

An Academy at the Court of the Tsars

Greek Scholars and
Jesuit Education in
Early Modern Russia



Nikolaos A. Chrissidis

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Dedicated to
Richard Richie,
my mother Maro Chrissidis,
and to the memory of my father Aris Chrissidis

Note on Transliteration and Dates

All dates are given according to the Julian calendar that was in use in Russia and the Greek world during the period covered in this book. The Julian calendar trailed the Gregorian by ten days in the seventeenth century and eleven days in the eighteenth century.

In transliterating Greek and Russian names and terms, I follow the Library of Congress system with some modifications. Thus, the ancient Greek beta (β) is transliterated as **b**, or in the case of Modern Greek as **v**. I have not, however, used the macron sign: thus, the Greek letters epsilon (ϵ) and eta (η) are uniformly rendered as **e**; likewise, omega (ω) and omicron (\omicron) are rendered **o**. In the case of Russian words, I have striven for uniformity, except for names and terms known commonly in their anglicized form. Thus, Peter the Great and Moscow, but Aleksei Mikhailovich and Kazan.

References to Slavonic/Russian manuscript sources are according to the following format: **f.**, **op.**, **d.**, and **no.** (or **kn.**). That is, **f.** for *fond* (fund), **op.** for *opis'* (register), **d.** for *delo* (file, unit), and **no.** for the number of the manuscript in the register (or **kn.** for *kniga*, or a particular "book" if the source is divided into "books" as is the case with ambassadorial records). I cite manuscripts by **I.** (*list*) or **II.** (*listy*), that is, folio or folios. Thus, "l. 3" means folio 3, and "ll. 4-4ob." represents folios 4-4v (with ob. referring to *oborot*, meaning verso). When a manuscript has an original pagination in pages, I follow its lead and cite it by pages rather than *listy*. Greek manuscripts are referred to by folio or pages.

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world of the early modern period in Southeastern Europe, the Balkans and the Near East. The latter refers to the part of this world comprised of Greek-speaking populations and communities. Thus, there is some overlap. The term Greek East is broad enough to cover Greek speakers and their “normally” Greek ecclesiastical hierarchy. No strict modern national identities are necessarily implied.

Of Grecophiles and Latinophiles

In 1685, two Greek hieromonks, the brothers Ioannikios and Sophronios Leichoudes, established in Moscow a school of secondary and higher education that is known in the historiography as the Slavo-Greco-Latin Academy.¹ It was the first formally organized educational institution in Russia and was modeled after contemporary Jesuit colleges of the same type. Ioannikios and Sophronios were not members of the Society of Jesus; rather, all evidence suggests they grew up and remained confessionally Greek Orthodox. However, like many other Greeks in the seventeenth century, the two brothers had acquired part of their education in the colleges of post-Renaissance Italy under a curriculum that largely copied the Jesuits' (Sophronios also graduated from the University of Padua). In turn, when the Leichoudes undertook to create a school in Russia, they emulated the structural characteristics, pedagogical methods, and program of studies of Jesuit prototypes. Certainly, the Leichoudes adapted the Academy's curriculum to fit the demands of the Russian Orthodox cultural environment. Still, they imparted to their Muscovite students a version of the rhetorical and philosophical training offered by Jesuit teachers in their extensive network of schools throughout the world.

The argument of this book is that Russian institutional education commenced along Jesuit prototypes brought to Russia by the Leichoudes brothers. Consequently, the teaching activities of these Greek scholars constituted one of the main routes through which the Latin West found its way to Russia in the seventeenth century.² I concentrate on the early phase of the activity of the Slavo-Greco-Latin Academy in Moscow (1685–1694), that is, its Leichoudian period. At the core of my analysis is a discussion of textbooks and other educational materials that the Leichoudes used in instruction. These sources (in Latin, Greek, and Slavonic) remain unpublished in a variety of repositories and are of primary importance for an investigation of the Academy's curriculum. Through a study of the Academy's formal organization and curriculum and of samples of the authorial output of its founders (textbooks, orations, and so on), I maintain that the

historical conditions (such as the Ottoman control over large numbers of Orthodox) and of Western (mostly, Roman Catholic) influences. Chapter 2 is devoted to the Leichoudes' biography, including a discussion of the formal schooling Ioannikios and Sophronios received in educational institutions of post-Renaissance Italy and an investigation of the cultural impulses that exercised a formative influence on the intellectual makeup of the two brothers. Although Sophronios graduated from the University of Padua with a doctorate in philosophy, Padua's Aristotelianism does not appear to have informed the curricular choices of the Leichoudes in Moscow, at least insofar as their approach to some aspects of natural philosophy is concerned. Instead, Ioannikios and Sophronios's tutelage under Gerasimos Vlachos and their study in the Cottunian College in Padua served as the decisive factors in their intellectual formation. Both Vlachos and the Cottunian College provided the two brothers with an education based on the institutional contours and curriculum of seventeenth-century Jesuit colleges. Ioannikios and Sophronios would follow much the same example in the Slavo-Greco-Latin Academy.

The teachers-Leichoudes were not operating in a vacuum in Moscow. When the Russians requested teachers from the Greek East for a projected academy in their capital, tsar and patriarch had specific goals in mind. The subject of chapter 3 is a survey of Russian education until the late seventeenth century, including an examination of the prehistory of the Academy's establishment and a detailed analysis of the *Privilegiia*, a foundation charter for a school dating from the early 1680s, as an expression of goals set by church and state. In contrast to several previous scholarly interpretations that posited a struggle between the tsarist court and the Muscovite patriarchate over the Academy's cultural orientation, I emphasize the cooperation of church and state in the design of the first ever formal Russian educational institution. Subsequently, I relate the *Privilegiia*'s provisions to the school established by Ioannikios and Sophronios. More importantly, I compare the Leichoudian Academy to other Western educational institutions of the same level and underline the Academy's debt to Jesuit secondary and higher level colleges. Through this comparison, I demonstrate that such Jesuit colleges, long imitated in the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth and in Greek-run educational establishments in the Orthodox East and in Italy, also served as the prototype for the Slavo-Greco-Latin Academy. Institutional education at the secondary and higher level began in Russia, as in some other early modern European states, along Jesuit lines. This fact bears emphasizing, especially since the new Muscovite Academy served as the alma mater for several important political and cultural players of Peter the Great's Westernizing reign.

in both church and state administration during the heady time of Peter the Great's Westernizing projects. Thus the conventional chronological scope of the book encompasses the period to 1725, the end of Peter the Great's reign.

In the Slavo-Greco-Latin Academy, Jesuit education extended beyond mere adoption of institutional structures and pedagogical methods. It penetrated the heart of the Academy's curriculum through the overwhelming influence it exercised on the textbooks and other educational materials the Leichoudes used. The influence of Western, especially Jesuit, models in educational undertakings in the Ukrainian and Belarusian lands of the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth has long been discussed in the historiography. Moreover, recent detective work has shown that some Ukrainian and Belarusian clerics of the seventeenth century extensively utilized Western sources in their philosophical and theological writings, which they sought to offer in Orthodox form to their audience.³ I engage in a similar effort in the case of the Leichoude's textbooks, but I have not aimed at analyzing the complete corpus of Leichoudian writings on natural philosophy, a task more appropriate for specialists in the history of philosophy. I also purposefully leave aside their polemical works, either ones on the Eucharist conflict or against Roman Catholicism or Protestantism. Indeed, in several of their polemical works the Leichoudes railed against the Jesuits in theological matters, and one of these works purports to be the record of a dispute between them and a Jesuit teacher. Rather, I utilize the polemical works of the Leichoudes when these contribute to elucidating their biography and their educational activities. Thus, the main thrust of the book is on the class time of the Leichoudes. This is a conscious choice, because the polemical Leichoudes can sidetrack one from understanding the origins and content of their educational choices. Nor does this book treat their theological writings, because there is no evidence that they taught theology in the Academy. A complete study of their theological output is yet to be undertaken by theologians, and I suspect that it will also show much borrowing and adaptation from the Latin West.⁴

Ioannikios and Sophronios were by no means original or innovative scholars. If anything, the derivative nature of their authorial output is apparent in their works. Certainly, this fact does not render the Academy's curriculum inconsequential. The Academy was projected to satisfy the demands of the state by supplying skilled administrators and to produce learned clergymen, able to staff the church hierarchy and to disseminate Christian teachings to the laity. Simultaneously, the first institutionalized school in Russia catered to the intellectual quests of members of the royal and patriarchal courts and their administrators, clerks, scribes, and editors. A product of cooperation between church and state, its foundation was very

and its church, and therefore they held responsible positions. The authorial and editorial work by some of the more prominent correctors and scribes of the Russian Chancellery of Printing Affairs (*Prikaz knigopechatnogo dela*)—which administered the Muscovite Typography—has been the object of more intensive study.⁸ However, much less is known about the culture and mental worlds of the secretaries in the state administrative chancelleries and of less prominent scribes and correctors. Nevertheless, in some cases at least, the secretaries' contributions were crucial in the larger projects of both church and state. As Sergei K. Bogoiavlenskii argued, “The whole life of the secretaries [*d'iaki*] was spent in a noble environment. They participated in court ceremonies, [and] associated with important and powerful people, on whose support they depended for their further career, and to whom in turn they offered services.” Their educational history provides insights into aspects of elite culture, broadly conceived, that was shared among aristocrats, lesser noblemen, and at least some of the administrative staff, despite the very clear distinctions between nobles and non-nobles that the Muscovite social system was based upon.⁹

This book constitutes a detailed (that is, based on an analysis of the curricular materials) study of a seventeenth-century institutionalized school in an Eastern Orthodox religious environment. In demonstrating the Jesuit origins of the Academy's education, I propose an innovative interpretation of the development of institutional Russian education in the seventeenth century. I chronicle the Academy's foundation and operation, place it in the history of seventeenth-century Russian educational initiatives, analyze the curriculum's potential impact on students and on Russian elite culture, and situate the Academy in the contexts of Russian-Greek cultural relations and of the increased contacts between Russia and Western Europe in the seventeenth century. The running thread that brings together all these issues is the relationship between religious and secular knowledge in early modern Russia. Given the Jesuit character of the Academy's education and the Greek teachers who channeled it, I hope to add new insights to the interpretative framework of Russian cultural relations with the Greek East in the seventeenth century. At the same time, I analyze the Academy as part of the growing Westernization of Russian elite culture before Peter the Great's reign, thus highlighting the contribution of formal education to this elite culture in advance of Peter the Great's initiatives.

The term Westernization has recently come under sustained criticism among Russianists, not least because of its Eurocentric and Occidentalistic connotations. Some scholars have expressed serious doubts about its heuristic value, because in their opinion it tends to homogenize and reify complex

relation between Russia and Europe and the place of Russian culture in the larger European context constituted the second factor. The outcome was that contemporary rigid national and cultural distinctions contributed to partisan and sometimes anachronistic interpretations of the complex religious and cultural processes of early modern Russia.

For some Imperial Russian historians, Peter's reign was a turning point from the old, traditionalist, conservative Muscovite culture to a modern, Westernized, progressive culture instituted by his reforms. Thus, when these scholars looked at the pre-Petrine past, they mostly saw a Byzantine (or Byzantinizing) Russia about to be swept away by the victorious Western ways advocated by the tsar-reformer. Many historians projected the nineteenth-century Russian debates between "Westernizers" and "Slavophiles" into earlier periods by detecting a struggle between "Latinophiles/Latinizers" and "Grecophiles," progressives and conservatives respectively, on the eve of Peter the Great's reign. In such a scheme, rigid national and confessional or cultural distinctions of the modern period (Orthodox versus Roman Catholic or Protestant, Greek/Russian versus Ukrainian/Belarusian or Polish) left their stamp on the historiography of earlier periods. The result was that although many prerevolutionary scholars made substantial advances in charting the development of Russian culture in the seventeenth century, some of their accounts were colored by the imposition of anachronistic nineteenth-century conceptual categories on their sources. Thus, anything Russian or Greek before Peter the Great often became automatically synonymous with conservative Orthodoxy and, sometimes, obscurantism. A Greek clergyman could be representative only of a (largely imaginary) Byzantine culture, even when educated in the colleges and universities of post-Renaissance Italy. Likewise, anyone coming from the Ukraine or Belarus was *ipso facto* colored (or even corrupted) by Latin culture and hence confessionally suspect and possibly a Uniate, but still comparatively progressive when juxtaposed to a carrier of Greek and Russian Orthodox culture. By applying such anachronistic and inflexible distinctive identities to early modern culture, such interpretations often ended up simplifying a very complex context.

