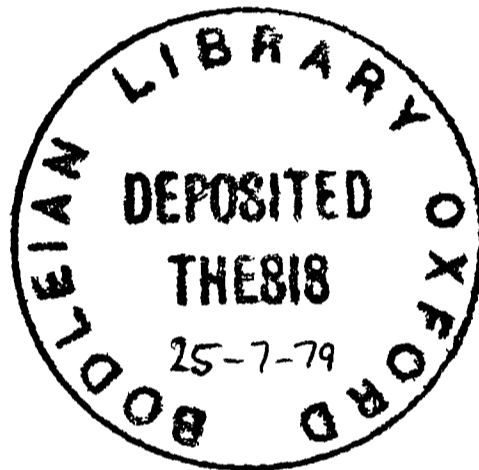


THE HERESY OF THE JUDAIZERS  
AND THE PROBLEM OF THE RUSSIAN REFORMATION

by

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o my parents, with gratitude

## PREFACE

When I first set out to write this present work I had no idea of the varied directions and intricate paths of history into which it would lead me. The subject I had chosen appeared to become steadily more complex, but in the process of trying to understand it I had the opportunity of learning from a number of scholars, to whom I owe a debt of gratitude.

My deepest thanks are due to Professor John Fennell, without whose advice and understanding this thesis would not have been begun - or completed. I also wish to thank Professor Dimitri Obolensky, Dr Anne Pennington and Dr James Shiel for their help and advice, and Mr John Simmons and Mr David Howells for invaluable bibliographic assistance.

Thanks to a British Council scholarship I was able to work for three months in the Soviet Union. This all too brief a period was spent profitably only owing to the help and kindness of Yakov Solomonovich Lur'e (to whose fundamental works on the heresy of the Judaizers and the history of the period this study is heavily indebted) and the late Vladimir Ivanovich Malyshev, of the Institute of Russian Literature (Pushkinsky Dom), USSR Academy of Sciences.

I would like to thank Mrs Barbara Craig and the Fellows of Somerville College for having given me the opportunity to study in Oxford and for electing me, in 1972, to the Edith Haynes scholarship. To them, and to the many scholars and librarians, in Britain and the USSR, who have given me much indispensable advice, I would like to express my warm appreciation.

Finally, my thanks are due to Mrs Rozalind Yeowart and Miss Shirley Gilbey for their work in typing this thesis.

## Notes to the Text

This work is based on published and manuscript sources. A list of manuscripts consulted is appended to the bibliography. Where quotations from sources, whether manuscript or published, are made in Russian, the orthography is simplified according to the principles advocated by *Trudy otdeleniya drevnerusskoy literatury*, vol. XI, pp.494-8.

For the transliteration of Russian words the system recommended by the *Slavonic and East European Review*, vol. 30, 1952, pp.531-49 is used, with the following exceptions:

- 1) *e* and *ë* are always transliterated *e* (e.g. Elena).
- 2) The endings *-vŭ* and *-uŭ* in nouns and adjectives are always rendered by *-y* (e.g. Vasily, novy).
- 3) Both the so-called "soft sign", the letter *ь*, and the "hard sign" *ъ* (when it occurs in the middle of a word) are rendered by an apostrophe (e.g. Kazan').
- 4) In the spelling of feminine nouns ending in *-iya*, the ending *-ia* has been used throughout (e.g. Sofia).

Foreign names commonly encountered in Russian sources are transliterated.

All abbreviations used in the footnotes are explained in the Bibliography.

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Abstract	

CHAPTER I - INTRODUCTION AND HISTORIOGRAPHY

The most complete contemporary account of the history and beliefs of a group of men accused of heresy in Russia in the late fifteenth - early sixteenth centuries and known to historians as the Judaizers, is to be found in the writings of Iosif of Volokolamsk.

In his *Skazanie o novoyavivsheysya eresi Novogorodskikh eretikov*,<sup>1</sup> an introduction to his voluminous anti-heretical work, the *Prosvetitel'*, Iosif tells us that 6,500 years after the Creation and 1000 years after the birth of Christ the light of Christianity descended upon Russia and, for 470 years, remained pure and unsullied by heresy. But in the year 1470, a Jew called Skharia came to Novgorod and seduced the priest Denis and the archpriest Aleksey into the Jewish faith. These two converts soon found followers and 'they did so much that was unlawful that they even exceeded the heretics of old!'<sup>2</sup>

According to Iosif these heretics:

- 1) denied the Virgin birth, the Resurrection and the Trinity;
- 2) did not accept the sacred authority of any books which speak of the Holy Trinity, but rather held to the Law of Moses;
- 3) denied Christ as the Son of God promised in the Scriptures;
- 4) blasphemed against icons;
- 5) claimed that the Fathers had forecast that the world would end in the year 7000; since that year had passed and the world had remained, the writings of the Fathers were untrue;
- 6) denied the truth of the Scriptures and all sacred writings, and
- 7) condemned the monastic way of life.<sup>3</sup>

Having listed the ideas of the Novgorod heretics, Iosif tells us of their fate. In the year 1480, Ivan III came to Novgorod and, on his return to Moscow, he took with him the archpriest Aleksey, whom he

1. *Prosvetitel'*, pp.27-54.

2. *ibid.*, pp.30-2.

3. *ibid.*, pp.33-7.

appointed to the Cathedral of the Assumption, and Denis the priest, who was assigned to the Cathedral of the Archangel Michael. There they converted many Muscovites to the Jewish faith, among them Ivashko Cherny and Ignat Zubov.<sup>1</sup>

But in 1485 the holy Gennady was appointed by God's will to the archbishopric of Novgorod, 'and like a lion he was loosed upon the evil heretics ....',<sup>2</sup> many of whom sought refuge in Moscow, where they found protection in high places. The heresy, spreading to the court of the grand prince, was embraced by Fedor Kuritsyn and other *d'yaki*. 'And the archpriest Aleksey and Fedor Kuritsyn dared further than anyone else in their relations with the ruler: for they devoted themselves to astronomy (literally: laws of the stars) and fables, astrology, magic and the black arts. This is why so many joined them ....'<sup>3</sup> This continued as long as the weak and ineffectual Geronty remained metropolitan of Moscow, until, on his death in 1490, his throne passed to a heretic, Zosima.<sup>4</sup>

In 1490 a Council of the Church, convened on Gennady's initiative, anathematized the heretics Gavriila, Denis, Maksim, Vasily, Makar, Gridya, Vaska, Samukha and all who held the same heretical views. They were then sent by the grand prince to Novgorod, where, according to Iosif, they received just punishment from Gennady.<sup>5</sup>

But although Iosif states that *all* the heretics were anathematized, he goes on to describe how Zosima, Kuritsyn and their circle continued their activities, secretly upholding the heresy and making use of the Ten Commandments to gain further converts. They did not attempt to seduce everyone to Judaism but, by their misinterpretation of the Old and New Testaments and by other arts, they taught many to 'revile the sacred books.'<sup>6</sup>

1. *Prosvetitel'*, p. 37.

2. *ibid.*, p. 38.

3. *ibid.*, pp.38-9.

4. *ibid.*, pp.39-40.

5. *ibid.*, pp.41-2.

6. *ibid.*, pp.43-5.

Iosif's *Skazanie* does not go into the further fate of Zosima, Fedor Kuritsyn and their associates. Zosima was in fact deposed in 1494,<sup>1</sup> and in December 1504 Ivan III, together with his son and heir Vasily, presided at a Council of the Church against Fedor's brother Ivan Volk Kuritsyn, Mitya Konoplev, Ivan Maksimov and others, who were found guilty of heresy and executed.<sup>2</sup>

Even so brief an account as the foregoing is sufficient to indicate why this heresy has been found so interesting by historians of Russia. The Judaizers were accused of serious denials of Christian dogma; yet many among them were members of the clergy and some, like the metropolitan Zosima, held high church office. The high position in the service of the grand prince achieved by others, such as Fedor Kuritsyn, and the alleged conversion to the heresy of the daughter-in-law of the grand prince, Elena of Moldavia,<sup>3</sup> suggest that the heresy exerted a wide influence at the court of Ivan III: indeed, Iosif's evidence implies that the grand prince was, if not sympathetic, then at least tolerant to the ideas of such Judaizers as Aleksey, Denis and Fedor Kuritsyn. Yet it was Ivan III who, in 1504, destroyed the sect of the 'Novgorod heretics': little trace of the heresy remained after the Council of that year.

Many attempts have been made to resolve the apparent contradictions in the evidence available to us, for an understanding of the history of the Judaizers' heresy is important to our understanding of both the ecclesiastical and secular history of Russia in the reign of Ivan III.

In Russia, as in the rest of later mediaeval Europe, the fifteenth century saw the rise of the 'stronger state', 'the gradual ousting of the mighty subject'.<sup>4</sup> Ivan III wanted more than the hegemony of Moscow over the great Russian states already established by his father Vasily II: he wanted to be the first *gosudar' vseya Rusi*,<sup>5</sup> to gather together *all*

1. *Polnoe sobranie russkikh letopisey* (hereafter *PSRL*), vol.20, p. 361.

2. *ibid.*, p. 375.

3. Kazakova and Lur'e, *Antifeodal'nye ereticheskie dvizheniya* (hereafter *AED*), p. 436.

4. Waley, *Later Medieval Europe*, p. 289.

5. Ivan III was the first ruler of Muscovy to use this as an official title. Fennell, *Ivan the Great*, pp.147-8; Grekov, *Ocherki*, p.202, n.236.

Russian lands, many of which were under the political authority of Lithuania,<sup>1</sup> into one centralised state. To the achievement of this aim Ivan III directed his internal and foreign policy.

His first task was to consolidate the authority of Moscow over Great Russia. By marriage, bribery and force Ivan III managed to ensure that by the end of his reign there were, with the exception of Pskov<sup>2</sup> and Ryazan', no independent principalities or city republics on his territory.<sup>3</sup> The annexation of Novgorod, with its rich boyar families, powerful archiepiscopacy and extensive political and commercial contacts with the West, proved a particularly difficult and slow process; it was only after the total destruction of the republic's independence that Ivan III could begin his campaign to reclaim his 'patrimony' from Poland-Lithuania.<sup>4</sup>

In the reign of Vasily II, Muscovy was still paying tribute to the Golden Horde. In order to maintain a defensive front against attack from the south-east, Vasily concluded in 1449 a treaty of peace and friendship with Casimir IV.<sup>5</sup> In his will Vasily entrusted his widow and sons to the protection of Casimir;<sup>6</sup> Ivan III, however, soon made it clear that this was not the relationship he desired with his western neighbour.

In fact, Ivan virtually reversed his father's policy: in order to be free to pursue his aims in the west he sought to protect his southern and south-eastern flank by a treaty with the khan of Crimea, Mengli-Girey,

1. United with Poland for much of Ivan's reign under Casimir IV Jagiellon (grand prince of Lithuania from 1440, crowned king of Poland in 1447, died 1492). Under his sons Central Europe virtually became a 'Jagiellonian state': Vladislav became king of Bohemia in 1471 and king of Hungary (and its dependencies Croatia, Moravia, Silesia and Lusatia) in 1490; on Casimir's death in 1492 Jan Olbracht inherited Poland and Alexander the grand principality of Lithuania.

2. Pskov remained technically independent of Moscow until 1510.

3. Yaroslavl' was annexed by force in 1463, Rostov by treaty in 1474, Novgorod by force in 1478, Tver' and Vyatka were also annexed by force in 1485 and 1489 respectively.

4. Fennell, *Ivan the Great*, pp.29-65

5. Cherepnin, *Russkie feodal'nye arkhivy* (hereafter *RFA*), vol.1, p.150

6. *ibid.*, p.160

the aim of which was joint defence against the Golden Horde and joint aggression against Casimir.<sup>1</sup> After 1480 Muscovy no longer paid tribute to the Golden Horde, and after 1487 the Khanate of Kazan' became a client-state of Muscovy. By the end of the decade Ivan III felt his southern borders were sufficiently secure for him to concentrate on campaigns in the West.<sup>2</sup>

Although his policy towards his immediate neighbours in the west, Lithuania, Livonia and the Hanseatic cities, was belligerent,<sup>3</sup> Ivan's relations with other western states were peaceable. At a time of rising anti-Catholicism in Muscovy, fanned by official propogando in preparation for the war 'in defence of Orthodoxy' against Lithuania, diplomatic relations with the Papacy were established. Nor was the Papal State the only Catholic state with which Ivan was on good terms. in the eighties and nineties of the fifteenth century, Ivan III exchanged ambassadors with Matthias Corvinus of Hungary, the Hapsburg Emperors Frederick III and Maximilian and with King John of Denmark.<sup>4</sup> In the south-west the strategically important Orthodox principality of Moldavia played a large part in Ivan's foreign policy in this period.<sup>5</sup>

Ivan's frequent missions to the West also had purposes other than negotiations with foreign courts: an important duty of his envoys was the recruitment of specialists for Muscovite service : few missions returned from the cities of Italy without bringing men skilled in the arts of architecture, armoury and fortification.<sup>6</sup>

At the same time as official diplomatic and cultural contacts with the West increased, traditional ecclesiastical contacts with the East suffered a decline. The signing of the Act of Union between the Byzantine Orthodox and Roman Catholic Churches at the Council of Ferrara/

1. Grekov, *Ocherki*, pp.187-8.

2. Fennell, *Ivan the Great*, pp.66-105; Grekov, *Ocherki*, pp.164-201; Bazilevich, *Vneshnyaya politika*, pp.61-3.

3. Grekov, *Ocherki*, pp.181-4; Pierling, *La Russie et le Saint Siège*, Book 2; Kazakova, *Russko-livonskie i russko-ganzeyskie otnosheniya*, pp.154-310.

4. Fennell, *Ivan the Great*, pp.112-31, 169-70; Grekov, *op.cit.*, pp.199-200.

5. Fennell, *op.cit.*, pp.107-12.

6. Bazilevich, *Vneshnyaya politika*, pp.77-83.

Florence in 1439 was not recognised by the Russian Church, even though one of the signatories was a metropolitan of Moscow, Isidor. The subsequent dismissal of Isidor and appointment of a new metropolitan without the approval of the patriarch showed that Constantinople had lost much of its authority as the centre of Orthodoxy.<sup>1</sup> After the fall of Constantinople to the Turks in 1453 the Russian Church was *de facto* independent of Constantinople,<sup>2</sup> but independence of the patriarch meant, as the Church was to find, greater dependence on the grand prince; relations between Church and State had to be re-defined. Moreover, in disputes within the Church, or between Church and State, the patriarchate could no longer be appealed to as an authoritative independent mediator.<sup>3</sup>

That such disputes occurred in the late fifteenth - early sixteenth centuries is attested by a number of polemical works which appeared in this period. According to Ya.S. Lur'e 'the most important new feature of Russian literature from the end of the fifteenth century was the appearance of numerous works openly polemical in character ... forming an independent genre, rather than remaining as component parts of some chronicle redaction'.<sup>4</sup> Another aspect of the literary history of the period is the appearance in the late fifteenth century of works described by Iosif of Volokolamsk as *nepoleznye povesti*,<sup>5</sup> the reading of which was

1. Golubinsky, *Istoriya russkoy tserkvi* (hereafter *IRT*), vol. 2, pt. 1, pp.469-88; Obolensky, *The Byzantine Commonwealth*, p. 363. See Ivan's letter to Archbishop Iona of Novgorod dated 1465-70: 'не требую его (Patriarch Simon), ни его благословения, ни его неблагословения, имеем его от себя, самого того Патриарха, чужа и отречена ...' (*RIB*, vol. 6, No. 100, col. 7).

2. *IRT*, vol. 2, pt. 1, p. 488.

3. Thus in 1347 Archbishop Vasily replied to the Swedish monks who asked for a dispute on faith: 'оже хоцши уведати, которая вера лучши, наша или ваша, пошли в Царьгород к патриарху' (*PSRL*, vol. 5, p. 225), whereas the d'yak Filip Petrov, writing to Archbishop Gennady ca. 1491, reports from Pskov that he received a letter proposing such a dispute from Yur'ev 'серии черньци ... и тую грамоту князю и посадником есми явил, и князь себе взял.' When the 'серии черньци из немец' arrived in Pskov, the city's priests had no hesitation in answering without reference to the Patriarch: 'не всем вера права, верен есть Бог; аще веруете в Сына Божиа, то почто богоубивцом жидом последуете, суботствуеге постящеся в ню ...' *AI*, vol. 1, No. 286, pp.522-3.

4. Lur'e, *Ideologicheskaya bor'ba v russkoy publitsistike kontsa XV - nachala XVI veka* (hereafter *IB*), p. 3.

5. 'Да будет ти горко неполезных повести послушание, сътове же медвении святых муж повести, и Божественных писании прочитание,' *Prosvetitel'*, p. 325.

regarded as not merely unprofitable, but even harmful because of their worldly nature: 'In the fifteenth century, in addition to new works belonging to the genre of translated *belles-lettres* which penetrated into Russia in this period (*Stefanit i Ikhnilat*, the Serbian *Aleksandriya* and others), the first original works of the same type appear: tales which have no "practical" purpose (whether religious or secular) and which are not intended for historical compilations.'<sup>1</sup>

In the secular, ecclesiastical and cultural history of Russia the late fifteenth - early sixteenth century was a period of change, and the Judaizers' heresy is relevant to an understanding of several aspects of this change.

The history of the heresy is closely linked with the history of the fall of Novgorod: not only was the heresy allegedly imported into Russia when Novgorod 'treasonably' attempted to assert its independence by inviting the help of a Lithuanian prince,<sup>2</sup> but it apparently spread from Novgorod because of the activities of heretics brought to Moscow by Ivan III after a visit to the recently-annexed city. In Moscow at least one Judaizer, Fedor Kuritsyn, was so active<sup>3</sup> in the administration of the grand prince's foreign policy that he has acquired the reputation of 'one of the most prominent statesmen in the reign of Ivan III';<sup>4</sup> he and other heretics served in the grand prince's 'civil service' and were involved in the administration of internal policy.<sup>5</sup>

A central issue in the domestic policy of Ivan III was the relationship between Church and State, especially the question of the grand prince's right to appropriate land belonging to the Church (in practice primarily, though not exclusively, monastic land). Iosif of Volokolamsk alleges that the Judaizers were opposed to the monastic way

1. *Istoki russkoy publitsistiki* (hereafter *IRP*), p. 563.

2. Fennell, *Ivan the Great*, pp. 38-40.

3. Veselovsky, *D'yaki i pod'yachie*, p. 280.

4. *IB*, p. 183.

5. *AED*, p. 148; Zimin, 'Sobytiya 1499 goda', pp.96-8; idem., 'D'yachesky apparat', pp.246-50.

of life: he was himself a leader of the so-called Possessors, a faction of the Church which defended ecclesiastical property ownership against those who advocated 'saintly poverty'. The ideas attributed to the Judaizers and their activities in the service of the grand prince link the heresy with the history of secularization in Russia.

In the history of Russian literature of the late fifteenth - early sixteenth centuries Iosif of Volokolamsk is a central figure and his major work, the *Prosvetitel'*, is a refutation of the heresy of the Judaizers. The heresy is important to the history of Russian literature of the period not only because it was the occasion of much polemical writing by the opponents of the heresy: for the first time in Russian history we also have at our disposal writings which can be ascribed to the heretics themselves, such as the *Laodikiyskoe poslanie* of Fedor Kuritsyn and one of the early Russian *nepoleznye povesti*, the *Povest' o Drakule*, ascribed to the same author.

The wide relevance of the Judaizers' heresy to the study of Russian history is reflected in the very varied approaches to the heresy taken by historians. The first detailed study of the heresy was published in 1838 by Rudnev in his *Rassuzhdeniya o eresyakh i raskolakh*.<sup>1</sup> Basing himself almost entirely on evidence provided by Iosif of Volokolamsk, Rudnev remarked on the many contradictions it contained. His conclusion was that the 'Judaism' of the heretics was difficult to accept and that the heresy was compounded of two trends of thought: rationalist and Judaist - with the rationalist strain predominant.

This view was not entirely shared by later accounts of the relationship between the Judaizers and the Church. Zhmakin,<sup>2</sup> Makary<sup>3</sup> and Golubinsky<sup>4</sup> are inclined to accept the authority of Iosif of

1. Rudnev, N.Z., *Rassuzhdeniya o eresyakh i raskolakh, byvshikh v russkoy tserkvi so vremen Vladimira Velikogo do Ivana Groznogo*, pp.89-142.

2. Zhmakin, 'Mitropolit Daniil', *ChOIDR*, 1881, pt. 1, pp.41-53.

3. Makary, *Istoriya russkoy tserkvi*, pp.82-6.

4. Golubinsky, *Istoriya russkoy tserkvi*, (hereafter *IRT*), pp.549-607.

Volokolamsk, treating the Judaizers as heretics who were incited by Jews to undermine Orthodoxy during the unsettled times following the fall of Constantinople. A similar opinion is expressed in a recent work on the history of the Russian Church by A.V. Kartashev, who sees the Judaizers as a 'small secret society' of 'free-thinking Jews'.<sup>1</sup> Zhmakin also drew attention to the political contacts of the heretics, and concluded that the Judaizers were 'not only a religious but also a political society sympathising with the traditions of the old-boyar / and anti-Grand Prince / party'.<sup>2</sup>

The unsettled times, and particularly the non-fulfilment of the prophecy of the end of the world in the year 7000 are regarded by A.I. Nikitsky<sup>3</sup> as the starting point of the heresy, but among historians of the Church he is exceptional in considering the heresy to have had a Christian rather than a Jewish background. The grand prince's attitude to the Judaizers was, according to Nikitsky, dictated by Ivan's desire to weaken the power of the metropolitan and the church, and by the Judaizers' sympathy for his plans for secularization.<sup>4</sup>

Discussing the extra-ecclesiastical aspects of the heresy in his manuscript notes on the 'Heresy of the Judaizers', V.O. Klyuchevsky noted that too much attention had been paid to the alleged beliefs of the group and not enough to the historical setting of the heretics' activities. He advised that 'in order to get closer to a clear general historical picture of the entire movement it is first of all necessary to distinguish two features which are usually either ignored or merely mentioned in passing: the attitude of the main sources of our information on the heresy to the course of its development, and the views on heresy of its main opponents'.<sup>5</sup> It would seem, however, that Klyuchevsky felt

1. Kartashev, *Ocherki*, vol. 1, pp.489-505.

2. Zhmakin, 'Mitropolit Daniil', *ChOIDR*, 1881, pt. 1, p. 49.

3. Nikitsky, *Ocherk vnutrenney istorii tserkvi v Velikom Novgorode*, pp.154-9.

4. *ibid.*, pp.169-70.

5. Klyuchevsky, 'Eres' zhidovstvuyushchikh', cited from *AED*, p. 79.

compelled to agree with Sobolevsky that 'the real nature of the heresy presents an insoluble problem':<sup>1</sup> his *Kurs russkoy istorii* does not mention the Judaizers.<sup>2</sup>

Among the first Soviet historians to propose a solution was B. Titlinov, who in 1923 published his study of heresy in Russia.<sup>3</sup> He described the heresy of the Judaizers as the 'second stage in the development of a Russian ideology of religious revolt (*religiozno-buntarskoy mysli*)', an episode in the gradual emergence of a movement which began in the fourteenth century with the *Strigol'niki* heresy.<sup>4</sup> Titlinov dismissed the possibility of a Jewish, Bogomil or Husite<sup>5</sup> influence on the ideas of the Judaizers: 'The reality of life in Russia provided such fertile ground for criticism of the Church and of religion, that it is quite unnecessary to seek outside causes for the appearance of the Novgorod and Moscow free-thinkers.'<sup>6</sup> This view of the heresy as part of an indigenous movement of protest has been firmly accepted by Soviet historians, though the credit for developing it has been given not to Titlinov but to Rybakov,<sup>7</sup> whose article on the 'Church militant'<sup>8</sup> was published over a decade later than Titlinov's study. This is because Titlinov considered that the movement was partly born of the backwardness of fifteenth century Russian society as compared with the West. Rybakov asserted that the heresy demonstrated the similarity of social conditions which, in Russia as in the West, gave rise to heresies among the bourgeoisie, directed against the feudal Church and State.<sup>9</sup> The Judaizers' heresy, like the 'renaissance', 'reformation' and 'humanistic' spirit of Russian culture postulated by Soviet historians, was accepted

1. Sobolevsky, 'Perevodnaya literatura', p. 396.

2. Klyuchevsky, *Sobranie sochineniy*, vol. 2.

3. Titlinov, 'Religioznye "bunty" i "inkvizitsiya" na Rusi'.

4. See *AED*, pp.7-74 for a discussion of the *Strigol'niki* heresy.

5. Titlinov was attacking the theses of Il'insky - 'Russkie bogomily XV v. ("zhidovstvuyushchie")', and of Botsyanovsky - *Bogoiskateli*, pp.21-30.

6. Titlinov, *op.cit.*, p. 47.

7. *AED*, p. 88.

8. Rybakov, 'Voinstvuyushchie tserkovniki XVI v.'

9. *ibid.*, pp.31-3

as proof of the parallel historical development of Russia and Europe in the late fifteenth - early sixteenth centuries.<sup>1</sup> But none of the proponents of this approach, which had few critics,<sup>2</sup> provided more than an interpretation of the *Prosvetitel'* account of the heresy.

In the first, and so far only, published monograph on the Judaizers, Ya.S. Lur'e<sup>3</sup> tried to remedy this situation. His study of the Novgorod-Moscow heresy,<sup>4</sup> published in 1955, investigates the historical and social background of the heresy and draws on a wide range of sources. This monograph not only provided valuable primary material for the history of the Judaizers' heresy,<sup>5</sup> some of it previously unknown or available only in manuscript; Lur'e's commentary on such sources as the *Skazanie o novoyavivsheysya eresi*<sup>6</sup> also gives a valuable insight into the problems of evaluating the evidence. In all his writings on the heresy Lur'e stresses the need for a critical attitude to sources, and his work on the dating and textual history of the *Prosvetitel'*<sup>7</sup> demonstrates the validity of his approach. The conclusions made by Lur'e in *Antifeodal'nye ereticheskie dvizheniya* and in *Ideologicheskaya bor'ba v russkoy publitsistike*, published in 1960, will be discussed in detail later. In general Lur'e supports the view that the Judaizers' heresy was part of a humanistic reformation movement which owed its existence to discontent with the established church rather than to any Jewish influence. He considers that the Novgorod Judaizers, drawn from among the lower orders of the Church, supported Ivan III in a campaign against the Novgorod boyars, and were

1. Orlov, *Drevnyaya russkaya literatura*, p. 290; Budovnits, *Russkaya publitsistika*, p. 64; Gudzy, *Istoriya drevney russkoy literatury*, p. 236. An interesting exception is the 1945 edition of *Istoriya russkoy literatury* (vol. II, p. 378) which describes the heresy as an anti-clerical movement which developed under the influence of Jewish humanism of the late fifteenth century.

2. Tikhomirov, 'Kul'tura Rusi', pp.246-7; idem., 'Pamyatnik russkoy kul'tury', p. 253. For a criticism of the notion that the Judaizers were part of an anti-feudal reformation movement see Smirnov, cited in *AED*, p. 90, n. 89.

3. *AED*, pt. 2.

4. Term employed by Lur'e and other Soviet historians to describe the heresy of the Judaizers.

5. *AED*, pp.256-521. The sources were edited by Lur'e, Zimin, Klibanov and Sokolov.

6. *ibid.*, pp.438-61.

7. *ibid.*; *IB*, pp.112-21.

protected by the grand prince in pursuance of his designs on monastic property. The Moscow Judaizers, on the other hand, owing to their higher social position, were not as antagonistic toward the feudal class - nor, unlike the Novgorod heretics, were they opposed to the basic tenets of Christian belief. But, having achieved their position in the service of the grand prince, they had some interest in the restriction of monastic landownership and supported Ivan in his 'centralizing' measures.

Lur'e's work renewed interest in the heresy and in its historical and cultural background: in 1967 an article reviewing the results of Soviet research into early Russian history commented that the late fifteenth and early sixteenth century attracted more interest than any other period.<sup>1</sup> Between 1955 and 1960 Klibanov published a series of articles on oppositional thought in Russia from the fourteenth to the sixteenth centuries.<sup>2</sup> These articles formed the basis of his book on 'reformation movements' in Russia,<sup>3</sup> a large part of which is devoted to a discussion of the thought of the Novgorod-Moscow heretics<sup>4</sup> and to a study of the sources attributed to two Judaizers - Ivan Cherny and Fedor Kuritsyn.<sup>5</sup> Klibanov aims to substantiate Rybakov's concept of the heresy as one episode in a continuously developing movement of reformation which, he claims, spread to Moscow from the north-western cities of Pskov, Tver' and Novgorod, drawing throughout on the support of the 'progressive' lower and middle classes of the urban populations. At the same time Klibanov points out parallels between his interpretation of the ideas expressed by the heretics and the humanistic ideas of contemporary writers in the West.

Several Soviet historians have tried to find new source material for the heresy of the Judaizers. Begunov investigated the *Kormchaya* transcribed by Ivan Cherny,<sup>6</sup> Zimin the anathemas pronounced against the

1. Shul'gin, 'Problemy istorii', p. 156.

2. Listed in *IB*, p. 89, n. 49.

3. Klibanov, *Reformatsionnye dvizheniya v Rossii v XIV - pervoy polovine XVI vv.* (hereafter *RD*).

4. *ibid.*, pp.167-251.

5. *ibid.*, pp.12-81.

6. Begunov, 'Kormchaya Ivana Volka Kuritsyna'.

Judaizers,<sup>1</sup> and Prokhorov the evidence of the 'Dispute of Gregory Palamas with Khionians and Turks',<sup>2</sup> a fourteenth-century Greek work translated in Russia in the fifteenth century.

According to Prokhorov the mysterious term 'Khionians' refers to the Karaites, a Jewish sect, and he shows that Palamas' 'Dispute' was used by Iosif of Volokolamsk in two chapters of his *Prosvetitel'*. Drawing parallels between the beliefs attributed by Iosif to the Judaizers and those held by the Karaites, Prokhorov concludes that Iosif recognised 'Khionians' in the Novgorod and Moscow heretics and was therefore correct in identifying them as Judaizers. But Prokhorov is alone among contemporary Soviet historians in altering the interpretation of the heresy first provided by Rybakov.

Such disagreements which exist centre not on the origins or nature of the Judaizers' beliefs, but on the relationship between the Novgorod and Moscow heretics. In his earliest article on the subject, published in 1953, Zimin drew a sharp distinction between the two 'groups' of heretics. In 1498 Ivan III crowned his grandson Dmitry (son of Ivan's deceased eldest son by his first marriage) as his co-ruler and successor. But in 1501 Dmitry was imprisoned and Vasily (Ivan's eldest son by his second marriage, to Sofia Palaeologa) was appointed heir. Zimin considered that this dynastic crisis was a reflection of the conflict between the separatist boyar faction at the court (supporting Dmitry) and the progressive faction which defended centralism and autocracy (and supported Sofia and Vasily). And since Iosif of Volokolamsk testified that Elena, Dmitry's mother, had been converted to heresy by the Judaizers, Zimin concluded that the Novgorod heretics were progressive and the Moscow heretical group reactionary.<sup>3</sup> Though in later writings Zimin modified his view of the Moscow Judaizers as 'reactionary', he continued to emphasize the difference between the Novgorod and Moscow groups and the

1. Zimin, 'Sobornye prigovory'.

2. Prokhorov, 'Prenie'.

3. Zimin, 'O politicheskoy doktrine', pp.164-5.

links between the Moscow Judaizers and the 'conservative' Elena/Dmitry faction.<sup>1</sup>

Lur'e also makes a distinction between the Moscow and Novgorod groups of heretics, based on social differences between the Novgorodians, mainly belonging to the lower orders of the clergy, and the Muscovites, who were associated with the court of the grand prince. Lur'e considers that social differences gave rise to differences in ideology: while the Novgorod heretics were opposed to such basic tenets of Christian belief as the dogma of the Trinity,<sup>2</sup> the ideology of the Moscow faction was characterized by a 'criticism of the Christian post-evangelical tradition',<sup>3</sup> and especially of monasticism. N. Smirnov<sup>4</sup> and Klibanov<sup>5</sup> emphasize similarities more than differences, but even they regard the Moscow group as a sort of 'moderate wing' of the Judaizers, sharing the ideas of the Novgorod group as regards dogma, but less radical in their criticism of the Church hierarchy (which, these authors suggest, implied criticism of feudal society as a whole), because of their involvement in the political and social concerns of the court.

But the basic view on the nature of the Judaizers' heresy remains the same: it is still seen as the 'social protest of the lower classes against feudal oppression',<sup>6</sup> as an 'anti-feudal movement'.<sup>7</sup> And, in spite of warnings about the 'bias' of the evidence of Iosif of Volokomamsk,<sup>8</sup> contemporary Soviet accounts of the beliefs of the heretics (iconoclasm, anti-Trinitarianism, denial of the Resurrection, etc.), differ little from the account given in Iosif's *Skazanie*.

1. Zimin, 'Sobornye prigovory', pp.221-2; idem., 'Osnovnye problemy', pp.102-6; idem., *Rossiya na poroge novogo vremeni*, pp.283, 286.

2. *AED*, pp.122-6, 169-203; *IB*, pp.178-81.

3. *IB*, p. 181.

4. Smirnov, 'Tserkov' i obrazovanie', pp.80-3.

5. *RD*, pp.204-5.

6. Grekulov, *Pravoslavnaya inkvizitsiya*, pp.12-13.

7. Kazakova, *Ocherki*, p. 58

8. *IB*, p. 122; *RD*, pp.189, 201; Lur'e, 'O nekotorykh printsipakh kritiki istochnikov', pp.94-7.

Iosif's evidence on the beliefs of the heretics has also been largely accepted by non-Soviet historians, who, with a few notable exceptions, have concentrated on the interpretation of available material. Vernadsky<sup>1</sup> considered that the Novgorod heretics were indeed converted by a certain Skharia, whom he identifies with Zaccaria Ghizolfi, prince of Taman'. As Muscovite diplomatic sources of the late fifteenth century show, Zaccaria Ghizolfi contemplated entering the service of Ivan III; Vernadsky suggests that he did go to Russia, travelling to Novgorod via Kiev. According to Vernadsky there were several groups among the Judaizers: some actually accepted Jewish dogma (though not ritual), some were interested only in Jewish science and philosophy, and others were not really Judaizers but reformers. The anti-monasticism of the last group, and Ivan's desire to gain allies among influential Jews outside Russia apparently explain the grand prince's sympathetic attitude towards the heretics. An inconsistency in the accepted Soviet interpretation has been pointed out by Shul'gin. Though he states that Soviet historical science has 'proved the autochthonous nature {of Russian heresy} as a product of the development of social contradictions', and has correctly related 'Russian heresies and progressive Russian socio-political ideology' to contemporary 'pan-European reformation and humanistic trends', he notes that reformation and humanism are, in Marxist terms, phenomena proper to the process of establishment of a bourgeois society. It is generally accepted that such a process took place in Russia only in the seventeenth century.

Among non-Soviet historians, the chosen line of approach often determined the conclusion reached about the origins and nature of the heresy. Popruzhenko's study of the *Beseda* of Kozma Prezviter,<sup>2</sup> a work which Gennady of Novgorod cited as being in use among the Judaizers, led

1. Vernadsky, 'The heresy of the Judaizers'
2. Popruzhenko, 'Kozma Prezviter i novgorodskie eretiki XV veka'.
2. Shul'gin, 'Problemy istorii', p. 154

him to conclude that the heresy was a form of Bogomilism. Oljančyn's<sup>2</sup> investigation into the activities of Husites in Eastern Europe (especially at the courts of Stephen of Moldavia and Matthias of Hungary) resulted in a very different conclusion: the heresy of the Judaizers was not a Jewish heresy but the result of the spread of 'Husite-Taborite' teaching. Florovsky,<sup>3</sup> who devoted a special study to the relations between Bohemia and Eastern Europe, agrees that some of the ideas of the Judaizers *may* have been formed under the influence of the Bohemian Reformation, but he warns that there exists 'not one incontestable instance of Husite influence on the Eastern Slavs'.

Zhmakin's hypothesis that the appearance of the Judaizers' heresy was, in part, due to the state of transition in which the Russian Church found itself after the fall of Constantinople, was revived by Denissoff.<sup>4</sup> Denissoff concluded that the Judaizers' heresy united several trends and was partly a form of opposition to the Moscow-Third Rome ideology, which he suggests, was a symbol of the growing closeness between Church and State in late fifteenth-century Muscovy.

It is the relevance of the heresy to the dynastic struggle of the late fifteenth century that has most interested Fennell.<sup>5</sup> He accepts Iosif's evidence about Elena's conversion to the heresy and suggests that her membership of the sect, as much as the anti-monasticism of the Moscow Judaizers, explains the grand prince's support for the heretics in the last two decades of the fifteenth century.

The heresy has particularly attracted the attention of German historians. Onasch<sup>6</sup> considered that at the end of the fifteenth century Russia was open, for the last time, to spiritual trends from Western

1. Possible Bogomil influence on the Judaizers is mentioned by Obolensky: 'the Massalian doctrines attributed [by Gennady] to the Russian Judaizers may well be elements of Bogomilism'; but he adds: 'several doctrines ... are scarcely compatible with the tenets of Bogomilism'. *The Bogomils*, pp.280-1.

2. Oljančyn, 'Aus dem Kultur- und Geistesleben der Ukraine'.

3. Florovsky. *Chekhi i vostochnye slavyane*, vol.1, pp.411-3

4. Denissoff, 'Aux origines'.

5. Fennell, 'The attitude of the Josephians'; idem., *Ivan the Great*, pp.324-33,

6. Onasch, 'Renaissance und Vorreformation'. 353.

Europe, especially the Renaissance and humanism,<sup>1</sup>: the Judaizers' heresy, which brought Renaissance works to Russia, was the outcome of this influence. Stökl,<sup>2</sup> reviewing the work of Soviet historians and particularly Klibanov, concludes that the distinction between the Moscow and Novgorod heresies is so clear that they can be described as 'two different heresies with different origins'.<sup>3</sup> He considers that the ideas expressed in *Laodikiyskoe poslanie*, written by the heretic Fedor Kuritsyn, are not heretical or atheistic, but humanist ideas, and revives the hypothesis about a possible Husite influence on the Moscow Judaizers.

It is to *Laodikiyskoe poslanie* that most recent studies have been devoted, and they have produced several conflicting interpretations: Ettinger,<sup>4</sup> Fine,<sup>5</sup> Kämpfer<sup>6</sup> and Maier<sup>7</sup> see in it an expression of Jewish philosophy, Fairy von Lilienfeld<sup>8</sup> suggests that it is a translation of a Kabbalistic poem and to Freydank<sup>9</sup> and Haney<sup>10</sup> it is a paean to the *ars grammatica*. The views of these authors on the nature of the heresy are primarily determined by their attitude to the *Laodikiyskoe poslanie*; the heresy is accordingly seen either as proof of Jewish or humanist influence in Russia.

There are only two areas of broad agreement among historians of the heresy:

1. the Judaizers were a group, or groups, of Novgorodians and Muscovites, whose ideas brought them into conflict with the established church;

1. A very different view is held by Kirchner: 'the effect of the Renaissance on Russia is still overestimated ... its meaning remained alien to the East'. 'Russia and Europe in the Age of the Reformation', p. 185.

2. Stökl, 'Das Echo'.

3. *ibid.*, p. 418.

4. Ettinger, 'Jewish influence'.

5. Fine, 'Fedor Kuritsyn's "Laodikijskoe poslanie"'.  
 6. Kämpfer, 'Zur Interpretation'.

7. Maier, 'Zum jüdischen Hintergrund'.

8. von Lilienfeld, 'Das "Laodikijskoe poslanie"'. This hypothesis was dismissed in Maier's article: 'The *Laodikijskoe poslanie* contains no trace of Kabbalistic speculation or terminology'. Maier, *op.cit.*, p. 3.

9. Freydank, 'Der "Lodicenerbrief"'.  
 10. Haney, 'The Laodicean Epistle'.

2. as a result of a campaign by the established church, representatives of this group, or groups, were executed in 1490 and 1504.

But as to the origin and nature of the Judaizers' ideas, or the importance of the Judaizers' heresy to our understanding of Russian history in the late fifteenth - early sixteenth century,<sup>1</sup> there is no agreement.

Some of the difference of opinion might, perhaps, have been avoided, had historians adopted the approach advocated by Klyuchevsky. He, as already mentioned, considered that the movement could only be comprehended if we understand the 'views on heresy' of the main opponents of the Judaizers. Such labels as 'humanist', 'Renaissance' or 'Reformation' can only be attached to the thought of the Judaizers by our contemporaries. The men who were executed in 1490 and 1504 were, apparently, condemned because their contemporaries thought them guilty of heresy.

What the term 'heretic' meant to the mediaeval churchman has been the subject of much discussion among historians of the Western church. The French historian and theologian Chenu, taking the word heresy in its literal sense (αἵρεσις = choice), suggested that a heretic is someone who chooses one particular aspect of religious thought and excludes certain others. This makes him impertinent in the sight of God, and defiant of

1. In contrast to the importance assigned to the heresy by Soviet historians, a recent Western history of Russia dismisses the Judaizers (and with them the Strigol'niki) in a few sentences: 'In the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, the Russian church immersed itself so deeply in secular affairs that it ceased to uphold Christianity ... This worldliness in time produced the inevitable reaction which, for all its superficial resemblance to the western Reformation, was an event *sui generis* with an entirely different outcome ... foreign reform movements succeeded in penetrating Muscovy. One of these, the *Strigol'nik* heresy, spread in the middle of the fourteenth century in Novgorod ... In the 1470s a related heresy of the so-called 'Judaizers' emerged in Novgorod. Its adherents ... attacked the church for its materialism ... and called for a simpler, more spiritual religion. The Judaizing heresy became very dangerous to the established church because it gained converts among priests close to the tsar and even members of his immediate family.' Pipes, *Russia under the Old Regime*, p. 228.

the consensus of the community.<sup>1</sup> This definition indicates that heresy can signify opposition to the 'consensus of the community' in any sense - dogmatic, ritual or institutional.

Among historians of the Judaizers few attempts have been made to define what the terms 'heresy' and 'heretic' meant to their contemporaries, or what was the accepted procedure for identifying heresy in the Russian church.<sup>2</sup> If we accept that 'the historian must regard as a heretic someone whom religious authority at a given moment in history recognises as such'<sup>3</sup> it is less important to consider whether the Judaizers' movement was a 'heresy' or a 'movement of free thinkers'.<sup>4</sup> The first question must be what, in the Russian church, constituted religious authority in matters of heresy, and whether those who achieved the condemnation of the Judaizers followed procedure accepted by such religious authority.

Such a question can be answered if, through the evidence of the accusers, we consider by what methods and on what grounds heresy in general, and the Judaizers' heresy in particular, was identified. If the condemnation of the Judaizers was achieved according to accepted procedure, we must conclude that they were heretics in the sense defined above: it only remains to establish whether their opposition to the 'consensus of the community' was dogmatic, ritual or institutional.

If, however, condemnation was achieved without satisfying the accepted criteria of religious authority, it is necessary to look particularly carefully at such evidence as the accusers and the accused

1. H.D. Chenu in *Hérésies et sociétés*, pp.9-11.

2. This question is posed in a new work by Hösch, *Orthodoxie und Häresie im alten Russland*, which, unfortunately, I was only able to consult after completing work on this thesis. Hösch considers the history of heresy in Russia from the eleventh to the sixteenth centuries and devotes a considerable part of his monograph to a discussion of the heresy of the Judaizers (pp.32-120). He makes valuable observations on the procedure used by the Russian church for combating opposition, and suggests that heresy, real or supposed, played an important role in Russian theology as the impulse for the defence of *starina* - the inviolability of the accepted view of Orthodoxy.

3. R.P. Morghen in *Hérésies et sociétés*, p. 16.

4. Likhachev, 'Kul'tura Rusi', p. 80.

provide in order to attempt to explain why the campaign of Gennady and Iosif against the Judaizers was successful. It will then be possible to answer the question implicit in the approach of many historians to the history of the Judaizers - was the heresy a sign of a Russian Reformation?

CHAPTER II - THE EVIDENCE OF THE ACCUSERS : 1487-1490

The earliest specific reference to the existence of a 'judaizing' heresy in Russia is to be found in a letter written some time before January 1488 by Archbishop Gennady of Novgorod, who directs the following appeal to Bishop Prokhor of Saray:

Слѣборствуяй по Христе Бозе и Пречистые Его Матере честнаго Ея образа ... на еже хулюю возносящихся на Господа нашего Иисуса Христа и обезчестивших образ Пречистыя Владычица наша Богородица новгородских еретиков жидовская мудръствующих.<sup>1</sup>

This, the first known letter to Prokhor, opened an important correspondence on heresy and other matters concerning the welfare of the Church - a correspondence which the archbishop continued until 1490, after which year he apparently ceased referring to the Judaizers in his writings.<sup>2</sup> Taken together with the evidence of Iosif of Volokolamsk, who claimed that the 'judaizing' heretics were able to proselytize freely in Novgorod until Gennady was appointed to the see<sup>3</sup>, this correspondence has led most historians to regard Gennady as the initiator of the Church's campaign against the heresy of the Judaizers and as a leader of this campaign until the Council of 1490.

Gennady's role in the pre-1490 stage of the heresy (the Novgorod stage) was first challenged by Ya.S. Lur'e, who suggested that the campaign was, in fact, initiated by Iosif of Volokolamsk himself<sup>4</sup> in a letter discussing the dogma of the Trinity, written some time before 1479<sup>5</sup>. Not only does Lur'e believe that Gennady's part in the anti-heretical campaign has been over-estimated - he is also inclined to dismiss the evidence afforded by the Archbishop's correspondence as being too biased: 'Though written before the fall of the heresy in Novgorod ... Gennady's letters offer only scant examples of polemic

1. *AED*, pp. 309-10

2. A possible exception is a reference to the Archpriest Aleksey in a fragment of an anonymous letter (*AED*, pp. 388-91) ascribed by Lur'e to Gennady, and dated c. 1492. Aleksey is described as a 'judaizing' heretic in several contemporary sources, though not in this fragment (see below, ch. III, pp.85-86)

3. *AED*, p.471

4. *AED*, p.109; *PIV*, p.34; *IB*, p.156

5. *AED*, pp. 305-9

against the views of the heretics .... As regards a general characterization of the ideology of the heretics the importance of Gennady's letters lies primarily in the fact that, unlike Iosif's *Prosvetitel'*, they do not label the heresy as "judaism".<sup>1</sup>

For the Novgorod stage of the heresy of the Judaizers, Lur'e therefore relies largely on the evidence in the writings of Iosif of Volokolamsk (of which only the letter on the Trinity can be dated earlier than 1490), on the evidence of the chronicles and, finally, on the verdict of the Council of 1490. His conclusion is that the heresy of the Judaizers in Novgorod was an anti-trinitarian and iconoclastic heresy which took hold among the lower orders of the clergy and was directed against the church hierarchy.

This opinion has been generally accepted by historians<sup>2</sup> and, as a result, the earlier stage of the heresy has received relatively little attention. The present chapter will re-examine the evidence available to us for this period in order to establish the extent to which the accepted view is supported by purely contemporary sources considered in chronological order.

The first of these is the letter from Iosif of Volokolamsk to Archimandrite Vassian<sup>3</sup>. As already mentioned, this letter was first used as a source on the heresy of the Judaizers by Ya.S. Lur'e. It starts as follows:

Господину архимандриту Васияну.  
 Что, господине, мене, глупаго и ненаученаго, во учимом чину живущаго, пытаешь о таинстве Святыя Троица, а ино то, господине, выше нашей меры.<sup>4</sup>

Iosif's opening words have enabled historians to date the letter, since the only known Archimandrite Vassian before 1479 (when Iosif

1. *IB*, p.155

2. Zhmakin, 'Mitrópolit Daniil', pp. 40-43; *RD*, pp. 187-204 (Klibanov pays greater attention to Gennady's evidence as an 'eye-witness', but more to illustrate than to develop his argument that antitrinitarianism was the most important aspect of the Novgorod heresy); Stökl, 'Das Echo', p.419; Fennell, *Ivan the Great*, p.325.

3. *AED*, pp. 306-9

4. *AED*, p.306

became an abbot, no longer *vo uchimom chinu*) was the Vassian of the Tver' Otroch' Monastery, who was appointed to the bishopric of Tver' in 1478.

After further protestations of his unworthiness and inability to deal with such a subject, Iosif opens his discussion on the dogma of the Trinity with a quotation from Genesis i, 26: 'And God said, Let us make man in our image, after our likeness ...' in order to demonstrate that when God speaks, He speaks as the Trinity.

This, like all the subsequent examples quoted by Iosif (of which the most celebrated is the story of the appearance of the three angels to Abraham and Sarah at Mamre, in Genesis xviii), is employed to demonstrate that the 'mystery of the Holy Trinity' announced the coming of Christ even in the Old Testament.

In this letter there is only one reference to heretics:

А Дамаскын глаголетъ: 'Святая Троица единосущная телесныма очима не зрима'. Ино, господине, по Божественному Писанию все те истинну едино глаголют, а не разньствуют: нам то, господине, глупым и не умеющим, видится разное, или еретиком, ино они превращают на свой разум, хотяща Троицю утаити, не хотяща бо видети, ни слышати Отца и Духа Святаго, равна Отцу и Сыну. А что, господине, Дамаскын пишет: 'Не зримо Божество', ино господине, не один Дамаскын пишет ...<sup>1</sup>

Here Iosif is resolving certain questions raised by the archimandrite on the contradiction between the belief that Abraham *saw* God in the form of the three angels, and the statement, made by John of Damascus in his '*Exposition of the Orthodox faith*', that God is incorporeal: 'For how could that possess a body which is infinite and boundless, and formless and intangible, and *invisible* ...?'<sup>2</sup> He observes that it poses a problem only to 'us, Lord, who are foolish and without understanding, *or* to heretics', who wilfully refuse to recognise the truth of the dogma of the Trinity.

This latter accusation was one commonly made against heretics in general, and thus gives us no reason to suppose that it is here specifically directed at the Judaizers. As will be seen from the study

1. *AED*, p.308

2. *MPG*, vol. 94, col. 797 (the italics are mine).

of sources dealing indisputably with this heresy, churchmen were usually careful to describe it in precise terms as the heresy of the 'Novgorod priests who accepted Jewish teaching'<sup>1</sup> or of the 'Novgorod heretics who philosophize judaistically.'<sup>2</sup> Moreover, it seems hardly likely that Iosif would be so incautious as to compare himself and Archimandrite Vassian with active heretics. Iosif's letter to Vassian can be considered purely as a treatise on the dogma of the Trinity, written in response to a request from the archimandrite, and not, as Lur'e suggests, as evidence for the anti-trinitarian teaching of the Judaizers. Since the argument on which Lur'e based this conclusion is illustrative of his general attitude to the sources connected with the heresy, and is shared by Klibanov, it should perhaps be summarized here.

Lur'e considers that all works written by representatives of the established church on the subject of heresy fall into one of two categories, according to whether their purpose was polemical or denunciatory. Writings belonging to the first category are devoted to a concrete dispute with real adversaries, while those belonging to the second merely provide grounds for the condemnation of such adversaries. This they do by describing their heretical views and actions in so distorted a manner as to ensure their condemnation. Owing to this distortion, works in the second category are far less useful in identifying the views of the adversaries of the church than polemical works, whose very existence shows that the views they defend have actually been challenged.<sup>3</sup>

While there can be no doubt that it was not uncommon for church writers to ascribe to their opponents heretical views they never held,<sup>4</sup> it is, as Lur'e admits, frequently difficult to distinguish polemic from denunciation. In the case of Iosif's letter to Vassian,

1. Belokurov, 'Poslanie inoka Savvy', p.1

2. *AED*, p.310

3. Lur'e, 'O nekotorych printsipakh kritiki istochnikov', pp. 94-7; *IB*, p.122; cf. *RD*, pp.189, 201.

4. Thus, in 1553/4, *d'yak* Viskovaty was charged with subscribing to the heresy of the Galatians, of which no trace can be found in any source. Andreyev, 'O dele d'yaka Viskovatogo', p. 223, n. 188. See below, pp 64, 67

Lur'e argues that because it contains little denunciation its primary purpose is polemical. Since he considers that 'all the sources on the history of the heresy testify to the anti-trinitarianism of the Novgorod heretics',<sup>1</sup> he assumes that this letter, written at a time when the Novgorod Judaizers were active, and later incorporated in Iosif's *Prosvetitel'*, is a polemic against the anti-trinitarianism of the Judaizers. The dangers of such a circular argument are clear from a reference to the actual text.

Gennady, Archbishop of Novgorod, makes no secret of the fact that denunciation is the purpose of his writings about the heresy in Novgorod, as can be seen from the opening lines of his first known letter on the subject, quoted above. His evidence does, however, deserve careful attention, not only because he was a central figure in the events connected with the heresy during its Novgorod stage, but because most of it comes to us in the form of private correspondence (inasmuch as any correspondence in Russia of this period can be described as private), and not through theological tracts directed at a wider audience, as is the case with the later evidence of Iosif of Volokolamsk.

It is clear from Gennady's letter to Prokhor that he had been engaged on an investigation of the heresy for some time and this was not his first report on it.<sup>2</sup> He warns Prokhor against its adherents:

хулою возносящихся на Господа нашего Иисуса Христа и обезчестивших образ Пречистыя Владычица наша Богородица новгородских еретиков жидовская мудръствующих. Покрыты же суть онех еретик клятвою укоризною маркианския глаголю и месалианския. Сии бо, егда въпрошаеми, от своих велений отметници бывают и безстудно и усердно кленутся и проклинають вся тако мудръствующая ...<sup>3</sup>

This characterization of the 'Novgorod heretics who philosophize judaistically, stamped with the curse of those {judaistically philosophizing} heretics, the Marcionites and Messalians'<sup>4</sup> was dismissed

1. *AED*, p.119

2. *AED*, p.310

3. *ibid.*

4. Μεσσαλιανοι or Μασσαλιανοι

by Lur'e as of little use for an understanding of the 'true nature' of the heresy.<sup>1</sup> Yet Gennady chose to compare the Novgorod heretics with the Marcionites and Messalians precisely in order to convey a clear picture of the beliefs of the 'new' heretics - by referring Prokhor to a work on the 'old' heretics:

Сии главы о маркианех в правилех у себя изнайдеши. Аще ли в твоих не будет правилех, ино в великого князя правилех писаны ...

Да что они недостойно служат Божественую Литургию, то явлено в 12 главе, а что кленутся без страха, а то в 19 главе тех же ересей явлено. Да что есть ересей месалианских, то все они мудръствуют, толко то жидовским десятословием людей прельщают, яко благочествующе мнятся.<sup>2</sup>

A: attempt to identify the *pravila* quoted here was made by Begunov,<sup>3</sup> who pointed out that many redactions of the Russian code of laws, the *Kormchaya* (including a redaction made by Ivan Volk Kuritsyn)<sup>4</sup> contain a chapter headed:

Главы масалиамскаго злочестиваго повеления, изытыя от книг их. Сице дръжат и богумилы, сиречь бабуне.<sup>5</sup>

This chapter lists the beliefs of the Messalians under seventeen numbered paragraphs, of which the 12th reads:

Глаголють, яко святаго тела и крове Христа, истиннаго Бога нашего, Святое Причащение ничтоже не поможет или вредить. Достоино или не достоино причащающих ся, яко сего ради точии церковнаго опщения николиже не подобно отлучати ся небрегому ему суще ...<sup>6</sup>

The seventeen paragraphs are followed by a tract against the Bogomils, in which the second accusation - not numbered<sup>7</sup> - is:

о отлучени кленуть же ся без боязни и ротят ся, проклинаяще лицемерно ересь свою ...<sup>8</sup>

These quotations are very similar to the accusations made by Gennady in his letter to Prokhor, but Begunov is not correct in identifying them as the *glavy* cited in that letter. Gennady referred to

1. AED, p.118; cf. Hösch, *Orthodoxie und Häresie*, p. 81.

2. AED, p. 310.

3. Begunov, *Kozma Prezviter*, pp. 85-6.

4. BIL, MDA No. 187

5. Begunov, op.cit., p. 86.

6. BIL, MDA, No 187, f. 250

7. BIL, MDA No. 187, f.251

8. Begunov, op.cit., p. 86.

*glavy o markianekh*, not *o massalianekh*, and the attack on those who 'swear without fear' cannot be described as the 19th *glava* of the *Kormchaya* list of the 'same heresies'.

The *Kormchaya* list based on the same *pravila* as those used by Gennady. These are found in a work entitled *On the reception of heretics* written by the priest Timotheos of Constantinople (6th-7th cent.).<sup>1</sup> This divides all heresies into three groups, according to the procedures their adherents must undergo before being received into the true faith. The discourse on those required to forswear and anathematize their heresies, contains a sub-heading 'Those who anathematize their own heresies',<sup>2</sup> with a passage on the Nestorians and three tracts: 'On the Theodosians', 'On the Marcionites', and 'On the Hesitants'.

