.

"There will not always be good fortune!" the ataman might have thought in a moment of sobriety. He could not roam about the Caspian Sea forever. The shores were laid waste, there was no grain, there often was no water and the cossacks sickened from the salt water. They amounted now to less than five hundred men, whereas the Persians could send eight or ten thousand instead of the four thousand. Remaining at length on the sea was something unusual for the cossacks, for once they plundered the coasts and vessels they were in the habit of returning home to the notorious Don. How could they return? Through the regions of the realm which they had treated in so hostile a fashion? There was nothing to be done. They would have to make peace with the crown and give themselves up.

At the beginning of August rumors about Razin once again spread in the realm of Astrakhan. The metropolitan's junior boyar arrived hurriedly with news that his master's fish trap had been plundered by cossacks. On his heels appeared a Persian merchant with news that cossacks had looted his ship, taken his son prisoner and seized the presents he was carrying to the great sovereign. That same day the tsar's troops set out against the rebels. The deputy governor Prince Semeon Ivanovich Lvov[7] set sail with four thousand musketeers in thirty-six boats. We know the standard practice of the crown of Moscow with respect to cossacks. As soon as they surrendered, they were forgiven. The weakness of the realm permitted the cossacks to co-exist with it and caused their rebellions to go unpunished.

Sighting the crown ships, the cossacks fled to sea. Lvov pursued them for twenty versts, grew wearied and sent the tsar's letter of pardon. Stenka turned around and negotiations commenced. Two elected cossacks appeared before the governor. "The whole Host," they said, "petitions the great sovereign to show his favor, to drop the charges against them and to grant them passage to the Don with their goods and chattels. To expiate our sins we will be glad to serve the great sovereign and to sacrifice our lives wherever the great sovereign orders. The cannons which we seized on the Volga from boats, the Yaitsk fortress and the shah's regions

we will surrender. We will release the servitors and hand over the boats and their rigging in Tsaritsyn." Prince Semeon ordered that the two cossacks be taken at their word on behalf of the entire Host, and sailed back to Astrakhan. Stenka and his "naked ones," now grown rich from the frequent division of plunder, followed him.

STENKA IN ASTRAKHAN WITH SUBMISSION

A great solemnity took place in Astrakhan on August 25. The governor was seated in the chancellery, for which Razin and his comrades headed. Approaching the office, the cossacks laid down the ataman's horse-tail mace, their standards, surrendered the captive Persians, and announced that they would hand over the cannons and release the Russian servitors without delay. Razin petitioned the governor that the great sovereign let them pass to the Don, but for now to send six elected cossacks to Moscow to offer the great sovereign their heads on account of their sins.

The delegates were sent off. In Moscow they were questioned. "You left the Don for plundering and this you have done, forgetting the fear of God and the great sovereign's oath on the cross. Now tell us the truth. Where did you think of such raids and who among you began this idea?"

"We started to experience severe shortages on the Don," answered the cossacks, "and it became impossible to reach the Black Sea because the Turks built strongholds. After sorting ourselves out we eagerly went to the Volga, and from the Volga to sea, without the knowledge of the ataman of the Host, Kornily Yakovlev. Our leader in this venture was Stenka Razin."

In accordance with the tsar's edict, the cossacks were reprimanded for their crimes. They were told that the great sovereign spared their lives instead of imposing the death penalty, in keeping with his merciful consideration. They would be sent to Astrakhan to redeem their crimes through service.

The cossacks had known broad expanses and shared rich booty. It was hard for them to redeem their crimes through service. They no longer were servants of the realm. On the return journey to Astrakhan, outside Penza, in the steppe beyond the Medveditsa river, the cossacks attacked their escorts, slew them, stole their horses and dashed pell-mell into the steppe. "We will not ride to Astrakhan," they said, "we fear the sovereign's wrath." They learned that Razin had been dispatched to the Don.

Before his release to the Don the governors wanted to settle scores with Razin, but we know how difficult reckoning with cossacks was.

Freely to surrender booty obtained by the sword was the worst thing imaginable for cossacks. Earlier they boldly rejected the government's demand to release their captives without ransom. The governors made overtures to Razin and his comrades to make their own lists and surrender all cannon, the gifts of the Persian merchant for the sovereign, all his goods and all Persian captives.

"We have divided up the goods," replied Razin, "and after the sharing some goods were sold and made into clothing. There is nothing for us to give back and there is no way to collect anything. For all of this we will go to the great sovereign and pay with our heads. We took captives in the shah's territory by the sword, many of our brothers were slain in battles for those captives and some were taken captive themselves. At the exchange of prisoners one captive was worth five, ten and twenty men. As for lists, according to our cossack rights lisrs have not been required of cossacks on the Don or Yaik nor anywhere else, neither does the sovereign's letter of pardon stipulate such a thing."

Stenka surrendered twenty-one cannon and seafaring boats, but kept twenty cannon with him. "We need these cannon on the steppe to get by the Crimean, Azov and other forces," he said, "but when we reach our destination we will send the cannons right away."

The governors did not insist further, and ordered the Persians to redeem their captives from the cossacks without payment. "We dared not take these captives without paying ransom, nor take by force the gifts which the shah's merchant was transporting or his goods," wrote the governors to Moscow. "We feared that the cossacks once again might be stirred up to plunder, that many others might join their plundering, and that bloodshed would ensue."

The governors were correct, for the crown was too weak in the steppe approaching the Ukraine, the broad expanse of the cossacks. The cossack and his free and daring life evoked such fascination in the young Russian society. The poetic notions of the contemporary Russian, which led him away from everyday humdrum life into a different, fantastic world, focused chiefly on the cossack and his exploits. The ancient heroes of folk songs and fairy tales now were the cossacks. Everything wondrous connected with Russian reveries about Ilia Muromets and his comrades now naturally related to the cossacks, who especially distinguished themselves by their daring. The Russians, especially the lower classes of the population, even in the seventeenth century, still lived by the concepts of the ninth and tenth centuries. Let us recall what an impression on the Kievans

old Oleg[8] had made when he returned from sea with rich booty, after plundering the Greek shores. The people called him a prophet, a sorcerer. So too did the rich Razin seem to be a prophet and sorcerer to the people of Astrakhan. "In truth Stenka Razin came back so rich that it is beyond belief. The ropes and cables of his ships are all of silk and the sails too are all made from Persian silk cloth." The same tale circulated about Oleg's ships and entered the chronicle.

IMPRESSIONS IN ASTRAKHAN

It is easy to understand the impression among the lower levels of contemporary society the appearance of a cossack, so free and robust, must have made, about whom existed so many tales and songs and who himself could tell so many stories about himself. In the midst of a uniform life poor in every respect, the cossack appeared richly, luxuriously, brightly dressed. He clanged with weapons and jingled with money. Money meant nothing to him, he had no cares, his whole life was imagined as uninterrupted revelry. It is understandable the impression this had on people who more than others would like to have no cares and whose own life seemed to be uninterrupted, hard and sorrowful labor.

The lure of booty sorely tempted members of that society! Merchants arriving on the Don for peaceful business abandoned their merchandise the moment they learned of a gathering of the Don Cossacks and joined the cossacks in search of booty. In addition to the lure of booty there was the lure of exploit which offered an escape for the forces that restlessly, severely and vainly stirred men. We dare not forget that these events took place in Astrakhan, on the Ukrainian steppe where the cossack spirit filled the nostrils, on that heroic soil where so little was established, where the time Europe experienced at the start of the middie ages lingered, the time of chaotic fermentation of popular forces, the time when retinues formed.

The cossack spirit exercised its most powerful charm, of course, on the musketeers. The musketeer came from the same levels of society as the cossack. He was a warrior, accustomed to wield weaponry, but he was not disciplined like a soldier. He was half- cossack and it is easy to grasp how a musketeer at his first encounter with an actual free cossack, at the first possibility of fighting for himself, that is, of plundering and acquiring booty, might abandon the banners of the realm and join with the cossacks. The entire power of the Astrakhan governors rested on the musketeers, and the governors were one hundred times right not to employ drastic measures with Stenka, desiring instead to send him packing

to the Don as quickly as possible and remove the terrible temptation from their subordinates.

The temptation was truly terrible. The cossacks strutted about town in silk and velvet caftans, their caps studded with pearls and precious stones. They traded with the inhabitants and gave away their loot as if it were a trifle. They sold a pound of silk for eighteen dengas. As for him, the mighty hero, the sorcerer holding in his able hands all these stalwart men, this was the cossack dear father Stepan Timofeevich! He was a true dear father, not like the governors and chancellery officials. He was so flattering with everyone, and so good that no one who asked was refused! The people extolled Stepan Timofeevich like a tsar. They fell to their knees, bowed to the ground. Nothing was spared to strengthen this aura, yet what produced the strongest fascination in those days? Large dimensions in all things, monstrous strength, monstrous authority. The man for whom everything was child's play, whom nothing constrained, neither attachments nor relationships, who perplexed and transfixed the simple man, brought him low and enthralled him with wild displays of his tyranny, such a man exercised a more potent charm.

Such normally are the feelings of undeveloped societies concerning power and authority. Educated society demands limits and despises immoderate behavior, towards which an uneducated society tends, for here reason is silent and the imagination runs all the wilder. Displays of brute strength and senseless violence strike the uneducated man all the more powerfully. For him the strong man first of all must not be a man but something resembling thunder and lightening. The cossack dear father Stepan Timofeevich fit these concepts as closely as was possible. He was impossibly well-suited for charming the crowd with his power and his entirely unrestrained tyranny. Once Razin was sailing down the Volga, and next to him sat his concubine, a captive Persian woman. She was the khan's daughter, a beautiful woman splendidly attired. The drunken ataman suddenly leapt up, seized the unfortunate woman and threw her into the Volga, adding "Take her, mother Volga! You have given me much silver and gold and much of every good thing, you have endowed me with honor and glory, and I still have not thanked you with anything!"

On September 4 Razin set out from Astrakhan. Leonty Plokhovo, a resident noble, was dispatched with him as an escort as far as Tsaritsyn, and from Tsaritsyn to Panshin fortress a captain with fifty musketeers was to accompany him. At departure the governors instructed the cossacks not to incite any men to go with them to the Don. They told them not to

welcome any men who might join them lest they incurr the sovereign's disgrace. A brevet was sent to Cherny Yar and Tsaritsyn ordering the inhabitants not to admit the cossacks to their towns nor sell them wine, lest the cossacks foment quarrels or untoward incidents with the townsmen and villagers. The governors soon received information that the cossacks had no intention of fulfilling their orders. They resorted to violence on the road, stopped boats and incited musketeers to join them. The governors sent instructions to Plokhovo urging him to talk Stenka and his comrades out of their folly. In reply came tidings of new and greater folly.

STENKA RAGES IN TSARITSYN

On October 1 Stenka approached Tsaritsyn. It was all well and good for the Astrakhan governors to issue instructions to the Tsaritsyn governor Andrei Unkovsky telling him not to admit the cossacks into town. What means did he have to keep the cossacks out? The guests entered the town without the slightest opposition. The Astrakhan governors likewise wrote that no wine be sold to the cossacks, but again, what means did the Tsaritsyn governor have to enforce this command? To keep the cossacks from drunkenness and its consequences, quarreling with the residents, Unkovsky could think of only one thing. He ordered wine sold at double the price. The governor paid dearly for this arrangement. The cossacks protested loudly. The ataman's obligation was to stand up for his own men, who then poured more oil onto the fire.

"This governor," the cossacks said, "has oppressed us for a long time. If any of our brothers come from the Don to Tsaritsyn for salt, he collects one altyn on each [boat] prow. From one of our cossacks he took two horses with their sledges and collars, and from another, he took an arquebus."

Razin moved with his crowd to the governor's palace, threatening to kill Unkovsky. The door to the upper chamber already was battered in with a beam. The governor was thrown out of the upper chamber window. He broke his leg, but managed to hide. Stenka searched for him through all the buildings, in the cathedral, in the sanctuary. Not finding the governor, Razin ordered his men to force the lock of the dungeon and release the hardened criminals. When the cossacks rushed back, Unkovsky left his refuge and ensconced himself in the chancellery office, but he did not stay there in peace for long. A cossack elder, a Zaporozhian, appeared in the office, one sheet in the wind. He could not deny himself the satisfaction of execrating him with every unseemly profanity and pulling his beard. It did not end there. When Stepan Timofeevich

found out that the governor was in the chancellery, he went to square accounts with him. Unkovsky hid in the back office. The affair was settled without bloodshed, the governor paying the cossacks money for the horses and the arquebus, and Stenka was satisfied with a warning. "If ever again," he told the governor, "you impose taxes on our cossacks, you'll not get away from me alive."

The other usual cossack folly was reported. A captain was traveling in a private boat sent from Moscow to Astrakhan with the sovereign's charters. At night the cossacks assaulted him, looted the boat and threw the sovereign's charters into the water. Leonty Plokhovo, parting with Stenka in Tsaritsyn, told him to hand over runaways and rebels. "Among the cossacks there is no injunction to hand over runaways," Razin replied, and did not surrender them.

With the same demand to surrender runaways appeared a messenger from the most important governor of Astrakhan, Prince Prozorovsky. The envoy spiced the demand with a threat. Stenka flared up. "How dare you come to me with such words?" he shouted. "That I should hand over my own friends? Tell the governor that I do not fear him, nor do I fear the one who is over him. I'll see the governor and square accounts with him. The stupid man, the coward! He wants to treat me like a slave, but I am a free man through and through. I'm stronger than he is. I'll pay back these scoundrels!"

This was no idle threat, but a direct challenge. Stenka really was stronger than Prozorovsky, but what was he to do with his strength? Unused, it would vanish just as would Razin's importance and his atamanship. Where to employ his strength? The Turks did not let him near Azov. He could fight through again to the Caspian, but how could he return? He could not deceive the crown a second time! Thus Stenka must overrun the realm. Where were the means for this battle? Could he rouse all his "naked ones" against the boyars and governors, could he rouse the peasants and slaves against their masters? Vaska Us already had pointed out the path.

RAZIN ON THE DON

Following accepted custom, Stenka built an earthen fortress between Kagalnik and Vedernikov, and summoned his wife and brother Frol there from Cherkassk. The Don was divided. In Cherkassk the old Host government of Ataman Kornily Yakovlev and the cossack military leadership was stationed. Even stronger, however, was the ataman of the new

Host, Stepan Razin, who was encamped in his new fortress and whose strength increased daily. News about dear father Stepan Timofeevich's exploits and the rich booty spread quickly. Razin gave twenty-four-hour furloughs to Don residents, under heavy sureties, to meet with their relatives in the cossack camps and to fulfill their [communal] obligations.

It was customary for the settled cossacks to lend weapons and clothing to the "naked ones" who were heading after booty, on condition that the booty be divided in half upon their return. Stenka's cohorts now divided the booty with their own *emissaries*. The booty was rich, and seekers after plunder were drawn from all sides to the star-crossed leader. "Naked ones" from the Don and Khopor fortresses, vagrants from the Volga and Zaporozhian Cherkass joined Razin. They had no need of loans of equipment from anyone, for dear father Stepan Timofeevich welcomed all with open arms, loaned them equipment and urged them on in every way. In November he already had two thousand seven hundred men. He continually told them to be prepared, but as for where the campaign would go, only a few cossacks knew, and it was impossible to pry it out of them by any means.

The old Host government situated in Cherkassk and the old cossacks voiced some strong grievances. "Emissaries from Azov arrived in Cherkassk to conclude a truce, but the cossacks rejected them and forthwith revealed the reason. 'Stenka has arrived with his comrades,' they said, 'and if he bypasses us and causes mayhem above Azov, never again will you believe us cossacks about anything.'" Kornily Yakovlev and his comrades did not know what to do, whether to accept Stenka into the Host or to fight against him. They decided to send a delegation to the great sovereign expressly for this purpose, to petition for instructions. Razin soon brought them out of their indecision.

In the spring of 1670, on St. Thomas Sunday,[9] the noble resident Gerasim Yevdokimov arrived on the Don with the tsar's word of pardon. Ataman Kornily Yakovlev convoked a general assembly which received Yevdokimov respectfully. They read out the charter, did obeisance for the sovereign's kindness, and announced to the envoy that he be ready to depart. They hastily sent him back to the great sovereign together with a company of cossacks, as was their custom. On Monday a second visitor appeared in Cherkassk, Stepan Timofeevich Razin, and when Kornily Yakovlev convoked the general assembly on Tuesday to choose the cossacks for Moscow, Razin and his "naked ones" approached.

"Why are you choosing a company?" he asked. "We are sending it with the noble resident Gerasim to the great sovereign," was the answer. "Call Gerasim here!" bellowed Razin, and his order was carried out without delay. Some cossacks chased after Yevdokimov and brought him to the general assembly. "From whom did you come," Razin asked him, "from the great sovereign or the boyars?" "I was sent by the great sovereign with his pardon." "You're lying!" shouted Stenka. "You did not come with a charter, you came to spy on us, you so-and-so!" and he lunged at Yevdokimov. After beating him half dead, Razin ordered him flung into the Don. "It was not right for you to have done that," commented Ataman Kornily Yakovlev. "Were you wanting the same thing?" Razin shouted at him. "You command your Host and I'll command mine!" The ataman grew silent, seeing that it was not his time.

Razin and his "naked ones" began to act as masters of Cherkassk. A few brave cossacks raised their voices and tasted the waters of the Don. Razin chased away from the Don priests he suspected of being "the tsar's intercessors." The church constituted the cossack's link with the crown, so Razin heaped abuse on the church. Afterwards, of course, he would again go to Solovetsk monastery and say "From my youth I have killed many people and plundered. As I near the end I must save my soul!" For now, Razin was not interested in pilgrimage. Wild forces seethed inside and demanded an outlet. This cossack had it easy and believed in nothing, "he believed only in his own dark red elm" like the hero of the ancient song. It was said that Stenka wedded the "naked ones," forcing them to dance around a tree. This was nothing new. Who did not know the song where the great heroes "were married around a broom bush"?

THE SECOND VOLGA CAMPAIGN

From Cherkassk Razin headed upstream to Panshin fortress, where the famous Vaska Us and a crowd of "naked ones" joined him. There were about seven thousand cossacks in all. A general assembly gathered and the ataman declared that he was going with boats and horses to Tsaritsyn. The next day the host set out, and two days later it reached Tsaritsyn by night. At crack of dawn the cossacks surrounded the town on the dry road and from the river. In town the defenders rang the tocsin and fired once from a cannon, but five Tsaritsyn men joined the cossacks and revealed to Stenka the treasure, supplies and fortifications of the town. Leaving Us to besiege the town, Stenka went off thirty versts, pillaged the

Yedisan Tatars and led prisoners back to Tsaritsyn, rounding up horses and livestock.

CAPTURE OF TSARITSYN

In the meantime on April 13 five more Tsaritsyn men appeared before Vaska Us asking to leave the town to draw water and drive their cattle to pasture. "Convince the governor to open the town," answered Us. "If he is obstinate, knock down the town's castle yourselves." That very day his instructions were carried out. The gates opened, and Governor Turgenev with his nephews, domestics, ten Moscow musketeers and three Tsaritsyn men locked themselves in a tower. Feasts and drinking bouts with the cossacks began in the town. Razin himself arrived and with gusto made himself dead drunk. In this state he led some cossacks to storm the tower, taking it after a lengthy battle. The unfortunate Turgenev remained alive, and the next day the cossacks treated themselves to a merry spectacle. They led Turgenev by a rope to the river, ran him through with their lances and drowned him.

Razin fortified Tsaritsyn, convoked a general assembly and announced his broad intention of sailing up the Volga to the sovereign's towns and extirpating the governors, or proceeding to Moscow against the boyars. The cossacks shouted in reply that they pinned their hopes on the word of their dear father the ataman. Soon an obstacle appeared, for news came that the Astrakhan governor, Prince Prozorovsky, was sending men to Cherny Yar. Stenka immediately sent out a mounted patrol to reconnoiter. The scouts returned and reported that the Astrakhan army was in Cherny Yar.

ROUT OF THE MUSCOVITE MUSKETEERS

Following on this came other news that Moscow musketeers were coming downstream towards Tsaritsyn. Stenka did not lose heart, knowing that neither from Astrakhan nor from Moscow could many troops be sent. He rushed against the Moscow musketeers who numbered one thousand men under the leadership of Lopatin. The musketeers had halted calmly on Denezhny island some seven versts from Tsaritsyn when suddenly bullets rained down on them from two sides. Razin led the attack from his boats on the meadow side and the mounted cossacks attacked from the hill side.

Despite the superior strength of the cossacks, who numbered roughly five thousand, the musketeers fought their way towards Tsaritsyn, thinking that

assistance would be found there. They scarcely reached the town when they were met by cannon balls. Five hundred musketeers were slain and the rest taken below the town. Lopatin and the other officers shared Turgenev's fate. Stenka put more than three hundred musketeers against their will in his vessels as rowers. There they heard startling words from the cossacks. "You fight for the sake of traitors, not for the sovereign, but we fight for the sovereign."

TREASON OF THE ASTRAKHAN MUSKETEERS

While battle was necessary to acquire the Moscow musketeers, the Astrakhan musketeers surrendered without opposition. In Astrakhan Razin's envoys were already at work, and it was easy for them there. The soil was suitable and was prepared by Stenka's previous visit. Two thousand six hundred musketeers and five hundred freemen under the leadership of the deputy governor Prince Semeon Ivanovich Lvov[10] sailed out to meet the rebels. As soon as the brigand's ships appeared by Cherny Yar the musketeers rebelled and tied up their officers, thunderously hailing their dear father Stepan Timofeevich as their liberator. Razin answered them with the promise of a free, prosperous and carefree life. The triumphant cheers did not cease and beneath the cheers fell the mutilated corpses of the officers. Somehow the governor Prince Lvov emerged unscathed.

News received from the musketeers altered Razin's intentions. He initially wanted to advance to the upper towns of the realm and remove the governors. He now recognized that in Astrakhan his own men awaited him with impatience and that they had surrendered the town only to show themselves his stalwarts. Stenka set sail for Astrakhan.

There everyone had been expecting something bad for some time. The people were terrified by portents, by noises in the church like the pealing of bells and by earthquakes. Beginning on May 25, the same day on which Prince Lvov and the musketeers set out, murmuring and disobedience to the governor erupted among the people of Astrakhan. Then on June 4 the terrifying news arrived that the musketeers had surrendered to Razin. Prince Prozorovsky did not lose spirit and began as much as he could to see to the fortifications of the town. His assistant in this was the foreigner Butler, captain of the first Russian ocean-going vessel *Orel* which was docked in Astrakhan.[11] That same day the governor ordered Butler to examine all cannons on the walls and parapets, and he directed the ship's crew to man the artillery.

The next day, July 5, unrest among the Astrakhan citizenry increased. Evidently the populace had learned about the musketeers' treason. On June 9 Prozorovsky ordered Butler to inspect the citadel, while the Englishman, Colonel Thomas Boyle, attended to the walls on the other side. They repaired the defensive walls and parapets, set up a strong guard everywhere and throughout the night musketeers stood guard along the walls. In Nizhny tower Persians, Kalmyks and Circassians stood guard.

On the night of June 13 the musketeer guards observed the heavens open up over the town and something like sparks from a stove rained down from the sky. The musketeers ran to the cathedral and told this to Metropolitan Joseph.[12] He wept a long time and, returning to his cell after orthros, said "The phial of God's wrath is poured out from heaven!"

Joseph was right not to expect anything good from the cossacks, for he knew them very well. He was a native of Astrakhan. When he was eight years old he witnessed the atrocities which Zarutsky's[13] cossacks allowed themselves in Astrakhan. They dishonored Archbishop Feodosy[14] because he called them rebels, slew all his servitors, plundered his home and imprisoned him in the stone dungeon of Trinity monastery. Joseph bore on himself a heavy mark of the memory of these terrible times. His head constantly shook from a blow received from the cossacks.

When Prozorovsky learned of the vision, he too began to weep. He expected nothing good from the musketeers or the Astrakhan townsmen and he wanted at least to cultivate the foreigners. On May 15 he invited Butler to dine with him, gave him presents of a caftan made from yellow satin, undergarments and linens, and ordered him to come to dine each day.

At the same time the governor cajoled Butler, the musketeers looked for any pretext to rebel. They showed up at the governor's and demanded their salary for the year past. "The treasury funds of the great sovereign have not arrived yet from Moscow," answered Prozorovsky. "Perhaps the metropolitan can lend something from his own treasury or from the Trinity monastery. I'll distribute this among you, as much as it takes that you won't listen to that apostate and traitor Stenka Razin and will serve the great sovereign." After explaining himself so openly to the musketeers, Prozorovsky went to the metropolitan, saying "How are we to survive? You must lend the money, otherwise there will be trouble!" "I agree," answered the metropolitan, "for their malice will be great indeed if they are seduced by the apostate!" He produced six hundred rubles from his cell and ordered two thousand rubles taken from Trinity monastery. The governor distributed this money among the musketeers and their pretext

for rebellion disappeared, though not the desire, as they awaited with impatience their dear father Stepan Timofeevich.

THE CAPTURE OF ASTRAKHAN AND ITS BLOODY SEQUEL

Then came talk of a new portent. In the early morning the musketeer guards saw three multicolored pillars, like a rainbow, and on top were three crowns. Metropolitan Joseph also saw this, and it did not augur well! Neither did it augur well when, during St. Peter's Fast [May 31-June 29], when there normally was no escape from the heat, everyone was walking about in warm clothing. It was cold and the rain came with hail!

On June 22 the cossack pirates were already in view of the town. Stenka stopped at Zharenye Bugry and sent an enticing letter to Astrakhan with two prisoners, a priest from the Exaltation of the Holy Cross parish and one of Prince Lvov's men. There was even a letter in German for Butler! Stenka urged the foreigners to save their lives and not resist the cossacks. Butler handed the letter over to the governor, who tore it to shreds and ordered the slave tortured and beheaded. He imprisoned the priest in the dungeon, having first gagged him. The governor continued strengthening the town and bricked up the gates. The metropolitan and his clergy led a procession around the town.

On June 23 the cossacks drew up to the town by Krivusha stream below the vineyards. The Tatar suburb burst into flames. Its residents purposely set fire to it to avoid giving refuge to the enemy. Just then another class of arsonist was brought to the governor. Two of the poor who had fled to Razin returned with the task of setting fire to the White town during the assault. They were executed as a warning, but the governor had little faith in a single warning, and hastened to employ other means. The sergeants and the senior of the more prosperous men were summoned to the metropolitan's court. The metropolitan and the governor urged them at length to exert themselves on behalf of the house of the Most Pure Mother of God, to serve the great sovereign with faith and justice, and to fight the traitors courageously. They promised the tsar's mercy to the living, eternal bliss to the fallen. All gave verbal assurances that they would not spare their own lives. In fact things turned out differently.

In the evening, after receiving a blessing from the metropolitan, the boyar donned his armor and marched out just as the governors normally marched out on a campaign. He went with all his clients and court retainers. In front of them were horses under horse-cloths, kettledrums were

beaten, trumpets blared. Prozorovsky stood at the Ascension gate where he expected the strongest thrust from the rebels.

The night passed. At three in the morning of June 24 the alarm was sounded. The assault began and cannons started to thunder from the town. The cossacks paid no attention to them and placed their ladders against the walls. They were met with neither lances nor pitch, for traitors welcomed them like long-expected friends. Cossack shouts resounded throughout the town, and not only the cossack brigands shouted, the musketeers and people of Astrakhan also shouted. The first of them rushed to fight the nobles, the captains, the boyar servitors loyal to their lords, and the gunners.