The historiography of the Slavo-Greco-Latin Academy and of the Leichoudes constitutes a case in point.¹² In the first and still valuable work covering the Academy's operation between 1685 and 1814, Sergei Smirnov set a milestone and largely laid the interpretative foundation for subsequent studies of the Academy and of the Leichoudes as educators.¹³ Smirnov provided a comprehensive survey of the Academy's development until its reorganization into a theological academy in 1814. He identified three separate and distinctive stages in the Academy's evolution: a "Greek" one, lasting

nuanced portrait of Patriarch Adrian as a church leader who was not an opponent of all Western influences, but who was unable to pursue sustained educational and religious programs in view of Peter the Great's increasing inroads into church affairs. Still, as he was more interested in church-state relations, Skvortsov did not escape the trap of the Grecophile-Latinophile dichotomy in his discussion of Russian cultural life in the last decade of the seventeenth century. Likewise, Vasilii Pevnitskii and Ierofei Tatarskii studied the activities of Epifanii Slavnetskii and Simeon Polotskii as representatives of two contrasting intellectual currents, one Grecophile and the other Latinophile.¹⁸ Grigorii Mirkovich used the same dichotomy in his detailed investigation of the disputes over the precise moment of transubstantiation in the Eucharist in the 1680s.¹⁹

In what constitutes the second milestone in the study of the Academy's first period of operation, Mikhail Smentsovskii's biography of the Leichoudes faithfully followed Sergei Smirnov's lead, even as it enormously advanced knowledge of the Leichoudes' activities in Russia.²⁰ In this comprehensive study of the Leichoudes, Smentsovskii attempted to chart their entire lives in Russia, unearthing in the process important new archival materials. He also devoted significant attention to the Academy's institutional framework and to Leichoudian textbooks. Still, he depended on Smirnov's account and thus tended to overlook the importance of the new evidence he had uncovered. His contribution, important as it was, did not provide an in-depth discussion of Leichoudian instruction. Moreover, Smentsovskii, like Smirnov long before him, relied primarily on the Leichoudes' polemics for an interpretation of his subjects' contribution to Russian culture in the 1680s and 1690s. As a result, Smentsovskii portrayed the Leichoudes primarily as defenders of the Orthodox interpretation of the transubstantiation in the Eucharist in the vicious conflict that held center stage in the Russian Orthodox Church in the late 1680s. Accordingly, the Leichoudes were among the leading figures of the "Grecophile" camp in the Russian Church in its struggle against the "Latinizing" tendencies of the court of Sophia Alekseevna and its associates among a number of Ukrainian, Belarusian, and Russian clerics. To be fair, Smentsovskii was not the originator of such a focus on the polemical works of the Leichoudes, for he borrowed it from other church historians of the late nineteenth century, such as Smirnov and Mirkovich. However, since his study of the Leichoudes acquired the status of an authoritative biography of the two brothers, Smentsovskii's opus became the standard point of interpretative reference for all subsequent scholarship on the Leichoudes. Despite the interpretation of the Leichoudes as "Grecophiles," Smentsovskii's biography still remains unsurpassed.

scholarship in the late twentieth and the early twenty-first centuries has moved toward seeing the Academy's education as a *splav* (fusion) of Latin and Greek elements, although it still largely operates within an attenuated Grecophile-Latinophile dichotomy.²⁸ The works of Boris L. Fonkich constitute an example. Fonkich's paleographic studies of the Leichoudian manuscripts single-handedly reinvigorated interest in the Leichouides' authorial output among Greek and Russian scholars alike.²⁹ It is noteworthy that over the years, Fonkich generally avoided making substantive arguments on the Leichouides' importance in the cultural life of seventeenth-century Muscovy. In his recent book on schools, Fonkich briefly asserted that the Leichouides' erudition was a fusion of Greek and Latin elements that went beyond the expectations of both Grecophiles and Latinophiles.³⁰ Following him, some of his students, such as D. N. Ramazanova, correctly pointed out that the Leichouides can only be understood fully after a complete examination and comparison of their textbooks in order to ascertain both "the Eastern Christian and Western influences" on their works.³¹ However, with the partial exception of the grammatical works of the Leichouides, there have been no systematic efforts to explain in detail what this fusion consisted of, or to investigate it in detail.³²

Starting in the 1970s, scholarship of a different kind opened up new venues for the study of the Slavo-Greco-Latin Academy by illuminating the activities of Ukrainian and Belarusian scholars in Muscovy in the late seventeenth century. Literary historians and philologists traced the Western notions of language and style in the works of the most prominent of these scholars, Simeon Polotskii (1629–1680) and Epifanii Slavinskii (?–1675), and analyzed their impact on the native Muscovite literary output. Polotskii and Slavinskii contributed substantially to the appearance of Baroque genres and literary tastes, especially didactic poetry, in the Russian court. As graduates of Kievan schools, both were conversant with the rhetoric and Aristotelian philosophy of the post-Reformation period. They served in the Russian court as translators, correctors, and tutors to members of Moscow's ecclesiastical and secular elite.³³ In this capacity, Polotskii and Slavinskii functioned as conduits through which elements of Western philosophical and literary theories penetrated Russian elite culture.³⁴

Art historians have branded the seventeenth century as a transitional one in artistic and architectural production. They have also traced the Western influences on Russian art and architecture, although the extent to which such production can be branded Baroque has been a matter of controversy. More recent approaches tend to see the seventeenth century as a period of eclectic Russian borrowing in art and architecture that may have combined

knowledge. First promulgated in the introduction to the *Skrizhal'* (a collection of translations from Greek theological works) that came out of the patriarchal printing press in Patriarch Nikon's time, this theory countered the widespread conviction in Russia at the time that faith was sufficient for pleasing God and leading a virtuous life, without detailed knowledge and understanding of it.

Such a concept of enlightenment was at the center of the cultural production of Ukrainian and Belarusian clergy-scholars active in the Muscovite court in the second half of the seventeenth century. As practitioners of the Jesuit curriculum, the Leichoudes went a step further by actively seeking to reconcile secular knowledge (classical languages and philosophy) with religious learning within the framework of a formal school, the latter being a novelty in Russia. The Leichoudes thus contributed their own share to the development of a new ethos of intellectualism in Russia in the seventeenth century, an attitude that valued secular learning as a necessary and compatible complement to faith.³⁹ It is the history and parameters of precisely this Leichoudian contribution, as it unfolded in their years as teachers of the Slavo-Greco-Latin Academy, that I try to uncover in this book.

precedents.⁶ During Nikon's patriarchate, Greek (and some Arab) Orthodox clergymen acquired additional prominence in the Muscovite court by acting as adjudicators in Nikon's case at the request of Tsar Aleksei Mikhailovich and to the dismay of the Old Believers.⁷ That was their great chance to enhance and solidify their status as arbiters in ecclesiastical and doctrinal matters with the Russians, and they were particularly willing to oblige. For the Russians the Eastern patriarchs were referees in matters of dogma and liturgical practice, since the Russians rarely ventured very far theologically by themselves.⁸ The Greeks and other Orthodox clergymen and merchants were also conduits of information. Indeed, at a time when the Russian court had few permanent representatives in foreign countries, the information about the Balkans and the Near East that these visitors brought with them was of vital importance for Muscovite diplomacy.⁹

The decisive event for Russian attitudes toward Byzantium and the Greeks in particular was the decision by the political and by part of the ecclesiastical authorities of the threatened Byzantine Empire to accept the Union of Florence in 1439. For the Russians the Ottoman conquest of Constantinople was not an earth-shattering event; the Byzantine decision to unite with the Latin Church was, since it constituted apostasy from true faith. As a result, Russian views about the Greeks also exhibited signs of aloofness, suspiciousness about the survival of Greek Orthodoxy, and sometimes even outright hostility. Acceptance of Greek expertise in matters of faith coexisted with a steady undercurrent of doubts about actual Greek piety under Islamic domination. Suspiciousness is evident in the sources produced by some literate voices (primarily monks and other clergymen) in Russia, while the official Muscovite governmental authorities usually adopted a moderate stance of at least guarded benevolence, whatever the real views of individual prince, nobleman, or commoner may have been.¹⁰ Thus, Russian attitudes toward their Greek coreligionists ranged from goodwill and support to tension, distrust, and hostility throughout the early modern period.

An Orthodox Commonwealth?

In approaching the world of early modern Eastern Orthodoxy, scholars have proposed various interpretative models. In the 1930s, Manuel Gedeon set the stage with a variety of works, and especially through his sweeping and penetrating overview entitled, significantly, the *History of the Poor in Christ*.¹¹ A one-time lay official of the Patriarchate of Constantinople, who was not averse to uncovering the failings of the clergy or highlighting the

Church to princely/tsarist power throughout the sixteenth century and concluded that the Russians became overtly nationalistic in their outlook and started resenting Greek tutelage. At the same time, Runciman noted that the Russians could not totally sever relations with the Eastern patriarchates, because they needed them in order to legitimize the title of tsar as well as, later in the sixteenth century, for the establishment of the Moscow Patriarchate, for the fight against the Uniates in Poland-Lithuania in the early seventeenth century, for the reestablishment of a church hierarchy after the Time of Troubles, and, finally, for the reforms of Patriarch Nikon in the mid-seventeenth century. Runciman, therefore, described the shift in Russian attitudes toward the Greeks from suspiciousness regarding the survival of Greek Orthodoxy to a more benevolent, if still guarded, acceptance of the importance of the Orthodox patriarchal hierarchy for the legitimization of moves toward church independence and also for the reforms in the Russian Orthodox Church.¹⁴

In the early 1970s, Dimitri Obolensky proposed an understanding of Eastern Europe (in the period between the ninth century to—roughly—the fourteenth century) as a community of peoples sharing a common cultural tradition. This community, which was not a political formation, Obolensky branded the Byzantine Commonwealth. Among the elements of the shared cultural tradition were Orthodoxy; recognition of the Ecumenical Patriarchate as the mother church and as a referee in disputes; recognition, or indirect acceptance, of the Byzantine emperor's authority as a ruler in the Christian *ecumene* (literally, the Christian-inhabited world); Romano-Byzantine law; and finally, the aesthetic and artistic world of the Byzantine Church as prototypical and worthy of imitation.¹⁵ Obolensky's scheme was not necessarily accepted by all historians, and not only on nationalistic grounds. Obolensky, a descendant of a Russian princely family, lived in England and had witnessed the dissolution of the British Empire in the period after World War II; thus, he had seen two empires disappear. In particular, scholars accepted more easily the idea of cultural influence and tended to doubt the alleged recognition by Eastern European peoples of the emperor's authority on their polities, the assertions of the Byzantines to the contrary notwithstanding.¹⁶ Significantly, Obolensky was careful to distinguish the case of Russia. Indeed, in contrast to the examples of the Serbs and the Bulgarians, he argued that Russian participation in the commonwealth was primarily cultural, and not political in content. After all, Russia as a state never came under the direct political control of Byzantium. Obolensky admitted that Russian culture was overtly nationalistic during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries.¹⁷ Finally, he also argued (and here he followed the work

Greek education. Throughout his exposition, he emphasized precisely these ecclesiastical and cultural ties between Greeks and Russians for the period up to 1700. For the subsequent period, although he still saw a strong cultural bond (as exemplified by the case of Eugenios Voulgares in the eighteenth century), Kitromilides rightly underscored the additional political dimension, that of Russia's potential role as the liberator of the Greeks. He also noted that, Greek hopes and legends of the time notwithstanding, Russian governments until Peter the Great never seriously entertained any plans for the potential liberation of the Balkan peoples from Ottoman control.²³

Kitromilides's conception of Russian-Greek relations in the early modern period stands in stark contrast to the much earlier work of Nikolai F. Kapterev, a Russian historian active in the second half of the nineteenth century and the beginning of the twentieth. In a thick volume characteristically titled *The Character of Russian Relations with the Orthodox East in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries*, Kapterev presented a damning picture of the Greeks as unscrupulous speculators and haughty exploiters of the naïve and ritualistic understanding of Russian piety. More importantly, he highlighted the Russian suspiciousness vis-à-vis the Orthodox clergymen coming from the East and underscored the Russians' consciousness of themselves as the only truly Orthodox people in the world. He also assigned blame to the Greeks for unprincipled actions during the tumultuous years of Nikon's patriarchate, which resulted in the schism of the Old Belief within the Russian Church in the middle of the seventeenth century.²⁴ To be sure, Kapterev produced his evaluations during a period when Russia had already started supporting Bulgarian emancipation from Greek cultural and Ottoman political tutelage. This was also a time in which Russian literati pondered their relations with the West and Russia's place in world history. Still, Kapterev's exposition was littered with verbatim quotes from the sources and could not be easily dismissed. This—what can be branded the “Kapterev paradigm”—is the exact opposite of the one encountered in Kitromilides.