The introduction to the second tract begins: 'The Marcionites and Messalians ...',<sup>3</sup> and after a few words on the different names of the Marcionite heresy and on the writings against it concludes: 'So that the readers may learn and beware of the rest it is necessary to add chapters on the same heresies (τὰ κεφάλαια τῶν δογμάτων αὐτῆς). There are nineteen such chapters, and a comparison between the text of the 12th and 19th chapters and Gennady's letter to Prokhor shows that these are the *glavy o markianekh* of which he spoke:

#### On the Marcionites

12. They say that the Holy Blood of Christ our true God, the Holy Communion, cannot aid or injure those who participate in it, worthily or unworthily, and that it is not necessary to separate anyone from the community of the Church because of this alone - they are indifferent to this matter. And thus they do not partake with faith and fear of that which is, and is to be believed to be, the incarnation of God.<sup>5</sup>

#### Gennady

Да что они недостойно служат Божественую Литургию, то явлено в 12 главе ...<sup>6</sup>

1. *MPG*, vol. 86, cols. 11-68

2. *ibid.*, col. 41

3. *Μαρκιανισταὶ καὶ Μεσσαλιανοὶ* *ibid.*, col. 45

4. *ibid.*, col. 48

5. *ibid.*, col. 49

6. *AED*, p.310

19. When asked about their own beliefs, they deny them, fearlessly and willingly anathematizing all who think or thought thus; they swear without fear that they hate and abhor such beliefs ...<sup>1</sup>

Сии бо, егда въпрошаеми, от своих велений отметници бывають и безстыдно и усердно кленутся и проклинаят вся тако мудръствующая ... а что кленутся без страха, а то в 19 главе тех же ересей \*явлено. Да что есть ересей\* месалианских, то все они мудръствуют, толко то жидовским десятословием людей прельщают, яко благочествующе мнятся.<sup>2</sup>

Since Gennady claims that the Novgorod heretics profess all the Messalian heresies, we will summarize the remaining seventeen chapters. According to Timotheos the heretics believe that man is joined to the Devil because of original sin, against which even the sacrament of baptism is ineffective. Only fervent and continuous prayer can evict the demons which reside in men's bodies, and such prayer can make both demons and the Holy Trinity manifest to human eyes. The heretics corrupt the dogma of the Trinity and deny the divine nature of Christ at the moment of his birth. They do not believe in the possibility of redemption, take upon themselves the right to priesthood, claim to have the power of prophecy, are against alms-giving and appoint women as their leaders and priests.<sup>3</sup>

It is difficult to see why Gennady claims that in spite of such beliefs, the heretics manage to convince people of their righteousness by employing the 'Jewish decalogue'. This claim, not repeated in the archbishop's further correspondence, is very suspect. Even without the 'Jewish decalogue' the heretics could have appeared virtuous to the theologically uneducated. Unless we are to believe that Gennady was here referring to the Biblical Ten Commandments,<sup>4</sup> which is very unlikely, this phrase would suggest the existence of a special, heretical, decalogue. Yet when Gennady informs Prokhor of the heretical writings which he has sent to the metropolitan there is no mention of such a work:

1. *MPG*, vol. 86, col. 52

2. This passage is cited from *GPB*, Q.XVII.64. In another MS., TsGADA, sobr. Mazurina No. 1054 \* - \* is omitted. See *AED*, p.310, n. 2.

3. *MPG*, vol. 86, cols. 48-52

4. cf. *AED*, p.118

Да что есми послал грамоту, да и подлинник к митрополиту, что Наум поп сказывал, да и тетрати, по чему они молились по-жидовскы, и ты тамо узришь все, что ся как чинило, и как ли превращены псалмы на их обычай.<sup>1</sup>

The published text of Gennady's letter to Prokhor is based on a relatively late manuscript, belonging to the mid-sixteenth century. Comparison with another manuscript of the same period suggests that the passage containing the reference to the 'Jewish decalogue' may have been edited by a later writer. It is possible that either the epithet 'Jewish', or even the entire clause with the 'Jewish decalogue', is a later interpolation - the passage certainly makes perfectly good sense without either of them.

Before we consider the evidence of Gennady's letter further we must look at the reasoning which led the archbishop to the conclusion that the Novgorod heretics were 'philosophizing judaistically'.

The words *zhidovskaya mudr'stvuyushchi* are a translation of the Greek epithet ἰουδαϊκὰ φρόνῳν or ἰουδαϊσμός. This, like the words 'Judaizers' (ἰουδαϊστίη) and 'judaizing' (ἰουδαίξαι) became very common in Byzantine anti-heretical literature<sup>2</sup> because of the theories first developed in the *Panarion* of St. Ephiphanius of Cyprus<sup>3</sup> and later re-worked by St. John of Damascus in a tract which became the reference work for Orthodox theologians dealing with heresy.

St John's work, entitled *On heresies*,<sup>4</sup> traces the origin of all heresies back to four heretical archetypes: Barbarism, Scythism, Hellenism and Judaism. Judaism superseded all the rest,<sup>5</sup> and all heresies which sprang up after the victory of Christianity have Judaism as their archetype. The accusation of 'judaistic philosophizing' thus does not necessarily imply adherence to the Jewish faith - only the holding of heretical beliefs.

1. *AED*, p.310

2. *PGL*, pp. 674-5

3. *MPG*, vol. 41, cols. 174-1199; vol. 42, cols. 10-74

4. *ibid.*, vol. 94, cols. 678-1231. This work is found in Russian MS. from the late fifteenth century. See Arkhangel'sky, 'Tvoreniya ottsov', pt.2, p.257.

5. *MPG*, vol. 94, cols. 678-82

A clear illustration of such a use of the 'judaizing' accusation occurs in a fourteenth century Russian manuscript of the *Epistle* of Michael Cerullarius, an attack on the Church of Rome written in 1054. This contains a list of nineteen offences against the orthodox faith allegedly committed by the Latins. The list is headed:

Сътворяют убо жидовствующе суть сия ...<sup>1</sup>

and accuses the Latins of such practices as using unleavened bread in Communion, shaving their beards, eating the meat of strangled animals and forbidding their priests to marry.<sup>2</sup> Only a few of the practices thus listed could be described as Jewish and many would have been equally abhorrent to Latins and observant Jews, but this did not worry the compiler of the list. Roman Catholics had chosen to disagree with the Orthodox and thus, though Christian, they 'judaized'.

The need for such works as John of Damascus' *On heresies*, the *Epistle* of Michael Cerullarios or Timotheos' *On the reception of heretics* was conditioned by the Orthodox procedure for identifying heresy, which was ruled by precedent. As the quotations we have cited from Gennady's letter show, the accepted procedure went as follows:

1. Note observed heretical practices or reported doctrines<sup>3</sup> (e.g. improper officiation at Holy Communion, swearing without fear).

2. From the observed 'symptoms' identify the heresies to which such practices or doctrines belong by reference to anti-heretical writings.

3. By reference to the same writings deduce other practices and doctrines of the 'newly appeared'<sup>4</sup> heretics and establish the appropriate method of dealing with them (e.g. excommunication, anathematization, banishment, etc.)

1. Popov, *Obzor*, p.47

2. *ibid.*, pp. 47-51; cf. *AI*, col. 523

3. But, as Nina Garsoian has noted, 'the Orthodox sources ... are more apt to concern themselves with heretical practices which are readily observable than with abstruse points of doctrine ...'. See *The Paulician Heresy*, p.158

4. Another term common in anti-heretical literature. cf. Begunov, *Kozma Prezviter*, p.297

How far deduction could go is clear if we consider that Gennady told Prokhor that the Novgorod heretics hold all Messalian heresies. All accusations against the Messalians (and tracts against them are numerous) therefore automatically applied to the Novgorod heretics. But this was not the end of the evidence which could be deduced against them, for in the eyes of Orthodox theologians anyone opposed to any tenet of Christian belief blasphemed against the Tradition as a whole and against its constituent parts. Thus St. Theodore of Studios attacking the beliefs of the Iconoclasts, argues: 'All of us may be depicted ... Hence Christ too may be depicted, even though the godless {Iconoclasts} think otherwise and so deny the mystery of the salutary incarnation. How, indeed, can the Son of God be acknowledged to have been a man like us ... if He cannot, like us, be circumscribed ... For if He was not circumscribed then it was not out of her virginal blood that He fashioned a temple unto Himself ... It also follows that His mother was not really His mother, but one falsely so called; that He was not similar to us, but of a different nature; furthermore, that Adam has not been redeemed ... Further, it would follow that death has not been swallowed up and that worship according to the Law has not been abrogated ... Seest thou, o man of God, the abyss of impiety into which the Iconoclasts have been precipitated by believing that Christ should not be depicted on panels? Without doubt they are judaizing.'<sup>1</sup> An almost identical line of reasoning could be applied to the Novgorod heretics, taking their attitude towards Communion as the starting point from which the denial of the Trinity, calumny against the Virgin, denial of the doctrines of redemption and resurrection could all be deduced.

A consideration of Orthodox procedure in heretical matters shows that the vital distinction to be made in considering our sources is not between polemical and denunciatory literature, but between observed and deduced evidence. Unfortunately much valuable observed evidence has not

1. *MPG*, vol. 99, cols. 1187-90

reached us. The *gramota*, *podlinnik* and *tetrati* which Gennady sent to the metropolitan<sup>1</sup> have not been found, and without them it is impossible to say what he meant by saying that the heretics prayed in the Jewish manner, and whether his reference to the psalms, *kak li prevrashcheny psalmy na ikh obychay*, is a statement<sup>2</sup> or a question.<sup>3</sup>

The mention of the psalms ends Gennady's report to Prokhor on the beliefs of the heretics. Before again appealing for support in his struggle against the heresy, the archbishop warns:

Да та прелесть здесе распростерлася не токмо в градах, но и по селом. А все то от попов, которыа еретик!! ставили в попы ... Да того ради и в попы ставят, чтобы кого как мощно в свою ересь привлеци, занеже уже дети духовныя имут держати.<sup>4</sup>

Here, perhaps, is the main reason for Gennady's concern over the Novgorod heresy. In canon law only bishops had the right to confer orders. In theory episcopal control over ordination was intended to ensure that only suitable candidates entered the ministry - in practice it also ensured a steady income for the episcopal court, since it was customary to charge an ordination tax. Simony was one reason given for Gennady's eventual removal from his see in 1503<sup>5</sup> and it may have been the loss of revenue which troubled him most; but there is also evidence to show that Gennady paid close attention to the education and moral suitability of the priests under his jurisdiction and was concerned to maintain his right to veto the appointment of unsuitable candidates.<sup>6</sup>

1. See above, p.29

2. Speransky (*Psaltyr' zhidovstvuyushchikh*, p.13) considers that the psalms mentioned by Gennady in this earlier letter can be identified with the book known as *The Psalms of Fedor the Jew*. Fedor, a Jewish convert, came to Moscow in the 1460s and apparently transcribed the psalms for Metropolitan Filipp. This theory is dismissed by Lur'e (*IB*, p.192) on the grounds that it is unlikely that Fedor would have written a heretical work for the Metropolitan, and also because Filipp died in 1473, long before there was any evidence of the Judaizers' heresy in Russia. Recently, however, the Hebrew scholar S. Ettinger ('Jewish Influence', pp.231-2) has revived this identification of Fedor's book with the psalms referred to by Gennady. He argues that Fedor's *Psalms* are not in fact psalms at all, but Jewish prayers - the author of which merely appended the celebrated name of Fedor to his own work. No proof is adduced, however, that this book was ever found in Novgorod. See below, ch.IV, pp.162-3.

3. Sreznevsky, *Materialy*, vol.2, pp.18-19

4. *AED*, p.310

5. *PSRL*, vol.28, p.337

6. *AI*, vol.1, No.101, p.144

It would be wrong, however, to assume that Gennady could only be referring to priests appointed without episcopal sanction, for in 1490 he was to stress:

... ни паки литовские ставленики служат в моей архиепископии.<sup>1</sup>

Unfortunately Gennady tells Prokhor very little about the priests 'appointed by heretics' apart from the standard allusion to the tactics employed by them in order to gain converts, common in anti-heretical literature:

Gennady

Да егда где будут в православных, и они таковы же себя являют. Аще ли видят кого от простых, и они готова себе имеют на лов.<sup>2</sup>

Kozma Prezviter

Видяще бо человеци толико и такое их съмирение и мяще я правоверны суца ..., Ониже ... где узрять человека проста суца и груба, туже сеють плевелы учения своего...<sup>3</sup>

Even the reference to the heretical priests' willingness to forgive sins:

А что он съгрешил или блуд, или прелюбодейство, или иные грехи сътворил, тс удобь прощают ...<sup>4</sup>

is of little help. Though such an accusation was commonly levelled against the Latins<sup>5</sup> here it is probably a paraphrase of the 16th chapter of the Marcionite heresies.<sup>6</sup>

The warning about the spread of the heresy in Novgorod closes with a final appeal to Prokhor to help against the heretics:

и грозю и обыском великого князя, да и подвигом господина отца нашего Геронтия митрополита всея Руси, да и вашего боголюбья потщанием купно с архимандриты и прозвитеры.<sup>7</sup>

It is clear that Gennady's report on the heresy, though addressed to Prokhor, was, like the documents sent to the metropolitan,<sup>8</sup> intended for a wider audience, compiled as evidence to be presented before a synod of

1. *AED*, p.375

2. *ibid.*, p.310

3. Begunov, *Kozma Prezviter*, pp. 300-1

4. *AED*, p.310

5. cf. Primary Chronicle story of St. Vladimir's baptism which contains a warning against the Latins 'их же ученье разъвращено.... прощают же грехи на дару, еже есть злее всего.' *Povest' vremennykh let*, vol.1, pp.79-80.

6. *MPG*, vol. 86, col. 52.

7. *AED*, p.310.

8. See above, p. 29.

bishops *kupno s arkhimandrity i s prozvitery*. Contrary to the opinion of Lur'e, this report does represent an attempt at a 'consistent and conscientious exposition of the views of his enemies',<sup>1</sup> the Novgorod heretics, in spite of its 'accusatory' nature. The beliefs and practices of the heretics, as described by Gennady, are consistent with the Marcionite and Messalian 'type' of heresy under which he classed them. By directing Prokhor, and through him the synod, to the *pravila* on the Marcionites, Gennady not only provided a list of further accusations which could be applied to the Novgorod heretics, but also an authoritative source on the treatment they deserved. Timotheos' work makes it clear that this 'type' of heresy deserves the severest treatment; moreover, to Gennady's contemporaries it would be clear that the precedent for dealing with the Novgorod heretics was set by the treatment meted out to their 'prototypes': the Nestorians,<sup>2</sup> Theodosians and all other sects mentioned under the same heading as the Marcionites in Timotheos' work.<sup>3</sup>

But before considering whether any further conclusions can be drawn from the parallels made by Gennady between the Novgorod heretics and the Marcionites and Messalians (such as Begunov's conclusion that the Novgorod heresy was a type of Bogomil heresy, on the grounds that Messalianism was a term commonly applied to Bogomilism in Russian sources)<sup>4</sup> we must consider further evidence on the Novgorodians' beliefs as presented in the archbishop's correspondence.

In view of the origins and applications of the terms 'judaizing', 'judaistically philosophizing' etc., discussed above, we must be careful not to assume that such terms, when employed by Gennady, necessarily imply that he is speaking of the Novgorod heretics.<sup>5</sup> Such an assumption has been made in previous discussions of the heresy and, as a result, the

1. *AED*, p.117

2. Perhaps the most famous 'judaistically philosophizing' heresy in patristic sources, cf. *The definition of the Orthodox faith* by John of Damascus, *MPG*, vol. 94, col. 1032.

3. See above, p.27.

4. Begunov, *Kozma Prezviter*, p.86; cf. Obolensky, *The Bogomils*, pp. 280-1

5. This work will, nonetheless, continue to use the term Judaizers as a group term for the heresy, whether in Novgorod or in Moscow.

second part of Gennady's letter to Prokhor has been treated as a continuation of the discussion on the heresy in Novgorod.

But with the appeal for help against the Novgorod heretics Gennady in fact closes that particular subject, and with the words:

А что числа поставлены в Шестокриле ...<sup>1</sup>

turns to another matter altogether - the problem of the Second Millennium. The oldest manuscript of the letter to Prokhor, BIL, Muz. 3271, contains only the second half of the text, beginning with the words just quoted.<sup>2</sup> It is very probable that this part of the letter was originally a separate work, later incorporated in Gennady's letters to Prokhor and Ioasaf. Since the discussion on the millennium in the letter to Ioasaf,<sup>3</sup> written in February 1489, expands the argument first developed in the letter to Prokhor, the two letters will here be discussed together.

As is well known, the belief that the end of the world and the commencement of the Kingdom of God would come in the year 7000 of the Orthodox calendar (1492 A.D.) was common in Eastern Christendom. As the year 1492 approached, the end of the world ceased to be a distant prophecy, and Gennady became preoccupied with certain contradictions in the 'writings' on the imminence of the Second Coming:

Ино мнит ми ся по Еноху век работает человечеству, а седмь тысящ лет человеческа ради пременения положена. А по Богуслову и нам на всяк век ждати скончания.<sup>4</sup>

Inquiry into the calendar predictions of other religions was of little help:

Занеже у латыни нашего болши осмию леты ... А татарове сказывают: еще у них до скончания миру, сииречь до второго пришествия Христова, 100 лет да два.<sup>5</sup>

There was no certainty about the date on which the world would end, and this presented not only a theoretical, but also a practical problem. The paschal tables, from which the correct dates for all events of the

1. *AED*, p.311

2. *ibid.*, p.311, n.4

3. *ibid.*, pp.315-20. Ioasaf was archbishop of Rostov and Yaroslavl' who resigned from his archbishopric shortly before 1489.

4. *ibid.*, p.319

5. *ibid.*

Orthodox Church calendar could be established, only gave information to the year 7000. Allowing for the possibility that

однова в нашей паскалии делания время не исполнилося<sup>1</sup>

Gennady commenced his work on the compilation of new paschal tables sometime before the letter to Prokhor was written.

For help with his researches into the calendar Gennady turned to a great variety of sources. As his works show, he paid close attention to the works of the Greek Fathers and theologians, but he also sought answers outside the traditional 'writings'. He commissioned a tract by Dmitry Trakhaniotes,<sup>2</sup> who, like his brother Georgy, could be described as a Byzantine by birth, a Latin by experience and a Russian by service.<sup>3</sup> Dmitry's tract, *O letakh sed'moy tysyachi*, discussed the historical role of the mystical number seven, which would provide the key to the date of the Second Coming, and was illustrated by a table of calendar calculations. Calendar calculations were also provided by two Latin works, translations of which Gennady ordered: the *Rationale divinorum officiorum* by Durandus<sup>4</sup> and *Etymologiarum sive originum libri XX* by Isidore of Seville.<sup>5</sup> In addition to Greek and Latin sources Gennady consulted a Jewish work, the *Shestokryl*, and it is clear from his letters to Prokhor and Ioasaf that he paid very careful attention to this work:

1. *AED*, p. 320.

2. The date of this tract is difficult to establish (*AED*, p. 135; *IB*, p. 269), but it probably antedates the known versions of Gennady's letter to Prokhor. This letter explains: Ино там {в писании} писано 5000 лет и 6 сот и 21 в неже лето и пленение их {жидовское} бысть последнее. И оттоле до сех мест 400 лет да 1000 в гневе Божи пребывают. (*AED*, p.311). *Do sekhs mest* according to these figures is  $5621 + 1400 = 7021$ . The oldest known MS. of Trakhaniotes' tract, BIL. Muz. 2469, also gives calculations to the year 7021 (divisible by the mystical seven): e.g. от Адама до състава арапских канони суть 6169, а от того году до сех мест сут лет 852 и по всех 7021..., and was probably one of the sources for the calculations found in the letter to Prokhor (the MS. is not paginated).

3. After the fall of Morea to the Turks in 1461 he went to the papal court in Rome in the suite of Thomas, despot of Morea. In 1472 he came to the court of Ivan III in the suite of Thomas' daughter, Ivan's bride, Sofia (Zoe).

4. *IB*, p. 269. This work is also used in Gennady's letter to Prokhor, even though the translation, made from an edition printed in 1486, was only completed in 1495. Beneshevich, 'Iz istorii', pp.378-80; Raynov, *Nauka v Rossii*, p. 234.

5. Raynov, *Nauka v Rossii*, p. 234.

*Poslanie Prokhoru*

А что числа поставлены в  
Шестокриле 276 девятнадцатиц,  
ино то учинили на прелесть  
христианскую - хотят речи : лета  
христианского летописца  
съкратишась, а наша пребывают....  
Ино те числа, что поставлены, 276  
девятнадцатиц лет будет 5228.  
И потому ино у них еще пришествия  
Христова несть, ино то они ждут  
антихриста. Ино то прелесть  
великая!<sup>1</sup>

*Poslanie Ioasafu*

Да и Шестокрил есми учил того для, и  
обретох в немь ересь: числа  
поставлены - от Адама 200 и 70 и 6  
девятнадцатиц! Ныне идеть шестаа  
девятнадцатица по чему жидова лета  
чтут. Ино то учинили на прелесть  
христианьскую. Хотят речи: лета  
христианьского летописца съкратишась,  
а наша пребывают .... Ино те числа,  
что поставлены, 276 девятнадцатиц,  
лет будеть от Адама до сех мест 5000  
и 200 и 28. И потому ино у них еще  
пришествия Христова нет, ино то они  
ждуть антихриста.<sup>2</sup>

The *chisla v Shestokryle* of which Gennady speaks were the calendar calculations appended to an astronomical treatise written by an Italian Jew, Emmanuel-bar-Jacob, in the fourteenth century.<sup>3</sup> This treatise, the *Shestokryl*, did not appear in the Russian index of forbidden books until the late sixteenth century,<sup>4</sup> and there is no reason to doubt Gennady's claim that he had 'discovered heresy' in it, i.e. that prior to his study of the work it was not considered heretical.<sup>5</sup> In fact it was not the *Shestokryl* itself, but its calendar calculations which Gennady found uncanonical, for they ended with the year 5228<sup>6</sup> and yet there was no mention of the end of the world. Therefore, Gennady reasoned, the tables were heretical not only because they were over a century behind the

1. *AED*, p.311

2. *ibid.*, p.318

3. It was translated into Greek in the late 14th-early 15th centuries, and the earliest known Russian MS. of the work, a Slavonic translation made in Western Russia, belongs to the 16th century. Sobolevsky, 'Perevodnaya literatura', p.418.

4. *ibid.*

5. Several years after Gennady's discovery the *Shestokryl* was recommended by the monk Filofey as a reference work for calendar calculations:

И кто прилежнеише подщитя по шестокрылу считают дробныа часы,  
то обрящет, в которыи час быти потемнению луне, и солнцу,  
though he warned that:

но а сем подщание и подвиг велик, а приобретения мало.

There can be little doubt of the Orthodoxy of the author of the 'Moscow the Third Rome' theory. Malinin, *Starets Filofey*, Appendix, p.38; cf. p.39, n.5.

6. The *Shestokryl* tables were divided into sections, each containing information about a nineteen year cycle (lunar and solar years, dates of Passover, etc.). Gennady's copy brought this information up to the year 5244 (276 x 19 = 5244, not 5228 as the archbishop erroneously calculated. Evidently his *arifmitikiya* was not too strong.) According to the Jewish calendar A.D. 0 = 3761. Gennady's copy was therefore compiled before 1483 (5244 - 3761 = 1483 A.D.).

Christian Orthodox tables in their dating of the same biblical events, but also because they showed no evidence of concern over the imminent end of the world.

But at the same time as stressing the 'heresy of the *Shestokryl* numbers', Gennady was at pains to point out that there was nothing wrong with studying the work, for though it was put to improper use by the Jews, it concerned one of the four 'arts', knowledge of which was proper for Christian theologians:

А что Шестокрыл они себе изучив да тем прельщают христианство, мня яко же с небеси знамение сводят, ино не по их съставления бысть! Шестокрил бо взят от астрономии, яко капля от моря. А то звездозаксное дано бысть Сифу третьему сыну Адамову. Да потом Енох праведный исписал дни и часы и тела . . . . Да потом и жидова от них тому навыкли. А во всяком языке то есть, а христианстии учителя тому были велми горазди - Иоан Златоуст, Василий Кесарийский, Григорий Богослов. А в Григориеве житии Акраганского писано: дондеже де арифмитику и кгеометрию и мусикию и астрономии всю до конца извыче. Сего ради въспомянух твоему боголюбию онех мерзостная съпротивоглаголемая божественному повелению учения еретическаа числа онеми жидовскими преставляема. А о летех скончания Богу мощно приложить и уложить.<sup>1</sup>

Though God alone would decide when the end of the world would come, Gennady could not help wondering whether, if it were to fall in the year 7000 as prophesied by Enoch, or in any other year defined by the mystical seven, the Russian Church would be aware of the significance of the date, since its calendar was different from the calendars of other religions, and, most worrying of all, seemed to have fewer years than the calendars of the 'heretics':

Да и то ми ся мнит: однова будут еретици у нас украли лет!<sup>2</sup>

The worry which the 'stolen years' caused Gennady is particularly strongly expressed in his letter to Ioasaf:

Да чтобы еси послал по Паисея, да по Нила, да с ними бы еси о том посоветовал: 'Преидут три лета, кончается седмая тысяща,<sup>3</sup> и мы, деи, тогда будемь надобны.' Да и Шестокрил еси учил того для . . . . Да что которые лета украли у нас еретици жидовьскими числа, и в те лета которые цари, или папы, или патриархи писаны

1. *AED*, p.311; cf. *AED*, p.319

2. *ibid.*, p.319

3. In the only known MS. (early 16th century) of this letter, an insertion into this sentence is subscribed in the lower margin of the folio:

Ино и яз слышал у Алексея.

cf.*AED*, p.318, no.3

по именовъ, ино тех где вмещати? Ино надобе о том подвиг велик дрѣжати, егда скончаются лета, а животом еще прибавит Бог мир. Ино то еретиком жидовьскаа мудръствующим будет дрѣзость, а христианству будет спона велика.<sup>1</sup>

Aleksey, mentioned in a subscribed sentence in the letter to Ioasaf, has been identified with the Novgorod heretical archpriest Aleksey, who figures in the later evidence on the heresy. The subscribed sentence may well be a later interpolation, and the appearance of a Novgorod heretic (and the first known mention of Aleksey) in a discussion about the *Shestokryl* is very suspect. Though Gennady speaks of *zhidovskaya mudr'stvuyushchie* heretics in his letter to Ioasaf, this, as we have already mentioned<sup>2</sup> cannot be seen as a term necessarily denoting the Novgorod heretics. In fact the context in which the reference to the *zhidovskaya mudr'stvuyushchie* occurs shows quite clearly whom Gennady has in mind under this epithet - it was not the Novgorod heretics, but the Jews, Tatars and particularly the Latins who would be delighted if the Russians were to find themselves without a calendar after the year 7000. If his rendering of a conversation with the Latins is to be credited, Gennady was quite right to fear their ridicule:

Да еще говорят: У нас, деи, писано седьмь тысящ лет да 8 до скончания века. И яз их съпросил: Что ж тлъкуется 8? И они мльвят: То, деи, тому слову имя: аще будете добри, придам вам, аще ли будете злы, уйму вас.<sup>3</sup>

Neither the structure nor the content of Gennady's letters to Prokhor and Ioasaf allow us to share the accepted view that the archbishop regarded the *Shestokryl* as a work written, or even used, by the Novgorod heretics<sup>4</sup> (who, if they really understood this work, would have been unlikely to bother with a copy several years out of date). In fact, his defensive explanation for his own use of the 'Jewish numbers'<sup>5</sup> and his disquisition on astronomy as an art acknowledged by the Fathers

1. *AED*, p. 318.

2. See above, pp.29-30.

3. *AED*, pp. 319-20.

4. *ibid.*, pp. 314-142; *IB*, p. 186; Ettinger 'Jewish influence', p. 236; Sobolevsky, *Perevodnaya Literatura*, p. 413; Wieczinski, 'Archbishop Gennadius', pp.377-8.

5. Cited also in Gennady's 1499 Bible (see below, Ch III, p.109-110): а по Шестокрылу круг лунный починается от семгября, после русского ..., *GN*, vol. 1, p. 162.

demonstrate that Gennady became interested in the *Shestokryl* while preparing for his 'great feat' - the compilation of paschal tables for the eighth millenium.

It is not surprising to find that heresy and the millenium preoccupied Gennady equally. One of the manuscripts written at his court, containing such works as the tract 'Against the Arians' by Athanasius of Alexandria, ends with this postscript:

Лета 6997, декевриос; в седмый в 9 час ноци послужиста руце мои, амартолос Тимофеа Вениаминова ... писах к вечеру солнечна дне захода; седморишнаго реку века ... в то лето здесе в преименитом ту неуполеос мнози священники и диакони и от простых людии диаки явилисья сквернители на веру непорочну...<sup>1</sup>

Any student of the 'writings' about the end of the world would, like Timofey Veniaminov and Gennady, have associated the appearance of heretics with the last years of the seventh millenium, when the Devil 'must be loosed a little season' (Rev. XX, 3). However much Gennady stressed that the date of the end could be known to God alone, his eschatological fears are very much in evidence and should be considered in any discussion of the reasons behind his investigation into the heresy in Novgorod. The letter to Prokhor does not offer sufficient evidence that 'the conviction of the {Novgorod} heretics' leaders that there would be no end of the world in 1492'<sup>2</sup> was among such reasons, especially as Gennady himself evidently considered 1492 an unlikely date for this event.

Gennady may have considered the appearance of heresy in Novgorod a 'sign of the times', but this did not prevent him from demanding prompt action against it. From a letter dated January 1488 and addressed to Nifont, bishop of Suzdal', and to Filofey, bishop of Perm'<sup>3</sup>, it would seem that his appeal to the metropolitan and to Prokhor did not bring the desired response, since he renews his request for support against the Novgorod heretics:

1. Sedel'nikov, 'K izucheniyu Slova kratka', p.237.
2. *RD*, p.205.
3. *AED*, pp.312-3.

Что есми послал государю великому князю да и митрополиту грамоты да и подлинник о новгородцких еретицех, а Прохору епископу Сарскому грамоту есми о той же ереси послал же ... тамо о их ересех пространно изъявлено. Да усердно о том потщание имея, споборствуя по Христе Бозе и пречистыя его Богоматери, яко же должно есть твоему святительству въспоминая государю великому князю да и господину отцу нашему Геронтею митрополиту всея Руси, чтобы тому делу потщался обыск учинити, занеже ныне как продлилось то дело - обыск ему не крепок чинитца.<sup>1</sup>

The letter to Nifont and Filofey in fact gives a far more *prostrannyy* account of the malpractices of the heretics - described, it should be noted, by the term *Novgorod heretics* and not as *zhidovskaya mudr'stvuyushchie*,<sup>2</sup> - than the letter to Prokhor:

Ино познают: еретикам ослаба пришла. Уже ныне наругаютца христьянству - вяжут кресты на вороны и на ворсны. Многие ведели: ворон деи летает, а кресть на нем вязан деревян, а ворона деи летает, а на ней крест медян. Ино таково наругание: ворон и ворона садятца на стерве и на калу, а крестом по тому волочат! А zde се обретох икону у Спаса на Ильине улици - Преображение з деянием, ино в праздницех обрезание написано - стоит Василей Кисарийский, да у Спаса руку да ногу отрезал, а на подписи написано: обрезание Господа нашего Иисуса Христа. Да с Ояти привели ко мне попа да диака, и они крестиянину дали крест телник древо плакун, да на кресте том вырезан сором женской да и мужской, и христианин де и с тех мест сохнути, да немного болел да умерл. А диак сказываеъца племенник Гриди Ключу еретику, что в подлинник не писан.<sup>3</sup>

The first of the malpractices described here was undoubtedly an act of desecration, though we are in no position to know whether it was a conscious 'denial of the cross' or perhaps a custom born of ignorance. The second piece of evidence cited by Gennady, apparently a blasphemy against Christ expressed through a strange visual pun on the word *obrezanie*, is far more complex. Gennady gives the subject of the heretical icon as *Preobrazhenie z deyaniem*, yet there is little evidence that a subject such as *Transfiguration with the Acts* ever existed in Russian (or Byzantine) iconography.<sup>4</sup> From his description of the icon it is clear that it was, in fact, a *Transfiguration with the Feasts*, a common

1. AED, p.312.

2. In this letter there is, in fact, no mention at all of the heretics' 'judaizing'.

3. AED, pp.312-3.

4. See Antonova and Mneva, *Katalog*, pp.104, 263; Millet, *Recherches*, pp.216-31.

enough composition, and one particularly appropriate to a church dedicated to the Saviour of the Transfiguration.

The feast of the Circumcision could have been depicted on such an icon, except that it is apparently unknown in Russian iconography before the seventeenth century, when it is represented by a composition similar to that employed for the *Presentation of Mary in the Temple*.<sup>1</sup> The subject of the composition described by Gennady has been identified by Popov as the *Eucharist*, a rare iconographical version of which shows Basil of Caesarea, author of the liturgy, literally 'taking the body of Christ'.<sup>2</sup> Gennady's reaction to this unfamiliar composition is perfectly understandable;<sup>3</sup> it is interesting, however, that he expresses no surprise at the apparent contradiction inherent in an icon which emphasizes the God-like nature of Christ in its central scene (the *Transfiguration*) and blasphemes against it in another.

The carved cross which testified to the third heretical malpractice on Gennady's list was very probably given to its unfortunate victim with the promise that it would bring fertility. He received this cross from two servants of the church: not surprising in an area where the bond between Christianity and pagan tradition was particularly strong.<sup>4</sup>

Blasphemy against the cross and against icons was not on Timotheos' list of Marcionite and Messalian heresies,<sup>5</sup> but, as would have been clear to Gennady's fellow churchmen, it was symptomatic of yet another 'judaizing' heresy - the heresy of the Iconoclasts.<sup>6</sup> As the letter to

1. For this information I am obliged to A.S. Veselovskaya and her colleagues at the Rublev Museum. When I consulted them, in the summer of 1975, they had just received an icon of the Circumcision, their first and only known 17th century example. There are, to the best of my knowledge, no icons of the Circumcision among published Russian icons. (See Appendix I)

2. Popov, *Zhivopis' i miniatyura*, p.51.

4. cf. the letter of Abbot Pamfil of Pskov, written about 1504, inveighing against the unseemly heathen revelries with which the Pskovites celebrated the feast of St. John the Baptist. *PL*, vol. 1, pp.90-91.

5. See above, pp.27-8.

6. See above, p. 31. The report on the origins of the Iconoclast heresy presented to the Seventh Oecumenical Council at Nicea in 787 described it as the result of Jewish propaganda (*Mansi*, vol. 13, col. 197) and condemned the Iconoclasts, for: 'Imitating the Jews, Saracens, Hellenes and Samaritans, as well as Manicheans and Phantasiasts or Theopaschites, they wanted to banish sacred images'.

3. From a letter written by Dmitry Gerasimov c. 1518 it is clear that Gennady was suspicious of any work with an unfamiliar iconography. Andreyev, 'Inok Zinoviy', pp.272-3; Podobedova, *Lec'kovskaya Shkola*, pp.44-5.

Nifont and Filofey shows, Gennady felt it necessary to strengthen his case against the Novgorod heretics, as presented in the *podlinniki* sent to the grand prince and the metropolitan, by concrete and clearly identifiable evidence.

By January 1488 Gennady had assembled the necessary material for a conciliar trial.<sup>1</sup> He did not have to wait long for results. A Council did apparently meet, though without his participation, for in February 1488 Gennady received a joint document from the grand prince<sup>2</sup> and the metropolitan,<sup>3</sup> acquainting him with their findings as regards the heretics. The quick response is significant: the convocation of a synod of the church was a lengthy business and it seems reasonable to assume that when he wrote to Nifont and Filofey, Gennady was aware that they were already in council in Moscow. Thus it is unlikely that this particular Council had met to deal with the Novgorod heresy, but was simply the normal annual assembly ordained by canon law.<sup>4</sup>

The document issued in the name of the grand prince states:

Писал еси ко мне, да и к митрополиту, грамоту о ересех и о хуле на Христа Сына Божия и на Пречистую Его Богматерь, и о поругании святых икон, что которые в Новгороде священники, и диаконы, и диаки, и простые люди, жидовскую веру величают, а нашу веру православную Христову хулят, да и список еси тех ересей прислал к нам на тех еретиков: и яз, с своим отцем с митрополитом и с епископы и со всем собором, по твоему списку розсудили, что поп Григорей Семеновской, да поп Ересим Николскоѣ, да попов Григориев сын Самсонко диак, по правилом царьским, дошли градские казни, потому что на них есть свидетельства в твоём списке; а на Гридю на Борисоглебского в твоём списке свидетельства нет, опрочи попа Наума. И яз попа Григорья, да попа Ересима, да Самсонка диака велел здесе казнити градскою казнию, да казнив, послал еси их к тебе ... и ты бы у себя собрав собор да обличив их ересь, да и понаказал их; и только не покаются и перед тобою о той ереси, и ты их пошли к моим наместником ... А на которых еси писал, в том же списке, о тех же ересех, на священников и на диаконов и на диаков, и на простых людей, которые в Новгороде живут: и ты тех

1. A list of the heretics, evidence against them and references to the relevant anti-heretical literature (*AED*, pp.310, 312). It seems he also sent out additional anti-heretical tracts, for the letter to Nifont ends: Противень послал Нифонту епископу Суздальскому да Филофею епископу Пермскому в одны речи о еретицех с Семеном в Зезевитом. The *rechi* to which Gennady here refers may perhaps be the apocryphal 'Dispute of St. Peter with Simon Magus' (Semen v Zezevitom = Simon Magus?). Simon is often called the 'source of all heresy' (*New Catholic Encyclopaedia*, vol. 13, p. 223; cf. *Prosvetitel'*, p. 480; Попов, *Obzor*, pp.22-3).

2. *AED*, pp.313-4.

3. *ibid.*, pp.314-5.

4. *Merilo pravednoe*, p. 185.

обыскивай с моими наместники. И которых обыщешь, по правилом святых апостол и святых отец будут достойны вашей казни церковные, ино то и сам ведаешь; а будут достойны, по правилом, градские казни, и ты тех пошли к моим наместником ...<sup>1</sup>

The communication from Metropolitan Geronty, which is an expanded version of the grand prince's document, sheds further light on Gennady's evidence:

... Писал еси к нам свои грамоты, к господину и сыну моему великому князю Ивану Васильевичю всея Руси, да и ко мне, о том, что прозябают ереси в Новгороде, хулы и поруганья от священников, и от дияконов, и от дияков, и от простых людей, да и списке еси на тех ересников прислал к нам, по чему еси обыскивал, *как* они хулили Христа Сына Божия и Пречистую Его Богоматерь и ругались святым иконам, а величают жидовскую веру, а нашу православную христианскую веру хулят ...<sup>2</sup>

From this we learn that Gennady was concerned to show *how* the heretics blasphemed against Christ, the Virgin and the holy icons, and *how* they lauded the Jewish faith, blaspheming against Christianity. Having once identified the Novgorod heretics as 'judaistically philosophizing' heretics who committed outrages against icons, Gennady, like Theodore of Studio,<sup>3</sup> *knew* them to be guilty of blaspheming against Christ and the Virgin. These accusations of doctrinal heresy, couched in the traditional language of anti-heretical literature<sup>4</sup> and later incorporated in the earliest known anathema against the Novgorod heretics,<sup>5</sup> did not require proof. All that was needed, and this Gennady had provided, was proof of disciplinary heresy.

The metropolitan ends with a reminder and an exhortation:

... А князь великий приказал с тобою того дела обыскивати наместником Якову да Юрью Захариичем: и ты бы с ними того дела обыскивал вместе ... Да обыскивал бы еси, сыну, то дело прилежно, чтобы христианство в змуценьи не было, а Церковь бы Божия безмятежна была.<sup>6</sup>

This was not the first time that a Metropolitan of Moscow felt the need to remind an Archbishop of Novgorod to keep faith with Ivan III before

1. *AED*, pp.313-4.

2. *ibid.*, p.314 (the italics are mine).

3. See above, p. 31.

4. cf. *MPG*, vol.1, cols.1461-1474; *ibid.*, vol.104, cols.866-90; Begunov, *Kozma Prezviter*, p. 373.

5. Zimin, 'Sobornye prigovory', p. 214.

6. *AED*, p. 315.

exhorting him to protect the faith of the Orthodox. Early in 1471, at the time of Novgorod's ill-starred attempt to enter an anti-Muscovite union with Poland-Lithuania,<sup>1</sup> Metropolitan Filipp wrote two letters to the then archbishop of Novgorod, Filofey, and to his flock, lamenting the fact that:

Нынеча же, сынове, слышанье мое таково ... от христианьскаго Господаря Рускаго отстуете, а старину свою и обычаи забывши, да приступаете деи, к чужему к Латыньскому Господарю к Королю ...

and warning:

Ино, сынове, не съблзняйтесь о том, а помните, сынове, апостольское слово: 'братье, Бога бойтесь, а князя чтите, Божий бо слуга есть.'<sup>2</sup>

Filipp's letters left no doubt that in his eyes those who betrayed the grand prince of Moscow betrayed the true faith; it was the duty of the Novgorod archbishop to report all *otstupleniya*, whether from Orthodoxy or from Moscow:

А ныне слышу в детех ваших, в Ноугородцех, да и в многих у вас в молодых людех . . поостряются на многая стремления и на великое земли неустроение, нетишину, хотячи ввести мятеж велик и расколу в святей Божьей Церкви, да оставя православие и великую старину да приступити к Латыном. А ты ми, сыну, того не възвестишь и не опишешь, занеже, сыну то есть церьковное правление паствы нашея и попечение наше святительское.<sup>3</sup>

In Novgorod, matters political were never far from matters religious, and it is this which explains Ivan's insistence on the presence of his *namestniki* at any further interrogation of the heretics. This is also clear from a consideration of the events of 1488 as recorded in the few chronicles which actually mention the Moscow flogging of the Novgorod heretics. All report this in one phrase, the substance of which does not vary:

Тое же зимы биша попов Новугородских по торгу кнутьем: присла бо их из Новагорода к великому князю владыка Генадей, что пьяни поругалися святым иконам; и посла их опять ко владыце.<sup>4</sup>

1. Fennell, *Ivan the Great*, pp.37-41.

2. *AI*, vol. 1, No. 280, p. 513.

3. *ibid.*, No. 281, p. 516.

4. *PSRL*, vol. 6, p. 238. This account, quoted from the Sofiysky II chronicle, is also found in the L'vov chronicle (*PSRL*, vol. 20, p. 353) and later derivations from these two chronicles (see *AED*, p. 111, n. 9). The source of this account is the hypothetical 1489/90 chronicle *svod* sympathetic to Metropolitan Geronty (Lur'e, 'Nezavisimy letopisny svod', p. 415). It has been suggested that the inclusion of information about the Novgorod heretics in only one *svod*, characterised by its opposition to the policies of Ivan III, was not accidental but was intended as a record of further evidence that all was not well in the Russian state, evidence intentionally omitted from official chronicles (*AED*, p.111-2). This may indeed have been the motivation of the chronicler. In view of the detailed information given in *all* contemporary chronicle accounts on the second trial of the Novgorod heretics in 1490 (see below, pp.69-72) it is less likely that the 1488 omission is due to.../

The *torgovaya kazn'* of the Novgorod priests is but one of three mentioned under 1488 in an account almost exclusively devoted to the enumeration of punishments given to those who incurred the wrath of the grand prince, among them more than 7,000 Novgorodians:

Тое же зимы послал князь велики, и привели из Новагорода боле семи тысяч житых людей на Москву, понеже хотели убити наместника великого князя Яков Захарьича; иных же думцов много Яков пересек и перевешал.<sup>1</sup>

This was the same *namestnik* who was to be present at all further investigations into the case of the Novgorod priests ordered by the grand prince in February 1488. It is unlikely that the grand prince's insistence on the presence of his *namestniki* was simply due to his distrust of Gennady's 'hidden motives', as has been suggested by Klibanov.<sup>2</sup> Their role was more complex: they were a symbol of the right of the grand prince to take part in such church matters as the investigation of heresy and of his duty to support the church in such an investigation; at the same time they were present in order to protect the grand prince's political interests, to make sure that no *myatezh* was involved.

The actions of Ivan III in 1488 ill accord with the widely held view that the 'lenient and even protective attitude of the grand prince towards the heretics ... is noticeable already in the beginning of the heresy's existence'.<sup>3</sup> Since the relationship between the grand prince and the heretics is one of the key issues in our understanding of the heresy, let us in the light of contemporary sources quoted above consider the arguments used to support this view.

It is argued that though Gennady was successful in obtaining a conciliar trial in Moscow, the Council of 1488 tried only four of the heretics listed in his *spiski*,<sup>4</sup> men 'of relatively secondary importance',<sup>5</sup>

/...official' censorship. In 1488 the flogging of three 'Novgorod priests' may not have been considered important enough to be recorded. It is interesting to note that Tatishchev so little understood that the priests were heretics that he rephrased the reason for the flogging thus:

Того же лета биша кнутом новгородцких попов по торгу, прислал их из Новагорода Геннадий владыка, что поругались ему пьяни. (Tatishchev, *Istoriya*, vol. VI

1. *PSRL*, vol. 6, p. 238; *ibid.*, vol. 20, p. 353. p. 75)
2. *RD*, p. 190.
3. *AED*, p. 112.
4. *RD*, p. 190.
5. *IB*, p. 138.

and even acquitted one of the four.<sup>1</sup> The grand prince did not condemn all the heretical practices mentioned by Gennady,<sup>2</sup> nor did the Council impose the excommunication and anathematization demanded by him.<sup>3</sup>

As we have seen from Gennady's letter to Prokhor, the archbishop began sending his reports to Moscow in 1487. Quite properly, the first annual Council to meet following receipt of the reports investigated the matter of the heresy and declared:

что в твоём списке писаны, поп Григорей Семеновской, да поп Ересим Никольской, да попов сын Григорьев Самсонко диак, и те ... достойни извержению и отлученью от святыя Церкви и проклятью подлежат, потому что на них в твоих списках свидетельства есть о их ересех и хулах и о поруганьи; а по царским правилом ... достойны градская казни ... А Гридя диак не дошел еще, по правилом, градские казни, потому что на него один свидетель, поп Наум: и ты того тамо обыскивай, и что на него обыщешь, по правилом, казнь духовную или градскую, ино то сам ведаешь. А которых еси иных писал в своих списках, священников и диаконов и диаков простых людей, что те лихие дела делают, и ты бы того обыскивал с великим прилежанием и со многим извещением ...<sup>4</sup>

The Council and the grand prince did, in fact, do all that canon and civil law required. The heretics who were *named* in Gennady's *spiski* were tried for all the *eresi, knuly i poruganiya* listed by him<sup>5</sup> and three were dismissed from their posts, excommunicated and anathematized. The fourth, Gridya Kloch, could not be sentenced because, as the metropolitan was at pains to point out, canon law required at least two witnesses against him if he was to be found guilty<sup>6</sup> - but even in this case Gennady was given *carte blanche* to deal with Gridya as he thought fit. The same applied to all others under suspicion, not named in Gennady's *spiski*, and covered by the stock phrase *svyashchenniki, i diakony, i diaki, i prostye lyudi*.<sup>7</sup>

1. *IB*, p. 138; *RD*, p. 189.

2. *AED*, p. 112; *IB*, pp. 138-9. Lur'e probably means the 'grand prince with the council' here, since the condemned practices and beliefs mentioned in the grand prince's document as sent to Gennady are identical with those mentioned in the document sent by the metropolitan.

3. *IB*, p. 139.

4. *AED*, pp. 314-5.

5. On these the verdict is every bit as vague as most of the reports written by Gennady which have reached us. The fact that even the metropolitan *svod* refers only to the Novgorod priests' blasphemy against icons suggests that even in the *spiski* which are unknown to us he did little to substantiate his other accusations.

6. It seems that Gennady's case against Gridya, '*chto v podlinnik ne pisan*', (see above, p. 41) was not properly prepared in time for the Council meeting.

7. cf. Timofey Veniaminov, above, p. 40.

On the basis of contemporary sources we have considered so far there is thus no evidence of the grand prince's 'lenient attitude' towards the heretics. There is, however, clear evidence to suggest that the grand prince and the synod had agreed to treat the heresy as a local Novgorod matter, for the final responsibility for eradicating the evil was firmly placed on Gennady's shoulders. This may explain the surprising absence of the archbishop at the Council meeting in Moscow, to which, in his capacity as a member of the synod and as chief witness against the Novgorod priests, he should properly have been summoned. In fact he was probably kept away from Moscow on the express orders of the grand prince, on the same grounds as were to be advanced against his attendance at a Moscow synod in 1490, when, as Gennady wrote to the newly-appointed metropolitan, Zosima:

Здесе пакы, господине, наказ государя великого князя о его о великих делех, а велел ми того беречи, а к Москве ехати не велел за своими делы.<sup>1</sup>

In 1488, the year in which Novgorod suffered the harshest in a series of repressions designed to deprive the former republic of all traces of its independence — deportations and confiscations on a massive scale,<sup>2</sup> — Ivan III must have required the archbishop to keep an eye on his *velikie dela*.

Gennady was also needed in Novgorod in order to convene a local synod for the second trial of the heretics, ordered by the grand prince.<sup>3</sup> There can be little doubt that this was to be a show trial, a lesson to the Novgorodians: for the further investigation of Gridya there was some excuse, but in the case of Grigory, Gerasim and Samsonko, excommunicated and anathematized, only a solemn public proclamation of the verdict of the Moscow synod and the inclusion of an appropriate anathema in the service books would normally have been required.

Far from wishing to disguise the appearance of a group of heretics in Novgorod, it seems that Ivan III wanted their case to be given maximum

1. *AED*, p. 374.

2. Fennell, *Ivan the Great*, pp.59-60.

3. See above, pp. 43-4.

publicity. This it certainly received, if we are to believe the evidence given by the monk Savva in a work dated 1488<sup>1</sup> which is headed:

Сия книга събрана от апостол, и пророк и святых богоносных отец.  
Творение инока Саввы Сенного Острова - на жидов и на еретики  
послание.

and is addressed to one *gospodin Dmitrey Vasil'evich*. Savva explains his reasons for writing thus:

Поминаю, господине, твою любовь первую к нам и веру . . . . Сице аще человек будет добр и украшен всеми добродетелми и примесит к ним мало нечто жидовскаго семени, ино то все его житье непотребно пред Богом и человеки, и Бог не стерпит ему и обличит его, *якоже и новгородских попов, учение жидовское приимлим*. И ты, господине Дмитрий, коли был еси послом, и говорил еси с тем жидовином с Захарией с Скарюю. И я, господине, молюся тебе: что еси от него слышал слова худы, то пожалуй, господине, отложи их от сердца своего и от уст своих, якоже некоторое скаредие . . .<sup>2</sup>

Savva was probably a monk of the Trinity monastery on Senny Island in Lake Ladoga<sup>3</sup> - apart from that nothing is known about him. The *gospodin Dmitrey* to whom the letter was addressed has been identified as Dmitry Vasil'evich Shein, a boyar of the grand prince,<sup>4</sup> sent in October 1487 on an embassy к Захарье к Скарье к жидовину<sup>5</sup> from which he returned sometime after March 1487.<sup>6</sup> Zakhar'ya Skara (or Zakhar'ya Guil Gursis)<sup>7</sup>, variously described in Muscovite diplomatic documents as *zhidovin*, *Taman'sky knyaz'* and *Cherkasin*,<sup>8</sup> was Zaccaria Ghizolfi, *signore di Matrega* (Taman') in 1471.<sup>9</sup> After Taman', a possession of the Genovese *Banco di San Giorgio*, fell to the Turks, Zaccaria evidently contemplated entering the service of Ivan III.<sup>10</sup>

1. This work was published by Belokurov from a single manuscript, now lost. The unsatisfactory archaeological introduction and the absence of a control manuscript leave no way of testing the accuracy of the date, entered in the margin of the original. (Belokurov, 'Poslanie', pp. II-IV).

2. Belokurov, 'Poslanie', p. 1. (the italics are mine).

3. *ibid.*, p. V.

4. *ibid.*, p. VI; *AED*, p. 110, *IB*, pp. 131-4.

5. *CRIO*, vol. 41, No. 19, p. 71.

6. *ibid.*, No. 20, pp. 73-4.

7. This was the Russian transliteration of his Latin name.

8. *AED*, p. 110, n. 5; *IB*, pp. 130-1.

9. This was a post, a governorship, not a hereditary title. *Atti della Societa Ligure di Storia Patria*, 1872, part I, f. 3, pp. 841-8. The Latin spelling of Zaccaria's name was Zacharia de Guisulphis.

10. *CRIO*, vol. 41, Np. 10, p. 41.

Zaccaria's religious affiliation is unimportant to us here.<sup>1</sup> What is important is that Savva's belief that Zaccaria was a Jew stimulated him to write a polemical work against the Jews, interesting on two scores. Firstly because at the time Savva was writing, the Novgorod heresy had already gained notoriety as *the heresy of Novgorod priests who had embraced the Jewish faith*, in other words Gennady's epithet *zhidovskaya mudr'stvuyushchie* had come to be accepted as a statement of fact. Secondly, though Savva tells us nothing more about the Novgorod heresy itself, he is quite informative on the attitude of the Church to heresy in general.

He considers that only Russia is true to the Christian faith, but will remain so only if Ivan III rejects contacts (such as diplomatic negotiations) with those who are not Orthodox Christians:

... Подобаает государю великому князю Ивану Васильевичю радоватися со своими людьми христианы. А где бо ныне такова вера, якоже в Руской земли, аще государь наш последует прадеду своему Владимиру и дела добрыми, якоже Владимир жил ... аще исперва был поган и болваном поклонялся.<sup>2</sup>

He distinguishes between Christian and Jew not by race but by belief:

... не по плоти, но по духу и по благодати от того Авраамова колена изыде Исак ...<sup>3</sup>

- and warns:

... Сего ради всяк прилагаяся ко Христу во христианскую веру, аще жидовин, аще татарин, аще ин кто ис поганския веры, приложится во Христову веру, той будет семя Аврамово благословенное и наследник будет царства небеснаго. Аще ли кто преложится от христиан к жидовом, той не токмо отпадет от благословеннаго семени Аврамова, но с теми будет проклят ...<sup>4</sup>

From Savva we learn that the term *zhidovskaa mudr'stvuyushchie* signified a renegade from the true faith, and that in the eyes of the Church a renegade deserved the harshest of punishments.

This, certainly, was Gennady's view of the treatment due to the Novgorod heretics, and his letters written after 1488 show that he felt the Novgorod heresy to have been inadequately dealt with. In February 1489, a

1. See *AED*, loc. cit., and *IB*, loc. cit. for a discussion of Zaccaria's nationality and religion.

2. Belokurov, 'Poslanie', pp.5-6.

3. *ibid.*, p. 11.

4. *ibid.*, p. 12.

year after the Novgorod heretics were condemned in Moscow, he wrote to Ioasaf, former archbishop of Rostov and Yaroslavl',<sup>1</sup> reminding him of the circumstances in which the heresy was first discovered and stressing the gravity of the affair. Though the letter to Ioasaf is largely based on Gennady's own letter to Prokhor, his pique at the Moscow Council of 1488 for treating the heresy as a purely Novgorod matter and the archbishop's own affair, prompts him to expand the arguments first mentioned in the letter to Prokhor.

Gennady claims that the heresy which he discovered in Novgorod is the first to appear in the Orthodox church since the restoration of icons, the first in Russia since the conversion of St. Vladimir.<sup>2</sup> Yet in spite of this, and in spite of the reports he sent to the grand prince and the bishops as a result of the investigations ordered in 1488:

ныне вы положили то дело ни за что, как бы вам мнится, Новъгород с Москвою не едино православие; не поблезновали есте о том ни мала!<sup>3</sup>

What is Novgorod's concern should also be Moscow's, for the heretics are dangerous. Here Gennady enlarges on the heretics' willingness to forswear their own beliefs, which first led him to identify them as judaizing Marcionites and Messalians:<sup>4</sup>

Сице и сии еретици говорят явьствено, и учат православное христианство своей злобе, и как их спреси, и он говорит: яз, деи, православной христианин, а того всего своего лихово дела запрелся.<sup>5</sup>

It is this which made the heretics so difficult to deal with, for even under interrogation<sup>6</sup> they refused to call themselves anything but Orthodox Christians:

1. *AED*, pp.316-20.

2. *ibid.*, p.316. In a letter written just over a year later, however, he accused a certain monk Zakhar of holding the beliefs of the *Strigol'niki*, a Russian heretical sect of the late XIVth - early XVth centuries. (see below, p. 60)

3. *ibid.*, p. 317.

4. See above, p. 25.

5. *AED*, p. 316.

6. This interrogation involved the use of torture; in 1490 Gennady had to defend himself in a letter to the synod of bishops, against the accusation that he tortured the priest Samsonko, with the words: ... пытал его сын боярьской великого князя, а мой толко был сторож. (*AED*, p. 380)

... государь мой князь великий приказал своим бояром, Якову да Юрию Захариичем со мною и своим богомолцем обыскати то дело накрепко. И как мы тех еретиков велели пред собою поставити, и они те все своих действий позапрелися, да почали с безстрашием клятися, а называют ся христиане православные.<sup>1</sup>

By their very claim that they were Christians the men under Gennady's interrogation condemned themselves in his eyes. Again he quotes the *pravila* in support of his conclusions, adding another example of the heretics' malpractices:

И попы их завтракав и пив до обеда, обедню служат.<sup>2</sup>

As in the letter to Prokhor, Gennady does not confine himself to the problem of the heresy. He admonishes Ioasaf for incurring the displeasure of the grand prince and losing his archbishopric:

Ты будешь нечто оскорблен от кого в телесном деле, да оставил архиепископию ... Да и се в слух мой пришло, что, деи, посылаю тебе князь великий, и не одинова, и ты, деи, не поехал к нему, а мог бы еси и тамо крепость свою подръжати, за что будешь оставил архиепископию, а государское бы еси сердце не ожестил. Да не мни: то мал грех сътворил еси;<sup>3</sup>

Saddened by the loss of an ally in his struggle against heresy, he entreats Ioasaf to pray that the grand prince will help to protect the church against the 'new iconoclasts':

А ныне бы еси о государе о великом князи Бога молил, чтобы государю Бог положил на сердце, чтобы управил церковь Божию ... от еретичьскаго нападания, от тех еретиков, жидовьская мудрствующих ... Понеже образу Господа нашего Иисуса Христа и Пречистыя Его Матери наругались!<sup>4</sup>

Gennady's disquisition on the *Shestokryl* and the seventh millenium, which takes up the greater part of his letter to Ioasaf, has been already discussed.<sup>5</sup> As we tried to show in our discussion of the *Shestokryl*, it would be erroneous to assume that when speaking of heretics Gennady necessarily means the *Novgorod* heretics. This is particularly important when we consider the next matter to which he turns in the letter to Ioasaf:

1. *AED*, p. 316.

2. *ibid.* Neither a particularly grave nor uncommon misdeed at that time, as we can see from the letter of Metropolitan Foty to the Pskovites written sometime between 1422 and 1425:

А что ми пишете, что суть у вас некотории попове, до обеда пють в праздники и во иныя дни: ино который священник до обеда пиетъ, и таковой первое и второе и третье да накажется, яко да перестанеть. И по сем того аще нерадिति начнеть, ино въздержание от священства таковому 40 дней. (*AED*, p. 250).