In one corner, still knowing nothing, stood Butler. He continued to service the cannons when suddenly the Englishman Boyle staggered before him with blood-covered face. "What are you doing there?" he shouted. "The whole town has betrayed us. The musketeers of my regiment jabbed me on the face and legs with their lances, and they would have killed me but for the armor. I told them to serve loyally but they ordered me to be silent." Butler dropped everything and fled.

In the meantime the people hurried to the cathedral church. Faithful slaves bore Prozorovsky there on a carpet, for he was wounded in the stomach with a lance. Metropolitan Joseph quickly arrived and with tears rushed to the governor, with whom he lived very amicably. There was no time for tears. Joseph hastened to give the last rites to the sufferer. The church filled more and more with people. Secretaries, musketeer commanders, scribes, everyone who could expect nothing good from the brigands, came rushing in. They thought that they could still defend themselves. They barred the church doors and by them stood the musketeer sergeant Frol Dura with a big knife, having made up his mind to surrender the holy place to the brigands only for a high price. He did not wait long. The cossacks charged and began their battering. The fretted iron doors did not give, so they fired through them from a matchlock. A howl reverberated as an eighteen-month-old child covered in blood quivered in the arms of its mother.

Finally the doors gave in. Frol Dura began to wield his knife. The infuriated cossacks dragged him out of the church, and on the parvis they slashed him in pieces. They bound Prozorovsky, the secretary, the musketeer commanders, nobles and junior boyars, captains and scribes and sat them below the parapet pending a cossack trial and punishment. Trial and punishment were brief. The ataman appeared and ordered the governor brought onto the parapet and from there flung to the ground. The

other unfortunates were not deemed worthy of such honor. They were hewed with swords and pole axes in front of the cathedral, and their blood flowed in a stream past the church to the chancellery. The corpses were tossed indiscriminately into a common grave in the Trinity monastery. Near the grave stood a monk who counted four hundred and forty-one corpses.

After the murders began the plundering. The rebels plundered the chancellery, the residences of the slain, the houses of the rich, the Russian, Gilan,[15] Indian and Bukharan merchant halls. Everything was brought out to a heap for equal sharing. At the same time the whole town with its riches was in the hands of Stenka and his comrades, in one place shooting was heard. Fighting to the bitter end in the torture tower were the men of Kazbulat Mutsalovich Cherkassky, two Russians and a gunner, ten men in all, and they fought the brigands until midday. Their lead ran out and they fired coins, and when the powder ran out, they abandoned the town. Some were struck dead, others were seized and hacked to death.

This was the final opposition. There were no officers, for they all lay at the Trinity monastery in a common grave. Stenka controlled Astrakhan. He made it into a cossack fortress, divided the inhabitants into units of one thousand, one hundred, and ten men with elected atamans, lieutenants, hundredmen and tenmen. The general assembly began to make noise, behaving like the ancient town assembly.[16] In a single morning this entire mass of cossacks moved beyond the town. There on a broad and open place they pronounced an oath to stand up for the great sovereign, to serve Ataman Stepan Timofeevich and the whole Host, and to deliver traitors. Two priests started to accuse the brigands. The cossacks drowned one of them, cutting off the other priest's hand and foot. Razin ordered all papers burned and boasted that he would burn all official documents in Moscow too, in the sovereign's palace.

Cossacks, old and new, roamed about idly, all drunk since morning. Stenka rode about the streets or sat drunk in the street by the metropolitan's palace, with his legs folded in Turkish fashion. Every day there were bloody amusements. At the wave of the drunken ataman's hand his men cut off the head of one person, flung another into the water, chopped off another's arms and legs. Then suddenly Stenka relented and ordered them to release an unfortunate awaiting execution.

Children liked their fathers' sport. They conducted assemblies, and whoever was found guilty they beat with canes and hung by the feet. One

child they hanged by the neck and took down dead. For the wives and daughters of the slain nobles, captains and scribes, there was no escaping the violent scolding of the cossack women, but this was not all. The ataman began marrying them off to his cossacks, and priests were ordered to marry them by the ataman's seal and not according to the bishop's blessing. The metropolitan was silent. On the nameday of Tsarevich Fedor Alekseevich[17] he had the weakness to invite or admit to his banquet Stenka Razin and all the elder cossacks. More than one hundred guests showed up out of the blue.

The governor's widow, Princess Prozorovskaia, and her two sons had taken shelter in the metropolitan's cells. One son was sixteen, the other eight years old. Stenka remembered the princes and ordered the eldest brought to him. "Where is the treasure collected from merchants in Astrakhan?" "It all went for salary for the servitors," answered the youth, and he called the scribe Alekseevich to witness. Alekseevich confirmed his words. "But where are your chattels?" "They were looted," the prince replied. "Our treasurer handed them over in keeping with your decree and your lieutenant carted them away."

After this interrogation Prozorovsky was suspended by the feet on the town wall and the scribe was hung on a hook through his ribs. His appetite whetted, Stenka ordered the other son torn away from Princess Prozorovskaia and suspended by the feet near his brother. The next day the elder Prozorovsky was thrown from the wall. The younger was taken down alive, carved up and sent to his mother. The scribe was no longer breathing. The deputy governor Semeon Lvov was spared, and information about this has been preserved. When Razin arrived in Astrakhan from his Persian campaign, he got along very well with Prince Semeon Lvov. They became brothers, and Stenka did not leave the governor's house, drinking, eating and sleeping there. Thus, when Razin came a second time to Astrakhan, he spared Prince Lvov and did not even loot his property.

Stenka sobered up and realized that he had outstayed his welcome in Astrakhan. He wanted to appear out of the blue in the sovereign's towns directly from Tsaritsyn, whereupon it would be difficult to say where he would be halted by the realm's might. In all probability he would have succeeded in wintering in Nizhny Novgorod, as he intended. Then news about Prince Lvov's departure from Astrakhan forced him to go downstream, and tales of mutinous musketeers, who imagined Astrakhan as easy plunder, forced him to go to that town. In this way Stenka lost much valuable time.

At the end of July he started to muster upstream. These preparations sobered the Astrakhan inhabitants who were fraternizing with the cossacks. Even though they swore an oath to the great sovereign, they nevertheless knew well that after Stenka's departure the sovereign's governors could appear quickly before their town. Just as Stenka managed to conquer Astrakhan thanks to *his own men*, so too the governors' own men would be found who now were silent out of fear or who hid from extermination.

Some Astrakhan inhabitants appeared at Stenka's. "Many nobles and chancellery officials have been spared," they said. "Allow us to hunt them down and kill them, because when the great sovereign's men return to Astrakhan they will be our first enemies." "When I leave Astrakhan," answered Stenka, "you can do as you want. I'll leave you the cossack Vaska Us to mete out punishment."

RAZIN BEFORE SIMBIRSK

Razin set sail with two hundred boats upstream on the Volga, and along the shore marched two thousand horsemen. Sending the Astrakhan booty from Tsaritsyn to the Don, Stenka proceeded further and occupied Saratov and Samara with the usual ceremonies. The governor was drowned, the nobles and chancellery officials were slain, their property looted and the inhabitants turned into cossacks. From Samara Razin moved towards Simbirsk where the lord-in waiting Ivan Bogdanovich Miloslavsky was stationed. To assist him, the lord-in-waiting Prince Yury Nikitich Bariatinsky[18] hurried from Kazan and reached Simbirsk on August 31 before Razin. "I couldn't help but hurry," wrote Bariatinsky, "in order not to lose Simbirsk or permit the brigand to enter the town precincts."

The governor had little hope of success. "With me have come only a few soldiers," he reported to the tsar. "The commanders of the Zykov and Chubarov regiments collected their salary in Moscow, but so far they have not returned to their regiments. They are living in their villages and there is no one to maintain the regiments. Alexis Yeropkin discharged his servitors contrary to orders. For his own idle profit, instead of reserving for himself the lowest ranks, he reserved the best men fit to serve. He sent muster rolls to the cavalry regiments. The rolls listed the names of many dead men and one name was written two or three times. There are thirteen hundred men present in both regiments and a third of that number are infantry. I cannot be without infantry.

"As long as no scouting of the brigands is carried out, they will attract followers safely. If we spied on the enemy, he would reduce his outlaw

intent. I will organize the reconnaissance with all the assistance that our merciful God gives, but according to the rolls I have far too few men in the regiment. With so few men I cannot carry out reconnaissance on those brigands in distant places without infantry."

In this way the governor hastened to explain in advance the reason for his failure. Bariatinsky did not wait long for his misgivings to be proven correct. On September 4 Razin appeared below Simbirsk and circled the town at night, leaving his boats half a verst above the town. During the night watches he left the boats and made his way to the town for the assault. Bariatinsky stood in his path. Stenka rushed against him and a fierce battle ensued, lasting from morning until evening. Neither side gained the upper hand. They dispersed out of weariness and for an entire day stood in one spot looking at each other.

Razin was not idle. He communicated with the inhabitants of Simbirsk. Convinced that they were on his side, he attacked Bariatinsky at night, unleashing a major battle. Half an hour before dawn the brigands commenced their assault on Simbirsk at the ramparts where the inhabitants stood. Firing first with wads as a ruse, they let the cossacks into the stockade and then rushed to fight the boyar servitors, with whom they were not of one mind. Capturing the stockade the brigands rushed towards the town, but Bariatinsky showed up there. The brigands turned the stockade cannons against him and barred him from fighting his way to the town without infantry. On the other hand they too had to retreat.

BARIATINSKY RETREATS

Seeing that without infantry he could do nothing, Bariatinsky withdrew from Simbirsk to Tetiushi and composed a letter to the sovereign. "The Tatars serving in the cavalry and in the units are poor and unreliable," he wrote. "At the first battle many of them fled for their homes, and I cannot count on them. There is no point wasting money on them. The officers did not come to my regiment, they stayed in their villages. Lord-in-waiting Ivan Bogdanovich Miloslavsky stayed put in a little fortress, and with him are musketeer commanders, soldiers and other ranks of men. The small fortress is strong, and I do not expect it will be taken soon, only it has no water, and there are no wells, but a lot of water was brought in.

"I have gone to Tetiushi and am waiting for Prince Peter Semeonovich Urusov so that we can go back to Simbirsk to free Ivan (Miloslavsky) from the siege if he stays put. If they capture Ivan, we must march against

Razin. He does not have many men, not more than five thousand, both bad and good, and just now countless of his best men were slain in the battles and the assault. If I had even two thousand infantrymen he would be utterly done for. He would not have got through to Simbirsk or even to the shore. As it was, seeing that I could do nothing against him without infantry, I left and withdrew your regiment in its entirety."

Ivan stayed put despite the fact that Razin's forces increased day by day with the arrival of Chuvash, Mordvinian and Russian peasants. Four times the cossacks assaulted the fortress, always at night. To set fire to the fortress they brought straw from the outlying districts, made gabions, and put gunpowder, pitch and dry laths in the gabions, but every assault was repulsed and the fortress remained unharmed. For a whole month Ivan held his ground. On October 1 he noticed some movement in the cossack camp. Stenka was leaving. Seven versts away, Prince Yury Bariatinsky stood with a wagon train, having withstood four battles with the cossack rebels, Tatars, Chuvash, Cheremis and Mordvinians on the road from the Kazan river estuary.

Two versts from Simbirsk at the Sviiaga river Stenka skirmished with his old acquaintance. In the first skirmish loyal forces wrought havoc and drove Stenka back, but he met with his forces, brought cannons and engaged in close combat a second time. "The soldiers overran each other in confusion, there was gun and cannon fire on both sides at the guard post." On the cossacks' side a countless host fell. Even Stenka received two wounds. One man from Alatyr very nearly grabbed hold of him and brought him down but he was shot by the rebels. Stenka was put to complete rout and fled to the Simbirsk stockade wall where he locked himself in a tower. On October 2 he could rest, and reconnoitred. Bariatinsky was building bridges on the Sviiaga, and on October 3 he reached the fortress. Miloslavsky was relieved.

The task was not over yet. Stenka stood on the side of town by the Kazan gates and the entire stockade was occupied by brigands. Stenka was not abandoning his intention of setting fire to the town and taking it. Bariatinsky resorted to a trick. At night he ordered Colonel Chubarov to cross over the Sviiaga with his regiment and there to make noises as though fresh crown troops had arrived. The ruse was completely successful. Fear befell Stenka and he resolved to flee in secret with his Don Cossacks alone. The flight of the entire host would have been noticed and he would have to endure pursuit by the governor. He announced to the

crowd of Astrakhan, Tsaritsyn, Saratov and Samara men gathered about him that they should stay near the town whereas he and his Don Cossacks would march against the tsar's governors. Instead he got into his boats and set sail.

BARIATINSKY RETURNS

When he learned of Razin's flight, Bariatinsky made up his mind to have done with the rebels left behind. He went out onto the plain with his cavalry and took up position around the town, while he sent the infantry against the wagon train abandoned by Razin and to the stockade. From the other side Miloslavsky entered the stockade, which was already in flames in several places. Struck from two sides and especially because they were pinned down by the flames, the rebels rushed towards the river and the boats, all of which had been scuttled. Five to seven hundred men were taken prisoner and exterminated. The leaders were drawn and quartered, the others were cut down and displayed on gibbets along all the roads and the banks of the Volga.

Summonses were sent to all precincts and outlying districts for all traitors to confess their crimes to the sovereign and to live in their homes as before. The suburban servitors petitioned for forgiveness. From their ranks was chosen one man per suburb, who was beaten with the knout. Bariatinsky ascribed his ultimate success in Simbirsk to the burning of the stockade. "Had we not burned the stockade," he wrote the sovereign, "we would have had to besiege them for a long time, on account of their great number."

VIII

THE CROWN STRIKES BACK

REBELLION IN EASTERN UKRAINE

The cossacks' stay in Astrakhan, the stubborn defense of the Simbirsk fortress by Miloslavsky and Bariatinsky's victory destroyed Stenka and his cause, which had come close to being played out on a broad scale.

Stenka no sooner approached Simbirsk and forced Bariatinsky to move north, than the cossack rebels dispersed upstream along the Volga with their seditious leaflets. These leaflets stated that the cossacks were marching against the traitor boyars with Tsarevich Alexis Alekseevich[1] (recently deceased) and Patriarch Nikon, who had been driven out by the boyars. The rebellion flared throughout the entire expanse between the Oka and Volga rivers. The same thing that happened during the Time of Troubles here on the eastern frontier, and during the uprising of Khmelnitsky in the western frontier, repeated itself. In the villages the peasants exterminated landlords and their stewards, and rose up in droves to join the cossacks. Learning of the approach of these rebel gangs, commoners attacked the governor and chancellery officials, admitted the cossacks to towns, accepted the ataman in place of the governor and introduced cossack organization. The governors and chancellery officials hated by the village, and against whom there were many grievances, were exterminated, but they did not touch those *they approved of*. As in the Time of Troubles the barbarian foreigners rose up, the Mordvinians, Chuvash and Cheremiss.

Raising rebellion, the outlaw cossacks struck in two principal directions, from Simbirsk to the west, in what are now the provinces of Simbirsk, Penza and Tambov, and then to the northwest, into the Simbirsk and Nizhny Novgorod provinces. The first groups, which parted from Razin outside Simbirsk in September, headed for Korsun under the leadership of Mishka Kharitonov. Its declared aim was to go to the Russian towns, kill the boyars, their wives and children, and ransack their homes. The Korsun townsmen joined the rebels and joined them in killing the landholders in their villages and settlements. On September 18 the people of Atemar surrendered their town, and on September 19 the Insarsk stockade surrendered.

Saransk showed the first opposition. From morning till evening the rebels assaulted Saransk, finally bursting their way inside and killing the governor and some military personnel. The atamans convoked a general assembly and declared that they would advance along the boundary as far as Tambov. The imperial governors, who occupied fortresses along this boundary, foresaw their bitter fate. "All the local inhabitants are in despair," wrote Bezobrazov, the governor of Kerensk, to Tambov. "Although only a few rebels arrived, I can expect nothing good from the local people and my woes leave me scarcely alive. Among the people the rebels have sown their false rumor that Tsarevich Alexis Alekseevich and Patriarch Nikon march with them. The stupid people hold this all for truth and therefore there is vain anxiety and wavering among the people."

Governor Andrei Pekin of Nizhny Lomov wrote to Governor Yakov Khitrovo[2] (on September 23) "In Nizhny Lomov the cossacks are renowned as traitors. Remember me, your humble servant, and inform the great sovereign that he might command that I, my wife and my children be inscribed in the synodikon."[3]

The governors did not wait long for their fate. From Saransk Mishka Kharitonov set out for Penza. As soon as they saw the rebels' standards, horse tails flapping on poles, the townsmen rose up, killed the governor and fraternized with the cossacks. A new crowd of rebels appeared in Penza from Saratov, whose ataman was the Don Cossack Vaska Fedorov, one of the runaway soldiers. Taking two cannon, the rebels left Penza and occupied Narovchat. The presentiments of Andrei Pekin were justified. The people of Nizhny Lomov seized him and imprisoned him in the dungeon, then they sent to Narovchat to the rebel cossacks. These showed up and hoisted the hated governor on their spears, which was considered an ignominious death.

MOVEMENTS OF KHARITONOV, FEDOROV AND OSIPOV

From Nizhny Lomov the cossack division headed towards Verkhny [Lomov] where the inhabitants likewise handed over their governor Korsakov. They brought him to Nizhny Lomov and murdered him. They sent Bezobrazov, the governor of Kerensk, to Shatsk. On their way there the rebels entered the Kadom district. Here in Zhukovshchina a third ataman, Mishka, and in the village of Konobeevo, a fourth ataman, Shilov, joined Mishka Kharitonov and Vaska Fedorov. In every village through which the cossacks passed they collected one peasant from each hearth. In addition their throngs increased with Tatars and Mordvinians.

A peasant of the Zhukovs of Kadov district from Ostrogozh village, with the nickname Chirok, particularly distinguished himself in the ransacking of landlords' homes.

Another crowd of rebels sent by Razin from Simbirsk with Ataman Maxim Osipov, who pretended to be Tsarevich Alexis, moved northwest to Alatyr. The town was captured and burned. Governor Akinf Buturlin, his wife and children, and the nobles who had locked themselves inside the cathedral, all burned to death. Temnikov likewise was captured. Governor Chelishchev fled, but the rebels slew his brother, a nephew and the government clerks.

In Kurmysh the cossacks encountered a worthy welcome. The town and district men went out to them with icons and together they met the governor. All the people of Kurmysh vindicated him in a village assembly and he retained his office. The governor and townsmen suffered neither robbery nor pillaging. In Yadrin the governor remained alive because the residents vindicated him in a village assembly. The governor of Vasilsursk escaped. The people of Kozmodemiansk killed their governor and his scribe, elected a townsman to leadership and freed the prisoners in the dungeon,. One of them, Dolgopolov, went to raise Vetluga. The inhabitants of Lyskov rebelled and sent to Kurmysh to call Ataman Osipov to their town. The governor left. The people of Murashkino beheaded their governor Plemiannik.

SIEGE OF ZHELTYE VODY MONASTERY

In Lyskov the cossacks were received triumphantly. On the other side of the Volga the St. Makary monastery of Zheltye Vody, which attracted the rebels with promise of rich booty, refused to surrender. On October 8 the rebels stormed the monastery with a frightening shout "Despair, despair!" (we know what that meant) and tried to set the monastery on fire. The monks, servants, peasants and pilgrims smothered the flames and beat off the rebels. The cossacks left for Lyskov, whence they moved to Murashkino, gathering more and more men to their band.

Osipov already had about fifteen thousand—Mordvinians, Cheremiss and Russian peasants, and among them one hundred Don Cossacks, comrades of Razin. A division of this host under the leadership of Ataman Yanka Mikitinsky went a second time to the St. Makary monastery and captured it. The belongings of private individuals, deposited for safekeeping in the monastery, were plundered but the rebels touched nothing belonging to the monastery.

UNREST IN NIZHNY NOVGOROD

In the meantime a new group of Tatars, Mordvinians and Chuvash rushed into Murashkino to join Osipov. He made preparations to go to Nizhny Novgorod because there the commoners twice already had invited him to come. The town was handed over and the government agents were slain. During the preparations for Nizhny Novgorod, a messenger from Razin arrived at a gallop with instructions to come to his aid with all forces, because Prince Bariatinsky had defeated him at Simbirsk.

There was thus nothing to expect from the chief ataman for support and expansion of the revolt. Besides, the tsar's governors began to move from different sides, and the disorderly commoners, haphazardly armed, could not withstand the sovereign's soldiers. Razin's situation in Astrakhan and then before Simbirsk enabled the governors to assemble their forces, which initially were quite insufficient, as Bariatinsky's reports indicated.

PRINCE YURY DOLGORUKY TAKES COMMAND

The famous boyar and governor, Prince Yury Alekseevich Dolgoruky[4] was stationed in Arzamas, whence he reported to the tsar "The most zealous ringleaders among the rebels," he wrote, "are those sent from Stenka Razin and from Simbirsk, namely the musketeers, cossacks and pitchmakers in the pitch huts. The most active rebel bands are from the Nizhny Novgorod district, from Lyskov, Murashkino and the Tetiushi region. The number of rebels has multiplied. They fight and rob the soldiers who join us in the regiments. From the other side, from Shatsk, Kadom and Temnikov, there is great plundering also.

"It is dangerous to send small contingents against the rebels. It is better to send a large contingent, but we have few men. On the list of those present, 96 musketeers showed up, but there are 92 defaulters. There are 95 table attendants present, 212 defaulters. There are 108 Moscow nobles present but 279 defaulters, 291 resident nobles present but 1,508 defaulters. There were very few nobles and junior boyars from various towns at the training sessions, and there were no cavalry regiments or cavalrymen from Pereiaslavl-Zalessk and Riazan."

Dolgoruky had explained why there were so many defaulters. "The people fight and rob the soldiers who join us in the regiments." The governors of Nizhny Novgorod confirmed this explanation. "Some military personnel came to Nizhny Novgorod and were commanded to join the

regiment of Boyar Prince Yury Alekseevich Dolgoruky. These are now halted below Nizhny Novgorod because there rebels have taken over the roads and built strongholds and abatises along them, and strong and well-manned outposts. They do not let mounted men or infantry pass, but fight them to the death.

"In Nizhny Novgorod district they pillaged and burned many villages and settlements, slaying nobles together with their wives and children. They ride to Nizhny Novgorod and threaten the resident nobles' servitors. They present forged letters so that the resident nobles' servitors will surrender the town and join them. Two men who arrived with forged letters from these rebels have been tortured soundly and executed."

The uprising held Dolgoruky in its grip on three sides, from the south, the east and the north. The governor could not think about offensive activity and had to limit himself to defensive measures against the attacking rebels. The defense was successful. On September 28 the governor, the conciliar noble Fedor Leontiev, fought the rebels in the village of Putiatino. Learning that new groups were moving from Alatyr directly towards Arzamas, Leontiev joined the lord-in-waiting Prince Konstantin Shcherbatov, and on September 30 they fought the rebels in the village of Panov. Five days later they learned that the rebels were in the settlement of Isupov, only twelve versts from Arzamas. Shcherbatov marched against them and crushed the rebels along the Saransk road, in the village of Poy. Another and greater battle flared near the village of Mamleevo and likewise ended with the defeat of the cossacks.

SUCCESS OF LEONTIEV AND SHCHERBATOV

The rebels' push against Arzamas was contained. Dolgoruky could move over to the offensive. Most important for him was to clean up the north and the Nizhny Novgorod areas and not cede the city to the rebels. To this end he sent Shcherbatov and Leontiev to Murashkino against the most powerful group, the nest of imposture and rebel perfidy. On October 22, just five versts before coming to Murashkino, the governors encountered the rebels and initiated the battle. The rebels began to retreat. Drawing the crown troops for one and a half versts, they led them to the cannons of their own main regiments. There, three versts from Murashkino, a great battle broke out. Despite their numerical superiority and cannons, the disorganized groups collapsed under the onslaught of the crown troops. They fled, leaving twenty-one cannon, eighteen standards

and sixty-one captives to the victors. The fate of the captives was decided near Murashkino without delay. Some were hanged, others decapitated. The victory cost the governors two dead and forty-eight wounded.

From Murashkino the governors moved towards Lyskov, which surrendered on October 24. On October 28 the victorious governors arrived in Nizhny Novgorod and halted there three days for administering justice. "Among the Nizhny Novgorod residents there was some defense of the plundering. The governors arrested these rebels and ordered them executed. Some were to be hanged at the gates around the town, others decapitated and others drawn and quartered in town."

After these measures Nizhny Novgorod calmed down, but the outlying district was still far from pacified. On November 10 Leontiev struck the rebels near the village of Kliuchishchie and the next day he again marched out on campaign. Outside Kliuchishchie along both sides of the main road the rebels held a strong abatis, one verst long and half a verst wide. Leontiev ordered the musketeers to storm the abatis while he and the mounted soldiers did battle. The rebels were driven out of the abatis, though other strongholds still remained in their hands.

The rebels dug up the entire main Kurmysh road, dug a deep ditch and fashioned a high earthen talus by the ditch. On both sides of the talus they threw up entrenchments and great oak stakes. The 4,500-odd rebels ousted from the abatis holed up in this stronghold and began a major battle with the crown troops. Most were wiped out, the remainder fled to the village of Maklakovo where they occupied houses and barns. The crown troops set fire to the village and burned the rebels in it.

After these successes in the north Dolgoruky found an opportunity to move part of the army to the south, under Governor Likharev. When he stopped with his wagon train in the village of Vedeniapino, the rebels attacked him with five thousand men and were crushed. They lost four cannon, sixteen standards and thirty captives. On November 19 Likharev entered the Kadom forest. Informants said that rebels numbering five hundred with the peasant ataman Senka Belous were stationed near the Varnava river in an abatis three versts long and one verst wide. Likharev took the abatis on November 20 and killed the ataman. Three hundred men came to assist the rebels. These too were killed some six versts from the abatis.

Rebels from Saransk moved in great throngs to the Krasnaia free settlement to meet this movement of crown troops. As a result of the successes of the tsar's armies, fear of the rebels now began to vanish. The

residents of the Krasnaia settlement sat it out. It was now the rebels' turn to flee the towns. As soon as Likharev sent a force to Temnikov, on November 30, the rebels fled into the forest and Temnikov's best men surrendered to the crown soldiers.

Here in the northern part of what is now Tambov province other loyal governors had acted successfully for some time after advancing from the south. From Tambov on October 11 Governor Yakov Khitrovo departed for the north with 2,670 men, leaving behind 2,118 men with Governor Pashkov in Tambov. This seemed a small number to Pashkov, who was deeply afraid and wrote "Against the people of Tambov in these troubled times no one can be trusted because they have brothers, nephews and children on the Don, and Stenka Razin has others."

We have seen that rebel throngs, stirred up throughout what is now Penza province under the leadership of Mishka Kharitonov and Vaska Fedorov, decided to conquer Shatsk. The Zubov and Zykov cavalry regiments, formerly stationed there, anticipated the rebels and on October 14 attacked some of them in the village of Konobeevo. All rebels were killed and two atamans taken prisoner along with ten cossacks. Nevertheless, this success did not ward off danger to Shatsk. On October 17 the regiments saw that they had visitors. Before the town the chief groups were drawn up. On one side was Mishka Kharitonov, on the other side Vaska Fedorov. The rebels were beaten back and forced to retreat into a forest reserve. The cavalry pursued them there and killed them.

In addition to these Penza gangs, a new rebel nest of a special type was taking shape in the settlement of Pechenishchie, twenty versts from Shatsk. With the rebel peasants there were Tambov cossacks and soldiers from various settlements and villages who were ordered to serve in the Shatsk regiment and for Khitrovo. From Pechenishchie they advanced into Tambov district to the Rybnaia heath and the village of Algasovo. There they too formed under the leadership of Timofey Meshcheriakov, who was pillaging the vicinity and calling peasants of the Rybnaia heath to join him.