The concept of the Orthodox Commonwealth has gained wide currency in historiography, especially among scholars of Balkan nationalism. In view of the above, however, the interpretative utility of the Orthodox Commonwealth needs reconsideration, at least for the case of Russia in particular, if not for the cases of other Balkan peoples such as the Serbs and even the Romanians. Viewed from the perspective of the nineteenth-century nationalistic movements and the creation of national churches, the alleged presence of an Orthodox Commonwealth in the premodern period creates a semblance of peaceful coexistence and acceptance among the Orthodox people that ignores or at the very least underplays significant ruptures,

Vlachos (1607?–1685), a Cretan hieromonk and future metropolitan of Philadelphiea (the Orthodox see of Venice, under the nominal control of the Ecumenical Patriarchate) and, as we shall see, teacher of the Leichoudes brothers. In the middle of the seventeenth century, Vlachos (then in Venice as a teacher in the employ of the local Greek community and while the Venetian-Turkish war over Crete was going on) addressed to Tsar Aleksei Mikhailovich an emotional appeal to intervene for the liberation of the Balkan peoples from the Turks, entitled “Triumph against the Kingdom of the Turks.”²⁷ Specifically, Vlachos called on the almighty Russian tsar to come to the aid of the subject Orthodox peoples, but emphasized the case of the Greeks in particular. Indeed, Vlachos begged the tsar to reconstitute the old empire of the Helleno-Romans (that is, the Byzantine Empire), which they lost “because of their sins.” In referring to these Helleno-Romans, Vlachos lamented their contemporary condition by decrying the fact that “once we were Hellenes, and now we are barbarians.” Further, he assured Aleksei that it was a propitious moment to move against the Turks since they were very much occupied with the siege of Crete. If the tsar decided on an expedition toward Wallachia and Moldavia, Vlachos argued, he would encounter many peoples ready to help. Not only the Wallachians and the Moldavians, but also “Serbs and from the land of the Bulgars . . . Thracians, and then from other places, Macedonians, Epirotes, Hellenes, Peloponnesians, Spartans and all the Helleno-Romans, the warm and beloved children of the Eastern Church, will follow.”²⁸ Further along Vlachos reminded the tsar once again that he would have many allies in such an endeavor against the common enemy of Christianity, such as “the magnanimous Cossacks. . . the Orthodox Wallachians, the coreligionist [*homodoxoi*] Moldavians, the Helleno-Romans.” In closing his appeal, Vlachos once more called on the tsar to “delight the Hellenes, delight the pious, delight the world, having overthrown the tyranny [of the Turks].”²⁹ An intellectual from Venetian-controlled Crete who had spent most of his time there and in Venice, Vlachos was very clearly aware of the existence of different ethnic groups in the Balkans. While still remaining within the Byzantine imperial political framework and lamenting the demise of the Helleno-Roman Empire, he also clearly differentiated among the various ethnicities inhabiting the Balkan landscape.³⁰

In the early modern Balkans, convergences at the level of “low culture” were the result of linguistic and cultural interaction, and shared moral values. Collective affiliation was primarily expressed through religious adherence, a dynamic to which the Ottoman system of assigning individuals to groups by religion also contributed. In the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, Orthodox Christians of the Ottoman Empire belonged to the Rhomaic

affiliation, that is, Orthodoxy, not necessarily their ethnic origin.³⁶ It is unclear whether this term was a conscious self-ascription that referred to a person's conviction of his own ethnic identity, or it was a ruse on the part of the visitor in order to gain some advantage, or it was bureaucratic shorthand. A similar multiplicity of usages applied in the Balkans and much of central Europe, where the term Greek was often employed to describe an Orthodox merchant, and not necessarily an individual of Greek ethnic origin. In the Ottoman-held early modern Balkans, the term Greek could denote professional affiliation or urban dwelling. In early modern Hungary, the characterization Greek referred to Orthodox Balkan immigrants, and occasionally meant merchants.³⁷ Such usage, however, does not mean that the Russians were ignorant of the existence of non-Greek-speaking people inhabiting the Balkans. Russian administrators did not take lightly the various declarations of identity, as is evidenced by their careful investigation into the stories of immigrants who sought employment in Russia. The literati among the Russians and the clerks in the various administrative departments knew the import of the term Greek and its potential multiple uses.³⁸ Russian diplomatic sources recording the constant flow of ethnic Greek clergymen and other evidence (see below for the case of Sukhanov) indicate that the Russians were cognizant of the varied ethnic makeup of their Balkan coreligionists and did not necessarily use the term *grek* lightly to categorize them. For example, the Russians were aware that when they corresponded with the Ecumenical Patriarchate, they most often communicated with an ethnic Greek patriarch; when they provided permission of passage to a monk from the Serbian land, they were dealing with a Serb (*Serbenin*, *Serbin*). When they were hosting the patriarch of Antioch in the 1650s, they welcomed an Arab guest. Thus, when it came to ecclesiastical prelates, the Russians knew and understood the ethnic distinctions. It is interesting to note, however, that contrary to Vlachos's Helleno-Roman landscape, the Russians most often referred to the Greeks as *greki* (alternative, *grechane*), that is, Greeks and not Romans or Helleno-Romans, normally reserving the term *ellini* for the ancient, pagan Greeks.

The analytical concept of *ethnie*, as proposed by Victor Roudometof (following Anthony Smith) for Balkan society, is useful for understanding if the Orthodox Commonwealth worked. As Roudometof argues, an ethnic community may share "a collective proper name, a myth of common ancestry, shared historical memories, some elements of common culture (e.g., language, religion), an association with a specific homeland, and a sense of solidarity."³⁹ Such an understanding of ethnic community "does not necessarily assign political significance to ethnic differences." Nor, one may add,

(including parts of the elite). Clearly aware that they were undertaking a dangerous task, the reformers justified their program by claiming that they decided on it in order to bring Russian ritual up to the standards included in ancient Slavonic and old Greek books (the emphasis on ancient sources, that is, those dating from the early period of conversion, is notable in both cases). The result was a schism within the Russian Church that persists, in various guises, to the present day. Despite the persistent opposition from some groups, however, the Russians turned yet again to the Greeks when they needed teachers for their projected Academy in the 1680s.

Thus, neither the Kitromilides paradigm, nor that of Kapterev, tells the whole story. The Russians felt that they were a special case among the Orthodox, and at least some of them sought to propagate their independence from Greek tutelage. Moreover, the Russians asserted their own credentials in the Orthodox world's ideological conflict with the Ottomans well before the nineteenth-century national rivalries. Kitromilides admits the existence of ecclesiastical conflicts among the different Orthodox ethnic groups, but emphasizes the basic symbolic, aesthetic, and doctrinal space in which all the Orthodox people lived and which was informed by their faith. However, beyond concord on the existence of an ancient Orthodoxy (that of the Fathers of the Church and of the seven ecumenical councils), Russians and Greeks often found themselves in disagreement over liturgical practice and pious behavior. In this sense, the Orthodox Commonwealth was (and is) as much an "imagined" entity in the eyes of the Ecumenical Patriarchate (or of individual Orthodox prelates) and of modern scholars as modern nations might be.⁴²

There is ample evidence to support such a conclusion. For example, Greek hierarchs on Mount Athos did not accept Russian and Serbian ecclesiastical books and even burned them as heretical in the middle of the seventeenth century. Some Russians doubted Orthodoxy's survival under the Turks and sometimes sent their Greek visitors (most of whom were monks and ecclesiastical dignitaries) away to the Solovetskii Monastery in the North Sea or to Siberia in order to return them to Orthodoxy. Some Russian priests in Moscow did not allow lay Greek visitors (mostly merchants) to enter Russian churches because they considered them infidels. Moreover, self-identified Greeks (as well as Serbs, Wallachians, and Bulgarians) who petitioned to stay permanently in Russia were regularly submitted to interrogation regarding their faith and their ritual of baptism, as well as their pious practices and relations with non-Orthodox peoples. In case the Russian authorities (both ecclesiastic and secular) were not satisfied that these potential immigrants had passed the test, they were submitted to what one

getting drunk, and drawing daggers on each other to commit murder . . . they [the Russians] . . . instead of placing faith and confidence in them as formerly, have taken to this method . . . that is, they send them into darkness: and for the special crime of drinking tobacco-smoke, they even put them to death.” The Greeks, Paul concluded, deserved fully to be treated in this manner.⁴⁶

Apparently, smoking water pipes and getting drunk were not the only vices that characterized the Greek clergymen.⁴⁷ Bad experiences with the behavior of Greek visitors were coupled with a suspiciousness as to the correctness of their faith as a result of their subjection to the Turks. Thus, in 1653, Clement, the archimandrite of the Iveron Monastery on Mount Athos, petitioned Tsar Aleksei Mikhailovich and Patriarch Nikon to grant the Moscow Greeks a monastery where they could attend the liturgy in Greek. Clement supported his petition by citing two reasons: first, the Greeks could not understand the Russian liturgy, and second, “some Russian priests have not allowed Greek merchant laymen into the church of God to hear the holy service, calling them infidels.”⁴⁸ This latter explanation is confirmed by none other than Paul of Aleppo; he also reported that some Russian priests in olden times (*v starinu*) forbade the Greek laymen and clergymen to enter their churches, and had even occasionally prevented Greek clergymen from performing services in their churches, because they deemed them “contaminated” due to Turkish domination.⁴⁹

The notion of contaminated Orthodoxy oftentimes extended to the Greeks’ ritual practices and liturgical books as well. On-and-off flare-ups over rebaptization of converts in the early modern period witnessed the Greeks and the Russians occasionally at odds with one another.⁵⁰ In a 1627 debate between a Ukrainian philologist and two Russian correctors in Moscow, Lavrentii Zizanii (the philologist) brought forth arguments from Greek texts against the corrections proposed by his Muscovite interlocutors for his catechism. His appeal to Greek sources was futile, because the Muscovite correctors refused to accept the validity of contemporary Greek editions of liturgical books. Their argument encapsulates the Russian attitude toward newly printed Greek books:

We have reliable versions of all the old, authoritative texts; and do not accept various new copies and versions in Greek, since the Greeks currently live in great travail among the infidels, and are unable to print their own books to their own order; for this reason non-Orthodox elements are introduced into Greek copies at will. We have no use for such new Greek-language versions; when something in them be printed according to new custom, we accept not this new insertion.⁵¹

found refuge among the Slavs of distant lands (“who now live under the [Habsburg] Emperor”) where he died and then was buried, at the pope’s request, in Rome. The hegumen concluded:

The Greeks hate us even here because we read according to our Slavonic books and we have our own archbishop, and metropolitans and bishops and priests, and because they want to have control about everything over us, and for this reason the Greeks lost their empire, and because they went to church on horseback and they received communion on horseback.⁵⁴

The fanciful description of the equestrian devotional habits of the Greeks as a cause of the Byzantine Empire’s fall notwithstanding, this account is highly significant for the light it throws on the relations between Greeks and Slavs in the mid-seventeenth century. This is far from a brotherly community of coreligionists, but instead is fraught with conflict along ethnic lines. At a basic level, there is Serbian resentment over Greek attempts to control ecclesiastical appointments. More importantly, however, there is a clear sense of distinct pieties, again along ethnic lines. The Greeks are accused of wanting everything their way, and of condemning the practices of other ethnic groups, including the Russians’, as heretical. This picture is a far cry from any ecumenical Orthodoxy or from a shared spiritual world.