3. *ibid*, p. 317. 4. *ibid.*, pp.317-8. 5. See above, pp. 35-40

Да есть ли у вас в Кирилове, или в Фарафонтове, или на Каменном, книги: Селивестр папа Римскы, да Афанасей Александрейскы, да Слово Козмы прозвитера на новоявльшуюся ересь на богумилю, да Послание Фотей патриарха ко князю Борису Болгарьскому, да Пророчьства, да Бытия, да Царьства, да Притчи, да Менандр, да Исус Сирахов, да Логика, да Деонисей Арепагит? Зане же те книги у еретиков все есть.<sup>1</sup>

It is generally accepted that the books listed here were in the possession of the Novgorod heretics, testifying to their 'astounding breadth of cultural interests'.<sup>2</sup> If these books did indeed belong to the Novgorod heretics it is surprising that Gennady did not mention them previously, for example in his report to Prokhor on the heretical writings which he had sent to the metropolitan.<sup>3</sup>

In view of this we must consider the possibility that Gennady is here referring to another group of heretics altogether. Two other alternatives offer themselves. He may be speaking of the Latins (the heretics who 'stole years' from the Orthodox)<sup>4</sup> or to another group of Judaizers - the Moscow group. For, as we learn from two of Gennady's letters written in 1490, he discovered the existence of this group during the interrogation of the Novgorod heretics mentioned in the letter to Ioasaf. One of the Novgorodians he interrogated told him:

Ходили, деи, есмя завсе к Федору к Курицину, диаку великого князя, а приходит, деи, к нему Олексей протопоп, да Истома, да Сверчек, да Ивашко Чрьной, что книги пишет, да поучаются, деи, на православных.<sup>5</sup>

The two letters written by Gennady in 1490 were written on the occasion of a conciliar meeting in Moscow, from which he was excluded on the orders of the grand prince.<sup>6</sup> Though unable to attend Gennady nonetheless ensured he should not be forgotten by his fellow churchmen, for his letters were composed to be read at the Council: one to the metropolitan Zosima<sup>7</sup> and one to the bishops.<sup>8</sup>

1. *AED*, p. 320. See below, ch. IV, pp. 150-161, for a discussion of the books on this list.

2. *IB*, p. 197.

3. See above, p. 29

4. See above, p. 39

5. *AED*, pp. 380-1.

6. See above, p. 48

7. *AED*, pp. 374-9. Zosima was appointed metropolitan on 26 September 1490. The council which elected him also condemned the Judaizers, on 17 October 1490. (*PSRL*, vol. 25, p. 331). Gennady's letters were written sometime between the two dates.

8. *ibid.*, pp. 379-82.

The letter to the metropolitan, a copy of which was probably sent to the grand prince, carries a very different emphasis from the letter to the bishops, although ultimately it is also directed at them.<sup>1</sup> It opens with the first of a series of complaints:

Что еси, господин мой, прислал ко мне грамоту да списки з грамот с митрополичих з Геронтиевых, а велел ми еси, господине, по тому же написати грамоты, каковы те списки: ино то ми, господине, велишь свершено от Москвы отписываться ... Не молви тако: 'Архиепископу болшему отписаться от митрополита и от владык'; да тою грамотою наше святительство под ногами положили!<sup>2</sup>

Gennady is aggrieved not only by his enforced isolation from Moscow<sup>3</sup> but also because he has been required to transmit a second *ispovedanie*. The meaning of this is made clear in the letter:

А что мы, господине, велишь писати исповедание: ино, господине, исповедание есми положил отцу своему Геронтию митрополиту да всему божественому собору, архиепископу и епископом; да то исповедание у вас в казне. А как есми исповедался пред Богом и пред избранными аггелы, так в том исповедании стою и теперво неподвижно. *Ниже к Литвы посылаю грамоты, ни из Литвы ко мне посылают грамот, ни пакы литовские ставленики служат в моей архиепископии.*<sup>4</sup>

Evidently the metropolitan had demanded that Gennady repeat in writing the 'confession of faith' required of all newly-appointed bishops, as part of the ceremony of consecration. Following the break with the Byzantine Church over the issue of Union with the Church of Rome, and the establishment of an independent metropolitan see of Kiev, this confession included a promise to have no dealings with the metropolitan of Kiev or any of his clergy.<sup>5</sup>

1. Setting forth his objections to the procedure adopted at the election of the bishop of Kolomna in his letter to the bishops, Gennady adds: ... о том есми отписал к великому князю да и митрополиту, а вам то братии нашей ведомо же будет, как митрополит велит чести пред вами ту грамоту. (*AED*, p. 379)

2. *ibid.* p. 374.

3. This complaint is voiced repeatedly in both letters (see *AED*, pp. 374, 378 & 381), though characteristically it is couched in far stronger terms in the letter to the bishops (1) than in that to the metropolitan (2):

(1) Да чтобы есте отцу нашему митрополиту поговорили, да с ним великому князю, чтобы по мене однолично прислал; а толко князь великий хотя не хочет по мене прислати, а вы без мене не имете дела делати никакова. (*AED*, p. 381)

(2) Да чтобы еси, господине, сыну своему великому князю поговорил накрепко, чтобы и мне велел быти у себя да и у тебя ... (*AED*, p. 378)

4. *ibid.*, p. 375 (the italics are mine).

5. See the oath sworn by Bishop Genady of Tver' in 1461 before Metropolitan Feodosy of Moscow. *RIB*, VI, No. 93.

Gennady's protestations reveal his fear of being held responsible for any contact with Lithuania - the worst treason of all, in the context of Ivan's Novogorod policy. And his words show clearly why the grand prince's insistence on the participation of his representatives in Gennady's investigations into the heresy was not without political motivation.<sup>1</sup>

А что которые литовские оканные дела прозябли в Руской земли, в Великом Новеграде, в вотчине государя великого князя, коли был в Новеграде князь Михайло Оленкович, а с ним был жидовин еретик, да от того жидовина распростерлась ересь в Ноугородцкой земли, а держали ее тайно, да потом почали урекаться въпиани: и яз послышив то, до {да?} о том грамоту послал к великому князю да и ко отцу его Геронтию митрополиту. И князь великий ко мне прислал грамоту а велел ми того беречи чтобы то лихо в земли не распростерлось.<sup>2</sup>

This, the sole reference in Gennady's correspondence to the origins of the heresy,<sup>3</sup> is for several reasons highly suspect. As Lur'e points out,<sup>4</sup> it seems hardly likely that the 'Jew-heretic' of the archbishop's story would have been in a position to exert much influence during the few months that Mikhail Olel'kovich spent in Novgorod.<sup>5</sup> Iosif of Volokolamsk, who later gave the nameless Jew of Gennady's narrative the name of Skharia, stresses that Mikhail Olel'kovich was a Christian in every sense:

... христианину суцу, и христианьская мудрьствующу ...<sup>6</sup>

- and it is highly improbable that this Prince, arrested by Casimir in 1481<sup>7</sup> for joining in a conspiracy of the Orthodox Lithuanian nobility, would have allowed such an active heretic in his suite.<sup>8</sup> Moreover, the context of this vague account casts doubts on its veracity. Clearly, it is there to serve a double purpose: on the one hand, to provide solid proof of the archbishop's

1. See above, pp.43-6.

2. *AED*, p. 375.

3. This may have been mentioned in the reports sent by the archbishop to Moscow (and which have not been found among the manuscripts relating to the heresy), but this is unlikely, since he is usually careful to remind his correspondents of any previous references to matters under discussion.

4. *AED*, p. 109.

5. Fennell, *Ivan the Great*, pp.37-40.

6. *Prosvetitel'*, p. 31.

7. Fennell, *Ivan the Great*, p. 85.

8. The Jewish heresiarch of Gennady's letter has a famous prototype in a Byzantine source. John of Jerusalem, reporting to the Seventh Oecumenical Council at Nicea ascribed the introduction of the Iconoclast heresy to 'a certain leader of the lawless Jews ... called Forty Cubits High' (*Mansi*, vol. 13, col. 197)

anti-Lithuanian zeal, and on the other, to remind the metropolitan and the grand prince of the need for further action against the heretics.

To this end, Gennady recalls the events leading up to the first trial of the heretics in Moscow - and in so doing shows explicitly that Ivan III should be 'cleared' of the accusation of sympathy toward the heretics in the early stage of the heresy:

И князь великий ко мне прислал грамоту, и велел ми того беречи, чтобы то лихо в земли не распростерлось. И потом пришел обыск на еретики, и аз их велел имати да подавати на поруку; и те еретики, поручников выдав, да збежали к Москве ... И аз послал к великому князю первого своего обыска подлинник, а другой подлинник к митрополиту послал. И князь великий тех еретиков на Москве казнил, да казнив их, прислал ко мне ...<sup>1</sup>

Having made the point that he had fulfilled the instructions of both the grand prince and the metropolitan,<sup>2</sup> and had punished those who had repented spiritually - handing over only the unrepentant heretics to the grand prince's agents<sup>3</sup> - Gennady then turns to the events following the trial of 1488. The investigation authorized by the grand prince and the metropolitan had apparently yielded further evidence, which Gennady sent to Moscow:

И которые покаялись да свои действия писали на себе сами своими руками, и аз тех в покаание принял .... Да тех есми речей написав подлинник, да послал к великому князю, а другой есми подлинник послал Геронтию митрополиту.<sup>4</sup>

In order to disentangle this evidence and the way it was obtained, it is necessary to compare Gennady's letters to the metropolitan Zosima (who would have had ready access to Geronty's *podlinnik*), and to the bishops:

Gennady to Zosima

А то се, господине, състала та беда с тех мест, как Курицин из Угорские земли приехал, да отселе еретици збежали на Москву; а писано в подлиннике, что протопоп Олексей, да Истома, да Сверчек, да поп Денис приходили к Курицину, да иные еретици ...<sup>5</sup>

Gennady to bishops

А аз ли того Самсонка мучил? Ведь пытал его сын боярьской великого князя, а мой толко был сторож, чтоб посула никто не взял. А что сказывал Самсонко, что в подлинники писано, то было уметь ли так сказывати, толко бы того не делал сам? Спросили мы Самсонка, Юрьй Захарич да аз: 'Были есте на Москве, с ким ся есте

1. *AED*, p. 375.

2. See above, pp. 43-4.

3. *AED*, p. 375.

4. *ibid.*, p. 375.

5. *ibid.*, p. 377.

въдворяли? Ведаешь ли, что говорят на Москве?' И Самсонко молвил: 'Ведаю, деи, господине ... Ходили, деи, есмя завсе к Федору к Курицину, диаку великого князя, а приходит, деи, к нему Олексей протопоп, да Истома, да Сверчек, да Ивашко Чръной, что книги пишет, да поучаются, деи, на православных.' .... 'Да приехал, деи, с Федором с Курициным из Угорской земли угрянин, Мартынком зовут': то он почему уведал того Мартынка, толко бы он у Курицина не водворял ся? А потому ино Курицин начальник тем всем злодеем.<sup>1</sup>

A comparison of the two letters shows how Gennady transforms hearsay evidence, evidence, moreover, obtained under torture, into a statement of fact. His list of heretics active in Moscow (where he had not been for several years) was compiled from Samsonko's testimony: of the heretics who visited Fedor Kuritsyn, with the possible exception of Aleksey,<sup>2</sup> we hear nothing in previous letters, nor was there any mention of Gavrilko and Denis who appear for the first time in the letter to Zosima:

И которые еретики здесь были покаалися ... послышив то, что на Москве живут еретики во ослабе, да и в церковь и в олтарь ходили невозбранно. А иные де и служили там: Гаврилко поп с Михайловы улице, тот, деи, служил на Москве, а Денис поп - тот в Архаггеле служил, да на литургии, деи, за престолом плясал, да и кресту ся наругал ...<sup>3</sup>

Gennady makes no suggestion that the priests Gavriila and Denis had at any time been accused of heresy in Novgorod: 'And it was said that other heretics (i.e. other than those who had confessed to Gennady) even officiated there...'<sup>1</sup> Neither is Gennady trying to suggest, when describing the 'dancing' and the 'desecration of the cross', that these are Jewish religious customs any more than was the heretical act perpetrated by the subdeacon Alekseyko:

Да здесь Алексейко подьячей на поместье живет да напився пиян, влез в чясовну, да сняв с лавици икону - Успение Пречистые, да на нее скверную воду спускал, а иные иконы вверх ногами переворочал.<sup>4</sup>

He is merely citing more examples of heretical acts. With the exception of Alekseyko, all the heretics named for the first time in Gennady's letter, as

1. *AED*, pp.380-1.

2. If *protopop* Aleksey is the same person as the Aleksey whose name is subscribed in the lower margin of Gennady's letter to Ioasaf (see above, p. 39). He is an altogether shadowy figure, for by the time Gennady wrote to Zosima he was dead. (*AED*, p. 376)

3. *AED*, p. 375.

4. *ibid.*, p. 380.

living proof of the spread of the heresy from Novgorod, are mentioned because of their activities in Moscow. In the letters to Zosima and the bishops Gennady transforms the heresy Новгородских еретиков, жидовьскаа мудръствуующих<sup>1</sup> into литовские оканье дела<sup>2</sup> which have spread to Moscow.

The letters to Zosima and the bishops bear an altogether different emphasis from Gennady's previous correspondence. The archbishop is no longer trying to prove the existence of a heresy in the Russian church, for this was confirmed by the Council of 1488. He is no longer appealing for help and support from his fellow ecclesiasts - he is demanding it.

The letter to Zosima is marked by an aggressive humility. From a criticism of his predecessor in the metropolitan see,<sup>3</sup> Gennady first turns to canon law in order to demonstrate the Church's obligation to protect the faithful against heresy.<sup>4</sup> With flattering praise:

И ныне благодарим Бога, что те еретице от тебя прещение приняли, как уже ты, благодатью Святаго Духа, поставлен бысть на той высокый степень святительства великия митрополита всеа Руския земля;<sup>5</sup>

he introduces a lengthy exhortation to the metropolitan, which ends with a programme for a thoroughgoing purge within the church ('проверка кадров' in the words of Klibanov):<sup>6</sup>

Тобе, господину отцу моему, да с тобою наши братья, архиепископы и епископы, собор учинив, да тех проклятью предати, которые исчезли от жития сего: Алексей протопоп, да Истома, да Ивашко Черной, что збежал з Зубовым, да и в жидовскую веру стали. Да которые в подлинникех писаны, тех бы всех проклятью предати, да и тех, къ кому они приходили в соглашение, или кто по них поруку держал, или кто у них печалник, и кто ни будет последовал их прелести; да и ко мне бы еси, к своему сыну, о том наказал, веля то учинити: и яз бых, твой сын, также тех еретиков и их единомыслеников съборне проклатию предал, того для, чтобы лихо престало.<sup>7</sup>

1. *AED*, p. 316. This description, which figures in all Gennady's previous correspondence on the subject, is conspicuously absent in his letters to Zosima and the bishops.

2. *ibid.*, p. 375.

3. *ibid.*, p. 375.

4. *ibid.*, pp. 375-6. Gennady's automatic use of anti-heretical phraseology is particularly in evidence when he cites canon law on heresy, and then adds: ... Ино те еретице все то действовали, да не токмо то, но хулу на самого Христа говорили ... quite unconcerned that the laws he quotes were directed precisely against those who 'blasphemed against Christ himself', i.e. non-Christians. (*AED*, p. 376)

5. *ibid.*, p. 376.

6. *RD*, p. 216.

7. *AED*, p. 376.

At this point Gennady makes his first accusation against Kuritsyn, which, in the letter to the metropolitan, ends thus:

... да он-то у них и печалник, а о государской чести попечения не имеет.<sup>1</sup>

- affording a further opportunity for the author to affirm his vigilance in the interests of the grand prince, and at the same time forming a prelude to an attack on him:

А ныне беда сстала земскаа да нечесть государскаа великаа: церкви старые извечные выношены из города вон, да и монастыре старые извечные переставлены.

Interestingly, he prefers to stress the dishonour brought upon the State rather than upon the Church by the desecration of holy ground, and he cites the words of a Lithuanian Jew (condemned both by his citizenship and by his race) in illustration of the enormity of this act:

А что вынесши церкви, да и гробы мертвых, да на том месте сад посадити, а то какова нечесть учинена? От Бога грех, а от людей сором. Здесе приехал жидовин новокрещеной, Данилом зовут, а ныне христианин, да мне сказывал за столом во все люди: понарядился, деи, есми из Кеева к Москве, ино ми, деи, почали жидове лаяти: "Събака, деи, ты ся куды нарядил? Князь, деи, великий на Москве церкви из града все выметал вон."<sup>2</sup>

The archbishop was not exactly a model diplomat, for he follows up this rebuke with an instance that could scarcely have been pleasing to Ivan III, then in the midst of preparations for a war against Lithuania - a war that was to be waged under the banner of the defence of Orthodoxy:

А толко государь нашъ, сын твой князь великий, того не обещет, а тех не казнит: ино как ему с своей земли та соромота свести? Ано фрязове по своей вере какову крепость держат. Сказывал ми посол цесарев про шпанского короля, как он свою очистил землю! И аз с тех речей и список к тебе послал.<sup>3</sup>

Nor was Gennady likely to win support from the metropolitan with such an appeal as this:

1. *AED*, p. 377.

2. *AED*, p. 377. He is here referring to Ivan III's rebuilding scheme on the Kremlin territory begun in 1472 (*PSRL*, vol. 25, p. 323).

3. *AED*, p. 378. The so-called 'Речи посла цесарева' have been found in only one manuscript, Muz. 3271. The following phrase alone was probably sufficient to condemn the *rechi*: ... хвала того шпанского короля пошла по всем землям по латинской вере... (Sedel'nikov, 'Rasskaz 1490', p. 50).

... Толко же ты, господин отец нашъ, тех еретиков накрепко не обыщешь, да их не велишь казнити да и проклятию предати: ино уже мы какие-то будем владыки? что ли паки наше пастырство зовется?<sup>1</sup>

Before closing, Gennady repeats his request to the metropolitan to persuade the grand prince to allow him to visit Moscow, yet again linking the heresy issue with the 'литовские оканные дела':

Да чтобы еси, господине, сыну своему великому князю поговорил накрепко, чтобы и мене велел быги у себя да и у тебя ... занеже здесь какие дела великие ни есть, а того дела болши нет; коли ся то дело управит, ино им, здешным великим делом укрепление будет.<sup>2</sup>

A short complaint is added almost as an afterthought:

Да жалуюсь тебе, своему отцу, на Захара на черньца на стригольника.

- who, like the 'judaistically philosophizing' heretics, had been troubling Gennady for more than three years. But whereas in the case of the heretics Gennady's call was always for an attack, here he is appealing for protection. Zakhar, it seems, had been sending out letters to the clergy of the sees of Novgorod and Moscow accusing him, the archbishop, of heresy:

... а пишет в своих грамотах: 'послал, деи, еси по всем городом на еретика грамоты'; ино, господине, все велено терпети, опрочи еретика, а яз не еретик; ныне паки моему старцу Ионе прислал на мене слайбою с великою, и яз с тое грамоты список тебе, своему господину отцу, послал, и ты без меня пожаловал оборонил от того Захара стригольника.<sup>3</sup>

What is an afterthought in Gennady's letter to Zosima becomes a major issue in his letter to the bishops, a large part of which is devoted to an explanation of his conflict with the monk:

А по Захара еси посылал того для: жаловались мне на него чрънци: перестригл их от князя Федора от Бельского, да причастиа три годы не давал, а сам, деи, не причащал же ся.<sup>4</sup>

On being given the reason for this refusal, Zakhar apparently replied that none was worthy of giving communion because the entire hierarchy of the Church was tainted with simony. To Gennady this was sufficient proof

1. *AED*, p. 378.

2. *ibid.*, p. 378.

3. *ibid.*, pp.378-9. Since Zakhar was condemned by the Council of October 1490, after the letter to Zosima was written, it is strange that Gennady here appears to be thanking the metropolitan for having defended him against Zakhar. Could it be that без is a misreading of бы?

4. *ibid.*, p. 380.

that the monk was guilty of the heresy of the *Strigol'niki* and he exiled him; however, thanks to the intercession of the grand prince Zakhar had been enabled to escape to Moscow:

... А ведь то о нем некто печаловал ся: а чему тот стригольник великому князю?<sup>1</sup>

Our information on the *Strigol'niki* is very limited, but we can be reasonably certain that the attack on simony was a crucial aspect of the teachings of this late XIVth - early XVth century Novgorod and Pskov heresy.<sup>2</sup> One of the six known tracts against the heresy criticises the attacks of the *Strigol'niki* on the Orthodox church in these words:

Коей бо церкви прилезите? Ни убо латьнская церкви ... тако и сия же по мзде ставление, тамо и сия бывает: поистинне отпродает церкви папа.<sup>3</sup>

The practice of simony had been condemned by the Russian Church as early as 1274 at the Council of Vladimir,<sup>4</sup> but any attempt to enforce abolition was strongly opposed by the bishops (who alone had the power to ordain), since the ordination tax formed a large contribution to episcopal revenues - just thirteen years after Gennady's letter the practice was again declared contrary to canon law, by the Council of 1503. Zakhar must have been but one of many who campaigned against simony, and Gennady was perhaps hoping to gain the sympathy of his colleagues by his long disquisition on the monk's heresy.

He must indeed have felt in need of allies, for this letter reveals that he had enemies:

А ныне на меня лжу сшивает {ют?}, моему обыску веру не имут. А то ведь чье печалованье? Еретиком ли было облыгати наше святительство? ....А се аз святитель, да два боярина великого князя, да мой боярин, да опрочь того неколико детей боярьских великого же князя, да к тому игумены да священники: ино тому не верят, да мимо тех всех, да на мене со лжею.<sup>5</sup>

1. *AED*, p. 380.

2. *ibid.*, pp.7-73, pp.230-256. For a summary of the discussion on the meaning of the name attached to the heretics by contemporary sources, see Poppe, 'Eshche raz'.

3. *AED*, p. 234.

4. *RIB*, vol. VI, col. 86-87.

5. *AED*, p. 380.

As we have seen, one of the accusations Gennady had to defend himself against was of obtaining his evidence through torture.<sup>1</sup> In answer he laid the blame for the torture of Samsonko on the grand prince's representative and turned quickly to the results of this interrogation. This allowed him, as in the letter to Zosima, to refer to the role of Fedor Kuritsyn in fostering the heresy in Moscow, but in the letter to the bishops Gennady's attack on the grand prince's *d'yak* is far more direct:

А потому ино Курицин начальник тем всем злодеем.<sup>2</sup>

The letter to the bishops is altogether more strongly worded than the letter to Zosima. It is clear that Gennady, prevented from going to Moscow by the grand prince:

Ино ему как по мене послати, а доколе ересь не dokonчается, да от Захара мене не оборонят.<sup>3</sup>

decided to prove to his fellow bishops that without him the synod could not function. His method was simple: he refused to send his 'proxy vote' for the election of the bishop of Kolomna until the Council agreed to deal with Zakhar and the heretics.<sup>4</sup> To this piece of blackmail Gennady added threats:

А владыки бы есте не спешили ставить, доколе ереси не искорените. А толко ныне с тех еретицех конца не учините, ино то уже явьствено вере нашей поправление; а иного чего части что толь долго еретиком управы не учинят?... А ваши архимандриты, и игумены, и протопопы, и попы соборные съ еретики служили: ино ведь иному отлучение, а иному извержение писано ...  
А однава възхотят собору быти о вере, а вы бы на то не дръзнули: занеже изложена нам православнаа вера на прьвом соборе, да и на втором о Святем Дусе, да и прочии собори вси прьвому собору последовали, а на седмом соборе запечатлели ...<sup>5</sup>

The second paragraph of the above quotation is most interesting.

Whether Gennady is reacting to actual moves for a conciliar examination of dogma or trying to forestall such moves, it is impossible to say - but among the members of the synod there must have been some who would have wished to

1. See above, p. 56.

2. *AED*, p. 381.

3. *ibid.*, p. 381.

4. ... прислал князь великий ко мне грамоту, а митрополит другую, о поставлении коломенского владыки ... а велят ми отпись дати безъимяно ... и яз не дал такой отписи; (*AED*, p. 379) ... а доколе ересь не dokonчается, да от Захара мене не оборонят, и мне отписи нелзе дати (*AED*, p. 381).

5. *ibid.*, p. 381.

examine the grounds for Gennady's doctrinal accusations against Zakhar and the heretics.<sup>1</sup> As we have seen, Gennady cites very few concrete instances of heretical malpractices and these are almost entirely examples of disciplinary rather than doctrinal heresy. Even his interrogation of the heretics, from the small fragment quoted in his letter to the bishops, sounds like an examination whose motivation was more political - 'Ведаешь ли, что говорят на Москве?'<sup>2</sup> - than doctrinal.<sup>3</sup>

Gennady's fellow churchmen may have been disturbed not only by the procedures and reasoning behind his accusations, but also by the punishments he demanded for the heretics. For after pointing out that the Iconoclasts anathematized for trying to alter the tenets of Orthodoxy as defined by the Seven Oecumenical Councils, he goes on to say:

Якоже иконоборцев проклятию предаша, такоже и ныне иконоборци появились: коли щепляет иконы, режет, безчествует - ино проклятье ему тоже, а любо и сугубо подобает их прокляти.<sup>4</sup>

The one thing that Gennady proved by concrete example was that cases of desecration of icons had occurred in his See. Thus, condemnation of iconoclasts of the day was perfectly appropriate.<sup>5</sup> But Gennady did not want the new iconoclasts' to receive the same treatment as the iconoclasts of old:

А и казнь им не равна же с сущими еретикы: понеже от еретика человек бережется, а от сих еретиков как ся убережи? А они ся зовут христиане, да человеку разумному - и они ся не явят, а глупого - и они съели: того для им казнь вдвое надобе, да и проклятье. А о вере не велено приложити или уложити ... Да еще люди у нас простые, не умеют по обычным книгам говорити: таки бы о вере никаких речей с ними не плодили; токмо того для учинити собор, что их казнити - жечи да вешати!<sup>6</sup>

With the demand for the severest punishment for the heretics, and an

1. Gennady himself, it must be remembered, had been accused of heresy by Zakhar. We do not know the nature of Zakhar's accusations, but Gennady evidently considered them serious enough. It may well be that he found himself accused of breaking not only canon law on simony (for this was, indeed, given as one reason for his dismissal in 1504; *PSRL*, vol. 6, p. 36), but also canon law on the limits of a bishop's jurisdiction. Gennady had sent Zakhar into exile (see above, p. 61) before the monk was officially tried by a Council, thus contravening Rule 9 of the Council of Chalcedon which deals with disputes between a bishop and his clergy (*Merilo pravednoe*, f. 100 v.)

2. See above, pp.56-7.

3. At the examination of Vassian Patrikeev, tried for heresy in 1531, the questions were entirely on religious matters (Kazakova, *Iarva Patrikeev*, p. 486 et seq.).

4. *AED*, p. 381.

5. See above, p. 61.

6. *AED*, p. 381.

exhortation to the bishops to eradicate the heresy of the 'new iconoclasts'<sup>1</sup>  
Gennady closes this, his last known letter on the subject of the Judaizers.<sup>2</sup>

His letters to Zosima and the bishops were written after the 26th  
September 1490.<sup>3</sup> On the 17th October of the same year the Council made its  
decision on the matter of the heresy,<sup>4</sup> publishing its findings in an *Edict*<sup>5</sup>  
(*Prigovor*) and an *Instruction*<sup>6</sup> (*Pouchenie*) issued in the name of Metropolitan  
Zosima and the Council.

The *Edict* and the *Instruction* give an identical list of those accused:

Захарью чернѣца, Гаврила, протопопа новгородского, попа Дениса,  
попа Максима, попа Василья, Макара диакона, Гридю диака, Васюка  
дьяка, Самуху диака и их съветников ерестных и единомыслеников ...<sup>7</sup>

The inclusion of Zakhar in this list is an indication that the evidence  
of both of these documents must be treated with caution. In his letters to  
the metropolitan and the bishops, Gennady had drawn a careful distinction  
between Zakhar and the other heretics: his accusations against the former are  
so specific as to leave no doubt that the monk was under accusation of heresy  
because of his criticism of simony within the Russian Church and his attacks  
on the archbishop. Yet neither the *Edict* nor the *Instruction* separate Zakhar  
from the other heretics when enumerating the 'heresies' for which they were  
tried and condemned:

#### Edict

злую вашу оканную и проклятую ересь,  
что есте чинили в Великом Новгороде  
злая и проклятая дела неподобная:  
мнози от вас ругались образу  
Христову и Пречистые образу,  
написаным на иконах, а инии от вас  
ругались кресту Христову, а инии от  
вас на многиа святяя иконы хулные  
речи глаголали, а инии от вас святяя  
иконы щепляли и огнем сжигали, а  
инии от вас крест силолоен зубы  
искусали, а инии от вас святыми

#### Instruction

... зовущеся священници, да крыющеся от  
людей тайно, да пишут и учятся и держат  
книги отметныа, и похваляют в себе  
отреченный Ветхий Закон, и веру  
жидовскую хвалят, и поношаясь речми,  
глаголюще хулу на Господа нашего Христа  
Сына Божиа и на Его Пречистую  
Богоматерь, да и святым иконам не  
кланяются, а зовут иконы идолы; а  
великих святителей русских Петра и  
Алексиа и Леонтия и Сергия чудотворцев  
и иных святых преподобных отець многих

1. *AED*, p. 382.

2. For a discussion of the authorship of *Poslanie neizvestnomu* ascribed to Gennady by Lur'e (*AED*, pp.390-391), see below, Ch. III, p.85-6.

3. *PSRL*, vol. 25, p. 331.

4. *ibid.*, pp.331-2.

5. *AED*, pp.382-4.

6. *ibid.*, pp.384-6.

7. *ibid.*, pp.383, 385.

иконами и кресты о землю били и грязь на них метали, а инии от вас святых иконы в лоханю метали, да иного поругания есте много чинили над святыми образы написанных на иконах.

А инии от вас на самого Господа нашего Иисуса Христа Сына Божья и на Пречистую Его Богоматерь многиа хулы изрекли, а инии от вас Господа нашего Христа Сыном Божиим не звали, а инии от вас на великих святителей и чудотворцев да и на многих преподобных отець хулные речи изпосили, а инии от вас всю седмь соборов святых отець похулиша, а инии от вас во вся говения ели мясо и сыры и яица и млеко, и меж говения в среду и в иятницу такожь ели мясо и сыр и яица и млеко. А вси есте чли субботу паче възкресения Христова. А инии от вас възкресенью Христову и его святому възнесеню не веруют. Ино все то чинили есте по обычаю жидовскому...<sup>1</sup>

укаряху речми хулными, их поношают и не чтят.<sup>2</sup>

This list of heretical beliefs and practices must have been based almost entirely on Gennady's letters and reports, for such witnesses as were present at the Council's examination of the heretics, testified only to their iconoclasm:

... И господин мой ... князь великий Иван Васильевич всея Руси и с архиепископом, и с всеми епископы, да и со всем священным собором, и с многими своими бояры и дьякы, выслушав грамот да и списков Генадия архиепископа Новгородскаго, да о ваших злых ерестных делех спрашивали есмя вас, а вы ся перед нами запрели, а на Генадия архиепископа многиа есте хулы говорили. А что перед нами в соборе здешние люди ... свидетельствовали на вас на лице о вашем безчинии и о поругании и о хуле на святых иконы, а вы того всего позапрелися есте, ино то есте сущии прелестници и отступници веры Христовы ...<sup>3</sup>

The accused men, as we can see, again resolutely refused to admit to the heresies ascribed to them<sup>4</sup>. Was this simply because they feared the consequences of such an admission (though, in canon law, confession and recantation might have improved their chances of a more lenient treatment<sup>5</sup>), or because they were, indeed, not guilty? This question cannot be resolved from the evidence available to us, but certain aspects of the Council's findings suggest that they should not be accepted without reservation.

1. *AED*, p. 380.

2. *ibid.*, pp.7-73, pp.230-256. For a summary of the discussion on the meaning of the name attached to the heretics by contemporary sources, see Poppe, 'Eshche raz'.

3. *AED*, p. 234.

4. *RIB*, vol. VI, col. 86-87.

5. *AED*, p. 380.

The heretical malpractices listed in the *Edict* and the *Instruction* are of two types: disciplinary and doctrinal. Desecration of icons and of the cross, non-observation of fasts, use of uncanonical books and observation of the Jewish sabbath belong to the first type.<sup>1</sup> That cases of desecration of icons and of the cross did occur in Novgorod cannot be doubted (they were condemned already by the Council of 1488), but the only man actually named as committing such acts in Novgorod in Gennady's known letters, the subdeacon Alekseyko, is not listed among those tried by the Council of 1490. On the other hand the Council's list of heretics does include the *d'yak* Gridya, whose only crime, as far as we can establish from Gennady's evidence, was a family relationship with a *d'yak* who carved a heretical cross.<sup>2</sup> Another man named by Gennady as a desecrator of the cross, this time in Moscow, was the priest Denis. He is not only listed among the accused at the Council of 1490, but is given special mention in the *Instruction*. It is interesting to compare the reports on Denis in Gennady's letter to Zosima and in the

*Instruction*:

Денис поп - тот в Архаггеле служил, да на литургии, деи, за престолом плясал, да и кресту ся наругал ...<sup>3</sup>

... ту в храме обретесе поп Денис новгородець, стояше в ризах, хотя ... служити. И реша ему от всех епископов слово поносно, ркущи ему: 'Изыди, человекче, изо олтаря, недостоин еси соборне служити с святыми епископы: пришли *на вас* речи речи недобры еще при Геронтии митрополите всея Руси, а и не на одного тебе, да и списки дел ваших и грамоты от Генадия ... пришли *на вас*.'<sup>4</sup>

Gennady wrote about Denis for the first and only time to report the heretical acts he was supposed to have committed in Moscow, yet these are not mentioned in the *Instruction*, which instead vaguely refers to the archbishop's reports from Novgorod, *na vas*.

Though iconoclastic acts were committed in Novgorod, they were not

1. Several other malpractices of this type listed in Gennady's reports, such as false swearing, are omitted in the *Edict* and *Instruction*.

2. *AED*, p. 313.

3. See above, p. 57.

4. *AED*, p. 384 (the italics are mine.)

necessarily committed by the men who appeared before the Council. Yet all were accused of iconoclasm - even Zakhar, as can be seen from the report of the Council's examination of the monk:

(Захарие) престапаеши закон Божий и не велиши ся кланяти иконам святым? Он же отвещав изрече хулу на Господа нашего Иисуса Христа и на Его Пречистую Богоматерь ... Петра и Алексиа и Леонтия чудотворцев, и ... многих святых преподобных отець ... всю седмию соборов святых отець ...<sup>1</sup>

It is unlikely that the *Instruction* is here quoting Zakhar's own response: this is not an answer to a question, but a deduction from an answer.<sup>2</sup>

The accusation that heretics wrote and used heretical books and the uncanonical books of the Old Testament does find some support in Gennady's letters.<sup>3</sup> But in the case of the two remaining disciplinary malpractices listed by the *Edict* and the *Instruction* we are once again faced with the problem of separating fact and deduction, for in Gennady's known letters there is no reference to the heretics' non-observance of fasts<sup>4</sup> or observance of the Jewish Sabbath. As we have seen from the archbishop's correspondence, Gennady did, wherever possible, support his accusations against the heretics with concrete and detailed descriptions of their malpractices (e.g. Alekseyko's desecration of icons). Non-observance of fasts and observance of the Jewish Sabbath were serious disciplinary offences. It seems unlikely that, if Gennady did have concrete evidence that these had been committed, he would have failed to cite it in his letters. In the case of observance of the Jewish Sabbath, especially, we are probably dealing with a 'deduced'

1. *AED*, p. 385. Zakhar's views, as reported here, are ascribed to all those condemned by the Council (see above, p. 64).

2. Since *khula* against the Russian miracle-workers Petr and Aleksey (metropolitans of Moscow) and Leonty (bishop of Rostov) is given as a corollary of Zakhar's answer we can make a conjecture as to what this answer actually was. For if he returned to a defence of his refusal to take communion in a simoniac church, a deduced accusation could be that his attitude towards the act of Communion implied blasphemy against Christ, hence also against the Virgin, and against the Seven Councils which established the Creed; while his attitude towards his own church implied *khula* against the saintly hierarchy of that church.

3. Gennady does refer, if only once, to heretical Psalms - hence the uncanonical Old Testament (see above, p. 29) and to the heretics' study of books to use against the Orthodox (see above, p. 57). It is unlikely that this accusation refers to the books 'which the heretics have' (see above, p. 53), since had any of them been considered heretical, Gennady would not have asked Ioasaf whether the northern monasteries possessed them (*AED*, p. 320).

4. The nearest to this is Gennady's claim 'И попы их завтракав и пив до обеда, обедню служат' (see above, p. 52).

accusation, an identifying characteristic of 'judaizing' heretics.<sup>1</sup>

The difficulty of separating fact and deduction is even greater when considering the doctrinal accusations against the heretics. There is little evidence that Gennady enquired into the beliefs of the heretics; he was content to deduce them from observed ritual malpractices. Nor is there any evidence that the Council questioned the heretics on the beliefs ascribed to them by Gennady in any but the most perfunctory manner. We cannot say that the heretics were not guilty of denial of the Resurrection, of blasphemy against the Virgin, or any of the other doctrinal errors for which they were condemned. However, we can say that all the doctrinal accusations could have been deduced from two disciplinary offences of which some of the heretics were guilty. Desecration of icons and denial of the effectiveness of communion in a simoniac church would provide sufficient grounds for all the doctrinal accusations listed in the *Edict* and the *Instruction*.<sup>2</sup>

The Council, headed by the grand prince and the metropolitan, went a long way to satisfy the demands made by Gennady. It condemned the heretics on the evidence provided by him, but only for:

злую вашу оканную и проклятую ересь, что есте чинили в Великом Новгороде злая и проклятая дела неподобная ...<sup>3</sup>

stressing, as in 1488, that the heresy was a Novgorod matter.

While willing to endorse Gennady's opinions regarding the punishment deserved by heretics guilty of blasphemy against Christ and the Virgin, and other such heresies, the metropolitan and the Council did not apply such punishment (i.e. anathematization) to the heretics who appeared before them:

Да выслушав списки, да и грамоты, да и московских людей, да и священников свидетелства на тех ересников, и велел князь великий своему отцю Зосиме митрополиту възрети в святяя правила о их ересех, что о них пишет.

И господин Зосима, митрополит всея Руси с всем божественным собором възрил в правила святых отец: и Божественая правила таковых

1. Whereas all other accusations in the *Edict* are prefaced by 'some of you', 'others', or 'many of you', observation of Saturday as holy day is ascribed to 'all of you'.

2. See above, pp. 64-65.

3. *AED*, p. 383.

еретиков повелевают из сану изврещи и от церкви отлучити и проклятью предати, а царская правила и градский закон повелевают таковых ересников казнити и в заточение послати и конечней муце повинни суть. Господин же Зосима митрополит всея Руси и со всем Божественным и священным собором по правилом святых Апостол и святых отець тех ересников... из сана извергоша и от святых Божия Церкви отлучиша.<sup>1</sup>

The Council's members, it seems, felt that the case against the heretics who appeared before them was insufficiently grave to merit a reiteration of the anathema already imposed in 1488.<sup>2</sup>

Canon law punishment - removal from office and excommunication - could be imposed upon the heretics by the metropolitan and the Council. On civil law punishments they could only make recommendations by reference to precedent: 'imperial and civil law decrees that such heretics should be punished and imprisoned and have deserved the capital penalty.' In order to see what civil law penalties were imposed by the grand prince we must examine the chronicle accounts of the Council of 1490.

There are four different versions of these. In the first the announcement of the election of Zosima as metropolitan under the year 1490 is accompanied by the following account:

Тое же осени октября в 17 повелением великого князя Ивана Васильевича всея Руси архиепископ Тихон Ростовский, епископ Нифонт Суздальский, Семион Рязаньский, Васиан Тверьский, Прохор Сарьский, Филофеи Пермский, архимандрити, игумени и весь священныи собор Русския митрополия собороваша на Захариа черньца и на Новгородского протопопа Гаврила и на Деонисиа попа Архаггельскаго и на Максима попа Иоановъскаго и на Василья попа Покровъскаго и на Макара дьякона Никольскаго и на Гридю дьяка Борисоглебъскаго и на Васюка зятя Денисьева и на Самуху дьяка Никольскаго. И митрополит Зосима и собор обыскав их ереси по архиепископовым по Генадьевым подлинным списком, еже присылал к Геронтию митрополиту, и от святых церкви отлучиша, и в заточенье их разослаша.<sup>3</sup>

This version appears in the official contemporary (Moscow: 1500) late 15th c.) chronicle compilation,<sup>4</sup> and in many derivative versions.

1. *AED*, p. 385.

2. Lur'e (*AED*, p. 130) suggests that the heretics were anathematized, but this was not mentioned in either the *Edict* or the *Instruction* because of a 'certain reticence' on the part of the authors. It seems unlikely that such official documents as the *Edict* and the *Instruction*, whose purpose was to ensure that the findings of the council of Moscow were put into effect throughout the Church, would omit mention of the gravest punishment in canon law, if it had been enacted. c.f. *IB*, p. 139.

3. *PSRL*, vol. 25, pp.331-2.

4. Shakhmatov, *Obozrenie*, Ch. 21.

The second account found, for example, in the Khronograf MS. of the Novgorod IVth chronicle, mentions Zosima's election by the Council and enumerates the Council members (adding the names of Nil Sorsky and Paisy Yaroslavov to the list as given in the first version). It goes on to list the accusations raised against the heretics:

... хотящих развратити чистую и непорочную православную веру еже в Христа Бога нашего, в Троицы славимаго, и погубити Христово стадо ... Глаголющим же им про Господа нашего Иисуса Сына Божия: 'како может Бог на землю снити и от Девы родитися яко человек? но ни есть тако; яко пророк бе подобен Моисею, а не равен Богу Отцу'; и не вероваху еже от пречистыя Девыя Богородица рождеству ея, ни въскресению Его, ни на иконах написаному образу по человечеству Господа нашего Иисуса Христа Сына Божия не поклоняхуся, ни Пречистыя образу, ни святым его Угодником, но хуляще и ругающеса глаголаху: 'то суть дела рук человеческих, уста имуть и не глаголють и прочее, подобни им да будут творящен и вси надеющеися на ня'; и такоже и божественую службу неподобно съвршающе ядше и пивше, и тело Христово нивчтоже вмещающе яко прост хлеб и кровь Христову яко просто вино, и иные ереси многы творяще противно правилом Святых Апостол и Святых Отець, но болши Ветхаго Закона держахуся, по Иудейскы фасху праздноваху, в среду и пяток мясо и млеко ядыху и иные дела неподобныя еретическая творяху, ихже не мощно и писанию предати ... и на съборе ... тех своих ересей скверных дел запрешася и быша яко во иступлении ума.

The verdict of the Council is here expanded:

Благоверный же и христолюбивый истинный православию поборник ... князь великий Иван Васильевич, государь всея Руси самодержец, со отцем своим Изосимом ... обыскав их скверныя ереси по архиепископовым Генадиевым подлинником и по Московским свидетелством, тех еретиков ... отлучиша, и из сану извергоша и проклятию предаша, и в заточение послаша их, а чистую и непорочную православную христианьскую веру ясне утвердиша ...<sup>1</sup>

The third version of the 1490 Council, found only in the Novgorod IInd chronicle (Arkhipsky MS.) and entered there under the year 7993, follows the announcement of Gennady's appointment to the archbishopric of Novgorod with this account:

Сеи убо Енадеи архиепископ лето 6999 еретиков изыска и обличи в Великом Новегороде и повелением великого князя Ивана Васильевича всея Руси и по благословению пресвященнаго митрополита Зосимы Генадеи владыка одних велел жечи на Духовском поле, иных торговые казни предали, а иных в заточение посла, а иные в Литву збежали, а иные в Немцы.<sup>2</sup>

The fourth account is found in the *Stepennaya Kniga*<sup>3</sup> and in the Nikon chronicle (Shumilov version).<sup>4</sup> This need not be considered here,

1. *PSRL*, vol. 4, (1848 ed.), pp.158-9

2. *ibid.*, vol. 30, pp.175,200. The year 7993 should read 6993 (*loc.cit.*,n.<sup>1</sup>)

3. *ibid.*, vol. 21, p. 567

4. *ibid.*, vol. 12, p. 224

since it is not based directly on sources connected with the Council of 1490, but on a much later source, Joseph's *Skazanie o novoyavivsheysya eresi*,<sup>1</sup> and merges information about the Councils of 1490 and 1504.

The first version of the chronicle account adds little to our information about the Council except confirmation, from an 'official' source, that the heretics were not anathematized by the Council in Moscow. Neither were they given the severest civil law punishment; imprisonment was evidently considered sufficient.

The second version of the account is contained in a Novgorod chronicle probably written at Gennady's court.<sup>2</sup> It expands the list of accusations in the *Edict* and the *Instruction*.

The accusations listed stress doctrinal error and present a picture of a grave anti-Christian heresy; evidently the account in Gennady's chronicle was intended as a reference work on the heresy of Zakhar, Gavriila and their associates, in the manner of the *pravila* to which Gennady turned when he first 'discovered' the heresy.<sup>3</sup> The account gives not only the 'identifying characteristics' of the heresy but also indicates the treatment proper to its adherents - anathematization, altering, for this purpose, the official verdict of the Moscow Council.

The intention behind this account explains the difference between the evidence of the Novgorod IVth chronicle and other contemporary sources on the heresy.<sup>4</sup> Gennady's letters written before the Moscow Council of 1490 concentrated, as we have seen, on evidence of disciplinary errors in order to prove the existence of a grave heresy in the Russian church. When the existence of such a heresy was officially established and its adherents

1. See below, Ch. III, pp.132-3.

2. *AED*, p. 117; *IB*, p. 140, n. 216.

3. See above, p. 26 et seq.

4. Lur'e suggests that the conciseness of the 'official' chronicle account, as compared with the detailed account in the Khronograf MS. of the Novgorod IVth chronicle, reflects the grand prince's reluctance to deal with the heretics in the manner advocated by Gennady. (*IB*, p. 140, n. 216). But there is nothing unusual about the 'official' entry for 1490 (cf. chronicle accounts of the 1504 Council against heretics, equally concise). What is unusual is the detailed entry in the Novgorod IVth chronicle.

condemned, all that was necessary was to provide the appropriate account of the heresy and measures taken against it for the guidance of future generations.

The reason for the appearance of this account solely in a source based on Gennady's archiepiscopal chronicle can be seen if we consider reasons behind the apparent contradiction between the two contemporary versions (the first and second version) of the chronicle account as regards the anathematization of the heretics in 1490.

The Novgorod IVth chronicle is not the only source to mention anathematization of the heretics in 1490. The '*Skazanie o eresii naugorodstey kak sluchisya o ney urazumeti*'<sup>1</sup> tells us how Gennady discovered in Novgorod:

еретики, месали{ан}ская мудръствующие да и жидовскую ересь держащих

who escaped from him to Moscow, where:

митрополит Зосима всея Руси, с повелением государя ... великаго князя Ивана Васильевича всея Руси совакупи сабор ... и их сану извергоше и проклятию их предаше ... послаше к Генадии архиепископ в Новгород, да {и}мать власть казнити их и в заточение послати. А з Захара черньца содраше платье чернечское и послаше и в заточение владыце Нифонту суздальскому, а Дениса попа потачиша в Галич, и тамо бесам обладан бысть, зле изверже сквернаваю свою душу.<sup>2</sup>

Though the *Skazanie o eresii naugorodstey* is found in a relatively late MS. it was probably written soon after the Council of 1490.<sup>3</sup> Though this source also contradicts the verdict of the Moscow Council as recorded in the *Edict* and the *Instruction*, it confirms the evidence of the Novgorod IInd chronicle<sup>4</sup> on the fate of several of the heretics after their trial in Moscow. It appears that, as in 1488, the grand prince and the Council were willing to give conciliar support to Gennady's findings, but sent the heretics back to Novgorod for another trial, leaving their fate in Gennady's hands.

What this fate was we can judge not only from the Novgorod IInd

1. *RIB*, vol. 6, No. 116, col. 787-8, n.2. This '*skazanie*' was found in a MS of the mid-XVIth century.

2. *ibid.*, vol. 6, No. 116, cols. 787-8, n.2.

3. *AED*, p. 116; *IB*, p. 155, n. 275.

4. The Novgorod IInd Chronicle is a late work, but the fairly detailed account of the punishment of the heretics in Novgorod is probably reliable.

chronicle, which shows that Gennady had the heretics publicly burnt at the stake<sup>1</sup> on *Dukhovskoye pole*,<sup>2</sup> but also from two XVth century MSS. of the *Synodicon*, which contain the following anathema:

Новоявившиися еретици новгородци и глаголющий хулу на Господа нашего Иисуса Христа и пречистую Его мать и на святии чудотворци: Захар чернец, Софейский протопсал Гаврило новгородский, поп Денис Архангельский, поп Максим Ивановский, поп Василь Покровский, Макар диак Никольской, Гридя диак Борисоглебской, Васюк попов, зять Денисов, Самуха диак Никольской, Ивашко Максимов сын попов и с их поборники да будут прокляти. И вси еретицы да будут прокляти.<sup>3</sup>

It has been suggested that this anathema was pronounced by the Moscow Council of 1490.<sup>4</sup> Muscovite evidence on the Council makes this unlikely, as does the list of heretics named in the anathema, which includes Ivashko Maksimov (presumably the son of priest Maksim *Ivanovsky*), not named in any other source connected with the Moscow Council of 1490.<sup>5</sup> This anathema may have been entered in the *Synodiki* after the Moscow Council of 1504 or even later, but as this is the only version to condemn the 'newly appeared *Novgorod* heretics' rather than just newly appeared heretics<sup>6</sup> and is found in the *Synodiki* of the Novgorod and Vologda-Perm'<sup>7</sup> eparchies it is probable that this anathema was pronounced by a Council convened by Gennady in Novgorod soon after October 1490.

The Khronograf MS. of the Novgorod IVth chronicle thus only partially altered the facts in recording the anathematization of the heretics tried in 1490. They were anathematized: not by members of the Moscow Council, who

1. Much has been made of Gennady's 'Spanish methods', primarily because of the descriptions of this execution in the *Prosvetitel'*. This late, and in our view fanciful, account by Iosif of Volokolamsk will be discussed later, but it should be noted that execution by fire was not uncommon in Russia. Thus in 1493 Prince Lukomsky and one 'Mathias the Pole' were burned in a cage, presumably for treason (Fennell, *Ivan the Great*, pp. 146-7) and in 1508/9 the sexton of the Trinity Cathedral in Pskov was burned to death for the expropriation of 400 roubles from the cathedral treasury (*PL*, vol. 1, p. 92; see also *RFA*, vol. 2. p.171).

2. Probably the field lying between the Pokrov and Dukhov Monasteries on the *Sofiyskaya storona*.

3. Zimin, 'Sobornye prigovory', p. 215. The older of the two MSS. is dated 1534-6.

4. *ibid.*, p. 217.

5. He was condemned for heresy by the Moscow Council of 1504. See below, Ch. III, p. 79.

6. Zimin, 'Sobornye prigovory', p. 215.

7. *ibid.*, pp. 215, 218.

considered it unnecessary to renew the anathematization of the adherents of an already *proklyataya eres'*, but by the Novgorod Council.

The Novgorod Council imposed far harsher punishments than the Council in Moscow, but it should not be assumed that this was done in defiance of the 'grand prince's policy'<sup>1</sup> or against the wishes of Metropolitan Zosima.<sup>2</sup> None of the sources connected with the Council of 1490, including the Khronograf MS. of the Novgorod IVth chronicle, provide any evidence that the grand prince or the metropolitan were in any way opposed to the condemnation and punishment of the heretics tried by that Council. The retrial and execution in Novgorod was carried out, as the Novgorod IInd chronicle clearly states, on orders from Moscow.

This is not to say that Ivan III and the Council did all that Gennady wanted. Though the condemnation of Zakhar removed one serious obstacle to Gennady's attendance in Moscow, he was still not allowed out of Novgorod. In 1488, he was required to convene a local Council there and in November 1490 the Bishop of Kolomna was inducted in Moscow without the consent of Gennady.<sup>3</sup> As we have seen, the Moscow Council did not, as Gennady had demanded in his letters to Zosima and the bishops, inquire into the case of the grand prince's *d'yak* Fedor Kuritsyn and his associates, nor did it carry out a 'purge' of the church hierarchy.

It may well be that the Council did not deal with Fedor Kuritsyn because of the intercession of the grand prince. But it must be remembered that Gennady had given little proof that Kuritsyn was a heretic: his evidence only made him (like the members of the church whom Gennady wanted dismissed) guilty by association. The Council was willing to rely on the archbishop's reports on the *proklyataya eres'*: что есте чинили в великом Новгороде: this heresy it condemned, but no more. Whether Gennady was

1. *AED*, p. 131; *IB*, p. 140; *RD*, pp.201-2.

2. cf. *IB*, pp.150-1.

3. *PSRL*, vol. 4, p. 159.

satisfied with this decision we do not know, but after 1490 references to any 'judaistically philosophizing' heretics are conspicuously absent from his correspondence.<sup>1</sup>

The final list of those who, by 1490, had been accused of heresy consists of twenty-two names:

1. Priest Naum: provided the evidence for Gennady's first report; no further information.
2. Priest Grigory: one of the heretics on Gennady's original list; punished in 1488, further fate not mentioned. Priest of St. Simeon's, a small church in the Pokrov Monastery.
3. Priest Gerasim (Eresa, Eresim): also on Gennady's original list; punished in 1488, further fate not mentioned. Priest of St. Nicholas. Several institutions consecrated to this saint are known to have existed in XVth century Novgorod - the Monastery of St. Nicholas; the Church of St. Nicholas Bely, in the Pokrov Monastery; and the St. Nicholas Cathedral in *Yaroslavovo dvorishche*.
4. Archpriest Aleksey: little is known except his rank; by 1490 he was no longer alive.
5. Priest Gavriila: Gennady probably learnt of his presence in Moscow from Samsonko in 1488. Described as Priest Gavriila of St. Michael's Street, and as archpriest of St. Sofia. Condemned 1490.
6. Priest Denis: first mentioned in 1490 as a Novgorod cleric who became a priest of the Cathedral of Archangel Michael in Moscow. Information about him probably obtained from Samsonko in 1488. Condemned, 1490.
7. Priest Maksim: first mentioned among those condemned for heresy by the Moscow Council of 1490. Priest of the Church of St. John. Three churches consecrated to St. John known to have existed in XVth century Novgorod - St. John '*Na Opokakh*', owned by the congregation of the *poshlye*, the hereditary guild of merchants; St. John 'next to the *Nemetsky dvor*'; and the Church of St. John the Merciful '*na Myachine*'.

1. See below, Ch. III, passim.

8. Ivashko Maksimov: son of priest Maksim. First mentioned in the Novgorod anathema.
9. Priest Vasily: first mentioned in the verdict of 1490. Priest of the Pokrov Church, Zverin Monastery.
10. Deacon Makary: first mentioned in the verdict of 1490. Deacon of a Church of St. Nicholas.
11. D'yak Gridya Kloch: first mentioned in Gennady's letter to Nifont and Filofey. Tried in Moscow, 1488, but found not guilty owing to insufficient evidence. Tried again the same year by Gennady; condemned for heresy, Moscow 1490. *D'yak* of the Church of SS. Boris and Gleb.
12. *D'yak* from Oyat': name unknown. Nephew of above-named Gridya. Fate unknown.
13. Priest from Oyat': name unknown, fate unknown.
14. *D'yak* Samsonko: son of Grigory (see No. 2). Interrogated by Gennady, 1488. Possibly identical with *d'yak* Samukha of the Church of St. Nicholas. Condemned for heresy, 1490.
15. *D'yak* Vasyuk: condemned, 1490.
16. *Pod'yachiy* Alekseyko: desecrated icons, 1490. No further information.
17. Monk Zakhar: condemned, 1490. Monk of the Assumption Monastery at Nemchinovo, in the Novgorod diocese.
18. *D'yak* Istoma: in Moscow in 1488. Information about him obtained from Samsonko.
19. *D'yak* Sverchok: in Moscow in 1488. Information about him obtained from Samsonko.
20. Ivan (Ivashko) Cherny: information about him obtained probably in 1488. Gennady reported in 1490 that he escaped in company with Zubov, but does not state where.
21. Zubov.
22. Fedor Kuritsyn.

As we can see from this list, 'heresy of the Novgorod priests'<sup>1</sup> is the most appropriate description for the heresy condemned in 1490. All the Novgorodians named here were members of the clergy: nine priests, one deacon, four *d'yaki*, one *pod'yachy*<sup>2</sup> and one monk.

How accurate, on the basis of sources written before and during the year 1490,<sup>3</sup> was the 'judaizing' label attached to the beliefs of these men? The reasoning behind the choice of this term and the lack of concrete evidence for 'Jewish malpractices' suggests that this was a label dictated by anti-heretical convention. Neither is there solid evidence that two other heretical doctrines condemned in 1490, anti-trinitarianism and iconoclasm, were characteristic of the beliefs of the 'Novgorod priests', as has been generally accepted by modern historians.<sup>4</sup>

Gennady was appointed to the Novgorod archbishopric with a specific brief from Ivan III: to watch for and report any signs of departure from orthodoxy, whether political or religious. The atmosphere of the period also prompted the archbishop, who was concerned with the problem of the seventh millenium, to expect signs of the 'coming of Antichrist'. It was not difficult to find such signs in the Novgorod see, where, as his early letters show, disciplinary malpractices were not uncommon. The cases cited by Gennady cannot, however, be seen as evidence of a conscious denial of dogma, nor do they present a consistent picture of an identifiable heretical movement.