COMMANDER YAKOV KHITROVO

On October 22, the same day as Shcherbatov and Leontiev fought the rebels at Murashkino, Khitrovo attacked the rebel formation near Algasovo. He launched a ferocious assault and ordered the village set on fire and destroyed because its peasants were with the rebels. The next day, October 23, Meshcheriakov and his comrades petitioned. Khitrovo

administered the oath to the cossacks and soldiers, who henceforth would serve the sovereign, and he let them go to Tambov. Meshcheriakov did not enter service, and once again incited Tambov servitors to rebellion and treason. Many listened to him and they chose as their redoubt the village of Chervlenoe, some twenty versts from Tambov. Nor did it quickly become peaceful around Shatsk. Remnants of the bands of Kharitonov and Fedorov gathered a few times in various places. Three times they skirmished with the sovereign's men and only after November 19 was Shatsk district pacified.

DOLGORUKY'S MOVEMENTS

At this time Dolgoruky was advancing towards Temnikov along the road cleared by Likharev. On December 4, two versts outside town, the residents of Temnikov, the clergy and men of all ranks, priests from the district churches and peasants, met him with icons and crosses. They petitioned him, saying with great lamentation that they had joined the outlaws unwillingly, that the rebels had pillaged them and that they would hunt down and bring him any men of the town or district who had made common cause with the rebels. Dolgoruky ordered them all sworn and the residents of Temnikov fulfilled their promise. They brought the priest Savva and eighteen peasants who had joined the rebels and fought against government servitors, instigating many rebellions, ransacking homes, abusing the womenfolk and torturing many to death. At the torture the priest and his comrades acknowledged their transgressions.

The residents of Temnikov next brought to Dolgoruky a rebel of a special type, a *rebel-heretic-nun*. The rebel-nun said in the interrogation "My name is Alena. I was born in the Arzamas wagoneers' settlement, the daughter of a peasant. I was married to a peasant and when my husband died I took the veil. I have been on looting raids in many places and I corrupted servitors. This year I left Arzamas for Temnikov, gathered many people with me for looting raids, occupied the governor's court in Temnikov with Ataman Fedka Sidorov and taught him magic." They hanged the priest and his comrades around Temnikov, but this heroine-witch of the seventeenth century was burned in a wooden cage like a heretic, along with her magic papers (incantations) and roots.

On December 7 Dolgoruky left Temnikov for Krasnaia settlement (Krasnoslobodsk) and there he had the kind of encounter about which he had petitioned. Fifty-six rebels were brought forward and after investigation they were hanged around the town and the settlements along the

main roads. By this means Dolgoruky entered the northwestern part of present-day Penza province, the main haunt of the uprising. Moscow instructed him to stay in Krasnaia settlement or in the Trinity stockade, send a governor to Shatsk, consult with Khitrovo and Buturlin and organize together a plan of action. To convey even more unity to the governor's actions against the rebels, Prince Peter Semeonovich Urusov, accused of sluggishness, was recalled from Kazan, the supreme command of all active armies being entrusted to Dolgoruky. He received an order to dispatch Governor Panin for reconnaissance in Alatyr and its district, and join Prince Yury Nikitich Bariatinsky,[5] who was to move there from Simbirsk. He ordered the other Bariatinsky, Prince Danilo,[6] to join Dolgoruky against Yadrin and Kurmysh, clearing these towns of rebellion. The decree was carried out to the letter by Dolgoruky.

BARIATINSKY'S VICTORIES

We left Prince Yury Bariatinsky before Simbirsk after he defeated Razin. He remained there for a rather long time, probably waiting for news about Stenka's further intentions. No earlier than the end of October did Bariatinsky move along the Simbirsk frontier, and on the Uren river he clashed with about eight thousand rebels. They were routed, 170 captives, sixteen standards and four cannon remaining for the victor. The defeated rebels moved beyond the Sura, but crown soldiers followed, fought them and seized their supply trains. Bariatinsky let a few prisoners go to Korsun and Uren to convince the local residents to capitulate. The method succeeded. Many residents of Uren begged forgiveness for their crimes.

After the Uren battle Bariatinsky departed for Tagaev. There on November 5 he learned that the Don Cossacks of Romashko and the murza Kalka, having assembled fifteen thousand men, were standing near the Barysh river at Kandarat. The next day Bariatinsky left Tagaev. Learning that the Ust-Urensk settlement was occupied by a rebel advance detachment, he stormed it and beat back the rebels. He executed his prisoners, the ringleader and priest from the village of Nikitin and some other cossacks.

On November 12 the prince, after constructing three bridges, fought his way across the Barysh and caught sight of the rebels. They were beyond the Kandaratka stream below the settlement in their camp, both mounted and foot soldiers with twelve cannon. The stream hindered a skirmish, and regiment faced regiment from morning until noon at a distance of less than half a verst. Bariatinsky was waiting for the rebels to

cross the stream to his side, but they did not move. The prince searched for suitable places, found some and ordered the infantry to advance against the rebels with the camp and cannon. Meanwhile he and the cavalry headed across the stream after sweeping hay into it. Infantry skirmished with infantry, cavalry with cavalry, and the sovereign's men prevailed. They captured eleven cannon and twenty-four standards. The rebels scattered by various roads and were pursued. So many rebels were killed that it was impossible to ride a horse among the corpses on the field, in the camp and on the streets. So much blood was shed that it ran like rivulets in rain. The victors lost 13 men, with 108 wounded. Altogether 323 prisoners were brought to the governor, who ordered the ringleaders hacked to death. He released the rest after administering the oath to them, and they then went to the Sura river.

There on the river bank throngs began to appear. They were not armed rebels, rather petitioners from the settlements of Alatyr and Saransk districts, carrying icons. *Lamenting inconsolably* they promised that never again would they succumb to any rebel blandishments. On November 17 a huge crowd came out. The prior of the Alatyr monastery, priests with icons, townsmen, musketeers, gunners and cossacks all tearfully brought forward their crimes and petitioned that either the prince himself come to Alatyr or that he send a governor. Bariatinsky sent them Governor Shilnikov with musketeers and soldiers, while he himself went along the boundary to Korsun and stopped at the Mordvinian settlement of Kortiakov. There petitioners from Korsun, Korsunovo and Talskoe appeared. Bariatinsky was satisfied and hastened to Alatyr fearing that the rebels, once assembled, might attack this important place. He arrived there on November 23 and built a stockade.

Bariatinsky's caution was not in vain. After assembling their last forces the rebel atamans Murza Kalka, Aleshka Saveliev, Yanka Nikitinsky, Ivanshka Malenky and Petrushka Leontiev advanced towards Alatyr at the beginning of December. Governor Vasily Panin, sent to join Bariatinsky, learned of this movement. Panin hurried to intercept the rebels and met them not far from the Mordvinian settlement of Baeva where he engaged them in battle and defeated them. He captured ten standards, a cannon and many prisoners. He drove the fugitives to a camp in the village of Turgenevo, but could not capture the camp. At night he withdrew about a verst to the settlement of Baeva. That same night Prince Yury Bariatinsky appeared in Baeva with cavalry and infantry. Early the next day, December 8, both governors set out for Turgenevo against the rebel

camps, took them by storm and for fifteen versts cut down those fleeing. They acquired three bronze cannon, three barrels of powder, eight standards, a cartload of fuses and thirty-seven muskets.

FURTHER VICTORIES

Thinking that the danger threatening Alatyr had vanished, Bariatinsky and Panin set out on December 11 for Saransk along two routes. Bariatinsky took the direct route and Panin followed the road near the Sura forest. Until Atemar itself, where the governors arrived on December 16, they encountered no opposition at all, meeting only some Russian peasants, Tatars and Mordvinians who petitioned for mercy. The Russian peasants swore an oath and the Tatars and Mordvinians swore allegiance in keeping with their faith. They identified the places where those wounded in rebel battles with the sovereign's troops had taken refuge. These were executed. In Atemar the cossack high commanders and their lieutenants, who once were among the cossack outlaws, were hanged. At the same time Dolgoruky, from his headquarters in the Krasnaia settlement, dispatched Governor Prince Konstantin Shcherbatov[7] to clean out Penza locales where in particular the insurgents had gained a foothold. Shcherbatov attacked the rebels on December 12 some eight versts outside the Trinity stockade and then drove them from the Trinity stockade. Both the Lomovs [Verkhny and Nizhny] and Penza surrendered without opposition.

Leaving Shatsk on the other side in a south-easterly direction, Governor Yakov Khitrovo marched against the rebel abatises through a great forest. In the hamlet of Achadovo he had to sustain a very stubborn battle with the rebels. "Colonel Denis Shvyikovsky and his Smolensk, Belsk and Roslav gentry launched a ferocious assault on the hamlet, not sparing their lives, and reached the rebel camps. He attacked the brigands wielding his pike and broke up the camp. Many gentry suffered grave injuries, pierced through with pikes and bear-spears, others were shot by arquebuses and bows." Finally the rebels grasped the impossibility of holding out further and surrendered. Khitrovo disbanded them and when they arrived in Kerensk they terrified its residents with tales about the gentry's ferocious onslaughts. As a result the residents of Kerensk went out to meet Shvyikovsky and admitted him to the town. In his report to the sovereign, Khitrovo could not praise highly enough the bravery of Shvyikovsky and the gentry in his regiment.

While Dolgoruky's attention was focused on military activities occurring to the south of his field headquarters in the Krasnaia settlement, a rebellion

erupted to the northeast. The defender of Simbirsk, the lord-in-waiting Ivan Bogdanovich Miloslavsky, arrived in Moscow from Simbirsk and reported that on the road between Arzamas and Alatyr many brigands with artillery came against him. Governor Leontiev advanced against them and utterly defeated them in Alatyr district by the village of Apraksin. As usually happened, the defeated rebels rushed into the forest to their abatises spread out near the settlement of Selishchie. Here they holed up with their wives, children and the entire rebel camp. The abatises were taken. The prisoners related that in their band were more than three thousand Russians and Mordvinians who had assembled to march to Arzamas and Nizhny Novgorod. A division of five hundred rebels stopped in the Mordvinian hamlet of Andreevko. When they learned of the defeat of their Selishchie comrades they petitioned for pardon. The Mordvinians fled the scene and took refuge in their settlements. Leontiev ordered these settlements burned. The Arzamas and Alatyr districts were pacified.

Further east Prince Danilo Bariatinsky acted from the middle of October to pacify the Cheremiss and Chuvash who rebelled together with Russians along the upland bank of the Volga, and to clear Sviiazhsk, Tsivilsk, Cheboksary, Kozmodemiansk and other towns. For the duration of October he routed rebels in eight clashes and delivered Tsivilsk and Cheboksary. As he approached Kozmodemiansk he wrote its residents on November 2 to petition the sovereign for pardon. There was no answer. On November 3 the governor drew even closer to the town and saw some priests approaching with crosses but no one from the other ranks alongside them. The priests explained that the townsmen and district inhabitants had sent them out of the town with crosses and then barred the gates behind them, threatening to abuse their wives and daughters. The rebels had prepared cannons and every type of weaponry against the sovereign's men. Bariatinsky immediately ordered the soldiers and musketeers to begin the assault. The assault succeeded. The rebels were defeated and taken prisoner, among whom figured the rebel high commanders Mayor Shust and the cathedral priest Fedorov. Vasilgorod sent its admission of guilt upon learning the fate of Kozmodemiansk. Bariatinsky remained in Kozmodemiansk for the investigation. Sixty of the most zealous rebels were executed, a squadron had their hands or one finger of their right hand cut off, and four hundred others were beaten with the knout mercilessly.

Severities and admonishments helped little. All the Cheremiss on the upland side of Kozmodemiansk district joined in plundering with the

cossack marauders. They swore allegiance and immediately began plundering again, fighting against the sovereign's men. Russian rebels gathered in Yadrin. Bariatinsky sent the monk Gerasim and the townsman Tikhonov to negotiate with them. The monk was thrown from a tower and the townsman was set on fire. So bold were the rebels that they were impatient for the sovereign's men to come to them. In the middle of November they attacked Kozmodemiansk some thirteen-thousand strong and set fire to the settlements, but suffered a stunning defeat, losing two cannon and seven standards. After this victory Bariatinsky sent to Vasilgorod for transport to haul the cannons to Yadrin. The rebels, who had consolidated their position here, were terrified and fled. The residents of Yadrin swore an oath to the sovereign and the people of Kurmysh followed their example.

The rebellion did not spread to Vetluga. There the stewards of various service estates and patrimonies coped with the cossack bands even without the sovereign's governors. Another band almost made it through to Unzha but it perished under uncertain circumstances. Insurgency broke out in many places of the southern frontier but it did not take hold, for there was no main ringleader.

RAZIN FAILS ON THE DON

Stenka lost both strength and authority at Simbirsk. He became so confused that when he galloped up to Samara he told the resident nobles that his cannons wouldn't fire, and fled downstream. Even the hero-sorcerer recognized that his supernatural power had forsaken him, for the residents of Samara did not let him into their town. The people of Saratov did the same thing. While Stenka was still strong and held Simbirsk under siege, his flank on the Don held the upper hand and did not permit Kornily Yakovlev and his comrades to prove themselves useful to the crown.

In September the Don Cossack Artemy Mikhailov and his comrades came to Cherkassk from Moscow bringing the tsar's letter. A general assembly gathered and after the letter was read out, Kornily Yakovlev spoke. "We have departed from the Christian faith and the ecumenical church. It is time for us to repent, to set aside our evil ways and to serve the great sovereign as before." He tearfully repeated these words three times to the cossacks in the assembly, who decided not to rupture relations with Moscow and to send a deputation there. "Why send a deputation to Moscow," shouted the Volga cossacks, "unless those who go want to end up in the water?" Then turning to the cossacks who returned from

Moscow, they shouted "Why did you take a guide and escorts when leaving Valuiki? As if you yourselves don't know the way! Everyone knows the guide and escorts were sent as spies!"

When news arrived that Razin was defeated by government troops, and when he himself appeared on the Don with confirmation of this information, matters changed. The old cossacks took the upper hand. Stenka went on a rampage. Enemies who fell into his hands he burned in an oven instead of wood, but nothing availed him. The Don did not rise to his defense. In February 1671 he was about to proceed to Cherkassk with his own band, but was denied passage. He departed, threatening to return and exterminate them all, and he set himself up in Kagalnik fortress.

ARREST AND EXECUTION

In the meantime, Kornily Yakovlev communicated with Moscow on how to proceed against Stenka. In Moscow on the Sunday of Orthodoxy,[8] "anathema to Stenka Razin" was shouted out. Our old acquaintance the table attendant Kasogov, who was accustomed to living among the cossacks, was ordered to advance to the Don with a thousand elite cavalrymen and dragoons. The affair ended sooner than expected. On April 14 the old cossacks approached Kagalnik, burned the fortress and seized Stenka and his brother Frol, hanging his accomplices. On June 6 following the usual interrogation, Stenka was drawn and quartered in Moscow.

COSSACKS IN ASTRAKHAN

All that remained was to have done with Astrakhan. When Razin quit Astrakhan he left there in his stead Ataman Vaska Us and announced to the residents that they cope themselves with the criminals with whom he had not yet dealt. The residents did not hesitate long. On August 3 they rebelled. They hewed the government clerks Yakov Trofimov and Ivan Beschastny and their comrades with pole axes, some on the run, some in their homes and others in dungeons. They ran to the metropolitan's court searching for the sovereign's crown merchant Ivan Turchanin. Not finding him, they flew at the metropolitan and his domestics for hiding Turchanin, threatening to beat them all to death.

They abused Joseph with filthy words. "You indulge the boyars," they shouted, "but you won't escape from us in one piece!" This time the metropolitan saved himself, as had been foretold to him in a dream. He

saw "a most marvelous and well decorated palace, in which were seated the three murdered Princes Prozorovsky. They were drinking a beverage sweeter than honey and above them were golden crowns with precious and very valuable stones. The metropolitan was also in the palace, only he was seated far from them and they gave him nothing to drink, saying 'He has not yet joined us.'" Recounting this dream the metropolitan wept and said "The hour of my death has not yet come!"

Rumors circulated that Stenka was ill, that he was routed at Simbirsk and had fled. Rebellion still seethed on the eastern frontier, the tsar's governors were still busy there and the marauding cossacks did not lose hope. On November 2 a Tatar appeared before the metropolitan. He presented a letter from the tsar exhorting the people of Astrakhan to acknowledge their guilt. The metropolitan ordered some copies of the letter made and arranged to send his sacristan Negodiaev and the Abbot Sylvester of the Ascension monastery to Lieutenant Lebedev (in whom, evidently, there was more to hope for than in Ataman Us) to persuade him to have his marauding cossacks give up their rebellion. The metropolitan planned to exhort the populace in church. After listening to the sacristan and abbot, Lebedev "reacted violently and the next morning informed the cossacks that the metropolitan and the authorities, the priests and crown junior boyars were composing letters and intended to hand us all over to the boyars."

DEATH OF METROPOLITAN JOSEPH

The cossacks gathered at the court of their ataman Us, where the Astrakhan residents who adhered to them also were gathering. Meanwhile, a great bell sounded and the people thronged about the cathedral church. The metropolitan arrived, ordered the sacristan to get vested and to read aloud before all the people the authentic letter of the sovereign. At the same time cossacks and their supporters came from the ataman's court and likewise listened to the letter. The sacristan finished reading and handed the letter back, but the cossacks rushed towards the metropolitan and tore the letter out of his hands.

Angered by this outrage, Joseph upbraided the cossacks, calling them heretics and traitors. They did not remain without an answer. "Monk!" they shouted, "if only you would stay in your cell! What business have you with us? Do you know the parapet?"[9] "Drown him!" echoed in one place, "Put him in the dungeon!" in another. None of the threats were carried out. The cossacks left with the sovereign's letter to their ataman.

The sacristan suffered on behalf of the metropolitan. The next day the cossacks seized him, bound him, beat him with canes and questioned him. "Tell us," they demanded, "who wrote that letter? Did you and the metropolitan, the priests and junior boyars compose it here?" "It is a genuine letter from the sovereign, sent from Moscow," answered the sacristan. "Are there any copies?" asked the rebels. Unable to endure the canes, the sacristan said that there were copies. The lieutenant appeared at the metropolitan's court and disrespectfully took the copies away from him.

Worse and worse news for the cossacks arrived. The revolt had subsided in the eastern borderlands. Suddenly in April the terrifying news came that Razin was captured by the old cossacks in Kagalnik. The rebels took alarm but still did not lose all hope. They decided that one band should head upstream along the Volga to Simbirsk with Ataman Fedor Shelukiak, while Vaska Us remained in Astrakhan as before.

On April 21, Good Friday, the metropolitan was informed that nomadic Tatars brought a new letter of the sovereign from Moscow and were stopped beyond the Volga. Joseph immediately sent to the newly-instituted rebel leaderships in Astrakhan to come to him for consultation. The envoy returned with the answer that the commanders would not come but were staying in the market. Then the metropolitan himself went to the market and spoke to the people.

"Orthodox Christians!" he said, "I have been informed that the great sovereign extends his mercy towards you. There is a letter calling you to obedience. The Tatars brought it, and they are stopped across the Volga. I dare not receive the sovereign's letter because you maligned me for the first letter alleging that I and the authorities and priests composed it and wrote it at home. So now this is what you must do. Take the letter yourselves and bring it to me. Our great and illustrious sovereign is merciful, he will remit your crimes."

"We dare not do so without Ataman Vaska Us," the commanders answered the metropolitan. They went to the ataman while the metropolitan went to the cathedral. Vaska Us and his lieutenant Toporok approached him there. Toporok upbraided the metropolitan, who became irate and flung his staff at him. "You accursed enemy, heretic and apostate," he cried, "why do you not submit to the great sovereign?" The cossacks raised up a tumult in the cathedral and then went away, all the while reviling him with filthy words. The next day, on Holy Saturday, the rebels sent their lieutenants to the metropolitan several times to have him surrender the sovereign's charters. "If you do not hand them over," said

the lieutenants, "we will kill all your servitors and you won't be let alone either!" "The sovereign's letters are with the Tatars beyond the Volga," answered the metropolitan. "Send whom you wish to fetch them."

They finally sent for the letters and brought them directly to the cathedral, where the metropolitan unsealed them in the presence of Vaska Us and his comrades. As Joseph was about to read them, the cossacks turned around and left the church for their assembly. The metropolitan followed after them to the assembly with some priests, household junior boyars and crown servitors and he commanded that the letters be read in the assembly.

When the reading ended, the cossacks shouted. "The boyars are free to write to each other," they exclaimed. "If it were the sovereign's letter there would be a red seal affixed. The metropolitan himself composed it with the authorities and priests. The parapet eagerly awaits him, his place is reserved there. If we weren't busy now with the turn of events, the metropolitan would learn from us first hand how the brave atamans stir up trouble. All the trouble and woe is from him, the metropolitan. He corresponds with the Moscow boyars, with the Terek and the Don. Because of his letter the Terek and the Don Cossacks forsook us."

Despite these shouts, the metropolitan addressed the residents of Astrakhan. "Men of Astrakhan!" he declared, "according to the letter of the great sovereign you are commanded to arrest all Don Cossack rebels and imprison them until further notice. You are ordered to acknowledge your crimes in full. The glorious sovereign is merciful and will remit your crimes. You can rely on me that the great sovereign will not permit you to be touched, accursed ones."

"Whom are we to arrest and imprison?" shouted the cossacks in reply. "We are all rebels. Seize him, seize the metropolitan and put him in the dungeon or in the stone guard house! It is your good fortune that it is Holy Week, otherwise we would offer a memorial in your honor!"

Easter Sunday prevented any transgression, but it was inevitable. The enemies stood face to face. Joseph had spoken out decisively. To his summons to rush the rebels and imprison them, the Astrakhan residents did not move, although now they might do so any day. In the town there was an authority, a man of leadership, and this man armed with a cross and the letter of the great sovereign directly and openly acted against the rebels. As soon as Easter Week passed, on St. Thomas Sunday,[10] the cossacks confronted their enemies. Again they brought the unfortunate sacristan to the assembly and asked him who composed and wrote the

letters. "You yourselves know that they were not composed here," answered the sacristan. "You took them yourselves from the Tatars."PThey led the sacristan outside town and butchered him. They seized the metropolitan's junior boyars and led them to be tortured, but in the assembly voices resounded. "What point is there in torturing them," they said, "why cut them down or execute them? If we execute them there will be other clerks after them at the metropolitan's court. It is time for us to deal with the metropolitan himself. If we kill him we will have no trouble in the town." They placed the junior boyars under heavy guard at first, then released them. They had resolved to kill the metropolitan, but it was a frightening thing and they wavered. They needed a powerful catalyst, and it appeared.

Sheludiak sailed towards Simbirsk heavy with thought. This was the ultimate test. What if it did not succeed? Astrakhan remained the final refuge but it had to be cleansed of enemies. Otherwise they would run to Astrakhan, only to find the gates shut in their faces. Sheludiak called an assembly on the road which decided to kill Metropolitan Joseph and the governor, Prince Semeon Lvov. To compel their comrades to raise their hands against the bishop, they sent to tell Us that Joseph and Prince Semeon were communicating with the Don Cossacks. According to their letter Razin was captured, and every sort of evil was plotted against his comrades.

On May 11 Joseph was in the cathedral performing the offertory ritual when rebels arrived to call him to their assembly. "Good," answered the metropolitan, "I'll put on my episcopal vestments," and he entered the sanctuary to vest himself, while the rebels waited for him in the porch. He seemed to be taking a long time. "What if the metropolitan and his priests barricade themselves in the sanctuary?" they said. "We will go to the assembly, and when we return we'll drag him out of the church with dishonor." The metropolitan was vested and ordered the ringing of the great bell so that the priests would gather and go together with him to the assembly.

Entering the assembly in full vestments, with a cross in his hands, Joseph asked Us "Why did you summon me, you rebels and oath-breakers?" Us addressed the cossack who had come from Sheludiak, saying "Where are you, step forward! What did you bring from the host? Tell us now!"

"I was sent by the host," said the cossack to the metropolitan, "to say that like a rebel you corresponded with the Terek and the Don. On account of

your letter the Terek and the Don Cossacks have forsaken us." "I did not correspond with them," Joseph replied, "and even if I did write letters, it was certainly not to the Crimea or Lithuania. I say this to you so that even you must abandon your rebellion and confess your crimes to the great sovereign." The cossacks loathed this reply. "Why does he hush up his treachery, as if he did not correspond with them?" they shouted in the assembly. "What a just man he is! Why did he come to the assembly with a cross? Surely we are Christians, aren't we? Yet you have come as if to visit pagans."

The hecklers already were stepping from the assembly to remove the metropolitan's vestments when out of the crowd there darted the Don Cossack Miron. "Brothers, why do you wish to raise your hands against so high a dignitary? We must not even touch so lofty a rank." In reply the cossack Aleshka Gruzinkin leapt on Miron and grabbed hold of his hair. Other rebels joined Gruzinkin, stabbing and hacking Miron. They dragged him out of the assembly and killed him.

They killed Miron, but his words made an impression. Indeed, it did seem dreadful to touch the episcopal vestments, and the cossacks assailed the priests, shoving and abusing them in a mean fashion. "Take the vestments off the metropolitan!" they demanded, "even as he took the regalia off Patriarch Nikon." Joseph himself removed his miter and panagia and, turning to the protodeacon, said "Why are you standing there? Why do you not disrobe me? My time has come!" In terror the protodeacon removed the omophorion and sakkos. Then the cossacks drove all the clergy out of the general assembly, shouting "This is no concern of yours!" They led Joseph to the gunpowder shed to torture him. They put the metropolitan on the fire. "Confess your criminal behavior," they demanded. "Why did you write letters?" Joseph did not say a word in reply, he merely spoke a prayer and cursed the executioner. They asked him about the treasury. Joseph declared that he had only one hundred fifty rubles and that there was no bride money.

After the torture they led the metropolitan to the parapet for execution. As he passed by the spot where the body of Miron, slain on his account, still lay, Joseph blessed it and bowed. They brought him up to the parapet, sat him on the edge and were about to throw him down. Joseph grew terrified at the last moment, grasped at a cossack and would have dragged him down with him. The rebels then turned him on his side on the edge of the parapet and shoved him over. It was the most desperate rebels who worked on the parapet, Aleshka Gruzinkin and a few comrades. The act

itself confirmed their bitterness and their drunkenness. It was with another feeling that the majority of rebels below stood near the parapet. Their fear increased all the more as the matter drew to its resolution and when finally the body of Joseph struck the ground, the cossacks felt the dreadful thud. They were stupefied and stood for about twenty minutes in deep silence, hanging their heads. They then became intoxicated by torturing and executing the governor Prince Semeon Lvov.

Sheludiak's order was carried out. Astrakhan was cleansed of dangerous men. The next day following the murder of Joseph and Prince Lvov the rebels wrote an ordinance and forced the clergy to affix their signatures to it on their own behalf and for their spiritual children. They obliged themselves to stand against the boyars and traitors and to die for each other, but the ordinance did not help.

COSSACK FAILURE AT SIMBIRSK

Fedka Sheludiak sailed as far as Simbirsk in June, but this important town could defend itself. Our old acquaintance, Boyar Peter Vasilievich Sheremetev, was there. Like other governors he had rushed back from the western front to the east. The rebels were repelled and initiated negotiations with Sheremetev, promising to acknowledge their guilt. Sheremetev answered that he would send to the great sovereign for a decree and the rebels withdrew to Samara to await this decree.