Sukhanov’s account of the actual debates with Greek hierarchs on other occasions during his sojourn in Moldavia provides further evidence, this time about Russian attitudes toward the Greeks. A brief catalogue of Sukhanov’s accusations against the Greeks includes the following: they do not perform full immersion in baptism, they cross themselves in a different manner from the Russians, they celebrate mass with heretics (Armenians and Roman Catholics) in the Holy Sepulcher, they give communion to peoples from other faiths, they should not boast that they were the first to be baptized (since the first Christians were Jews), they print their liturgical books in Italy, they adopt Western knowledge and hence incorporate alien elements into the faith, they elevate and demote patriarchs every other day in Constantinople, and they just pay lip service to the true faith, but do not practice it. Throughout the text, Sukhanov distinguishes clearly between the Russians, the Greeks, the Serbs, the Bulgarians, and the Wallachians.⁵⁵

When the Leichoudes brothers arrived in Moscow in 1685, they were quickly embroiled in a polemic with a local learned monk named Sil’vestr Medvedev. Medvedev was obviously upset because the Leichoudes had gotten the job that he coveted, but also because of what he considered the Russians’ blind faith in everything Greek. The cause of the polemical exchanges

and were especially critical of liturgical practices and the absence of outward pious devotions, at the same time that they accused the Greeks of simony, hypocritical fasting, and many other transgressions.⁶³

To what extent were Sukhanov and Avvakum typical of Russian attitudes toward the Greeks? It is difficult to say. Some early modern pilgrims from the Russian state, such as Vasilii Grigorovich-Barskii, generally expressed a more benevolent, even sometimes admiring attitude toward the Greeks.⁶⁴ They recognized the difficult circumstances that the Greeks found themselves in, praised them for their constancy and for upholding Orthodoxy, and sought to capitulate on Greek theological and ecclesiastical expertise.⁶⁵ The evidence therefore is mixed. It shows the existence of both trends, one accepting the Greeks as Orthodox and even recognizing in them a sort of leading role in the preservation and propagation of Orthodoxy; another that tended to distrust the Greeks, emphasize their inconstancy in faith, and instead present the Russian case (be it the reformed or the Old Believer church) as the only true guardian of Orthodoxy. Russian responses to the Greeks ranged between acceptance and doubt.

Of Greeks and Russians

The Russians indeed felt that Orthodoxy constituted a trait that they shared with other peoples of the Balkans, including the Serbs, Bulgarians, Wallachians, Moldavians, and Greeks. Orthodoxy, at a very basic level, constituted the religious, symbolic, emotive, and, to a certain extent, political frame of reference for these peoples. However, beneath the surface of what modern scholars have called the Orthodox Commonwealth, there were differences among these peoples that went beyond simple ethnic slurs or conflicts over the appointments in church administration. Indeed, as the case of Greco-Russian relations during the seventeenth century shows, the Orthodox community was rent by internal divisions that went to the very heart of what constitutes Orthodoxy.

The Ecumenical Patriarchate persistently projected the message that Greeks, Russians, Moldavians, Wallachians, Bulgarians, and Serbs constituted an Orthodox community in contradistinction to the Roman Catholics, Protestants, and Ottomans. It also styled itself as the mother of the Russian Church and maintained formal contacts with the leadership of local Orthodox churches. However, beyond the level of official relations, there lurks a mixed picture in which Moldavians and Serbs resented the fact that the Greeks headed their churches; some Russian priests refused to allow Greek

The Wandering Greeks

From Italy to Russia

If there was one constant in the lives of seventeenth-century Greeks interested in education, it was mobility. Whether in search for basic literacy or training in a craft, a doctoral degree or employment as teachers, Greeks of the time were obliged to move, oftentimes very far from their birthplace.¹ Natives of Crete and the Ionian Islands, in particular, enjoyed the advantages that citizenship of the Venetian Republic afforded. The Serenissima zealously strove to restrict the number of Greeks who sought educational opportunities in institutions outside its Italian domains. To this end, it provided special incentives to ensure that its Ionian and Cretan citizens would enroll in the colleges of Venice and Padua, and most importantly, in the University of Padua, thus creating what one scholar calls “organic intellectuals,” that is, educated individuals who had absorbed Venetian culture, and who were subsequently supposed to transpose it to the Venetian-held eastern Mediterranean territories, thus contributing to the stability of Venetian control.² The substantial Greek communities in these two cities served as a further attraction through the establishment of their own schools and the scholarships and endowments set up by wealthy patrons in support of compatriot students.³ After completing their studies, most of these freshly minted scholars became clergymen, either secular or monastic, and sought careers in the Orthodox Church’s hierarchy, in teaching (under the supervision of the church in the Ottoman domains) and private tutoring, as well as in the medical field (usually as laymen); some even rose to positions of authority in the Ottoman government.⁴ To one degree or the other, they were all influenced by the intellectual currents of Renaissance and post-Renaissance Western Europe, as is evident in the educational enterprises and in the authorial output of the Greek East after the mid-sixteenth century.⁵ As early as 1869, V. Ikonnikov remarked that a number of Greeks who engaged in scholarly activity in Russia in the sixteenth and especially the seventeenth century (such as Maksim Grek, Arsenii Grek, Paisios Ligarides,

works titled *Mechets dukhovnyi* (Spiritual dagger).⁹ As Smentsovskii rightly cautioned long ago, these sources are obviously in need of cross-checking since they reflect what the Leichoudes themselves wanted others to believe or know about their origins.¹⁰ Greek notarial documents and some surviving correspondence of the Leichoudes themselves also fill several, but not all, gaps in their life prior to their arrival in Russia.¹¹

Ioannes, whose monastic name was Ioannikios, was born on March 20, 1633, on Kephallenia, one of the Ionian Islands off the western coast of the Greek peninsula, which at the time was under Venetian control.¹² After his marriage in 1654, Ioannes appears to have left the island and to have returned only in 1660, when he is cited in rapid succession as deacon and priest in notarial and other documents dated 1660–1663. In the late 1660s, he was again absent from the island, until he returned in 1670. Ioannes's brother Spyridon, whose monastic name was Sophronios, appears to have been born nineteen years later, in 1652, although there is no clear evidence as to his birth date (some scholars suggest the year 1637). The only firm dates that are known regarding Sophronios are 1669, when he finished his studies, and 1670, when he received his doctorate from the University of Padua, by which time he had already become a monk. In November 1670 he was tonsured deacon, thus becoming hierodeacon (monk-deacon), and he is attested as such in notarial documents from the years 1670 and 1671. The Leichoudes' father, Markos, was a landowner and ship captain, and frequently traveled to Venice on business. He is referenced in notarial documents as *miser* (mister, from the Italian) and therefore belonged to the well-off social group of the island's local nobility.¹³

According to their autobiographical sketch and a genealogical note the two brothers submitted to the Chancellery of Foreign Affairs in Russia,¹⁴ their family originally hailed from Constantinople, where in the eleventh century a venerable ancestor, Konstantinos III Leichoudes, occupied the ecumenical patriarchal throne.¹⁵ With the fall of the Byzantine capital to the Turks in 1453, the family seems to have relocated first to the Cyclades Islands, and then to the Ionian Islands of Kephallenia and Zakynthos. Such is the information found in two depositions, dated 1691, of the two brothers and Ioannikios's children, Nikolaos and Anastasios (who came to Russia in 1689), requesting the recognition of noble title for the children. The younger Anastasios also attended classes at the Academy, where his father and uncle were teachers. Nikolaos claimed to have received his education in Venice, to have studied both Greek and Latin, and to have finished the philosophy course. Eventually, the Russian government agreed to the request, and Nikolaos and Anastasios were awarded the right to be

he considers chronological problems. Specifically, he argues that the age difference could not have permitted the two brothers to study at the same time under Gerasimos Vlachos. He also doubts whether a nine-year-old boy like Sophronios could have studied under Vlachos.²¹ However, if Sophronios's year of birth is correct, such doubts are unwarranted since it was common practice at the time for boys this young to begin their studies under the guidance of a senior and well-known teacher.²² Although it is unlikely that Sophronios studied philosophy and theology under him, it is possible that he studied grammar under Vlachos. Only Sophronios is attested as having received a doctorate from Padua in 1670. However, the registration entries for the University of Padua do not cite a Sophronios Licoudis until 1669. For the period 1663–1669, the only student with the surname Licudi is a Symeon (Simeonus/Simeon Licudi).²³ The surviving notarial documents from Kephallenia do not refer to any Symeon, which raises the issue of Sophronios's original baptismal name: was it Symeon or Spyridon? In a 1709 letter that the two brothers sent to their relative, priest Eustathios Lykoudes in Kephallenia, Ioannikios and Sophronios requested services for the commemoration of dead relatives. In the list of names they cited, directly after the names of their mother and father came the name Spyridon. According to one hypothesis, a third brother named Spyridon may have died, maybe quite young, and the name was then used to refer to Sophronios whose real baptismal name may have been Symeon.²⁴ Such a hypothesis would also explain the presence of the name Symeon in the registers of the University of Padua. Moreover, it is clear in the inscription on Ioannikios's grave that only Sophronios received a doctorate in what was then called *iatrophilosophy* (medicine and philosophy).²⁵ Given the current state of evidence, the safest conclusion thus appears to be that only Sophronios finished a degree at the University of Padua and also attended the classes of Vlachos and Kal(l)oudes, whereas Ioannikios owed his education mostly to his study under the guidance of the latter two.²⁶

The information on the Leichoudes' schooling in Italy is extremely important for the insights it provides with regard to the scholars and institutions that contributed to the formative stages of the two brothers' intellectual development. Gerasimos Vlachos was one of the eminent philosophers and theologians in the Greek East in the seventeenth century. A hieromonk, Vlachos started his authorial and educational activities in his native Crete (until 1669 under Venetian control) in the 1640s, while serving as a popular preacher. He traveled to Venice in 1656 and taught in the city's Greek community school until 1662. In that year he was removed from teaching duties but remained in Venice until 1664, when the Venetian authorities granted

faithful companion Arsenios Kal(l)oude. With the exception of several epigrams and a very popular description of the Holy Land titled *Proskenetarion*, he appears to have authored little else. Kal(l)oude also studied philosophy at the University of Padua during the years 1662, 1664, and 1665 to 1671, where he was cited as *magister Collegii Cottunii* (teacher of the Cottunian College).³² It is likely that his uncle contributed greatly to Arsenios's education, and thus prepared him for the responsible position of director of one of the most important Greek educational institutions in Italy, the Cottunian College. Named after its founder, the Cottunian College was established in Padua by Ioannes Cottunius, a student of Cesare Cremonini (1550–1631), the famous neo-Aristotelianist at the University of Padua.³³ Cottunius was the successor of Cremonini in the faculty of philosophy at the university, but appears to have broken with the naturalistic interpretation of Aristotle advocated by his teacher, preferring instead a more traditional, scholastic approach to the philosopher's works, the details of which have yet to be studied. As a prominent member of the Venetian and Paduan Greek communities, Cottunius was deeply interested in the education of his compatriots and applied himself to activities aiming at its propagation. The most important outcome of this activity was the establishment in 1653 of a boarding school in Padua for poor students coming from the Greek East, an undertaking in accord with long-standing Venetian policy of trying to restrict the republic's subjects to seeking education in Venetian-controlled territories in order to create a Greek elite that would be loyal to it in its various eastern Mediterranean possessions. Cottunius's endowment provided for room and board as well as for instruction in the arts and other disciplines. The Cottunian College thus served both as a secondary school with classes in the higher disciplines and as a springboard for gifted students who sought further university education. Arsenios Kal(l)oude served as the first director of the college between 1660 and 1672, that is, precisely during the period in which Ioannikios and Sophronios studied in the college.³⁴

After Vlachos, the educational experience of the Cottunian College was the second important influence for the intellectual formation of Ioannikios and Sophronios, this time an institutional one. The evidence suggests that the college's curriculum included instruction in the humanities as well as in medicine, logic, natural philosophy, and scholastic theology.³⁵ Both the curricular and the institutional parameters of the college were important for the Leichoude's training and their subsequent educational undertakings in Russia. The school was explicitly founded on the example of the Saint Athanasius College (Collegio Greco) in Rome, which served as the primary papal center for educating Greeks and propagating the Roman Catholic dogma among

truthfulness of their account concerning their teaching or administrative functions, as neither Sophronios's alleged supervision of schools on the island, nor Ioannikios's supposed position as a representative of Patriarch of Alexandria Parthenios I in Kephallenia can be verified independently.⁴¹ It is quite possible that as citizens of the Venetian Republic, the two brothers also carried out some administrative duties, especially in connection to juridical matters.⁴² That Sophronios taught at a school in Arta for a brief period of time after 1679 appears more plausible, but his sojourn there was cut short because of a plague epidemic.⁴³ By 1680 the Leichoudes brothers were again back in Kephallenia. According to their deposition in the Chancellery of Foreign Affairs upon their arrival in Moscow, while on the island they were resident in the Monastery of Panagia Hiereia. This was a rather wealthy monastery (as evident from the tax registers of the time), to which the two brothers were particularly attached. In their 1709 letter to priest Eustathios Lykoudes, Ioannikios and Sophronios bequeathed land inherited after the death of their sister to the monastery and also provided detailed instructions as to what ought to be done to the exterior and interior of the church.⁴⁴ Shortly after 1680, they appear to have wandered around in Thessaly and Macedonia preaching and teaching. Finally, they arrived in Constantinople aboard a Venetian ship in 1683. It was there, according to them, that they received the invitation to come and teach in Russia.