It is the inconsistency of the evidence presented by Gennady which makes his correspondence such a valuable source on the 'heresy of the Novgorod priests'. At first Gennady described the heresy 'discovered' by him

1. See above.

2. Five of the Novgorod heretics are quite likely to have officiated in churches of the Pokrov and Zverin Monasteries. This may explain Gennady's choice of *Dukhovskoe pole* as the execution ground in 1490 (see above, p. 73)

3. Lur'e includes the *Poslanie ikonopistsu* and the three 'discourses' on the worship of icons appended to it among the sources written before the Council of 1490. In our view these could not have been written by Iosif of Volokolamsk before 1503 (see below, Ch. III, pp. 89-90)

4. *AED*, pp.120-3; *IB*, pp.158-60; Begunov, 'Sobornye prigovory', p. 211; Smirnov, 'Tserkov' i obrazovanie', p. 81; *RD*, pp. 191, 202.

as Messalianism and Marcionism. When he saw that this label was insufficient to persuade his fellow churchmen of the gravity of the heresy (possibly because they failed to understand the reasoning behind this description) he switched to iconoclasm and '*litovskie okannye dela*', each time carefully altering his evidence to support his case. Most of his accusations and deductions were incorporated in the verdicts of the Moscow and Novgorod Councils of 1490 and applied to *all* the heretics condemned by them. Among these was Zakhar, who found himself on trial because of his opposition to simony; there is little proof that the other heretics condemned in 1490 were any more guilty of propounding the heretical doctrines attributed to them than was Zakhar. But before we draw any conclusions about the reasons which brought the 'Novgorod priests' to trial for heresy, we must consider the evidence of later sources.

CHAPTER 111- THE EVIDENCE OF THE ACCUSERS : 1490-1504

If we accept the evidence of those sources closest to the Council of 1490, it follows that Gennady's opinions regarding the treatment proper to the 'judaistically philosophizing' heretics were not wholly endorsed by the Council of the Church in Moscow. Although the distinction between death by public execution and death in prison may have seemed unimportant to Denis and Zakhar, who both suffered the latter fate<sup>1</sup>, the Moscow Council's unwillingness to anathematize the Novgorod heretics or to condemn them to death was indeed proof that Novgorod and Moscow were 'not one Orthodoxy'<sup>2</sup>.

Only in 1504, ten years after the removal of Zosima from office and a year after the arrest and imprisonment of Gennady himself, did the grand prince Ivan Vasil'evich, together with his son and heir Vasily, convene a Council which:

обыскаша еретиков ... и сожгоша в клетке диака Волка Курицина, да Митю Коноплева, да Ивашка Максимова, декабря 27, а Некрасу Рукавову повелеша языка урезати и в Новегороде в Великом сожгоша его ... архимандрита Касиана Юрьевского сожгоша, да брата его Ивашка Самочерного, да Гридю Квашню, да Митю Пустоселова, и иных еретиков сожгоша, а иных в заточение разослаша, а иных по монастырем.<sup>3</sup>

The argument concerning the relationship between the persons condemned in 1504 and the Novgorod heretics who 'philosophized judaistically' is one of the most contentious in the historiography of the heresy. The distinction drawn between the so-called Moscow and Novgorod groups of heretics is most commonly a social one. Thus, Smirnov and Klibanov<sup>4</sup> see the Moscow group as a sort of 'moderate wing' of the Judaizers, sharing the ideas of the Novgorod group as regards dogma but, because of their involvement in the social and political concerns of the court, less radical in their criticism of the church hierarchy (which, these authors suggest, would have implied criticism of feudal society as a whole). Lur'e sees the social distinctions between the Novgorod and Moscow groups as giving rise to

1. *RIB*, vol.6, No.116; *AED*, p.520

2. *AED*, p.317

3. *PSRL*, vol.6, p.244

4. Smirnov, N. A, 'Tserkov'iobrazovanie', pp.80-83; *RD*, pp.204-5

differences in ideology: while the Novgorod heretics were opposed to such basic tenets of Christian belief as the dogma of the Trinity,<sup>1</sup> the outlook of the Moscow group was characterized by a 'criticism of the Christian post-evangelical tradition',<sup>2</sup> and especially of monasticism.<sup>3</sup> But even so, the Moscow heresy is regarded by Lur'e as a continuation of the Novgorod heretical movement.

Zimin,<sup>4</sup> on the other hand, considers that the social standing and the ideas of the Moscow heretics (who in his view were more, not less, radical in their criticism of dogma and of the Church), divides them and the Novgorod heretics into two distinct groups. Stökl is even more categorical: 'The distinction between the Moscow and Novgorod heresies is so clear that one can speak of two different heresies with different origins'.<sup>5</sup> And in two recent studies of the work of Fedor Kuritsyn<sup>6</sup> (whom Gennady described as a *nachal'nik* of the Moscow heretics<sup>7</sup>), it is suggested that the accusations levelled against the members of the Moscow group may have been prompted by the Church's distrust and incomprehension of certain of the ideas that such men as Kuritsyn had brought to Russia from the West.

These differences of opinion as to the nature of the heresies in Novgorod and Moscow may in part be due to the great variety of sources originating after 1490; they range from official condemnations in the form of chronicles, anathemas and polemical works, to writings ascribable to those who found themselves among the accused. This chapter re-examines the sources for the campaign against heresy after 1490, with the aim of establishing the attitude of the Church subsequent to that year; we may thus hope to understand why the Moscow Council of 1504 was prepared to impose the spiritual and corporal penalties decreed by the *tsarskaya pravila i gradsky zakon*, as quoted and disregarded by Zosima's *Instruction*.<sup>8</sup>

1. *AED*, pp.122-6, 169-203; *IB*, pp.178-81

2. *IB*, p.178

3. cf. Fennell, *Ivan the Great*, p.332

4. Zimin, 'Sobornye prigovory', pp.221-4

5. Stökl, 'Das Echo von Renaissance und Reformation im Moskauer Russland', p.418

6. Haney, 'The Laodicean Epistle', p.841; von Lilienfeld, 'Über einige Züge', p.4

7. *AED*, p.381

8. See above, ch.11, pp.68-69

Although the volume and variety of sources available to us is much greater for the later than for the earlier stage of the heresy, it is the works of Iosif of Volokolamsk that form the bulk of the anti-heretical writings. Chronicle entries covering the Council of 1504<sup>1</sup> are uninformative on the beliefs of the heretics and we possess no documents, such as the *Edict* and *Instruction* of 1490, giving any account of the accusations raised at the later Council. Whatever the shortcomings of Gennady's correspondence as a source for the ideas of the Novgorod heretics, the fact that it provides a fairly continuous picture of the campaign renders it extremely valuable as evidence of the attitude of the Church towards heresy.

Apart from the writings of Iosif of Volokolamsk, the dating and relevance of which will be discussed below, evidence of the continuing campaign against the Judaizers is hard to find in sources originating in the decade after 1490. Metropolitan Zosima's *Index*<sup>2</sup> (1490-94) contains several cautionary references to heresy and heretical writing:

... суть же и мученическая словеса криво складена ... ложныя писания у попов по молитвеником ... еретицы были исказали предания апостольска и учения отческаа, ноли Собор обыскав окусил и изчистил ...<sup>3</sup>

... а еже безумнии попы печятали с народом двери царские в вечер субботы великия, уже позде суще, подобяся жидом, сего не подобает творити ...<sup>4</sup>

It is clear that the errors mentioned here had been the subject of condemnation and that anyone perpetrating them would be dismissed from office. Indeed, a work such as the *Index*, with its warnings against uncanonical books and practices, would seem to be a particularly suitable vehicle for an allusion to the instructive example of the heretics of Novgorod, and the absence of any specific mention of the Judaizers is noteworthy. Even more surprising, if we accept the view that 'millenarian heresy' was a crucial aspect of the ideology of the Novgorod and Moscow heretics,<sup>5</sup> is the lack of precise reference to the Judaizers in the works of various churchmen concerned with the

1. See below, pp.121-2.

2. *RIB*, vol.6, No.117, cols. 792-4

3. *ibid.*, col.792

4. *ibid.*, col.794

5. Zhmakin, *Mitropolit Daniil*, p.36; *AED*, pp.156-9; *RD*, pp.206-10; *IB*, pp.164-8, 383

compilation of new Paschal tables after the end of the 7th millenium, in the year 1492.

From the pen of Gennady we receive the earliest evidence of work on the new tables. It was the Archbishop of Novgorod, as we have seen, who first voiced concern over contradictions in 'writings' on the question of the end of the world,<sup>1</sup> and by the time the Metropolitan Zosima requested him to provide new Paschal tables (sometime between 1490 and 1492<sup>2</sup>), Gennady had in fact been working on the problem for several years.

However, on 27th November, 1492, at the annual Council of the Church, it was not Gennady's but Zosima's own Paschal tables that were adopted together with his *Izveshchenie o paskhalii* and sent out to all the eparchies.<sup>3</sup> And since Zosima became the target of some of the most virulent attacks in Iosif's writings and was himself accused of denying the possibility of the Second Coming and of life after death,<sup>4</sup> his *Izveshchenie* must be examined carefully for evidence of ideas or sympathies which might have attracted these attacks.

Lur'e finds such evidence in two passages of the *Izveshchenie*. The first of these is Zosima's homage to Ivan III,<sup>5</sup> in which Ivan is likened to the Emperor Constantine of Constantinople, the New Rome, and to Grand Prince Vladimir. The aim of this comparison is not, however, to glorify Muscovy, or the Grand Prince in his capacity as secular ruler,<sup>6</sup> but to stress his role as protector of the Faith, through whom God

веру православную, еже в Христа Бога, утверди, еретьичествующих же на православную веру Христову отгна, яко волкы.<sup>7</sup>

The second of the passages cited by Lur'e was evidently considered uncanonical by Zosima's contemporaries, for in all but one of the MSS. the words:

Трудолюбиво потщався написать пасхалию на осмую тысящу лет, в ней же чаем всемирнаго пришествия Христова<sup>8</sup>

1. See above, ch.11, pp.35 et seq.
2. *RIB*, vol.6, No.119, cols. 802-6
3. Vologda-Perm' chronicle, *PSRL*, vol.26, p.288
4. *AED*, p.473, see below, p.99
5. *RIB*, vol.6, No.118, cols. 797-9
6. *IB*, p.379
7. *RIB*, vol.6, No.118, col. 799
8. *ibid.*, col. 800

are altered to:

понеже чаем всемирнаго пришествия Христова на всяко время<sup>1</sup>

Lur'e suggests (and he stresses that this can be no more than a hypothesis) that in his ideas Zosima was close to the western chiliasts.<sup>2</sup> On the basis of available evidence this is not easy to prove or disprove; what is clear is that Zosima is here being no more heretical than was Dmitry Trakhaniotes<sup>3</sup> in his pursuit of the *sedmorichnoe chislo* which was to define the Second Coming. Zosima may quite possibly have been a chiliast, but the chiliast belief in the imminence of the end of the world was diametrically opposed to the heretical ideas attributed to him by Iosif of Volokolamsk.<sup>4</sup>

In our view, neither the two passages quoted above, nor Zosima's invocation:

упование имея възложи на Господа Бога и на пречистую Его Богоматерь и ... молитвами святых отец седьмаго събора ... и иже в святых отец наших новых чудотворец пресвященъных митрополит всея Руси, Петра и Алексия, и преподобнаго отца Сергия ...<sup>5</sup>

permit us to deduce evidence of heresy in the *Izveshchenie o paskhalii*.

Nevertheless, there is little doubt that this work, and especially its closing sentence:

и аще где обрящутся иныя слоги ... сим же несъгласны и развратны, да обратятся и не приемлются, и от святыхъ сборныхъ и апостольскихъ церкви отлучатся таковаа мудръствующиe ...<sup>6</sup>

must have seemed to Gennady a denigration of his own *podvig*, for less than a month after the meeting of the Council of Moscow the archbishop convened his Council in Novgorod and there decreed that his eparchy should receive not only Zosima's but also his own redaction of the Paschal tables.<sup>7</sup>

1. *RIB* , col. 800
2. *IB*, p.380 et seq.
3. See above, ch.11, p.36
4. See below, p. 99
5. *RIB*, vol.6, No.118, cols. 799-800
6. *ibid.*, No.118, cols. 801-2
7. *ibid.*, No.119, col. 803

Gennady was perturbed because Zosima's tables gave calculations for twenty years only:

... егда изойдет та 20 лет а Бог благоволит еще миру стояти  
... и понеже век седмериичным числом исчисляем есть и мы того  
ради поставили тако на 70 лет.<sup>1</sup>

Although the archbishop announced that he was circulating both versions of the Paschal tables, he left no doubt as to which of them he considered more correct, for he ordered that his version be copied by all priests and all Christians:

... дабы им о том мятежа не было.<sup>2</sup>

Gennady's decree is followed by an *Introduction* and by the tables themselves. The *Introduction* opens with an explanation of the reasons why people had come to believe that the end of the world would occur in the year 7000, and why Gennady's tables had been compiled *kolovratno*, in a circle 'which has no end'.<sup>3</sup> Then after giving instructions for the use of his Paschal tables, Gennady continues with an admonition against doubts, such as those created by uncertainty over the date of the Second Coming:

... понеже седмь тысящное время преиде ... а неци мнеша яко скончаваме седмои тысящи быти скончание миру ... ино о том молва была в людех не токмо простых но и в преимущих о сем многим сумнения бысть ... Сие уставлено коловратно а конца не имат того ради что скончание миру будет безвестно ...<sup>4</sup>

Again, all reference to the Judaizers is notably absent - and this despite Gennady's warnings against those who hold to the heresy of the Sadducees by denying belief in the Resurrection, angels or the Holy Spirit. The mention here of heretical dangers serves primarily as a preamble to an exhortation to the priests to carry out their duties conscientiously, in order that their congregations should not dwell upon worldly matters. Then, having favourably compared the Pharisees with the Sadducees, the archbishop warns that, if the priest does not take proper care, some members of the congregation will not only corrupt their fellow-worshippers:

1. *RIB*, vol.6, No.119, col. 803-4
2. *ibid.*, col. 805
3. *ibid.*, col. 806
4. *ibid.*, col. 810

... но и фарисействуют, братью укаряюще (сие же оного злейши есть), но и на Бога хулюю вооружающиеся.<sup>1</sup>

The danger of *zhidovskaa mudr'stvyuyushchie* was replaced by the danger from those who criticise their brethren.

There is another *Introduction to the Paschal tables* of the late XVth century which also omits any mention of the Judaizers - a short piece in a Lenin Library MS., BIL, Muz. 3271.<sup>2</sup> This, too, may possibly have been the work of Gennady,<sup>3</sup> but its style (and humility) make such authorship unlikely.<sup>4</sup> The same MS. contains a further work written after 1492 and concerned with the problem of the 7th millenium<sup>5</sup> - an anonymous fragment described by Sedel'nikov as a 'special redaction of the corresponding passage from Gennady's letters to Prokhor and Ioasaf'.<sup>6</sup> Lur'e considers that this redaction is Gennady's, but the argumentation and fondness for opprobrious epithets suggest that the *Poslanie neizvestnomu*, as the fragment is called, is by another hand.

The very first paragraph of the fragment so contradicts Gennady's words that it could almost be an attack on the archbishop himself:

Послание неизвестному

А что о летех еретици смущают простых людей, что уже нашей седмья тысящи лета изошли, а иных вер еще лета не изошли - и они то лжут, а лета всех вер ровно пришли, а то неверныя з собою прикладывают.<sup>7</sup>

Послание Иоасафу

Да и то ми ся мнит: однова будут еретици у нас украли лет. Занеже у латыны нашего болши осмию леты .... А татарове сказывают: еще у них до скончания миру ... 100 лет да два.<sup>8</sup>

Gennady had expressed certain doubts about the prophecies of Enoch concerning the end of the world. The *Poslanie neizvestnomu* defends them:

1. *RIB*, vol.6, No.119, col.817
2. Full text published by Sedel'nikov, 'Rasskaz 1490 ob inkvizitsii', p.46
3. *ibid.*, p.46
4. Although BIL, Muz. 3271 is a *sbornik* of works mostly of Novgorod origin, it also contains one item 'close to the Vologda-Perm' Chronicle tradition' (Lur'e, 'The London and L'vov MSS. of the Vologda-Perm' Chronicle', p.89). Since we know that, in addition to Gennady, at least one other bishop, Filofey of Perm', was instructed by Zosima to investigate the matter of the Paschal tables (*PSRL*, vol.20, p.288), this *Introduction* may have been written by Filofey.
5. *AED*, pp. 390-1
6. Sedel'nikov, *op.cit.*, p.37
7. *AED*, p.390
8. *ibid.*, pp.319-20

Послание неизвестному

Якоже писал есть Енох праведный:!.... и да разумеет человек времен премену и четет своя жизни конец.' Толко то и дано разумети, что коемуждо человеку знати своя жизни конець- сиречь колко лет жил и котораго лета преставися.<sup>1</sup>

Послание Иоасафу

Ино мнит ми ся по Еноху век работает человечеству, а семь тысяць лет человечьска ради пременения положена. А по Богуслову и нам на всяк час ждати скончания.<sup>2</sup>

The argument used in defence of the 7000-year arrangement of the Paschal tables suggests that the author of the *Poslanie neizvestnomu* may have been Iosif of Volokolamsk:

Послание неизвестному

А то лета уставлены на семь тысяць лет, да ни болше ни менше того не могли учинити, того ради понеже вначале самем Богом уставлено седморицное число - в шесь бо ден мир сътвори Бог, а в седмый почи от всех дел своих.<sup>3</sup>

Сказания о седмой тысящи

... от начяла мира сего седморицное число Бог паче всех чисел предпочте. Того ради седморицен век сей именовася: в шесь бо дней ... мира сего сотворив и в седмый день от дел почивает ...<sup>4</sup>

The style of the attack on archpriest Aleksey lends colour to such a suggestion:

А что Алексей протопоп, Ариев поборник, иже *разседесь* яко же Арий, той глагола: 'Толко изойдут лета, и мы деи будем надобны,' - ино он не дождал того! Бог его предал сатане, видя его обратну душу!<sup>5</sup>

Gennady mentions Arius only once in his letters, in his survey of heresies in the Byzantine church,<sup>6</sup> whereas in Iosif's writings references to this heretic are very frequent. Thus he uses the example of Arius to support his demand for severe punishment for heretics:

И святой Александр, патриарх Константина града, молитвою своею сотвори Арию *разсестися*.<sup>7</sup>

Only once does Gennady compare a specific 'Novgorod heretic' with a 'heretic of old', when he describes Zakhar as a *strigol'nik*; however, this is intended not only as a term of opprobrium but as a direct pointer to

1. *ibid.*, p.390

2. *ibid.*, p.319

3. *AED*, p.390

4. *ibid.*, p.396. The *Skazaniya* have been attributed to Dmitry Trakhaniotes. Though they do quote from the latter's *Poslanie*, there is no proof that they were not written by Iosif (see below, pp.91-2).

5. *AED*, p.390. cf. Gennady's references to Aleksey quoted above (ch.11, p.38, n.3; p.58)

6. *AED*, p.316

7. *ibid.*, p.495 (the italics are mine). Cf. *AED*, pp.496 and 519

Zakhar's beliefs. Iosif, on the other hand, frequently likens the 'newly-appeared' Russian heretics to their odious Byzantine antecedents, as in this attack on Metropolitan Zosima:

... змий тмоглавный, огню геоньскому пища, *Арие новий*, Манента злейший, сатанин первенец, Зосима прескверный.<sup>1</sup>

As we have seen, with the exception of the *Poslanie neizvestnomu* and works from the pen of Iosif of Volokolamsk, none of the writings that appeared after the introduction of the new Paschal tables in 1492 make any connection between the Judaizers and doubts about the 8th millenium or about the Second Coming of Christ.

The view that 'rationalist critique of Christian dogma'<sup>2</sup> was an identifying feature of the heresy in Novgorod owes much to the evidence of Iosif of Volokolamsk, and we are also heavily dependent on his writings for information about the Judaizers' heresy after 1490. Thus a problem central to the present study is the question of the reliability of Iosif's works as a source.

'Iosif wrote much and willingly', as I.P. Eremin says<sup>3</sup> - but he also borrowed willingly, from his own works and those of others. This makes evaluation of his evidence an extremely complicated matter, especially as it comes down to us mainly in writings directed at a very wide audience. Even a cursory comparison between Iosif's 'private' letters (such as the letter to Ivan III concerning the heretic Klenov<sup>4</sup>) and his 'epistles', loaded with erudite polemic (e.g. *Poslanie ikonopistsu*<sup>5</sup>), indicates how much easier it is to extract and evaluate information from writings in the former category. Not only are the 'private' letters more lucid; they are usually more easily dated.

Although widespread use has been made of Iosif's evidence, the dating of his works has, in fact, received little attention. Yet this is a matter that we have to consider with great care in assessing their value as sources

1. *AED*, p.473 (the italics are mine)
2. *AED*, p.126
3. *PIV*, p.1
4. *PIV*, pp.178-9
5. *AED*, pp.323-73

for the history of the Judaizers. In this respect the work of Ya.S. Lur'e on the *Prosvetitel'* and its sources has been particularly valuable, though certain of his conclusions as to dating need to be re-examined. This, as we shall see, applies especially in regard to Iosif's writings on the subject of the 7th millenium.

Lur'e has shown that of the two major redactions of the *Prosvetitel'*, the so-called short redaction, consisting of the *Skazanie o novoyavivsheysya eresi* (hereinafter referred to as S), and ten or eleven *Slova*, or chapters (hereinafter P<sub>1</sub>, P<sub>2</sub>, etc.) represents the original version, while the so-called expanded redaction (S and sixteen *Slova*) is a later re-working.<sup>1</sup> His archeographic research has demonstrated that both redactions were compiled by Iosif from his own and others' epistles and tracts<sup>2</sup> which he incorporated, with minor alterations, in the 'book against Novgorod heretics',<sup>3</sup> as Lur'e terms it.

The sources of the short redaction of the *Prosvetitel'* have been identified by Lur'e as follows<sup>4</sup>:

<i>Prosvetitel'</i>	Source
S	Gennady's letters to Prokhor and Ioasaf;       's letters to Nifont of Suzdal' and to Vassian Sanin.
P <sub>1</sub> - P <sub>4</sub>	No known prototype. Probably specially written for the <i>Prosvetitel'</i> , though P <sub>1</sub> is close to Iosif's letter to Archimandrite Vassian. <sup>5</sup>
P <sub>5</sub> - P <sub>7</sub>	Iosif's <i>Poslanie ikonopistsu</i> with three <i>Discourses</i> on the worship of icons
P <sub>8</sub> - P <sub>10</sub>	Iosif's(?) <sup>6</sup> three <i>Skazaniya</i> on the 7th millenium.

1. *AED*, p.442; *IB*, pp.97-8. For a detailed schema of the manuscripts of the short and expanded redactions, see *AED*, p.459.

2. *IB*, pp.111-21

3. *AED*, p.438

4. For a schematic representation see *IB*, p.119

5. *AED*, p.442

6. Klibanov considers that the three *Skazaniya* may have been written by Gennady or by Dmitry Trakhaniotes (*RD*, p.206). Lur'e does not exclude this possibility (*AED*, p.393)

P<sub>11</sub> This consists of four chapters, the second of which is based on Iosif's *Reflection on monastic life*. Lur'e postulates a common source for P<sub>11</sub> and the *Reflection*, which he calls a *Tract in defence of monastic life*.<sup>1</sup>

Lur'e considers the original version of the *Prosvetitel'* to have been written between 1502 and 1504, prior to the Council which finally pronounced sentence of death on the leaders of the heresy,<sup>2</sup> 'following the fall in 1502 of those who protected the heretics at the court of Ivan III'.<sup>3</sup> The 'protectors' here referred to were Elena, daughter-in-law of Ivan III, who was arrested in April 1502,<sup>4</sup> and Fedor Kuritsyn, who is commonly thought to have 'disappeared from the historical scene' around the year 1500.<sup>5</sup> The question of Elena's involvement in the heresy, based as it is entirely on the evidence of Iosif,<sup>6</sup> will be discussed later; here we may query the dating of Fedor Kuritsyn's 'disappearance', for in an account of an embassy from Ivan III to Alexander of Lithuania, written sometime between 7th May and 27 September 1503, it is stated:

... послан в подьячих Алексейко Малой Гридин сын Щепкина, Феодоровской подьячей Курицына.<sup>7</sup>

It seems unlikely that an official diplomatic record would refer thus to an individual whose activities had ceased more than two years earlier.

Further objections to the ante-quem date proposed by Lur'e are based on the *Poslanie ikonopistsu* and the three *Discourses*,<sup>8</sup> which appear in the *Prosvetitel'* as its 5th, 6th and 7th *Slova*.<sup>9</sup> That the independent redaction of these works pre-dated the *Prosvetitel'* cannot be doubted, but were they - as Lur'e maintains - written nearer to 1490 than to 1504?<sup>10</sup>

1. *AED*, p.416; *IB*, p.117

2. see *AED*, p.442 for his arguments against an earlier dating of the work.

3. *AED*, p.443; *IB*, p.104-5

4. *AED*, p.205

5. *AED*, p.204; *IB*, p.407; Zimin, 'D'yachesky apparat', p.248

6. *AED*, p.436

7. *RIO*, vol.35, No.76, p.413. Among the members of this embassy was Mitya Konoplev, one of the heretics executed after the Council of 1504.

8. *AED*, pp.323-73

9. *Prosvetitel'*, pp.170-333

10. Lur'e does not assign a specific date, but in both *AED* (pp.323-73) and *IB* (pp.216, 239-41) he places the *Epistle* earlier than works written in 1490.

The introductory epistle is based on Nil Sorsky's *Poslanie nekoemu bratu*, to which Iosif added references to 'Novgorod heretics' and an introduction to the three tracts which follow.<sup>1</sup> This may enable us to establish an ante-quem date, for the letter is addressed to:

самому ти начало-художнику суцу божественых и честных икон живописанию.<sup>2</sup>

Such phraseology indicates that Nil's letter was probably addressed to the famous painter Dionisy.<sup>3</sup> The writer's reference to the proximity of death may be hyperbole:

Ты же сия благоразумне прочитай и о моей худости Владыце Христу помолися ... и по смерти моей не забуди, яко лета уже к старости приближишася и смертнаа чаша была растворена уготовляется.<sup>4</sup>

- but may equally be a statement of fact, as Nil died sometime around 1508.<sup>5</sup>

But perhaps the most useful pointer to the date of this letter is the very practical reason that prompted it:

Обаче Божественых Писаний избрах, и в малех многаа съвокупив, тебе послах. Вем бо, яко не имаши ты у себе многих книг.<sup>6</sup>

Bearing in mind that Gennady had discovered in 1489 that the northern monasteries were short of books,<sup>7</sup> and that among these was the Kirillo-Belozersk monastery<sup>8</sup> where Dionisy was working between August 1502 and September 1503,<sup>9</sup> Nil's letter was most probably written between those dates. It is thus unlikely that Iosif could have made his redaction of the letter before 1503.

1. *AED*, p.321; *IB*, pp.215-6

2. *AED*, p.323

3. Попов, *Zhivopis' i miniatyura*, p.81

4. *AED*, p.324

5. cf. Iosif's own *dukhovnaya gramota* written because: вижу убо яко лета уже к старости приближишася (*AI*, vol.1;No.288, p.524)

6. *AED*, p.324

7. *AED*, pp.128, 320

8. The monastery where Nil himself had been tonsured, and at which he remained until the seventies or eighties of the fifteenth century. *IB*, pp.295, 305.

9. Попов, *Zhivopis' i miniatyura*, pp.75-6

Although only minor 'editorial work' was done by Iosif on the *Poslanie* and the three *Discourses* prior to their incorporation in the *Prosvetitel'*, and although the 5th-7th *Slova* could conceivably have been written before the first execution of heretics in December of that year, the same could hardly be true of the entire work. Yet there can be no doubt that the *Prosvetitel'* in its original form - *Skazanie o novoyavivsheysya eresi* (hereinafter *Skazanie*), together with eleven *Slova* - post-dates all its component elements: the *Skazanie*, as Lur'e has already noted, could only have been written *after* completion of all the *Slova*.<sup>1</sup>

The *Skazaniya o skonchaniy sed'moy tysyachi*<sup>2</sup> (8th-10th *Slova* of *Prosvetitel'*<sup>3</sup>) also suggest that the dating of Iosif's work should be reconsidered. Lur'e dates the *Skazaniya* to 1495,<sup>4</sup> on the evidence of a reference to the author of the *Dioptra*, who wrote 'in the year 6603 - four hundred years ago'.<sup>5</sup> But on the matter of dates the first *Skazanie* (in which the reference to the *Dioptra* is found) is self-contradictory, for it concludes:

Аще бы на семь тысяч лет сложена пасхалия святыми отцы, то в седьмтысящное лето скончался бы миротворный круг: ныне еще осмьдесят лет и четыре уйде миротворнаго круга, а лето семь тысящное скончалоя.<sup>6</sup>

The *krug mirotvorny*, described by Gennady as the only correct instrument for calendrical calculations,<sup>7</sup> consisted of cycles of 532 years each.<sup>8</sup> These were reckoned from the date of the Creation; in the year 6916 the 13th cycle had passed, and the *Skazanie* was written, according to this quotation, in

1. *AED*, p.442. The list of the heretical *rechi* does not correspond quite as exactly to the final order of the *Slova* as Lur'e suggests, for the accusation that the heretics say:

яко не подобает поклоняться рукотворению (6th *Slovo*)

precedes the claim that they say:

яко не подобает писать на святых иконах Святую Троицу (5th *Slovo*) (*AED*, p.470)

2. *AED*, pp.394-414

3. *Prosvetitel'*, pp.333-404

4. *AED*, p.392

5. *ibid.*, p.400

6. *ibid.*, p.401

7. *RIB*, vol.6, No.119, col. 806

8. *AED*, p.400

the year  $6916 + 84 = 7000$ , or 1492.<sup>1</sup> The author of the *Skazanie* evidently did not understand the contradiction between the calculations he cites; it seems, therefore, that he was drawing on two sources written in 1492 and 1494, and the *Skazanie* post-dates them both.

If the MS. on which Kazan's edition of *Prosvetitel'* is faithful to Iosif's original, Iosif was probably not the author of the original *Skazaniya*, since a comparison of the passage cited above with the conclusion of 8th *Slovo* of *Prosvetitel'* shows an utter incomprehension of the meaning of its source:

Аще бы на седьмъ тысящъ летъ сложена пасхалия святыми отци, то вседьмьтысущное лето скончалбы миротворный круг: ныне же еще 80 лет и 4 у юдеи миротворнаго круга, а лето 7 тысящное скончалось.<sup>2</sup>

Before considering the evidence of the *Prosvetitel'* we must therefore consider the evidence of its sources, as well as that of other works having a bearing upon the heresy and written before 1504.

The earliest of these is Iosif's letter to Archimandrite Vassian, dating from before 1478. As already noted, there is little reason to suppose that this is anything other than a treatise on the dogma of the Trinity;<sup>3</sup> a comparison with P<sub>1</sub><sup>4</sup> confirms this view, for the differences between the two are far greater than the similarities. If Iosif did make use of his letter to Vassian in composing the 1st *Slovo* of the *Prosvetitel'* it must have been for purposes of reference, for apart from Biblical quotations there are few textual coincidences.

The same cannot be said of the *Poslanie ikonopistsu* and the three *Discourses* on the worship of icons appended to it,<sup>5</sup> for the *Discourses* were incorporated almost word for word in the *Prosvetitel'*,<sup>6</sup>

1. This is the date suggested by another passage in the first *Skazanie*: Того ради устремшася нецыи рещи ... яко по Христове воскресении 1000 лет до Антихристова прихода .... Аще ли же бы тако было ... отселе за 500 лет не поклоняем бы был ... Христос Бог наш.  $5500 + 1000 + 500 = 7000$ , *AED*, p. 398.

2. *Prosvetitel'*, p.356. For further discussion of the dating of *Prosvetitel'*, see below, pp.125-7.

3. see above, ch.11, pp.22-4

4. *Prosvetitel'*, pp.55-93

5. *AED*, pp.323-73

6. *Prosvetitel'*, pp.170-333

The letter is a very important example of that 'editorial style' which permitted the insertion of references to heretics into a gentle, brotherly context, thus transforming it into an anti-heretical tract. It is an indication that the original purpose of a work thus utilised by Iosif could have been very different from that which he gave it.

The three *Discourses* which follow the introductory *Poslanie* are most probably the work of Iosif himself.<sup>1</sup> They are not, however, original writings, but 'original compilations' from the Bible,<sup>2</sup> from John of Damascus, *Kozma Prezviter*, *Zlatoust-Margarit* and other sources.<sup>3</sup> To what extent are the *Discourses* a polemic against the 'newly-appeared heresy of Novgorod heretics',<sup>4</sup> as suggested by two of their headings? It is interesting that throughout the entire voluminous text there are only three passages in which a specific group of heretics is named. The first of these occurs immediately below the heading of the first *Discourse*, forming its introduction:

Мнози убо от еретичьствующих, паче же ныне в роде нашем, прельстившимся новгородцких еретиков, иже безумне и неистовне немало божественую и апостольскую церковь смутиша, и многа вносяща жидовская учения ... глаголють, яко не подобает поклоняться ... образу Господа Нашего Иисуса Христа, и Пречистая Богородица и всех святых, и честному и животворящему кресту ... Но безчестующе злонравными словесы и скверными руками, яко и пси беснии и зубы кусающе и в сквернаа места пометающе честныя кресты и божественя иконы ... и глаголюще - не подобает рукотворению поклоняться ...<sup>5</sup>

The accusations set out here are clearly based on the *Edict* of the Council of 1490:

мнози от вас ругалися образу Христову и Пречистые образу ... а инии от вас на многиа святыя иконы хулные речи глаголали ... крест силлоен зубы искусали, а инии от вас святыми иконами и крестами о землю били и грязь на них метали, а инии от вас святыя иконы в лоханию метали ...<sup>6</sup>

1. *AED*, p.322; *IB*, pp.239-41

2. *Prosvetitel'*, ... text

3. For this information I am indebted to an anonymous reader in the Library of the Academy of Sciences in Leningrad, who made careful annotations in the Library's copy of *AED*, giving the sources and references. cf. *IB*, pp.261-3.

4. *AED*, pp.325, 360. The term *novoyavivshayasya eres'* is common in anti-heretical literature (see above, Ch.II, ...). The wording of two of the headings is also close to John of Damascus λόγος ... ἀπολογητικός προς τους διαβάλλοντας τας ἁγίας εἰκόνας. (*MPG*, vol.94, col. 1231)

5. *AED*, p.325

6. *AED*, p.383

There then follows a discourse on icons based on John of Damascus' *De imaginibus orationes*<sup>1</sup> and *De fide Orthodoxa*<sup>2</sup>, in which references to heretics, alternating with vague allusions to 'some who say ...' provide a starting point for a new line of argument:

Еретик же, жидовскаа мудръствуя, глаголетъ ...<sup>3</sup>  
 То како глаголють еретици, яко не подобает поклонятся  
 рукотвореным вещем? ...  
 Аще ли же кто глаголетъ: 'Почто не мнози сведетельствуют осем  
 яко не подобает поклонятся рукотвореным вещем'<sup>4</sup>...<sup>5</sup>  
 Паки жидовскаа мудръствуя,<sup>6</sup> глаголетъ еретик ...  
 Паки еретик глаголетъ ...

The second<sup>7</sup> of the *Discourses* contains no direct reference at all to the Novgorod heretics. It is the most derivative of the three,<sup>8</sup> and gives general instruction concerning icons, the relationship between sacred and secular authority, and the qualities of a true Christian. As Lur'e points out, this second *Discourse* is very close to Iosif's monastic *Ustav* (1st redaction), and from this he concludes that the *Ustav*, like the *Discourse*, is anti-heretical.<sup>9</sup> But in the whole of the second *Discourse* there appears only a single reference to heretics:

Свет же и Дух Святой, истинный и животворящий Бог, съвершен и единосущен Отцю и Сыну ... и от Отца исходя, а не от Сына, яко же латынскаа мудръствующеи еретици глаголють.<sup>10</sup>

1. *MPG*, vol.94, cols.1231-1420
2. *ibid.*, vol.94, cols. 789-1228
3. *AED*, p.326
4. *ibid.*, p.331
5. *ibid.*, p.332
6. *ibid.*, p.334. This phrase and the entire paragraph which follows is an almost literal rendering of the XIVth paragraph of the 1st *logos* of John of Damascus' defence of icons (*MPG*, vol.94, col. 1243).
7. As Lur'e shows, the independent redactions of the *Epistle* and *Discourses* (D<sub>1</sub>, D<sub>2</sub>, D<sub>3</sub>) ante-dated the *Prosvetitel'*, when they became P<sub>6</sub>, P<sub>7</sub>, P<sub>5</sub> respectively (*AED*, p.321). But as we have already pointed out, (see above, p. 91, n.1) the list of heretical *rechi* given in the *Introduction* suggests a different order for the *Discourses*: D<sub>1</sub>, D<sub>3</sub>, D<sub>2</sub>. Since the headings of D<sub>1</sub> and D<sub>3</sub> describe both as '*slova*', while D<sub>2</sub> is described as a '*skazanie*' and provides a kind of synthesis of all that has been said in D<sub>1</sub> and D<sub>3</sub>, there may have been yet another separate redaction of the *Discourses*.
8. *IB*, p.262
9. *ibid.*, pp.266-6
10. *AED*, p.348

- and it is noteworthy that this, unlike the reference to the Novgorod heretics in the opening passage of the first *Discourse*, is very much an integral part of the text, of the instructive purpose of the work as a whole. In our view, the second *Discourse* may only be considered anti-heretical insofar as it is an exhortation to a true Christian life.<sup>1</sup>

The opening paragraph of the third *Discourse* is an almost literal quotation from *Kozma Prezviter*, used to introduce a reference to the Novgorod heretics:

Подобает ведати, яко вся убо заповеди Господа Нашего Иисуса Христа дивна суть и полезна, понеже спасения ради нашего речена суть ... Враг же нашъ дьявол не престаеъ всегда иский кого поглотити и от праваго пути отвести ... Яко же и ныне се мнози пострадаша ... и в многы ереси впадоша, ибо развращенно протлъковаша многа от Божественных Писаний, того ради от непорочныя христианскыя веры в жидовъство отступиша: Алексея глаголю протопопа и иже единомудръствуующих с ним, иже прежде в Велицем Новегороде, потом же в многыя грады и места разсеевше жидовъское учение ...<sup>2</sup>

Вся убо заповеди Господа Нашего Иисуса Христа дивны суть и любы почитающим я, понеже спасения ради нашего беседованы суть ... Се видьи искони враг нашъ диавол не почиваетъ, блазня рода челоуечскааго.<sup>3</sup>

The rest of this *Discourse* is no more polemical than is the second; the nearest Iosif comes to an attack upon heretics is when he writes:

Паки съпротивнаа мудрствуаяй глаголетъ ...<sup>4</sup>

In neither content nor style do the *Epistle* and *Discourses*, written more than a decade after the condemnation of the Novgorod heretics, add anything to our knowledge of their beliefs. The primary purpose of the work is not polemical but instructive, and to this end it refers, in time-honoured tradition, to heretical errors merely in order to point a contrast with Orthodox belief. Nor can it be regarded as evidence of Iosif's campaign

1. see below, pp.133-5, for a discussion of the purpose behind *Prosvetitel'*.

2. *AED*, pp.360-1

3. Begunov, *Kozma Prezviter*, pp.297-9; cf. *ibid.*, p.78

4. *AED*, p.372

against the Judaizers' heresy in Moscow.<sup>1</sup> To suggest that a defence of Orthodox views against heresy necessarily implies that they were being threatened is to ignore the Orthodox theological tradition which permitted the Patriarch Photios to attack iconoclasm well after the liquidation of the heresy,<sup>2</sup> John of Damascus to write, in the \_\_\_\_\_ century, a tract against the fifth century Nestorian heresy,<sup>3</sup> and, in the Russian Church, prompted the Metropolitan Daniil to write a work in the late 1530's attacking the heresy of the Judaizers.<sup>4</sup>

This should not, however, be taken to mean that Iosif did not conduct a campaign against heresy. But the reasons for, and objects of, this campaign must first be sought in his 'private' correspondence- and even here there are problems of dating and interpretation, as can be seen in the controversy over Iosif's letter to bishop Nifont of Suzdal',<sup>5</sup> a letter that comes down to us in numerous MSS. in two major redactions.<sup>6</sup> The principal difference between the two (apart from length) is that in the snort redaction<sup>7</sup> the growth of the evil of the 'Novgorod heretics' in Moscow is simply lamented, whereas the expanded redaction<sup>8</sup> attributes this evil to the occupant of the metropolitan's throne:

на престоле святем ... ныне седит скверный злобесный волк ...  
 иже оскверни и святительский великий престол, овех убо  
 жидовству учя, инех же содомскими сквернами скверня ...<sup>9</sup>

1. It is difficult to determine to what extent Iosif's discussion of the relationship between sacred and secular authority constitutes a specific attack on Ivan III, as suggested by Lur'e (*IB*, pp.239-41). Contrary to Lur'e's opinion (*IB*, p.240), Iosif's insistence that 'evil rulers' should not be obeyed does have a precedent in John of Damascus: 'Imperial decrees which seek to overthrow ancient custom must not be obeyed. Those kings who destroy the church by penalties are not truly pious and they do not know the piety of our fathers. They who act by force and not by persuasion are robbers'. (*MPG*, vol.94, col. 1281) cf. *ibid.*, col. 1295: 'The political commonwealth is the King's business; the ecclesiastical organisation belongs to pastors and teachers. To invade it is an act of a robber'.

2. Mango, 'The liquidation of iconoclasm and the Patriarch Photios' (summary), *9th Spring Symposium of Byzantine Studies*, p.37

3. *MPG*, vol.95, cols. 187-224

4. Zhmakin, 'Mitropolit Daniil', pp.342-61

5. *AED*, pp.420-4; *PIV*, pp.251-4; *RD*, pp.212-5; *IB*, p.217

6. *AED*, pp.419-20

7. *AED*, pp.424-7

8. *AED*, pp.427-33

9. *AED*, p.428

In Zimin's view, the short redaction antedates the expanded redaction; he considers that it was written after 1488 (when the Novgorod heretics were first anathematized), during the interregnum which followed the death of Metropolitan Geronty in May 1489; his successor, Zosima, was appointed in September 1490. Zimin bases this view on Iosif's appeal to Nifont:

ныне, *господине*, отом стати *накрепко* некому, *опроце* тебя,  
государя нашего ... глава бо еси всем ...<sup>1</sup>

- and he considers that the attacks on the metropolitan (aimed at Zosima), were inserted into the expanded redaction only after 1504, as a result of Iosif's campaign against the 'Non-Possessors', to whose cause Zosima had been sympathetic.<sup>2</sup>

Lur'e points to the frequent illogicalities in the text of the short redaction, evidently the result of bad editing of the expanded redaction. In his view the expanded redaction was written sometime between 1492 and 1494, having as its aim the removal of Zosima. After the latter year, when Zosima vacated the metropolitan's throne, the short redaction of the letter to Nifont was written.<sup>3</sup>

There is little reason to disagree with Lur'e that the expanded redaction represents the original version; to his argument we could perhaps add that, of the two, the expanded redaction makes it far more evident that Iosif's letter was written in response to one from Nifont:

А сказывал ти и самому государю моему брат мой Васьян ...  
А что еси, господине, ко мне писал ...<sup>4</sup>

- and not simply as an anti-heretical tract directed at a wider audience.<sup>5</sup> It is the expanded redaction,<sup>6</sup> therefore, that shall be considered here.

Both redactions, in fact, clearly constitute an attack upon the metropolitan - the expanded redaction explicitly, the short by implication:

1. *AED*, p.425 (short red.) and p.428 (expanded red.). The words in italics are in the expanded redaction only.
2. *AED*, pp.421-2
3. *AED*, pp.423-4; *PIV*, pp.251-4; *IB*, pp.148-50
4. *AED*, pp.428, 430.
5. Klibanov may be right in suggesting that the short and expanded redactions are contemporary works whose textual differences can be explained by a difference of purpose. (*RD*, pp.211-2)
6. *AED*, pp.428-33

Ведомо тебе, государю моему, нынешняя великаа беда, постигшиа Рускую землю и все православное христьянство: в велицей убо церкви Пречистые Богородицы ... и на престоле святем ...<sup>1</sup>

It does indeed seem strange that Iosif should have addressed Bishop Nifont as *glava vsem* with the Metropolitan's throne not yet vacant, and even more curious that he should have appealed to Nifont:

... Молю, яко да наказуеши и учиши все православное христьянство, еже не приходити к сквернителю оному и отступнику, ни<sup>2</sup> благославения от него не приимати, ни ясти, ни пити с ним.

With the metropolitan still in office Nifont could hardly have been expected to exhort the metropolitan's flock to obey the canon law on relations with Jews,<sup>3</sup> as quoted here by Iosif. Zimin is therefore probably correct in claiming that the letter to Nifont was written during an interregnum - though not before, but following Zosima's term as metropolitan.

We learn from the chronicles that Zosima *ostavi mitropoliyu* on 17th May 1494 for the Simonov Monastery in Moscow, from which he then went on to the Trinity Monastery.<sup>4</sup> His successor, Simon (the former abbot of Trinity) was appointed more than a year later, on 20th September 1495.<sup>5</sup>

Zosima may have chosen the Simonov Monastery because this was the institution of which he had been archimandrite before his elevation. But it is interesting to note that in 1482 Zosima's predecessor, Metropolitan Geronty, had made the Simonov Monastery a retreat during his quarrel with Ivan III. In that year Geronty's threat of resignation had brought an apology from the Grand Prince:<sup>6</sup> perhaps Zosima was trying the same tactic in 1494. Before formally resigning office sometime in 1495<sup>7</sup> Zosima may have retired to Simonov in the hope of being recalled; only when this hope was not realised did he move away from Moscow to the Trinity Monastery.

In our view, Iosif's letter to Nifont was written between May 1494 and January 1495.<sup>8</sup> With Zosima in the Simonov Monastery, though still formally

1. *AED*, p.322; *IB*, pp.239-41

2. *Prosvetitel'*, ... text

3. For this information I am indebted to an anonymous reader in the Library of the Academy of Sciences in Leningrad, who made careful annotations in the Library's copy of *AED*, giving the sources and references. cf. *IB*, pp.261-3.

4. *AED*, pp.325, 360. The term *novoyavivshayasya eres'* is common in anti-heretical literature (see above, Ch.II, ...). The wording of two of the headings is also close to John of Damascus λόγος ... ἀπολογητικός προς τους διαβάλλοντας τας ἁγίας εἰκόνας. (*MPG*, vol.94, col. 1231)

5. *AED*, p.325

6. *AED*, p.383

na prestole svyatem, it would have been quite appropriate for Iosif to address Nifont (probably a strong candidate for the office of metropolitan) in the terms he did.

It would also have been quite safe to attack Zosima as:

скверный злобесный волк, оболкийся в пастырскую одежду, иже <sup>а</sup>чином святиицель, а произволением Июда предатель <sup>а</sup> и <sup>б</sup>причастник бесом <sup>б</sup>, иже оскверни и святицельский великий престол, овех убо жидовству учя, инех же содомскими сквернами скверня; <sup>б</sup>змиий пагубный, <sup>б</sup> <sup>а</sup>мрвзости запусение на <sup>а</sup>месте святом, <sup>а</sup> <sup>б</sup>отступник Христов, <sup>б</sup> иже не точию сам отступи от Христа и диаволу прилепился, но инех учи учит. отрещися Христа, <sup>а</sup> <sup>а</sup>первый отступник в святицелех в нашей земли, <sup>а</sup> <sup>а</sup>антихристов предтеча, иже антихриста ждеть, <sup>а</sup> <sup>а</sup>свиньским житием живий, <sup>а</sup> сын погибельный, иже Сына Божия попра, и Пречистую Богородицу похули, и вся свята уничижи, и икону Господа нашего Иисуса Христа и Пречистыа Его Матере и всех святых болваны нариция, и всяко нечестие и претыкание и съблази на непорочную христьянскую веру полагает, и еуангельская предания и апостольская уставы и всех святых писания отмеца: Нет, де, втораго пришествия Христова, нет, деи, царства небеснаго святым! Умер, деи, ин, то умер, - по та места и был. Ни во древних еретицех и отступницех таков злодей не бывал! А сказывал ти и самому государю моему, брат мой Васьян.<sup>1</sup>

How much credit can be given to accusations suggesting that the head of the Russian Church rejected the basic tenets of Christian dogma? Most historians have accepted Iosif's claim that Zosima was a heretic,<sup>2</sup> and even Lur'e - though wary of so 'denunciatory' a source as the letter to Nifont - assumes it to be evidence for Zosima's heresy, for his negation of the dogma of eternal life.<sup>3</sup>

In his textual analysis Lur'e notes that several of the epithets applied to Zosima in the passage cited above (a - a) are derived from a Byzantine anti-Iconoclast tract, the *Epistola ad Theophilum Imperatorem*.<sup>4</sup> Looking closely at the letter, we find not only these epithets but the entire style

1. AED, p.428

2. Zhmakin, 'Mitropolit Daniil', p.48; Golubinsky, *Istoriya russkoy tserkvi*, p.567 et seq.; Stökl, 'Das Echo', p.425; RD, pp.211-7. But see Fennell, 'The Attitude of the Josephians', SEER, p.493, n.29, for arguments against this view.

3. AED, pp.151-3; IB, pp.143-53. See above, pp.82-3, for a discussion of Zosima's views as expressed in the introduction to his Paschal tables. Regarding the hypothesis of Zosima's chiliasm as having inspired Iosif's attack, it is interesting that in the letter to Nifont it is Iosif who lays himself open to such a charge:

сега ради подобает о сем {defence of Orthodoxy} паче ныне даже до смерти подвизатися, в последняя сия лета и во времена ... о них же рече великий Апостол Павел: 'В последняя дни настанут времена люта, придет преже отступление и тогда явится сын погибельный.'  
(AED, p.429)

4. PIV, p.252. The *Epistola ad Theophilum* is a spurious work (Vasiliev, 'The Life', pp.345-85) known in Russian MSS. as the *Imogolozhny svitok*.

and content lean heavily on the anti-Iconoclast writings of Theodore of Studios, to whom the *Epistola ad Theophilum* is sometimes attributed.<sup>1</sup>

Theodore, too, had exhorted his correspondents to rejoice in the persecution they suffered for Christ,<sup>2</sup> when the Son of God was denied, the Mother of God and the saints blasphemed against and their icons destroyed,<sup>3</sup> when the Church of God suffered great indignities<sup>4</sup> and even the 'great altar' was defiled,<sup>5</sup> and when the Holy inspired writings were rejected<sup>6</sup> by the Judaizing Iconoclasts, who denied the doctrines of redemption and eternal life<sup>7</sup> and bred many blasphemies and insults against the Christian faith.<sup>8</sup>

The one accusation that appears to lack a prototype in Theodore's denunciations is that Zosima 'defiled some with sodomite filth' - a seemingly superfluous addition to an already grave catalogue of charges. Iosif's evident determination to heap every possible evil upon Zosima renders the whole of his evidence suspect. However hard he tries to link Zosima with the 'accursed' Novgorod heretics:

... вси о вере пытаются ... от еретиков и от отступников Христовых, и от проклятых на соборе, от протопоповых детей, и его зятя, и от их учеников, и с ними дружаться, и пьют и ядят, и учатся от них жидовству, и от самого того сатанина сосуда и дияволова, митрополита, не выходят и спят у него.<sup>9</sup>

- the connection between them remains tenuous in the extreme, for the only definite claim that Iosif is able to make is that many who had contact with the Judaizers were also given hospitality by Zosima.

As we have tried to show, there is little evidence in contemporary sources that Zosima in any way obstructed the prosecution of the Novgorod heretics in 1490.<sup>10</sup> And it is clear that even in 1494 there were many who

1. *MPG*, vol.95, cols. 345-6; *MPG*, vol.99, p.8
2. '*Theodorus ubique dispersis fraternitatibus*', *MPG*, vol.99, col. 1231
3. '*Theodorus omnibus ubique dispersis fraternitatibus*', *MPG*, vol.99, col. 1230
4. *ibid.*; '*Epistola ad Theophilum*', *MPG*, vol.95, col. 365
5. *ibid.*, col. 375
6. *ibid.*, col. 362
7. '*Praeposito*', *MPG*, vol.99, col. 1190
8. '*Stephano o Secretis*' *MPG*, vol.99, col. 1310. Phrases (b - b) in the passage cited above are all found in this letter.
9. *AED*, p.429
10. see above, ch.11, p.74

did not consider Zosima's orthodoxy to be in doubt:

А иные, господине, говорят: 'Мы у него не слышали ничего ...',<sup>1</sup>

The ostensible occasion for Iosif's letter was Nifont's question whether an anathema pronounced by a heretic could be effective. The reply, in which it is suggested that those of true faith were in danger not only of spiritual but also of physical persecution, gave Iosif the opportunity to conclude with a challenge, of which the metropolitan is the target:

Явственно бо есть, яко егда нас проклинаят еретици, тогда есмя от Бога благословени ... Се есть рать и нож: егда отець, или мати, или сын и дщи съвратится от правыа веры, подобает ненавидети их ...<sup>2</sup>

The letter to Nifont offers little information as to the dogmatic failings of Zosima. Nor do we learn anything of his beliefs from an attack made on him in another work of Iosif's, the Easter epistle to his brother Vassian Sanin.<sup>3</sup> It is thus impossible to prove the case against Zosima on the basis of sources originating during his term of office; therefore, in the absence of any definite link between the Judaizers and the metropolitan, we should perhaps consider if there could have been other reasons for Iosif's hostility.

Most chronicle accounts of Zosima's deposition are not very illuminating: Zosima *ostavi mitropoliyu ne svoey voleyu*<sup>4</sup> on the orders of Ivan III. Only in sources associated with the see of Novgorod are more details given. Archbishop Gennady's letter of consent to the appointment of Simon as the new metropolitan states that Zosima left *svoeya radi nemoshchi*<sup>5</sup>, and the khronograph MS. of the Novgorod 4th Chronicle explains this *nemoshch* as follows:

митрополит Зосима остави митрополию не своею волею, но непомерно пития дрѣжашеся и о церкви Божии не радяше;<sup>6</sup>

1. *AED*, p.430. It is an interesting point that in a mid-16th century MS. of the letter, from Iosif's own monastery in Volokolamsk, this sentence opens with the words:

А иные, господине, на Москве ...

(*AED*, p.430, n.9)

2. *AED*, p.433

3. *AED*, pp.433-5

4. Lur'e, *Obshcherusskie letopisnye svody*, p.251, n.17

5. *RIB*, vol.6, No.121, col. 835

6. *PSRL*, vol.4 (1848 ed.), p.164

Gennady, at whose court this chronicle redaction was probably written,<sup>1</sup> had good reason for satisfaction at Zosima's disgrace, for the sources - beginning with his letter to Zosima in 1490<sup>2</sup> - indicate a steady deterioration in relations between the two. Shortly after the Council of 1490 Gennady refused his assent to the appointment of Avraam to the bishopric of Kolomna<sup>3</sup> - presumably out of pique at the grand prince's continuing refusal to allow him to visit Moscow. In 1492 Zosima consented to the removal of Vologda from Gennady's jurisdiction (with consequent loss of prestige and revenue), transferring it to the Perm' eparchy.<sup>4</sup> And later that same year, as we have seen, Gennady made an oblique attack on Zosima in his *Introduction* to the Paschal tables.<sup>5</sup>

Up until 1503 Gennady pleaded in vain for permission to journey to Moscow: prevented from attending the annual Church Council, he had little chance of making his views felt among fellow churchmen. So it is not unlikely that in these circumstances he decided to enrol the abbot of the Volokolamsk Monastery (which belonged to the Novgorod eparchy) as his ally and spokesman. And while there is small evidence that Iosif played any notable part in church affairs before 1503, his organisational and theological capabilities were well-proved (prior to founding his own monastery at Volokolamsk in 1479, he had been abbot of the influential Pafnuty-Borovsk Monastery where he probably wrote the first of his many works, the *Poslanie o troitse*<sup>6</sup>). That Gennady was a good patron to Iosif's monastery, and that the two men were very friendly is certain<sup>7</sup> - but this, admittedly, is not sufficient evidence that they collaborated in the campaign against Zosima.

Such evidence must be sought in the letter to Nifont - at least one MS. of it clearly shows it was written from the 'Novgorod versus Moscow' position<sup>8</sup>

1. AED, p.117; Lur'e, *Obshcherusskie letopisnye svody*, p.250, n.16
2. see above, ch.11, pp.31-42
3. PSRL, vol.26, p.285
4. ibid., pp.287-8
5. see above, p.84.
6. PIV, p.243. See above, ch.11, pp.22-4
7. IB, p.48
8. see above, p.101, n.1

so typical of Gennady's attitude. The exhortation to Nifont to be zealous in applying the anti-heretical measures decreed by canon law<sup>1</sup> is a restatement of similar passages in the archbishop's letters to Zosima<sup>2</sup> and the bishops.<sup>3</sup> Finally, there is the sentence that tells us that many now learn

от проклятых на соборе, от протопоповых детей<sup>4</sup>

Before 1504, as we have tried to show, the archpriest's disciples' and his son-in-law Ivashko Maksimov could have been anathematized only in Novgorod.<sup>5</sup> Iosif is here obviously referring to the Novgorod Council which, unlike Zosima's Moscow Council, did anathematize and punish the heretics.

Whether or not the letter to Nifont was written at Gennady's instigation (and it was Nifont to whom Gennady himself had turned with an appeal for help in his anti-heretical campaign in 1488<sup>6</sup>), it is certainly written from a Novgorod standpoint. Iosif does not claim first-hand knowledge of Zosima's heresy: involved as he was in 1494 with the affairs of his newly-founded monastery and its patron, Boris of Volokolamsk,<sup>7</sup> it is unlikely that he, any more than Gennady, would have had any direct knowledge of events in Moscow.<sup>8</sup>

It would seem that Iosif's contemporaries were not prepared to accept the testimony of 'two or three witnesses'<sup>9</sup> (one of whom was Iosif's brother Vassian) against Zosima. The metropolitan's retirement was 'honourable'<sup>10</sup>

1. *AED*, p.429

2. *AED*, pp.375-6

3. *AED*, p.381

4. *AED*, p.429

5. see above, p. 98.

6. *AED*, pp.312-3; see above, ch.11, p. 40

7. *PIV*, pp.248-51; *IB*, pp.217-8

8. According to the anonymous *Zhitie* of St Iosif of Volokolamsk, he never left his monastery until summoned by Ivan III and his son Vasily to a Council convened on the initiative of Gennady:

Оному же аще и никогда же изшедшу от монастыря своего, но утвержения ради благочестия ... приде в град Москву.

This must have been the Moscow Council of 1503.