What Sheremetev did with the rebel gang, though no longer a threat, did not please Moscow, especially when the authentic rebels' letters to the governor were read. The table attendant Prince Volkonsky appeared in Simbirsk with praise for Sheremetev and his exploits against the rebels but also with a reprimand. "You sent the rebels' letters to the great sovereign," it read, "but they are not written the way accused men petition and plea for clemency. Those rebels wrote as if Prince Yury Alekseevich Dolgoruky and Bogdan Matveevich Khitrovo, the great sovereign's boyars, were traitors. They have written other fanciful things besides. You wrote to them a memorandum for their rebels' letters where at the beginning 'according to the decree of the great sovereign' is written. Many other things are written in those memoranda which it was improper for them to write. The memoranda are sealed with the seal of the town of Simbirsk. It was improper for you, boyar, to correspond with such rebels. There is not a single traitor among the tsar's boyars. They serve the great sovereign faithfully. You write that the rebels went to Samara and there

await the sovereign's decree. This too is known, that with their own letters they halted the rebels, although without propriety."

ASTRAKHAN SURRENDERS TO MILOSLAVSKY

Seeing that the tsar's letter of clemency was not coming, the rebels dispersed from Samara each to his own town. Fedka Sheludiak and some Astrakhan men set sail for Astrakhan where he assumed the role of chief commander after Us, who had died from a parasitic infection. The sovereign's men and the governor, Boyar Ivan Bogdanovich Miloslavsky, sailed towards Astrakhan in pursuit. At the end of August Miloslavsky's boats appeared in sight of Astrakhan. The rebels set out against him in their rafts to prevent his approach, but the boyar repelled them. He landed on the shore and constructed an earthen fort at the mouth of the Bolda river. From there he sent a few times to persuade the Astrakhan residents and the Don Cossacks to surrender, promising them the sovereign's clemency. "They were like wild bears and did not even heed me," was his report.

The cossacks did not limit themselves solely to defense. Ataman Aleshka Katorzhny stood with his own detachment on the upland side to prevent Miloslavsky from communicating with Verkh. The cossacks made up their minds to attack Miloslavsky's camp but were repelled. On September 12 the boyar ordered the construction of an earthwork fortress on the upland side too, on the Solena river opposite his own camp. Sheludiak and Katorzhny immediately attacked the new fortress but they were utterly defeated.

Three months later Miloslavsky still stood before Astrakhan. The rebels undertook no more offensive maneuvers, but neither did they surrender. The Circassian prince Kaspulat Mutsalovich came to the assistance of Miloslavsky and laid siege to Astrakhan from the other side. To increase his chances of exhorting them, Miloslavsky permitted the Astrakhan residents free access to his camp for negotiations. Each day they appeared before him drunk and spoke all manner of words. The boyar always replied gently, urging them to seek clemency from the great sovereign.

Finally, a division between the hardened rebels, who refused to surrender, and the moderate rebels, who wished to acknowledge their guilt, came to light in Astrakhan. The moderates, fleeing the violence of their opponents, crossed over to the sovereign's regiments. The boyar warmly

welcomed them and ordered they be given food and drink. In a rage against these turncoats, the rebels shouted that they would kill the widows left behind from their previous victims, and also kill the remaining junior boyars, scribes and the metropolitan's servitors.

Their time clearly had passed and they no longer had sufficient strength or courage for new crimes. Fedka Sheludiak himself destroyed the *unanimous* ordinance composed the day after the death of Metropolitan Joseph. Prince Kaspulat Mutsalovich succeeded somehow in luring Sheludiak to his camp and arrested him. A mighty commotion began in Astrakhan when the residents learned that Sheludiak was in the hands of the sovereign's men. It all ended on November 26 when the Astrakhan residents informed Miloslavsky of their submission.

On November 27 the sovereign's regiments moved into the subdued town along the newly-constructed bridge over the Kutum river. In front went the priests singing intercessory hymns and carrying an icon of the Mother of God, the "Life-bringing Source in Miracles,"[11] given to Miloslavsky on his departure by the sovereign, as was customary. The residents of Astrakhan ventured out to meet them, and when they saw the icon fell to the ground and shouted for the sovereign to remit their guilt just as the merciful God forgives sinners. "Everyone's guilt is remitted," answered Miloslavsky, "and you are released by the sovereign's clemency." The governor headed directly for the cathedral for a prayer service. He ordered that a new icon be copied from the icon "Life-bringing Source" and placed in the cathedral as a memorial for future generations. Along the walls and at the gates stood captains and Moscow musketeers.

As once in Pskov in similar circumstances, so now too in Astrakhan no one was touched. Even Fedka Sheludiak lived in freedom at the governor's court. Other ringleaders of the rebellion likewise remained unpunished, only redeeming themselves with stolen goods to benefit the governor and the chancellery officials. Even Aleshka Gruzinkin, who showered the officials with gifts, received a furlough from Astrakhan. Other rebels sold themselves as slaves to the governor and the chancellery officials.

When everything had completely calmed, in the summer of 1672, Prince Yakov Odoevsky[12] arrived in Astrakhan for administration of justice. The principal ringleaders Fedka Sheludiak, Aleshka Gruzinkin, Feofilka Kolokolnikov and Krasulin were hanged. Kornilko Semeonov, on whom were found incantations, was burned as a heretic. Others were sent for service in upstream towns.

SIEGE AND CAPTURE OF SOLOVETSK MONASTERY

By concentrating its forces in the eastern frontier and sending the best governors there, the crown smothered the rebellion in the course of 1670 and 1671. Because the Solovetsk insurrection did not appear to be dangerous, the forces sent there insignificant and the governors without talent, the Solovetsk monastery held out against the tsar's army for seven years or more. In 1668 Table Attendant Ignaty Volokhov was sent there with a detachment of musketeers. Archimandrite Joseph, who was not accepted into the monastery, lived in the Suma stockade and managed the entire Solovetsk holdings from there, including the Suma stockade, the Kem fortress and twenty-two saltworks.

In January of 1669 Volokhov, in keeping with the sovereign's decree, sent a musketeer to the monastery with an exhortation to relent. The musketeer brought this reply. "We have stipulated one thing, that we are entirely unwilling to sing and perform the liturgy according to the new books, and for this we are confined in the monastery and ready to die. If Volokhov sends anyone to us again, we will put the envoy in the dungeon."

Volokhov undertook nothing against the monastery but raised a quarrel with Archimandrite Joseph. He reported to Moscow that "the archimandrite and the monk Kirill like only those whom the brothers and relatives in the monastery plunder, that a brother of the rebel priest Matiushka, the cleric Ivashka Yevstratiev, lives with the archimandrite in his cell, and that they and the monk Kirill secretly write various letters and send them."

"Anyone must think," wrote Volokhov, "that the archimandrite does you little justice, sovereign, for he did not pray for your health at Christmas vespers nor did he compel the deacon to proclaim the Gospel. The psalmist did not say the psalms recitativo. I made noise about this to the archimandrite. On the twelfth day of February, the memorial of Metropolitan Alexis and the nameday of Tsarevich Alexis Alekseevich, they performed weddings. The dean of priests, Vasily, a priest in Unezhem saltworks, told me that when he rode about the Solovetsk patrimonies he noticed that the monks did not pray to God for your health at the Great Entrance,[13] that in the churches they did not recite in one voice and that they chant *by inserting extra notes*. I intended to go to Kem fortress because there the servitors harbor Solovetsk rebels, but the archimandrite did not give me transportation.... Archimandrite Joseph and the monks

in the saltworks are carousers. The monks and servants travel about the district drunk and they bring to the old women the sovereign's supplies meant for the struggle against the rebels."

For his part Archimandrite Joseph wrote that "Volokhov does not carry out surveillance of the Solovetsk insurgents, does not go to sea himself nor send musketeers. He lives in the Suma stockade and, joining the Solovetsk servants and peasants, levies taxes for his own gain. He beats innocent people with cudgels, keeps them in fetters and irons for many days and spitefully boasts that he will expose the archimandrite to the sovereign. He gives orders to detain monastery peasants traveling to Archangel and collects money from them for travel permits." The captains of the Moscow musketeers Chaduev and Molchanov likewise wrote against Volokhov, accusing him of negligence and cowardice.

The enmity between Volokhov and the archimandrite finally reached a head. On March 16, 1672 Volokhov arrived in the church during the cherubicon hymn, just before the Great Entrance, seized the archimandrite, struck him on his cheeks, pulled his beard and shoved him on his shoulder. The musketeers picked the archimandrite up and dragged him out of the church, strongly dressing him down. They put him in the dungeon where he was fettered to a chair. Informing Moscow of Joseph's imprisonment in the police station *under guard*, Volokhov explained the case this way. On March 15 all monks except for the three who lived in the archimandrite's cell approached him and declared that Joseph was inciting rebellion and the same kind of brigandage in Suma as in Solovetsk and that he wanted to kill him, Volokhov, the captains and the musketeers.

Of course, a brief was sent immediately to Suma ordering the release of the archimandrite. Volokhov did not like this one bit and said that the brief was sent by the rebels. As nothing could be done, he released Joseph from the dungeon on May 2. Both of them, Volokhov and the archimandrite, were summoned to Moscow for trial. Also summoned were the monks who testified against the archimandrite. Against the charges of negligence Volokhov justified himself by saying that he did not go to the monastery by sea or send musketeers because he was short of men, but that he left an outpost in the Kem fortress so that the monastery peasants could not transport supplies into the monastery. Yet what purpose did the outpost serve when throughout the summer of 1671 the monk Varfolomey of Anzersk hermitage, Elder Nikandr of Dvina district and various

people from the shores transported fish, oil, goods of every sort, and even fifteen casks of red wine to the monastery?

Archimandrite Joseph testified that Volokhov received the fugitive monk German in the Suma stockade and, having usurped the episcopal dignity, gave him a memorandum ordering him to celebrate the liturgy. He made him his confessor and ordered him to govern the other priests in all things, yet German blessed the crowd in a drunken state using both hands like a metropolitan.[14] Volokhov did not deny that he gave the memorandum on the basis of German's petition and the testimony of the Solovetsk monks who knew this monk. German himself testified that Volokhov forcibly ordered him to celebrate the liturgy and put him in chains, pressing him to accept the memorandum.

Against Joseph both German and Volokhov testified that they sent him money from the Solovetsk monastery and he sent supplies to the monastery. They said that he told German "I have not celebrated according to the newly-corrected service books and I refuse ever to use them. The liturgy according to these books is invalid. Let everything be as before." Joseph replied that he told German nothing of the sort.

As for the evidence of the monks concerning Joseph's rebellion, the monks explained in Moscow that "when the hostility of the metropolitan towards Volokhov began, the archimandrite sent us to Volokhov to say that he should live in humility. Volokhov took us with him into the police station and ordered the scribe to write down the tales about the archimandrite being in rebellion, as he saw fit, and ordered us to affix our signatures against our will."

Joseph was transferred to the Savior monastery in Kazan. It is not known what happened to Volokhov, only that in the month of June 1672 the musketeer commander Klementy Yevlev[15] was sent to replace him. On August 2 Yevlev and 725 musketeers set out for the Solovetsk islands and upon reaching Deep Bay he sent a letter to the insurgents asking them to grant his petition and admit him to the monastery. The insurgents refused him very disrespectfully. Disregarded in such a way, Yevlev continued to the monastery and burned the dwellings, barns, boats, White Sea vessels, the hay and lumber around it. He destroyed the fishing nets and hunting traps, killed the horses and departed for Suma stockade boasting that he brought the sovereign's troops back intact, with only two men wounded. Yevlev could not proceed with a major undertaking against the monastery because his servitors ran out of powder and lead and there were no supplies in Suma.

Yevlev was recalled to Moscow in 1673 and the siege was entrusted to Governor Ivan Meshcherinov. He had seven hundred musketeers and, more important, siege cannon. Meshcherinov acted decisively in 1674, digging entrenchments, building embankments and opening fire from them on the monastery. Yet when the frosts began in October he destroyed all his fortifications and, following the example of his predecessors, left to spend the winter in Suma.

More effective than any others during the defense of the monastery were the old ringleader Archimandrite Nikanor, the servant Borodin, the cellarer Nafanail Tuchin and fortifications master Brother Protasy. Among the laymen were Captains Isachko Boronin and Samko of Kem. Nikanor walked ceaselessly around the towers, censing the cannons, sprinkling them with water and saying "My little Dutch mothers! Our hope is in you, you must defend us!" "Shoot, shoot!" Nikanor shouted endlessly, "take good aim down the barrel where the governor is. Shoot at him. If we strike the shepherd, the soldiers will disperse like sheep."

Among the besieged there was constant dissension. Though ardently standing up for the traditions of the wonder-workers, as they put it, the monks were unwilling to break with the crown and they answered Archimandrite Joseph's question "Is the tsar orthodox?" in the affirmative. Even the chief orator of the old ritualists, Geronty, did not approve of firing at the sovereign's troops. In this way the two principal ringleaders of the uprising differed. On Nikanor's side were the leaders of the military forces, Captains Voronin and Samko. They not only considered it acceptable to fire on the sovereign's men, they also demanded the priests stop praying for the sovereign. "Pray for the most reverend metropolitans and all Orthodox Christians!" they told the priests. They spoke such words about the sovereign that "it is not only frightful to write them, but even to think them."

Seeing that there was nothing to be done with them, the rebels seized four monks, their chief opponents, among whom was Geronty. On September 16 they convened a chapter and declared to the cellarer that they would serve no longer. They stood their weapons against the wall because the priests would not obey them, praying for the sovereign. They refused to listen to these prayers. The cellarer petitioned them and they were appeased, took up their weapons anew but declared the priests to be heretics and stopped going to church. They confessed to each other and not to their father confessors, they practiced sodomy and ransacked the monastery treasury. Geronty and his companions were released from prison

but were forced to leave the monastery and showed up at Meshcherinov's camp. Geronty remained faithful to his convictions and declared in interrogation "Before the great sovereign I am guilty of everything. I always prayed for him, I pray for him now and must continue to pray for him. I follow the tradition of the apostles and holy fathers, but I hesitate to obey the newly-corrected printed books without the testimony of the ancient parchments, nor will I make the sign of the cross using three fingers, for I fear the dread judgment of God!"

Most of the priests left the monastery. The rebels then agreed to swear an oath among themselves to stand and fight for their captains against the sovereign's men and to die together. When they began to kiss the cross many of them proved unwilling and two of the remaining priests publicly recanted during a church service. Nikanor did not grow weary. "We shall live even without the priests!" he shouted. "We will say the hours in church. We don't need priests!"

At the end of May 1675 Meshcherinov once again appeared before the monastery with 185 musketeers. In August around eight hundred more musketeers from Dvina and Kholmogory joined him. This time the governor did not winter in Suma as usual, but stayed before the monastery. His attempt to take it by storm on December 23 failed, but Feoktist, a turncoat monk, showed Meshcherinov an opening in the wall lightly piled with stones. In the night of January 22, during a fierce snowstorm and gale, Feoktist led the musketeers to the opening. The stones were broken in, and before dawn the musketeers were inside the monastery. The besieged, suspecting nothing, already had gone off to sleep and the watches stood on the towers. The musketeers had free rein to force the locks and open the gates. Meshcherinov and the remaining musketeers entered the monastery. The defenders of the monastery had slept too long. A few charged at the musketeers with their weapons but perished in an unequal battle. The ringleaders Nikanor and Samko were captured and executed, the others were sent to the Kola and Pustozersk stockades. Those who declared their guilt before the sovereign and the church were forgiven and allowed to remain in the monastery.[16]

APPENDIX

DOCUMENTS RELATING TO PATRIARCH NIKON

The following documents of some interest for the Nikon affair are taken from papers in the Office of Secret Affairs.

1. The Charter of Patriarch Dionysios of Constantinople to the Tsar, dated November 12, 1666.

First of all, concerning the case of Nikon, we labored intensely and with much diligence and composed chapters in two scrolls which do not differ in the slightest from each other. Likewise I declare that the chapters spoken of in the scrolls remain in force in your illustrious realm and that according to your pleasure and command you have authority over the patriarch installed there, as well as over the other senators.[1] As two heads in the one autocracy are not good, let one be the superior.

Afanasy, that accursed man urged by the father of lies, the devil, visited your realm without any need at all like the devil's instrument and gave false witness against the scrolls and correct chapters. For he falsely stated that we sent him and that he is our blood relative. Know that he is a foul-smelling vessel and of evil purpose, expelled from the church for many years. On that account he will be sent to a certain place to weep for his own soul and not to return to our country before the end of his life. Let this our denunciation be most secret. Indeed, may your illustriousness shred it into the tiniest pieces that it not be seen due to the many crimes mentioned and that no one else hears of it.

We installed Lord Paisios as the holy and wise metropolitan of Gaza. We bestowed on him our authority, for he is a discerning man who knows about these ecclesiastical matters. We installed him as vicar for the purpose of defending those correct chapters and of resolving every unpleasantness and doubt brought forward by the opposing side. He is to administer justice together with the holy local synod of archbishops, presiding over it as one who represents our own person in that same matter until it is completed.

2. In 1672 Nikon charged that the authorities of the St. Cyril monastery called the sovereign a ravager and plunderer for seizing the excess grain from the monastery; that the donor Alexander Borkov upheld the heresies of Kapiton in their monastery, spoke indecent words about the sovereign, called Nikon the Antichrist and touted his heresy everywhere; that he would not approach the archimandrite for a blessing because of the way he made the sign of the cross[2] and would not come to church because of the newly revised books. The tsar's envoy Lopukhin took Borkov away to Moscow.

The monks of the St. Cyril monastery complained that Nikon did not accept good supplies, called them worthless, and instead of supplies took money and the

excess grain. Lopukhin must tell him that if he, Nikon, carried on in this way, he would create no end of talking and publicity, that in the future because of him the monks would weep and talk. In particular they would say that he heaps praise on himself, that he takes money instead of supplies and asks for fresh sturgeon measuring two and a quarter arshins, such as are not found in the nets on the Sheksna. Lopukhin must firmly instruct the St. Cyril monks to provide Nikon with a steady supply of good fish. Lopukhin must examine the monastery's structure secretly and draw up a sketch. Anything unfinished he was to order completed because Nikon complained that the St. Cyril carpenters left without finishing the building. Nikon replied that the St. Cyril monks themselves gave money instead of supplies, by agreement. Lopukhin learned that what was not completed had not been ordered built.

3. The following items went to support Nikon: from the St. Cyril monastery twenty cart loads of hay, fifteen sazhens of wood; from the Savior on the Rock monastery twelve stooks of hay, eight sazhens of wood and a servant with a horse for errands; from the Savior monastery of Priluki fifteen stooks of hay, eight sazhens of wood and a cook. From the St. Kornily monastery eight stooks of hay, seven sazhens of wood, one scullery servant; from Pavlov eight stooks of hay, seven sazhens of wood, one tailor; from Trinity-Ust Sheksninsk twelve stooks of hay, ten sazhens of wood, a servant with a horse; from the monastery of St. Cyril of Novoezersk ten stooks of hay, ten sazhens of wood, one psalmist from Nikitsky and Annunciation, five stooks of hay, five sazhens of wood, one cell monk. Nikon had eleven horses, thirty-six cows.

The bailiff Shaisupov wrote that Nikon kept twenty-two men in his household for fishing and other services. Lopukhin asked Nikon what profit there was in keeping excess servitors, for from this was born rumor and all sorts of talk. He told him to keep five, six or even seven servitors if need be. Nikon objected that in winter he had twelve servitors and in summer six fishermen and could not possibly live with fewer. Nikon petitioned against Lopukhin that he did not supply servants from the St. Cyril monastery thanks to his own idle greed. He complained that poor monasteries did not supply him the prescribed amount, that St. Cyril's was wealthy yet sent him no kitchen supplies, and that the monks provided mushrooms that were so skimpy and mixed with toadstools that even pigs wouldn't eat them; that they sent him dried fish but only the head and tail, and hops with leaves making them useless even for brewing kvas. He complained that they sent as a joke things he did not request, such as beef carcasses and sides of pork.

Nikon sent examples of all these supplies to the tsar. "I have worn out my clothes and shoes with the brothers," he wrote, "and there is no one to sew. A tailor was sent from St. Paul's monastery, a know-nothing little coat-maker who can't do anything except cut out and sew a fur coat and a coarse heavy caftan for himself. Because the buildings are unfinished, all supplies are in the cellar. The vegetables froze. We are freezing to death and we walk about naked and barefoot."

4. Nikon solicited the sovereign not to settle arrears at the Ferapont monastery. He had sent his own money in the amount of two hundred rubles but this money was returned to him.

5. On May 24, 1672 Nikon complained that on Easter Sunday the St. Cyril monastery sent him thirteen grivenkas of oil, two hundred raw eggs and one hundred red eggs, a communal wine-bowl of sour cream and a small amount of grain. The other monasteries sent nothing.

6. On November 18, 1674 a delivery came from Lieutenant Kuzma Lopukhin. In honor of the birth of Tsarevich Peter he was sent a sugar roll, gingerbread in the shape of an eagle and a small loaf of black bread; from Tsarevna Natalia Alexeevna he received two hundred rubles, a sugary gingerbread, a spice cake and a small loaf of black bread. For the memorial service for Tsarevich Alexis he was sent two hundred rubles as well as watermelons from Tambov and Belgorod and apples from Nezhinsk and Moscow.

Lopukhin declared that he was instructed to provide Nikon with supplies for a year from the Beloozero monasteries: fifteen pails of church wine, ten pails of Romaneia, ten of Rhenish wine, ten puds of treacle in honey, thirty puds of raw honey, twenty pails of raspberries in honey, ten pails of cherries in honey, thirty pails of vinegar, fifty sturgeon, twenty beluga, four hundred tyoshkas,[3] seventy fresh sterlet, one hundred fifty pike,[4] two hundred ide,[5] fifty bream, one thousand perch, one thousand crucian,[6] thirty puds of caviar, three hundred bundles of viziga,[7] twenty thousand heads of cabbage, twenty pails of cucumbers, five pails of saffron milk caps, fifty pails of hempseed oil, five pails of nut oil, fifty puds of butter, fifty pails of sour cream, ten thousand eggs, thirty puds of cheese, three hundred lemons, half a pud of fine sugar, one pud of rice, ten funt of pepper, ten funt of ginger, five chetverts of onions, ten chetverts of garlic, ten chetverts of mushrooms, ten chetverts of turnips, five chetverts of beets, five hundred black radishes, three chetverts of horseradish, one hundred puds of salt, sixty chetverts of rye flour, twenty chetverts of wheat flour, fifty chetverts of oats, thirty chetverts of oat flour, thirty chetverts of barley, fifty chetverts of rye malt, thirty of barley malt, ten of oat malt, fifteen chetverts of buckwheat, fifty chetverts of oatmeal, three chetverts of millet, twelve chetverts of peas, five chetverts of hempseed, twenty chetverts of rolled oats, and for the laborers forty sides of beef or one hundred and fifty hams.

Nikon wrote that no walk led from his cell. Lopukhin responded "It is to his advantage that the walk is far away. All sorts of people will start going by his cell and those who go to Moscow and back will tell invented stories."

Concerning supplies Nikon wrote "In agreement with Kuzma Lopukhin we have noted on the inventory an abundance of certain supplies and we have reduced them. We have added those items not written on the inventory. We expect that there will be lots of talk about those supplies in the monasteries. We noted our requisition orders from years past. They gave few supplies, and even these they begrudged us. They wrote on the receipts five and ten times the amount and even a hundred and a thousand and have defamed me to you, great sovereign.

Compared to your inventory many supplies are not brought to these climes. Please, I beg you, order the officials of the Holy Cross monastery to send for my daily use some fish, salmon and sig."[8]

Instead of the quantities listed on the record of shipment Nikon wrote ten pails of raspberries in honey, five pails of cherries in honey, thirty pails of vinegar, twenty puds of caviar, one hundred seventy-five ide and pike, one hundred bundles of viziga, ten sturgeon, two thousand head of cabbage, twenty pails of cucumbers, three pails of saffron milk caps, forty pails of hempseed oil, three pails of nut oil, thirty puds of butter, thirty pails of sour cream, five thousand eggs, twenty puds of cheese, two hundred lemons, two chetverts of onions, eight chetverts of garlic, five chetverts of beets, one chetvert of horseradish, eight chetverts of mushrooms, ten chetverts of buckwheat, one chetvert of millet, ten chetverts of rolled oats, five hundred [pails] of crucian broth, six chetverts of peas, five hundred black radishes. To this he added four puds of wax, one-half pud of incense, one pud of salmon, six chetverts of sparling, twenty puds of hops, one hundred fifty zander and ide, and five hundred tallow candles.

7. On May 5, 1674 Lopukhin traveled to the Ferapont monastery to fix the measure of each type of fish and to have kitchens and granaries constructed, in keeping with Nikon's request. Nikon petitioned to have sables for caps and mittens sent to him.

8. A Letter of Nikon to the Tsar.

I shall not leave off my paltry request to you, as a worm does not leave off gnawing on wood, suffering cramps as I do on account of the St. Cyril monastery because contrary to your decree the archimandrite and brothers have not sent any pantry supplies from 1674 until September 20 1676. I nourish myself on your sovereign subsidy, paying a high price for pantry supplies. There was nowhere to buy them, this being a desolate place and far removed from town. Now autumn is coming and I have scrawny horses and an old cow but no fodder, hay or other things and there are no other monasteries closer than St. Cyril's. In the St. Cyril monastery they mock and deride me as if I ate all their monastery's cows. Now the priest and deacon and simple elder ask to be relieved of me on account of the scarcity of comestibles because there are no ovens. I cannot possibly keep them here by force since they have endured [much] with me, recalling my earlier kindness to them.

Merciful, merciful, merciful great sovereign! For the Lord's sake take pity on me, do not let the elders of the St. Cyril monastery starve me to death.

It has come to my attention that a certain monk by the name of Sergius, a deacon, is talking about me, saying that I do not expect the resurrection of the dead. I believe that you yourself recall that upon your arrival in the holy church, when the creed is about to be recited, I let no one else say it. I always say it and continue to do so to the present day. For the Lord's sake do not believe him. Making your own the zeal of King David, crush him who speaks untruth. For the Lord's sake give the order for ovens to be constructed. If you do not order this, the brothers will disperse in different directions and I shall be left alone. O, woe is me, what shall I do?

9. A Letter of Nikon to the Tsar.

The monks of the St. Cyril monastery requested your permission to buy cherries for me from the Ukraine. Please take note that as of today I have not received a single cherry from them. In 1674 I gave some money for cherries. In 1675 the prior said that the monks had to pay for the cherries in bird cherry drink because the bird cherry trees grew and they collected a large quantity of that fruit drink from the patrimonies. They did not give me a single drop. Last year (1675) the peasants from St. Cyril monastery gathered raspberries, likewise no small number of pails, but they did not give me a single drop of juice either.

They petition you as if the St. Cyril monastery is coming to ruin because of me. I have no means by which to ruin the St. Cyril monastery. I am so old I barely can walk. We have heard that it is they who lay waste to the St. Cyril monastery. They collect the service obligations in cash from the peasants and send to Moscow and say "A petition against Nikon cost us around two thousand, and even if it costs about five thousand we will defend ourselves." In this way, great sovereign, they dishonor you and speak disrespectfully of the Chancellery of Public Records. Your favor to me is not because of my petition or in accordance with the allowances but in keeping with your mercy and consideration. In truth there is no one poorer or more humble now than we are.