The circumstances surrounding this invitation are one of the most contentious issues among scholars. Indeed, Smentsovskii and Kapterev devoted considerable effort to an elucidation of the facts. Two factors contributed to the uncertainty: the first was the ambiguous evidence of the extant sources; the second was the persistent recourse by both historians to the "Grecophile"/"Latinophile" camp theory. This invitation saga bears examination at some length, since it is an example of the distortions produced by the imposition of the aforementioned dichotomy on the sources.

First, the evidence from the Greek side points to the following. Timofei, the teacher of the Typography School set up in Moscow in 1681 (on it, see below), had already written (probably in 1681–1682) to his former teacher, Sevastos Kyminetes, who was then ending his teaching activities in the patriarchal school in Constantinople, and offered him a position in the school in Moscow, but Kyminetes declined. Kyminetes explained that he was interested in setting up a school in his native Trapezous. He also indicated that he would be willing to consider such an invitation once the students in Moscow had learned enough vernacular Greek, since he did not know Russian himself.⁴⁵ Already therefore by 1681, it is clear that the Russians were searching for someone beyond Timofei to take up teaching

concerned with the advancement of Greek in Russia, not least because he had other designs: first, a Greek school would function as a further factor in the promotion of the Greek presence there; it would also potentially help Dositheos's quest for a say in Muscovite Church matters; finally, it would aid the creation of a Greek printing press in Russia, a plan he would try and implement in the early 1690s.

This is the story of the Leichoude's invitation to teach in Russia as told by Patriarch Dositheos. However, Smentsovskii counted three different versions of it provided by the two brothers themselves at various times. First, he referred to the letter, carried by the Leichoude, in which Hetman Ivan Samoilovich relayed to the tsars that the two brothers informed him that they had been sent by the patriarch of Constantinople after Prokofii Voznitsyn delivered an oral request (*vneseno slovo*) for teachers. Smentsovskii then contrasted this account with the deposition the Leichoude gave to the Chancellery of Foreign Affairs upon their arrival in Moscow. According to it, they had been sent by the common council of the Orthodox Patriarchs of the East after an initial consultation and discussion they had with two of the patriarchs, those of Antioch and Alexandria, to whom Voznitsyn had first addressed the tsarist request. The third version, according to Smentsovskii, is found in *Akos* (Cure), one of the two brothers' polemical works. Therein the Leichoude repeated the story about Voznitsyn, this time around emphasizing that it was made "orally" (*cherez zhivushii glas*), and mentioning the names of all the Eastern patriarchs but that of Antioch; still, the Leichoude insisted that their dispatch followed a conciliar decision. Further, Smentsovskii adduced the evidence included in the *Mechets dukhovnyi* and in the *Pokazanie istiny* (Testimony of truth), two other works of polemical character; in the former, the Leichoude asserted that they were sent by common decision of the Holy Synod with conciliar letters, and in the latter, they mentioned a conciliar letter by the four patriarchs, written with the consent of the Holy Synod.⁵⁴

A close reading of the original documents does not justify Smentsovskii's assertion of contradictory stories. First, in his letter, Hetman Samoilovich referred to the conciliar letter that the Leichoude carried from the four patriarchs and *then* relayed the version according to which Voznitsyn made an oral request for teachers.⁵⁵ Second, in their deposition in the Chancellery of Foreign Affairs the Leichoude did refer to a meeting with the patriarchs of Alexandria and Antioch in which the two prelates proposed that the Leichoude go to Moscow. It is also true, as Smentsovskii (following Kapterev) remarked, that in this case the Leichoude appeared to say that the tsar's request was relayed by Voznitsyn to these two patriarchs only.⁵⁶ The

Meletios had sent his letter to Dositheos with Voznitsyn or someone in his entourage and the two stories were conflated at some point, maybe on purpose to make the invitation more appealing to the Leichoudes. Whatever the case, the Leichoudes cannot be accused of concocting the story as Smentsovskii seems to imply.⁶⁴

Smentsovskii leans toward Dositheos's version, for it fits well with the alleged "Grecophobia" of Tsar Fedor's court and the "Grecophilia" of Patriarch Ioakim. Thus, he is not surprised that there is no mention in Voznitsyn's *stateinyi spisok* of a request for teachers from the Greeks. Such a proposal could not have come from the tsar, whereas Ioakim naturally would want to sidestep the Grecophobic court in the matter. In so arguing, Smentsovskii ignores the very testimony of Dositheos—for Smentsovskii, a more reliable source than the Leichoudes—according to which Meletios's letter expressed the wishes of *both* tsar *and* patriarch.⁶⁵ Following Kapterev, Smentsovskii then attempts to buttress this argument by citing the measures undertaken by Tsar Fedor (1676–1682) regarding Greek travelers in the late 1670s as evidence of this same Grecophobia. However, a consideration of Muscovite trade policy at the time and a close inspection of the original documents provide another picture. Instead of being indications of Grecophobic sentiments on the part of Fedor and his court, these measures are proof of a long-term, sustained Muscovite governmental effort to curb excessive alms-travel by Eastern Orthodox clergymen and to regulate and improve trade with foreigners in Russia. Both foreign policy considerations and Muscovite trade protectionism contributed significantly to the institution of these measures.

On August 24, 1676, Tsar Fedor, citing bad product quality and consistent tariff evasion, issued an edict (*ukaz*) that prohibited the entrance of Greek traders into Moscow. The *ukaz* explained that in earlier times, Greek clergymen from the East were accompanied by their compatriot merchants. The former carried with them relics and icons, whereas the latter brought gold, silver, and precious stones, as well as wine and tobacco. There were no shady deals during that period, the *ukaz* continued. However, now no prelates would visit Moscow; only younger merchants would come. More importantly, their products were not of the same high quality: instead of precious stones, they brought fake glass stones; they tried to avoid tariffs, and they sold wine and tobacco (without the permission of the Muscovite authorities). All this is evident, the *ukaz* asserted, from the increase in complaints. To remedy the situation, Tsar Fedor on September 10, 1676, issued a complementary *ukaz* stipulating that all Greeks who were at the time in the Russian capital should be sent home; also, that they should not be allowed to

within the context of the Russo-Turkish war of 1677–1681.⁷⁰ The first tsarist *ukaz* coincides with the eve of the war. By taking the aforementioned measures, the Muscovite government safeguarded communication and trade with the East, but also controlled the potential influx of spies from the Orthodox East during the war. Once the prospect of peace began to appear and a Russian embassy left for Constantinople in 1679, the government could afford to relax its guard. Still, as already noted, there is another, equally important and purely economic aspect to these measures. Indeed, starting late in the reign of Aleksei Mikhailovich (1645–1676) and well into the reign of Fedor, the Muscovite government repeatedly issued edicts aimed at regulating and streamlining trade by foreigners in its domains. For example, in the period roughly from 1667 (the date of a trade agreement with the Armenians of Persia) to 1676, there is constant concern on the part of the government over the effects that the agreement had on Muscovite merchants.⁷¹ Thus, the regulations concerning the Greeks were far from being signs of ill will against them. Instead, they were part and parcel of Russian economic and trade policies. More significant, however, and more devastating for the “Grecophobia” argument is a comparable edict issued by Aleksei Mikhailovich—an impeccable Grecophile, according to Kapterev—to the *voevoda* of Sevsk, which instituted identical rules with those of Fedor’s *ukaz* regarding clergymen from the Orthodox East. Dated November 25, 1671, the letter ordered the *voevoda* to assure that only clergy with concessionary letters enter Muscovy and then only in the designated year.⁷² It thus appears that newly crowned Fedor’s measures were a mere continuation of his father’s previous policies in this regard.⁷³ Therefore, there is no need for the introduction of Grecophile-Latinophile dichotomies in explaining tsarist policy with regard to the Greeks. Specifically, the evidence does not support a priori ideological opposition on Fedor’s part to potential teachers coming from the Greek East. After all, it was Fedor’s government that not only allowed, but also supported financially the so-called Typography School, in which Greek was taught.⁷⁴

Trials and Tribulations on the Way to Russia

The Leichoudes set out from Constantinople on their journey to Moscow sometime in July 1683. Later on, while in Venice in 1689, Ioannikios asserted to the Venetian authorities that the erstwhile *bailo* (diplomatic representative) of Venice in Constantinople, Giovanni Battista Donato (*bailo* 1681–1683), had strongly urged and in essence commanded the Leichoudes

ignorance and lack of education would provide fertile soil for Roman Catholic influence. Accordingly, the Jesuits succeeded in convincing the king to detain the Leichoudes, at least temporarily, and as a result, the two brothers found themselves following the king's entourage on an expedition against the Tatars. Yet again, however, they found time for learned disputations with the Jesuits on the issues that separated the Roman and Eastern churches.⁷⁷

Jesuit attempts at preventing the establishment of a school in Russia do not appear to be the only reason that Sobieski temporarily detained the Leichoudes. For their sojourn in the king's court there exists other evidence of a more personal nature. This is a letter by a Greek merchant named Chatzekyriakes Vourliotes who appears to have been a close friend of the king.⁷⁸ Despite its much later date (1709), the letter, written in the form of a memoir to a friend, is replete with details that confirm and complement the Leichoudes' account about Jesuit plots.⁷⁹ Writing in vivid vernacular Greek with many grammatical mistakes, Chatzekyriakes first corroborates the existence of Jesuit opposition to the dispatch of the Leichoudes to Moscow:

I found out what happened, that the Jesuits told the king "the Muscovites prevail over us in terms of [military?] strength; however since they are uneducated, we can play with them as we wish; now we get reports from the City [Constantinople] that these [two] are very wise in Latin and Greek, and want to open the eyes of the Muscovites." Thus, I found the right moment, waited and met King Sobieski. . . .⁸⁰

Chatzekyriakes asked the king why he detained the two monks. The king answered:

"You know Chatze⁸¹ what I set out to do?" Says I, "I know it well." Says he, "is it possible that those [descending] from Hagar [the Ottomans] got wind of [it, i.e., Sobieski's attempts at an alliance with the Muscovites against the Turks], and ordered the ecumenical [patriarch] and are sending the present ones to obstruct the job?" Says I, "No, oh Most Serene, I guarantee it with my own head." "For a long time," Sobieski said, "all the nations I have been able to move with cunning and wisdom. But behold, the Muscovites, those strong bulls, I cannot move," that is, to make perfect peace, because of [his designs] against the Ottomans. . . . The Holy Spirit descended on me and I say "Oh Most Serene, these people are not from Turkey, they are from Kephallenia, a Venetian place, and they are wise and great men, so that they could possibly

although it is clear that the Venetians were very much aware of their intention to go to Russia, and may even have encouraged them to do so, as the information from the *bailo* in Constantinople suggests. Golitsyn must have been aware of this connection and thus found it appropriate to send Ioannikios with letters to the Venetian authorities in 1688.

The most vocal among the Leichoudes' critics upon their arrival in Russia was Sil'vestr Medvedev, a student of Simeon Polotskii, corrector in the Typography (*Pechatnyi Dvor*) and self-styled successor of Polotskii as royal court poet. With the two Greek teachers slated to assume direction of the Academy, Medvedev saw his dream of leading it quashed. His personal ambitions thwarted, Medvedev went on the offensive both on the personal and on the intellectual front. He and his supporters hurled against the Leichoudes accusations of ignorance, deceitfulness, espionage, and crypto-Catholicism throughout the latter half of the 1680s. The Eucharist conflict exploded soon after the arrival of the two brothers. As leading scholars of the Academy, Ioannikios and Sophronios had no option but to participate.