(*'Zhitie prep. Iosifa Volokolamskogo, sostavlennoe neizvestnym'*, *ChO IDR*, 1903, vol.3, part II, p.34)

9. *AED*, p.430

10. *IB*, p.153

and, moreover, we know that in 1496

бывшу митрополиту Зосиме у Троици в Сергееве монастыри,  
причащался Божественных таин на орлеце в всем святительском чину.<sup>1</sup>

Zosima would hardly have been allowed to take Communion in the Trinity Monastery, let alone *v vsem svyatitel'skom chinu*, had Iosif's accusations found support within the Church.

That Iosif saw in Zosima the fulfilment of the millenarian prophecy that Antichrist would reign before the Second Coming, there seems little doubt:<sup>2</sup> Zosima himself was perhaps guilty of little more than of having been elected Metropolitan during the 'last year'. The hypothesis that he was a heretic cannot be disproved, but the available evidence suggests that it can be dismissed.

To Iosif, the appearance of heresy in Russia was, like the appearance of Antichrist, 'a sign of the times'. Unlike Gennady, Iosif was not concerned, in his earliest references to the Judaizers, with describing the characteristics of a heresy already condemned:<sup>3</sup> he tells us nothing new about the beliefs or activities of the heretics. But the letter to Nifont shows that from the very beginning he viewed the heresy with the fear that had been voiced by Gennady: that any discussion of questions of faith would undermine the authority of the Church as sole custodian of the immutable tradition, as sole arbiter in religious matters.

As a source for the heresy of the Judaizers, Iosif's letter to Vassian<sup>4</sup> is even less informative than that to Nifont, with which it is probably contemporary.<sup>5</sup> Closely modelled on Theodore of Studio's exhortations to the 'brethren in exile', it is little more than an example of Iosif's consummate rhetorical skill. But it would be wrong to assume that the vagueness of his references to the *zhidovskaya burya*<sup>6</sup> is merely a matter of style: as is shown

1. *PSRL*, vol.15, col.503

2. see above, p. 99, n.3

3. *AED*, p.429

4. *AED*, pp.434-5

5. *ibid.*, p.434

6. *ibid.*, p.435

by his letter to Mitrofan,<sup>1</sup> the grand prince's confessor, when Iosif had concrete information to convey he did so in a concise and direct manner.

This letter, addressed to

Государя нашего великого князя Ивана Васильевича всея Руси духовнику,  
господину анхиманьдриту Андроникова монастыря Митрофану.<sup>2</sup>

opens with an account of a private conversation between Ivan III and Iosif - a conversation which started with a discussion of church matters in general. But soon the grand prince

почял говорити о новгородцких еретикех, да молвил мне так: 'И яз, деи, ведал новгородцких еретиков, и ты мя прости в том, а митрополит и владыки простили мя.'<sup>3</sup>

Iosif's response was uncompromising:

Государь! Только ся подвигнешь о нынешних еретикех, ино и в прежних тебе Бог простит.<sup>4</sup>

Unfortunately, he was unable to take this matter further because the grand prince sent him *na delo*.<sup>4</sup> This *delo* commissioned by Ivan III was, as shown by Zimin<sup>5</sup> and Cherepnin,<sup>6</sup> the will of Prince Ivan Borisovich of Ruza, who fell ill in November 1503, died shortly after and was buried in Iosif's monastery at Volokolamsk. By this will, witnessed by Iosif alone, Ivan Borisovich's appanage (Ruza and half of Rzhev) was bequeathed to Ivan III. The will was evidently drafted in Moscow at the grand prince's chancellery and it was Iosif's task to ensure that the final document was a faithful reproduction of the draft.

Some time following the death of Ivan Borisovich, Iosif was again summoned by the grand prince, this time to discuss *dukhovnye dela*.<sup>7</sup> Not long after his wife Sofia died, in April 1503,<sup>8</sup> Ivan III himself fell ill, as the Sofiysky Ist Chronicle so unsympathetically records:

Того же лета князь великий Иван Васильевичь,<sup>9</sup> государь всеа Русии, начат изнемогати; его же Бог любит наказует.

1. AED . pp.436-8
2. ibid., p. 436
3. ibid., p.436
4. ibid., p.436
5. Zimin, 'Князheskie dukhovnye gramoty', pp.270-3
6. RFA, vol.1, pp.217-8
7. PSRL, vol.6, p.48
8. PRSL, p.49
9. ibid., p.49

On 21st September 1503 Ivan left Moscow with his son Vasily for a short visit to the Trinity Monastery, Pereyaslavl', Rostov and Yaroslavl'.<sup>1</sup> It was probably his illness which prompted the grand prince to undertake this pilgrimage and to summon Iosif for a discussion of spiritual matters. Iosif seized the opportunity to persuade the grand prince of the need for another campaign against heresy:

И яз ему почял бити челом, чтобы послал в Великий Новгород, да и в иные города, да велел бы обыскати еретиков.<sup>2</sup>

Ivan readily agreed, and even reiterated his confession of guilt:

'... И яз деи, ведал ереси их.' Да и сказал ми, которую дръжал Алексей протопоп ересь, и которую ересь дръжал Феодор Курицин.  
'А Иван, деи, Максимов и сноху у мене мою в жидовство свел ...'<sup>3</sup>

Nonetheless, it seemed to Iosif that the grand prince, despite his willingness to renew investigations into the activities of heretics, feared that further executions would only add to his sins. Iosif attempted to reassure him, quoting the Scriptures:

И яз почял говорити, что апостол Павел к евреем писал: 'Аще хто отверъжется закона Моисеева ... умирает; колми паче, иже Сына Божия поправ и дух благодати укорив.'<sup>4</sup>

Like his patron Gennady, Iosif considered that ends justified means in the struggle against heresy. Eradication of the evil was a fairly simple matter:

И только бы государь восхотел их искоренити, ин бы въскоре<sup>5</sup> искоренил, поймав дву или трех еретиков, а оне всех скажут.

In the eyes of those historians who see Ivan III as at first sympathetic and protective toward the heretics,<sup>6</sup> the letter to Mitrofan affords

1. *PSRL*, vol.6, p.49

2. *AED*, p.436

3. *ibid.*, p.436

4. *ibid.*, p.437. Iosif subtly twists the meaning of St Paul's words by citing only verses 28 and 29 of ch.X of the Epistle to the Hebrews. Verses 30 and 31 show that St Paul was speaking of God's vengeance, not of man's. Of this Iosif was well aware, for he quotes verse 31 at the end of the letter to Mitrofan:

Страшно бо есть еже власти вруце Бога жива!

- though this time without attribution (*AED*, p.438)

5. *AED*, p.438

6. see above, ch.II, p.46

evidence of a turning-point in his attitude - evidence of his readiness to make concessions to the *oblichiteli* in the hope of gaining support among the church leaders for the plans for secularization that he laid before the Moscow Council of 1503.<sup>1</sup>

That Council, and the dispute between the two factions who respectively defended and attacked the right of the Church to own property in general and land in particular (the so-called Possessors and Non-Possessors), has attracted as much attention from historians of late XVth - early XVIth century Russia as has the heresy of the Judaizers.<sup>2</sup> Many share the view expressed by N.A. Kazakova, that the Possessors, as representatives of the 'church militant', were able to turn their energies to the defence of Church property only after 1503, since, until then, their main preoccupation had been the struggle against heresy.<sup>3</sup>

In letters written before 1503 Iosif's references to the Judaizer's heresy are extremely vague: his early writings are in no way comparable with the letters sent out by Gennady from Novgorod before 1490 - persistent, and filled with reports and complaints against the heretics. Iosif's pre-1503 correspondence does not provide sufficient indication of a continuous campaign against the Judaizers, and before reverting to the information contained in the letter to Mitrofan we should consider whether evidence of such a campaign between 1490 and 1503 is to be found in other contemporary sources.

On 7th March 1490 Ivan Ivanovich, the grand prince's eldest son and heir, died after being attended by a Jewish doctor,<sup>4</sup> who had staked his life on the successful outcome of the treatment. In October the same year the Moscow Council condemned the 'judaizing heretics', who were anathematized at Novgorod soon afterwards.<sup>5</sup> It would seem that the militant churchmen were in a strong position to pursue their anti-heretical campaign to a

1. *AED*, pp.205-6; *IB*, pp.408-9, 419-20; *RD*, p.220

2. see Fennell and Stokes, *Early Russian Literature*, pp.144-73, for a summary of the discussion

3. Kazakova, *Vassian Patrikeev i ego sochineniya*, p.34

4. Master Leon, brought to Moscow from Venice by Sofia's brother Andrew Palaeologue. *PSRL*, vol.20, pp.354-5

5. see above, ch.11, pp.73-4

victorious conclusion. Yet there is little evidence that they were aiming to do so - and in this connection Gennady's activities in Novgorod are of particular interest.

The work of Gennady's 'circle' - scholars invited to execute commissions for the archbishop - is well known.<sup>1</sup> This included translated and original tracts on various subjects related to the life of the Church, and translations of Scriptures and of scriptural exegesis for the first complete codex of the books of the Bible to be compiled in Russia.

In about 1491 Dmitry Gerasimov reported to Gennady on the results of his enquiries in Rome as to the relative merits of the double and triple alleluia. These were not very conclusive:<sup>2</sup>

... здесь в книгах не показано, как говорить - трегубно или сугубно ... у нас о том спор бывал между великими людьми и они судили, что то и другое одинаково ...<sup>3</sup>

In the years immediately before and after 1492, Gennady and his scholars were preoccupied with the compilation of new Paschal tables and the translation of texts to aid calendrical calculations.<sup>4</sup>

In 1497, Veniamin, a Dominican friar in Gennady's service, wrote a work entitled:

Слово кратко противу тех иже в вещи священныя, подвижныя и неподвижныя, соборные церкви вступаются.<sup>5</sup>

a manual for the secular ruler<sup>6</sup> which, as its title indicates, sought to defend the Church's immutable right to property<sup>7</sup> long before the *Soborny otvet* of 1503 attributed to Iosif of Volokolamsk.<sup>8</sup> The *Slovo kratko* stresses the

1. cf. *IB*, pp.266-84

2. Klibanov dates Gerasimov's letter somewhat earlier, *RD*, p.196. The *Stoglav* report would suggest that Gennady chose the triple alleluia (*Stoglav* p.149)

3. BIL, Troits. 730/304, f.485.

4. see above, Ch. II, p. 35 et seq.

5. *ChOISR*, 1902, vol.2, part 2

6. Sedel'nikov, 'K izucheniyu "Slova kratka"', p.215

7. *IB*, pp.225-7; 244-6

8. cf. Kazakova, *Vassian Patrikeev*, p.34. Lur'e suggests that the *Slovo kratko* possesses 'anti-heretical' tendencies, which, however, he does not discuss (*IB*, p.270). Apart from its dedication to Gennady, *na vrage tserkovnye i eretiky ratovatelyu krepchayshemu*, the *Slovo kratko* shows few signs of such tendencies except in the most general sense: defence of the established Church is indeed anti-heretical.

obligations of temporal to spiritual power, of the State to the Church - an ethos that permeates another work written, in part at least, at Gennady's court: the *Povest' o [novgorodskom] belom klobuke*.<sup>1</sup> This legend concerning the origins of the head-dress worn on ceremonial occasions by the archbishop of Novgorod is a fascinating mixture of history, polemic and invention.

The story begins in the reign of Emperor Constantine I, when the *bely klobuk* belonged to Pope Silvester. Because of the disrespect shown by 'Karul and Formos' - who, according to legend, were instrumental in the departure of the Church of Rome from the true faith<sup>2</sup> - the *klobuk* is miraculously translated to Constantinople, and from there is sent by the Byzantine emperor John VI Cantacuzenus to Russia. There at last it finds a worthy resting-place in Novgorod. The *Povest'* wonderfully combines anti-Catholic polemic with propaganda for the superior authority of spiritual power in general and of the Novgorod archbishopric in particular.

The list of commissions executed at Gennady's court closes with the 1499 Bible<sup>3</sup> and related works. Compilation of the Bible began sometime before 1493<sup>4</sup> and was a monumental task: those Books available in Slavonic

1. Rozov, 'Povest' o novgorodskom belom klobuke', pp.181-203. Lur'e (*IB*, pp.229-34) has serious objections to Rozov's dating, but concedes that the *Povest'*, the earliest MSS. of which are of the mid-XVth century, may be based on a written or oral legend originating from Gennady's court (*IB*, p.234)

2. Rozov, *op.cit.*, p.195. It is interesting that the *Povest'*, in spite of its anti-Catholic bias, makes great use of the *Donatio Constantini* legend (Rozov, *op.cit.*, pp.185-93). According to this, Constantine I granted Pope Silvester the right to rule over Italy (the *Donatio* became one of the most important weapons in papal claims to sovereignty). The *Donatio Constantini* was also made use of by the author of the *Slovo kratko* to demonstrate that the Church's claims to property rights were based on authoritative precedent (*ChOIDR*, 1902, vol.3, part 2, pp.30-1). This use, in Gennady's circle, of works originally produced for the Church of Rome (as well as the activities of Veniamin the Dominican) has given rise to the suspicion that Gennady may not have been as anti-Catholic as his sovereign. But even Ivan III, while justifying his aggressive policy towards Lithuania by the need to defend Orthodoxy against Catholicism, recruited specialists in Italy for Muscovite service (The Lübeck chronicle of Reymar Kokk even recorded that Ivan III promised to embrace catholicism, and that only the greed of the pope prevented this from happening; Raab, 'Novye svedeniya', pp.339-40). It is as if an unspoken distinction existed between the neighbouring and dangerous Catholics of Lithuania and the distant, and often useful, Catholics of Rome (cf. *IB*, pp.276-7; 281-4; Lur'e, 'K voprosu', pp.68-77)

3. *GN*, vol.1, pp.1-137

4. *IB*, pp.273-4

translation were copied, while others had to be translated from the German<sup>1</sup> and Latin versions of the Vulgate; the annotations included commentary also translated from the Latin.<sup>2</sup>

The 1499 Bible was not the only fruit of the scriptural labours of Gennady's scholars and scribes: several of the translations of scriptures and exegesis made during preparation of the Codex were copied and survive as separate works. Among these was the *Protiv iudeystva*, one of the discourses in the annotated Bible of Nicholas of Lyra.<sup>3</sup> Translated in 1501 by Dmitry Gerasimov,<sup>4</sup> it is one of the few known writings produced by Gennady's circle which could be seen as an indirect attack on the 'judaizing heretics'.<sup>5</sup>

In the archbishop's own post-1490 writings there is even less evidence of any preoccupation with the Judaizers. The absence of any reference to the heresy is especially conspicuous in two letters written sometime after 1499 to Metropolitan Simon. Like so much of Gennady's correspondence, the first of these letters open with a complaint:

Пришел ко мне дьяк Великого Князя Иван Суморок, сказывает: прислал к нему Князь Велики Василей Ивановичь всея Руси грамоту о дьяке о двоженце; а в грамоте пишет, что посылал к тебе Князь Велики Василей въспрашати, достоин ли дьяку двоженцу у церкви пети, и ты деи отказал Великому Князю Василью, что дьяку двоженцу достоин у церкви пети; а ведь тот смерд еще был и неставлен дьяк, да как у него умерла жена, и он понял другую жену, вдову же ...<sup>6</sup>

1. Probably from a Bible printed at Cologne and supplied to Gennady by the Lübeck printer and book dealer Gotan (Raab, 'Germano-slawisches im Ostseeraum', p.58)

2. Gorsky and Nevostruev identified the source of two of the commentaries as the Bible 'with discourses' by Nicholas of Lyra (1270-1340). This Bible was first printed in Venice in 1481. *GN*, vol.1, pp.79 and 129; *IRT*, p.605, n.2; Deanesly, *A History of the Medieval Church*, p.158

3. see above, n.2

4. Sobolevsky, 'Perevodnaya literatura', p.191

5. Only two other known tracts against the Jews were translated during Gennady's reign in Novgorod: the *Vera i protivlenie krestivshikhsya iudey*, translated ca. 1491 by Dmitry Gerasimov and the *Styazanie byvshee vkratse ... o vere khristian'stey i zakone evreyskom* (Begunov, *Kozma Presviter*, p.90). Another anti-Jewish tract, *Uchitelya Samoila Evreina na bogootmetnye zhidove*, translated in 1504, is commonly thought to have been commissioned by Gennady. However, as he was removed from his see in that year, such a provenance is doubtful.

6. *AI*, vol.1, No.101, pp.144-5. The editors date this 1490-1494 because in the XVIth-century MS. on which the published letter is based, Gennady addresses himself to 'Metropolitan Zosima'. This would appear to be the result of a copyist's error, since Zosima's name occurs only once, while there are three references to *Grand Prince* Vasily Ivanovich. Vasily was given the title of grand prince of Novgorod and Pskov in 1499 (*PSRL*, vol.20, p.368), the year in which we find the first reference to Ivan Sumorok, *d'yak* of Grand Prince Ivan III in Novgorod from 8th December 1499 to 30th May 1501. (Bernadsky, *Novgorod i Novgorodskaya zemlya*, pp.332 and 335; Veselovsky, *D'yaki i pod'yachie*, p.102)

The archbishop makes it quite clear that he considers Simon's decision to be uncanonical:

Диаки ведь у церкви велено ставленные дрѣжати, простому ни чести ни пети.<sup>1</sup>

and that he has not given up hope of being summoned to attend a Council in Moscow:

И ты бы, господин Отець, от тех неподобных дел наших безсмертных душ поберегл, занеже велено съездатися на всяк год к тебе своему Отцу, да соборне исправление учиниш недоведомым вещем с нами с своими детми и сослужебники ...<sup>2</sup>

In the first known report on the heresy in Novgorod, i.e. his letter to Prokhor, Gennady has stressed that the evil had been spread throughout the Novgorod see by the priests appointed - apparently without his consent<sup>3</sup> - by heretics. Yet, neither in this nor in the next letter to Simon does he make any use of this example of the dangers of leaving *nestavlennyye* to officiate in church.

Evidently Simon's response to his first letter only partially satisfied Gennady. He wanted far more than the rectification of one mistake: he wanted a reform of the whole system of education and appointment of the white clergy:

Что, господине, говорил еси о подьяческом ставление, которые подьяки малы ставлены, неженаты, и которые обещаются девствовати тем ослобожено и дияконский и ерейский сан ... а подьяки ведь робята глупые, над собою того не ведали ... А пуши того беззаконие в всей Руской земле ведется, мужики озорные на крылосе поют, и паремью и апостол на амбоне чтут, да еще и в олтарь ходят; ино бы то беззаконье вывести. А яз, твой сын, ныне у себя ставлю дияки да и грамоты им ставленные даю, занеже изобрел еси в Новегороде на крылосе поют дияки двоеженци; да и к тебе еси о Федке о двоеженце посылал грамоту, и ты, господин Отець наш, ко мне о том и отписал ... Да бил еси челом Государю Великому Князю, чтобы велел училища учинити .... а мой совет о том, что учити во училище, первое азбука граница истолкована совсем, да и подтителные слова, да псалтыря с следованием .... А чтобы и попов ставленных велел учити .... А ныне у меня побежали ставленики четыре, Максимко, да Куземка, до Офоноско, да Омельяно мясник, а тот с неделю<sup>4</sup> не поучився ступил прочь с ними ж; а и православны ли те будут?

1. *AI*, vol.1, No.101, p.144; cf. Golubinsky, *IR<sup>m</sup>*, vol.2, part 2, pp.89-90, for a discussion of the difference between *stavlennyye* and *nestavlennyye d'yaki*.

2. *AI*, vol.1, No.101, p.145

3. see above, ch.11, p.32

4. *AI*, vol.1, No.104, pp.146-7. The editors date this letter 1498-1504, since it is addressed to Metropolitan Simon. But it must have been written after 1499 (see above, p.116, n.6) and before the 1503 Council which dealt with the question of widowed priests.

Gennady's campaign did have some effect on the decision of the Council of 1503. We do not know how the grand prince responded to the suggestion for the establishment of schools,<sup>1</sup> but we do know that within his own see Gennady took steps to improve standards among the lower clergy. He tried to ensure that all who officiated in the churches of his diocese applied to him for *stavlenie*, which they were awarded only after they had passed a test of their moral and educational fitness for the cloth. He even seems to have prepared candidates for the test, along the lines advocated in his letter to Simon. Dmitry Gerasimov's translation of a German glossed Psalter<sup>2</sup> may have been commissioned for this purpose, and it appears that Gennady himself may have been the author of the *Pouchenie svyashchennosluzhitelyam*<sup>3</sup> for this anonymous work on the qualities and duties of a good cleric contains the following words:

Аз смиренный Архиепископ вся си рекох вам .... а кто възпртивится  
вашему правоверию, мне повеждьте, яз обличю его и от церкви  
отжену.<sup>4</sup>

1. Some schools may have been established, either by Ivan III or his son Vasily, for in chapter 25 of *Stoglav*, dealing with the education of *d'yaki* for the priesthood, it is stated:

А преже сего училища бывали в российском царствии на Москве и в великом Новеграде ...

(*Stoglav*, pp.91-2)

2. *IB*, p.272

3. *AI*, vol.1, No.109, pp.159-164. The editors date this c. 1499.

4. *ibid.*, p.160. That this was probably Archbishop Gennady can be seen from a comparison of two passages, one from the *Pouchenie svyashchennosluzhitelyam*, the other from Gennady's first letter to Metropolitan Simon:

*Pouchenie svyashchennosluzhitelyam*

*First letter to Simon*

олтарь бо токмо попом и дьяконом, а  
четцом и певцом предолтарие; при-  
имшим рукоположение от Епископа верх  
прострижен, нося краткий фелонь,  
чести чтения и апостол ...

олтарь бо токмо попом и дьяконом; а  
четцем пред олтарем и певцем, при-  
емшим рукоположение от Епископа, верх  
пострижен, нося краткий фелоне,  
чести чтения, апостол ...

(*AI*, vol.1, No.101, pp.144-5)

(*AI*, vol.1, No.109, p.162)

The *Pouchenie*, Gennady's *Okozritel'ny Ustav*,<sup>1</sup> and the so-called *Seal of Solomon*

Печать царя Соломона писана с перевода Геннадия архиепископа ...

С А Т О Р

А Р Е П О

Т Е Н Е Т

О П Е Р А

Р О Т А С<sup>2</sup>

conclude this brief review of the work of Gennady and his circle after the year 1490. The suggestion that the literary activities of Gennady's court were a response to the Judaizers' heresy - and that works such as the 1499 Bible owed their existence to the fact that 'heretics used the scriptures'<sup>3</sup> - appears to be an underestimation of Gennady's aims and achievements. The cleansing of the Church of heretical beliefs and practices was but one aspect of the archbishop's programme of reform.

Prior to 1490 the campaign against heresy dominated Gennady's activities, but after the conciliar trial of the heretics he turned his attention to wider issues. His pre-1490 correspondence evinces an awareness of the role of the Russian Church as inheritor of the Byzantine theological tradition. The fall of Constantinople, however, and the grand prince's distrustful attitude toward the captive patriarchate<sup>4</sup> meant that the Russian Church was no longer able to draw on the experience of Byzantium: that it would have to develop its own theological resources must have become particularly clear on the eve of the eighth millenium and this was the task to which Gennady applied himself with such zeal. As a good administrator he did not forget the practical aspect of reform and the need for a consistent policy on matters of ritual (e.g. the double or triple alleluia) and church government (e.g. rules for the induction of *d'yaki* and priests).

Gennady's attempts at reform did not always go unresisted; his second

letter to Simon shows that his priests thought ill of his desire to educate

1. Bychkov, *Katalog*, p.35

2. Sobolevsky, *Perevodnaya literatura*, p.226

3. *IB*, p.283

4. See letter of Ivan III to Iona, archbishop of Novgorod (*RIE*, vol.6, No.100 cols.707-12)

them:

... да тем-то на меня брань бывает от их нерадения, а моей силы нет, что ми их не учив ставити<sup>1</sup>

In 1499 there even occurred something like a revolt among this flock. The Novgorod II chronicle (Arkhivsky MS.) gives a detailed description of a procession led by Gennady around the new fortifications of the city, on 8th December 1499.<sup>2</sup> It is recorded in the chronicle that the archimandrite of Yur'ev Monastery<sup>3</sup> and the abbots of many other Novgorod monasteries did not participate in the procession.<sup>4</sup> Ivan Sumorok<sup>5</sup> may have been among those who declined to attend (the wording of the chronicle entry is not clear). On 15th December the archbishop headed another procession, this time round the old city walls, attended by the archimandrite and the 'entire Synod'.<sup>6</sup> Unfortunately the chronicler does not tell us why the first procession was boycotted.

The route taken by the procession and described in such detail in the chronicle may be the answer, for it followed an east-west direction, *posolon'*. In 1481 Ivan III had been in dispute with Metropolitan Geronty over the question of the proper direction to be taken by sacred processions, and in insisting on *posolon'* he was supported only by Gennady and the archbishop of Rostov. At the time the grand prince was obliged to give way to Geronty and the majority of the churchmen,<sup>7</sup> but it seems that in 1499 Gennady decided to reintroduce this change in ritual, again in the face of opposition.

But all this is necessarily hypothesis. The refusal of the abbots of the Novgorod monasteries to participate in the procession around the new fortifications, which were built on the orders of Ivan III (with one third of the cost paid by the archbishop - and therefore, presumably, also the Synod, of Novgorod) may have been politically motivated.

1. *AI*, vol.1, No.104, p.148
2. *PSRL*, vol.30, pp.152-4
3. see below, pp.130-1.
4. *PSRL*, vol.30, p.152
5. see above, p.
6. *PSRL*, vol.30, p.153
7. *PSRL*, vol.6, pp.233-4

Since the works of Gennady and his circle after 1490 contain no specific reference to the Judaizers, and do not even cite the example of the heresy as proof of the need for reform, perhaps to Gennady at least, the heresy ceased to be an important issue after the executions of 1490.<sup>1</sup>

Nor does anyone, apart from Iosif of Volokolamsk, make any further mention of the Judaizers before 1504.<sup>2</sup> In fact, if Iosif's letter to Mitrofan<sup>3</sup> is to be credited, it was Ivan III himself who revived the issue of the heresy, for it was obviously he who raised the subject in his first conversation with Iosif.<sup>4</sup> The grand prince had asked Iosif to grant him

1. It seems unlikely that Gennady, apparently on good terms with Ivan III (see the account of the visit of the grand princes Ivan and Dmitry, in *PSRL*, vol.24, p.213) whose cause in the Novgorod see he served so faithfully both before and after 1490 (see above, ch.II, *passim*; *PL*, vol.1, p.83; *PSRL*, vol.30, pp.153-4), should have failed to try to stem the 'revival of the Novgorod heretical centre' postulated by Klibanov (*RD*, p.218).

2. There is one work at least in which a reference to the opprobrious example of the Novgorod heretics would have seemed apposite. In August 1501, Metropolitan Simon addressed two letters to the Permian Eparchy, the first of which reproaches the clergy of Perm' with lax performance of their duties and with certain malpractices, among them:

о своем спасении нерадите, и о своих детех духовных небрежете ...  
сами деи ядите и пьете не в подобно время, до обеда ...  
(*AI*, vol.i; No.112, pp.166-7)

The second letter, addressed to the Permian congregation, criticizes them for improper observance of Christian customs and reminds them:

А во вся бы есте говения постилися, и мясных брашен и млека и яиц не ели; также и меж говениев, в среду и в пяток, мяса и млека и яиц не ясте.

(*ibid.*, p.168)

Eating and drinking *ne v podobno vremya* and non-observance of fasts were among the evils mentioned as characteristic of the heresy of the 'judaizing' Novgorod priests. (*AED*, pp.316 and 383; see above, ch.II, p.52).

3. see above, pp.105-7.

4. The date of this conversation (and of the letter to Nifont) has not been discussed (cf. *PIV*, p.256; *IRT*, p.574, n.2). It seems that Golubinsky's dating of the letter to 1505 is the more probable since in spring 1503 (the date of the conversation according to Lur'e)

a) Fedor Kuritsyn was still active (see above, p. 89)

b) Ivan III told Iosif he had been forgiven for knowing the heresy of Aleksey and Fedor Kuritsyn. It is unlikely that such an absolution could have been granted for an as yet uncondemned heresy.

absolution (already granted by the metropolitan and the bishops) because 'he knew the Novgorod heretics' and 'their heresies'. This should not necessarily be seen as an admission of heretical sympathies. Ivan had had contact with the Novgorod heretics; the *Edict* of the Moscow Council of 1490 accused the Novgorod priests:

... И вы паки, приехав на Москву здесе били есте челом государю великому князю на Генадия архиепископа о том, что, рекши, он вас имал и ковал и мучил изо имениа, да грабил животы ваши.<sup>1</sup>

It is also very probable that Ivan III would have attended services at the Archangel Cathedral, where the heretic Denis officiated until his expulsion; any contact with heretics - and especially participation in a service at which a heretic officiated - was considered a taint requiring confession and absolution.<sup>2</sup>

That the grand prince was familiar with the beliefs of the Novgorod heretics and of Aleksey and Fedor Kuritsyn is not surprising, since he had been informed of them before 1490 by Gennady's *podlinniki*<sup>3</sup>. And judging by Iosif's list of these heresies in the letter to Mitrofan,<sup>4</sup> Ivan had not told him anything new, for the list is a paraphrase of the accusations contained in the *Edict* of the Moscow Council of 1490.<sup>5</sup>

Iosif spoke to Ivan III of the need to investigate and eradicate the Novgorod heresy,<sup>6</sup> but what the grand prince wished to talk about was heresy in Moscow, and he turned the discussion to the heresy of his daughter-in-law:

А Иван, деи, Максимов и сноху у мене в жидовство свел.<sup>7</sup>

And here, perhaps, was the real reason for his desire to discuss the subject of heresy with Iosif: the unnamed daughter-in-law seduced into heresy by Ivan Maksimov was Elena, widow of Ivan Ivanovich and daughter of Stephen IV of Moldavia.

1. *AED*, p.383

2. Beveridge, *Synodicon*, pp.466-7

3. *AED*, p.377

4. *ibid.*, pp.436-7

5. *ibid.*, p.383

6. see above, p. 106.

7. *AED*, p.436

When Elena, daughter of an Orthodox ruler, became the wife of Ivan's eldest son and heir in 1483, the marriage set the seal on the alliance between Muscovy and Moldavia, 'the most fruitful of Ivan's Western alliances'.<sup>1</sup> And when Ivan Ivanovich died, in March 1490, there were two candidates for the succession to the throne of Muscovy: Elena's son, Dmitry, and Vasily, Ivan's eldest son by his second marriage to Sofia Palaeologa. It seemed that Ivan III had made his choice when Dmitry was ceremonially crowned Grand Prince of Vladimir, Moscow and all Russia, in February 1498.<sup>2</sup> But on 11 April 1503, after some skilful manoeuvring on the part of Sofia and Vasily, Dmitry and Elena were arrested and imprisoned; three days later Vasily became 'autocrat of all Russia',<sup>3</sup> and was assured of the succession. The fall of Dmitry and Elena has never been satisfactorily explained: they were probably the victims of circumstance and of their rivals' superior powers of intrigue.<sup>4</sup>

When Ivan III told Iosif about Elena's heresy she was already in prison, where she was to die in December 1504.<sup>5</sup> Under these circumstances, it is surprising that historians have so unhesitatingly accepted that the Orthodox daughter of an Orthodox monarch should have embraced a 'judaizing' heresy on the sole evidence of one sentence in Iosif's letter to Mitrofan;<sup>6</sup> Elena's 'heresy' provided a perfect excuse for Ivan's treatment of her, and ensured that he would not have to ask forgiveness for killing her *svoim grekhom, nestorozheyu*, as he had been obliged to do in 1498 after the death of his brother Andrey.<sup>7</sup>

1. Fennell, *Ivan the Great*, p.107

2. *PSRL*, vol.20, pp.366-8

3. *ibid.*, vol.6, p.48

4. see Fennell, *Ivan the Great*, pp.334-52, for aspects of the 'dynastic crisis', such as the virtual uselessness to Ivan III of the Moldavian alliance after 1500.

5. *PSRL*, vol.20, p.375, According to the Tipografsky Chronicle (she was murdered. Like Sofia, she was interred in the burial place of the female members of the royal families of Moscow: the Cathedral of the Assumption (*PSRL*, vol.24, p.215).

6. Zhmakin, 'Mitropolit Daniil', p.48; *IRT*, p.574; *AED*, pp.148-9; Smirnov, 'Tserkov' i obrazovanie', p.82; Fine, 'Fedor Kuritsyn's Laodikijskoye Poslaniye', p.504; Stökl, 'Das Echo', p.428; Fennell, *Ivan the Great*, p.324; *IB*, p.181.

7. *PSRL*, vol.24, p.213. Andrey died in November 1493.

Since Iosif's letter to Mitrofan was written for the express purpose of reminding the grand prince that over a year had passed since their conversation, during which Ivan had not fulfilled his promise to renew investigations into the heresy,<sup>1</sup> it is to be doubted whether this promise was made in good faith. We have to ask whether there was, in fact, a heresy to investigate.

Without doubt, if the grand prince had followed Iosif's prescription and had 'arrested two or three heretics', it would not have been difficult to amass sufficient evidence for a trial and execution - as Gennady demonstrated so well before 1490. But if the Church really considered the 'judaizing heretics' to be still a potent threat in 1503, it is strange that, as far as can be judged from contemporary sources, the subject of heresy was not discussed at all at the Moscow Council of that year.

Contemporary<sup>2</sup> chronicles carry a similar laconic account of the proceedings of this Council:

Того же лета был архиепископ новгородцкии Генадеи на Москве, и собороваша с Симаном митрополитом всея Руси и со епискупы, и повелеша вдовым попом и дьяконом не пети, ни священъству касатися. Того же лета уложиша и от ставления у попов и у дьяконов и от мест церковных по правилом святых отецъ мзды не имати ...<sup>3</sup>

The two *Edicts*<sup>4</sup> issued in the names of the grand princes Ivan and Vasily, Metropolitan Simon, Archbishop Gennady, the bishops of Suzdal', Ryazan', Tver', Kolomna, Saray and Perm' and the entire Holy Synod, provide more details of the Council's decision. These

1. *AED*, p.438

2. Early sixteenth century

3. *PSRL*, vol.28 (*Свод* 1518). The same account is used in the Sofiysky IInd and L'vov Chronicles (*PSRL*, vol.6, p.244; vol.20, p.374; for the relationship between these three chronicles see Lur'e, *Obshcherusskie letopisi*, p.232). The date of the Council is not given, but the account is found between entries for May and September. The date given by the Novgorod IInd (Arkhivsky) Chronicle (*PSRL*, vol.30, p.175) - 1 September 1503 - is contradicted by the dating of the Council's *Edicts* (see below)

4. *AAE*, vol.1, Nos.382-3, pp.484-8. The first *Edict* is dated 6 August 1503; the second, September 1503.

- 1) outlaw all simony;
- 2) declare that priests and deacons should cease to perform the duties of their office should they become widowed (disregard of this regulation to be punished by state, not church, authorities);<sup>1</sup>
- 3) regulate the rights of, and payments due to, widowed priests and deacons;
- 4) outlaw habitation of monks and nuns in mixed monasteries;
- 5) declare that priestly duties in men's monasteries be performed by the abbot, and in convents by white clergy;
- 6) forbid any priest who gets drunk to officiate on the following day.

Little is known of the Council's discussion of the rights of the Church to land and other property; according to available sources the question of heresy did not enter into it.

Consideration of the dispute supposed to have taken place between Nil Sorsky and Iosif of Volokolamsk at the Council of 1503 does not have any

1. This, like the condemnation of simony, was a reminder of an old prohibition; cf. Metropolitan Foty's letter to the Pskovites, reproaching them for allowing widowed clergy to officiate (*AED*, p.25). The reaction of the lower clergy to this piece of legislation can be judged from the *Foslanie* of the widowed priest Georgy Skripitsa of Rostov, which appeals to the leaders of the Church:

Не оскорбляйте и не осужайте священников кроме богословных вин: теми писано осужати греси их, а не собою и не своим разумом. Вы же, господа, осудили есте всех ереев и дияконов настоящих и будущих смертию жен их; Положили есте в Церкви вражу между собою, со священники, во веки, и како сами держаете входитьи во святой олтар? . . . . И в Латинской вере ино ереом их быти всем без жен, они бо, кроме Божия Писания изобрели себе ересь своей погибели.

- and reproaches them for administering the church:

земного царя боляры и дворецкими, недельщиками, тиуны и доводчики, своих деля прибытков, а не по достоянию святительскому . . .

(*ChOIDR*, 1848, vol.6, pp.45-54)

direct bearing upon the subject under discussion. However, some objections to the accepted view of this dispute may be mentioned here:

- a) The hypothesis that the dispute occurred in 1503 is based largely on one passage in Vassian Patrikeev's *Prenie*;<sup>1</sup>
- b) Recent studies of autograph MSS. of works by Nil Sorsky and Iosif of Volokolamsk suggest that their views were not as divergent as has been supposed;<sup>2</sup>
- c) *Soborny otvet*, thought to be the response of the Council to the idea of secularization,<sup>3</sup> is addressed to Grand Prince Ivan Vasil'evich alone; all dated sources on the Council of 1503 make it clear that the Council was headed by both Ivan III and his son Vasily;
- d) By 1503 Ivan III had confiscated a considerable amount of Church land.<sup>4</sup> He may even have introduced legislation to limit further acquisition of land by monasteries.<sup>5</sup> Why he should have felt impelled to obtain the consent of the Church in 1503 for measures in which he had been apparently successful is not clear. It is interesting to note that *Slovo inoe* (published by Begunov and dated by him 1506-9)<sup>6</sup> alleges that Archbishop Gennady, when reproached for not speaking out against Ivan's plans, retorted:

Глаголете убо сами, аз бо ограблен уже прежде сего.<sup>7</sup>

As has been mentioned, in spite of the known participation of Archbishop Gennady and the presumed participation of Iosif of Volokolamsk<sup>8</sup> - the two most celebrated scourges of the Judaizers - the Council of 1503 did not attempt to deal with the heresy.

1. Kazakova, *Vassian Patrikeev*, p.279; cf. *IB*, p.410, n.14
2. *IB*, pp.312-4; Kloss, 'Nil Sorsky i Nil Polev', pp.150-67
3. Its authorship has been attributed to Iosif by Moiseeva, *Valaamskaya beseda*, p.30, n.76
4. *IRT*, p.631; Bernadsky, *Novgorod i Novgorodskaya zemlya*, pp.316-7
5. *AAE*, vol.1, No.227, p.218
6. Begunov, 'Slovo', pp.361-4
7. *ibid.*, p.352
8. *PIV*, pp.371-4

It was only after Ivan III removed Gennady from his see and imprisoned him in the Chudov Monastery that a Council was convened for the purpose of dealing with the heretics. According to the chronicles, Gennady fell victim to a law promulgated by the same Council which had brought him victory in his campaign against widowed clergy:

Того же лета, июня, Генадеи, архиепископ Великого Новагорода и Пскова, остави престол свои за немощь, неволю: понеже бо приеха с Москвы и начят мзду имати у священников от ставления на съзи престол Новгород Великий наипаче перваго, чрез свое обещание ... и обыскав то князь великий и митрополит, и сведоша его со престола на Москву, и пребысть в монастыре у Михайлова Чюда на Москве полтретя году, ту и преставись.<sup>1</sup>

The heretical priests had accused Gennady of robbing them,<sup>2</sup> and the Pskov 1st chronicle suggests that the archbishop was avaricious:<sup>3</sup> Gennady was probably in the habit of taking payment for ordination, continuing an old Novgorod tradition,<sup>4</sup> and trying, no doubt, to compensate the archbishop's treasury for the losses resulting from the demands of Ivan III. However, as the proceedings of the *Stoglav* Council show, the removal of Gennady did nothing to stop the practice of payment of an ordination tax in the see of Novgorod.<sup>5</sup> His contravention of the Council's decree does not satisfactorily explain his deposition just before the conciliar trial and execution of heretics (several of whom were from Novgorod), which took place in December 1504.

This is one of the few items of knowledge we have concerning the trial of the heretics in 1504. The chronicles confine themselves to stating that such a trial took place, and to listing the names of some of those found guilty:

1. *PSRL*, vol.28, p.337. Gennady was removed from office on 12th June 1504 (*PL*, vol.1, p.89)
2. *AED*, p. 383.
3. *PL*, vol.1, p.83
4. *Stoglav*, pp.134-5
5. *Stoglav*, pp.134-5. According to Golubinsky the prohibition of an ordination tax only remained in force for just over two years, until the death of Ivan III (*IRT*, p.617)

Тоя же зими князь великии Иван Василевичь и князь великии Василей Ивановичь всея Руси со отцем с своим с Симоном митрополитом, и с епископы, и с всем собором и, обыскаша еретиков, повелеша их лихих смертною казнию казнити; и сожгоша в клетке диака Волка Курицина, да Митю Коноплева, да Ивашка Максимова, декабря 27, а Некрасу Рукавову повелеша язык урезати и в Новгороде в Великом сожгоша его. И тое же зими архимандрита Касиана Урьевского сожгоша; да брата его Ивашка Самочерного, да Гридю Квашню, да Митю Пустоселова, и иных еретиков сожгоша, а иных в заточение разослаша, а иных по монастырем.<sup>1</sup>

While the sources for the Councils of 1490 and 1503<sup>2</sup> list the names of the bishops who attended them, we have no such information for 1504. But an analysis of the retirements and deaths among bishops after 1490 reveals that of the six who, together with Metropolitan Zosima, tried the 'Novgorod priests' in 1490, only two - Nifont of Suzdal' and Vassian of Tver' - could have been present at the Council of 1504.<sup>3</sup>

In preparation for the Council of 1490 Gennady carefully amassed evidence against the heretics, and although the condemnation was a foregone conclusion, convention was observed: Gennady's reports were read to the Synod and the heretics cross-examined. But there are no reports prior to 1504 on those put on trial in that year. The chronicle account of the Council offers no clue as to the accusations raised against them: it is noteworthy that it does not assign to those condemned in 1504 any of the epithets (such as *zhidovskaya mudr'stvuyushchy*), associated with their predecessors, but terms them simply 'heretics'. On what grounds, then, were these 'heretics' tried?

This, it seems, was felt to be something of a mystery as early as 1554; in that year the elder Artemy, former abbot of the Trinity Monastery and patron of Maksim the Greek, defending himself at his trial for heresy explained his refusal to anathematize the 'Novgorod heretics' thus:

... не ведаю того, что ересь; сожгли Курицына да Рукового и нынеча того не ведают, про что их сожгли.<sup>4</sup>

1. *PSRL*, vol.28, p.337; after \* quoted from *PSRL*, vol.20, p.244. cf. *ibid.*, pp.49-50; *PSRL*, vol.20, p.375; *PSRL*, vol.26, p.297

2. see above, ch.II, pp. 69, 118.

3. Nifont was Bishop of Suzdal' from 1484 to 1508. Vassian was Bishop of Tver' from 1477 to 1508 (Stroev, *Spiski ierarkhov*, pp.441 and 656). Of the remaining four, three resigned and one died.

4. *AAE*, vol.1, No. 4, p.251

According to Lur'e, the 'case for the prosecution' was presented by Iosif of Volokolamsk who, for this purpose, made the first redaction of his *Prosvetitel'*.<sup>1</sup> But Lur'e admits that there is no conclusive evidence that Iosif was present at the proceedings of the Council<sup>2</sup> and, as mentioned above,<sup>3</sup> it is unlikely that even the first redaction of the *Prosvetitel'* was made before 1504.<sup>4</sup> Further objections to Lur'e's dating (1502-1504) of the original version of this work arise from a consideration of the sole 'official' source for the Council of 1504.

This, the so-called *Poslanie o soblyudenii sobornogo prigovora*,<sup>5</sup> was written sometime after the Council of 1504. No *Edict* of that Council survives and in fact, to judge from the *Poslanie o soblyudenii*, none was ever issued. The *Poslanie* is a defence of the verdict of the Council, justifying it against the claim that execution of a repentant heretic is uncanonical by arguing that those executed were not heretics but renegades.

Еретик убо есть, иже верует Богу быти Христу, ереси же некия имея в себе .... Отступник же есть, иже в православной вере християньстей родися и в совершенном возрасте ... самоволно отвержеся Христа...<sup>6</sup>

Therefore they were unprotected by scriptural and canonical writings. The justification of the verdict forms an introduction to an account of the origins of the *otstuplexie*, whose adherents were executed in 1504:

1. *AED*, p.211; *IB*, p.421

2. *IB*, p.421. It seems unlikely that Iosif would have failed to mention his role in the extermination of the heresy in any of his numerous references to the subject.

3. see above, pp.89-95.

4. From a purely practical point of view, a work as lengthy and involved as the *Prosvetitel'* seems an improbable vehicle for the presentation of evidence before a trial.

5. *AED*, pp.506-10

6. *AED*, p.506. In MSS. it is entitled simply *Poslanie*, or *Poslanie o eretitsekh* (*ibid.*, p.506, n.1). It was edited and published by A.A. Zimin.

А о нынешних еретицех да будет вам ведомо, яко вси отвергошась Христа. Уже тому тридесят и три лета минули, как был в Великом Новеграде Схария жидовин. Ино Денис поп, да Олексей тогда был поп же, что был на Москве после того на Москве протопоп, приходили к жидовину Схарии да училися у него жидовской вере .... Да после того Денис да Олексей прельстили в жидовъскую веру Гаврила протопоба Софейского да попа Наума да попа Максима ... а от бояр от новгородцких прельстили в жидовъство Григория Михайлова сына Тучина и иных многих детей боярских и от купцов и от простых людей.

А после того, как взяли на Москву Адексея протопоба да Дениса попа, - и они прельстили в жидовство Федора Курицына, да брата его Волка, да иных многих от великаго князя двора да и от купцев и от крылошан и от простых людей, якож некоторым отбегнути за море к жидовом и обрезатись в жидовскую веру, от купцов убо Игнат Зубов, от крылошан же Ивашко Черной и мнози.<sup>1</sup>

The *Poslanie o soblyudenii* then proceeds to enumerate the heresies of the *Novgorod* heretics,<sup>2</sup> quoting from the *Edict* of 1490<sup>3</sup> and from Gennady's reports.<sup>4</sup> Of the crimes of those condemned in 1504 it merely says:

Нынешнии же преступницы семьдесят седмерицею злейши того сотвориша.<sup>5</sup>

- and then reverts to justifying the executions. In addition to quoting Holy writings it points to the unfortunate consequences of leniency toward heretics, by reference to the example of Gennady:

Архиепископ же Генадий ят веру покаянию их и даст им ослабу. И яко прияша ослабу, и абие вси на бегъство устремишась: инии в Литву, инии же в немцы и во иныя грады.<sup>6</sup>

The *Poslanie* concludes with a warning to all those inclined to oppose the Council's decision:

И того ради божественная Писания и священная правила презираете.... И творящих таковая божественная правила отлучают от приобщения пречистых тайн Христовых.<sup>7</sup>

The work is undoubtedly written in the name of Metropolitan Simon,<sup>8</sup> but, while admitting this, Zimin suggests that Iosif of Volokolamsk was the true

1. *ibid.*, loc.cit. If an *Edict* was issued by the Council of 1504 it is surprising that the *Poslanie o soblyudenii* makes no reference to it, explaining instead the need to enumerate the heresies of those condemned thus:

Вем убо, яко поболесте, слышаше сия. Но сего ради понудихся написати сия, яко да увесте и разумеете сих скверная дела ... (*AED*, p. 507)

2. *AED*, p.507

3. *ibid.*, p.383

4. e.g. Gennady's letter to Prokhor, *ibid.*, pp.312-3

5. *AED*, p.507

6. *ibid.*, p.508

7. *ibid.*, p.510

8. *ibid.*, p.503

author.<sup>1</sup> He bases this view on the fact that the 15th and 16th *Slova* of the *Prosvetitel'* lean heavily on the *Poslanie o soblyudenii*, and on textual similarities between this and Iosif's *Poslanie Mitrofanu*. Since the 15th and 16th *Slova* were written well after 1504,<sup>2</sup> the argument in favour of Iosif's authorship is not very convincing: the textual similarities between *Prosvetitel'* and the *Poslanie Mitrofanu* (which, as we have seen, does not necessarily antedate the *Poslanie o soblyudenii*<sup>3</sup>) in the two passages compared by Zimin<sup>4</sup> are due to the fact that both are based on the *Edict* of the Council of 1490. There seems to be no reason to assume that the *Poslanie o soblyudenii* is anything but an official letter from the head of the Russian Church.

It is not only *Slova* 15 and 16 of the *Prosvetitel'* which contain passages found also in the *Poslanie o soblyudenii*: the introduction, *Skazanie o novoyavivsheysya eresi* explains the spread of the Novgorod heresy to Moscow in the same manner as the *Poslanie*, albeit in far greater detail:

Сказание о новоявившейся ереси

... в лето 6979 ... прииде в Великий Новгород жидовин Схариа. И той преже прелсти попа Дениса, и в жидовство отведе. Денис же приведе к нему протопопа Алексеа, еще тогда попа суца на Михайловской улице, и той также отступник бысть ... Потом же приидоша из Литвы инчи жидове, им же имена Осиф Шмойло Скарявей Мосей Хануш ... Потом же Алексей научи многих жидовству, еще же и зятя своего Ивашка Максимова и отца его попа Максима и и многих ... Денис же поп тако же многих научи жидовствовати ... протопопа Гавриила Софейскаго ... и Гридю Клоча. Гридя же Клоч научи Григория Тучина жидовству, его же отець бяше в

Послание о соблюдении

Уже тому тридесят и три лета минули, как был в Великом Новеграде Схария жидовин. Ино Денис поп, да Олексей тогда был поп же, что был на Москве после того на Москве протопоп, приходили к жидовину Схарии да училися у него жидовской вере. А Христа отвергълися. Да после того инчи жидове, приходили в Великий Новъгород. И Денис да Олексей к тем приходили да ними жидовство держали ... Да после того Денис да Олексей прельстили в жидовскую веру Гаврила протопопа Софейскаго да попа Наума да попа Максима да иных многих от священников ...: а от бояр от новгородцких прельстили в жидовство Григория Михайлова сына Тучина и иных многих

1. *AED*, pp. 504-5

2. *IB*, pp. 97-8.

3. see above, p. 115, n. 4.

4. *AED*, p. 505

Новегороде велику власть имеа.  
 Потом же многих научиша ...<sup>1</sup>  
 В лето же 6988 прииде князь великий  
 Иван Васильевич в Великий Новъго-  
 род, и тогда взят Алексеа попа на  
 протопопство к церкви Пречистыя  
 Успения, и Дениса попа к архаггелу  
 Михаилу .... какова сътвориша сии  
 сквернии пси с своими поборники!...  
 многыя душа погубиша, и в жидовство  
 отведоша, яко же неким отбежати и  
 обрезатися в жидовскую веру: от них  
 же есть Ивашко Черный ... и стаинник  
 его Игнат Зубовъ.<sup>2</sup>

детей боярских и от купцов и от  
 простых людей.  
 А после того, как взяли на Москву  
 Алексея протопопа да Дениса попа, - и  
 они прельстили в жидовство Федора  
 Курицына, да брата его Волка, да иных  
 многих от великаго князя двора да и от  
 купцев и от крылошан и от простых  
 людей, якож некоторым отбегнути за  
 море к жидовом и обрезатись в жидов-  
 скую веру, от купцов убо Игнат Зубов,<sup>3</sup>  
 от крылошан же Ивашко Черной и мнози.

Iosif then says that after Gennady's arrival in Novgorod many of the heretics,  
 fearing judgement, fled to Moscow where

Потом же привлекоша к своей ереси черньца Захара. Потом же от двора  
 великаго князя Федора Курицына, да дьяковъ крестовых, Истома да Сврчка, от  
 купцев же Семена Кленова. Федор же Курицин и Истома и Сверчек и Семен  
 Кленов многих научиша жидовствовати.<sup>4</sup>

Between these two accounts there is one important difference. According  
 to the *Skazanie* it was Ivan III who brought Aleksey and Denis to Moscow, and who  
 was thus indirectly responsible for the dissemination of the heresy there. The  
*Poslanie*, on the other hand, does not state exactly who caused the two priests  
 to go to Moscow.

In its list of those converted to heresy in Novgorod, the *Poslanie*  
 reproduces the names given in Gennady's reports with one important addition:  
 Grigory Tuchin.

Grigory Mikhailovich Tuchin, son of the Novgorod *posadnik bolshey* Mikhail  
 Tucha,<sup>5</sup> was a *posadnik* himself by 1471.<sup>6</sup> Four years later, he was one of the  
 deputation of Novgorodians who met Ivan III on his arrival in Novgorod in  
 November 1475.<sup>7</sup> In 1478 Tuchin *bil chelom v sluzhbu* and was accepted into the  
 service of the grand prince, after which we hear no more of him until the  
 mention in the *Poslanie o soblyudeni*.

1. *AED*, pp.469, 478-9

2. *ibid.*, pp.471, 480-1

3. *ibid.*, p.506

4. *ibid.*, pp.471, 481

5. Yanin, *Novgorodskie posadniki*, p.381. In that year he was one of the few  
 Novgorod boyars to escape the severe penalties imposed by Ivan III (Bernadsky,  
*Novgorod i Novgorodskaya zemlya*, p.297).

6. *ibid.*, p.300

7. *PSRL*, vol.25, pp.304-5

But some conjecture can be made as to his fate, for in 1487-89 Ivan III carried out a mass *vyvod* of merchants and *posadskie lyudi*, dispossessing them of much of their Novgorod property and resettling them in the Moscow region.<sup>1</sup> And since it is on record in the Novgorod cadastres of the late XVth century that land was confiscated from Grigory Tuchin,<sup>2</sup> it is possible that he was among those affected by the 1487-89 *vyvody*.

Quite probably it is in the light of what we know of the mass influx of largely discontented Novgorodians that we should understand the explanation of the appearance of the Novgorod heresy in Moscow as given in the *Poslanie o soblyudeni*.

Whether or not Aleksey, Denis and the other Novgorod priests<sup>3</sup> actually arrived in Moscow at the time of the *vyvody*, it is unlikely that Iosif's account of the spread of the heresy could have been written for a Council presided over by Ivan III himself. This, and the nature of the details given in Iosif's account - which look more like invention than fact<sup>4</sup> - suggests that he made use of the *Poslanie o soblyudeni* as a source for his *Skazanie*, and that none of the redactions of the *Prosvetitel'* was made before 1505.

Before returning to Iosif's evidence, let us examine the verdict of the Council of 1504 as recorded in the chronicles.<sup>5</sup> Volk Kuritsyn, Mitya Konoplev

1. Bernadsky, op.cit., p.337. According to Veselovsky's calculations, up to a thousand Novgorodians were dispossessed and coerced into Muscovite service between 1476 and 1500 (Veselovsky, *Feodal'noe zemlevladienie*, pp.298-9, vol.1).

2. *Novgorodskie pistsovye knigi*, vol.5, cols. 193-4.

3. Of Aleksey, Gennady says practically nothing. Denis is first mentioned by him in the same letter as Gavrila, only after both had arrived in Moscow. See above, ch.II, p.57.

4. e.g. the names of the Jews 'who came to Novgorod'; the claim that Aleksey had been a priest *na Mikhaylovskoy ulitsi* (probably the result of confusing him with Gavrila, said by Gennady to be a priest from *Mikhaylovskaya ulitsa*. See above, ch.II, p.57, n.2).

5. The names of those condemned in 1504 are confirmed by the *Poslanie o soblyudeni* and by the anathema in the Novgorod *Synodikon* against the 'new heretics':

Новии еретици, неверующии в Господа нашего Иисуса Христа, Сына Божия, и в пречистую Богородицу, и похулившеи седмь соборов святых отец, Касьян архимандрит Юрьева монастыря, Ивашко Максимов, Некрас Рукавов, Волк Курицын, Митя Коноплев и их ересиначальствовавшие в рустей земли ... да будут прокляти.

and Ivashko Maksimov were executed in Moscow, being burnt to death in a cage; Nekras Rukavov was burnt to death too, his tongue having first been cut out - but this took place in Novgorod, where Kassian of Yur'ev, Ivashko Samocherny, Gridya Kвашnya and Mitya Pustoselov were also executed. In 1490 it had been Gennady who testified against the Novgorod heretics and organised a Novgorod Council and the executions. But in 1504 he was prevented from testifying: the throne of the Novgorod archbishopric was vacant, and only the representatives of the grand prince could have been responsible for the executions - as well as for those in Moscow.

There was a precedent for the methods chosen for the 1504 executions: in 1488 the grand prince had ordered that one Munt Tatishchev should have his tongue cut out for treasonable slander,<sup>1</sup> and in 1493:

... Тое же зимы, генваря, казнил князь великий князя Ивана Лукомского да Матифаса Ляха, толмачя латынского, сожгоша их на Москве на реке в клетке .... про то, что они посылали с грамотами и с вестьми человека<sup>2</sup> своего Волынцова к великому князю Александру Литовскому...

Who, then, were the men singled out for equally severe sentences in 1504? Studies of the heresy have tended to concentrate on the personality of Fedor Kuritsyn (who only escaped the fate of his brother Ivan Volk by 'disappearing from the historical scene' - presumably by dying a natural death - sometime before December 1504<sup>3</sup>), since his career is well documented in contemporary sources.

The Kuritsyn brothers are thought to have descended from Roman Ivanovich Kamensky,<sup>4</sup> a boyar of the grand prince of Moscow whose descendants lost rank.<sup>5</sup> Fedor and Ivan Volk are the first of the family known to have attained the position of *d'yaki* of the grand prince. Thanks to the testimony of Iosif's *Skazanie*:

Толико же дръзновение тогда имеаху к державному протопоп Алексей и Федор Курицин, яко никто же ин<sup>6</sup>

1. *PSRL*, vol.28, p.319. Munt had spread the rumour that Ivan III was planning to arrest his brother, Andrey of Uglich; he was flogged, but did not lose his tongue, thanks to the intercession of Metropolitan Geronty.
2. *PSRL*, vol.28, pp.323-4
3. see above, p. 89.
4. Veselovsky, *Onomastikon*, p.173; *idem.*, *D'yaki i pod'yachie*, pp.280-1. See Appendix I for the Kuritsyn family tree.
5. Veselovsky, *Issledovaniya*, p.54
6. *AED*, pp.471, 481

Fedor Kuritsyn has been seen as 'one of the most prominent statesmen of the reign of Ivan III, playing a leading role in the foreign policy of the grand prince'.<sup>1</sup> Fairy von Lilienfeld has even described him as Ivan's *Kanzler*.<sup>2</sup> But it is difficult to prove that Kuritsyn ever held anything more than an executive position. Even in the 1490's when, according to Zimin, he was 'one of the initiators of the grand prince's policy',<sup>3</sup> records of negotiations with foreign representatives show that he was seldom given sole responsibility: the leading role in such negotiations was almost invariably taken by the *kaznachey* Dmitry Vladimirovich,<sup>4</sup> whose rank gave him precedence.<sup>5</sup> Fedor Kuritsyn's career in the service of the grand prince, though distinguished,<sup>6</sup> was no more so than those of many of his contemporaries among the *d'yaki* of Ivan III, such as Andrey Mayko,<sup>7</sup> Danilo Mamyrev<sup>8</sup> and Vasily Tret'yak Dolmatov.<sup>9</sup>

Fedor Kuritsyn was principally active in the field of foreign relations.<sup>10</sup> He took part in most of the key diplomatic negotiations of the 80's and 90's of the XVth century, and was a member of embassies to various European courts.