Take pity on us and send some small fish and lovely caviar, and have mercy upon me a sinner and upon the bailiff, Prince Samoil (Shaisupov). Order a change. Because of the great need he is dying, and he has starved me to death because no one listens to him about anything at all. The elders of the St. Cyril monastery take two rubles each from their peasants as late as the present year of 1676 and say that it is for my expenses.

10. On January 26, 1676 the sovereign dispatched Lieutenant Kuzma Lopukhin to Nikon and sent with him one hundred rubles from his personal treasury. From the tsaritsa was a sable fur and squirrel skins, ten linen sheets and fifteen towels; from the tsareviches, one hundred rubles, five beluga, ten sturgeon, ten salmon, a pud each of unpressed and pressed caviar and of various sweets, apples in syrup, grapes, watermelons and pastilas.[9] Lopukhin was to tell him the following. "The great sovereign decreed that the monk Nikon must have money from all the monasteries for his pantry supplies and beverages, for his laborers' meat and for hay and firewood in this amount: three hundred and nineteen rubles from the St. Cyril monastery, one hundred and six rubles from Prilutsk, eighty-eight rubles from Kamenny, ninety-four rubles from Ust Sheksninsk, sixty-one rubles from Novoezersk, thirty-one rubles each from St. Nikita and Annunciation, fifty-five rubles from the St. Kornily monastery and fifty-four rubles from the St. Paul monastery. If the amount of money seems small to him, the sovereign will send him in addition one hundred rubles from his own treasury. There will be no more money for him from the monasteries for supplies."

On page 316 (first edition) we said "We do not know Nikon's response to Paisy. We can guess how Nikon answered a man who was trying to persuade him to be appeased." As an answer we can take from a charter of Nikon to Paisy.

There the patriarch wrote that he saves from the tsar's wrath those who even after his departure ordered servitors living in the tsar's palaces to write false testimonies against him. He [Paisy] gave bishops, archimandrites and abbots gifts so they would sign their names to the decision that Nikon henceforth would not be patriarch. "But we," wrote Nikon, "know of no guilt before the tsar except what we write and say, being wary of his injustice. He has brought the holy monasteries of God to great penury and ruined God's churches with his powerful hand. In Moscow he installs bishops and archimandrites. Those whom we have anathematized the tsar releases," and so on.

NOTES

Additional information on personalities and topics found in the text and notes is available in Edward J. Lazzerini, George N. Rhyne and Joseph L. Wieczynski, eds., *The Modern Encyclopedia of Russian, Soviet and Eurasian History* (MERSH, formerly *The Modern Encyclopedia of Russian and Soviet History*); Peter Rollberg, George Gutsche and Harry B. Weber, eds., *The Modern Encyclopedia of East Slavic, Baltic and Eurasian Literatures* (MEESBEL, formerly *The Modern Encyclopedia of Russian and Soviet Literatures, Including Non-Russian and Émigré Literatures*); Paul D. Steeves, ed., *The Modern Encyclopedia of Religions in Russia and Eurasia* (MERRE, formerly *The Modern Encyclopedia of Religions in Russia and the Soviet Union*); and David R. Jones, ed., *The Military Encyclopedia of Russia and Eurasia* (MERE, formerly *The Military-Naval Encyclopedia of Russia and the Soviet Union*) all published by Academic International Press.

INTRODUCTION

1. Philip Longworth, *Alexis. Tsar of all the Russias* (New York, 1984), p. 144. For Alexis see as well Joseph T. Fuhrmann, *Tsar Alexis. His Reign and His Russia* (Academic International Press, 1981).

2. Longworth, p. 145.

3. "Nikon (partly at the tsar's own urging) had set out deliberately not only to enhance the dignity of his office but to strengthen his authority to the point (as many regarded it) of tyranny." Longworth, p. 112, a representative statement.

4. See Chapter II, Note 4, on this point.

5. Konrad Onasch, *Grundzüge der Russischen Kirchengeschichte* (Characteristics of Russian Church History) (Göttingen, 1967), p. 75.

6. A translation is found in *Medieval Russia's Epics, Chronicles and Tales*, revised and enlarged edition, edited by Serge A. Zenkovsky (New York, 1974), pp. 323-332.

7. Christiane Hemer, *Herrschaft und Legitimation im Russland des 17. Jahrhunderts. Staat und Kirche zur Zeit des Patriarchen Nikon* (Dominion and Legitimization in Seventeenth-century Russia. State and Church at the time of Patriarch Nikon) (Frankfurt am Main, 1979), pp. 161-164.

8. Hemer, p. 139.

9. Yu. A. Tikhonov, *Kommentarii* (Commentaries) in *Istoriia Rossii s drevneishikh vremen* (History of Russia from Ancient Times), Book VI, Vols. 11-12 (Moscow, 1959), p. 639.

10. p. 118.

CHAPTER I

1. The Thirteen Years War (1654-1667) began in 1654 after Moscow decided to make the Ukraine a protectorate. Under the leadership of Bogdan Khmelnitsky, the Zaporozhian Cossack hetman and forger of Ukrainian hopes for independence from Poland, the cossacks and inhabitants of the Ukraine submitted to the rule of the Russian tsar according to the terms of an agreement reached on March 17. These "Articles" were amplified by a number of privileges granted on April 27 to the Zaporozhian Host. According to the agreement, Moscow guaranteed broad-based autonomy to the cossack leadership, the Ukrainian nobility, clergy and towns. In the summer and autumn of 1654 the Russian army and its cossack allies scored a series of stunning victories over Poland, the most important of which was the capture of Smolensk on September 23. Tsar Alexis Mikhailovich led the main Russian army in its drive westwards. By the end of 1654 Moscow controlled territory extending to the Dnieper and Western Dvina rivers. As Poland seemed about to collapse in ruins before the successful Russian and cossack military, Sweden under its ambitious King Karl X declared war on Poland in 1655. Because Sweden itself now posed a serious threat to the internal security of the Muscovite state, Russia declared war on Sweden in 1656. A truce with Poland united Russia with its former foe against the common Swedish enemy. This truce, which lasted two years, was seriously jeopardized when a significant portion of the Ukrainian cossacks, under Ivan Evstafievich Vygovsky, entered into an agreement with the Polish king at Gadiach according to which the Polish-Lithuanian kingdom would recognize the existence of a Rus grand principality, grant nobility to some thousand cossack families and guarantee the practice of Orthodoxy. Vygovsky's agreement provoked dissension among the cossacks, eventually splitting the Ukraine into a Polish and a Muscovite faction. The war with Sweden ended with a three-year truce negotiated by Prince Afanasy Ordin-Nashchokin in December 1658, which was formalized on July 1, 1661 at Kardis near Dorpat (see Volume 20 of this series). Russia lost control of Livonia, Ingria and access to the Baltic Sea as a result. The Treaty of Andrusovo of January 20, 1667 brought a truce with Poland for the next thirteen years. According to the terms of the treaty, the Ukraine was divided in two along the Dnieper river. The left or east bank, including Smolensk, fell under Moscow's control, the right or western bank and Belorussia went to Poland. Although Kiev was on the right bank, it was placed under Moscow's control for two years. This eventually became permanent. The long and complicated war brought great hardship to Russia, both economically and socially. Further information may be found in Volume 20 of this series, and Joseph T. Fuhrmann, *Tsar Alexis. His Reign and His Russia* (Academic International Press, 1981), pp. 59-62, 70-74, 114-115.

2. Alexis Mikhailovich (1629-1676) became tsar in 1645. With his first wife, Maria Miloslavskaia, he had thirteen children, three of whom did not survive

childhood. His sister-in-law Anna Miloslavskaia married Boris Morozov, the young tsar's trusted associate and the most powerful boyar in Muscovy (see Note 13, below). The early years of Alexis's reign were fraught with crises. As in the Time of Troubles a pretender to the throne, Timofey Ankudinov, challenged his legitimacy. Outbreaks of plague, burdensome taxation, rebellions in Pskov and Novgorod and the protracted war against Poland and Sweden caused many popular uprisings. At an Assembly of the Land in 1648 Alexis yielded to public requests and removed the onerous salt tax. Then in 1649 he confirmed the famous Law Code (Ulozhenie) which made serfdom a legally sanctioned institution for the vast majority of Russia's populace. Alexis struck up a close relationship with Nikon in 1646 and was instrumental in his election as patriarch in 1652. By 1657 the relationship had soured. Alexis was active as an entrepreneur and undertook numerous steps to bring West European technology and culture to Russia. His openness to modern ways made him naturally sympathetic to the reform of Russian church life already underway when he assumed the throne. With his second wife Natalia Naryshkina he produced an heir who brought these revolutionary changes to Russian society to their completion during his reign, Peter the Great. See Fuhrmann, "Aleksei Mikhailovich," *The Modern Encyclopedia of Russian and Soviet History* (hereafter MERSH) (Academic International Press, 1976-), Volume 14, pp. 6-10 and Fuhrmann, *Tsar Alexis.*

3. Artamon Sergeevich Matveev (died 1682) enjoyed a lengthy association with Tsar Alexis, beginning in 1642 when Tsar Michael appointed him servitor to the young Alexis. He became captain of musketeers in 1643 and in 1646 held the rank of colonel and table attendant to the tsar. Matveev was involved in numerous military and diplomatic missions to the Ukraine. He was married to Lady Hamilton, daughter of a Scottish mercenary in the service of the Moscow crown. Together they hosted famous parties in their European-style home in Moscow. It was at one such soirée that the widower Alexis met his second wife, Natalia Naryshkina. Matveev was appointed head of the Chancellery of Foreign Affairs in 1671 and was the most important of the tsar's ministers for the final five years of Alexis's life. His fortunes turned ill when Fedor Alexeevich mounted the tsar's throne. The son of Maria Miloslavskaia whose family were bitter rivals of the Naryshkins, Fedor immediately stripped Matveev of most of his duties and soon ordered his exile to Siberia. When Fedor died in 1682 Matveev returned to Moscow under the protection of the newly chosen tsar Peter. When the Miloslavskys staged a coup on May 15, 1682 Matveev perished. See Fuhrmann, *Tsar Alexis*, pp. 193-197, 216-221, 225-226, also Volume 25 of this series.

4. As a bustling seaport on the Baltic, Riga was a tempting prize for Alexis, and he laid siege to the city in August 1656. After two months of futile effort and heavy casualties Alexis lifted the siege.

5. Konotop was the site of a disastrous defeat for the Russian army under Alexis Nikitich Trubetskoy. On June 28, 1659 a united force of Crimean Tatars and cossacks under Ivan Vygovsky massacred a large segment of the Russian cavalry and forced Trubetskoy to retreat with the infantry and artillery to Putivl.

6. At Chudnovo on September 17, 1660 the Polish commanders Stanislaw Potocki and Jerzy Lubomirski utterly defeated a Russian army under Vasily Borisovich Sheremetev, who spent the next twenty years in Crimean captivity.

7. Prince Ivan Andreevich Khovansky belonged to an important Muscovite family which traced its origins to Gediminas, the fourteenth-century grand prince of Lithuania. He was table attendant to Tsar Michael in 1636, and under Tsar Alexis served as governor in a number of towns including Viazma, Mogilev, Pskov, Smolensk and Novgorod. As a military commander he saw service throughout the Thirteen Years War and again in the Turkish War of 1678-1679. He suffered an embarrassing defeat in Lithuania in 1660 when his twenty-thousand-strong army came close to annihilation. As a provincial governor Khovansky earned the reputation of a carouser and cruel leader. He enriched his family coffers through conservative governing policies. During the dynastic struggles that erupted after the death of Tsar Fedor Alexeevich in 1682 Khovansky was tried for high treason and executed on September 17. His name is immortalized in Mussorgsky's opera, *Khovanshchina*.

8. The Time of Troubles is the name given to the period in Russian history beginning with the death of the last male heir of the Rurikid dynasty, Tsar Fedor Ivanovich, in 1598, and ending with the coronation of Michael Romanov as tsar in 1613. During this short time span Russia faced dynastic, social and national crises which significantly altered the shape of Russian society. The dynastic crisis began when Boris Godunov, who had served as regent for Fedor Ivanovich, was crowned tsar soon after Fedor's death. He was not a member of the ancient boyar class and contended with countless rivals in his short reign. Almost immediately Godunov had to meet serious threats to the social well-being of Muscovy when a series of crop failures and resultant famines left hundreds of thousands of peasants dead or starving. He undertook valiant steps to meet the immediate needs of the people, but they had no long-lasting positive impact on his reign. Rumors spread that Dmitry Ivanovich, last son of Ivan the Terrible, who died in mysterious circumstances in 1591, was still alive and soon a pretender to the throne was marching towards the capital with an enthusiastic and motley band of supporters. False Dmitry, the defrocked monk Grishka Otrepiev, eventually won the support of the old boyar class and after Godunov's sudden death in 1605 was crowned tsar. His marriage in 1606 to the Pole Marina Mniszech brought the national crisis to a head, as Muscovites rightly feared subjugation under the Polish crown and the Roman Catholic faith. He was overthrown that year by Vasily Ivanovich Shuisky, who managed to retain control of the throne until 1610. In the meantime, a dangerous rebellion of peasants and cossacks in the south under Ivan Bolotnikov brought his government to the brink of disaster. Shuisky himself was overthrown and imprisoned whereupon the Polish king, Sigismund III, took an interest in the throne of Moscow. Polish forces invaded Muscovy and occupied several key cities, including Smolensk and Moscow itself. Finally, the Russian nobility rallied to the national cause and under the leadership of Princes Dmitry Pozharsky and Dmitry Trubetskoy drove the Poles out of Moscow in 1612. The

following year Michael Romanov was elected as tsar. For a good survey of the Time of Troubles see the entry by G. Edward Orchard, "Time of Troubles," MERSH, Volume 39, pp. 49-57.

9. During the summer of 1654 as Alexis undertook the siege of Smolensk the plague struck Moscow and very quickly decimated the population. According to contemporary records as many as half of Moscow's population fled the city in fear. Patriarch Nikon took the tsar's family first to the Trinity-St. Sergius monastery and then, as the plague advanced, to St. Makary Kaliazin monastery. See Longworth, pp. 100-102.

10. The *piataia denga* (fifth coin) was an extraordinary tax first introduced by Tsar Michael in 1613 to stabilize crown finances after the Time of Troubles. It seems to have been levied on merchants and manufacturers and amounted to twenty percent of their annual income or net worth.

11. Fedor Mikhailovich Rtishchev (1626-1673) was the son of the provincial service nobleman Mikhail Alexeevich Rtishchev and Yuliana Fedorovna Potemkina. In 1650 he was named gentleman of the bedchamber and in 1656, lord-in-waiting. By marriage to Aksenia Matveevna Zubova he was a distant relative of Maria Miloslavskaia. Rtishchev took an active part in improving education in Russia by helping to establish a school in Moscow in 1648 on the site of St. Andrew's monastery. He attracted the leading scholars of the day from Kiev, including Arseny Satanovsky and Epifany Slavinetsky in 1649 and Damaskin Ptitsky in 1650. The aim of the school was to train translators and correctors of liturgical books, so the curriculum included instruction in Slavonic, Greek and Latin as well as philosophy and rhetoric. Rtishchev associated with such Zealots of Piety as Neronov, Avvakum, Vonifatiev and Nikon and promoted the sermon as an integral part of the Divine Liturgy in Russia. Committed to the reform of liturgical and devotional life in the church, he did not join his former associates in the eventual schism.

12. Ilia Danilovich Miloslavsky (died 1669), father of Maria Miloslavskaia and through her father-in-law of Tsar Alexis, came from an obscure and unimportant family. He managed to meet and impress Boris Morozov who took a liking to both Maria and his other daughter Anna. After Morozov's fall from favor in 1648 Ilia Danilovich became one of the closest assistants to the tsar and headed the Treasury and the Chancellery of the Apothecary. He accepted bribes readily and rapidly amassed a great fortune. In 1662 he was suspected of having produced over 120,000 counterfeit rubles in copper coin but escaped the tsar's disfavor through Maria's intercession.

13. Afanasy Ivanovich Matiushkin was the son of Ivan Petrovich Matiushkin and Feodosia Lukianovna Streshneva, sister of Tsar Alexis's mother Evdokia Lukianovna Streshneva.

14. Stretched to the limit by the fiscal policies of Boris Morozov who introduced a salt tax in 1646 and allowed the sale of tobacco against the protests of

the church, as well as by the widespread corruption in higher officialdom, the people of Moscow took to the streets on June 1, 1648 and killed a number of key officials in Morozov's government. The following day fire destroyed up to half of Moscow. The tsar surrendered two members of Morozov's government to the crowd, one of whom perished immediately in mob frenzy, the other being beheaded by the tsar's orders. He ordered the removal of the salt tax and an additional reduction in the price of salt. Tsar Alexis exiled Morozov to St. Cyril's monastery in Beloozero. He then announced the convocation of an Assembly of the Land for the following year.

15. Vasily Grigorievich Shorin (died 1678) descended from a prosperous merchant family in Novgorod that moved to Moscow after the Time of Troubles. From his home in Moscow's Kitay quarter Shorin controlled a vast empire of business ventures which included saltworks, fisheries and fish processing plants, transport services and a number of agricultural estates. His immense wealth permitted him to absorb two trading failures with Persia and to sustain a third business collapse by selling some of his land holdings. In his lifetime he was considered the most important of Russia's leading merchants.

16. See Note 11, above.

17. Ivan Mikhailovich Miloslavsky (died 1685) served as lord-in-waiting during the reign of Alexis Mikhailovich and acted as chief tutor for Fedor Alekseevich. Upon Fedor's death in 1682 Miloslavsky actively promoted the claim of Ivan Alekseevich to the throne against Peter, Alexis's son by Natalia Naryshkina.

18. Alexis's seventh daughter, Feodosia Alekseevna, was born May 28, 1662.

19. See Note 7, above.

20. Semeon Lukianovich Streshnev (died 1665) was the uncle of Tsar Alexis Mikhailovich and a member of the Boyar Council.

21. Prince Ivan Borisovich Repnin was a member of the Boyar Council and possibly a close ally of the Miloslavsky faction at court. He was one of the wealthiest landowners in Russia.

22. Martyn Pushkar (died 1658) commanded the Poltava Regiment from 1648 to 1658. He strongly opposed the political designs of Ivan Vygovsky and led a popular rebellion against him in the Left Bank Ukraine. Pushkar was killed on June 1, 1658 in a battle with cossacks, Crimean Tatars and German mercenaries led by Vygovsky.

23. Ivan Evstafievich Vygovsky (died 1664) was a literate and ambitious leader of Ukraine with strong ties to Poland. Chosen to replace Bogdan Khmelnitsky in 1657 by a cossack officers' council, Vygovsky entered into a formal agreement with Poland at Gadiach in 1658 which guaranteed a large degree of autonomy to Ukraine. He was challenged by a pro-Moscow faction of cossacks and eventually had to flee to Poland in 1659, where he continued to agitate for Polish control of the Ukraine. Vygovsky was executed in 1664 for alleged treason against King Jan Kazimierz of Poland.

CHAPTER II

1. The future Patriarch Nikon (1605-1681) was born Nikita Minich in the village of Veldemanov, roughly 145 kilometers from Nizhny Novgorod. The peasant boy received a basic education and ran away to the St. Makary monastery of Zheltye Vody for further training. When his father died he returned home, married and was ordained to the priesthood. After a ten-year stint as a parish priest in Moscow, Nikita Minich once again sought the monastic life, and in 1636 he sent his wife to the St. Alexis convent, while he journeyed north to the Anzersk hermitage on the White Sea. He was tonsured with the name Nikon. After a few years in Anzersk Nikon left for the Epiphany monastery on Lake Kozhe and in 1643 he was made abbot of this community. He already demonstrated his expertise as an administrator and his ambitions as a builder. While in Moscow in 1646 soliciting funds for his monastery Nikon met and made a profound impression upon Tsar Alexis Mikhailovich, who persuaded him to stay in Moscow to manage the ruling family's favored New Savior monastery. Nikon obliged, and completely renovated the dilapidated building complex, erecting an impressive main church, new cells and a wall. At this time Nikon joined the circle of reformers. In 1649 he was consecrated metropolitan of Novgorod, a position which permitted him to develop his administrative talents. Though not in the capital, he remained in contact with the circle of reformers. Enjoying the personal friendship of the tsar and admiration for his leadership capabilities, Nikon was chosen as the next patriarch of Moscow in 1652. The present chapter alludes to a curious and fateful episode in his election. After initially refusing to accept the office, Nikon agreed to become patriarch when the tsar, boyars and bishops took an oath of obedience to him (though see Note 4, below). As patriarch Nikon pursued the goal of increasing the prestige of the Russian church not only with respect to all other Orthodox churches but also with respect to the Russian tsar. Nikon's rise to power was as dramatic as his fall into obscurity. His resignation in 1658 did not produce the expected results. In fact, Tsar Alexis abandoned Nikon. He was deposed on December 12, 1666 and imprisoned as a monk in the Ferapont monastery of Beloozero, where he lived for ten years. In 1676 he was transferred to the St. Cyril monastery, also in Beloozero. On his way to the Resurrection monastery in Moscow, Nikon died on August 17, 1681. He was rehabilitated posthumously by the Eastern patriarchs and commemorated as patriarch.

2. Nikon began using the title "great sovereign" in 1652, a usage approved by the tsar in 1653. After Alexis went off to war in 1654 Nikon was entrusted with governing in his stead and issued decrees in his own name as well as that of the tsar. His involvement in domestic and foreign affairs made him the *de facto* tsar in Alexis's frequent absences from the capital.

3. Fedor Nikitich Romanov (1553-1633) officiated as Patriarch Filaret from 1619. During the Time of Troubles the Romanov family threatened the legitimacy of Boris Godunov, who banished the family to the North and Siberia. Fedor was tonsured as the monk Filaret and exiled to the St. Anthony monastery on the Sii

river in northern Russia. His wife was made a nun and sent to the Onega region and their two children Mikhail and Tatiana were banished to Beloozero. In 1606 he was installed as metropolitan of Rostov by False Dmitry I. In 1608 he was taken prisoner by the troops of False Dmitry II and at Tushino received the title of patriarch, against the legitimate Hermogen (1606-1612). Although he and the other Romanovs supported both False Dmitrys, Filaret actively promoted the candidacy of Władysław, son of Sigismund III of Poland-Lithuania, for tsar. When the negotiations failed Filaret was interned in Marienburg fortress until his release in 1619 as a result of the Treaty of Deulino (1618). Filaret was an extremely ambitious man who made full use of his position as patriarch and father of the tsar. After his consecration in July of 1619 Filaret adopted the title "great sovereign" and ruled both church and state as an autocrat. He centralized church administration, combatted Catholic and Protestant influences on Russian Orthodoxy and legislated the rebaptism of all non-Orthodox Christians. This aberration was revoked by the Moscow Synod of 1667. See Paul Meyendorff, *Russia, Ritual and Reform* (Crestwood N.Y., 1991).

4. According to the research of Christiane Hemer, this incident should be treated with great caution. It is recorded solely by Nikon in a letter addressed to Patriarch Dionysios III (1662-1665) of Constantinople in which Nikon appeals for assistance against the tsar. The pertinent passage reads as follows. "God-fearing tsar, venerable boyars, holy assembly and Christian people! Since we, though unworthy, are pleased to be patriarch for you, give us your word and swear an oath in the holy apostolic church before our Lord and Savior Jesus Christ, before the holy Gospels and before the most pure Mother of God that you will keep the Christian evangelical dogmas and the canons of the holy Apostles and Church Fathers and that you will follow the laws of the God-fearing tsar. If you promise this in sincerity and also promise to obey us as your superior, shepherd and best father in everything that we proclaim to you about the divine dogmas and regulations, then we shall not take it upon ourselves to deny you your wish and plea that we accept the office of patriarch... [the tsar and all present] vowed in the presence of God to do precisely that." From her examination of the documentary evidence Hemer concludes that the only truth contained in this incident is the tsar's promise to obey the laws of Christ. She rejects the commonly held opinion that from the moment of his elevation to the patriarchate Nikon consciously pursued a course of action designed to subordinate secular power to ecclesiastical authority. According to her, the oath and other expressions of submission contained in Nikon's letter were fabricated by Nikon to convince Dionysios to side with Nikon and secure for him his reinstatement as patriarch. See Christiane Hemer, *Herrschaft und Legitimation im Russland des 17. Jahrhunderts. Staat und Kirche zur Zeit des Patriarchen Nikon* (Dominion and Legitimation in Seventeenth-century Russia. State and Church at the time of Patriarch Nikon) (Frankfurt am Main, 1979), pp. 64-72.

5. A recent discussion of the seventeenth-century reform of the Russian church including a description of the chief actors in this drama is provided by

Meyendorff, *Russia, Ritual and Reform*. The chief areas of concern were the correction of liturgical books into which numerous errors had crept in the process of copying, an improvement in the actual liturgical performance of services by clergy and laity alike and an effort to model the Russian experience more closely on its Greek Byzantine antecedents.

6. See Chapter I, Note 14. Morozov had close connections with the circle of reformers known as "Friends of God."

7. See Chapter I, Note 11.

8. The Livonian War (1558-1583) was waged by Ivan IV in what proved to be a vain and extremely costly attempt to secure access to the Baltic Sea and trade with Western Europe. Unfortunately for Muscovy, Livonia figured prominently in the political and mercantile programs of Sweden, Denmark and Poland-Lithuania. The Treaty of Yam Zapolsky in 1582 restored the Russian-Polish border to pre-war conditions and secured a ten-year truce. The truce on the Pliussa river in 1583 gave Sweden all of Muscovy's territory on the Gulf of Finland except for a small remnant at the mouth of the Neva river.

9. Boris Godunov (1552-1605) rose from an undistinguished family to great prominence during the period of the crown estates (oprichnina) in Muscovy. He entered the personal sphere of Ivan IV by marrying Maria Grigorievna, the daughter of his favorite henchman Maliuta Skuratov in 1570. Boris's sister Irina married the future tsar Fedor Ivanovich. As brother-in-law of the tsar, Godunov eventually could make a tenuous but successful claim to the throne and was indeed crowned tsar on September 3, 1598. An able and intelligent ruler, Godunov was plagued by a series of domestic and foreign problems which have won him the epithet of 'tragic tsar'. Soloviev alludes to Godunov's admiration for West European learning and culture, and indeed Godunov entertained the idea of inviting Western scholars to establish a university in Moscow. The plan met with fierce opposition from the church and other conservative elements in Muscovite society and was abandoned. He fostered trade with England and protected Russian interests at the same time, and sent four Russian men to England to learn from the West. Godunov's shaky claim to legitimacy was used by his rivals to discredit him, the most famous instance of which was the rumor that Godunov had ordered the murder of Dmitry Ivanovich, the half-brother of Fedor and possible heir to the throne, as part of a lengthy plan to seize royal power. Though modern scholars exonerate Godunov of any involvement in the death of the tsarevich, who was injured with a knife while playing with friends in 1591, seventeenth-century accounts saw the Time of Troubles as divine retribution for Godunov's sin. A popular history of Boris Godunov is available in Ian Grey, *Boris Godunov. The Tragic Tsar* (New York, 1973). For a more scholarly survey of his life, with a good bibliography, see Orchard's article, "Boris Godunov," MERSH, Volume 5, pp. 125-131. Notable also are S. F. Platonov, *Boris Godunov. Tsar of Russia* (1973) and R. G. Skrynnikov, *Boris Godunov* (1982), both published by Academic International Press.