The debate over the Eucharist had started in the Western Church in the fourteenth century. It centered on the issue of the precise moment during the liturgy in which the transubstantiation of bread and wine into the body and blood of Christ occurs. Specifically, the Roman Catholic Church's position was that the actual transformation of the elements occurs with the words of institution, that is by the recitation of Christ's invitation to the disciples: "Take, eat; this is my body. . . . Drink from it, all of you; for this is my blood" (Matt. 26:26–28). For their part, the Eastern Orthodox Churches held that only the words of the priest (the *epiklesis*, or invocation) calling the Holy Spirit to descend upon the elements produced their complete transformation. By the seventeenth century, however, the Protestant challenge and the influence of Aristotelian physics with its distinction between matter and form had shifted the debate to a discussion of whether an actual transformation occurred. The struggle thus came to assume larger dimensions because it involved the central part of the liturgy itself, the transubstantiation of the elements. The expanding contacts between the Protestant and the Orthodox churches, as well as the increasing penetration of Aristotelian philosophical categories into the theological and doctrinal output of Orthodox scholars, ensured that the doctrine of the Eucharist came to be discussed by Orthodox theologians in Western, Scholastic terms.⁸⁶

Cathy Potter has provided by far the best treatment of the conflict in Russia. According to her, as it unfolded in Moscow, the Eucharist conflict centered on the precise moment of the transformation, rather than on whether such a change actually took place. The debate started sometime in the early

have taken notice. Indeed, only Evfimii Chudovskii responded publicly to Medvedev's views in a vicious polemical piece, the *Pokazanie na podverg latinskogo mudrovaniia* (Testimony exposing the Latin sophistry), dated to 1686–1687. In it Evfimii accused Medvedev of espousing Latin heresies and of threatening the welfare of Christ's flock. He did not, however, go into any detailed discussion and refutation of Medvedev's argumentation. Both Medvedev and Evfimii were at the time working in the Typography, and at this early stage the dispute appears to have been a largely personal one. In any case, between 1684 and 1687, the patriarch was deeply involved in the process of the subjection of the Kievan metropolitanate to his authority. He also was clearly cognizant of the powerful connections that Medvedev enjoyed in the court of the regent Sophia. Ioakim was in the process of outmaneuvering Medvedev on the issue of the Academy's establishment by joining forces with the newly arrived Leichoudes.⁸⁹

Ioannikios and Sophronios arrived in Moscow on March 6, 1685. Three days later they were granted an audience by Tsars Ivan and Peter and Tsarevna Sophia. A royal edict followed on March 14 stipulating that the two brothers settle in the Nikol'skii Monastery, the traditional place of residence for Greek visiting clergymen in Moscow. According to Smentsovskii, the monastery's accommodations apparently did not meet the standards of the two brothers, for they immediately petitioned the tsars to be transferred to other lodgings. Accordingly, they were assigned to the Chudov Monastery, which yet again did not satisfy them. The tsars issued yet another edict for their transfer to the Bogoiavlenskii Monastery and for the construction of new wooden cells for them within it.⁹⁰ It is hard to accept this version of events without assuming that some authorities (either at the patriarchate and/or the royal court) were acting according to some plan, since very soon after their arrival, on March 15, a public disputation took place between the Leichoudes and Jan (Andrei) Belobotskii on the issue of transubstantiation. A Pole by birth, Belobotskii had traveled widely in Western Europe and had studied at the University of Valladolid. He appears to have espoused Calvinist and Roman Catholic views at various points in his life. In 1681, he appeared in Moscow in search of a position as a teacher in the planned academy of Tsar Fedor. Sil'vestr Medvedev, seeing him as a threat to his own ambitions for the post, had a fellow Pole, Pavel Negrebetskii, accuse Belobotskii of espousing heretical views. As a result, he was forced to compose and sign a confession of faith and converted to Orthodoxy in 1682, assuming the name Andrei. Despite continued attacks by Medvedev and Evfimii Chudovskii, he ended up working in the Chancellery of Foreign Affairs as a translator, and he also taught Latin to Petr Matveevich Apraksin (who was present at the

denunciation of Belobotskii's confession. He submitted the denunciation first to Ioakim and then to Tsar Fedor, without any results.⁹⁶ It is possible that Belobotskii had convinced Ioakim of the sincerity of his conversion, and/or that he enjoyed the protection of powerful patrons at court (the Apraksins). Whatever the case, it is more likely that Belobotskii was used as a pawn in Ioakim's methodical maneuvering of Medvedev out of the Academic project. It was not Medvedev who was chosen to debate the Greek newcomers on the Eucharist and the soul, but rather a former heretic, newly converted to Orthodoxy, who had once aspired to teach in the Academy. Medvedev must indeed have felt the sting.

Having passed the test of the debate with Belobotskii, the Leichoudes started their teaching activities in the Bogoiavlenskii Monastery sometime in July of 1685, as evidenced by the first stipends issued to their students.⁹⁷ Their first class had seven students, all of them formerly disciples of the monk Timofei in the Typography School. Timofei was a Russian monk who had traveled and stayed in the Greek East and in the Holy Land, had learned Greek, and had studied in Constantinople under Sevastos Kyminetes. Upon his return to Moscow in the late 1670s, he set up a school in the Typography (*Pechatnyi Dvor*), teaching Slavonic and Greek. D. M. Volodikhin studied in detail the records of the Patriarchal Treasury Chancellery (*Patriarshii Kazennyi Prikaz*) that allocated stipends to students, and provided a critical review of the historiography on the school. Ultimately, however, his account does not furnish any convincing evidence that the school taught anything beyond literacy in Slavonic and Greek. More recently, Fonkich has argued that the school was of the middle (secondary) level, and offered instruction in Greek in grammar, poetics, and logic, and that Timofei must have planned for classes in higher disciplines as well. The existing evidence does not provide a clear picture of the curriculum, whatever Timofei's plans may have been. As discussed below, the Leichoudes' first seven students were transferred to the Academy from the Typography School, a sign that their knowledge of Greek was sufficient for them to study under the non-Russian-speaking Leichoudes. Scions of some of the most powerful families in the court would join them in 1686 and 1687.⁹⁸

Still, the Bogoiavlenskii school was only the nucleus out of which an enlarged Academy would emerge. Indeed, the initial two cells constructed for the Leichoudes were expanded, added upon, and outfitted at the expense of the patriarch's administration in order to fit the increased number of students and to add a dining area. By the end of January 1686, the patriarch had inspected the premises and even attended a teaching demonstration.⁹⁹ However, the patriarch does not appear to have regarded the Bogoiavlenskii

1687. By November of that year the Leichoudes were holding their classes in the new stone edifice. Both the Typography's and Medvedev's schools were closed and their students transferred to the Academy.¹⁰⁶ It should be noted that both the Bogoiavlenskii and the Zaikonospasskii Monasteries were just steps away from the Kremlin, and therefore within the orbit of the Russian royal and patriarchal elites.

Although he had lost in his efforts to head the school, Medvedev continued to fight on the intellectual front. In his drive to challenge the patriarch over the Eucharist, he found unexpected allies among some of the Ukrainian clergy, who were eager to undermine Patriarch Ioakim for their own reasons. Between the years 1684 and 1687, the Muscovite patriarch was deeply involved in the effort of asserting his authority over the Orthodox Church in the Ukraine. It was a propitious time for such an endeavor since in this case the interests of the court and the patriarchate coincided. After 1683, the Russian government was actively seeking an alliance with Poland against the Ottomans. Naturally, the most important prerequisite for such a move was Polish recognition of Russia's permanent sovereignty over Left-Bank Ukraine. For his part, Hetman Ivan Samoilovich, was interested in undercutting the Ukrainian clergy's meddling in the political affairs of the hetmanate, and supported a pro-Moscow orientation. In this context, Ioakim's efforts bore fruit. In July 1685, a church council in Kiev elected as new metropolitan of the Orthodox Church in Left-Bank Ukraine Hedeon (Sviatopolk-Chetvertyns'kyi), Ioakim's favorite candidate. However, the Muscovite patriarch had yet another hurdle to overcome, since the Ukrainian Church was nominally an eparchy of the Ecumenical Patriarchate of Constantinople. As in the case of the Academy, Golitsyn was more than willing to assist Ioakim in securing the assent of the Eastern patriarchs to what was in essence an uncanonical interference in the affairs of another ecclesiastical eparchy. Despite initial opposition, the leaders of the Eastern churches finally succumbed in May 1686.¹⁰⁷ The Ukrainian clergy had been defeated on the administrative front, but, like Medvedev, were loath to give up easily on the intellectual front.

Having secured the Eastern patriarchs' recognition of Muscovite authority over the Ukrainian Church, Ioakim took further steps in the direction of the recalcitrant Medvedev. In 1687 Ioakim ordered the Leichoudes to assist the monk Evfimii in composing a learned response to Medvedev's *Khleb zhyvotnyi*. The two teachers duly obliged, and the Eucharist conflict entered its second phase. In this final stage, Potter argues, the intellectual level of the debate rose, in large part due to the Scholastic theoretical framework introduced by the Leichoudes. The result, however, was an intellectual impasse

Greek by trying to undermine their sacralization of the Greek language. He pointed out that many heresies were initiated among the Greeks and that one should not blindly follow everything that was written in their language. There were upright Orthodox and impious, heretical Greeks, Medvedev insisted, and the Leichoudes were part of the latter group. They did not know Slavonic, yet they had the audacity to present themselves as teachers to the Russians. Moreover, they had paid to obtain the Eastern patriarchs' recommendation letter and may even have been working for their masters, the Ottomans. Despite such arguments, however, neither side appears to have thought of Latin as an ipso facto heretical language. Their positions over linguistic knowledge were largely conditioned by the polemical character of the exchange, rather than by any deeply held convictions over the preferred linguistic medium for the expression of the word of God or of theological reasoning. Both Medvedev and the Leichoudes presented themselves as advocates of doctrinal Orthodoxy, and both utilized Latin works in their scholarly enterprises. Not only that, the Leichoudes were also teaching Latin, with the support of Patriarch Ioakim, in the Academy.¹¹⁰

The first period of the Leichoudes' tenure in the Academy was a heady time indeed. Beyond polemics, they had to tend to their responsibilities as teachers as well. Sophronios must have been especially busy while Ioannikios was in Venice on an unofficial diplomatic mission between 1688 and 1691. Ioannikios undertook the trip in order to deal with family matters. It was meant initially to be of short duration, as he was planning to bring his children to Moscow, an indication that the two brothers were beginning to feel established. At the same time, the trip also served as an opportunity for V. V. Golitsyn to have Ioannikios make some unofficial contacts with the Venetian government with regard to a potential alliance against the Ottomans (Golitsyn at the time was preparing for the second Crimean campaign). The diplomatic aspect of the trip led nowhere and Ioannikios eventually returned in 1691, bringing his two sons, who had been detained in Vienna allegedly for causing a fire and escaped punishment only after the intervention of Golitsyn with the Imperial government.¹¹¹ Still, the two brothers managed to weather attacks on their credibility, constant conflicts with other Greeks in Moscow, as well as Peter's assumption of the throne in 1689 and the death of their patron Ioakim in 1690. Even Ioannikios's service to Vasilii Vasil'evich Golitsyn does not appear to have caused them any discomfort after the latter was exiled in 1689.¹¹² The two brothers certainly enjoyed the support of powerful patrons in court and quickly ingratiated themselves with the new patriarch, Adrian (1690–1700).¹¹³ The Russian authorities, both ecclesiastical and secular, protected them, even if they had

useful presence for him in Russia. Until 1693, Dositheos did not raise any objections to either the alleged haughty attitude of Ioannikios and Sophronios toward the Muscovite Greeks, or to their academic curriculum. Instead, the ever resourceful patriarch decided to involve his former protégés in his plans for the establishment of a Greek printing press in Moscow. To this end, in 1692 Dositheos sent his nephew and eventual successor, Archimandrite Chrysanthos, to Moscow with a substantial collection of Greek works in manuscript and directed him to seek the two teachers' support in the project.¹¹⁷ Chrysanthos arrived in Moscow on November 13, 1692. Besides trying to set up a Greek printing press, the archimandrite petitioned the tsars for alms and for the tsars' intervention in any future negotiations with the Ottomans so that the Holy Sepulcher (at the time in the hands of the Roman Catholic Church, due to French pressure on the Porte) would be returned to the control of the Orthodox Patriarchate of Jerusalem. In view of the subsequent turn of events, it is worth emphasizing that Chrysanthos also carried a personal letter from his uncle to the Leichoudes in which Dositheos praised them for both their ancient lineage and for their successes in the Academy, an indication of the importance the two brothers attached to such recognition of family history as well as of Dositheos's clear understanding that such flattery could potentially help his nephew in gaining the Leichoudes' support for the patriarch's projects.¹¹⁸