Ivan Volk's career, although not so busy, was very similar to that of his brother. He too was active in the Muscovite diplomatic service, as well as being a signatory to several important internal policy documents. But if we compare the activities of the Kuritsyn brothers with those of other leading *d'yaki* in the service of Ivan III, we find that the one distinguishing feature of their record was the manner of their fall. The only Kuritsyn known to have

1. *IB*, p.183

2. von Lilienfeld, 'Über einige Züge', p.1

3. Zimin, 'Sobytiya 1499 g.', p.100

4. *RIO*, vol.35, Nos.24, 36, 56, 61

5. If Fedor Kuritsyn reached the position of influence ascribed to him, it is surprising that he never received the rank of *kaznachey*. That a *d'yak* could qualify for this rank we know from the example of one of Fedor's colleagues Danilo Mamyrev (Veselovsky, *D'yaki i pod'yachie*, p.316).

6. Zimin, 'D'yachesky apparat', p.94

7. Veselovsky, op.cit., p.311; Zimin, op.cit., pp.250-1

8. Veselovsky, op.cit., p.316; Zimin, op.cit., p.108

9. Veselovsky, *D'yaki i pod'yachie*, pp.155-6; Zimin, 'D'yachesky apparat', p.233

10. In the period under discussion the Muscovite administrative apparatus was not yet divided into *prikazy*; the grand prince's *d'yaki* dealt with both internal and external matters.

been close to a grand prince of Moscow was Afanasy, Fedor's son:<sup>1</sup> the descendants of Ivan and Fedor survived their parents' disgrace remarkably well, continuing to serve as *d'yaki* to the rulers of Muscovy.<sup>2</sup>

Mitya Konoplev is the second name in the list of those executed in 1504. The only item of information we have about him is that in May 1503 he was one of the *deti boyarskie* in the suite of Konstantin Grigor'evich Zabolotsky on a mission to Alexander of Lithuania, which arrived back in Moscow in September 1503.<sup>3</sup>

Of Ivashko Maksimov we know only that he was probably anathematized in Novgorod in 1490.<sup>4</sup> It is not known how he reached Moscow from Novgorod, or whether he really had any contact with Elena Stepanovna.

We are better informed about Nekras Rukavov. According to the Novgorod cadastre for 1500, Nekras Vasil'evich Rukavov was a *pomeschchik* from *Votskaya pyatina*, owning considerable property in the Novgorod area, in several villages that belonged to the grand prince.<sup>5</sup>

Archimandrite Kassian of the Yur'ev Monastery was also among those executed in Novgorod. It is stated in the 15th *Slovo* of the *Prosvetitel'* (written several years after the 1504 Council<sup>6</sup>) that Kassian was appointed archimandrite by Ivan III on the advice of the Kuritsyn brothers,<sup>7</sup> but this is probably one of Iosif's inventions.

The archimandrite of the Yur'ev Monastery held a special position in the Church hierarchy of Novgorod; he was elected, apparently for a limited term of office, from among the abbots' of the most important monasteries of Novgorod. The 'archimandrite of Novgorod', as he was also known, was the elective head of the black clergy of the see and, as such, was independent even of the

1. Veselovsky, op.cit., pp.279-80

2. *ibid.*, p.279. The grandson of Ivan Volk became a Novgorod landowner, and *golova* of one of the Novgorod *pyatiny* (Tikhomirov, *Razryadnye knigi*, pp.375, 428 et seq.

3. *RIO*, vol.35, No.76, p.413

4. see above, p. 73.

5. *Novgorodskie pistsovye knigi*, vol.3, cols. 300, 317, 334-6; 344-5. See also Veselovsky, *Onomastikon*, p.272

6. *IB*, p.468 et seq.

7. *Prosvetitel'*, p.518

archbishop.<sup>1</sup> There is no evidence that Kassian, who became archimandrite in 1494, owed his position to the grand prince.<sup>2</sup> As for his 'brother' Ivashko Samocherny, we know nothing - not even whether he was a blood relative or simply a brother monk of the Yur'ev Monastery.<sup>3</sup>

The Kvashnya family name is well known in Russian XVth-XVIth century sources;<sup>4</sup> unfortunately, we do not know to which branch of the family Gridya Kvashnya belonged. Since he was executed in Novgorod, it seems likely that he was related to Aleksey Kvashnin, a Novgorod boyar who, like Grigory Tuchin,<sup>5</sup> was accused of robbing and killing the inhabitants of two Novgorod *ulitsy*, Slavkova and Mikitina.<sup>6</sup> Aleksey Kvashnin and his brothers were among the wealthiest *pomeshchiki* of the city.<sup>7</sup>

We know nothing of Mitya Pustoselov, the last in the list of heretics named by the chronicles - but our information concerning those condemned for heresy does not end with him. The chronicle account is supplemented by Iosif of Volokolamsk with yet another name.

Sometime between December 1504 and October 1505 Iosif wrote to Ivan III about the heretic Semen Klenov, who had been placed in custody in his monastery.<sup>8</sup> Not daring to reproach the grand prince for having transformed his monastery into a gaol for heretics, Iosif turns from an obligatory

1. Yanin, *44z istorii*, pp.118-26

2. Although one of the bodies participating in the election, the *veche*, ceased to function after 1478, the *kontsy* of Novgorod continued to act as administrative units with their own representatives. That the archimandrite of Novgorod was still respected by the abbots of other Novgorod monasteries as their head can be seen from the account of Gennady's procession on 8th December 1499 (see above, p.114)

3. Following the death of Kassian in 1504 there is no record of an archimandrite in the Yur'ev Monastery until 1517. This may, of course, simply be due to the paucity of sources, but since the archbishop's seat remained vacant for a considerable period, the same may well have been true of the archimandrite's post (Stroev, *Spiski ierarkhov*, p.45).

4. Veselovsky, *Issledovaniya*, p.263 et seq.

5. see above, p. 114.

6. *PSRL*, vol.25, pp.304-5

7. see *Ukazatel' k Novgorodskim pistsovyim knigam*, p.34. Aleksey alone seems to have left no heirs.

8. *PIV*, pp.178-9

expression of welcome for Ivan's anti-heretical zeal to a lament for the fate that had overtaken other monasteries:

а ныне, государь, сказали нам, что еретиков по монастырем шлеш, ино, государь, нам нынешняя скорбь много горши первые, занеже, государь, миряном ползу твориш, а иноком погибель.<sup>1</sup>

This letter is interesting not only because it confirms the verdict of the Council of 1504, as recorded in the chronicles:

а иных в заточение розослаша, а иных по монастырем.<sup>2</sup>

It also affords fairly conclusive proof that Iosif did not write the *Prosvetitel'*, even in its short redaction (*Skazanie* and *11 Slova*), prior to the condemnation of Ivan Volk Kuritsyn and the others; it is also an indication that the story of Iosif's presence at the 1504 Council was probably apocryphal.

Iosif writes to the grand prince:

Что еси, государь, прислал в монастырь Пречистые к нам еретика Семена Кленова, да и его речи еретические написаны, что он мудрствовал, а велел еси его дръжать в монастыре, ино, государь, о том есмя обрадовалися были вси, что еси показал ревность о благочестивей и православней христианстей вере, как прежнии святии православнии христианстии царие.<sup>3</sup>

Had Iosif been present at the Council of 1504 he would have been aware that the grand prince *pokazal revnost'* and his expression of delight would have been somewhat belated. As participant of a Council which condemned Semen Klenov, among others, he would not have required a copy of Klenov's heretical *rechi*. Finally, had he in fact been present he would surely not have felt the need to reproach Ivan for making use of the monasteries as convenient places of exile for heretics:

А в писании, государь, того нет, кое еретиков по монастырем посылать...<sup>4</sup>

We have already mentioned that Iosif's *Skazanie o novoyavivsheysya* describes the spread of the 'Novgorod heresy' to Moscow in much the same terms as the *Poslanie o soblyudeni*;<sup>5</sup> it is of interest to make a further comparison

1. PIV, p.179

2. see above, p. 122.

3. PIV, pp.178-9

4. *ibid.*, p.179

5. see above, p. 125.

of the two sources. This is how they list the converts of Aleksey and Denis:

Послание о соблюдении

... Федора Курицына, да брата его Волка, да иных многих от великаго князя двора да и от купцев и от крылошан и от простых людей, якож некоторым отбегнути за море к жидовом и обрезатись в жидовскую веру, от купцов убо Игнат Зубов, от крылошан же Ивашко Черный и мнози.<sup>1</sup>

Сказание о новоявившейся ереси

... от двора великаго князя Федора Курицына, да дьяков крестовых, Истома да Сверчъка, от купьцев же Семена Кленова. Федор же Курицин и Истома и Сверчекъ и Семен Кленов<sup>2</sup> многих научиша жидовьствовати.

In Gennady's letters, which mention Istoma, Sverchok, Fedor Kuritsyn, Ignat Zubov and Ivashko Cherny, there is no reference to Semen Klenov, nor does his name appear in any source directly connected with the proceedings of the 1504 Council (i.e. the chronicle account, the *Poslanie o soblyudenii* and the 1504 anathema). There is nothing in Iosif's letter to Ivan III to contradict the view that he, Iosif, only learned of Klenov's existence and heresy after the Council was concluded and when Klenov was exiled to his monastery.

This work has tried to demonstrate that the *Prosvetitel'*, either in its short or in its expanded redactions, could not have been written for the Council of 1504. And since this work has come to be known as *The Book against the Novgorod heretics*<sup>3</sup>, an attempt has to be made to answer the question why Iosif wrote it only after the condemnation and execution of the heretics had taken place. A full answer would require a separate textological analysis: a few ideas which could provide such an answer will be mentioned here.

A consideration of the *Poslanie ikonopistsu* with its three *Slova* on the worship of icons<sup>4</sup> (chapters 5 - 7 of the *Prosvetitel'*) and the three *Skazaniya* on the seventh millenium<sup>5</sup> (chapters 8 - 10), suggests that in their original

1. *AED*, p.506

2. *ibid.*, p.471 (cf. *ibid.*, p.4817)

3. *AED*, p.438

4. see above, p. 89 et seq.

5. see above, p. 91 et seq.

form these works were anti-heretical only insofar as they constituted an instruction in Orthodox Christian beliefs on the subjects under discussion. By inserting set phrases against the Novgorod heretics and appending suitable titles to each of the chapters, Iosif transformed them into tracts against the 'newly-appeared Novgorod heretics'. If we examine all of the references to the heresy in the entire expanded version of the *Prosvetitel'* we find that throughout the work (apart from the introductory *Skazanie* and chapter 15, both devoted to an account of the origins and spread of the heresy), the same stock phrases recur.<sup>1</sup>

Wherever Iosif does not repeat the names of Aleksey, Denis and Fedor Kuritsyn he refers instead to 'Jews' or to unspecified heretics. Every time, the allusion to such *otstupniki* simply forms the starting-point of an argument to demonstrate the truth of Orthodox Christian beliefs. It can be argued that the *Prosvetitel'* is not a *Book against the Novgorod heretics*, but the first attempt in Russia to produce a summary of Orthodox theology, a work something in the nature of the *De fide Orthodoxa* of John of Damascus.

This view is supported by the words of Iosif of Volokolamsk himself, for, after narrating the history of the heresy in the *Skazanie*, he introduces the index of the chapters of the *Prosvetitel'* thus:

И да никто же ми зазреть, яко в всякомъ слове изъявих еретичес-  
вующих, и жидовская мудрствующих, Алексея, глаголю, протопопы и  
Федора Курицина и попа Дениса и подобныхъ им: тако бо и святии  
божественнии Отци наши написаша на древняя еретики, и в  
множайших местех изъявиша имена их и ереси их, того ради, яко да  
ведома будут и въ древняя роды, яко сих учения диавольска суть  
изобретения. Собрах же въедино от различныхъ писаний Божественныхъ,  
яко да ведящеи Божественнаа писания прочетши да воспоменут себе,  
неведущееи же прочетше да разумеють. И аще кому что потребно  
будеть противу еретическимъ речем, и благодатию Божию обрящет  
готово без труда в коемждо слове, яже суть сия ....<sup>2</sup>

1. see below, Appendix III

2. AED, pp.474-5; *ibid.*, pp.483-4; *Prosvetitel'*, pp.47-8

The purpose of the *Prosvetitel'* as a compendium of Orthodox theology explains its derivative character and its frequent disregard of historical fact.<sup>1</sup> In retailing the history of the Judaizers' heresy Iosif was not really concerned with presenting a historically accurate narrative, but with an account that should be, above all, instructive; in his discussion of heretical beliefs he was not concerned with the actual ideas of the Judaizers, but with *any* heretical beliefs, whether upheld by the heretics of Novgorod or of Moscow, by Jews or by anyone else.

This does not mean, of course, that the *Prosvetitel'* as a source for the heresy of the Judaizers is entirely rejected. But it is only the *Skazanie* and the 15th chapter that are relevant to our study.

Much of the evidence of the *Skazanie* has already been reviewed. Iosif attributes the origins of the heresy in Novgorod to the proselytizing activities of the Jew Skharia (whose name he obtained from the *Poslanie o soblyudenii*), and the Jew - or Jews - Osif Shmoylo Skaryavey Mosey Khanush.<sup>2</sup> Evidently even Iosif felt it unlikely that the one nameless Jew mentioned by Gennady<sup>3</sup> could have wielded quite as much influence as was attributed to him. It was the *Poslanie* which had first named Denis and Aleksey as the original converts to the Jewish faith, but it was Iosif who embroidered the story of their conversion with details such as their desire to be circumcised (from which they were dissuaded by the Jews themselves), and the renaming of Aleksey and his wife as Abraham and Sarah.<sup>4</sup>

After describing the conversion of Gavriila, Gridya Kloch and Grigory Tuchin, Iosif goes on to list the 'many others' who were converted. Many of the names in his list are known to us from previous sources, but he adds the following:

Lavresh, Mishuk Sobaka and Evdokim Lyulisha, the priests Fedor, Yakov and Ivan, and the *krileshane* or members of the lower clergy Yurka Semenov Dolgy, Avdey and Stepan. It is not known whether the first three were in the service

1. cf. *IB*, p.111

2. *AED*, p.469

3. see above, ch.11, p.55

4. Possibly these names were suggested to Iosif by the story of Abraham and Sarah and the appearance of the three angels in the Old Testament. cf. Iosif's disquisition on the Trinity, *AED*, p.360 et seq.

of the Church, but Iosif's list (invention or not) does nothing to alter the view of the Novgorod heresy as a heresy of the Novgorod priests.

Iosif, as we have seen, makes the suggestion that it was the grand prince who was responsible for bringing Denis and Aleksey to Moscow.<sup>1</sup> His list of those converted in Moscow (Ivashko Cherny, Ignat Zubov, Zosima,<sup>2</sup> Zakhar,<sup>3</sup> Fedor Kuritsyn, Istoma, Sverchek, Klenov) does not contain any names not already known to us; but once more he implicates the grand prince in the heresy:

Тѳлико же дръзновение тогда имеаху к державному протопоп  
Алексеи и Федор Курицин, яко никто же ин: звездозаконию бо  
прилежаху, и многым баснотворением и астрологи и чародейству  
и чернокнижию.<sup>4</sup>

Iosif evidently knew nothing of the Council of 1488 and the first anathematization of the Novgorod heretics, concurred with by Geronty and the grand prince. In fact he even states that, out of fear of the grand prince, metropolitan Geronty did nothing to suppress the heresy discovered and reported by Gennady.

1. see above, p. 126.

2. The question whether or not Zosima was a heretic will not be discussed again: in Iosif's eyes he evidently was (see above, p. 99). But the first mention of Zosima, a convert of Aleksey and Denis, may not refer to the metropolitan of that name:

от черньцев же некоего, не реку архимандрита, но съквернителя  
... именем Зосиму, яко же перваго еретика Зосиму Чернаго

(AED, p.471; *ibid.*, p.481)

Zosima was indeed an archimandrite of Simonov before his elevation, but Iosif compares *his* archimandrite with 'the first heretic, Zosima'. There is no trace of a Zosima in early anti-heretical literature; the term 'the first heretic' was usually applied to Simon, 'the source of all heresies' (see above, ch.11, p.43, n.1). Could it be that the text has been altered here to obviate any suggestion that Iosif might be referring to the metropolitan Simon? The word 'archimandrite' may well be a later addition. The original probably read:

не реку святителя, но съквернителя

3. see above, ch.11, p.64

4. AED, pp.471, 481

The historical introduction to the heresy ends with an account of the Council of 1490 and with a fanciful description of the method of execution chosen by Gennady. This, like the story of the renaming of Aleksey and his wife, is probably an invention: the chronicle account of the execution is too detailed for such interesting information to have been deliberately omitted.<sup>1</sup>

With an attack on Zosima, long deceased, and with a lament for the *smushchenie v khristianekh* caused by the activities of the disciples of Aleksey and Denis - and especially for the sufferings of the monks of Russia, due to the heretics' influence on the grand prince<sup>2</sup> - Iosif then adverts to the subject matter of his book with the passage already quoted.<sup>3</sup>

The fifteen chapters of the *Prosvetitel'*,<sup>4</sup> all but one headed

Слово на ересь Новгородских еретиков

deal with the following: the dogma of the Trinity, the Virgin birth, the superiority of the New over the Old Testament, the Orthodox justification of icon painting and icon worship, the question of the seventh millenium and the Second Coming, the virtue of the monastic life, the effectiveness of an anathema pronounced by a heretic, the right and duty of Church and Prince to punish heretics and investigate their errors. The final chapter defines the distinction between heretics and renegades, and completes the historical account of the heresy from 1490 to 1504.

As shown in chapter II above, the Novgorod heretics were charged with anti-Trinitarianism, denial of the Virgin birth, lauding of the Old over the New Testament, and iconoclasm.<sup>5</sup> But, as has been indicated, there is no evidence that those condemned were guilty of more than minor disciplinary heresies. Although Iosif wrote the *Prosvetitel'* in order to define the Orthodox view of the dogma of the Trinity, icon worship, etc., and although the Novgorod heretics were accused of heretical views on these points of dogma, to suggest that his work was directed specifically against them is to misunderstand both the heresy itself and Iosif's purpose. His disregard for

1. see above, ch. II, pp. 69-71

2. AED, pp. 473-4. cf. *Poslanie Nifontu*, see above, pp. 96-103

3. see above, p. 134.

4. Only the expanded redaction will be considered here; although it probably postdates the short redaction, both are post-1505 and equally valuable.

the actual ideas of those against whom he is assumed to be writing is clear enough from his frequent attribution to them of beliefs of which no one had ever accused them. Of the heretics condemned in 1490 and 1504 he knew little more than what could be gleaned from official sources dated subsequent to the trials of those years.

This we learn not only from the *Skazanie*, but also from the 15th chapter of the *Prosvetitel'* in which Iosif returns to the history of the heresy, taking up the story from 1490 on:

Доселе убо в первом слове писано есть о еретицех, ихже посла державнии с Москвы к великому Новуграду. А яже быша потом, тамо не писано, но мы zde речем о сем.<sup>1</sup>

After the Council of 1490, says Iosif, the Novgorod heretics either fled from the city and carried the heresy to 'many towns and villages', or continued to practise it secretly in their homes. In order to help their fellow dissenters, Fedor and Ivan Kuritsyn persuaded the grand prince to send Kassian to Novgorod as archimandrite of the Yur'ev Monastery.<sup>2</sup>

Iosif had some difficulty in supplying details of the activities of Kassian and his fellow heretics in Novgorod. He describes Kassian himself in terms he had already applied to Zosima:

И сквернейшии бо и гнуснейшии всех человек ... не реку архимандрита Юрьева монастыря, но дияволов сосуд, антихристов предотеча, Касиян....<sup>3</sup>

- and in writing of his activities he embroiders on the reports made by Gennady prior to 1490:

привожаху бо блудница во своя храмины, и скверняхуся с ними блудом, и мыяхуся с ними в лохане, и скверную сию воду взимаху, и вливаху сию в вино и мед, и посылаху то вино и мед святителем и священником, и к боляром и к гостем, и ко всем православным христяном. Един же от них, именован Алексейко Костев, вынял ис часовни икону Пречистыя Богородицы ... и покинул на землю, и начат спущати скверную свою воду на нея. Ин же некто, Самсонко именован, пришел к попу к Науму ... и Самсонко молвил Науму попу, возми икону да удари ея о землю, и поп взял да ударил ея о землю ... Да захотели ести, и поставили пред них проскуры да рыбы, и

1. *Prosvetitel'*, p.517

2. see above, pp.130-1.

3. *Prosvetitel'*, p.519; cf. ch.III, pp.99,136

Самсонко, взем проскуры, да вырезал изо всех проскур кресты, да молвил так: того негодно ясти людем, но токмо псом, да покинул на полкоту, и кот съел. И Самсонко опять почел говорити попу: возми туже икону, да ударь ею о пол ...<sup>1</sup>

Some of the heretics, he claims, found protection with the Kuritsyn brothers and with Ivashko Maksimov in Moscow, where they:

таковая сотвориша ... якоже преже в великом Новгороде, еще же и злейши сих. ... собирающесе тайно по всех местех, идеже кто обреташесе, и жертвы жидовския жряху, и пасху жидовскую, и праздники жидовския творяху, на нихже и многа хуления изрекоша на Господа нашего Иисуса Христа, и на Пречистую Богородицу, и на великаго Иоанна Предтечу, и на вся святые апостолы же и мученики, и преподобныя и праведныя, и много сквернения и поругания соделаша на божественныя церкви ...<sup>2</sup>

until

егда державный некоторых вещей повеле испытание творити о еретицех ... в лето 7013, с Симоном митрополитом и со всеми святители, и многим свидетелем истинным ставшим на еретики и обличившим их о их жидовских и скверных делех, и повеле державный, иже Христа отвергшихся и жидовская мудръствующих, овех огню предати, овех же языки изрезывати, и инеми казньми казнити ...<sup>3</sup>

With this quotation from the *Poslanie o soblyudenii*,<sup>4</sup> Iosif's evidence on the heresy comes to an end. His voluminous post-1505 correspondence is largely taken up with his quarrel with Archbishop Serapion of Novgorod,<sup>5</sup> and with monasterial affairs; by 1511, when he came to write the *Poslanie o eretikakh* to Vasily III,<sup>6</sup> the heresy of the Judaizers (though not all heresy)

1. *ibid.*, pp.519; cf. the anti-Latin *Slovo svyatogo Feodosiya* in the redaction found in Makary's *Chetii Minei*:

в первую же ночь лежить с невестою поп в олтари за трапезою, положив на ковре, и прекръститъ женьскую срамоту ... и скверне уже изшедши из невест на ковер и измыви ижжемь той ковер, и тою скверною кропать люди по церкви. Попов, *Obzor*, p. 81.

2. *Prosvetitel'*, p.522
3. *ibid.*, p.523
4. cf. *AED*, p.508
5. *PIV*, pp.185-229
6. *PIV*, pp.229-232

was evidently considered a thing of the past:

Темных оных и скверных новгородских еретиков и отступников и  
жидовская мудрствующих до конца низложил еси ...

With the exception of a few names, the *Prosvetitel'* of Iosif of Volokolamsk adds nothing to our knowledge of the heresy of the Novgorodians condemned in 1490. It is almost as uninformative concerning the beliefs and activities of those condemned in 1504, on which - apart from the chronicle accounts and the *Poslanie o soblyudenii* - it is our only source. It offers an explanation of the influence of Aleksey and Fedor Kuritsyn over Ivan III, but otherwise there is nothing in Iosif's account to distinguish between the beliefs of the Judaizers of 1490 and of those of 1504.

Neither do we learn anything further from contemporary works touching upon the heresy, since these - all written after 1505 - are concerned not with the heresy itself but with the debate about the treatment proper to condemned heretics. They are interesting only insofar as they show that the views of Gennady and Iosif on the right and duty of Princes to punish offenders against the Church were not without opposition in the Church itself. The *Prosvetitel'*, therefore, completes the evidence of the accusers against the heresy of the Judaizers - evidence from which we can now attempt to draw some conclusions.

For the Novgorod stage of the heresy we have to rely entirely on the evidence of Gennady and of sources connected with the Council of 1490. The individuals condemned by that Council were all members of Gennady's clergy, whose 'heresy' he unearthed under rather special circumstances.

His appointment as archbishop in 1484 took place at a time when many in the Russian Church were concerned with prophecies of the imminence of the end of the world. Gennady, an erudite theologian, makes it clear in his writings on this subject that, despite his uncertainty about the exact date of the Second Coming, he was in no doubt that his era was the last millenium, in which the approaching end would be heralded by the increased influence of Anti-Christ, manifested in the spread of heresy - a time of great danger to the Church.

He did not have to look long for confirmation of this. In his own see a combination of pagan superstition and ignorance among the clergy had bred beliefs and practices which could easily be identified as unorthodox and therefore heretical.<sup>1</sup>

But the dissent from Orthodoxy was by no means confined to religious beliefs and practices. At the time of Gennady's arrival in Novgorod, the former republic was being subjected to a series of repressive measures designed to prevent the revival of a 'separatist party', such as that which had attempted, in 1471, to place Novgorod under the protection of Lithuania. Gennady's assumption of the office was in itself part of this process: he was only the second archbishop of Novgorod to have been appointed by Ivan III. Traditionally, archbishops had been elected by the citizens and clergy of the republic, subject only to the consent of the metropolitan and Synod. The last archbishop of Novgorod to have been chosen by its people had been Feofil: he was removed to Moscow by Ivan III and replaced by a Muscovite, Sergey, who lasted merely a few months before resigning owing to a mysterious illness.

The reaction of the Novgorodians to the loss of so important a right as the election of the head of their own Church is revealed in the following

1. 'Heretical' beliefs born of ignorance were not, of course, confined to the Church of Novgorod. A contemporary MS. of the *Menologion* contains, among writings on questions of ritual by respected Church authorities, an article on:

дни зли в нихже крови не пускати, коней холостити, ни сеяти ни садити ни пива в дом вносити ни вина, ни купити ни продати ни порт не кроити, ни свадьбы творити ни дом строити.

(GN vol. 3, pt. 2, p 263)

entry in the Pskov chronicles,<sup>1</sup> under the year 6992:

приеде с Москвы в Великий Новгород от великого князя Ивана Васильевича из него руке владыка Сергии ... Того же лета начаша являтися святители новгородстии ... обличаюша яве безумное дръзнутие на поставление святительства ему ... живу сущю епископу {Феофилу} и не яту бывшю, ни обличену ересьюми ... и не праведно ни по правилом изгнану бывшю ... и сия глаголюще многия недугы вложиша его... и тако воскорее отъеха на Москву со всеми своими дворяны ...

Feofil's successor *so vsemi svoimi dvoryany* had been very much hated by the Novgorodians; Gennady did little to lessen this hatred.

He was a faithful servant to Ivan III, fulfilling the promise made on his appointment that he would report to the grand prince any stirrings of dissent. And it is clear that such dissent - both political and religious - made itself felt.

Following the annexation of Novgorod, the city was not only deprived of its *veche* but also of its judicature and many of its 'best' citizens, whose lands and property were taken over by Muscovites. And the intervention of Ivan III in the secular administration of Novgorod was paralleled by the reforms attempted by Gennady in its ecclesiastical organisation. By insisting that no priest, deacon or *d'yak* should be allowed to officiate in church without having applied to him for ordination, he tried to put an end to the custom which the congregation 'elected' its own clergy and sought the archbishop's approval of the appointment only after it had been made. Gennady undoubtedly aimed to rid his see of non-ordained and ill-educated clergy and went so far as to insist on the removal of such as failed to meet his own criteria of suitability.

Such changes were bound to arouse opposition, not only because they were impositions by a Muscovite upon Novgorod custom, but also because the archbishop's ordination tax placed a financial burden upon all who wished to join the white clergy.

1. Pskov was part of the Novgorod archbishopric; the chronicles were kept at the archbishop's court and were not likely to record any information hostile to either Sergey or Gennady.

2. *PL*, vol.2, pp.63-4

By 1487 Gennady was sending the grand prince and the metropolitan his reports on the dissent in his episcopacy. Ivan III treated these seriously: in 1488, the year in which a great number of Novgorod citizens were deported or executed for allegedly plotting against the grand prince's *namestnik*, a meeting of the Synod, presided over by Ivan and Geronty, excommunicated and anathematized the 'Novgorod priests'. This verdict, and the *torgovaya kazn'* of three of the convicted heretics in Moscow, was a manifestation of the Council's support for Gennady: the responsibility for eradicating the heresy was, however, placed upon his shoulders.

The archbishop was instructed to carry out all investigations in the presence of the grand prince's *namestniki*: Ivan was making sure that he would not be relying on Gennady alone for information on the progress of the fight against the heresy. As a result, Gennady made a number of reports to the Synod and the grand prince based upon confessions and other material, evidently as indicative of political, as of religious, overtones.

In spite of, or perhaps because of, his zeal in safeguarding the interests of the grand prince, Gennady was not permitted to leave Novgorod for almost two decades. He was not even allowed this privilege in 1490, when, as a result of his reports, another Council was convened in Moscow, this time headed by Ivan and Zosima. This Council reiterated its condemnation of the 'Novgorod heresy' and condemned all the Novgorod priests (but none of the Muscovites) that Gennady had named.

Among those condemned for heretical views on the principles of Orthodox Christian dogma (Trinity, Virgin birth, icons, etc.) was one Zakhar, a monk. However, thanks to Gennady's detailed accounts of Zakhar's heresy we know that he, at least, was not guilty of the doctrinal errors named by the Council, but only of a disciplinary error not even mentioned in the verdict.

Not is there any solid evidence that the other 'Novgorod priests' condemned in 1490 were guilty of a 'judaizing' heresy: since we know that Gennady was a master of the 'deductive method' of identifying heretical beliefs, the explanation for the trial and execution in 1490 of Gavriila, Denis and others should be sought elsewhere.

Owing to the paucity of information, the reasons which shall be advanced here can only be hypothetical. They must include the possibility that some of those condemned were involved in 'evil Lithuanian matters' - i.e. treason, whether real or imaginary. Among their number was Maksim, probably a priest of St John *Na Opokakh*.<sup>1</sup> A priest of a church such as this would have good cause for disaffection toward Muscovite policy in Novgorod, which had depleted and impoverished various prominent members of his congregation and deprived the church of much of its prestige and income, as well as of its role in the formerly independent judiciary.<sup>2</sup> The inclusion in post-1504 sources, of the *posadnik* Grigory Tuchin among those pronounced guilty of the 'Novgorod heresy' also argues in favour of the hypothesis that an accusation of heresy could be used as a means of removing those under suspicion of treason.

The list of condemned Novgorod heretics includes several *d'yaki* and *pod'yachie*. These members of the lower white clergy probably suffered most from Gennady's reforms of the church organisation in Novgorod. Whereas formerly they had been able to officiate without ordination, the new dispensation meant that *d'yaki* and *pod'yachie* would lose their posts unless they passed the test of education and paid the ordination tax. Such men as Gridya may well have found themselves accused of heresy for having performed duties proscribed to *nestavlennye d'yaki*, or indeed simply for opposing Gennady's new regulations.

But whatever the real motives behind the 1490 executions, the archbishop was apparently content with the outcome of his anti-heretical campaign. Between 1490 and 1504 it was only Iosif of Volokolamsk who continued to refer to the heresy of the Judaizers, and in the vaguest of terms, as a reminder of the need for constant vigilance. After 1490 the heresy ceased to be an important issue.

1. see above, ch.11, p. 75. Since his son Ivashko Maksimov was condemned in Moscow in 1504, it is very likely that he was deported there together with the *poshlye*, the hereditary merchants whose guild church this was.

2. St John *Na Opokakh* had been the seat of one of the Novgorod courts, dealing with commercial litigation (Pronshteyn, *Velik y Novgorod*, p.94; Tikhomirov, *Drevnerusskie goroda*, pp.114-5)

It was revived, it seems, by Ivan III in the conversation with Iosif, when he carefully aimed to implicate his disgraced daughter-in-law. There is no information on the nature of the case against those condemned in 1504, nor on whoever presented it. And although instances of unsubstantiated accusations of heresy are not uncommon in the Russian Church, unsubstantiated condemnations are another matter. The trials of the Novgorod heretics, of Vassian Patrikeev and of Maksim the Greek, have all left traces in contemporary sources which tell us that 'heresy' could only be proven after the formalities - presentation of evidence and interrogation before the Council - had been observed. There is no evidence that such formalities were observed in 1504.

The fact that those executed or otherwise punished had been condemned for a heresy already anathematized made this easier: the existence, at least, of such a heresy did not require proof. But the contemporary evidence is that if proof *was* produced of the guilt of Ivan Volk Kuritsyn, Maksimov and all the others, it did not find its way into the sources.

Two groups of heretics were executed in 1504: the Muscovites and the Novgorodians, and those of each group were executed in the city in which they had been chiefly active. Any conclusions about the Muscovite group can only be ventured after consideration of the writings attributed to the Kuritsyn brothers and their associates.

Our information on the Novgorod group - Nekras Rukavov, Archimandrite Kassian, Ivan Samocherny, Gridya Kvashnya and Mitya Pustoselov - is limited to the sources discussed above. We know something of the background of three of them, all men of standing in the city. Of these, Archimandrite Kassian is a particularly unlikely candidate for the name of Judaizer; the other two, Nekras Rukavov and Gridya Kvashnya could easily have held heretical views, if only out of ignorance. But if the Novgorod men were indeed condemned for heresy, why was Gennady, who discovered and defined their crime, not summoned to testify against them?

In 1504, Ivan III - possibly in the expectation of his own approaching death - may have wished to ensure that no one should remain in Novgorod who might form the nucleus of a challenge to the power of Moscow. Gennady had served his rule well: but maintenance of the power and influence of the Church in general and of his own see in particular was a condition of this service. This, and his willingness to deal with the West independently of the grand prince was probably what brought about his fall.

However, his removal just prior to the Council of 1504, where he would have been a key witness, could hardly have been accidental. He may perhaps have refused to testify against all those condemned by that Council; or perhaps Ivan III wanted to make sure that he would not be able to do so.

With the deposition of Gennady, Novgorod lost the head of its Church; the execution of the archimandrite of the Yur'ev Monastery removed the leader of the black clergy of Novgorod and further weakened the position of the Church as the only power capable of challenging the might of the grand prince.

The public execution of the archimandrite and of the several other men without trial by the Synod of the See, and without the consent of the archbishop, was a demonstration of the grand prince's assertion of supremacy over the Church, and over Novgorod. And the consent of the Council in Moscow to the condemnation and execution of these men for an unproven heresy was a demonstration of the truth of Grigory Skripitsa's reproach to the Church which, it appears, was willing to agree in 1504 to a verdict pronounced:

земнаго царя бояры и дворецкими, недельщиками, тиуны и доводчики.

#### CHAPTER IV - THE EVIDENCE OF THE JUDAIZERS

The evidence of the accusers provides much information as to the circumstances in which the heresy of the Judaizers was discovered and condemned. Many questions, however, remain unanswered, especially as regards the exact nature of the Judaizer's activities in Moscow.

Answers to these questions have long been sought in the so-called 'literature of the Judaizers', a term that has been applied to four categories of sources:

- 1) translated works, based on Hebrew originals, which appeared in Russia in the fifteenth century;
- 2) original or translated Russian works dealing with astrology and related subjects which, according to the testimony of Iosif of Volokolamsk, were studied by the Judaizers;
- 3) works named in Gennady's letters to Prokhor and Iosaf as being in the possession or use of the heretics;
- 4) works written, translated, edited or copied by those whose names are found among the accused: priest Denis, Ivan Cherny, Ivan Volk Kuritsyn and Fedor Kuritsyn.

The attribution to the Judaizers of works in the first category is based on the assumption that the heresy was the outcome of Jewish propaganda, and that Russian translations from the Hebrew which were contemporary with the Judaizers could only have been executed by them.<sup>1</sup> This was the assumption that caused Tikhonravov and Evseev to conclude that several Old Testament Books in Russian manuscripts had been translated into Russian by the Judaizers, since traces of the Hebrew original appear in the language of the translation. Their arguments, applied specifically to the Books of Esther<sup>2</sup> and of Daniel,<sup>3</sup> were disproved by Sobolevsky, who pointed out that the oldest extant Russian

1. Sobolevsky, 'Perevodnaya literatura', p.399, n.1

2. Tikhonravov, *Sochineniya*, vol.1, p.32

3. Evseev, 'Kniga proroka Daniila', pp.129-36

manuscript of the Book of Esther belongs to the late fourteenth or early fifteenth century.<sup>1</sup> The view that the Slavonic translation of this work was carried out in Russia not later than the thirteenth century<sup>2</sup> - though not from a Greek version of the Hebrew text, as Sobolevsky suggested,<sup>3</sup> but directly from a Hebrew original - was confirmed by Meshchersky.<sup>4</sup> The Book of Esther was the only one in Gennady's 1499 Bible based on a direct translation from the Hebrew,<sup>5</sup> rather than from Greek, Latin or German: it would seem that the theory of a Judaizers' translation of this work can be dismissed.

Sobolevsky also suggested that the West Russian Books of the Old Testament found in the sixteenth-century manuscript used by Evseev in his publication of the 'Judaizers' Book of Daniel were only translated from the Hebrew in the sixteenth century. As he points out, there exists no information as to links between this West Russian translation and the Judaizers.<sup>6</sup>

However, Sobolevsky's arguments against the attribution of the Book of Daniel to the Judaizers did not prevent him from attributing to them several other works appearing in West Russian manuscripts. Just as Evseev's search for 'heretical' Books of the Old Testament was in part prompted by the accusation that the heretics condemned by the Council of 1490 похваляют в себе отреченный Ветхий Закон<sup>7</sup>, so was Sobolevsky's list of books under the heading 'Literature of the Judaizers'<sup>8</sup> based partly on the claim made by Iosif of Volokolamsk that the Judaizers прилежали звездозаконию, чародеянию и чернокнижию.<sup>9</sup>

1. Sobolevsky, op.cit., p.434

2. *ibid.*, p.436. Hebrew words, evidently, were frequently left untranslated in Slavonic Books of the Old and New Testaments, as can be seen from the existence of such writings as *Rech' zhidovskago yazyka*, a glossary of Hebrew terms compiled not later than the 13th century. Kovtun, *Russkaya leksikografiya*, p.146

3. Sobolevsky, op.cit., p.435

4. cited from *IB*, p.272, n.234

5. *GN*, vol.1, pp.53-7

6. Sobolevsky, op.cit., pp.399-400

7. see above, ch.11, pp.65, 68

8. Sobolevsky, op.cit., p.396

9. *ibid.*, p.399

The list is extensive, and begins with the *Logika*. This is one of the works mentioned in Gennady's letter to Prokhor, and it will be discussed together with other writings in the third category of the Judaizers' literature; here it is only necessary to mention that Sobolevsky considered that Gennady was referring to a treatise on logic by Moses Maimonides, found in a West Russian translation in a mid-sixteenth-century manuscript.<sup>1</sup> Certain of the terms used in this version of the *Logika* also appear in the second of the works attributed by Sobolevsky to the Judaizers: the *Kosmografiya*, recently identified as the Russian translation of *De Spera* by the thirteenth-century English scholar John Sacrobosco. The translation was probably made from a Hebrew version of this tract by Solomon Abigdor.<sup>2</sup> Since the terms singled out by Sobolevsky as being common to both *Logika* and *Kosmografiya* are largely polonisms (*tychka*, *snur*), they cannot be taken as proof that the *Kosmografiya* was translated by the Judaizers. Neither can it be ascribed to them on the grounds that it appears in the same compilation as the *Shestokryl*.<sup>3</sup> Not only is there no proof that the *Shestokryl* was in use by the Judaizers,<sup>4</sup> but - as Sobolevsky himself observed - the *sbornik* containing the *Kosmografiya* and *Shestokryl* also includes tracts attacking Judaism.<sup>5</sup>

Another work found in the same *sbornik* and ascribed to the Judaizers is *Taynaya taynykh*,<sup>6</sup> a Russian translation of the pseudo-Aristotelian *Secreta Secretorum*.<sup>7</sup> Sobolevsky's identification of hebraisms in the earliest known manuscript of this work (mid-sixteenth-century, West Russian language), provides insufficient evidence for its inclusion in the 'literature of the Judaizers'.

The *Lopatochnik*<sup>8</sup> is one of the many fortune-telling manuals that were popular in Russia despite repeated condemnation by the Church;<sup>9</sup> it is only

1. Sobolevsky, op.cit., p.409
2. Ryan, *Astronomical and Astrological Terminology*, p.19
3. Sobolevsky, op.cit., p.409
4. see above, ch.11, pp.35-9
5. Sobolevsky, op.cit., p.399, n.1
6. Sobolevsky, op.cit., p.409; Speransky, *Taynaya taynykh*
7. Ryan, 'A Russian version of the *Secreta Secretorum*'
8. Sobolevsky, op.cit., pp.423-4; Speransky, *Lopatochnik*
9. Tikhonravov, *Sochineniya*, vol.1, pp.144-6

tentatively attributed to the Judaizers, on the basis of certain similarities between its terminology and that of the *Logika* manuscript mentioned above. Such similarities are inconclusive, since the *Logika* and *Lopatochnik* manuscripts both belong to the sixteenth century and are of West Russian origin: there is little reason, therefore to accept the attribution of the *Lopatochnik* and of the astrological fragments which conclude Sobolevsky's list.<sup>1</sup> As concrete evidence for the history of the heresy the items listed above are of little value; they are, however, interesting as examples of the wide range of writings which, though uncanonical or of dubious Orthodoxy, figure in Russian manuscripts of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries.

The main problem raised by the works in the first two categories is that of finding proof that they were written or made use of by any of the individuals accused of the Judaizers' heresy. Most historians of the heresy have felt that this problem does not arise with works of the third category. The *Shestokryl*, discussed by Gennady in his letters to Prokhor and Ioasaf,<sup>2</sup> the books about which he enquired of Ioasaf:

Да есть ли у вас в Кирилове, или в Фарафонтове, или на Каменном, книги: Селивестр папа Римскы, да Афанасей Александрейскы, да Слово Козмы прозвитера на новоявльшуюся ересь на богумилю, да Послание Фотей патриарха ко князю Борису Болгарьскому, да Пророчьства, да Бытия, да Царьства, да Притчи, да Менандр, да Исус Сирахов, да <sup>3</sup> Логика, да Деонисей Арпагит? Зане же те книги у еретиков все есть.

and the so-far unidentified *psalmy*<sup>4</sup> which he sent to Moscow, have been accepted as representative of the 'literature of the Judaizers'.<sup>5</sup>

1. Sobolevsky, op.cit., pp.424-8. In spite of attacks by the Church, tracts on the stars and their power over man's fate were very popular in fifteenth and sixteenth-century Russia (Ryan, *Astronomical and Astrological Terminology*, pp.8 and 53). It is interesting to note that Maksim the Greek's polemical writings against astrology attack it as a Latin and German, not as a Jewish or Judaizers', teaching. For a list of these writings see Ivanov, *Literaturnoe nasledie Maksima Greka*, pp.119-27.

2. *AED*, pp.311-3, 318-9

3. *AED*, p.320.

4. *ibid.*, p.310

5. *IB*, p.186

Study of the texts of Gennady's letters to Prokhor and Ioasaf has shown the accepted view of the *Shestokryl*<sup>1</sup> as a heretical work 'mentioned by Archbishop Gennady as one of the books of the Judaizers'<sup>2</sup> to be incorrect.<sup>3</sup> Gennady's evidence is quite clear as to the books which 'the heretics possess'; the one remaining question is: who were 'the heretics' here referred to?

Lur'e considers that they were, without doubt, the Novgorod heretics, but the context of Gennady's booklist indicates that this conclusion is not unchallengeable.<sup>4</sup> A more detailed consideration of the works named by the archbishop may suggest an answer as to the identity of 'the heretics'.

Perhaps the most striking aspect of Gennady's list is that, with the possible exception of the *Menandr* and *Logika*, the works named appear to be irreproachably Orthodox. The very fact that Gennady enquired whether the northern monasteries possessed them suggests that he did not regard the works themselves as heretical. This is supported by the evidence available to us. In 1489 Gennady sent a copy of *Selivestr* to Iosif's monastery at Volokolamsk, and copies of *Afanasy* to Volokolamsk and the Kirillo-Belozersk monastery.<sup>5</sup> In 1493 and 1495, several of the books on Gennady's list were sent by Abbot Dosifey to his Monastery of the Saviour on Solovetsky Islands. These, *Selivestr*, *Kozma prozviter*, *Proroch'stva*, *Deonisy Areopagit*,<sup>6</sup> had been copied in Novgorod, as stated in Dosifey's inscription:

при ... князи велицем Ивани Васильевичи всея Руси при митрополите Зосиме и при архиепископе ... Генадии Новгородстем и при намеснике великого князя Якова Захарьича.<sup>7</sup>

Gennady's and Dosifey's lists give only brief names; the identities of all the works to which these apply have not yet been fully established, as can be seen from an examination of the first of Gennady's titles.

*Selivestr papa Rimsky* refers to Pope Silvester I (314-355), frequently mentioned in Russian sources as a defender of the Orthodox faith at the First

1. Published by Sobolevsky, 'Perevodnaya literatura', pp.413-8

2. *ibid.*, p.413

3. see above, ch.II, pp.37-9

4. see above, ch.II, p.55

5. *AED*, pp.136, 140

6. Rozov, 'Solovetskaya biblioteka', pp.297-8

7. *ibid.*, p.297

Oecumenical Council at Nicaea (against the heresy of Arius).<sup>1</sup> In Lur'e's opinion, this title represents *Deyanie svyatogo Silivestra*,<sup>2</sup> in which Silvester's defence of the Trinity is described in detail.<sup>3</sup> The oldest Russian version of the *Deyanie* is found in Makary's *Chet'i Minei* of the mid-sixteenth century; Lur'e notes, but dismisses, the identification of Gennady's *Selivestr* with *Donatio Constantini*,<sup>4</sup> one of the legends incorporated in the *Povest' o novgorodskom belom klobuke*.<sup>5</sup> This identification should, perhaps, be revived: the earliest known manuscript of the *Donatio* appears in a *sbornik*<sup>6</sup> written by Ивашко Чръной, что книги пишет,<sup>7</sup> one of those who *khodil* to Fedor Kuritsyn - as Gennady learnt from his interrogation of the priest Naum a year before sending his booklist to Ioasaf.<sup>8</sup>

The identity of *Afanasy Aleksandriysky* is easier to establish, for we know that a copy of a work of the same title was sent by Gennady to Iosif.<sup>9</sup> Among the fifteenth-century manuscripts from the Volokolamsk library, Sedel'nikov found one containing a version of St Athanasius' tract 'Against the Arians',<sup>10</sup> copied by one Timofey Veniaminov,<sup>11</sup> a scribe at Gennady's court.<sup>12</sup> In view of the fact that several Russian manuscripts of the Athanasius polemic are entitled simply *Afanasy Aleksandriysky*,<sup>13</sup> it seems very likely that Gennady was referring to Athanasius' 'Against the Arians'.

It is not only at Gennady's court that versions of the Athanasius tract were copied. A seventeenth-century manuscript in the Uvarov collection<sup>14</sup>

1. Thus, in the warning to the newly-baptized Prince Vladimir of Kiev against the 'corrupt teaching' of the Latins, *Silivestr* (and Athanasius of Alexandria) is praised as a representative of the early, uncorrupted, 'oecumenical' Christian Church. (*Povest' vremenykh let*, vol.1, p.79)

2. *AED*, p.137. Also known under the title

Слово святаго Селивестра, папы Римскаго, чудо и прение с жидами о вере Христове. GPB, Q.1.1012, f. 22v. See Bychkov, *Katalog*, vol.1, p.102.

3. *ibid.*, p.137, n.18

4. see above, ch.III, p.109, n. 1.

5. Rozov, 'Povest' o novgorodskom belom klobuke', pp.188-9

6. *BIL*, Und.No.1; for a description of this MS. see *RD*, pp.41-56

7. *AED*, p.380. Klibanov's identification of Cherny as the compiler of this *sbornik* (*RD*, pp.55-6) was confirmed by Kloss, who was also able to date the *sbornik* to 1482-3 (Kloss, 'Knigi', pp.68-9)

8. see above, ch.II, p.54

9. *AED*, p.140

10. see Arkhangel'sky, 'Tvoreniya ottsov', pp.3-5

11. Sedel'nikov, 'K izucheniyu', pp.222-3

12. see above, ch.II, p.40

13. *AED*, p.138, n.22

14. *GIM*, Uvar.No.270. See Leonid, *Sistematicheskoe opisanie*, vol.1, p.258

carries the following inscription:

Блаженнаго Афанасия Прение со Арием еретиком ... от Рима  
принесену тому в Русскую землю к великому князю Ивану  
Васильевичу ... он же ... повеле перевести на русский язык  
Мануилу гречину ... а переводил з благовещенским протопопом  
Феодором.<sup>1</sup>

A fragment of *Afanasii* appears also in a *sbornik* of the early sixteenth century,<sup>2</sup> among such anti-heretical tracts as *O armynekh, o fryazekh i o latynokh*, along with two fragments connected directly with the Judaizers: the *chelobitnaya* of the heretic Denis<sup>3</sup> and the oldest known version of the *Iscodiki, skoe poslanie*.<sup>4</sup> The fragment begins:

Арие: не имеет сын ведати дне последняго. Атанасии: како же<sup>5</sup>  
нам мощно есть глаголати Господь Исус не весть дне скончанию

In Cennady's time it was not only Athanasius' defence of the Trinity which was felt to be topical.<sup>6</sup>

Cennady's next title, *Slovo Kormy provitera*, is clearly the *Beseda na kormy provitera* of the tenth century,<sup>7</sup> attributed by the Bulgarian priest Kozma in the tenth century.<sup>8</sup> Full texts of this work appear in Russian manuscripts

1. Sobolevsky, 'Perevodnaya literatura', p.260. The date of the translation cannot be established with any certainty, but it was probably made in the 1470's. The first envoy (St. III Palaeologus) was the grandson of the last Byzantine emperor, and the wife of Ivan III, Sophia Palaeologus, was his aunt. He may have come to Russia in her entourage in 1472, in 1488 he was already an ambassador (together with Dmitry Porev) from Ivan to Venice. He returned from this embassy in 1490 (Pierling, *Le Tzarisme*, pp.204-5), but must have left almost immediately, for in 1491 the chronicles record his return from an embassy to Rome (among others, he brought with him the unfortunate Jewish physician Leon, see above, ch.III, p.107) (*PSRL*, vol.6, p.37). His co-translator was probably the spiritual father of Ivan III who, according to Innocentius's account of the last days of St Pafnuty of Borovsk, was present at the saint's death-bed in May 1477 (Klyuchevsky, *Drevnerusskie zhitiya svyatykh*, p.449; Smirnov, *Drevnerusskiy dukhovnik*).

2. PAN, 4.3.15; see *Сборник рукописного отдела*, vol.3, pt.2, pp.115-8

3. see below, p. 163

4. see below, pp.171 et seq.

5. PAN, 4.3.15, §.2

6. see above, p. 152

7. An exhaustive study of this work was published by Pegunov in 1973: *Слово Провитера в славянской литературе* (hereafter LP). On the Rogosil heresy see Obolensky, *The Foreigners*, and idem, *The Byzantine Commonwealth*, pp.121-7

8. *ЖТ*, ch.4, esp. pp.195-221, 249-257

from the late fifteenth century; of the four known manuscripts of this period containing the *Beseda*<sup>1</sup> (or *Slovo*, as it is also commonly known in Russia<sup>2</sup>), three were written in the Novgorod see and all originated in the 1490's.<sup>3</sup> These manuscripts are very interesting. The earliest (GPB, Sol. 966/856) was copied in Novgorod sometime between 1491 and 1493,<sup>4</sup> either by<sup>5</sup> or for<sup>6</sup> Abbot Dosifey and comprises:

1. *BKP*, copied from a manuscript belonging to 'the archbishop' (*spisok vladyki*)<sup>7</sup> - presumably Gennady.
2. *Mnogoslozhny svitok*,<sup>8</sup> a Slavonic version of the spurious *Epistola ad Theophilum Imperatorem* quoted by Iosif in his letter to Nifont of Suzdal'.<sup>9</sup>
3. Fifteen tracts against the heresy of the Latins,<sup>10</sup> including the *Epistle* of Michael Cerullarius.<sup>11</sup>
4. A *Slovo* ascribed to John Chrysostom and two tracts on the Trinity.<sup>12</sup>
5. Three tracts on canonical and uncanonical books,<sup>13</sup> including the so-called *Pravilo Laodikiyskago sobora* which appears in Zosima's *Index*.<sup>14</sup>
6. A hagiography of Justinian and Theodora.<sup>15</sup>
7. *Pouchenie*, ascribed to John Climacus.<sup>16</sup>
8. Menological readings for the feast-days of SS. Varlaam, Paraskeva, Catherine, Virgilius and Vitus.<sup>17</sup>

The second of the four manuscripts (BIL, Vol. No.8) consists of two parts, written by two different scribes.<sup>18</sup> The first is dated 1494 and signed

1. Hereafter *BKP*.
2. *KP*, p.487
3. *ibid.*, p.74
4. Rozov, 'Solovetskaya biblioteka', pp.297-300
5. *KP*, p.74
6. Rozov, *op.cit.*, p.297
7. *KP*, p.483
8. *ibid.*, p.484
9. see above, ch.III, p. 99, n. 6.
10. *KP*, pp.484-5
11. see above, ch.II, p.30
12. *KP*, p.485
13. *ibid.*
14. *RIB*, vol.6, No.117, cols.788-94
15. *KP*, p.485
16. *ibid.*, 486
17. *ibid.*
18. *KP*, pp.486-7



identical with the rare one used in one MS. of the *Laodikiyskoe poslanie*. Others among the many glossae made by the *pravshchik* are also very interesting:

Владычице ... избави нас от всякиа *амтаp*<sup>1</sup>

- especially those on the closing folio of this MS:

От великого князя Ивана Васильевича всея Руси на Мологу  
волостелю моему, Ивашку Скрыбу бию ти челом; Подобаает убо нам от  
учители глаголемая разсмотретья и согласуемая Божественому  
Писанию приимати, а не согласуемых, яко чужих, зелне отвращати  
ся ...

Зачало премудрости страх Господень, разум же Бог дал есть кому же  
хочет. Помилуй мя, Боже, по велицей милости твоеи и по множеству.<sup>2</sup>

Might it not be possible that Ivashko Skryba(?) or Ivashko *scriba*  
is the *Ivashko Chr'noy, chto knigi pishet*<sup>3</sup> who edited several known MSS.  
of the late fifteenth century?<sup>4</sup>

Begunov divided all known compilations containing *BKP* into four groups,  
according to the convoy in which *BKP* is found. He places GPB, Sol.No. 966/  
856 in the first group (characterised by the presence of numerous polemical  
tracts against the Latins; he dates this group to the fifteenth century)<sup>5</sup>;  
BIL, Vol. No.8 and Kir.-Bel. No.150/1227 is the third group (containing  
anti-Jewish polemic: fifteenth century)<sup>6</sup>; and BIL, Und. No. 1081 (charac-  
terised by the presence of hagiographic works: first half of the fifteenth  
century)<sup>7</sup>. The earliest compilations of the second group, in which *BKP*  
is linked with the short redaction of the *Prosvetitel'*, belong to the  
late sixteenth century.<sup>8</sup>

While there can be no doubt that the 'first three groups are directly  
or indirectly connected with anti-Latin, anti-Jewish and anti-heretical  
polemic of the fifteenth-sixteenth centuries',<sup>9</sup> it is not proven that the

1. *KP*, p.490. *амтаp* may be a misreading of *амвта* (I was unable to consult the original MS.), or *греха*, according to a variant of the 'fourth letter substitution' *litoreya* used in the *Laodikiyskoe poslanie* (AED, p.265).

2. *KP*, p.490

3. see above, Ch. II, p. 53.

4. Kloss, 'Knigi', passim.

5. *KP*, pp.88-9

6. *ibid.*, p.90

7. *ibid.*, pp.90-1

8. *ibid.*, pp.89-90

9. *ibid.*, p.92

appearance of the *BKP* in MSS. of the late fifteenth century was due to 'the fact that the Novgorod heretics and their accusers were acquainted'<sup>1</sup> with Cosma's *Beseda*. Admittedly the manuscript tradition of the work provides confirmation that the accusers were acquainted with the *BKP* and, like the *pravila* to which Gennady refers in this letters, made use of it as a 'reference work' in anti-heretical polemic.<sup>2</sup> But there is no real justification for Begunov's hypothesis that a 'manuscript which, according to the evidence of Archbishop Gennady, belonged to the Novgorod heretics'<sup>3</sup> ever existed. One of the MSS. of *BKP* (Kir.-Bel. 150/1227) may, however, be linked with one of the Moscow Judaizers, Ivan Cherny.

*Kozma Prezviter* is followed in Gennady's list by the *Poslanie Foteya patriarkha ko knyazyu Borisu Bolgarskomu*. This work was until recently unknown in Russian manuscript, but in 1965 a study by Sinitsyna revealed that several MSS., mostly of the mid-sixteenth century and from Iosif's Volokolamsk monastery, have survived.<sup>4</sup> The letter, written by Photius ca. 865, 'expounds the doctrines of the church as defined by oecumenical councils, demonstrates the superiority of Christianity over paganism and, tempering classical wisdom with orthodox theology and ethics, paints an ideal portrait of a Christian philosopher-ruler'.<sup>5</sup> *Poslanie Foteya* was probably one of the sources made use of by Iosif in the *Prosvetitel'*,<sup>6</sup> - one of the MSS. (BIL, Vol. No. 506)<sup>7</sup> also contains *Mnogoslozhny svitok*<sup>8</sup> and *Menander*<sup>9</sup>.