10. Known to history as the False Dmitry, Yury Otrepiev (1582–1606) was the son of a junior boyar from Galich. Orphaned early in life, Yury traveled from one monastery to another, finally taking up residence in the Miracles monastery where he became a copyist. He enjoyed the favor of Metropolitan Job and seems to have been introduced to the tsar's court, but an accusation of treason forced him to flee Moscow. In 1603 he appeared in Brahin in the service of Prince Adam Wiśnowiecki, to whom he declared himself to be none other than Dmitry Ivanovich, the deceased son of Ivan IV. He managed to convince Wiśnowiecki and the Polish court that he escaped death and now was laying claim to the Moscow throne. It was at this time that he met and fell in love with Marina Mniszech, daughter of the palatine of Sandomierz, Jerzy Mniszech. Taking advantage of the turmoil in Russia, and in particular of Boris Godunov's unpopularity, and supported by Polish troops Otrepiev entered Moscow on June 20, 1605 as tsar. The boyar class hoped that Otrepiev would be an ineffectual puppet, but he proved to have some ideas of his own, including reform of the administration and laws pertaining to the peasantry. The boyars were displeased and rumors quickly spread discrediting Otrepiev. Otrepiev removed Patriarch Job from office and installed Ignaty of Riazan, who recognized him as legitimate. He also made the monk Filaret (Fedor Romanov) metropolitan of Rostov. Nine days after marrying Marina Mniszech, Otrepiev was killed on May 16, 1606 in the revolt led by Vasily Shuisky. See Orchard, "Dmitrii Ivanovich," MERSH, Volume 4, pp. 164–169.

11. The Russian letter "a" functions as a particle and a conjunction. In the latter instance, it can mean "while," "and," "but" and often indicates a juxtaposing of ideas. The omission of this conjunction from the creed does not alter substantially the orthodoxy of the phrase which intends to express the belief that while Christ the Son of God has his origin in the Father, he is not a creature. The Old Ritualists here as elsewhere objected to the mere act of tampering with time-honored traditions.

12. A tradition going back to Irenaeus in the second century A.D. identifies John the disciple as author of both the Gospel of John and the Apocalypse (Revelation). Current scholarship refutes this opinion and assigns Apocalypse to an otherwise unknown writer. In Orthodox usage, John the Evangelist is referred to as John the Theologian.

13. *Uniia* (union) is a derogatory term coined by the Orthodox to refer to the church created by the union of six Orthodox Ukrainian bishops and a large number of priests and laity with the Roman Catholic church as a result of the synod of Brest-Litovsk in 1595-1596. The union was strongly opposed by Prince Konstantin Ostrogsky and other nobles and the cossacks of the Ukraine. In 1620 Patriarch Theophanes of Jerusalem consecrated an energetic opponent of the union, Job Boretsky, as Orthodox metropolitan of Kiev and created a rival hierarchy in the Ukraine. From the Polish side the union was viewed with suspicion and subjected to systematic Latinization by misguided Roman Catholic clergy.

Despite all threats the union survived so that by 1702 it predominated among Eastern Christians living in Poland and began to flourish. With the threefold division of Poland in 1772, 1793 and 1795 the majority of Ukrainian Catholics came under Russian control and in the nineteenth century these were forced to reunite with the Russian Orthodox church.

14. During the reign of Patriarch Joseph (1642-1652) many of the reforms in church life which made Nikon infamous were already in progress. Two of the thorniest issues were the manner of making the sign of the cross and *mnogoglasie*, the custom of singing different parts of the liturgy simultaneously. In keeping with long-standing Russian tradition and the decision of the Hundred Chapters council of 1551, Joseph decided that the two-fingered sign of the cross was the only acceptable one in Russia. This instruction was printed in the new Psalter of 1642. Joseph was slow to take a stand on the issue of mnogoglasie but eventually approved of its suppression at a special synod of Russian bishops in 1651. The other major aspect of church reform concerned the correction of liturgical and theological books. Those entrusted with this task tended more and more to look to Greek texts for authoritative versions, and it is proper to identify during Joseph's time the emergence of a strong grecophile party in the Russian church centered on Stefan Vonifatiev and Fedor Rtishchev. Joseph respected the Greeks as Orthodox Christians but did not share the grecophiles' growing opinion that Greek Orthodoxy was the sole correct form of Orthodoxy. See the recent work by Ekkehard Kraft, *Moskaus griechisches Jahrhundert* (Moscow's Greek Century) (Stuttgart, 1995), for more details on this aspect of the reforms.

15. Stefan Vonifatiev was the spiritual advisor and confessor of Tsar Alexis Mikhailovich and the chief figure in the circle of reformers known as "Zealots of Piety" or "Friends of God." Other members of this group were Fedor Rtishchev and his sister Anna, Boris Ivanovich Morozov, Metropolitan Nikon of Novgorod (later patriarch), Ivan Neronov, Avvakum and numerous other rural and urban parish clergy. Tsar Alexis was also a close associate of the circle. Vonifatiev, named archpriest of the Kremlin church of the Annunciation, was a very tolerant and charitable man who promoted both liturgical and social reforms to revive Orthodoxy. His reforming interests aimed to raise the general moral behavior of society beginning with the clergy, but he also hoped to extirpate entirely from Moscow all traces of vice and inculcate Christian virtue, restore respect to the church, bring back splendor and majesty to the liturgy and protect Orthodoxy from Western heresies. Unlike Neronov and Avvakum, Vonifatiev greatly admired the learning of the Ukrainians and Greeks and supported efforts to introduce new Orthodox scholarship and publish correct theological, liturgical and scriptural books.

16. Ivan Neronov (1591-1670) came from the Vologda region near the Skete of the Savior on Little Sara river. His early exposure to monastic life led him to travel to the Trinity-St. Sergius monastery, where he became the disciple of the abbot Dionisy, who was himself an early promoter of reform, insisting on accurate texts for the celebration of the liturgy. Neronov made his abbot's ideas his

own and would use them when he later joined the "Friends of God" circle. In the 1620s he was ordained and became a parish priest in Nizhny Novgorod, where he immediately implemented some of the Dionisy's ideas. His zeal for liturgical and moral propriety earned the admiration of Patriarch Joasaph who gave approval to most of Neronov's plans for renewal in Nizhny Novgorod. One major exception concerned *mnogoglasie* which the patriarch permitted to continue. Fierce opposition to his pastoral zeal forced Neronov to leave Nizhny Novgorod and take up residence in Moscow. Here he met the "Friends of God" circle with which he had much in common. In 1649 he was named archpriest of the church of Our Lady of Kazan in the Kitay quarter, not far from the Kremlin. Throughout his association with the "Friends of God" Neronov showed himself uncomfortable with the grecophile tendencies of its leaders. After Nikon became patriarch and Greek usage became the norm, Neronov with Avvakum became outspoken critics. For his efforts Neronov was condemned at a Moscow synod in 1653, stripped of his priestly rank and imprisoned in a fortress in Kola on the Arctic Ocean. In 1656 Patriarch Nikon permitted him to return to pastoral service and use the old rituals until his death.

17. Fedor Ivanov (died 1682) was the son of a priest named Ivan from the village of Kolychev in patrimony belonging to Nikita Ivanovich Odoevsky. In 1658 he was serving as a deacon when he was transferred to a chapel attached to Annunciation cathedral in the Moscow Kremlin. Like all clergy who served in the Kremlin churches, Fedor made use of the newly revised liturgical books. Unlike many, he undertook a lengthy and detailed examination of the changes and concluded that the books contained heresy. On May 9, 1665 he was brought before Metropolitan Paul of Saray for interrogation and subsequently was imprisoned for refusing to use the new books. At the 1666 synod Fedor was questioned again. This time he publicly denounced the new form of the creed, the three-fingered sign of the cross and the manner of singing the alleluia. On May 13 he was defrocked, excommunicated and imprisoned. He recanted and was released to the Intercession monastery in Moscow. At the 1667 synod Fedor once more reverted to his former views about the revised books and was condemned. His punishment brought him exile to Pustozersk where he met with Avvakum. The two men did not agree on many points and became bitter enemies. Fedor was a very well-read man for his time, having at his disposal not only a vast knowledge of doctrine, scripture, patristic writings and spiritual texts but also some knowledge of Latin and Greek. He wrote clearly and to the point, leaving behind a large corpus of texts. Fedor was burned at the stake on April 14, 1682 after repeatedly refusing to accept the reforms and to stop writing and preaching against them.

18. Archpriest Avvakum Petrovich (1620-1682) was born the son of the parish priest in the Northern Russian village of Grigorovo. He received his religious training from his mother and was well-educated for his time. He married Anastasia Markovna, the daughter of the village blacksmith, who proved to be of invaluable support to Avvakum throughout his many trials. Ordained to the diaconate in 1640 and to the priesthood in 1642 Avvakum already demonstrated

some of the moral rigor which would later bring him so much suffering. On a visit to Moscow in 1646 he made a deep impression on Stefan Vonifatiev, Ivan Neronov and Tsar Alexis, and they urged him to take their reform program back into the provinces. Avvakum became archpriest of Yurievets Povolzhsky in 1652 but after only eight weeks there he left for Moscow, his fiery preaching and moral rigorism having earned him many beatings and other humiliations. In Moscow he was assigned to St. Basil's church and became a member of the "Friends of God." From the sources it appears that Avvakum took an immediate dislike to Nikon, and together with Bishop Paul of Kolomna, Daniel of Kolomna and Ivan Neronov he became one of the earliest opponents of Nikon's reforms. Active resistance came in February 1653 when Nikon decreed the proper manner of making bows and the sign of the cross, both of which contradicted older Russian practice. When Nikon imprisoned Neronov later that year for his opposition, Avvakum and Daniel lodged vociferous protests. Only the intervention of Tsar Alexis saved Avvakum from defrocking. He was sent into exile to Tobolsk, some three thousand kilometers east of Moscow. Avvakum immediately began preaching against the new faith of the Nikonian church and was sent further east to the Lena river in June 1655. Here he was forced to serve as chaplain for Afanasy Pashkov's expedition to Dauria near Lake Baikal. Avvakum remained with the expedition from 1656 until 1662. By this time Nikon had fallen out of favor in Moscow, and Avvakum's former patrons hoped to win him over to the reforms. Thus, following orders from Moscow which reached him in 1662, Avvakum went back to the capital, reaching it in February 1664. Avvakum refused to accept the reforms and was sent once again into exile. On his way he received permission to winter in Mezen, where he once more preached against the reforms and won a large following. In 1666 a church trial found Avvakum, Nikita Dobrynin and Fedor the Deacon guilty of promoting schism and heresy. Avvakum was defrocked in Dormition cathedral and imprisoned before being sent to Pustozersk in 1667. Avvakum was not only a preacher, but also a writer. He left behind a Book of Sermons, a Book of Commentaries and his justly famous Autobiography. Official records do not state how Avvakum's life ended but Old Believers maintain that he was burned at the stake on April 14, 1682. His autobiography is available in English as *The Life of Archpriest Avvakum by Himself*, translated by J. Harrison and H. Mirrless (London, 1924). The classic study remains Pierre Pascal, *Avvakum et les débuts du raskol* (Avvakum and the Beginnings of the Schism) (Paris, 1938, reprint 1969). See also the article by Fuhrmann, "Avvakum Petrovich," MERSH, Volume 2, pp. 193-197.

19. The Council of 1551, known in history as the Stoglav or Hundred Chapters Council, was one of the most important ecclesiastical events in the Muscovite era. The council understood itself as a reform council with a decidedly conservative Muscovite tendency and has been seen by some scholars as a successful attempt to create a Russian confessional church. Often viewed as the work of Metropolitan Makary and the Josephite school, the Hundred Chapters Council is best regarded as a compromise between the two major theological and

spiritual currents of sixteenth-century Russia, the Possessors and Non-Possessors. The decisions of the council touched all areas of Orthodox piety and church discipline. Doctrinal matters were not discussed. Although a canonically constituted synod of the Russian church, the Hundred Chapters Council fell victim to the grecophile mood of the mid-seventeenth century. The council of 1667, which began on November 2, 1666, declared many of its decisions null and void, in particular those which departed from Greek usage. It also saw fit to declare the participants in the Hundred Chapters Council, including Metropolitan Makary, lacking in knowledge and education. See Jack Kollmann, *The Moscow Stoglav ("Hundred Chapter") Council of 1551* (Ph. D. diss., University of Michigan, 1978), for a full treatment of this topic.

20. *Edinoglasie* (monophony) refers to the practice of singing only one part of the liturgy at a time, as opposed to the practice of *mnogoglasie* or pluriphony meaning the simultaneous singing of different parts of the liturgy. Pluriphony was the normal method of performing the liturgy in parishes by the middle of the sixteenth century, and the Hundred Chapters Council legislated against it as a serious aberration. It seems that the practice arose as a time-saving measure. An exaggerated concern for the sacredness of the typikon made shortening the liturgy unthinkable but the full performance of the liturgy took too long. Thus as many as six or seven different parts of the service would be sung together, the resulting cacophony and unintelligibility being obvious. The "Friends of God" took special interest in correcting this practice.

21. The typikon is a liturgical book which explains in detail how the various canonical hours and liturgies are to be celebrated and how to coordinate movable feasts with saints' days and fixed feasts. Monastic typika include the customs for a given monastery.

22. Epifany Slavinetsky was a Kievan monk of Ukrainian descent likely born in Pinsk. He studied at the Kievan Brotherhood school prior to its reform by Peter Mogila, which guaranteed him a solid training in Greek. He also learned Latin, most likely in Poland. He was tonsured in the Caves monastery of Kiev and taught in the local school from 1642 to 1649. In May 1649 Tsar Alexis wrote Metropolitan Sylvester Kossov of Kiev, asking him to send two monks to prepare a new translation of the Bible from Greek. Sylvester sent Arseny Satanovsky and Epifany Slavinetsky. After a warm reception by the tsar on July 20 Epifany went to work and produced a new translation of the Liturgy of St. John Chrysostom by August 1649. Liturgical, homiletic and patristic translations were the major output of his twenty-six-year stay in Moscow. Epifany was an inquisitive, scholarly monk who took great delight in learning, as his large personal library and the number of secular translations prepared by him demonstrate. In his own day he gained renown for a philological lexicon and a seven-thousand-word Greek-Slavonic-Latin dictionary. Epifany remained a life-long friend of Patriarch Nikon, even after Nikon's fall from favor. See Meyendorff, pp. 108-113, for more information.

23. Bishop Paul of Kolomna was one of the early opponents of the liturgical revisions promulgated by Patriarch Nikon. He disappeared without a trace, by order of Nikon, sometime in the late spring of 1654 and was imprisoned in a monastery in the diocese of Novgorod. According to Pierre Pascal (p. 294), Bishop Paul died on April 3, 1656.

24. Arsenios the Greek is one of the most colorful members of the reformers. He was born around 1621 (or 1610) as Argyrios Riziotis (or Megas) in the village of Neochori near Trikala, Thessaly. His father was a priest and two of this brothers also chose that vocation. His older brother Athanasios took him to Rome in 1636 where he entered the Collegium Athanasianum or Greek College. In order to enter he had to make a Roman Catholic profession of faith. By 1641 Arsenios left Rome for Padua to study medicine and then he returned home and went to Constantinople. The young man desired to become a monk but his family vigorously opposed this desire. Still, in 1643 Arsenios was indeed tonsured. Soon after he was ordained to the diaconate and priesthood. After a brief trip to Chios, Arsenios came to Constantinople and served as tutor to the son of a wealthy Greek. While there, he converted to Islam for unclear motives. Ekkehard Kraft, *Moskaus griechisches Jahrhundert*, thinks that Arsenios found himself in a life and death situation whose only escape was conversion. The conversion was insincere, for he immediately fled Ottoman territory and eventually came to Kiev. In Kiev in 1648 he chanced to meet Patriarch Paisios, whom he served as interpreter on his journey to Moscow. Bad luck struck Arsenios once again when Arseny Sukhanov publicized Arsenios's notorious background. He was tried and sent as a heretic to Solovetsk monastery in 1649. Metropolitan Nikon of Novgorod met Arsenios in 1652 in the Solovetsk monastery and managed to have him released from incarceration. From 1654 Arsenios worked as chief corrector at the Printing Office in Moscow, where he also translated numerous liturgical, hagiographical and patristic texts. He again suffered a reversal of fortunes when Patriarch Nikon resigned in 1658. By 1662 he lost his position at the Printing Office and again was exiled to the Solovetsk monastery. Sometime after 1666 he returned to Moscow. See Meyendorff, pp. 101-108.

25. Arseny Sukhanov (died 1668) was a Russian monk who served the crown and church on a variety of diplomatic missions. In 1649 he accompanied Patriarch Paisios of Jerusalem at the request of the "Friends of God" to gain detailed information on the state of the Orthodox church among the Greeks and other eastern nations in preparation for the reforms of the Russian church. In 1653 he was sent to Mount Athos to collect Greek manuscripts, and he returned to Moscow in February 1655 with over five hundred Greek and Slavonic manuscripts. He served as cellarer in the Trinity-St. Sergius monastery from 1655 until 1660 and then was director of the Printing Office in Moscow from 1661 until 1664. His broad education and experience of different cultures set him above most of his Russian contemporaries. He left behind two famous writings, the *Prenii s grekami o vere* (Discussion with the Greeks about the Faith) and *Proskinitarii* (Pilgrimage) in which he describes the holy sites and ecclesiastical organization of the

places he visited on his journeys to the Christian East. See the article by V. D. Nazarov, "Sukhanov, Arsenii," MERSH, Volume 38, p. 24.

26. The Sunday of Orthodoxy is the first Sunday in Lent. It commemorates the triumph of Orthodoxy at the seventh ecumenical council in 787 and the reinstitution of the cult of icons after its suppression during the iconoclast era in Byzantium. Either at the end of Orthros or the Divine Liturgy a festive procession with numerous icons takes place and the special office including a canon composed by Theodore of Studion is sung.

27. Andrei Pleshcheev was closely associated with the segment of the "Friends of God" which rejected Nikon's reforms, among whom figured his spiritual father Ivan Neronov and Avvakum. Together with his brothers Savin, Grigory and Gerasim, Andrei Pleshcheev wrote the letter in 1654 or 1655 in which he defended the old faith. After Neronov abandoned his earlier doubts and accepted the reforms in 1657, Pleshcheev seems to have followed suit, for in 1622 or 1622 he wrote a letter to Avvakum urging him to adopt Nikon's reforms.

28. Soloviev notes that his information is taken from "Materialy dlia istorii russkogo raskola. Poslanie boiarina Andreia Pleshcheeva k Avvakumu o soedinenii s pravoslavnoiu tserkoviiu (Materials for the History of the Russian Schism. The Letter of boyar Andrei Pleshcheev to Avvakum Concerning his Joining the Orthodox Church," *Pravoslavnyi sobesednik* (Orthodox Interlocutor) (Kazan, 1858), Part 2, pp. 588-589.

29. Kapiton was one of a large number of hermits or visionaries who arose in the 1630s and 1640s in Northeast Russia. He showed a common disregard for the institutional church and its clergy and around 1630 founded the hermitage of the Transfiguration about two hundred kilometers southwest of Totma. In 1634 he established the hermitage of Kolesnikovo in the northern part of Yaroslavl district. Kapiton was renowned for his extreme asceticism which included severe fasting, sleep deprivation, and the wearing of heavy chains and weights. He devoted much of his waking hours to reciting the Psalter. Circumcision was required of his male followers. In 1639 he was denounced as a heretical fanatic and ordered to perform corrective penance in the Savior monastery in Yaroslavl. His ascetical extremes attracted large groups of men and women adherents who fled into the northern forests to escape the corruption of the established church. See Pascal for further details.

30. The court of the Holy Wisdom refers to the residence and offices of the metropolitan of Novgorod. It is named after the cathedral, which is dedicated to Holy Wisdom (Sophia).

31. Patriarch Joasaph I (1634-1640) began his church career as a monk in the Solovetsk monastery. In 1621 he became archimandrite in the Pskov Caves monastery and on January 1, 1627, archbishop of Pskov. He fell out of favor with Tsar Michael in 1632 for opposing the presence of foreign traders in Pskov and was suspended from office. He regained his title and seems to have been Patriarch Filaret's candidate to succeed him. After his election to the patriarchate in 1633 Joasaph undertook a series of modest reform measures and supported the

printing of many new liturgical books. His efforts to eradicate the practice of mnogoglasie failed owing to their timidity, for he permitted the singing of different parts of the service simultaneously "when the need arises."

32. The following exposition of the Nikon affair is based on original documents preserved in the State Archives among the records of the Privy Chancellery (there are people who state that I have not revealed the sources from which I drew my information about the Nikon affair). A portion of the documents are preserved in the Synodal Library. Some documents are printed in the *Collection of State Charters and Treaties.* The Synodal Library houses an exposition of the Nikon affair prepared by Paisios Ligarides which is of interest because of several eyewitness details. As for the Life of Nikon written by Ivan Shushera, experience has taught us to use it with extreme caution. In the exposition of Nikon's activities during the Novgorod rebellion (*History of Russia*, Volume X, pp. 173 ff.), for example, we saw how Shushera's narrative, embellished to Nikon's advantage, differs from the evidence of original documents which include irregularities concerning the order of events. It is obvious how suspicious we must be when examining the information of the schismatics about Nikon to whom as the enemy of God they attempted to ascribe every possible transgression and injustice. (Soloviev's note)

33. Bogdan Matveevich Khitrovo (1615/1616-1680) began his career of service to the tsars in 1632 as a crown agent. In 1646 he was made a colonel and saw action against the Nogay Tatars and Kalmyks. The following year he became a commander. He also rebuilt the earthen ramparts in Kerensk, fortified the towns of Korsun and Simbirsk and was named lord-in-waiting. From 1648 to 1649 he directed the Tax Office. In 1651 he became the director of the Chancellery for Petitions. As the head of an embassy to Poland in 1654 Khitrovo attempted to settle three important issues, namely punishment of those who made unlawful use of the title tsar, suppression of the union of Brest-Litovsk, and procurement of an agreement from Khmelnitsky. Success eluded him. Like many other figures Khitrovo participated in the siege of Smolensk in 1654. In 1663 he became the head of the Chancellery of the Tsar's Household and in 1667 he was made a boyar. Khitrovo enjoyed the special favor of Tsar Alexis Mikhailovich, normally standing to his immediate left at receptions for foreign dignitaries. After the Monesterial Chancellery was suppressed, Khitrovo assumed responsibility for its business in the Chancellery of the Tsar's Household. Just before his death Khitrovo gave instructions to have all his contracted slaves released, a wish which was carried out by order of Tsar Fedor Alekseevich.

34. In 1625 Shah Abbas of Persia sent the relic known as the Lord's Tunic as a gift to Patriarch Filaret. It was laid to rest in the Dormition cathedral in Moscow with great solemnity on July 10. The event was commemorated annually on that date.

35. Written records first mention Yury Ivanovich Romodanovsky in 1648 as a table attendant at the marriage of Tsar Alexis Mikhailovich and Maria Miloslavskaia. From then on he appears as a constant companion of the tsar,

accompanying him on numerous excursions and campaigns. Thus in 1649 he traveled with the tsar to Kolomenskoe, Golenishchevo, Pokrovskoe and Mozhaisk. While still holding the rank of table attendant he was named military governor of Mtsensk in 1650 but held the post for less than eight months. He accompanied Tsar Alexis in 1654 on the campaign to take Smolensk. In 1665 he was given the rank of boyar. From 1667 until 1671 Romodanovsky directed the Chancellery of Artillery and continued to serve the tsar as an advisor and attendant.

36. The striped cope is the official vestment of the bishop when not officiating at the divine liturgy. See illustration, page 84.

37. Alexis Nikitich Trubetskoy (died 1680) had a long career of service to the crown beginning in 1619 when he held the position of table attendant. Before being given the rank of boyar by Tsar Alexis in 1646, Trubetskoy served as military commander in Tobolsk, Astrakhan and Tula. In 1654 Trubetskoy composed the agreement annexing Ukraine to Muscovy and for this service he was elevated to the rank of court boyar. Though generally blessed with military success he suffered a humiliating defeat at Konotop in 1659 when the armies under him and G. G. Romodanovsky were routed by Ivan Vygovsky. He participated in the suppression of the copper riots in Moscow in 1662 and then seems to vanish from official records. His family history records that he took monastic vows at the Savior monastery in Kholm on his deathbed. See the article by Lindsey A. J. Hughes, "Trubetskoi, Aleksei Nikitich," MERSH, Volume 39, pp. 239-240.

38. The patriarch's stall, patriarshestvo mesto, is, like the bishop's stall, the place of honor for the chief hierarch in the nave of the church. It is located against a pillar on the right side of the nave which supports the central cupola of the church. The stall normally is covered by a baldachin.

39. The Resurrection or New Jerusalem monastery was founded by Patriarch Nikon some sixty kilometers west of Moscow in the district of Zvenigorod. His hope was to create a pilgrimage site reproducing the holy places in Jerusalem, in particular by building a replica of the Church of the Resurrection and the Holy Sepulcher. The church would contain five altars representing the five ecumenical patriarchates, with Moscow replacing Rome as the first and most important. Nikon was not permitted to realize his dreams, for shortly after construction began he retired from office and was exiled to the Ferapont monastery. The church and monastery were completed during the reign of Elizabeth Petrovna. The church of the Resurrection housed a relic of St. Helena, mother of Emperor Constantine, and a famous miraculous icon sent to Nikon in 1663 from Chilandar monastery on Mount Athos, the so-called "Icon of the Mother of God with Three Hands." An icon of the Pantocrator shows St. Philip and Patriarch Nikon adoring Christ the Pantocrator. A brief description of the monastery is found in *Pravoslavnye russkie obiteli* (Russian Orthodox Monasteries) (St. Petersburg, 1910), pp. 304-309.

40. Here we are dealing with two dissimilar pieces of evidence, with Nikon's letter to the patriarchs in which he describes his departure from office and with the

depositions of witnesses attending the synod on July 10. Since Shushera who is prejudiced in favor of Nikon is in greater agreement with the latter than with Nikon, we too follow the depositions. Subbotin, who puts greater faith in the letter, says "It appears that he still thought his case was not lost and that the tsar after reconsidering would be reconciled with him and would not allow him to leave the office of patriarch all the more so given that he wrote 'his majesty the tsar sent to tell him not to leave without first seeing him.' Nikon lived in these expectations in the guest house roughly for three days. The time went by and still no news came from the tsar. Nikon realized that there was no longer any reason to wait and he resolved to leave Moscow." Roughly three days! The scene in Dormition cathedral occurred on July 10 and already on July 12 Trubetskoy and Lopukhin were negotiating with Nikon in the Resurrection monastery. That is where attempts to believe Nikon lead! (Soloviev's note)

41. See Chapter I, Note 17.

CHAPTER III

1. See Chapter II, Note 4.
2. See Chapter I, Note 13.
3. The exact amount of money expended by Patriarch Nikon is difficult to determine since the word desiatka has a wide range of meanings. In addition to the vague sense of "ten of something" it can refer to a three-copeck or ten-copeck coin or paper currency.
4. See Chapter I, Note 23.
5. Little biographical information has survived concerning Crown Secretary Dementy Bashmakov. He held a variety of positions in the government and directed the Office of Secret Affairs in 1658-1664 and again in 1676.
6. Crown Secretary Almaz Ivanov (died 1669) descended from a family of Vologda townsmen. He rose quickly among the elite merchants of Muscovy and by 1638 or 1639 was one of the twenty-five wealthiest and most influential merchants in the realm. In his position as a leading merchant he enjoyed many privileges and favors bestowed by the tsar in return for his commercial services to the crown. At the same time he served as the collector of customs duties and tavern taxes in the Dvina region. He held the position of secretary of the Chancellery of Foreign Affairs from 1646 until 1667, and in 1653 he became the head of that office when he was named crown secretary. For most of his life he performed diplomatic duties, including two missions to Poland and a significant role in the annexation of the Ukraine by Muscovy in 1654. As Soloviev makes clear, Ivanov was an active participant in the Nikon affair. Almaz Ivanov was remembered as a competent, intelligent and honest bureaucrat. See Daniel Rowland's entry, "Ivanov, Almaz," MERSH, Volume 15, pp. 69-71.
7. See Chapter I, Note 5.