Eventually, Dositheos's hopes would prove unrealizable. Although the tsars and Patriarch Adrian reacted positively to the request and assigned the Leichoudes to the task of proofreading, the project eventually fell through. The Leichoudes clashed with Chrysanthos for reasons that remain unclear. It seems that the Leichoudes were not willing to support him, nor to relinquish their acquired position in the Russian royal court, nor to spend time and effort on the printing press project. Moreover, the Muscovite patriarch appears to have treated Chrysanthos with much less respect than Chrysanthos expected in his capacity as patriarchal official and envoy. Informed of such a reception, Dositheos suddenly altered his praiseful stance on the Leichoudes and went on the offensive. On July 15, 1693, he sent an angry letter to Ioannikios and Sophronios charging them with all kinds of improper acts both with regard to the Academy and to other Greeks. Specifically, he accused the Leichoudes of unworthily usurping princely titles, of being involved in trade transactions unbefitting hieromonks, of selectively aiding Greeks in need, and of introducing the study of Latin into their school's curriculum.¹¹⁹ A month later, Dositheos sent a similar letter to his counterpart in Moscow in which he repeated the accusations against the Leichoudes and added that, in violation of the Eastern

that they were planning to use it as a tool in future endeavors, a further indication of their deceitfulness.¹²³

Following their escape and arrest, it became impossible for Patriarch Adrian to keep the two brothers in the Academy. Interestingly, though, he did not remove them from Moscow, nor punish them harshly. As Smentsovskii rightly remarked, Ioannikios and Sophronios possessed expertise that was lacking at the time in Russia. Hence, Adrian assigned them to posts in the Typography as translators and correctors. It is worth noting that Dositheos continued his campaign to have the Leichoudes removed from Moscow altogether even after their expulsion from the Academy. Evidently exasperated by Dositheos's insistence, Adrian in 1697 sent a letter to the Jerusalem patriarch in which he pointed out that it was the Eastern patriarchs who had sent the two teachers in the first place and that in Moscow the Leichoudes had been treated well and had become rich. Dositheos, rather lamely, tried to justify himself by referring to Christ's example with Judas: if Christ could have erred in selecting Judas, then Dositheos should also be forgiven for trusting the Leichoudes.¹²⁴ The Leichoudes were replaced at the Academy by two of their students, Nikolai Semenov Golovin and Fedor Polikarpov, who undertook to teach a restricted curriculum focusing on grammar, poetics, and rhetoric. Golovin and Polikarpov were to serve in this capacity until 1699 when another student of the Leichoudes and monk of the Chudov Monastery, Iov, briefly assumed direction of the Academy, only to be replaced six months later by yet another Leichoudian student, Palladii Rogov. Rogov (1655–1703) first studied Greek and Latin with the Leichoudes. According to E. F. Shmurlo, while in Moscow he also took lessons under Jesuit guidance and became a Uniate. Subsequently he sought further education in several Jesuit colleges in Eastern Europe and studied in one of them before ending up in the Saint Athanasius College (Collegio Greco) of Rome, from which he graduated with a doctorate in philosophy and theology. In the Collegio Greco, he also served as a priest in the Church of Saint Athanasius. Rogov claimed that he renounced his Uniatism and returned to Orthodoxy, seeking the help of the metropolitan of Philadelpheia, head of the Orthodox Church in Venice. His claim cannot be supported by the evidence since Metropolitan Meletios Typaldos was by that time openly proclaiming his Uniatism.¹²⁵ Upon returning to Russia in 1699, Rogov petitioned for forgiveness from Patriarch Adrian, which he duly received with the help of the Naryshkins (relatives of Peter the Great) after signing a confession of faith. In 1700 he assumed the helm of the Slavo-Greco-Latin Academy as rector and held that position until his death in 1703.¹²⁶

students never appeared, claimed that they were too sick to study, or came to the school only rarely; some even used their connections to important individuals in order to escape study (as did the church singer Pavel D'iakov, for whom Peter's sister, Natal'ia Alekseevna, interceded); finally, some soldiers turned out to be totally illiterate even in Russian. A few prospective students (mainly, former Academy students and sons of *prikaz* secretaries) grasped the opportunity to advance their careers by acquiring a new skill, and some even voluntarily offered to study at the school; other students or their parents claimed that they were already studying in other settings, especially at home under tutors.¹³⁰ Peter was interested in the students' performance as the frequent requests for information on this issue coming from the *Razriadnyi Prikaz* at Peter's insistence show. The Leichoudes themselves filed reports on the students' performance and also repeatedly requested back wages, which were apparently not immediately forthcoming from the Chancellery of Printing Affairs, so the two teachers asked to be paid from the tsar's treasury.¹³¹ It was during this period that the Leichoudes translated from the Italian (evidently with the help of their longtime student from the Academy Moisei Arsen'ev)¹³² Sigismondo Alberghetti's two memoranda on artillery and on military strategy. Alberghetti had sent them to Peter the Great in an attempt to attract the tsar's attention for his inventions in the artillery field and also offered himself as a potential artillery chief for the Russian fleet, all the while sugarcoating the offer with references to Russia's potential capture of Constantinople from the Ottomans.¹³³

The Leichoudes' foreign language school lasted until 1700, but new troubles awaited the two brothers. In 1698, Ioannikios Leichoudes was accused of being crypto-Catholic by a former student, Petr Artem'ev, who was deacon in the Church of Saints Peter and Paul in Moscow. Artem'ev had accompanied Ioannikios on his trip to Venice in 1688 and returned to the Russian capital together with Ioannikios's children by year's end. In 1698, Artem'ev was himself accused of openly espousing the Roman Catholic faith. He was subjected to interrogation and subsequent incarceration in the Novospasskii Monastery, after being found guilty as charged by a patriarchal synod. The resolutions of this synod included a detailed refutation of Artem'ev's teachings as allegedly found in his "quires" (*tetradi*). The author of the refutation was Evfimii Chudovskii. The quires themselves do not survive, and Evfimii could very easily have manufactured much of their supposed content. In Evfimii's version, the quires included accusations that Ioannikios secretly harbored Roman Catholic sympathies. Allegedly, Artem'ev had written that, while in Venice, Ioannikios associated with Uniates and assured them that he was of their persuasion. That the accusation was made is likely,

grammar, poetics, and rhetoric primarily in Greek and Slavonic. Nevertheless, Latin was also taught, as attested by the fact that Ioannikios's rhetoric (dating from this period) has survived in Greek and partly Latin, and as Iov himself boasted in his correspondence. Ioannikios remained the main teacher of the school, since Sophronios left for Moscow at the end of 1707, although there were also teachers of Slavonic. The school produced primarily translators and teachers, some of whom pursued teaching careers either in Novgorod or in other schools in the 1720s and 1730s, or became clergymen. Sophronios (until his departure) and Ioannikios together with some of their students were also involved in an extensive program of translation from Greek into Slavonic of theological and polemical works by Byzantine and post-Byzantine authors, whose major patron was Metropolitan Iov. Most of these works however were never printed, despite Iov's efforts.¹³⁵ The Leichoudes also created or reworked new versions of their grammar and rhetoric textbooks, based on those they had authored or compiled during their years at the Academy. In conjunction with their teaching activities in Novgorod, the two brothers also were occupied with translations of Italian and Latin works at the order of Tsar Peter I.

On January 4, 1708, Tsar Peter issued an *ukaz* ordering Ioannikios and those who had been sent to Novgorod with him to return to Moscow, where Sophronios already was, in order to teach Greek in the schools. The *ukaz* was followed by another one the next day ordering the children of priests and deacons to study in the Greek and Latin schools, threatening them with the forfeiture of clerical appointments if they did not.¹³⁶ Ultimately, Ioannikios remained in Novgorod and Sophronios in Moscow, where he headed the Greek language school that opened in 1707 in the Kazan' *Podvor'e* (residence of the metropolitan of Kazan' in Moscow). This school, together with the Slavo-Greco-Latin Academy and other schools operating in Moscow, were passed on to the jurisdiction of the Moscow Typography from the Chancellery of Monastery Affairs (*Monastyrskii Prikaz*) in 1711. Its curriculum included grammar, rhetoric, and logic, and most of its students appear to have been the sons of priests.¹³⁷ The Greek school does not seem to have fared very well, especially since Sophronios had to share the burden of teaching with participation in the commission for the translation of the Bible. Fedor Polikarpov, since 1711 supervisor of schools in his capacity as head of the Typography, appears to have been increasingly dissatisfied with his former teacher's performance. In a series of letters to Musin-Pushkin (another former Leichoudian student and the head of the *Monastyrskii Prikaz* at the time), dated 1715 to 1717, Polikarpov complained that the elderly Sophronios was not able to teach effectively and that his students had been studying

of immortality was dead and ended by declaring: “He [Ioannikios] is already immortal, he was a mortal, but his works are immortal, the righteous ones live eternally,” quoting Wisdom of Solomon, chapter 5.¹⁴¹

The epitaph is a reflection of what the Leichoudes, or at least Sophronios, would like the two brothers to be remembered for. Composed in Greek and engraved in Greek and Slavonic, it focused on three themes: the scholarly work of Ioannikios and his piety; the two brothers’ ancient lineage; and their services to their fatherland and to their nation (that is, the Greek people). Ioannikios’s labors remain, Sophronios argued, but interestingly, there is very little mention of Russia, except if one takes the reference to homeland to mean Russia, instead of Kephallenia. The emphasis on sixty-eight years of labors is puzzling, too, and its implicit reference to a milestone unclear.

The inscription also reflects the particular connection that existed between the two brothers throughout their common life. When in 1710 Sophronios attempted to secure the release of his brother from Novgorod to Moscow, his letters to Metropolitan Iov’s officials made two arguments: that the Leichoudes recognized the benefits they had accrued over the years from Iov and that they were grateful for that, as was natural, pleasing to God, and also “political” (that is, in accordance with the rules of civilized behavior). Nevertheless, Sophronios argued, Ioannikios was over seventy years old and he had already worked enough years in the employ of Iov. It was now time for Ioannikios to return to Moscow and for the two brothers to spend whatever time they had left together.¹⁴²