1. *ibid.*, p.79

2. see above, ch.II, pp.26-31; ch.III, p. 95.

3. *KP*, p.74

4. Sinitsyna, 'Poslanie', p.96

5. Obolensky, *The Byzantine Commonwealth*, p.85

6. Especially the sections dealing with the history of the seven Councils (Sinitsyna, 'Poslanie', pp.102-110), the tenets of the Christian faith, explaining the orthodox attitude to the cross, icons, churches, graves, relics, etc., (pp. 110-1) and the duties of a Christian prince (pp.111-2).

7. Sinitsyna, 'Poslanie', p.99

8. see above, p. 92

9. see below, pp.159-60.

All the Biblical books in Gennady's list (*Proroch'stva, da Bytiya, da Tsar'stva, da Pritchi ... da Isus Sirakhov*) were undoubtedly considered canonical; they all appear in the *Kormchaya* list of canonical books of the Old Testament,<sup>1</sup> and were included in Gennady's Bible of 1499.<sup>2</sup>

Several years before copies were made in Novgorod of Gennady's Bible (and Dosifey's *Proroch'stva*<sup>3</sup>), the books listed by Gennady were copied in Moscow at the court of Ivan III. The *Bibleysky sbornik* in BIL, Und. No.1, was first identified as the work of Ivan Cherny by Klibanov,<sup>4</sup> who considered that the entire MS. was in the hand of this scribe; Kloss, however, has shown that this MS., completed in 1482-3, was copied by several scribes. Cherny wrote only a part of the *sbornik*, but supervised the whole work and edited it upon completion.<sup>5</sup>

With the exception of Ecclesiasticus (the Wisdom of Jesus, son of Sirach), the *Bibleysky sbornik* contains all the Biblical books listed by Gennady. The Old Testament Books of the Prophets were also copied in a separate MS. in the same scriptorium as the *Bibleysky sbornik*, though not with the actual participation of Ivan Cherny.<sup>6</sup>

Another copy of the Books of the Prophets was made in Moscow in 1489, as shown by the inscription on the opening folio of BIL, f.173, No.20:

“В лето 6998 декабря 25 написаны сия Божественныя пророческия книги в преименитом граде Москве Василию Мамыреву диаку.”<sup>7</sup>

Mamyrev, one of the most prominent of the grand princely *d'yaki* in the reigns of Vasily II and Ivan III,<sup>8</sup> has been described as a fifteenth-century Russian Maecenas;<sup>9</sup> there is evidence that he was responsible for the 'library' of Vasily and Ivan - the collection of books held in the Kremlin treasury.<sup>10</sup>

1. Sreznevsky, 'Obozrenie', p.65
2. *GN*, vol.1, pp.132-7
3. see above, p. 151.
4. *RD*, pp.41-56
5. Kloss, 'Knigi', pp.65-72. See below, pp.165-8 for a discussion of the nature of Cherny's editorial work.
6. *RD*, pp.57-8. The exact date of this 15th-16th century *sbornik* has not been established.
7. Kuchkin and Popov, 'Gosudarev d'yak', p.110
8. Veselovsky, *D'yaki i pod'yachie*, p.316
9. Popov, *Zhivopis' i miniatyura*, p.50
10. Kuchkin, 'Sud'ba "Khozheniya"', pp.69-70

He wrote an *Oktoikh* (GIM, Uvar. No.87) for this collection, and it was to him that the MS. of Afanasy Nikitin's *Khozhenie za tri morya* was brought in 1475 by Tver' merchants returning from a journey to Lithuania.<sup>1</sup> It is also known that he commissioned icons for the Church of the Annunciation in the Kremlin, the chapel of the grand princes: two of these icons can be identified because of their unusual iconography, which outraged Viskovaty, the *d'yak* of Ivan IV. He apparently regarded them as little short of heretical.<sup>2</sup>

Mamyrev's *Kniga Prorokov* is magnificently illuminated in a manner showing the influence of Western printed books, 'representing, in effect, a break with tradition'.<sup>3</sup>

Most of the books in Gennady's list are, as we have noted, obviously orthodox. However, the list includes two titles which, while not appearing on the Index of proscribed books, were not, on the other hand, among those recommended as *istinnye*. These are the *Menandr* and the *Logika*.

Lur'e cites a note which accompanies the *Menandra mudrogo razumi* in BIL, Troits. No. 730:

Сего в правилех не повелевает чести Меландра<sup>4</sup>

- in support of his theory that this collection of aphorism (which was what Gennady probably had in mind in his reference to Menander) differed sufficiently in its ethos from the religious literature common in the late fifteenth- early

1. Kuchkin and Popov, op.cit., pp.114-7

2. Andreyev, 'O dele', pp.198, 222, 239; Podobedova, *Moskovskaya shkola*, p.58; Popov, *Zhivopis' miniatyura*, p.66.

3. idem., p.46. Several other illuminated religious MSS. of the late fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries emanated from the same scriptorium, or were influenced by the work of its scribes. Among these were the *Slova Grigoriya Bogoslova* (BIL, f.304, No.177), and the so-called Buslaev and Trinity Psalters (BIL, f.304, Nos. 308 and 315), (Popov, *Zhivopis' i miniatyura*, pp.45-8). The name of Danila Kipriyanov Mamyrev, a relative of Vasily and, like him, a prominent *d'yak* in the service of the grand princes of Moscow, is associated with another fifteenth-century MS. - a copy of the *Shestodnev* of John Exarch (BIL, f.113, No.443), with illuminations based on a Greek or South Slav original (Popov, op.cit., p.50). Danila Mamyrev was mainly active in the 'foreign service' of Ivan III, during whose reign he attained the rank of *kaznachey* (Veselovsky, *D'yaki i pod'yachie*, p.316). He collaborated with Fedor Kuritsyn (e.g. *RIO*, vol.35, No.61, p.283).

4. *AED*, p.144

sixteenth centuries to be considered dangerous.<sup>1</sup> But there is little evidence that *Menandr* was ever regarded as being outside the category of instructive writings. It survives in various fifteenth- and sixteenth-century MSS;<sup>2</sup> it is found in *sborniki* together with such items as Gennady's letter to Ioasaf,<sup>3</sup> Photius' letter to Boris, and the *Mnogoslozhny svitok*.<sup>4</sup> In one early sixteenth-century *sbornik*,<sup>5</sup> probably copied from a late fifteenth-century Novgorod protograph, it appears together with a version of the *Beseda Kozmy Prezvitiera*, and excerpts from the Bible, the Fathers and other canonical literature. A *Skazanie Menandra filosofa* was translated by Maksim the Greek.<sup>6</sup> Finally, as Klibanov noted, one Russian manuscript attributes the aphorisms of Menander to St John the Theologian.<sup>7</sup>

*Logika* is the only one of Gennady's titles which it has been difficult to identify. In a sixteenth-century Russian MS. Sobolevsky discovered a work entitled *Rechi Moyseya Egiptyanina*,<sup>8</sup> consisting of a Russian version (rather than a translation) of a treatise on logic by the twelfth-century Hebrew philosopher Moses ben Maimon (published in Venice in 1550 under the title *Voces logicae*), and of fragments from an eleventh-century mathematical treatise by the Arab philosopher Al-Gazali (Aviasaf).<sup>9</sup> This, taken together with the fact that the Russian title of the work does not even include the word *Logika*, casts doubt on the generally accepted identification of Sobolevsky's *Rechi* with the *Logika* of Gennady's list.<sup>10</sup> There does exist another treatise

1. *AED*, p.143-4
2. In her study of secular literature in the MS. collections of monastic libraries, Dmitrieva cites the *Mudrosti Menandra Mudrogo* as an example of the works most commonly found (Dmitrieva, 'Svetskaya literatura', p.150).
3. *AED*, p.143, n.45
4. BIL, Vol. No. 506. See above p. 99, n. 6.
5. BIL, Troits. No. 770. Begunov, *Kozma Prezviter*, p.81
6. Sobolevsky, 'Perevodnaya literatura', p.278
7. Klibanov, 'K probleme', p.178; cf. Arkhangel'sky, *Nil Sorsky*, p.198
8. Sobolevsky, op.cit., pp.401-9. See above, pp.
9. Ryan, *Astronomical and Astrological Terminology*, p.54
10. *IB*, pp.194-5

on logic to which Gennady might possibly have been referring: the *ἐπιτομή λογική* in 40 chapters, by Nicephorus Blemmid <sup>1</sup> (mudreyshi Vlemmida<sup>2</sup>), Patriarch of Constantinople ca. 1255. However, only one of his numerous works is known in Russian manuscripts of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, the *Izbranie psalom*,<sup>3</sup> so until a Russian MS. of his *Logika* is discovered, this must remain a hypothesis.

The last of Gennady's titles is *Deonisey Areopagit*. Quotations from pseudo-Dionysius Areopagite are very common in Russian sources: he is used, among others, by Photius in his letter to the Pskovites against the *strigol'niki*<sup>4</sup> and by Iosif of Volokolamsk in the *Prosvetitel'*.<sup>5</sup> A copy of *Areopagit* was made for Dosifey in Novgorod<sup>6</sup> and pseudo-Dionysius appears in several Russian MSS., the earliest from the late fourteenth century.<sup>7</sup> Among the many MSS. of this work is a fifteenth-century copy with a scribe's colophon ending in a doubly-coded amen: The word *arip'* (*amin'* in *prostaya litoreya*) written in Permian characters.<sup>8</sup> Since the use of Permian as a secret alphabet is associated primarily with the Moscow scriptorium of the grand princes,<sup>9</sup> it is a fair assumption that this MS. originated from the same source.

Who, then, were the heretics who possessed 'all the books' named by Gennady? On the one hand, there survives no single manuscript which can be linked incontrovertibly with the heretics of Novgorod.<sup>10</sup> On the other hand, several of the works in Gennady's list were, as we know, copied in Moscow prior to 1490 by *d'yaki* serving the grand prince, and two of them at least were written with the participation of Ivan Cherny; and he, as Gennady says in the letters to the metropolitan and bishops, was an associate of heretics - if not a heretic himself.<sup>11</sup> The works which Gennady mentions to Prokhor.

1. *MPG*, vol.142, cols. 685-1004

2. Popov, *Obzor*, p.298

3. see below, p. 162.

4. *AED*, p.252

5. e.g. in his defence of icons, *AED*, p.349

6. see above, p. 151. See also Sedel'nikov, 'K izucheniyu', pp.223-5

7. *RD*, pp.316, 325-7.

8. *ibid.*, p.37, n.15

9. Speransky, 'Taynopis'', p.72

10. It cannot be assumed that all manuscripts written by heretics were destroyed for works signed by Ivan Cherny and Fedor Kuritsyn are still extant.

11. see above, ch.11, p.57

copied on his orders in Novgorod after 1490, had most probably been copied or acquired sometime before that year by the grand prince's scriptorium, where Ivan Cherny and other colleagues of the *nachal'nik tem vsem zlodeem* Fedor Kuritsyn<sup>1</sup> were working. They were the 'heretics' spoken of by Gennady in his letter to Ioasaf.

Before turning to the fourth category of the 'literature of the Judaizers', mention must be made of the psalms spoken of by Gennady in the letter to Prokhor. Objections, first raised by Sobolevsky,<sup>2</sup> to the identification of these with the *Psalms of Fedor the Jew*<sup>3</sup> seem convincing, although it is true that Gennady did send Metropolitan Geronty a copy of the

тетрати, по чему они молились по-жидовскы

and advised Prokor:

и ты тамо узришь все что ся как чинило, и как ли превращены псалмы на их обычай.<sup>4</sup>

It is not known how Geronty or Prokhor responded, and no manuscript of Gennady's *tetrati* has been found. There is a possibility that the *psalmy* he sent to Geronty are the same as those contained in a manuscript of the late fifteenth century, from the Synod library collection (GIM, Sin., No.408/713).<sup>5</sup> These are the *Psaltyr' s pesnyami bibleyskimi*, and an unusual selection of psalms headed:

Никифора Влемида любомудрьца, избрание псалом на царьския праздники.<sup>6</sup>

There are many differences between the text of these psalms and that of the Russian printed Psalter; the selection of readings for feast days and saints' days differs also.<sup>7</sup> This *Izbranie psalom* is followed by Metropolitan Zosima's *Izveshchenie paskhalii*<sup>8</sup> and the manuscript in which it appears was a donation of Metropolitan Geronty to the Church of the Deposition; it is very probable, therefore, that this copy of Nicephorus Blemmid. psalms came from the 'library' of the Moscow metropolitans. It may well be what we have here are the *psalmy prevrashcheny na ikh obychay*: not exactly heretical, but

1. see above, ch.II, p. 57

2. Sobolevsky, 'Perevodnaya literatura', pp.399-400.

3. see above, ch.II, p.32, n.2

4. *AED*, p.310

5. *GN*, vol.3, pp.426-31

6. *ibid.*, p.427

7. *ibid.*, p.427

8. see above, ch.III, pp. 82-3.

differing sufficiently from psalms in common use as to qualify for the Index of forbidden books, under the heading of *mirski sostavlennye psalmy*.<sup>1</sup>

The only evidence we have for the existence of a 'literature of the Novgorod Judaizers' is the *tetrati* alluded to in Gennady's letter to Prokhor, whereas we are better informed of the writings of the accused Muscovites; several MSS., copied, edited and written by them, have survived. Among the sources directly traceable to the heretics (as authors rather than as copyists or editors), is a fragment ascribed to the priest Denis,<sup>2</sup> condemned by the Moscow Council of 1490:

Иже о Святем Дусе избранному пастырю ... святейшему архиепископу  
Зосиме Денисьице з горькими слезами челом бьетъ .... заблужшаго  
скотьски и от пути истиннаго невъздержанием языка злым ...  
настави, государь, на путь истинный, научи мя, государь,  
творити волю Божию.<sup>3</sup>

This admission of *nevozderzhanie yazyka*, as Lur'e points out, can hardly be classed among the literature of the Novgorod heretics<sup>4</sup> - not merely because of its fragmentary state, but also because there exists no proof that Denis was guilty of heretical activities in Novgorod.<sup>5</sup> His recantation is curiously devoid of all reference to heresy: *nevozderzhanie yazyka* is closer to treason against the state, to the crime committed by Munt Tatishchev who, in 1488, also suffered a *torgovaya kazn'*, and only narrowly escaped having his tongue cut out for spreading the rumour that Ivan III was planning to arrest his brother, Andrey of Uglich.<sup>6</sup>

The writings of the Moscow Judaizers are known to us through their activities as *d'yaki* in the service of the grand prince. Foremost among those whose names have survived in the sources was Ivan Cherny, who - unlike his fellow-accused, the Kuritsyn brothers - has left little trace, other than in the MSS. he himself wrote or edited. The first mention of him occurs in 1490, in the two letters from Gennady to the metropolitan and bishops attending the Council in Moscow.<sup>7</sup> From these letters it is evident that Gennady had

1. *RIB*, vol.6, No.117, col.788

2. see above, ch.11, p.65-6

3. *AED*, p.388

4. *IB*, p.186

5. see above, ch.11, p.67

6. *PSRL*, vol.6, p.238

7. see above, ch.11, pp.54, 57-8

learnt of his existence in 1488, in the interrogation of Samsonko.<sup>1</sup> By 1490, it seems, Ivan Cherny was already dead:

да тех проклятью предати, которые исчезли от жития сего: Алексей протопоп, да Истома, да Ивашко Чръной что збежал с Зубовым, да и в жидовскую веру стали.<sup>2</sup>

It is not clear whether *Cherny zbezhal z Zubovym* from Novgorod to Moscow like the other, unnamed, Novgorod heretics who, according to Gennady's testimony in the same two letters, *zbezhal na Moskvu*,<sup>3</sup> or whether we are to credit the testimony of Iosif of Volokolamsk, who suggests that Ivan Cherny fled from Moscow to an unspecified destination.<sup>4</sup> This latter evidence is expanded by the *Poslanie o soblyudenii sobornogo prigovora*, thus:

(Aleksey and Denis) прельстили ... якож некоторым отбегнути за море к жидовом и обрезать в жидовскую веру, от купцов убо Игнат Зубов, от крылошан же Ивашко Черной имнози.<sup>5</sup>

But if Cherny had indeed escaped *za more*, how would Gennady have known of his death? It appears more probable that, sometime before 1485, he had left Novogord for Moscow.

By 1485 he was definitely in Moscow, for a copy of the *Ellinsky letopisets* in the Lenin library includes in its colophon the following information:

Написана быс сия книги вдни благочестиваго великаго князя Ивана Василиевича ... в преименитом и велицем граде Москве лету суцу 6993 месяца иулиа 22 индиктиона втораго.<sup>6</sup>

In his analysis of the text of this *Ellinsky letopisets*,<sup>7</sup> Likhachev showed that it is in the so-called second version of the work, and is based on a Novgorod protograph.<sup>8</sup> This suggests the interesting possibility that the protograph of the grand prince's *EL-2* was brought from Novgorod to Moscow sometime prior to 1485.

1. See above, Ch. II, pp.54, 57-8.

2. *AED*, p.376

3. *ibid.*, p.375

4. *ibid.*, p.481

5. *ibid.*, p.506

6. *ibid.*, pp.278-80

7. hereafter *EL-2*

8. Likhachev, 'Ellinsky letopisets', pp.109-10

From the colophon of Cherny's *EL-2* we gather that the grand prince's scriptorium was certainly as large as Gennady's, if not larger. Kloss' analysis of Cherny's work on the MSS. produced there suggests that he was the head of the twenty-four scribes mentioned. He was responsible for distribution of work on a given MS. among several scribes, was responsible for correction and editing, and it was he who usually wrote the most important parts of each MS. - the introduction, headings and colophon.<sup>1</sup>

In addition to *EL-2*, three further MSS. are known to have emanated from the scriptorium headed by Cherny, and two others (GIM, Uvar. No.18<sup>2</sup> and GPB, Kir.-Bel. No.150/1227<sup>3</sup>) can be tentatively attributed to him. Between 1482 and 1483 he completed the work on the grand prince's copy of the *Bibleysky sbornik* (BIL, Und. No.1<sup>4</sup>), in 1487 he signed and dated a copy of the *Lestvitsa* of John Climacus (GIM, Uvar. No. 447<sup>5</sup>), and sometime before 1490 he edited a copy of the *Kniga prorochestv* (GPB, No. F.1.3<sup>6</sup>). The MSS. produced in Cherny's scriptorium are characterised by careful editing and the presence of numerous glossae, many of them written in Permian.

Klibanov's deductions, made from his analysis of the texts edited by Cherny, are worthy of Gennady himself. A phrase written in Permian on f.408 of *EL-2*:

Слава съвершителю Богу

interpreted as the 'thanks given by a Christian with monotheistic tendencies',<sup>7</sup> he takes as one of the proofs that Cherny was a heretic, for 'if these words had not been written by a heretic there would have been no need to use Permian'.<sup>8</sup> Since Permian would have been readily intelligible to most of the Kremlin scribes, among whom it was in current use, we can hardly accept this proof - unless we are to assume that all, from Mamyrev<sup>9</sup> onward, were involved in a

1. Kloss, 'Knigi', pp.61-5

2. *ibid.*, p.61

3. see above, pp. 155-6.

4. see above, p.158

5. *RD*, p.58

6. see above, p. 155

7. *RD*, p.40

8. *ibid.*, p.40, n.21; cf. *AED*, p.280

9. Mamyrev used Permian in his copy of the *Oktoikh* (Kuchkin and Popov, 'Gosudarev d'yak', p. 116.

heretical conspiracy. Likewise, Cherny's paraphrase of Matthew, ххii,37-40:

Влажени любящеи Бога от всея души и ближняго, яко ти помиловани  
будут. Сие заповедаю вам реч, да любите друг друга, ибо весь  
закон едином словом скончается, еже любити Бога и ближняго ...<sup>1</sup>

expresses, according to Klibanov, 'the central idea of the religious teaching of the Novgorod-Moscow heretics: God is love'.<sup>2</sup>

The position of the glossae (mainly *zri*, *udobno* and *divno*, but in some cases *smotri* interpreted by Klibanov as proof of the desire of the Judaizers to replace Church Slavonic by their more accessible native language<sup>3</sup>), also affords him evidence of the beliefs of the Novgorod heretics. The texts marked by the glossae he sees as specifically condemning false prophets, miracle workers, unworthy clergy and monks, and providing instances, from holy writ, of Sabbath observation.<sup>4</sup>

Judging, however, from the glossae published by him in *AED*, their position in the text is primarily governed by two considerations: either to point out references to ritual, or errors in the text.<sup>5</sup>

Among the quotations belonging to the first category are:

Образ же даша нам празновати святую Пасху, якож держим.  
Неции же от пръвых человекъ в 14 луне празднують.<sup>6</sup>

Седьмь днии квас да ся не явить в домох ваших, всяк иже аще  
сде зри ясть квасно погубитись душа та от сънма сынов израилев ...  
да ясте оперснокы<sup>7</sup>

1. *AED*, p.280

2. *ibid.*, p.278

3. *RD*, p.59

4. *AED*, p.280-1

5. The text of the Biblical quotations in *AED* had been compared with the text of the MSS. used by Cherny. Unfortunately I have been unable to compare the texts of BIL, Und. No.1 and BIL, Muz. No.397 with the MSS. used by Cherny for his corrections.

6. *AED*, p.284

7. *ibid.*, p.285

- зри И Бог сълиян да не сотвориши себе. <sup>1</sup> Праздник опресночны снабдиши 7 днѣи и да яси опресноки.
- зри И глаголе Господь к Аарону, реки: вина да олуда да не пиете ты и сына твоя с тобою, егда входите в храм сведения ... да не умрете закон вечныи в рожения их. <sup>2</sup>
- зри о браде И да не бриете брад ваших ... <sup>3</sup>
- зри Мертвечины и звероядины да не ясте, осквернаватися в них. <sup>4</sup>

- and among those of the second category:

смотри И реч Господь ... мужу аще будет излиание от тела его. <sup>5</sup>

Библейский сборник

Ostrog Bible

зри дивно дивно 0 суботе. И беаху сынове иизраилевы в пустыни и обретоша мужа беруща дрова в день суботныи ... И реч Господь к Моисею ... глаголя: Смертию да не будет человек, побиите его камениемъ весь сънм сынов иизраелевых, якоже повеле Господь Моисею. <sup>6</sup>

И рече господь моисею и сынов израиловых в пустыни и обретоша мужа беруща дрова в день суботныи ... И рече господь к моисею глаголя: смертию да не будет человек, побиите его камениемъ весь сънм сынов израиловых, якоже повеле господь моисею.

Библейский сборник

Ostrog Bible

зри Зачало премудрости стяжати премудрость и в всем стяжании твоём стяжи разум и огради его, възнесеть тя почти ёго и обоиметь тя, да дасть твоей главе венець благодатен венцем же пица защититъ тя. <sup>8</sup>

Зачало премудрости стяжати премудрость и в всем стяжании твоём стяжи разум и огради его, възнесеть тя почти ёго и обоиметь тя, да дасть твоей главе венець благодатен венцем же пица защититъ тя.

1. *ibid.*, p.287  
2. *ibid.*, p.288. This quote may also belong to the 2nd category, cf. from \* with Lev. x,9:

3. *AED*, p.289  
 4. *ibid.*, p.289  
 5. *ibid.*, p.288. *супр. тек. к. 10. 11. 12. 13. 14. 15. 16. 17. 18. 19. 20. 21. 22. 23. 24. 25. 26. 27. 28. 29. 30. 31. 32. 33. 34. 35. 36. 37. 38. 39. 40. 41. 42. 43. 44. 45. 46. 47. 48. 49. 50. 51. 52. 53. 54. 55. 56. 57. 58. 59. 60. 61. 62. 63. 64. 65. 66. 67. 68. 69. 70. 71. 72. 73. 74. 75. 76. 77. 78. 79. 80. 81. 82. 83. 84. 85. 86. 87. 88. 89. 90. 91. 92. 93. 94. 95. 96. 97. 98. 99. 100.*  
 6. *ibid.*, p.290  
 7. Num. xv,32-36  
 8. *AED*, p.292  
 9. Prov. iv, 7-9 ...

Lev. xv,2 The repetition of мужу in the Ostrog Bible at end and beginning of two consecutive lines is evidently due to error.

## The glossae in the first category

Библейский сборник

зри В пръвыи же месяц третии день месяца  
Пасху Господу и в 15<sup>1</sup> день месяца  
седмаго празник ...

Сърны Bible

В пръвыи же месяц третии день месяца  
Пасху Господу и в 15<sup>1</sup> день месяца  
седмаго празник ...

Книга пророчеств

удобно Сег дея пожах пророкы ваша и побих  
я словесем уст Моих ...<sup>3</sup>

Сърны Bible

Сег дея пожах пророкы ваша и побих  
я словесем уст Моих ...<sup>4</sup>

are not confined to references to Sabbath observation, but deal also with other questions of ritual (e.g. unleavened bread and regulations regarding fasts). Whether or not this implies an element of criticism of the ritual accepted in the Orthodox church it is difficult to say; the one thing that can be stated with certainty is that Cherny's careful approach to his texts is very much in evidence - here as well as in the glossae indicating errors in the text.<sup>6</sup>

Among the grand prince's *d'yaki* accused of heresy, Ivan Cherny was not the only one whose writings have survived. Ivan Volk Kuritsyn, burnt at the stake in 1504, has been identified as the copyist of a fifteenth-century manuscript of the *Kormchaya* (BIL, MDA. No. 187).<sup>7</sup> However, as Lur'e has already pointed out, this *Kormchaya*, in a standard redaction employed by copyists both before and after Volk Kuritsyn, provides little evidence of the *mirovozzrenie* of the Moscow heretics - despite Begunov's attempts to prove the contrary.<sup>8</sup>

1. *AED*, p.291

2. Num. xxviii, 16-19

3. *AED*, p.293

4. Hosea, vi, 5

5. It is interesting to note, however, that several of the references point to aspects of ritual over which the attitude of the Orthodox church was somewhat contradictory. Thus the Roman Catholics were accused of 'judaizing' because they used unleavened bread for communion and at the same time they were criticized for shaving their beards. See above, ch.II, p.30

6. Other examples of textual corrections and interpolations, some in Permian, are given by Kloss, 'Knigi', pp.65-72

7. Begunov, 'Kormchaya Ivana Volka Kuritsyna'

8. *IB*, p.93. Lur'e, in our view correctly, also dismisses Klibanov's (*AED*, pp.299-305) attempt to use one of the sections of the *Bibleysky sbornik*, an attack on the rigorism of an heretical sect, as evidence of the anti-monasticism of the Novgorod-Moscow heretics (*IB*, p.93, n.60)

Ivan Volk's brother, Fedor Kuritsyn, has been credited with<sup>169</sup> the authorship of two works: the Russian version of the *Tale of Dracula*<sup>1</sup>, and the so-called *Laodikiyskoe poslanie*, a short and obscure passage of verse(?) accompanied by an equally obscure alphabetical table in squares, or *Litoreya v kvadratakh*.<sup>2</sup> Kuritsyn's role in the service of the grand prince and the works ascribed to him have probably provided more material for speculation as to the nature of the Judaizers' heresy than all the sources discussed so far. His work therefore is deserving of detailed attention.

Fedor Kuritsyn, one of the most important *d'yaki* in the 'diplomatic service' of Ivan III,<sup>3</sup> was sent in 1482 on an embassy to the court of Matthias Corvinus.<sup>4</sup> On the way back from Buda, in 1484, he visited the court of Stephen IV of Moldavia,<sup>5</sup> and while there he was taken prisoner and held for a few months by representatives of the Sultan in Akkerman. Sometime early in 1485 he was released, thanks to the mediation of Khan Mengli Girey,<sup>6</sup> and by August 1485<sup>7</sup> was back in Moscow.

He probably brought with him the Russian version of the story of Dracula, or Vlad IV, ruler of Eastern Wallachia, whose legendary cruelty earned him the soubriquet *Țepeș* - Impaler.

The oldest MSS. of the *Skazanie o Drakule vоеvode*,<sup>8</sup> as the Russian version of the story is called, is signed by the monk Efrosin:

В лето 6994 февраля 13 прежь писал, та же в лето 6998  
генваря 28 вдругье переписах, аз грешны Ефросин.<sup>10</sup>

and consists of a series of loosely linked anecdotes about the 'acts' of Dracula. Apart from a cursory introduction to the 'hero' of the anecdotes:

Бысь в Мунтянской земли греческия веры христианин воевода  
именем Дракула влашеским языком, а нашим диавол. Толико  
зломудр, яко же по имени его, тако и житие его.<sup>11</sup>

1. Published, with a commentary, by Lur'e: *Povest' o Drakule*
2. *AED*, pp.256-76
3. see above, ch.III, p.129.
4. *PSRL*, vol.25, p.329
5. *RIO*, vol.41, No.11, p.41
6. Paid for in cash by Ivan III; *RIO*, vol.41, No.13, p.47
7. Connell, *Ivan the Great*, pp.113-4
8. Texts published by Lur'e, *Povest' o Drakule*, p.117 et seq.
9. See Lur'e, *Literaturnaya deyatel'nost'*, pp.139-43
10. Lur'e, *Povest'*, p.122
11. *Ibid.*, p.117

The *Skazanie* has no beginning; neither has it an end. After the final episode, telling the story of Dracula's death, a short passage brings the reader up to the 'present day', with an account of the fate of Dracula's descendants:

Корол же сестру свою взят, и со двема сынми, в Угорскую землю на Будин .... а третьяго сына ... тут же на Будину видехом ... еще не женився, прижил его Дракула с единою девкою .... И ныне воевода на Мунтьянской земли Влад, иже бывы чернецъ и игумен.<sup>1</sup>

and with this the *Skazanie* is concluded.

The loose anecdotal structure of the *Skazanie o Drakule* reflects the oral tradition on which it is based,<sup>2</sup> and distinguishes this work from other *Povesti* of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries with which it is usually classed.<sup>3</sup> The *Skazanie* is not a literary re-working of the anecdotes about Dracula, nor a series of *novellae* as Lur'e terms the component episodes of this work:<sup>4</sup> it simply recounts several curious stories about Dracula which attracted the narrator.

One such episode not apparently found in any other contemporary version of the Dracula tale and longer than other episodes of the *Skazanie* tells the story of a Polish envoy to Dracula's court who saves himself from the stake by acknowledging Dracula's right to impale him:

аще достойное смерти соделал буду, твори еже хочещи. Праведный бо еси судия; не ты повинен моей смерти, но аз сам ...

and concludes:

Таков обычай имеаше Дракула: отколе к нему приходяше посол ... неизящен и не умеяше против кознем кто отвещати, то на кол его всажаше ...<sup>5</sup>

The interest of the narrator, evidently a Russian who had visited the court of Matthias Corvinus in Buda,<sup>6</sup> in Dracula's treatment of ambassadors to his court, suggests that the *Skazanie* was brought to Russia by one of

1. Lur'e, *Povest'*, p. 122.

2. *ibid.*, pp.14-34.

3. *Russkie povesti*, pp.420-9; *Istoki russkoy belletristiki*, pp.369-72.

4. See Lur'e, *Povest'* (pp.32-3) for a schematic representation of the component episodes of known versions of the tale of Dracula.

5. Lur'e, *Povest'*, p. 120.

6. See above.

the men from the 'diplomatic service' of Ivan III. Since the *Skazanie* was written after 1481 (when Vlad the Monk became *voevoda*)<sup>1</sup> and before February 1486,<sup>2</sup> the attribution of the *Skazanie* to Fedor Kuritsyn or one of his colleagues seems very probable.<sup>3</sup>

It is this attribution that has prompted literary historians to investigate the 'ideology' of the work. Two directly opposite views were the result: the *Skazanie* has been seen as a glorification of the terrible ruler, cruel but just, or as a condemnation of tyranny.<sup>4</sup> Lur'e, noting the contradictions in the attitude of the *Skazanie* to its 'hero',<sup>5</sup> tried to resolve them by suggesting that the *Skazanie* expresses 'Machiavellian' attitudes, justifying cruelty in the cause of a just autocracy.<sup>6</sup>

Such contradictions are more easily explained by reference to the anecdotal structure of the work. The anecdotes were selected because they made interesting reading, not because they expressed the attitude of the narrator:

Глаголють же о немъ, яко, и в темници сядя, не остана своего злаго обычая, но мыши ловя и птици на торгу покупая, и тако казняше их, ову на кол посажаше, а иной главу отсекаше, а со инья перие ощипав, пускаше. И научися шити и тем в темници кормляшесь.<sup>7</sup>

The *Skazanie* does not have an 'ideology'. That in itself is interesting, for it is one of the few truly *nepoleznye povesti* in early Russian literature. Hence its fate in the sixteenth century when, like so many other secular works, the *Skazanie o Drakule* disappeared from manuscripts, to reappear only in the seventeenth century.<sup>8</sup>

*Laodikiyskoe poslanie*, in whole or, in part, appears on the other hand in numerous manuscripts of the sixteenth century, often with the signature

1. See above

2. See above, p. 169

3. See Lur'e, *Povest' o Drakule*, pp.35-44 for a discussion of the attribution.

4. *ibid.*, pp.11-13.

5. *ibid.*, p. 48.

6. *ibid.*, pp.48-57.

7. *ibid.*, pp.121-2.

8. *ibid.*, pp.72-7..

of Fedor Kuritsyn. It is composed of four parts, not always found together in the same manuscript.<sup>1</sup> The four parts are:

### 1. Verse

Душа самовластна, заграда ей вера,  
 Вера ставится пророк наказанием.  
 Пророк наказание исправляется чудотворением.  
 Чудотворения дар усиляет мудростию  
 Мудрости сила житие фарисейску.  
 Пророк его наука.  
 Наука преблагена есть.  
 Сею приходим в страх божий - начало добродетелем.  
 Сим съоружается душа.<sup>2</sup>

### 2. Introduction

А чорныя' слова ритор, а починаются четвертым словом, а к столповому слову се пристойт историк, чорныя слова сущее<sup>3</sup> знамение столпом. Различия: душа, сила и плоть и столп.

This is found at the beginning or end of

### 3. Alphabet in squares (the so-called *Litoreya v kvadratakh*).

This is in the form of a table divided into squares, each square containing 2 letters, descriptions of the letters and names of diacritics. The letters in the squares are arranged in alphabetical order, with one alphabet commencing in the first square and the other in the fourth. The table thus provides a simple 'fourth-letter substitution' code. Manuscript versions of the alphabet in squares are divided into two types. The first type (described by Lur'e as the Paschal type - P in table 1 below) commences with the *ritorskaya azbuka*;<sup>4</sup> in the second type (Grammatical -G) letters of the normal alphabet precede letters of the substitution code.<sup>5</sup> In some manuscripts the grammatical information contained in each square is presented with the letters of the normal alphabet, but not in the form of a table.<sup>6</sup>

1. See Table 1. Manuscripts are hereafter referred to by their number in this table.

2. This is the text found in the oldest known MS. of *Laodikiyskoe poslanie*, No. 1. Published in *AED*, p. 265. Variations cf. *ibid.*, pp.265 & 272.

3. Published in *AED*, p. 265; cf. *ibid.*, p. 276.

4. See plate 1; cf. *AED*, pp.266-70.

5. See plate 2; cf. *AED*, pp.272-3.

6. See plate 3. (plates 1-3, pp.173-5)





Душа самоощаєтнѣ, заградаєиѣра •  
 пѣрынаказаніє, славитса пррркомъ •  
 пррркъ старѣишинѣ, испрацѣетса •  
 чюдодпореніє мѣ • чюдодпореніа дарѣ •  
 мрстїю оу сїдѣтѣ • мрстїи сила фа  
 рїсеистпо житѣльство, проїєтѣ мѣ  
 наоука • наоука преблѣєнѣа, сеіогри  
 ходимѣ пѣстрахѣбѣжїи • сѣрахѣбѣжїи  
 начало добродѣтели, сїмѣ стѣ орѣ  
 жѣєтсѣ •  
 Душѣ •

Начаноеимачїєѣ • Три  
 ила • цѣо • цѣрѣ • цѣпѣ  
 строфѣ • Злєсрїпїа •  
 парїа •

Душа • сїдѣ • жєнѣскомѣ  
 їмени спєршєнїє •

Начаностопошри  
 иалѣ • парїа •

Плоттѣ • сила •

Дѣла  
 Не вѣстое и шоротъ, Фипотико  
 бо пѣ напыиой Гора, Шибтои  
 радола пайста. ище кюльце а по  
 дрѣмта, напыиойшомъ похрѣнномъ  
 Сакетѣи, шипотание Зураиче шпорѣ  
 ношнута Сираиъ, ношѣ прѣрѣста  
 ирауишъ Кастѣ ;  
 Зѣна Ринонадрѣтатое додрѣи, ии  
 порни нарицаѣтита, Зане дрѣмта по  
 мисротою аб-прѣнито, ибѣрною, и  
 трѣдоъ ибшаѣ тира ;  
 Дѣла Данадрѣтатое Знамта и шнѣиое.  
 ибѣрадрѣице рѣ шпш то дрѣмта  
 кѣдоиъ рапатошмита погуи мш  
 Фѣтита. лшлѣице ду рѣтѣ  
 ты пѣатѣ иице  
 и шнѣаѣ тита  
 иастаи  
 мѣ ;  
 ;

д  
 нагѣиое дрѣмта црѣ шолпѣомъ, нагѣиое  
 плѣтѣ шолпѣ плотѣ шолпѣ плѣтѣ.  
 шолпѣ плѣтѣ прикладѣ дрѣмта шолпѣ  
 плѣтѣ шолпѣ плѣтѣ шолпѣ шолпѣ  
 прикладѣ мѣрѣиша ирѣиши и мѣиши содрѣшѣ  
 нице. дрѣмта црѣ прикладѣ дрѣмта шолпѣ  
 плѣтѣ шолпѣ плѣтѣ шолпѣ плѣтѣ шолпѣ  
 плѣтѣ. прикладѣ, ирѣицеи мѣиши  
 содрѣшѣице, дрѣмта шолпѣ плѣтѣ шолпѣ  
 плѣтѣ шолпѣ плѣтѣ шолпѣ плѣтѣ  
 прикладѣ дрѣмта шолпѣ плѣтѣ шолпѣ плѣтѣ  
 шолпѣице иице шолпѣ плѣтѣ шолпѣ  
 плѣтѣ шолпѣ плѣтѣ шолпѣ и плѣтѣ  
 иицеице. прикладѣ мѣрѣиша и мѣиши содрѣ  
 шѣице, дрѣмта прикладѣ дрѣмта прикладѣ мѣрѣ  
 ша и мѣиши ирѣиши содрѣшѣице, дрѣмта при  
 кладѣ дрѣмта прикладѣ Задѣтѣиша плѣтѣ дрѣмта  
 родрѣтѣице ирѣицеи мѣиши содрѣшѣице ище  
 дрѣтѣице дрѣмта прикладѣ родрѣтѣице  
 дрѣтѣицеице дрѣмта шолпѣице Задѣтѣиша прикладѣ

4. Signature of Fedor Kuritsyn in code.<sup>1</sup> The first part of *Laodikiyskoe poslanie* (hereafter *LP*) the *Verse*, has received numerous interpretations. It was characterised by Lur'e as a series of aphorisms (with no known prototype) arranged according to a principle much favoured in early *Florilegii*:<sup>2</sup> the last word of each aphorism commences the next.<sup>3</sup> But according to Lur'e, and on this point all opinions of the *Verse* are unanimous, the aphorisms were selected to express one central idea. He sees the *Verse* as a symbolic expression of the superiority of revelation (the faith - *vera*, emanating from the prophet - *prorok* and strengthened by wisdom - *usilyaet mudrostiyu*) over the dogma formulated by the conciliar Church.<sup>4</sup>

Klibanov compared the *Verse* with *Napisanie o gramote*,<sup>5</sup> a work found in several MSS. containing *LP*,<sup>6</sup> and concluded that both were the work of Fedor Kuritsyn and express the same idea: knowledge, not faith, gives man freedom.<sup>7</sup> Stökl agrees that the *Verse* is in praise of knowledge, not as the achievement of man but the gift of the Creator.<sup>8</sup> This view of *LP* as a paean of praise to the *ars grammatica* based on a Christian tradition is shared by Freydank and Haney. Freydank suggests that the source of the *Verse* and the grammatical information contained in the *Alphabet in squares* is to be found in Patristic literature, and particularly the writings of Dionysius of Thrace;<sup>9</sup> in Haney's view the origins of the ideas in the *Alphabet* should be sought in the writings of the Greek philosophers, and concludes that the idea of Kuritsyn's link with any Judaizing movement must be viewed with suspicion.<sup>10</sup>

1. *AED*, pp. 272-6.

3. cf. Iosif of Volokolamsk, *AED*, p. 324.

2. *IB*, p. 172.

4. *ibid.*, p. 177.

5. Published by Jagić, *Codex*, pp.360-85.

6. See Table 2.

7. *RD*, p. 81.

8. Stökl, 'Das Echo', p. 421.

9. Freydank, 'Der "Laodicenserbrief"', p. 363.

10. Haney, 'The Laodicean Epistle', p. 842.

The existence of such a link is supported, on the other hand, by Ettinger,<sup>1</sup> Fine,<sup>2</sup> Kämpfer<sup>3</sup> and Maier,<sup>4</sup> who drew parallels between the *Verse* and ideas contained in Jewish theological writings. Maier argued that the *Verse* is a translation of an early example of synagogal poetry: Fairy von Lilienfeld has even translated the *Verse* into Hebrew and obtained a rhyming poem. She concludes that this, and the *Alphabet in squares* are an expression of the mystic philosophy of the relation between man and God contained in the Kabbalah.<sup>5</sup> The very existence of these interpretations, all of them closely argued from the text of the *Verse*, suggests that the central idea of this collection of obscure aphorisms (if such a central idea exists) can only be discovered if an exact prototype of these aphorisms is found.

The controversy over the meaning of the *Verse* will not be entered into here: it may be more fruitful to examine manuscripts of the *LP* to see how the *Verse* and the *Alphabet in or out of the Table of Squares*, were interpreted by the copyists of *LP*, thanks to whom this work has survived in at least 42 manuscripts.<sup>6</sup> Of these ten belong to the sixteenth century, four to the late sixteenth - early seventeenth, twenty-two to the seventeenth and six to the eighteenth century.

1. Ettinger, 'Jewish influence', p. 230.

2. Fine, 'Fedor Kuritsyn's "Laodikiyskoe poslanie"', p. 502.

3. Kämpfer, 'Zur Interpretation', pp.68-9.

4. Maier, 'Zum jüdischen Hintergrund', pp.11-12.

5. von Lilienfeld, 'Das Laodikijskoe poslanie', p. 23: idem., 'Kakuju erez' derzhal Fedor Kuricyn' (unpublished), Appendix C. There seems to be one basic objection to this theory: according to Scholem, until the expulsion of the Jews from Spain in 1492 'the Kabbalists ... were a small group of esoterics who had little desire to spread their ideas ... Kabbalism was essentially a privilege of the elect'; it was only in the second half of the sixteenth century that Kabbalistic ideas became more widespread. (Scholem, *Major Trends*, pp.244,35 seq.). It is not clear how Fedor Kuritsyn could have become acquainted with these ideas in the late fifteenth century.

6. In his most recent discussion of *LP*, Lur'e lists 39 MSS; I consulted three MSS. not previously cited. (See Table I). I am obliged to Yakov Solomonovich Lur'e and to the late Vladimir Ivanovich Malyshev for drawing my attention to MSS. Nos. 40 and 41 on this table. In the much cited MS. No. 3 I found an unpublished *Alphabet* (see Plate 3). Jagić (*Codex*, p. 670) cites another MS. of *LP*, Rumyantseva, No. 950 containing the *Verse*, the *Introduction* and the *Alphabet in squares*. This I was unable to locate. There is little doubt that more undiscovered MSS. of *LP* exist (*AED*, p. 257).

Lur'e divides most of the manuscripts of *LP* into two types, according to the convoy in which it is found. The first (MSS. No. 1-6) he names the Paschal type, since the oldest MSS. of this type contains only Paschal and astronomical information, and, apart from *LP*, no grammatical texts. The *Alphabet in squares* in MSS. of this type begins, as has been mentioned, with letters of the *ritorskaya azbuka*. Moreover, tables of the Paschal type contain a grammatical description of both letters in each square, rather than, as in Tables of the Grammatical type, describing only the letter of the normal alphabet.<sup>1</sup> The Grammatical type of *LP* is found, according to Lur'e in MSS. in which treatises on grammar predominate.<sup>2</sup>

As can be seen from Table 2, showing some of the texts most commonly found alongside *LP*, it is not the composition of the *sborniki* which divides MSS. of *LP* into two types. For example in MS. No 3<sup>3</sup> and No. 19, such a division would be somewhat artificial. In most of the *sborniki* containing *LP*, both grammatical and paschal information is found since both were part of the same learning. The popularity of the *Table of squares* in seventeenth century manuscripts may be partly explained by the fact that, like the *vrutselety*, *mirotvornye krugi* and other aids to Paschal calculations with which it is commonly found, it was not only instructive<sup>4</sup> but also decorative.<sup>5</sup>

It is not the composition of the *sborniki*, but the form of the *Alphabet in squares* which defines the two basic types of MSS. of *LP*. Comparison of the two types of *Alphabet in squares* shows them to be

1. *AED*, p. 257.

2. *ibid.*, p. 358.

3. This MS. is described, though not fully, in Jagić, *Codex*, pp.698-703.

4. The art of Paschal calculation without reference to written tables by the use of *vrutselety* required a familiarity with the alphabet:

0 азбуце.

Хотящему навикнути святых отец предаванию пасхального устройства, первые да научится азбуце по пяти перстом левая руки ...

(MS. No. 21, f. 140).

5. See plate 4.



closely related to each other and to the *Alphabet* without squares

(hereafter A):

P	G	A
столп мрачный, число начальное человек, приклад. царь, мужскому и женскому имени свершение, вариа закрытая, апостроф, столпы, душа и сила	Начальное имя человеку, приклад, слово царь, апостроф, закрытая, вариа, душа, сила, женскому имени свершение.	Начальное душа царь
Столп, число, отрыкаль, титла, вариа, апостроф, самодержец и сила, приклад, плоть и столп недвижимо <sup>1</sup>	столп, число, отрыкаль, титла, вариа, плоть, сила <sup>3</sup>	столп, плоть
Конец столпом черным, титла, подстолпа, приклад, мужскому имени свершение и женскому, апостроф, ерок, отрыкаль, плоть и душа, сила <sup>2</sup>	Приклад, мужскому и женскому имени свершение, апостроф, крючек, душа, сила <sup>4</sup>	приклад, мужеска имени и женска свершение <sup>5</sup>

The relationship between A, P and G has not been established, but it seems probable that G was the protograph of P, for the presentation of the information in the squares is far more logical in G. At a glance the reader can learn the grammatical terms which described each letter of the alphabet and find out with which diacritics a letter is used and what they are called: the letters of the code stand out clearly. The information contained in P is impossible to understand without reference to G, since the arrangement of the information within the squares in P completely obscures the relationship between the letters, the diacritics and the terms describing them.<sup>6</sup>

What is the relationship between A, P and G? An answer may lie in the tract<sup>7</sup> described by Klivanov as *Totkovanie na listov mu*<sup>8</sup>, and thought

1. *AD*, p. 265.

2. *ibid.*, p. 269.

3. *ibid.*, p. 273.

4. *ibid.*, p. 275.

5. Jagić, *Събор*, p. 419.

6. See plate 5.

7. Published by Jagić in *Събор*, pp. 413-5.

8. *RD*, p. 78.

пришла аби. а построу ф. б. ст. б. ла да а. р. и. а. е. а. н. а. л. а. л. а. ж. с. а. г. о. б. и. м. е. н. и. с. о. п. е. р. ш. е. е. а. б. р. г. а. м. и. т. о. с. т. р. е. м. а. а. ш. а. н. е. м. л. а.	пришла аби. а построу ф. б. ст. б. ла да а. р. и. а. е. а. н. а. л. а. л. а. ж. с. а. г. о. б. и. м. е. н. и. с. о. п. е. р. ш. е. е. а. б. р. г. а. м. и. т. о. с. т. р. е. м. а. а. ш. а. н. е. м. л. а.	пришла аби. а построу ф. б. ст. б. ла да а. р. и. а. е. а. н. а. л. а. л. а. ж. с. а. г. о. б. и. м. е. н. и. с. о. п. е. р. ш. е. е. а. б. р. г. а. м. и. т. о. с. т. р. е. м. а. а. ш. а. н. е. м. л. а.	пришла аби. а построу ф. б. ст. б. ла да а. р. и. а. е. а. н. а. л. а. л. а. ж. с. а. г. о. б. и. м. е. н. и. с. о. п. е. р. ш. е. е. а. б. р. г. а. м. и. т. о. с. т. р. е. м. а. а. ш. а. н. е. м. л. а.
пришла аби. а построу ф. б. ст. б. ла да а. р. и. а. е. а. н. а. л. а. л. а. ж. с. а. г. о. б. и. м. е. н. и. с. о. п. е. р. ш. е. е. а. б. р. г. а. м. и. т. о. с. т. р. е. м. а. а. ш. а. н. е. м. л. а.	пришла аби. а построу ф. б. ст. б. ла да а. р. и. а. е. а. н. а. л. а. л. а. ж. с. а. г. о. б. и. м. е. н. и. с. о. п. е. р. ш. е. е. а. б. р. г. а. м. и. т. о. с. т. р. е. м. а. а. ш. а. н. е. м. л. а.	пришла аби. а построу ф. б. ст. б. ла да а. р. и. а. е. а. н. а. л. а. л. а. ж. с. а. г. о. б. и. м. е. н. и. с. о. п. е. р. ш. е. е. а. б. р. г. а. м. и. т. о. с. т. р. е. м. а. а. ш. а. н. е. м. л. а.	пришла аби. а построу ф. б. ст. б. ла да а. р. и. а. е. а. н. а. л. а. л. а. ж. с. а. г. о. б. и. м. е. н. и. с. о. п. е. р. ш. е. е. а. б. р. г. а. м. и. т. о. с. т. р. е. м. а. а. ш. а. н. е. м. л. а.

ПИСАНІЕ ІАЗЫКОСЛОВЕНА  
 ІСАІ. ОБДІПЕШЕАТІМЕНЕ.  
 РЕКШЕАЗДЫЦЬ, ІОСЛОВЕШЕА.  
 РАСВЯЖЕНІЕ СВЯТЬТЕЛЕСНО.  
 ВЪПРОСИОУЧИТЕЛА. ВЪПТИ  
 ОУТЧИ. ВЪПРО. БДІПАЧПОЕ  
 ВЪПЪ. СВЪРАМІЕПИСМЕНЪ.

сполопыи сла а. н. м. в. мои а. р. г. и. н. а. спое пло истоп сполопыи сла а. н. м. в. перш жостпен а. р. г. и. н. а. рен ма семаи. а.	сполопыи сла а. н. м. в. перш жостпен а. р. г. и. н. а. рен ма семаи. а.	сполопыи сла а. н. м. в. перш жостпен а. р. г. и. н. а. рен ма семаи. а.	сполопыи сла а. н. м. в. перш жостпен а. р. г. и. н. а. рен ма семаи. а.
сполопыи сла а. н. м. в. перш жостпен а. р. г. и. н. а. рен ма семаи. а.	сполопыи сла а. н. м. в. перш жостпен а. р. г. и. н. а. рен ма семаи. а.	сполопыи сла а. н. м. в. перш жостпен а. р. г. и. н. а. рен ма семаи. а.	сполопыи сла а. н. м. в. перш жостпен а. р. г. и. н. а. рен ма семаи. а.

to be an explanation of the terms contained in the *Alphabet in squares*.<sup>1</sup>

In fact the *Explanation*, as the tract will be termed here, only discusses the terms found in A:

и что сих различие и ни едино без единого не может в себе быти и состоятися ни же животворитися.<sup>2</sup>

and their use in coded signatures:

Начало имени. В нем же слов шестерица, в нихже три столпи сиречь плоти, и три приклады сиречь души, от нихже два суть царие ... и тако составися сими слог имене мужеска Матфеи, в немже всего числа 854.

Сим же подобяся второе имя изречем. Иметь же в себе сие имя слов осмерицу ... в нихже число 253 ... и тако сие имя сложилось Боголеп, в немже четыре плоти, четыре же и души ...<sup>3</sup>

This is the system of coding used in the signature of Fedor Kuritsyn; the calculations representing the numerical value of the letters of his surname are followed by the words:

четыре столпы и четыре приклады.<sup>4</sup>

and the numerical calculations which represent the letters of the word *dyak* are followed by:

две плоти и две души, и самодержец. Во ино время оживление творит.<sup>5</sup>

This use of the word *ozhivlenie* is found only in Fedor Kuritsyn's signature and the *Explanation*; the latter is indeed a *tolkovanie na litoreyu*, but not for the *Alphabet in squares* but for the code used in Kuritsyn's signature.

Only one manuscript containing the *Explanation* is known to me (MS. No. 13).<sup>6</sup> This has the coded signature of Fedor Kuritsyn on f. 134. v., and, on the same folio, the following inscription:

Аще хочещи уведати имя писавшаго книгу сию, нарицаемую Простословию, осмочастник, то ти напишю подначальное начало и четыре десятины ... Всего же числа 253, а два нечисленных ... А выписано из иные книги.

1. Jagić, *Codex*, p. 413; *AED*, p. 178.
2. Jagić, op.cit., p. 414.
3. *ibid.*, pp.414-5.
4. *AED*, p. 276.
5. *ibid.*
6. Described by Jagić, op.cit., pp.692-3.

The *Protoslovie - osmochastnik* mentioned is not the text published by Jagić,<sup>1</sup> but version A of the *Alphabet* (ff. 135v.- 136.v.)<sup>2</sup>. This suggests that Alphabet A<sup>3</sup> was a summary of the information contained in the *Alphabet in squares* (either P or G, but more probably the latter) to serve, together with the *Explanation*, as a reference work for the type of code employed by Fedor Kuritsyn.

The terms employed in this code may have been derived by Kuritsyn from the Patristics or the Classics,<sup>4</sup> but the *Explanation* shows that without the *Alphabet* they were incomprehensible to his contemporaries. Fedor Kuritsyn's Signature and the *Alphabet in squares* were evidently written together and are parts of one whole. The same must be true of the Introduction,<sup>5</sup> for this provides a brief instruction for the use of the *Alphabet in squares*:<sup>6</sup>

... а к столповому слову се пристоит историк ...

One manuscript of the *LP* contains the following introduction to the *Krug mirotvorny*, a guide to Paschal calculations written by the priest Agafon in 1538-1540:<sup>7</sup>

А чорныя слова ритор .... А к столповому слову се пристоит историк ...  
Историк, рекше летописец святыя алфы толковыя .... Преводивый толкованием сей круг миротворный на 532 лет ... многогрешный поп Агафонище.<sup>8</sup>

Divisions or columns of the *Krug mirotvorny* are often called *stolpy*:<sup>9</sup> Kuritsyn's use of the term *istorik* was probably based on the terminology of the Paschal texts. Agafon's introduction explains another term employed by Kuritsyn, whose words:

Аще кто хочет уведати имя преведшаго Лаодикийское послание<sup>10</sup>

1. Jagić, *Codex*, p.630 et seq.
2. Alphabet G starts on f. 136v. For a description of this MS. see Jagić, *op.cit.*, pp.692-3.
3. In MS. No. 3 this Alphabet follows the heading: Сия азбука от книги осмочастныя and ends: Конец простым писменем. (f. 84v.)
4. Haney, 'The Laodicean Epistle', pp.837-42.
5. Usually found immediately before or after the *Alphabet in squares*. *AED*, pp.265, 276.
6. *ibid.*, p.265.
7. *ibid.*, p.187.
8. MS. No. 14, f. 30.
9. MS.No. 4, f. 54.
10. *AED*, p.270.

are responsible for most of the hypotheses on the origin of the *LP*. The search for the source of this work in Byzantine, Jewish or Western literature was based on the assumption that Kuritsyn signed himself as the translator of *LP*: his words show that he was not the translator, but the compiler of this work.<sup>1</sup>

The question of the composition of *LP* in Kuritsyn's original version, vital to our understanding of the work, has received little attention. Kämpfer's argument that the separate existence of the *Verse* in the oldest of the *LP* manuscripts (MS. No. 1) suggests that this was originally not related to the other three parts of *LP*<sup>2</sup> has only been discussed by Lur'e. He considers that even in its original form *LP* consisted of the *Verse*, Introduction, Alphabet and Signature. He argues that:

1. this is the 'complex' found in the majority of the MSS. of *LP*;
2. some MSS. with this 'complex' are headed *Лаодикийско посланіе* or use this title to denote this four part 'complex' in their indices.<sup>3</sup>

The first argument is not supported by the evidence of the sources.<sup>4</sup> Lur'e's second argument does not provide conclusive proof of his assertion either, since it is clear from the oldest MS. (No. 8) with this heading in the text that the words *Азбука Послание Лаодикийское* refer to the *Alphabet in squares* and not to the *Verse*.<sup>5</sup> This is confirmed by the words of the index of this MS.: *Азбука и Послание Лаодикийское в столпах*,<sup>6</sup> and by the title found in the text of MS. No. 39: *Азбука Лаодикийского Послания*.<sup>7</sup> Strictly speaking, therefore, the title *Лаодикийское посланіе* applies to the *Alphabet in squares* only.

1. For other examples of this use of the word *prevod* see Jagić, *Codex*, pp. 413, 455, 697.  
 2. Kämpfer, 'Zur Interpretation', p. 69.  
 3. Lur'e, 'Zur Zusammensetzung', pp. 166-9.  
 4. see table I.  
 5. See photograph of f. 109 in *ibid.*, p. 27.  
 6. Lur'e, 'zur Zusammensetzung', p. 166, n. 15.  
 7. *ibid.*, p. 166.

This does not mean, of course, that Kuritsyn could not have written the *Verse* also. As Lur'e points out, the *Verse* is found together with the *LP* 'complex' (*Introduction*, *Alphabet* and *Signature*) in many MSS., written within the same decorative table,<sup>1</sup> or at least close to the *Alphabet in squares*.<sup>2</sup>

Could a separate work have become so closely associated in manuscripts, without having been part of Kuritsyn's protograph? A consideration of one of the *LP* manuscripts of the early . . . century (No. 19 on Table 1) shows that this was perfectly possible.