8. The monastery of St. Makary Kaliazin was founded by St. Makary (died 1483) in the Tver region near the town of Kozhin, his birthplace. The monastery is dedicated to the Trinity and bears the name of the boyar Ivan Kaliaga on whose land Makary erected his cloister.

9. There is little information about Conception (Zachatievsky) monastery. It stood on the spot of an earlier monastery erected by Metropolitan Alexis in the fourteenth century. The Conception monastery was burned during the Time of Troubles.

10. While still metropolitan of Novgorod Nikon formulated plans to erect a monastery on an island in Valday lake. A vision of Metropolitan St. Philip confirmed the advisability of such an undertaking, and the monastery was begun in 1653. The name comes from Iviron monastery on Mount Athos which houses a famous icon of the Mother of God, the so-called Portaitissa or Our Lady the Gatekeeper. Nikon commissioned an exact copy of this miraculous icon for his new monastery from Archimandrite Pachomios who happened to be in Moscow. In addition to this object of devotion, the Iversk monastery housed the relics of four Moscow metropolitan saints, Peter, Alexis, Jonas and Philip. The Holy Cross monastery was founded in 1656 on Kii island in the White Sea. A brief description of this monastery is provided in I. Bartenev, B. Fedorov, *Arkhitekturnye pamiatniki russkogo severa* (Architectural Monuments of the Russian North) (Leningrad-Moscow, 1968), pp. 86-92. See also Hemer, pp. 76-79.

11. Peter Mikhailovich Saltykov (died 1690) was renowned as an honest and capable administrator and became a privy councillor to Tsar Alexis Mikhailovich. His first recorded rank was that of court carver in 1639 and by 1657 he attained the rank of boyar. In 1662 the tsar made him director of the Chancellery for Little Russia and in that position he maintained close and friendly ties with Hetman Briukhovetsky. While Briukhovetsky was making efforts to establish his authority among the cossacks, Saltykov was sent to investigate a number of treasonous monks and landowners in Kiev, including the governor of Kiev, Chaadaev. Saltykov also persuaded Prince Dmitry A. Dolgoruky to give his daughter in marriage to Briukhovetsky in 1665. As Soloviev recounts, Saltykov played an important role in the trial of Patriarch Nikon, heading a commission to investigate all charges against Nikon and testifying at the 1666 synod. From 1673 until 1675 Saltykov served as governor of Tobolsk and arranged for the Kalmyks living on the Ishim river to pay tribute to Moscow. He supervised trade missions to China and organized explorations for silver ore in the region. In 1677 Tsar Alexis sent Saltykov to Astrakhan as governor with the primary goal of subduing the Nogay and Yedisan peoples and guaranteeing safe passage for merchants traveling to and from Persia. During the civil unrest following the death of Tsar Fedor Alekseevich in 1682 Saltykov's son Fedor Petrovich was slain by rioters who mistook him for Afanasy Kirillovich Naryshkin. When the guilty men confessed their crime to Saltykov, he reportedly forgave them with the words "God's will be done."

12. See Chapter II, Note 22.

13. Matvey Stepanovich Pushkin (died 1706) carried out a number of diplomatic and ceremonial functions for the crown. He was a lord-in-waiting from 1655 until 1663, serving at official receptions and banquets in honor of Teimuraz of Georgia. At the coronation of Ivan and Peter Alekseevich in 1682 Pushkin held the orb during the ceremonies in the Dormition cathedral. He was elevated to the rank of boyar in 1683, but his lifelong record of faithful service could not spare him ignominy at the end of his life. In 1697 he was stripped of his rank as boyar and together with his wife and grandson was exiled to Yeniseisk in Siberia, apparently because his son Fedor had been involved in the musketeer uprising that year.

14. The omophorion is a liturgical vestment of a bishop. It consists of a long broad piece of white cloth, often wool, decorated with several crosses. The omophorion is worn across the shoulders and around the neck in such a way that it forms an angle over the breast with the ends falling almost to the ground, one in front and one in back. A smaller omophorion which resembles the priest's stole is worn for less solemn occasions and from the reading of the gospel to the distribution of communion during the Divine Liturgy. The omophorion symbolizes the lost sheep borne on the shoulders of the Good Shepherd. See illustration, page 84.

15. The Bulgarian monk Gregory Tsamblak was elected metropolitan of Kiev and all Rus in 1415 by the bishops of Polotsk, Chernigov, Lutsk, Vladimir-in-Volhynia, Peremyshl, Smolensk, Kholm and Turov with the support of Grand Prince Vytautas of Lithuania who was keen to establish a separate metropolitan see in his territory. At the time of his election Photios (1408-1431) was the canonically installed metropolitan of Kiev and all Rus. Tsamblak was excommunicated by Patriarch Joseph II of Constantinople and Photios regained possession of the dioceses in Galicia. See John Meyendorff, *Byzantium and the Rise of Russia* (Cambridge, 1981), pp. 266-267.

16. Boyar Nikita Ivanovich Ziuzin remained Nikon's friend throughout his life after first meeting him in 1653 when he was appointed to the elite group of boyars charged with executing certain government duties in the absence of the tsar. Reports indicate that Ziuzin enjoyed a luxurious life. He was deeply upset by Nikon's resignation in 1658 and wrote to him in the Resurrection monastery urging him to reconsider. With this began the lengthy correspondence between the two men which would prove fateful. Ziuzin kept Nikon abreast of developments at court, informing him of the synod being convened to judge his case. After serving as governor of Novgorod, Ziuzin visited Nikon in Resurrection monastery in 1661 and again asked Nikon's reasons for resigning from office. Convinced that the animosity between the patriarch and the tsar could be overcome by a personal conversation between them, Ziuzin wrote a letter on December 15, 1664, claiming that the tsar was ready to forgive Nikon if Nikon would come to Moscow. For this and his continued support of his friend Ziuzin was subjected to torture and found guilty of treason. His death sentence was commuted to exile in Kazan and enrollment in military service there. Ziuzin's wife died when she learned of the treatment of her husband. Ziuzin's patrimonial and service tenure estates were confiscated by the crown.

17. Hermogen was patriarch of Moscow from June 3, 1606 until his death from starvation on January 17, 1612. In 1579 Hermogen was ordained a parish priest in Kazan and held that position until the death of his wife in 1583 compelled him to take monastic tonsure. He became abbot of the Holy Transfiguration monastery in Kazan and in 1589 was installed as the first metropolitan of Kazan by Patriarch Job (died 1607, patriarch 1589-1605). Job was deposed for his strenuous opposition to the usurper False Dmitry I who appointed the more pliant Ignaty of Riazan (died 1640, patriarch 1605-1606, 1611) to succeed him on June 24, 1605. Four days later a synod of bishops ratified the usurper's decision. When False Dmitry I died on May 17, 1606 Ignaty was deposed on May 18 and imprisoned in Miracles monastery in Moscow. Vasily Ivanovich Shuisky (1606-1610) became tsar on June 1, 1606 and Hermogen was duly elected and consecrated as patriarch on June 3. In the confusion following the overthrow of Shuisky in July 1610 Hermogen stood firm in his opposition to the Polish faction among the boyars and actively promoted the candidacy of Mikhail Romanov for tsar. At Easter 1611 he was arrested and imprisoned in Miracles monastery. Ignaty was released and briefly served as patriarch before fleeing to Poland.

18. Roman Boborykin (died 1682) discharged a number of military and diplomatic duties for Tsars Mikhail Fedorovich and Alexis Mikhailovich. He helped found and then governed the town of Tambov from 1636 until 1638. In the first phase of the Thirteen Years War, Boborykin took part in campaigns against Smolensk and Belaia. The conflict with Nikon, which began in 1661, seems to have arisen as a result of the sale of Rychkovo or Krechkovo to the Resurrection monastery in 1656 and some unresolved property rights. Nikon eventually forgave Boborykin in 1665. During the final years of Tsar Fedor Alexeevich, Boborykin attained the rank of lord-in-waiting.

19. The reference is to the Book of Revelation (Chapter 12) traditionally ascribed to John the Evangelist, who in Byzantine usage is styled John the Theologian.

20. The Code of Law of 1649, usually referred to as the Ulozhenie of 1649, is considered by many to be one of the great works of legal codification and certainly the most important legal document produced in Russia prior to the 1917 Bolshevik revolution. It was written in response to a number of urban revolts in Moscow and neighboring towns which began in June 1648 as a protest against the oppressive tax burdens and widespread corruption among the government officials under Boris Ivanovich Morozov. The disturbances toppled Morozov's government and forced the new government headed by Yakov K. Cherkassky and Nikita I. Romanov to produce a binding and uniform code of Russian law as part of the solution to the country's woes. A five-member commission began work on July 16, and though its head was Prince Nikita I. Odoevsky, most of the work was done by Crown Secretary Fedor Griboedov. The commission worked with great speed, completing its task by January 29, 1649. The new Code of Law completed the enserfment of the peasantry and stratification of urban society that had been in progress for some time. The Code of Law was ratified by the Assembly of the

Land meeting as it was drafted. For a fuller discussion see the entry by Richard Hellie, "Ulozhenie of 1649," MERSH Volume 40, pp. 192-198.

21. The Monasterial Chancellery was created in 1649 in conjunction with the new Code of Law. Its primary purpose was to remove clerical immunity from civil prosecution and assume jurisdiction for such cases. The regulation of church and monastic property, including all types of charters, bequests and purchases, was also entrusted to the Monasterial Chancellery. Here the newly created chancellery merely assumed responsibilities previously carried out by the Chancellery for Crown Affairs. In 1677 the Monasterial Chancellery was closed by decree of the tsar and its functions turned over to the Chancellery of the Tsar's Household.

22. The service known as orthros (utrenia) in the Orthodox church loosely corresponds to the Roman rite offices of mattins and lauds. Though intended to be celebrated at the beginning of the day, Orthros frequently is anticipated on the preceding evening, following the all-night vigil service. The office comprises a number of prayers, litanies, psalms, antiphons and hymns. The most important part of the service is the lengthy poetic composition known as the canon. See Robert Taft, *The Liturgy of the Hours in East and West* (Collegeville, Minn., 1986), pp. 273-291.

23. Kathisma signifies each of the twenty sections into which the Psalter is divided for continuous recitation in Byzantine liturgical usage. The congregation remains seated for the recitation of each kathisma, standing at the "Glory be to the Father." The distribution of kathismata varies according to liturgical season and weekday.

24. One of the most colorful, intellectually gifted and ambitious personalities in seventeenth-century church history was Panteleimon Ligarides (1609-1678), better known by his monastic name Paisios. Born into a Greek Catholic family on the island of Chios, Ligarides was sent in June 1623 to study in Rome at the Collegium Athanasianum. He obtained his doctorate in philosophy and theology in 1636. In 1641 he was sent to the East to work for the unity of the church. Even though Ligarides was a Catholic theologian paid by Roman authorities, he managed to persuade the Orthodox patriarch of Constantinople, Parthenios I, to extend to him official status as preacher and confessor. When Parthenios I was removed from office in 1644, Ligarides lost his position and left for Wallachia. In 1651 he met Patriarch Paisios of Jerusalem and Arseny Sukhanov on their way to Jerusalem. He joined their entourage and in November of that year he was tonsured as the monk Paisios. Sometime before this happened Ligarides made an Orthodox profession of faith. Nonetheless, he still presented himself to Roman authorities as a Catholic and continued to receive a salary from Rome, even as he was made metropolitan of Gaza in 1652 by Patriarch Paisios of Jerusalem. Paisios Ligarides apparently did not set foot in his metropolitan see, which led to his formal excommunication in 1668. Instead, he returned to Wallachia in 1656 and continued to work on scholarly projects. In 1657 Patriarch Nikon invited Ligarides to Moscow to help with the revision of liturgical books. Ligarides accepted the invitation but only arrived in Moscow four years later, by which time

Nikon already was in disfavor. Once in Moscow, Ligarides sided enthusiastically with the tsar and boyars against Nikon. Ever keen to earn money, Ligarides and his nephew organized a lucrative fur trading business between Russia and Greece. Although Nikon informed the tsar and court officials of Paisios's irregular canonical status, Ligarides ingratiated himself with the tsar and was instrumental in organizing the 1666 church council which finally deposed Nikon. The past eventually caught up with Ligarides in 1668 when a letter from Patriarch Nektarios of Jerusalem reached the tsar in which Nektarios excommunicated Ligarides for his ongoing ties with Rome and his dereliction of duties as metropolitan of Gaza. The tsar sent many expensive gifts and eventually won the rehabilitation of Paisios Ligarides from Patriarch Dositheos II of Jerusalem. In 1671 Dositheos once again excommunicated Ligarides and no amount of bribery could make him change his mind. In 1672 Ligarides received permission from the tsar to return to Gaza to settle his personal and ecclesiastical problems, but he traveled only as far as Kiev. Again in 1676 he was given permission for the journey to Gaza, and again he delayed in Kiev, where on August 24, 1678 he died. Ligarides' estate was given to the Kiev Caves monastery with the exception of his books and numerous relics which were returned to Jerusalem. In the opinion of many, Ligarides was nothing but an opportunist whose chief concern was personal security. Gerhard Podskalsky sees some redeeming qualities and holds Ligarides up as a man who believed in a type of Christian unity that could overlook dogmatic and canonical differences. See Gerhard Podskalsky, *Griechische Theologie in der Zeit der Türkenherrschaft, 1453-1821* (Greek Theology during the Time of the Turkish Ascendancy) (Munich, 1988), pp. 251-258.

25. Cf. Matthew 24: 20-21.

26. See Chapter I, Note 20.

27. This is an allusion to the famous forgery known as the Donation of Constantine, one of the documents upon which medieval popes built their claims to temporal authority and papal primacy. According to the legend, Emperor Constantine conferred on Pope Sylvester I (314-335) primacy over the entire church of the Roman empire and political authority over Italy, Rome and the West. In addition, Pope Sylvester was made supreme judge of the clergy and was offered the imperial crown, but he refused the latter gift. The Donation was composed in the eighth or ninth century. Its genuineness, never doubted seriously in the middle ages, was disproved in the fifteenth century by the Italian humanist Lorenzo Valla.

CHAPTER IV

1. See Chapter III, Note 11.

2. Nikita Ivanovich Odoevsky (died 1689), the orphaned son of Ivan Nikitich Bolshoy Odoevsky, entered service at an early age and was table attendant to Tsar Mikhail Fedorovich in 1618. In the 1630s he functioned as bodyguard and by 1640 had advanced to the rank of boyar. That year he embarked on a three-year

stint as military governor of Astrakhan. His competent exercise of duties won him many rewards and he was named senior judge for the Chancelleries for Kazan and Siberia. Through his marriage in 1645 with Evdokia Fedorovna Sheremeteva he became a relative of the powerful Morozov family. He was stationed in Livny for two years and placed in charge of improving the southern defenses against Crimean Tatar raids. His involvement in the preparation of the Code of Law of 1649, especially with respect to the Monastery Chancellery, earned him the enmity of Patriarch Nikon, which flared up in 1663 when Odoevsky was sent to deal with the exiled patriarch.

3. Rodion Matveevich Streshnev (died 1687) first appears in records as a table attendant in 1634. In 1636 he traveled as the official escort for Philipp Cruse and Otto Brüggemann, envoys from the court of Holstein, on their journey from Moscow to Nizhny Novgorod. Details of this journey are preserved in the famous *Moskowitische und persische Reyse* (Travels to Muscovy and Persia) of Adam Olearius, a mathematician and librarian who was part of the Schleswig-Holstein embassy to Moscow and Persia from 1635 until 1639 (see Volume 17 of this series). After seeing service in the first phase of the Thirteen Years War Streshnev was in charge of strengthening the fortifications around Moscow in 1659. He served in the Chancellery of Crown Revenues in 1661 and from 1663 until 1680 directed the Chancellery for Siberia. At the coronation of Fedor Alekseevich in 1676 Streshnev had the honor of carrying the crown in procession to Dormition cathedral and holding it during the ceremonies there.

4. See Chapter III, Note 6.

5. Archbishop Joseph of Astrakhan (1597-1671) was archimandrite in Holy Trinity monastery in Astrakhan. On December 15, 1659 he was consecrated archbishop of Astrakhan and on June 8, 1667 he became the first metropolitan of Astrakhan. Among other bishops in Russia he occupied the third place of importance. His death on May 11, 1671 is described below in Chapter VIII.

6. See Chapter I, Note 13.

7. Dionysios III Vardales was patriarch of Constantinople from July 12/22, 1662 until October 21, 1665.

8. *Hagie despota*, literally "Holy master" is a form of respect used when greeting a bishop.

9. Patriarch Nektarios (1605-1676) was born Nikolaos Pelopides not far from Kandia, Crete, in 1605. After receiving his initial education from a monk of St. Catherine's monastery on Mount Sinai, Nikolaos entered that monastery in 1625 and received the name Nektarios. In 1645 Nektarios was in Athens where he demonstrated his intellectual abilities, having mastered Greek, Latin, Arabic and Turkish. In 1657 he was an advisor to Patriarch Paisios I of Alexandria whom he succeeded in 1661. Nektarios gave substantial assistance to the founding of a second ecclesiastical academy in Constantinople in 1662. Together with Patriarch Dionysios III of Constantinople, Nektarios signed the synodal tome deposing Patriarch Nikon in 1663. Nektarios restored numerous churches in Jerusalem with funds collected from his trips to Wallachia. He retired from office on January 19,

1669 and entered St. Michael's monastery in Jerusalem from where he continued to take an active part in the theological and ecclesiastical controversies of the day. Nektarios left behind a number of important apologetic works dealing with East-West relations as well as a series of homilies and letters. See Podskalsky, pp. 244-248.

10. The chartophylax was the most important functionary in the patriarchal court, acting as a vicar general for the patriarch, besides executing many other duties associated with archives and diplomatics. He controlled all documentation connected with the patriarch's chancellery, including imperial and ecclesiastical decrees. His interpretation of documents contained in the archives was authoritative. The chartophylax also controlled ordinations by virtue of his duties as official archivist and notary, and he exercised decisive influence over the appointment of bishops and other clerics. The concentration of authority in his hands gave the chartophylax a very high profile in the church, and he frequently ranked ahead of metropolitans at synods and other official church assemblies.

11. Paisios was Greek Orthodox patriarch of Alexandria from October 15, 1657 until 1678.

CHAPTER V

1. Osip Ivanovich Sukin (died 1669) performed a variety of diplomatic services for the crown. In 1658-1664 he assisted Prince Yury Alekseevich Dolgoruky in the war effort against Poland and was made lord-in-waiting in 1661. Records indicate that at a festive banquet on Easter of 1663 (April 19) Sukin and Semeon Zaborovskoy, secretary of the boyar council, became embroiled in an argument about precedence which eventually had to be sent to Almaz Ivanov for investigation. The outcome is unknown.

2. No biographical information is available for Crown Secretary Brekhov.

3. A date of birth for Hilarion of Riazan (died 1673) is not recorded, but by 1656 he was archimandrite of the St. Makary monastery of Zheltye Vody. The following year Patriarch Nikon ordained him. In 1667 or 1669 he was named metropolitan of Riazan. Shortly after taking office he reorganized the Vysotsky monastery by moving all the monks to Nativity monastery and installing in their place the numerous tonsured women of his diocese who had been living in the world. Hilarion wrote a lengthy spiritual testament just before his death on May 28, 1673.

4. See Chapter III, Note 11.

5. Metropolitan Jonas (Sysoevich) of Rostov was born near Rostov around 1607 and sometime later became a monk in the Resurrection monastery in Uglich. He next appears as archimandrite of Belogostitsky and Avraamievsky Epiphany monasteries and then was elevated to the metropolitan throne of Rostov by Nikon in 1652. He took part in the councils of 1654 and 1656 dealing with the correction of liturgical books. In 1658 Rostov eparchy was divided to form the new

eparchy of Veliky Ustiug. While Nikon was in voluntary retirement in the Resurrection monastery Jonas governed the church in his place. In 1663 he took part in the investigations surrounding Nikon's actions. He was relieved of his duties in the patriarchate in 1664 because he accepted a blessing from Nikon. Metropolitan Jonas took part in the official condemnation of Nikon in 1666. He retired in 1690.

6. *Eis polla eti, despota* is the traditional liturgical greeting honoring a bishop. It means "May God grant you many years, Master."

7. See Chapter IV, Note 2.

8. Yury Alekseevich Dolgoruky (died 1682) began his career in 1627 as a table attendant. In 1648 he was made a boyar and worked on the compilation of the Code of Law of 1649. He also served as first judge in the Chancellery of Investigations. In 1652 he became a member of the Chancellery of Artillery. After winning a number of victories in the war with Poland from 1654 until 1667, Dolgoruky was put in charge of military forces near Arzamas and Nizhny Novgorod in 1670 to suppress Stenka Razin's detachments. He subsequently was named guardian of Fedor Alekseevich but passed this position on to this son Mikhail Yurievich. Both he and his son were killed in the musketeer uprising of 1682.

9. See Chapter IV, Note 3.

10. See Chapter III, Note 6.

11. The remains of Metropolitan Jonas of Moscow (died 1461) were buried in the Dormition cathedral.

12. John 7: 8, 10.

13. Acts 15: 36.

14. The record of a comet sighting in 1664 may be found in J. Hevelius, *Prodromus cometicus* (The Comet's Forerunner, 1665) and in his *Machina celestis* (The Heavenly Machine), Part 1 (1673), and Part 2 (1679). It was also recorded by A.-G. Pingré, *Cométographie ou Traité historique et théorique des comètes* (Cometography, or an Historical and Theoretical Treatise on Comets), Volume 1 (Paris, 1783), pp. 105-110, 119-141, 143, 330. (Soloviev's note with additional information by the editor of the 1959-1966 edition.)

15. Luke 9: 5.

16. Dmitry Alekseevich Dolgoruky (Dolgorukov) was a lord-in-waiting in 1651. In 1652 he was sent to Valuiki to redeem Russian captives from the Crimean Tatars. He distinguished himself in battle during the siege of Smolensk in 1654 and was named first commander of Polotsk. In 1658 he was given the honorary title of vicegerent of Briansk. In 1667 he became first judge in the Chancellery for Monastery Affairs. His final posting was to Arkhangelsk in 1672 where he was responsible for building a new merchant hall and improving the fortifications of the town. He died there in 1673 but was buried in the Epiphany cathedral in Moscow. Dolgoruky married four times and left behind two sons and a daughter, Daria, who married the cossack hetman Briukhovetsky.

17. See Chapter I, Note 3.

18. See Chapter III, Note 16.

19. Afanasy Lavrentievich Ordin-Nashchokin (1605-1680) was born into a noble family of Pskov and received a solid education in foreign languages, mathematics and rhetoric. His service career began in the regiments in 1622 and by 1640 he was involved in diplomatic missions. In 1656 Ordin-Nashchokin signed the agreement of friendship and cooperation with Courland and also helped establish diplomatic relations between Muscovy and Brandenburg. In 1667 he was appointed director of the Foreign Office and argued in favor of a Muscovite-Polish alliance against Sweden. His talents were put to use in the modernization of Russian society, the development of commerce and industry and the building of shipyards on the Oka river. For further information see the entry by E. V. Chistiakova, "Ordin-Nashchokin, Afanasii Lavrent'evich," MERSH, Volume 26, pp. 72-73. See also Volume 20 of this series.

20. Ivan Martynovich Briukhovetsky (died 1668) was enlisted in the Chigirin cossack unit and served as senior servitor to Bogdan Khmelnitsky. After the agreement between Vygovsky and Poland in 1659 sparked major protests in the cossack ranks, Briukhovetsky was sent to the Sech by Yury Khmelnitsky to secure support for his claims to be hetman. In the Sech, Briukhovetsky made a name for himself as a defender of the interests of the common cossacks against the aristocratic pretensions of the leadership. He became field commander at this time and held the post until 1662. After Yury Khmelnitsky renewed Vygovsky's pact between the cossacks and Poland revolt erupted on the left bank of the Dnieper led by Vasily Zolotarenko and Yakim Somko. Briukhovetsky sided with the revolt and marched against Khmelnitsky in 1662. In 1663 he was designated hetman by Methodios, the *locum tenens* for the metropolitan of Kiev and was elected to the position at a cossack assembly. For the next three years Briukhovetsky waged war with Pavel Tetereia, the new leader of the right-bank cossacks. Enamored of the prestige which the hetmanate brought him, Briukhovetsky abandoned his earlier anti-establishment stance and soon lost support among the ordinary cossacks. In 1668 he also broke with Moscow and allied himself with the Crimean Tatars. While attempting to escape, Briukhovetsky was captured near Dikanka and beaten to death by an enraged crowd. His body was taken to Gadiach and buried with full hetman honors in the local Epiphany cathedral.

CHAPTER VI

1. See Chapter IV, Note 5.

2. On July 4, 1658 Tsar Alexis hosted a dinner in honor of the king of Georgia, Teimuraz, who was in Moscow discussing closer ties with the tsar and with the Russian church. Protocol required the presence of the patriarch at such receptions but this time Nikon was not invited.

3. Athanasius of Alexandria (296-373) was exiled a number of times from his see because of his strong opposition to Arianism. Under Constantine and Constantius he was deposed and exiled to Trier in 336. After returning in 337 he again had to flee in 339. Athanasius could return to his see in 346 but was forced into exile again in 356 by Constantius. He remained in hiding until Julian became emperor in 361 but once more suffered exile in 362. A final brief exile befell him in 365-366. Gregory of Nazianzen (329-389), known among the Orthodox as Gregory the Theologian, was made archbishop of Constantinople in 381 although he was already bishop of the much smaller town of Sasima. He was called to Constantinople in 379 where he boldly preached in favor of the Nicene faith. He made a good impression on Emperor Theodosius and was prevailed upon to serve as bishop of Constantinople, but after only a month in office, he resigned.

4. The sakkos is the bishop's chasuble, resembling an ample dalmatic with broad sleeves. Its open sides are held together by metal buttons or ribbons. A cross decorates the back. The sakkos originally was reserved for the patriarch, but in Russia it came to be worn by metropolitans, some archbishops, and after Peter the Great by all bishops. See illustration, page 84.

5. St. John the Merciful (died 619) was patriarch of Alexandria. He is known as 'the merciful' because of his great generosity to the poor and needy, and his constant willingness to suffer indignities and forgive his tormentors. An English version of his life is available in *Three Byzantine Saints*, translated by E. Dawes and N.H. Baynes (Oxford, 1948), pp. 199-270.

6. As part of their insignia Orthodox bishops wear beside their pectoral cross a medallion called the panagia. It is an oval-shaped ornament most frequently containing a small icon of the Mother of God. See illustration.