In this MS. the *Verse* is incorporated in the Table on folio 2. It fills the first *stolp* of the Table and is followed immediately by the first two squares of Alphabet G.<sup>3</sup> The *Introduction* is found on folio 1, after the following heading:

Азбуковное учение осмочастное. А черные слова ритор . . .<sup>4</sup>

Here (and in MSS. No. 20 and 37, the latter being the oldest MS. containing part of the *LP* 'complex')<sup>5</sup> *LP* is evidently considered to be part of the *uchenie osmochastnoe*,<sup>6</sup> a grammar of the Slavonic language known as *O os'mi chastekh slova* and frequently found in the same MSS. as *LP*.<sup>7</sup> This grammar is attributed in Russian manuscript tradition to John of Damascus — the true author of the work is unknown, but it was not St. John. The attribution is the result of a misunderstanding: since *O os'mi chastekh slova* was often found together with the *Dialektika* of St. John of Damascus (in the translation of John Exarch; it is commonly known as *Nebesa*),<sup>8</sup> copyists assumed that this Father of the Church was the author not only of the philosophical, but also of the grammatical tract.<sup>9</sup>

1. See plates 2 and 6.

2. See plates 1, 7 and 8.

3. See above, plate 2.

4. See plate 9.

5. Lur'e, 'Zur Zusammensetzung', p. 167.

6. cf. above, p. 182.

7. See Table 2.

8. This work is also found in many *LP* MSS. See Table 2

9. Jagić, *Codex*, pp. 38-40.

ДѢЛА САМОДѢЛНА . ЗАГРАДА ЕИШЕРА . ПЪ РАНАКАЖАНІЕ СТАДИТІСА ПРО  
 РОКОМЪ . ПРРОКЪ СТАРБИШИНА . ИСПРАДЛАСА ЧУДОТЪ ПОРЕНІЕМЪ . ЧТОТЪ ПОРЕ  
 НІА ДАРЪ . МРОСТІЮ ОУСИЛЪЕ . МРОСТІИ СИЛА ФАРИСЕЙСКОЖИТЕЛСТІЮ .  
 ПРРОКЪ ЕМА НАУКА . НАУКА ПРБЛЖЕННАА . СЕМ ПРИХОДИТЬ ПЪ СТРА  
 БЖІИ . СТРА БОЖІИ НАЧАЛО ДОБРОДѢТЕЛЕМЪ . СИИ ПОШРЖАЕТІСА ДѢЛА  
 ХУЕРНЫЕ СЛОДА РИТОРЪ . А ПОЧИНАЕТІСА ЧЕРЬ СЛОДО . А ИСТОЛТОШОМЪ  
 ЧИСЛА СЕН ПРИСПОИТЬ . ИСТОРИКЪ . ЧЕРНЫА СЛОДА СЪЩЕЗНАМЕНІЕ СЛО  
 ЛПОМЪ . РАЛІУІА ДѢЛА СИЛА И ПЛОТЬ И СПОЛТЪ .

столпы мѣтны числ начало числ примѣтны числ сикомъ и женскому имени совершени паріаза А чрѣзъ апострѣфъ . столпы и дѣла . и сѣла	столпы числ шрыкаль паріа начало столпы сѣла . столпы имѣтны . Б столпы	столпы числа нѣболѣ К совер шяетса на средне има . Драгін единств ныи Н плоть и столпы .	столпы числ сѣ першеггса мал можа А стогоно има числ стрипа числ плоть О сѣла	столпы числомъ ское паріа апос трѣфъ . при ч ма . столпы ковершени Г дѣла и сѣла	столпы не числ ныи мѣтныи . апострѣфъ Ш фѣ кендима при сѣла множе стѣныи . столпы вѣ дѣла и сѣла
столпы числа плоть единств го имени Ч штпора стетно има П и матъ шрыкаль столпы плоть	столпы числ каль пингил пар Апострѣфъ . Я држе сѣла при плоть и Г стгоп не дѣлаи	столпы числа мнѣ М сѣ ныи Драгін единств ныи П и сѣла	столпы числа единств единств Драгін повбѣсѣ имачѣ Р трица данетсѣобѣтѣ	конецъ столпы черны Ш мѣ . п тла по столпа при сѣла мѣско имѣско В мѣ ни . апострѣфъ срѣт шрыкаль пл	при сѣла . апо фѣ . Г в пингил паріа ганна сѣла мѣского и ме ни совершени . Г Драгга мѣ мѣсѣна . дѣла и сѣла
начало столпы шрыкаль Б паріа дѣла . и тѣло дѣла единств етса А на сѣ има . и числѣ	сѣла числ ма . апо р стрѣ при сѣла среднѣ имени совершени дѣла Е и сѣла	числ при сѣла ш каль кен О дѣ сѣла мѣско женскому сре ма имени со р С шени ст лтъ плоть	столпы числа единств П со шде на множе ное Драгін на нее има . шры лькендѣ П ма	при сѣла един мнѣ вѣ стѣ ныи автор по сѣла мѣ среднѣ З мѣ ни совершени дѣла и сѣла	при сѣла родѣ апострѣфъ в фѣ нѣла имени со вершени С о бще стѣ . дѣла и сѣла
столпы . пингил паріа . апострѣ фѣ плоть Г числ сѣи столпы сѣла . Ж	столпы числа ш каль . вѣи мѣ жнеи А плоти сѣи столпы со гласи . С	столпы числа ш каль паріа пос толіа ; числ Г вѣи потаи дѣ дѣлаи ОУ дѣбѣ	столпы числа шрыкаль сѣла единств совер на сѣнее има ф Драгін на мѣско	при сѣла . рѣсто апострѣфъ Обще стѣ дѣла и сѣла	при сѣла . ш за сѣло при сѣла ш апострѣфъ Ж и сѣла
числ при сѣла . паріа шрыкаль в столпы сѣилоу сѣла и нее . има мѣско сѣла . столпы има женско З сѣла дѣла плоть	столпы числа ш каль . вѣи мѣ жнеи А плоти сѣи столпы со гласи . С	столпы числа ш каль паріа пос толіа ; числ Г вѣи потаи дѣ дѣлаи ОУ дѣбѣ	сложени числа апострѣфъ У за гѣла дѣла дѣ сѣлаи Оа чѣ бѣ дѣлаи и сѣла	при сѣла чрѣзъ апострѣфъ Ж и апострѣ фѣ дѣла и сѣла .	при сѣла рѣсто апострѣфъ Ж кендима О естѣ стѣ чѣ при сѣла дѣла и сѣла .
числ столпы на столпы премѣна срѣнато З имени при сѣла числ матни Г числ засѣни сѣлаи тѣса .	столпы числа ш каль и паріа З столпы совер сѣла на мѣско Драгін на сѣ има К плоть столпы .	столпы числа ш каль паріаи ф стрѣфъ сѣла столпы и мѣ чѣла плоть . посѣлаи Ц и сѣла . столпы	столпы числа ш каль паріаи ф стрѣфъ сѣла столпы и мѣ чѣла плоть . посѣлаи Ц и сѣла . столпы	сложѣ З шѣе числ плѣ столпы	сложѣ У шѣе шѣе числ плоть и столпы .
при сѣла числ сикомъ имени со вершени И мно женномъ кенд идра сѣи стѣ ршасѣ А на же стѣныи има	при сѣла числ кендима дѣлаи мѣ плоть столпы числ .	сложѣ числ шасѣло Ш апострѣфъ паріа шры ль посѣлаи амрачѣныи лтъ .	столпы числѣ конецъ столпы мѣтѣршѣныи столпы мѣт не Ш сѣ сѣлаи сѣсѣ апострѣфъ	дѣлаи кѣтѣ дѣлаи и сѣла го лаодиски сланіе	

И двѣци дѣла соединѣнѣмъ сѣмъ десѣтѣи , и десѣтѣи по дѣ  
сѣтѣи . царѣ двѣци дѣла . и шѣа по дѣсѣтѣи соединѣнѣмъ десѣтѣи  
десѣтѣи по дѣтѣи , и пѣла по дѣсѣтѣи . ерѣ сѣкончѣсѣ . все же и  
мени сѣло шѣ семѣрица . чрѣ и триплѣти и тридѣши . шродѣ при  
дѣлаи двѣци по дѣтѣи . трица апо дѣсѣти . и двѣци по дѣтѣи дѣсѣ . дѣсѣ  
дѣсѣти и двѣци по дѣтѣи . и двѣци тридѣтѣи . о семъ дѣсѣ апо дѣсѣти . и дѣсѣ  
тѣи по дѣсѣти . и двѣци дѣсѣ сѣдѣнѣи мѣ три дѣци по дѣтѣи . чѣтѣ  
по дѣтѣи . и пѣла чѣтѣи рѣ . соединѣнѣмъ десѣтѣи . совершѣе . сѣла сѣмъ чѣтѣи  
дѣлаи . и сѣлаи по дѣтѣи . 8

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8.  
 Аша самовластна. Загради  
 еиобра. Пбрамаказаніе  
 стапикса прікѣ. прікѣба  
 рѣшши. исправа дѣтиса  
 чюпореніе. чюпореніа д  
 рѣ, мростію оуслѣть. мѣ  
 Аростіи сила. Фарисѣиство  
 оука. маука прѣблжєнна.  
 сию прѣхѣн вѣспрабѣн. стра  
 хѣбѣннача лодобрѣпелє  
 мѣ; сию рѣждѣтиса дша.  
 а черныє слова риторѣ. а почи  
 маєтсѣ чєтєртѣє слово.  
 а сѣстопа помѣлобѣ сѣнтри  
 стойпѣ, историкѣ. черныа  
 слова сѣще знаменіє стѣ  
 равнїа дша сила и плоть  
 истоплѣ.

Възбѣдиконое оученіе ѡсмочастное . ѡче  
 рныа сѡдѣржанія ѡпочинаеса чѣсто  
 ртвымъ сѡдѣржаніемъ аистолгопомов се при  
 стойтъ истори . ѡчерченныа слова  
 сѡщественна меніе и сица и дшѡ . Иже аще  
 истопни не оне , да не оѡ смѡщеніе  
 еѡсоблазнь не оѡбдѡщисѡ . иже нахо  
 да тѡса ѡбѣдиконыа черныа и черченныа  
 сѡдѣржанія по ѡкрѡженіи снаписаніемъ .  
 коа оученіа коемѡждо пристойтъ . и  
 зрѡшаютѡса оѡбдѡщисѡ . Иже кто  
 бѡдѡмогающѡ смѡдница неженашесѡ  
 можетѡтъ разѡмѡтъти недоѡбдѡмаю .  
 Философское бѡ оученіе не люѡмѡдріе  
 сѡкропентѡ гѡготіи разѡмѡтътъ . не  
 оѡбдѡщисѡ иже сѡчеса оѡшо приклонитѡ  
 пницаѡте  
 ано

In the same way evidently *LP* became known as *uchenie osmochastnoe* and was therefore attributed to John of Damascus, as can be seen from MS. No. 19. The Introduction on f.1 is followed, on f.2,<sup>1</sup> by *Alphabet G*. This ends on f. 5v., and f. 6 carries another Introduction to the letter to Cosmas of Maioum:

Иже кто хочет чести грамотикийское послание о осми частех ...  
Прежде да възмет прошед осмочастное о именех сказание иже  
възгреме Богоносивый.<sup>2</sup>

If a work written by a man accused of heresy could become a commentary by a Father of the Church, it seems perfectly possible that the *Verse* became, from a separate work preceding the *LP*, a component part of *LP* in many manuscripts. The very obscurity of the *Verse* probably gained it the approval of the copyists of *LP* and its praise of wisdom and knowledge accorded well with the ideas expressed in works such as the letter to Cosmas of Maioum:

О разуме.  
Разум свет есть душа словесная, неразумие тьма ... Понеже убо не  
нагою душею живем, но якоже завесою плотною покрываема наша душа.  
И ум убо зрящ и разумен якоже око имат и приимателен всякаго  
разума и художества.<sup>3</sup>

It is likely that the *Verse* had little to do with Kuritsyn's protograph of *LP*. The oldest MS. of the *Verse* was found in BAN 4.3.15 which contains several curious passages similar to the *Verse*, e.g.:

Мудрость философская:  
Твой отец, мой отец, тебе дед а мне муж, ты мне брат, а яз тебе  
мати. Неродивыися умре а родивыися не умре, а умре не истле.  
Моисеи в чертозе, а Повел в девах, Соломон но войну пошел,  
Давид ся женит. Река среди моря течет, а живот в огни скачет.  
Ад от смерти погибе, а смерть от дьявола, а дьявол без вести  
пропран бысть. Среди моря крест, връху горы река, под землею  
град; восия солнце на горе, мертвии възсташа, а живии падоша,  
изыде ядомое от ядовитого, от крепкаго сладкое. Гроб хожаше, а  
мертвец в нем пояше.<sup>4</sup>

It was probably from a *sbornik*, such as MS. 1, containing a strange mixture of works, from riddles to the lives of the saints, that the *Verse* was selected by a scribe wanting a short passage relevant to a grammatical

1. f. 1v. is blank.
2. See Plate 10.
3. *GPB*, sol. No. 260/102, f. 29.
4. MS. No. 1, ff. 3v.-4.

Иже кто хоушесть че спий срамостни и сего  
 посяніе, шосьми час те хть іудн а вгано  
 уснаго. оуи каго цю добродотехъ, гд  
 големаго да маси нннзго. пб долюбженно  
 мд его доюностю, и по оученій и ора че  
 сис ш мтв єдино нрацномъ. коз мв ердопъ  
 маи оумітскомъ. Прѣжде да озыщеть  
 проше шсьмо часпное шиментъ ссазаніе  
 іже оу згрѣмтв бгоносицый, поощеряла  
 грѣбѣхъ и несмысленныцъ она чалѣ глѣ  
 щихъ. понеже оуцѣ бемь си начинала  
 пець, іакоже оу тмгѣ шестодѣтѣ. іске  
 бобемь си прѣдла, собшрне по оемъ  
 шбнищаетъ. Вгѣмтв шю сїю и сннгоу  
 іа зопти срце хотай іудко оу оуцѣше  
 писаннѣю чаето іа до оуно раздмѣтпннѣ  
 могій. Подобно єсть се моу. іа до оу  
 шю шобразнѣ чехо оуцѣ шотрпнтѣ.  
 Взерцѣло лица оуего, іа іа дѣ оу себѣ  
 шю шобразнѣ не оуцѣ шаетѣ. іа оуію  
 Приноситѣ срцѣ оуемоу іа рѣчнѣ, занѣ

tract. As a source on the ideas of Fedor Kuritsyn the *Verse* is of little value; it is, however, of interest as an example of the type of writings which attracted the copyists of his period, and of their willingness to copy writings which they could not have understood.<sup>1</sup>

Though the terms found in Fedor Kuritsyn's *Laodikiyskoe poslanie* are not all comprehensible, it seems clear that in its original form *LP* was not an obscure and decorative test of *uchenost'*: it was probably compiled by Kuritsyn from several sources, and embellished with his own annotations as a

граматика словенска языка, с силою верхнею, и о всякой мудрости книжной. Буквы сии речь словенская азбука, и ея вещания.<sup>2</sup>

and a guide to the use of codes.<sup>3</sup> It was probably written for the purpose defined in the last square of the Alphabet in MS. No. 3:

Сие послание разумети толкование его, да тако писати божественныя книги прямо и гладко.<sup>4</sup>

This purpose may explain the strange title of Fedor Kuritsyn's *Laodikiyskoe Poslanie*. This has probably no connection with any apocryphal *Poslanie Laodikiytsam*<sup>5</sup> but with the *Index*<sup>6</sup> of books, known in Russia as the *Pravilo Laodikiyskago Sobora*.<sup>7</sup> The introduction to the *Index* stresses the need to beware of *neppravlennye knigi*<sup>8</sup> and Fedor Kuritsyn's guide to *pravlenie* may well have been named after the Council which was supposed to have issued the *Index*.

But whatever the meaning of the *LP* may have been, one thing is certain: in the eyes of Fedor Kuritsyn's contemporaries the *LP* and the *Verse* were not considered heretical.

1. cf. the inclusion of the *Signature* alone, or with mistakes in the numerical code, which made it incomprehensible, in several MSS. (See Table 2; *AED*, p. 261).

2. See Plate 11.

3. cf. MS. No. 9 where the entire *LP* and the *Verse* are in a tachygraphic code.

4. *AED*, p. 269; cf. reasons for the use of diacritics given on ff. 85v-86 of the same MS.:

чтоб всякий книжник умел прочитати писания гладко и прямо ... на различие и на разделение толку писания.

5. *AED*, pp. 172-3; *RD*, pp. 64-5.

6. *AED*, vol. 6, No. 117, cols. 788-94.

7. See above, p. 154.

8. *AED*, vol. 6, No. 117, col. 788.

Videtur scriptu saculo 17

Французская  
Copia Francorum Cancellaria

Аша (а) мо властна. Забрада ет шра. Об  
ры на казаніе (табиса пррѣ). пррѣ  
ста оръ и шина исправляе тся гадат  
рѣніе. Гадатѣ нѣ бѣхрѣ. пррѣтію тѣмъ ет д. му  
Арсти (ила фарисеи та до фите ста  
пррѣ ет нх дна. нх та пррѣ ет нх  
Сю пррѣхотъ встрѣтѣтѣ. (пррѣ етѣт  
нх та) о адрорѣ тѣмъ. тѣмъ (оррѣ етѣт  
днѣх.

СІА ГРАМАТИКА СЛОВЕНСКА НАЗЫКА. СЕИМОЮ ВЕРХНЕЮ-Ю ВЛАКОМЪ ХАРОСКИМЪ И ЧИНОМЪ БУСКОМЪ СІА РѢШЕ СЛОВО СКА АЗЪ БКА. ІЕА ВЪЩА ПІА.	НА ЧАМО СГОЛОМ ШРИКА. ВАРИА. ТИ ТЛА / Б \ 3
ПРИКЛА СЛОВО. ПР А ПЕПР. ЗАКРІА А ВАРИА СРОА АША СИЛА ЖЕБ ІМЕНН СЕ РШЕ Е.	ПЛОТЬ. СИЛО СПОЛПЪ ИСРО КА. ТИ ПРА ВАРИА / Г \ А ПЛОТЬ. СИЛА.
СГОЛПЪ. ТИСЛО. ШРИКА. ВАРИА. А \ Б ПЛОТЬ. СИЛА.	ПРИКЛА ЧИСЛО ПЕПР. СРЕДНЕМУ ІМЕНН СЕ РШЕ НІЕ Б \ Е АША. СИЛА.
СГОЛПЪ. ВАРИА А ПЕДРОФЪ. Ж \ Г ПЛОТЬ. СИЛА.	СГОЛПЪ ЧИСЛО ВЪЩЕ ІМЕНН СЕ РШЕ НІЕ Б \ Т АША. СИЛА.

Иже аще кто вникнет в не, да не в смущение и в соблазн не {впадет?} не вѣдуци сих, иже находятся азбуковные черные и червленые слова, во окружений с надписанием, коя учения коемуждо пристоят, и раздрешается вѣдущими. Иже кто Богу помогающу ему не ленящеся может разумети недоведомая.<sup>1</sup>

They were not used in his day, and therefore should not be used now, as evidence of any 'freethinking' or 'heretical' beliefs on Kuritsyn's part.

The 'literature of the Judaizers' thus provides little real evidence about the beliefs which might have brought upon them the accusation of the heresy: if their writings are heretical, this is no more evident to us than it was to their orthodox contemporaries, who kept and copied these writings for their libraries in an impressive number of manuscripts. However, this is not to say that the 'literature of the Judaizers' is without value for an understanding of the heresy.

The first conclusion to be drawn from the 'evidence of the Judaizers' is a negative one: there is little indication of the Novgorod heretics' 'astounding breadth of cultural interests'.<sup>2</sup> Undoubtedly, the psalms obtained by Gennady from Naum<sup>3</sup> must have differed in some way from the accepted orthodox canon, but available evidence does not permit any conclusions as to the way in which they differed; possibly they were no more heretical than, and may even have been identical with, the psalms of Nicephorus Blennid. Of other works, whether written or made use of by the Novgorod Judaizers, there is no trace to be found in the sources.

We are far better informed about the writings associated with the Moscow Judaizers. There seems little doubt that the works listed in Gennady's letter to Prokhor were not considered heretical, and that they were mentioned because it had come to Gennady's notice that they were being copied in Moscow, at the scriptorium headed by Ivan Cherny. It is in the very existence of such a scriptorium, as much as in the nature of

1. See Plate 9.

2. *IB*, p. 297.

3. *AED*, p. 310.

4. See above, p. 162.

Cherny's editorial writings and of the works attributed to Feodor Kuritsyn, that we may discover the reasons for Gennady's attacks upon them.

Clearly, Gennady saw himself as a guardian of Orthodoxy. He felt it his duty to arm the Church against heresy - by improving clerical standards in his own diocese, and by raising the level of theological education of the Church as a whole through the provision of the necessary books, books carefully translated and edited in order to ensure that they were free of any deviation from the faith.<sup>1</sup>

It was not, however, only at Gennady's court that new, *pravlenye spiski* of orthodox works were being produced. Such fundamental Church texts as the Bible, service books and *Kormchie* were being copied and edited at the court of the grand prince by men who, with the possible exception of Ivan Cherny,<sup>2</sup> were servants not of the Church but of the State. And, moreover, as is clear from the manuscripts of such works as the *Laodikiyskoe poslanie*, copies made in the Moscow scriptorium were finding their way into monastic libraries. For someone as aware as Gennady of the necessity of 'rendering unto Caesar the things which are Caesar's and unto God the things that are God's', this distribution of manuscripts written, copied or edited by servants of the grand prince was surely sufficient ground for the accusation of heresy to be raised against those who dared encroach upon the province of the Church. But this accusation was made in 1490, yet the Moscow heretics were condemned only in 1504. Now that the survey of contemporary evidence to the year 1504 is completed some conclusions on the nature of their heresy and the reasons for their condemnation can be made.

1. Lur'e, 'K voprosu', pp.70-3.

2. Even if we accept Ivan's soubriquet, Cherny, as evidence of his having been a monk, it is clear that he was not associated with any one monastery. First and foremost he was a *d'yak* of the grand prince.

In the year 1488 the Council of the Russian Church pronounced its condemnation of the 'heresy of the Novgorod priests who philosophized judaistically'. The wording of the charge is forceful and definite - but there is no certainty as to the reasons why the men condemned found themselves facing trial for their beliefs: the evidence available does not suggest that it was because they were converts to Judaism.

A consideration of Gennady's activities in Novgorod makes it clear that he was on the watch for 'departures from Orthodoxy', whether religious or political; evidence of either was probably not hard to seek, given the accepted procedures for the detection of heresy. Indeed, in 1482 Gennady himself, while still an abbot of Chudov monastery, had fallen foul of the complex regulations governing church ritual:<sup>1</sup> he had allowed his monks to drink *svyatsaya voda*<sup>2</sup> and to eat as much as they liked on the 5th of January, the day before the Feast of the Baptism. He was promptly put under arrest by Metropolitan Feofan, and the charges against him could have had grave consequences, for at least one of them was very serious: he was accused of desecrating the Holy water which was to be given only once a year, in place of Communion wine, at Easter, and not - as Gennady had apparently done - after confession on the eve of *Bozhenichenie*.

Should he had permitted the monks to drink *svyatsaya voda*?<sup>3</sup> Gennady could have been declared guilty of blasphemy; fortunately for him, however, the grand prince interceded with the metropolitan, and he was freed. It may have been that the metropolitan was genuinely persuaded by the argument put to him by the grand prince, that the Metropolitan Iona (1448-1461) *izke nye chudotvornye* for Ivan Archbishop Feodor of Pskov a similar sin, in any, on the other hand, have simply been his reluctance to involve himself in another dispute with the grand prince. For the arrest of Gennady took place not long after

1. see Skirnov, *Pravoslavnyye* 217-218, part II.

2. It is not clear whether this term denotes water drawn on the eve of

3. *svyatsaya*, or water from a Holy spring.

4. *Pravoslavnyye* vol 6, p.214

Ivan III had given way in the matter of the processional *posolon'* - and then only after the metropolitan had threatened to resign. It will be remembered that in his dispute with the metropolitan as to the direction in which processions should proceed,<sup>1</sup> the grand prince had had the support only of Gennady and the archbishop of Rostov;<sup>2</sup> it seems likely, therefore, that in prosecuting Gennady the metropolitan was paying off a score.

The ease with which Ceronty was able to obtain the evidence he needed in this case is important to our understanding of the history of heresy in Russia. For, if the highly-educated theologian Gennady could so readily be accused of contravening canon law, how much easier it must have been to discover such contraventions among the mass of the clergy, who - according to Gennady's own evidence - were often ill-trained.<sup>3</sup>

The appointment of Gennady to the archbishopric of Novgorod was probably his reward for the support he had given Ivan III in 1482; it soon became clear that he was determined to prove, to the enemies he must have made in the Church, his orthodoxy and his loyalty to the grand prince. For whatever their actual beliefs, the heretics of 1488 were condemned according to accepted procedure and by the accepted religious authority, the Council of the Church, headed jointly by the grand prince and the metropolitan. However, Ivan's insistence on a further investigation, in the presence of his *namestnyy*<sup>4</sup> in Novgorod suggests that his interest in the heresy in that city was due to more than just the desire to protect his Church.

Although the members of the Council of 1488 were ready enough to condemn most of the accused who appeared before them, on Gennady's evidence, it seems that after the punishment of these heretics in Moscow and Novgorod, there was not the same willingness to support the archbishop in further prosecutions.<sup>5</sup> There were probably various reasons for this. Some of the Council members may have recalled that Gennady had opposed the metropolitan

1. see above, ch. III, p. 114.

2. *RSPT*, vol. 5, p. 233

3. see above, ch. III, p. 114

4. see above, ch. II, p. 46

5. see above, ch. II, p. 51

and most of the Council on the *posolon'* issue, some may have felt uneasy at his readiness to combine *litovskie okannye dela* with the *eres' Novgorodskikh eretikov, zhidovskaa mudr'stvouyushchikh*;<sup>1</sup> while others may have been reluctant to condemn a group of men who, although they came from Novgorod, were (with the exception of Zakhar) being accused by Gennady of heresies committed in Moscow. And Gennady's call for a purge within the Church hierarchy in Moscow no doubt alerted the Council to the danger of giving whole-hearted support to his campaign.<sup>2</sup>

Thus, the final decision of the Council of 1490, headed by the grand prince and the metropolitan, was a compromise. The Council condemned only those of the accused who came from Novgorod, and only for *Что есте чинили в Великом Новгороде*. Evidently the members of the Council were unwilling to support Gennady's campaign against Fedor Kuritsyn and his associates in Moscow. One reason, suggested by the evidence of Iosif of Volokolamsk, was that they were protégés of the grand prince. This is not confirmed by other sources; moreover, the priest Denis, who, on the evidence of Iosif was also a protégé of Ivan III,<sup>4</sup> was among those condemned.<sup>5</sup> The evidence of the writings of the so-called Moscow Judaizers gives no indication that, in the eyes of their contemporaries, their work was not considered heretical.<sup>6</sup> This being so, we must allow the possibility that Fedor Kuritsyn and his associates escaped condemnation in 1490 because 'accepted religious authority' did not consider them to be heretics.

It must be admitted, however, that without the protection of the grand prince they would probably not have been given the benefit of the doubt.

The mention of Fedor Kuritsyn and Ivan Cherny in Gennady's letter to Zosima

1. See above, ch. II, p. 58.
2. See above, ch. II, p. 62.
3. See above, ch. II, p. 68.
4. See above, ch. III, p. 126.
5. See above, ch. II, p. 64.
6. See above, ch. IV, p. 163 et seq.

and the bishops may well have been the result of a misapprehension. For the archbishop was well aware of the grand prince's distrust of everyone including Gennady himself, who had any contact with the neighbours of Muscovy, and he might have entertained hopes of utilising this distrust for his own ends. By suggesting that Kuritsyn had associations with men like Samsonko, implicated in the *litovskie okamnye dela*, he may well have hoped to rid the Church of those who, in his eyes, were likely to taint it by their interference in matters coming within the sacred province, i.e. the copying of books.

In 1490 the grand prince had been unwilling to have Fedor Kuritsyn brought to trial for heresy. Why, then, was his name raised in the conversation between Ivan III and Iosif that took place sometime prior to the Council of 1504?<sup>1</sup> In view of the paucity of sources, the hypothesis offered in answer to this must be based largely upon negative evidence, and can only be entirely tentative.

There is little evidence of a continuation of the campaign against the Judaizers after 1490. Fedor Kuritsyn's name is brought up for the first time after 1490 by Ivan, in connection with his disgraced daughter-in-law, Eľřha. Of the men executed in 1504, only one, Ivan Maksimov, is mentioned as a heretic by a contemporary source not related to the Council of 1504. There is no evidence of the case presented against these men: in fact there is no evidence that their condemnation was achieved according to accepted procedure and by accepted religious authority. The sole evidence of contemporary sources is that Novgorod and Moscow were the settings of the execution of two groups of men, condemned by a Council headed by Ivan III, his son Vasily, and the metropolitan Simon. The heresy of which they were accused is not specified, neither is the composition of the Council, and, apart from a laconic chronicle entry and Iosif's later, and not very illuminating account, we know little of the proceedings of this Council. This, together with the evidence of the

1. See above, Ch. III, p. 115.

*Poslanie o soblyudeni*, apparently written to defend the Council's decision against attacks from members of the Church, suggests that the procedure adopted in 1504 was not entirely canonical. Perhaps it was not the Church, but the State, which instigated the prosecution.

Possible reasons for the condemnation of the men finally executed in Novgorod have already been mentioned: the heretical label could have been a convenient way of getting rid of the last vestiges of independent authority in Novgorod, and of providing another warning to any who might wish to challenge the rights of Moscow princes to rule over Novgorod. But in the case of the Moscow 'heretics' - Fedor<sup>1</sup> and Ivan Volk Kuritsyn, Ivan Maksimov and Dmitri Konoplev - it is very difficult to understand why they were brought to trial in 1504.

There are two directions in which the available evidence points: the association, whether real or supposed, of at least two of the Moscow group - Fedor Kuritsyn and Ivan Maksimov, with the disgraced Elena of Moldavia, and the involvement of the Kuritsyn brothers and Dmitry Konoplev in the foreign service (and especially the Lithuanian affairs) of the grand prince. Perhaps the fall of the Kuritsyn brothers was connected with the fall of Elena: but not because her death removed a supporter of the 'heretics' from the court. It seems more likely that Ivan decided to revive the reputation of Fedor Kuritsyn as a heretic, and to organize a public execution of his associates in order to justify his treatment of Elena. He may have been helped in this decision by another consideration. The diplomatic record of the 1503 embassy to Lithuania, in which the name of Fedor Kuritsyn appears for the last time (and Konoplev's name for the first and only time)<sup>2</sup> mentions the warning given by Ivan to his ambassadors not to *rusokoumnivat'* like Ryapolovsky and Patrikeev.<sup>3</sup> In February 1499 Ryapolovsky had been executed and Patrikeev tonsured perhaps Ivan III saw, in his conversation with Iosif, an opportunity to

1. Fedor Kuritsyn is included in this list on the assumption that, had he lived to 1504, he too would have been tried and executed.

2. *Id.*, vol. 35, no. 76, p. 413, see above, Ch. III, pp. 89, 130.

3. *ibid.*, p. 42.

4. Fennell, *loc. cit.* *ibid.* II. 336-9.

justify his treatment of Elena, and, at the same time, to rid himself of men who had been associated with Ryapolovsky and Patrikeev in their work in his service.<sup>1</sup> For, by 1503 Muscovy had been at war with Lithuania for three years, and Alexander's insistence on a return to the terms of the treaty of 1494 meant that the end was nowhere in sight.<sup>2</sup> Anyone who had been associated with the administration of Ivan's foreign policy in 1493 and 1494,<sup>3</sup> and this includes Fedor Kuritsyn<sup>4</sup> and possibly Dmitry Konoplev, was likely to be regarded with disfavour by the grand prince.

Until further evidence about the circumstances of Fedor Kuritsyn's 'disappearance' and about the relationship between Ivan III and the men who administered his policy becomes available, the real reasons for the execution of Ivan Volk Kuritsyn, Ivan Maksimov and Dmitry Konoplev in 1504 cannot be ascertained. It can be said, however, that there is little reason to accept the view that they were executed for heresy, Judaizing or otherwise.

Neither is there any evidence in the sources connected with the trials of 1488, 1490 and 1504 of a heretical movement in Russia in the late fifteenth - early sixteenth centuries. That cases of departure from Orthodoxy did occur there can be little doubt: but they were no more than episodic. Whether the men condemned for heresy in 1488 and 1490 were guilty of a serious contravention of Orthodox ritual or doctrine seems doubtful; in the case of those condemned in 1504 the charge seems totally unjustified. Such links as exist between the men executed in Novgorod and Moscow are tenuous and accidental: there may have been contacts between them, but circumstances rather than shared beliefs brought them together. The heresy of the Judaizers as recorded in contemporary sources does not, therefore, allow us to postulate the

1. Zimin, 'Sobytiya 1493 g.', p. 102.

2. Fennell, *Ivan the Great*, pp. 280-6.

3. *ibid.*, pp. 148-57.

4. *ibid.*, vol. 3, no. 2, pp. 132-3.

existence of a Reformation or even a pre-Reformation movement in Russia. But this does not mean that we cannot speak of attempts at a reform of the Church in Russia in the late fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries. The evidence of the sources shows that such attempts were made: it points, however, not to the heretics, but to Archbishop Gennady.

Gennady's activities in Novgorod, including the 'discovery' of the Judaizers' heresy, were prompted by his desire to strengthen the Church by reforming it from within, by improving the education and discipline among the clergy. Whether he was satisfied with the results of his attempts is doubtful. Although he achieved the condemnation of the heresy in Novgorod, he was unsuccessful in the one aim that lay behind his efforts: the confirmation of the supreme authority of the Church.

Gennady's reports on the heresy are, from the very beginning, insistent upon the grand prince's duty in canon law to support the Church. The grand prince saw that Gennady's insistence on the participation of secular authority in Church matters gave him the opportunity for interference.

Ivan III supported Gennady's campaign against the heresy in Novgorod, but he also used it for his own ends. The public executions of the Novgorod priests in 1488 and 1490 provided a warning to anyone who might wish to disobey the authority of the grand prince and of his appointee in Novgorod. Moreover, investigation into the heresy with the participation of Ivan's *namestnik*<sup>1</sup> provided an opportunity to arrest and interrogate those who could be suspected of any disloyalty, whether to the Church or to the grand prince.

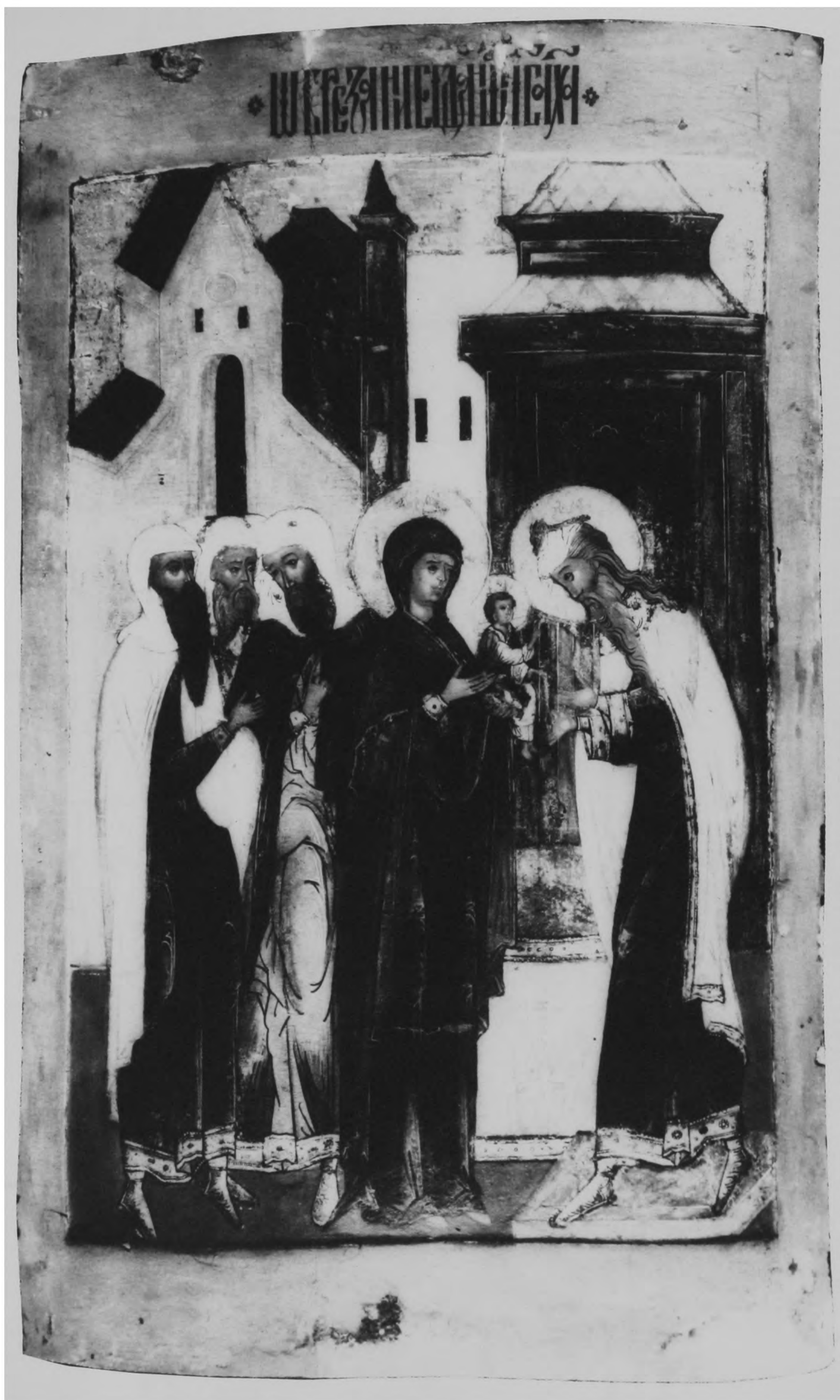
By the time Gennady was arrested in 1503 he must have realised that Ivan III was willing to support the Church, but only so long as the Church was willing to support him. As his own deposition showed, it was the Church which had to accept the authority of the State.

But Gennady's campaign for reform did bear fruit:

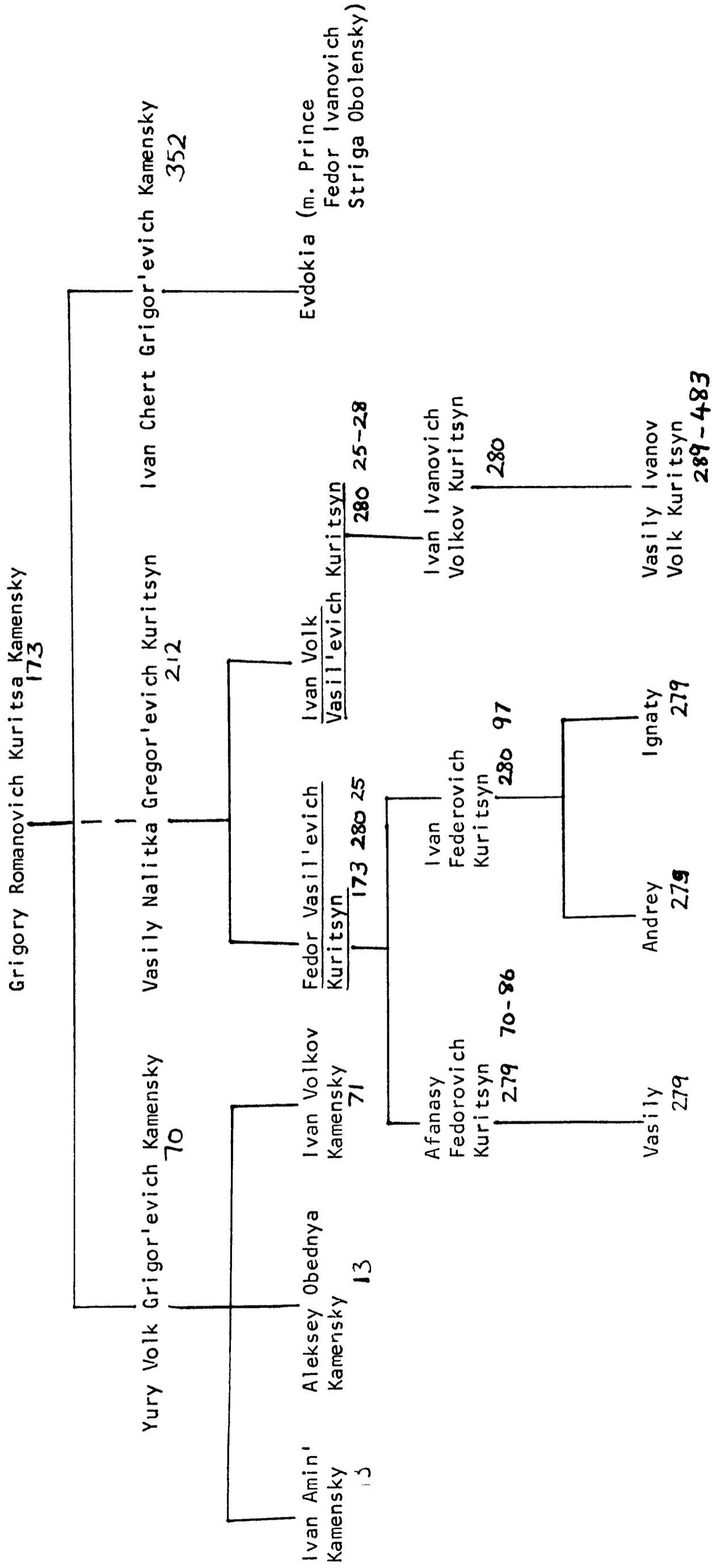
1. See above, Ch. II, p. 46.

It is not accidental that his name is so often mentioned in the sixteenth century during debates over the distinction between the Orthodox and un-Orthodox in matters of ritual.<sup>1</sup> The wealth of regulations which constricted independent expression in the sixteenth century, in thought and in art, was the logical conclusion of the work started by Gennady in Novgorod and the main legacy of the heresy of the Judaizers.

1. See above, Ch. II, p. 42, n. 3; Ch. III, pp.108-112.



Appendix 1, *Circumcision*, 17th cent., Tver' region  
Kublev Museum, Moscow



numbers in red refer to pages of Veselovsky, *Onomastikon*  
 numbers in black refer to pages of Veselovsky, *D'yaki i pod'yachie*  
 numbers in blue refer to pages of Tikhomirov, *Razryadnaya kniga*

Appendix III - Typical references to heresy in the 16 *Slova* of the *Prosvetitel'*<sup>1</sup> of Iosif of Volokolamsk<sup>2</sup>

## I

58-59

Проклинаемже всяку ересь, пачеже иже ныне явльшюся иже тмами проклетого Алексея, глаголю, душетленного протопопа, сатанина прьвенца, и Дениса антихристово попа, и Федора Курицина, и всех, иже такоже мудръствовавших и мудръствующих ...

62

к еретиком бо нам слово, жидовская мудръствующим ..... Но иудеи съпротивляются глаголюще ...

70

Да постыдятся жидове глаголюще яко единолично и единосъставно есть Божество

## II

95

ныне явльшейся еретици, новгородских глаголю еретиков, глаголющих яко Христос еще не родился есть

96

проклинаемже всяку ересь, изряднее же Алексея протопопа, и его стаиников Дениса попа и Федора Курицина и всех, иже тако мудръствовавших и мудръствующих

## III

122

Но еретици съпротивятся, иже жидовскаа мудръствующе, Алексея глаголю протопопа и Дениса попа и Федора Курицина

## IV

165

Проклинаемже всяку ересь, изряднееже тысуцами проклетого, тмами проклинаем, Алексея протопопа, и с ним Дениса попа и Федора Курицина и всех, иже такоже мудръствовавших и мудръствующих

## V

171

ибо развращенно протльковаша многаа от Божественных писании, того ради от непорочныя христианьския веры в жидовство отпадоша: Алексея глаголю протопопа, и Дениса попа, и Федора Курицына, и иже единомудръствующих с ними, иже прежде в велицемъ Новгороде, потомж де в многыя грады и места разсеявше жидовское учение

196

кто Божественнаа Писания укаряет, или оуждаетъ, и полагаетъ свои разумь, несть сего безумнейши на земли. Елліни убо, Иудеи и еретицы ... Писания укаряху, сего ради прельстишася и на всяко зло уклонишася.

## VI

223

Еретик же, жидовскаа мудръствуюя, глаголетъ ...

243

Еретик глаголет яже

245

Паки жидовскаа мудръствуюя глаголетъ еретик

249

Паки еретик глаголетъ

1. Only references in the text (not the headings) are cited.  
2. Roman numerals refer to the *Slova*, arabic numerals to pages of the *Prosvetitel'* (Kazan' 1903)

251  
Паки еретик глаголетъ

## VII

277  
Глаголють же неции

279  
Пакыж глаголють неции

295  
Глаголють же еретици

395  
Ащели же кто речеть

## VIII

337  
Но еретици, иже жидовская мудръствующи, съпротивна глаголють, Алексиа глаголю протопопу, и Дениса попу, и всех такожде мудръствующих

## IX

358  
якоже ныне неции глаголють развращенаа и полагают претыкания братии всоблазнъ, и паче же всехъ сквернеиши и древних еретиков окаанеиши, Алексеа глаголю протопопу, и Дениса попу, и Федора Курицина, и инех иже тако мудръствовавших и мудръствующих

## X

384  
Иже сице глаголющи еретици

## XI, 1

407  
Многа убо от Божественых Писании аще не по писмени разумевают .... Того ради в многы ереси впадаютъ. Якоже и ныне мнози пострадаша Новгородцких глаголю еретиков, Алексеа протопопу и Дениса попу, и Федора Курицина и всех, иже такожде мудръствующих

## XI, 2

438  
Аще ли же кто глаголетъ

## XI, 3

448  
Но еретическаа уста

## XI, 4

454  
Но лукавии еретици

463  
Сия же, от многих събрав малая, нужно съставих за недоведящих, когда и где и откуда иноческое начало бысть житие и чин. Где убо суть, иже иноческое житии с инеми Апостольския Церкви божественными предании же и заветы еретици злочестне и несмыслене отметающе, иже явлении иудеи, по богомрьскому и древнему таиннику их Копрониму, по нынешнему же таиннику и учителю их, богомрьскому Алексею пртопопу и Денису попу, и Феодору Курицину, и всех иже таяже мудръствующих ...

## XII

469  
Еретици же имаеху в себе нечистый дух сатанин

## XIII

475

Понеже убо ныне новоявльшиися новгородстии еретицы, Алексей протопоп, и Денис поп, и Феофор Курицын, и инии мнози, иже таяже мудръствующи, многа зла содеяша

## XIV

504

Ныне же нужно о сем рещи, еже еретицы паки зле мудръствуют: глаголють бо, яко не подобает много искати или истязати, или испытovati о еретицех, и о отступницех .... Мы же убо ныне о сем речем ... яко подобает ... всяко тщание и подвиг и богопремудростная коварства показовати, еже еретики крющася испытovati и изыскати и истязати.

## XV

510

Многа убо словеса преже рекохом о новгородских еретицехж и о отступницех ... ныне же нужно вменихом о сем рещи

## XVI

528

А иже ныне явльшихся, новгородских глаголю еретиков и отступников, о сих покаянии ни в единой же даже до нас дошедших книг писано есть.

533

Подобает царем и князем и судиам земьским, еретики пачеже отступники казнем лютым и смерти предавати

535

якоже преже Державныи и архиепископ Генадие, не ведуще их лукавство, даша им покаяние и ослабу

536

Аще ли же кто он них восхоцет покаяться, мощно есть и в темницы каятися

539

нынешнии же отступници, иже суть злейши всех еретиков и отступников ....

541

Некто бо бысть человек гнусных и скверных дел исполнен, именем Карп, художством стригольник, живыи во Пскове. Сей убо окаянныи ересь состави

TABLE 1. MSS. of Laodikiyskoe poslanie

	Cent.	L.P.in Title	L.P.in Index	Verse	Introduction	Alphabet in squares	Alphabet	Signature	Explanation
1.*BAN 4.3.15	16			x					
2.*BIL Und., No.53	16		x	x	x	p		x	
3.*GPB Kir.-Bel., No.21/1098	16		x	x	x	p	xi	x	
4.*GPB OLDP, F.184 (131)	16			x	x	p		x	
5. GPB Q.XVII. 305	17			x	x	p		x	
6.*BIL Fund., No.39	17			x	x	p		x	
7. TsGADA(L) f.834,op.3,No.3990	17			x	x	p G			
8.*BIL Fund., No.103	16-17	x	x	x	x	p		x	
9.*GIM Muz., No. 2251	16			x	x	G		x	
10.*GIM Uvar., No. 2095 (105)	17	x		x	x	G	x	x	x
11.*GPB Pogod., No. 1311	17	x		x	x	G	x	x	
12. TsGADA f.381, No. 1028	17	x		x	x	G	x	x	
13.*GPB O.XVI.1	17					G	x	x	x
14.*GIM Sin., No. 1	17			x	x	G	x	x	
15.*GPB Q.XVII.118	17			x	x	G	x		
16*GPB Sol., No. 107/107	17			x	x	G		x	
17.*GIM Sin., No. 443	16-17			x	x	G		x	
18.*GIM Uvar., No. 219 (443)	17			x	x	G		x	
19.*GIM Shchuk., No. 684	16-17			x	x	G			
20.*BIL Und., No. 620	16-17			x		G			
21.*GIM Sin., No. 918	17			x		G		x	
22. TsGADA f.381, No. 1031	17			x		G			
23.*GIM Chud., No. 236	16			x	x	G		x	
24.*BIL Und., No. 950	17			x		G			
25.*GPB O.XVII.40	17			x	x	G			
26.*GPB Sol., 16/16	17				x	G	x		
27. GPB OLDP, 0.259	17			x	x	G			
28.*BAN 21.2.17	17			x	x	G		x	
29. BIL Tikh., No. 339	17	x		x	x	C	x		

	Cent.	L.P.in Title	L.P.in Index	Verse	Introduction	Aphabet in squares	Alphabet	Signature	Explanation
30.*GPB Q.XVII .187	17			x	x	G			
31.*BIL Rum., No.2	17			x	x	G			x
32. GPB Sol., 1017/007	16							x	
33.*GPB Sol., 1034/924	16							x	
34.*GPB Sol., 860/970	16							x	
35. GPB OLDP Q.194	18							x	
36.*BIL Egor., No. 405.1 †	18							x	
37.*GPB Q.1.1468	16			x	x			x	
38.*BAN 33.4.5	18			x			x		
39. BIL f.218, No. 606	18	x		x			x		
40. BIL f.218, No. 715	18			x	x		x		
41.*IRLI, Ust'-Tsilemskoe † novoe sobr., No. 293	18							x	
42.*BAN Arkh. C. 210 †	17			x	x	G			

## NOTES:

\* MSS. consulted † new MSS.

BAN Dept. of Manuscripts, Library of the USSR Academy of Sciences, Leningrad

BIL Dept. of Manuscripts, Lenin USSR State Library, Moscow

GIM Dept. of Manuscripts, Historical Museum, Moscow

GPB Dept. of Manuscripts, Saltykov-Shchedrin State Public Library, Leningrad

IRLI Dept. of Ancient Manuscripts, Institute of Russian Literature (Pushkinsky Dom), USSR Academy of Sciences, Leningrad

TsGADA Central State Archive for Ancient Documents,<sup>1</sup> (L) - Leningrad

## COLLECTIONS

BIL Egorova

Fundamental'noe (f.173)

Rumyantseva (f.256)

Tikhonravova (f.299)

Undol'skoe (f.310)

1. Unfortunately I was not allowed access to this archive.

GPB Kirillo-Belozerskoe  
Obshchestva Lyubiteley Drevney Pis'mennosti  
Pogodinskoe  
Solovetskoe

GIM Chudovskoe  
Muzeynoe  
Shchukinskoe  
Sinodal'noe  
Uvarovskoe

BAN Arkhangel'skoe

TABLE 2

	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	
1						x				x				
3		x	x	x	x		x	x			x	x		
4									x		x	x		
10					x			x						
12				x				x					x	
13							x							
14	x				x			x		x	x	x		
15	x			x	x		x						x	
16			x	x	x					x			x	
17				x	x			x					x	x
18		x		x	x			x		x				x
19		x	x	x	x					x			x	x
21		x		x	x			x		x			x	x
22		x		x	x			x		x				
23		x		x	x	x				x				
28					x			x						
37					x		x							
42		x		x	x									

1. О книгах ложных и истинных
2. Кирил словенский (publ. by Jagic, *Codex*, pp.670-1).
3. Предисловие Иоанна Экзарха (publ. by Jagic, *Codex*, pp.32-6)
4. Небеса Иоанна Дамаскина (see Jagic, *Codex*, pp.38-40)
5. О осми частех слова (*ibid.*, pp.40-6)
6. Первую чашу (Proverb)
7. Signatures(not Fedor Kuritsyn's)employing same code as L.P.
8. Написание о грамоте (publ. by Jagic, *Codex*, pp.360-85)
9. Рука Иоанна Богослова-вруцелет
10. Словесница Аристотелева (publ. by Jagic, *Codex*, p. 721)
11. One or more of the *Skazaniya o skonchanií sed'moy tysyachi* (8th-10th *Slova of Prosvetitel'* - see above, Ch III, pp. 88-92 ). Сказания о скончании седьмой тысячи.
12. Paschal or astrological information
13. Послание Козме Маюмскому

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## ABSTRACT

In the year 1504 the grand prince Ivan III convened a Council of the Church to try several Muscovites and Novgorodians accused of heresy. The Council found the men guilty and they were burnt at the stake in public executions in Novgorod and Moscow. The 1504 trial and execution was the last of three trials of a group of men accused of a 'judaizing' heresy and known to historians as the *Zhidovstvuyushchie*, or Judaizers.

The first trial of the heretics had taken place in 1488 and the second in 1490. The evidence compiled for these trials by Archbishop Gennady of Novgorod, who claimed to have discovered the heresy, the chronicle accounts for 1488 and 1490, the documents produced by the Councils of 1488 and 1490, and the *Prosvetitel'* of Iosif of Volokolamsk, a polemical work against the heresy of the 'Novogorod heretics who philosophize judaistically' provide much material for a study of the first documented heresy in the Russian Church.

Many historians have been attracted to such a study for, as a review of the historical background and historiography of the heresy in Chapter I shows, the involvement of many of the alleged Judaizers in the affairs of the Church and State during a period of important changes affecting both the Church and the State and the relationship between them, makes an understanding of the heresy important to our view of Russia in the late fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries. But the many studies of the heresy of the Judaizers undertaken by historians from the nineteenth century to the present day have failed to yield agreement on the origin and nature of the heresy. It is seen variously as the result of Jewish propaganda in the Russian Church, of the influence of Western Renaissance and Reformation ideas in Russia or, and this is the view which has dominated recent Soviet historiography, as a symptom of an indigenous Reformation (or proto-Reformation) movement affecting the whole of Russian society in the late fifteenth-early sixteenth centuries.

The present work is an attempt to resolve the questions posed by studies of the heresy on the basis of a re-examination of primary published and manuscript sources.

These fall into two categories: sources presenting the evidence against the Judaizers (evidence of the accusers), and sources associated with the heretics themselves. Chapter II examines the evidence of the accusers in connection with the trials of 1488 and 1490 (the so-called Novgorod stage of the heresy). Most of this evidence comes from the pen of Archbishop Gennady of Novgorod - consideration of the pre-1490 writings of Iosif of Volokolamsk shows that these do not have a direct bearing upon the subject of this study.

Gennady's evidence has not received the attention it deserves, for it provides valuable information not only about the heresy he discovered in Novgorod, but also about the procedures accepted in the Russian Church in this period for discovering and identifying any heresy. His evidence explains his choice of the 'judaizing' label and shows that heretical acts had been committed in Novgorod, though not necessarily by the men condemned in 1488 and 1490. Gennady's letters are complemented by the official documents issued by the Councils of 1488 and 1490, and it is clear that the heretics were tried according to properly accepted procedure and that evidence and condemnation was obtained by Gennady with the full co-operation of the grand prince.

Gennady remained Archbishop of Novgorod until 1503, but a study of the works produced at his court after 1490 (in Chapter III) provides little evidence of a continuation of his campaign against the heresy. For evidence against the heretics tried in 1504, historians have had to rely on the writings of Iosif of Volokolamsk, but an examination of his polemical tracts (later incorporated in the *Prosvetitel'*) and letters written before 1504 yields little reliable information about the beliefs of the Judaizers. Even the *Prosvetitel'*, written probably after, and not

before the Council of 1504, as has been generally accepted, does little more than reiterate the accusations raised originally against the Novgorod heretics condemned in 1488 and 1490.

The evidence of the accusers between 1490 and 1504 thus provides little information on the case presented against the heretics condemned by the Council of 1504. Such information has also been sought in the so-called 'literature of the Judaizers', works written by, or associated with, the men labelled by the accusers as 'judaizing' heretics.

Chapter IV examines such works, most of which are associated with the Moscow Judaizers. Several survive in MSS. of the late fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries and it is clear that most were not considered heretical at the time. On the contrary, they belonged to the category of instructive Orthodox literature.

Chapter V draws some conclusions from the evidence of the sources. If it is accepted that a heretic is someone whom the established Church recognises as such, the Novgorodians condemned in 1488 and 1490 by a body representative of the Church and according to accepted Orthodox procedure were heretics. However, the available evidence about the Novgorod heretics and about the methods used in identifying and naming the heresy suggests that they were not guilty of a departure from Orthodox Christian beliefs: only of offences against ritual and of criticism of ecclesiastical and, perhaps, secular authority.

There is little evidence that the men accused of heresy in 1504 were condemned in accordance with the precedent established by the case of the Novgorod heretics of 1488 and 1490, or by a body representative of the established Church. The accepted view that they were heretics is not substantiated by the evidence available and the reasons for their condemnation were probably not religious but political.