7. The feast of Theophany, known in the West as Epiphany, commemorates the baptism of Jesus Christ in the Jordan river by John the Baptist. Its name derives from the description of the event in the gospels (cf. Matthew 3: 13, 17; Mark 1: 9-11; Luke 3: 21-23, John 1: 33-34) according to which the Holy Trinity was revealed. Like Christmas, Theophany is preceded by a special feast day known as the navecherie or paramonie, rendered in English as "eve." Water is blessed to recall the baptism of Christ and also the early church's practice of baptizing catechumens during this special service. At issue here is the time for the blessing of water. The rules governing this are complicated. If the eve falls on any day but Saturday or Sunday, the water is blessed after Divine Liturgy. If it falls on Saturday or Sunday, the blessing occurs after vespers. A second blessing of the water is performed on the feast of Theophany itself, January 6, after Divine Liturgy. This second blessing of water often entails a procession to a nearby river or spring. From the scant information given by Soloviev, it appears that Nikon performed the second type of blessing on the eve of Theophany, January 5 and perhaps omitted the second blessing on January 6. The 1667 synod decreed that both blessings were to be celebrated, the blessing on January 5 to occur in the church itself, that on January 6 at a source of water outside the church. Precise details may be found in Konstantin Nikol'skii, *Posobie k izucheniiu ustava*

bogosluzheniia pravoslavnoi tserkvi (Handbook for the Study of Liturgical Norms of the Orthodox Church, St. Petersburg, 1900), pp. 551-557. Less detail, but also less clarity, is found in *The Festal Menaion* (London, 1969), pp. 337-338.

8. The Russian Pilot Book, or *Kormchaia kniga* is a Slavic redaction of the Greek Nomocanon which contains the so-called Apostolic canons, the decrees of the first four ecumenical councils, decisions of local synods, prescriptions of church fathers, imperial decrees pertaining to church affairs and civil laws. It served as the code of law for church courts throughout Rus even though no single version enjoyed universal authority. In 1649 Patriarch Joseph appointed a commission to print a corrected text of Russian church law, to be based on the Serbian St. Sava redaction of the thirteenth century, and to incorporate other materials as well. Though the edition by Patriarch Joseph was completed and published in 1650, it was not distributed. Patriarch Nikon ordered a revision which appeared in 1653, containing a history of the Christianization of Rus and the establishment of the patriarchate. For more information see the entry by Martin Dimnik, "Kormchaia kniga," MERSH, Volume 17, pp. 187-189.

9. *ya v to vremia ne velik byl*, literally "At that time I was not big." This is somewhat of an understatement, since Job was installed in 1589 and Nikon was not even born until 1605.

10. The Ferapont monastery was founded in 1398 by St. Ferapont, the friend of St. Cyril of Beloozero, and is situated some fifteen kilometers from St. Cyril's own monastery. The true organizer of the monastery was St. Martinian (died 1483) who was the favorite pupil of St. Cyril. He is renowned for his skill at copying manuscripts and for his administrative and organizational accomplishments. Under his guidance the monastery flourished economically and spiritually, growing to be one of the largest, wealthiest and most influential medieval monasteries on Russian soil. The monks followed the example of Martinian in their copying skills and love of beauty. The church of the Nativity of the Mother of God, built in 1492-1503, is decorated with frescoes by Dionisy and his sons Vladimir and Feodosy. Besides this church the Ferapont monastery boasted four others. Nikon worshipped in the church of the Epiphany built in 1649. The monastery suffered a devastating fire in 1664 which gutted nearly half of the cells. Although it was favored by the ruling family during the seventeenth century, the Ferapont monastery suffered from the secularization of church lands in the eighteenth century and was closed in 1798. It reopened in 1903 as a convent for women. Like many monasteries in medieval Russia, the Ferapont served as a prison for various types of troublesome or reprobate clerics, including Nikon.

11. Aggey Alekseevich Shepelev (died 1688) was commander of the select regiment of infantry in 1658. In 1678 he received the title of conciliar general, a rare distinction in pre-Petrine Russia. In this rank he traveled to Kiev to deal with attacks by the Turks and Crimean Tatars. In 1682 he returned to Moscow and was made a conciliar nobleman. His final duties involved him in the defense of the Ukraine against the Turks and Crimean Tatars in 1686, for which he was promoted to lord-in-waiting.

12. Patriarch Joasaph II (died 1672) first appears in the higher clerical ranks as archimandrite of the Nativity monastery in Vladimir in 1654. From 1656 until 1666 he was archimandrite of Trinity-St. Sergius monastery and earned the gratitude of Tsar Alexis for his effective prayers and fasting which reportedly helped win notable victories against Poland. He was elected and installed as patriarch of Moscow on February 10, 1667. During his tenure of office Joasaph II is credited with reviving the ministry of preaching which had fallen into abeyance for many decades in Russia. Missionary expansion of the church also occurred during his patriarchate, notably to the Far North and East. In 1671 the Savior monastery was founded on the Amur river by Hermogen, and missionaries worked among the Zyrians and on Novaia Zemlia. Joasaph II instituted some of the measures recommended by the 1667 council, such as requiring an official investigation before relics were accepted as those of a saint. He did not undertake construction of schools, recommended by the council as an effective way to counter the attraction of the schismatics. Before his death two important liturgical texts were published, a corrected version of the *Pentecostarion* in 1670, containing the services of Easter season, and a completely new *Lenten Triodion* in 1672, translated from the Greek.

13. See Chapter III, Note 5.

14. St. Peter's Fast, more properly called the Fast of the Holy Apostles Peter and Paul, lasts approximately two weeks before June 29, though its length is determined by the date of Pentecost.

15. See Chapter I, Note 11.

16. See Chapter II, Note 33.

17. Tsarevna Anna was only four years old when she died after a sudden illness on May 8, 1659.

18. Tsaritsa Maria Ilyinichna died on March 4, 1669 after a difficult delivery of her thirteenth child, who died only two days after birth.

19. See Chapter IV, Note 3.

20. Tsarevich Alexis Alekseevich died on January 17, 1670, not yet sixteen years old.

21. See Chapter V, Note 8.

22. Chronic debility of body or mind.

23. Larion Dmitrievich Lopukhin (died 1677) served from 1647 until 1667 in the Chancellery for Kazan, and in 1652 he was made conciliar secretary. He undertook various diplomatic missions for Tsar Alexis after assuming the directorship of the Chancellery of Foreign Affairs in 1653. As a diplomat Lopukhin strove to protect the prestige of the tsar in relations with foreign powers. He and A.N. Trubetskoy were sent to deal with Nikon in 1658 and managed to wrest from him permission for the metropolitan of Krutitsa to govern the church in his absence. He was sent again in 1672 to smooth out the relationship between the tsar and Nikon.

24. See Chapter VII, below.

25. Cf. Matthew 7:3.

26. That is, all is well.

27. Peter Alekseevich was born on May 30, 1672, the son of Alexis Mikhailovich and his second wife Natalya Naryshkina. After the death of Fedor Alekseevich in 1682 a dynastic feud erupted between the Miloslavsky and Naryshkin families over the rightful successor to the tsar's throne. Sophia Alekseevna, Peter's older half-sister and descended from the Miloslavsky clan, promoted the cause of the sixteen-year-old mentally and physically defective Ivan Alekseevich, her full brother.

28. vershok = 4.4 cm, 1 3/4 inches

29. In the Russian original Soloviev adds a series of original documents of interest to the Nikon affair. These are translated in an Appendix.

30. See Chapter II, Note 18.

31. The *Scepter of Government* was written by Simeon Polotsky while he was working for the council of 1666. His critique of the opinions of certain clerics opposed to the reforms instituted under Patriarch Nikon forms the basis of the work, which is severely critical of the Old Believer movement.

32. Simeon Polotsky (1629-1680) was born Samuil Emelianovich Petrovsky-Sintianovich in the Belorussian town of Polotsk. He completed his studies at the Kiev academy in 1651 and may have studied briefly in the Jesuit college in Wilno. In 1656 he entered the Epiphany monastery in Polotsk and was tonsured with the name Simeon. Here he taught in the school of the Orthodox fraternity attached to the monastery. When Tsar Alexis visited Polotsk in 1656 Simeon greeted him with some verses he had composed. Again, on a visit to Moscow in 1659 Simeon and some pupils greeted the tsar and his family with verses. Metropolitan Paisios Ligarides sponsored Simeon's transfer to Moscow sometime around 1663. In 1665 he was named teacher of Latin and Greek at the school in the Savior monastery behind the Icon Painters' Row (Zaikonospassky), where he remained until his death. His pupils included various officials from the chancelleries in Moscow, and in 1667 he became the tutor of Alexis Alekseevich and then of Fedor Alekseevich and Sophia Alekseevna. Simeon participated in the councils of 1666 and 1667, writing against the opponents of reform. His *Scepter of Government* was compiled at this time. Both it and his 1670 work *Venets very* (The Crown of Faith) show much dependence on Roman Catholic theology, a feature which later caused them to be censored. Simeon was a prodigious writer whose works included poetry, drama, sermons and scholastic treatises. In 1678 he wrote an encyclopedia in verse called *Vertograd mnogotsvetnyi* (The Many-Flowered Garden). He was also active as a translator. For a discussion of his literary output, see Dmitrij Čiževskij, *History of Russian Literature* (The Hague, 1960), pp. 346-357. See also Lindsey A. J. Hughes's entry, "Polotsky, Simeon," MERSH, Volume 29, pp. 8-11.

33. See Note 12, above.

34. St. Savvaty and St. Zosima are closely associated with the long history of the Solovetsk monastery. Savvaty (died 1435) was a disciple of St. Cyril of Beloozero and together with German (died 1479) founded the Solovetsk monastery in the

years 1429-1436. Each founder imbued the monastery with a pronounced ascetical rigorism. Zosima (died 1478), a monk from Lake Ladoga, enlarged the monastery significantly while he was abbot, 1452-1478.

35. Geronty refers to a version of the Jesus Prayer in which the phrase "the Son of God" figured, "Lord Jesus Christ, Son of God, have mercy on me a sinner."

36. St. Evfrosin of Pskov (died 1481) founded the St. Eleazar monastery in Pskov around 1450. He wrote the first formal monastic rule in Russian. According to his Life, Evfrosin became involved in a local controversy in Pskov concerning the number of times the Alleluia should be repeated during liturgical prayers. A journey to Greece convinced him that the proper way of singing the Alleluia was to repeat it twice rather than three times. His Life became an important piece of evidence from Russian tradition for the Old Believers.

37. It was customary for monks who sensed their impending death to be tonsured in the great habit (skhima). The great habit differs from the ordinary monastic habit of Orthodox monks and nuns through a full-length scapular decorated with the instruments of Christ's passion. These symbols remind the monk of the extreme asceticism expected of him as he seeks to identify himself completely with the suffering Christ.

CHAPTER VII

1. The following account of Stenka Razin's rebellion is based primarily on documents preserved in the archives of the Ministry of Justice and the Ministry of Foreign Affairs. The greater part of these documents was published in a separate book entitled *Materials for the History of Stenka Razin's Rebellion* and consists of a supplement to the monograph on Razin written by A. N. Popov in *Russian Conversation* (1857). Some important documents remained unknown to Popov which are preserved in the archives of the Ministry of Justice between columns No. 1567 and 1573 of the Chancellery Department. From these documents it appears that Bariatinsky was twice in Simbirsk. We likewise made use of interesting information about cossack movements before Razin's time which are found in the Don Acts for the corresponding years, as well as information concerning persons who lent Razin gunpowder and lead. This information is included by chance in Little Russian Acts of 1668, No. 1. Important information about Razin is located in Historical Acts, Nos. 202 and 226. From foreign works: (1) Strauss's *Sehr schwere, widerwertige und merkwürdige Reisen* (Most Arduous, Vexatious and Remarkable Travels); (2) *Relation des particularités de la rebellion de Stenko Razin* (Account of the Peculiarities of the Stenka Razin Rebellion); (3) *Stephanus Razin cosacus perduellis* (The Cossack Stepan Razin and His Battles) by Schurtzfleisch. As is everywhere the case so here too is it necessary to use foreign information with great care. Thus, according to foreign information, Razin said nothing under torture whereas from Nikon's Acts we know

that he spoke about a monk who apparently was sent by Nikon. Concerning the relationship of Razin to Prince Semeon Lvov, see *The History of the Unwarranted Incarceration of Matveev*, p. 211. (Soloviev's note)

2. Stepan Timofeevich Razin (1630-1671), known to history as Stenka Razin, came to symbolize the revolutionary energy of the lower classes in Russia. As most scholars admit, his life has become so overgrown with legend that it is difficult to separate fact from fiction. He first appears on the historical stage in 1652 when he made the traditional Don Cossack pilgrimage to the Solovetsk monastery to pray at the shrine of Saints Savvaty and Zosima. In 1658 he was part of the official cossack delegation sent to Moscow to negotiate the annual subsidy. He commanded cossack forces in 1663 in a raid on Crimean Tatars and rescued some 350 cossack prisoners. Until 1667 Razin showed himself to be a faithful and courageous member of the Don Cossacks centered on their capital in Cherkassk. The reasons for Razin's sudden emergence as a leader of the dispossessed have puzzled historians for centuries. As Soloviev himself notes, the story that Razin took to brigandage and armed rebellion against the tsar's government to avenge his older brother's death has no documentary substantiation. Paul Avrich suggests that Stenka Razin's innate qualities as a leader are the ultimate reason for his sudden transformation. The rebellion began as a pirate expedition along the Lower Volga and on the Caspian Sea in 1667. A second rebellion erupted in the Middle and Transvolga region in 1670, and though Razin took part in some of the battles, this rebellion developed independently of him and engulfed tens of thousands of Russian and non-Russian peasants, townsmen, lower clergy and military servitors in a bloodthirsty and blind assault on the government and its representatives, notably landowners. When Razin was executed on June 6, 1671 in Moscow's Red Square he was already a legendary figure. As Paul Avrich writes, "Razin's revolt was crushed in blood.... It awakened, however dimly, the social consciousness of the poor, gave them a new sense of power, and made the upper classes tremble for their lives and possessions. Moreover, it left a myth of rebellion which would inspire future generations with dreams of liberation. Above all, it created a martyr whose memory was preserved in ballad, lore, and epic. Of the four great rebels of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, Razin, whom Pushkin called 'the one poetic figure in Russian history,' was the one most revered by the people." (p. 120) See Paul Avrich, *Russian Rebels, 1600-1800* (New York, 1976), pp. 49-122. For a brief and more recent discussion, see the entry by James G. Hart, "Razin, Stenka," MERSH, Volume 52, pp. 56-62.

3. Vasily Rodionovich Us (died 1671), better known as Vaska Us, was a Don Cossack who led a large rebellion against Moscow in 1666. Taking a group of five hundred cossacks to Moscow in search of a subsidy, he was joined on the way by other cossacks and some two thousand peasants. Outside Tula the mob plundered many estates and caused the landowners to seek shelter in towns. He fled south to the Don when it was rumored that Yury Bariatinsky was leading a large contingent of government troops towards Tula. Here he joined forces with Stenka Razin and became one of Razin's most dependable and effective commanders.

4. The *golytba* ("naked ones") were refugees from Muscovy and Poland, fleeing the war and enserfment and seeking refuge among the Don Cossacks. As refugees they were poor and without land. Unlike the house-owning cossacks who had lived around Cherkassk for generations and received a subsidy from the tsar's government in return for defending the border against Crimean Tatars, the "naked ones" frequently had to hire themselves out in service to the established cossacks. They also had to wait some time to be admitted as full-fledged members of the cossacks and they were prohibited from tilling the soil to earn a livelihood. The "naked ones" had a deep-seated hatred for the tsar's government, having suffered economic and social hardship before fleeing its reach. Their less than enthusiastic reception by the established cossacks on the Don only added to their frustrations, which eventually found an outlet in the rebellion led by Stenka Razin.

5. Prince Ivan Semeonovich Prozorovsky (died 1670) began a lengthy military and diplomatic career in the service of Tsar Mikhail Fedorovich. In 1642 he was commander of the great regiment in Pereiaslavl-Riazan. He succeeded in subduing the Middle Volga and Terek regions in 1645-1646 and winning their loyalty to the tsar. In 1667 he was sent to Astrakhan as governor. Soloviev describes his valiant but futile efforts to defend the town against the cossacks, and his own cruel death. His wife Praskovia Fedorovna and their son Boris the Elder who survived the cossack assault, managed to escape to Moscow. She died there in 1687.

6. Ataman Kornily Yakovlev was leader of the Don Cossack assembly in Cherkassk and the godfather of Stenka Razin. He represented the land-owning cossack establishment and served the tsar's government on many occasions. Yakovlev was concerned with defending the traditional independence of the cossack host, on the one hand, and upholding his obligations to Moscow on the other. When urged by Moscow in 1667 to intervene against Razin's pirating escapades on the Lower Volga, Yakovlev refused to act, yet he apparently realized that Razin's emergence as leader of the landless and volatile "naked ones" posed a threat to the old order in the cossack assembly. Thus when Razin led an army of "naked ones" to Cherkassk in February 1671 Yakovlev was forced to repel his godson. Then on April 14, 1671 Yakovlev made a surprise assault by night on Razin's hiding place at Kagalnik. Razin and his brother were taken captive and the "naked ones" suppressed. Yakovlev and Mikhail Samarenin leading an escort of seventy-six cossacks brought Razin to Serpukhov where he was handed over to a company of musketeers who took him and his brother to their eventual torture and death in Moscow.

7. Prince Semeon Ivanovich Lvov (died 1671) occupied a number of positions from 1650 until 1663. In 1664 he was appointed governor of Belgorod and in 1667 first assistant to the governor of Astrakhan.

8. According to early Kievan sources the Varangian prince Oleg ruled over Kiev and a number of subjugated East Slav tribes from 879-913. The Russian Primary Chronicle records for the year 907 a successful raid on Constantinople

undertaken by Oleg and some two thousand ships, which won for Rus not only the spoils of plunder but also a very lucrative commercial treaty with the Byzantines. See Volume 1 of this series.

9. In the Orthodox calendar, the first Sunday after Easter is called Thomas Sunday. It commemorates the appearance of the risen Christ to the disciples one week after the resurrection. At this time, according to John 20: 26-29, the apostle Thomas probed the wounds in Christ's side with his hand and made a confession of faith.

10. See Note 7, above.

11. Captain David Butler was an experienced seaman and navigator, well-suited for the task of sailing the flagship of the Russian Caspian fleet. The *Eagle* (Orël) was the center piece of Alexis Mikhailovich's plan to create a Russian naval presence on the Caspian Sea. The ship is described as "a handsome, three-masted man-of-war, eighty feet long, twenty-one in the beam, which was to carry an armament of twelve guns as well as a contingent of soldiers." It was completed in 1668. See Philip Longworth, *Alexis. Tsar of all the Russias* (New York, 1984), pp. 192-193.

12. See Chapter IV, Note 5.

13. Ivan Martynovich Zarutsky (died 1614) was a commander of Don Cossacks during the Time of Troubles. He sided with the pretender False Dmitry II from whom he received the rank of boyar. When the pretender was murdered, Zarutsky joined the First Militia Force and then took charge after its leader Liapunov was murdered. In 1612 Zarutsky fled to Astrakhan and committed the atrocities alluded to here by Soloviev. When government troops approached the city, Zarutsky fled to the Ural steppes but was betrayed by his own men to Muscovite authorities. He was impaled at the Serpukhov gates of Moscow. See the entry by Orchard, "Zarutskii, Ivan Martynovich," MERSH, Volume 45, pp. 176-182 and also Volume 16 of this series, pp. 18-22, 24-29 for more information.

14. Feodosy (died 1607) was born Feodot in Yakovlevsk near Yaroslav, the son of a priest named Khariton. He married at the age of twenty and served as a priest in the church of St. Boris and St. Gleb. After six years of marriage his wife died and Feodot was tonsured as Feodosy in the Tolg monastery of the Virgin on the Volga river. He became abbot in 1566 and served his community for twenty-five years. Thanks to his good administration and skill at improving the monastery's buildings he was moved to Holy Trinity monastery in Astrakhan and instructed to build a stone church. He also built a wooden church dedicated to the Ascension and attached a monastery to it. In 1602 he was made first archbishop of Astrakhan. When False Dmitry I appeared on the scene, Feodosy actively preached against him in Astrakhan but was imprisoned by the townsfolk who had gone over to the pretender's side. Feodosy was sent to Moscow for interrogation and apparently made such an impression on False Dmitry I that his life was spared. Even after his release he could preach against the pretender with impunity. In 1607 Feodosy was sent back to Astrakhan, but died in Tsaritsyn before reaching his destination. He eventually was buried in Astrakhan.

15. Gilan (also rendered as Gilian) was a small province of Persia located on the southwest shore of the Caspian Sea. Until 1567 Gilan was an independent khanate but fell to the Persian shah Tahmasp I (1524-1576). In 1723 it was occupied by a Russian army and ceded to Peter the Great. The Russians left in 1734. Gilan produced a variety of important goods for export, including box wood, fish and silk.

16. The *veche* was an early form of government in Rus best described as a town meeting or assembly of all free adult males for the purpose of discussing and deciding important issues of governance. Voting at the assembly was restricted to heads of households and self-supporting bachelors. The symbol of the veche was the bell which rang to call the eligible members to assemble. When Moscow extended its authority over other towns, the bells were seized and the veches disbanded. Edward D. Sokol provides a good description of this institution in "Veche," MERSH, Volume 41, pp. 238-242.

17. The only St. Feodor who fits the chronology of Soloviev's account is Feodor the Varangian who was martyred along with his son Ioann in 983. According to the *Primary Chronicle* the still pagan Prince Vladimir returned to Kiev and agreed to offer a human sacrifice in thanksgiving for his victory over the Yatviags. The lot fell on the son of a Varangian, father and son both being Christians. When the father refused to surrender his son and defended the Christian faith, both were slain by the Kievans. On the site of their death Vladimir later erected the Tithe church. The names Feodor and Ioann were provided by the *Prolog*, and Old Russian collection of saints' lives for liturgical use. Their feast day is July 12.

18. Yury Nikitich Bariatinsky participated in a number of battles in the Thirteen Years War against Poland, seeing action at Vasilkovo, Riga and Smolensk. In 1664 he succeeded in driving the Poles and Lithuanians from Briansk. As a reward for his successful involvement in the suppression of Razin's rebellion in 1670 he was made a boyar.

CHAPTER VIII

1. Razin took advantage of the rumors surrounding the unexpected death of Tsarevich Alexis Alekseevich on January 17, 1670 and his young brother Semeon Alekseevich in June 1670 to claim that the heir to the throne was not dead but under the protection of Razin himself. The impostor favored by Razin was the son of a Kabardinian chieftain. Together they prosecuted the traitorous boyars and nobles at the tsar's behest, so Razin claimed. In 1671 a second impostor, Ivan Kleopin, was arrested on the Polish frontier. See Avrich, pp. 94-95, for more details.

2. Yakov Timofeevich Khitrovo (died 1675) had an eventful military career. He was wounded in battle near Smolensk in 1634. In 1653 he joined with Bogdan Matveevich Khitrovo in the unsuccessful embassy to Poland. From 1659 until 1661 he held the position of military governor of Kazan with Dmitry Alekseevich Dolgoruky, after which he was sent to the Don and was captured by the Crimean

Tatars. In 1664 he was named conciliar nobleman and sent to Poltava as military governor. In 1668 he subdued the rebelling Zaporozhian Cossacks, destroyed the town of Kremenchug and then built a new town on its ruins. In 1669 he oversaw the provisioning of Tambov. After his involvement with the cossacks near Pechinishchie and Algasovo in 1670 he was sent to Siberia in 1672 to build a town in the Ural mountains on the Tasm river and explore for silver. He returned in 1674 to the Don, where he died the following year.

3. The *synodikon* is a list of names of the living and/or deceased for whom prayers are to be offered. Another name is diptych.

4. See Chapter V, Note 8

5. See Chapter VII, Note 18.

6. Danilo Afanasievich Bariatinsky saw action in the struggle for control over the Ukraine in 1662. In 1670 he was involved in the final stages of the suppression of Razin's rebellion in the towns of Tsivilsk, Cheboksary and Kozmodemiansk. As governor of Tomsk in 1673-1674 he suppressed the rebellious Kalmyks and Kirghiz. Further military duty brought him to the Crimea in 1686, and he took part in the assembly which elected Mazepa in 1687. Peter the Great made him a boyar. Bariatinsky earned a reputation as a pious man of profound religious convictions and together with his brother Alexis he founded the Polikarpov monastery in Briansk in 1694.

7. Konstantin Osipovich Shcherbatov (died 1696) served the tsar against rebellious cossacks on many occasions, first seeing action against Briukhovetsky's cossacks in 1666 near Pochep and Novgorod Seversk. He played a major role in the fight against Razin in 1670. In 1676 he was made a lord-in-waiting and then a judge at the Chancellery of Posts. He then was sent to Astrakhan as governor. In 1682 he supported Peter Alekseevich as lawful heir to the throne, which eventually brought him into disgrace, for in 1683 he was demoted to the governorship of Yeniseisk in Siberia.

8. See Chapter II, Note 26.

9. The *zakat* was the favored form of execution in Astrakhan. The condemned was hurled from a parapet atop a high tower.

10. See Chapter VII, Note 9.

11. The "Life-bringing Source in Miracles" refers to an icon of the Mother of God first attested in the fourteenth century and associated with some churches in Mistra. Its prototype may be much earlier. The icon most often shows a half-figure of Mary in the praying position, seated in the bowl of a well or fountain. Next to her is the infant Christ whose hand is raised in blessing. In Miloslavsky's copy the "Life-bringing Source" is surrounded by various miniatures depicting miracles associated with the Mother of God and Christ, hence the name *Zhivonosny istochnik v chudesekh* (Life-bringing Source in Miracles).

12. Yakov Nikitich Odoevsky (died 1697), son of Nikita Ivanovich Odoevsky, began his service as table attendant in the throne room in 1653. From 1654 to 1658 he participated in numerous military forays and served under his father. When he returned to Moscow he functioned as a bodyguard. In 1663 he

was named a boyar and sent to Astrakhan, where he remained until 1666. He returned to Moscow and in 1679 was named judge at the Chancellery for Kazan. In 1672 he returned to Astrakhan charged with punishing the rebel leaders and with reorganizing civil life in Astrakhan after the recent depredations. In 1677 he was appointed to the Chancellery for Investigations as a judge. In 1682 he once again assumed responsibilities at the Chancellery for Kazan and gradually replaced his aging father in a number of important posts, including presidency of the Chamber of Settlement. He went to Andrusovo in 1684 to conclude eternal peace with Poland. Before his death in 1697 Odoevsky served as first judge in the Chancellery of the Apothecary and in the Chancellery of Artillery.

13. During the Great Entrance in the Liturgy, when the bread and wine are brought to the altar in a triumphant procession, prayers of intercession are offered for important Christian dignitaries, among whom figures the government of the day, in this case, the tsar.

14. In Orthodox liturgical custom, simple priests bless with one hand whereas bishops bless with two hands.

15. Klementy Yevlev was captain of the Moscow musketeers. His father Alexis was a secretary at the Tax Office for ten years beginning in 1635 and also served as secretary to the military governors of Astrakhan from 1653 until 1655

16. For our exposition of the siege on Solovetsk monastery we used information found in the archives of the Ministry of Justice between the columns of the Chancellery Department No. 1525, 1533 and 2159. Information concerning the same events is found in *Acts of the Archeological Expedition*, Volume IV, *Historical Acts*, Volume IV, and in the *Supplements to the Historical Acts*, Volume V. (Soloviev's note)

APPENDIX

1. The word *sinklitiki* (senators) refers to members of the tsar's advisory council, the duma.

2. This is a reference to the new manner of holding one's fingers to make the sign of the cross introduced by Nikon and the reformers.

3. *Tyoshka* is the smoked belly of sturgeon and other large fish.

4. *Shchuka* is pike or ocean ling.

5. A type of fish, *idus melanotus*.

6. *Karas* is crucian, a yellow fish somewhat akin to carp.

7. *Viziga* is the dried spinal cord of cartilaginous fish.

8. *Sig* is a type of fish resembling white salmon.

9. *Pastila* is a type of sweet made from fruit or berries.