After the many years of close collaboration on teaching and translation activities, Sophronios must have felt acutely the loss of his brother. Indeed, all evidence of their common life in Russia suggests that the two brothers were mainstays and supporters of each other. The Leichoudes had worked hard to achieve recognition in the Russian capital and outside of it. From the moment of their arrival, they were embroiled in a series of conflicts, some of them not of their own making. They acted as major authors and polemicists in the transubstantiation conflict, something they did obviously on the orders of Patriarch Ioakim. At the same time, they had to face a variety of other challenges. For one, they were recent migrants in a country whose language they did not know. They became embroiled in the religious conflicts and political games of the Russian court, and they managed to survive them, if somewhat bruised. Indeed, if one element characterizes them throughout their life in Russia, it is that they were survivors. They manipulated Russian practices regarding social standing, and they sought to achieve status and prestige, both in Russia and beyond. In fact, they were obviously obsessed with social recognition. Very quickly upon arriving in Russia,

beginning of their arrival in Moscow, Ioannikios and Sophronios became embroiled in conflicts with local and visiting Greeks over a variety of issues, ranging from Hierodeacon Meletios's will and money, to trade deals and the protection of runaway Greek clerics.¹⁴⁵ As a messenger to the Eastern patriarchs during the Nikon affair, the Greek cleric Meletios (from the island of Chios) had established himself in Moscow as a go-between for the tsar's government and the Greek patriarchs, and was also for a period involved in teaching Greek chanting. His services to the tsar and his involvement in tariff-free trade (presumably as a reward for these services) made him very rich and a rather important person in Moscow's Greek circles. Ioannikios was father confessor to Meletios, and both Leichoudes brothers became the executors of Meletios's will. After Meletios's death in 1686, there followed a long drawn-out struggle over the possessions and the money he left behind, involving the Leichoudes, various Greek merchants, and even the Monastery of Saint Catherine's on Mount Sinai, to which apparently Meletios had a particular connection. The conflict continued all the way into the early eighteenth century. A substantial amount of the money that Meletios left behind served for the construction of the Leichoudian Academy's building. In reports to the Muscovite authorities, various people accused the Leichoudes of forging Meletios's will to benefit themselves. Chief among them was a Greek merchant, Iurii Iur'ev, who had conducted trade with Meletios in the past. The Leichoudes managed to weather this early crisis, although not without compromise. But this problem surfaced once more in Novgorod in 1707, when Iurii Iur'ev yet again tried to recoup money from them. On that occasion, the Leichoudes overcame the problem with the help of their then patron, Metropolitan Iov.¹⁴⁶ Yet another affair, which occurred during the Eucharist conflict, involved a rather shady figure, a fellow Greek by the name of Georgios Zervos. According to the Leichoudes' testimony, Zervos had accused them of paying for the recommendation letter from the patriarchs and tried to recoup the money that they had borrowed from him for this purpose. The Leichoudes refused to give in, and apparently, Nicolae Milescu Spafarii took Zervos's side, something that soured the relations between him and the two brothers.¹⁴⁷ According to the Leichoudes' version of the events, Zervos, whom they initially had welcomed and taken care of in Moscow, later became a pawn in the hands of other Greeks in Moscow, who had convinced him to accuse them of paying for the patriarchal letter with the connivance and active engagement of Sil'vestr Medvedev. The whole affair was finally resolved in favor of the Leichoudes, although it must be assumed not without some damage to their credibility. It should be noted that Zervos never impugned the letter's authenticity, just the way in which the Leichoudes acquired it. Moreover, it was common practice at the time to pay for receiving recommendation letters,

Establishing an Academy in Moscow

Institutional education began in Russia at the end of the seventeenth century. Until then, Russian education consisted primarily of elementary training in reading and writing using the primer method, and of specialized training and apprenticeships in the various administrative chancelleries (*prikazy*, which, however, do not appear to have assumed the dimensions of organized schools).¹ Although throughout the seventeenth century the Russian elite became increasingly aware of, and receptive to, learning as necessary in both religious and civic life, it was not until the 1680s that formal schooling was first established in Russia. In 1685 Ioannikios and Sophronios Leichoudes set up a school in Moscow that was in form and content a version of a typical Jesuit middle- and higher-level college, that is, a college where beyond grammatical and rhetorical instruction, they also offered (or planned to) separate instruction in the higher disciplines of philosophy and theology. Both in the sequence of classes and in teaching methods, the contours of the Jesuit prototype are unmistakable. Most importantly, the actual instruction, as represented in Leichoudian textbooks, was a version of a typical Jesuit program of studies. What the Leichoudes taught their Muscovite disciples was the rhetoric, logic, and natural philosophy of seventeenth-century Jesuit colleges. Echoes of such a curriculum first found their way into Russia through the activities of Epifanii Slavinskii and Simeon Polotskii in the period 1650–1680. Slavinskii and Polotskii appear to have engaged in teaching grammar and rhetoric privately, but such instruction was never formalized within the institutional framework of a school. It fell upon the Leichoudes to build upon the foundations that these two scholars had laid.

The Leichoudes were influenced by Jesuit education in two ways: indirectly, through the teaching and textbooks of their teacher in Venice Gerasimos Vlachos; and directly, through their own immediate use of Jesuit works (as is the case, for example, in rhetoric and natural philosophy). It is often difficult to separate these two processes, that is, the direct and indirect adoption of Jesuit teachings, for they mostly appear to be in operation at the same time. Naturally, the Leichoudes (more so than Vlachos, who was

under their influence) in the Orthodox East or in Italy, and which catered to Greeks.³ However, Jesuit influence in education went far beyond Roman Catholic-run schools.

Schooling and Learning in Muscovite Russia

The level of literacy and learning in pre-Petrine Russia has long been a controversial issue in the historiography. By and large, scholars fall into two categories, the “optimists” and the “pessimists.”⁴ Following Sobolevskii,⁵ the optimists have asserted the existence of high literacy rates among the elite and the urban dwellers and a corresponding level of learning. Soviet scholars in particular were at pains to show that Russia was not trailing behind Western Europe in terms of learning.⁶ The pessimists, on the other hand, have countered that few in Muscovy could read and write, whether among the elite or the lower classes, and as a result very few possessed genuine learning.⁷ Prerevolutionary Russian historians, while not free of nationalism or inferiority complexes in regard to Western Europe, largely fell into the pessimistic camp. However, in attributing the enlightenment of Russia mainly to Peter the Great, they also tended to underestimate previous attempts at schooling on the part of the Russian church and state.⁸

The available evidence on the educational level in Muscovy until the second half of the seventeenth century does not support a rosy picture. Any formal network of primary, let alone higher education, seems to have been totally absent. Whatever level of instruction existed had mainly functional and practical purposes and did not generally promote humanistic learning. Studying took place in churches or monasteries under the guidance of an individual churchman and with the employment of what historians have branded the “primer system.” Commonly used with variations throughout Europe, this method first taught the alphabet and its sounds through a primer or an abecedarium in at least two forms (*bukvar*, *azbuka*), and then proceeded to the study of the breviary (*chasoslov*, *chasovnik*) and ended with the Psalter. The contents of these textbooks had to be read repeatedly until learned by heart. Instruction emphasized reading rather than writing and rarely went beyond liturgical texts.⁹ The overwhelming majority of pre-Petrine Russian literature was religious in character, mostly liturgical texts or works of piety. Moreover, a sizable proportion of it consisted of translated works of the Church Fathers. With the exception of chronicles and a few tales, secular literature was totally absent in Russia until well into the seventeenth century when the first textbooks on grammar and rhetoric as well

presentism and positivism. Instead, they have argued that the absence of formal schools meant that knowledge was passed around through other means, such as apprenticeships, and it is precisely here that scholars ought to focus their attention. Rather than emphasizing the absence of formal schooling, the argument continues, scholars should investigate the varieties of knowledge transmission and the actual content of the training/instruction (*obuchenie*) or apprenticeship (*uchenichestvo*) provided through alternative means.¹⁸ Along these lines, some studies have focused on the plurality of methods applied in early modern Russia at both the elementary and the specialized-professional education levels (in the latter case in Moscow's governmental *prikazy*, in monasteries, in schools attached to certain parishes in both Moscow and in the provinces, and even in some cases in private settings).¹⁹ Some other scholars have charted what they call the acceptance of intellectualism in early modern Russia, in particular in the seventeenth century. Marina Kiseleva has noted the move from bookishness (*uchenie knizhnoe*) to intellectualism in the public pronouncements (especially sermons and other works) of a number of educated clergymen, such as Simeon Polotskii. This intellectualism was firmly rooted in Baroque culture and emphasized the role of individual initiative in the attainment of a correct way of life and ultimately salvation. As such it validated secular learning as conducive to the application of moral principles in real life. Ultimately, it opened the road to Western European scholarly learning (*uchenost'*), which Peter the Great and his collaborators sought to transfer to Russia in a more intensive, if not always coordinated, manner.²⁰ Still other scholars have investigated individual monks or learned circles of monks in Russia's monasteries, and have charted their activities in editing, revision, and commentary in the preparation of manuscripts for publication. In some cases, individual representatives of these circles may be equated with erudites active among church circles of Western Europe. Encyclopedic miscellanies that were not necessarily only ascetic in content were copied, studied, and taught in monastic communities, thus creating intellectual circles reminiscent of Byzantine humanistic culture.²¹

All these approaches have opened up new venues in the study of the transmission of knowledge in medieval and early modern Russia. However, none of these approaches negates the fact that Russia was a latecomer in the creation of formal schools. Newer research into the history of Russian universities in the modern period has charted the diffusion of ideas about institutional and higher education into Eastern Europe and Russia. Such work has emphasized the "transfer" and "adaptation" (two central concepts around which the resulting historiography is produced) of Western

The seventeenth century was also a period of change for Muscovy's international position. The growing internal dissensions in the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth and the simultaneous rise of Russia as a peripheral power in Eastern Europe were coupled with increasing Russian interaction with the West²⁶ and the Balkans.²⁷ Foreigners began to flock to Moscow bringing their expertise and services. Russia's contacts with the coreligionists of the Orthodox East and of the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth intensified. The result was that new influences, mainly Western in character (even when coming from the Orthodox East), began having an impact on the elite of the court and the patriarchate.

Still, it was not only the Eastern Orthodox prelates who carried Western cultural trends into Muscovy. Closer to home, the Ukraine and Belarus, as parts of the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth, were already experiencing the impact of Western Renaissance and post-Renaissance culture as early as the late sixteenth century. After the Union of Brest (1596), the Orthodox hierarchy of the Polish-Lithuanian state accepted the pope's primacy. However, the mass of believers remained loyal to Orthodoxy. The period between the 1590s and the 1630s was characterized by polemic and persecution. Facing the inroads of Roman Catholicism and Protestantism, Orthodox clergymen of the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth, with the support of the brotherhoods and the Cossack and urban elite, set up schools in the form of Jesuit colleges with a Baroque curriculum in Orthodox guise.²⁸ The Kiev Mohyla Academy is the prime example of such endeavors. Established by Petro Mohyla in 1632, the Kievan school was modeled after contemporary Jesuit colleges and offered its students classes in grammar, poetics, and rhetoric, as well as Aristotelian philosophy later in the century.²⁹ Even before the Treaty of Pereiaslav (1654), when the Left-Bank Ukraine (the hetmanate) passed to Muscovite control, several Ukrainian and Belarusian graduates of Ruthenian schools had found their way into Russia in search of printing presses and employment. Their migration intensified after the incorporation of the hetmanate into the Russian state. The Muscovites were clearly in need of their skills in languages and learning, for both Tsar Aleksei Mikhailovich and Patriarch Nikon welcomed and harbored them.³⁰

Historians have charted and analyzed an intensified concern with clerical literacy and especially with the correction of the liturgical books in the period after the Time of Troubles.³¹ The corresponding need for skilled philological experts who would be knowledgeable in languages led the Muscovite Church and government to seek them out in the Orthodox patriarchates of the East and in the Ukraine. This search had already gathered momentum by the 1650s in conjunction with Patriarch Nikon's revision of liturgical books

And if asked about what would be the foundations and protecting screens (*zavesy*) of the ecclesiastical and civil office [*sane*], I would say: “first: schools, second: schools, third: schools.”³⁷

Ligarides’s call was echoed by the patriarchs of Jerusalem and Antioch. In an address to the tsar (drafted most possibly by Ligarides as well), the patriarchs advised him to take to heart the issue of schools, “both Greek, and Slavic and others,” to seek both teachers and students and to extend his generosity to them. Education would benefit both the Russian Church and the state for it would aid their attempt to fight schism and heresy, and would make Russia the educational center of the Orthodox East. Indeed, the patriarchs added, after the fall of Constantinople, the Greeks were deprived of the ability to have their own schools and, as a result, were obliged to seek education in other countries of the West, at great expense and at great threat to their Orthodoxy. If only they were given the chance, Greek youth would flock to Russia in search of learning.³⁸ The implication was that Russia would thus become the center of the Orthodox East and its international standing would be strengthened.

Behind these exhortations the Greek clergymen certainly had their own agenda, and at least some of them may have harbored hopes of creating alternative venues for Greeks who sought education, but in Russia, instead of the West.³⁹ None of these efforts appears to have paid off, however, until the 1680s. Other alternatives did exist, but with a checkered history. From the fall of Constantinople in 1453, and for about a century thereafter, organized schools were rare among the Greeks. Starting in the middle of the sixteenth century and throughout the seventeenth century, the Greek hierarchy showed a sustained concern for education. The Constantinople Patriarchate’s persistent need for educated officials and hierarchs, a renewed interest in learned understanding of the faith in view of rising challenges from Western missionaries, and more regular formal contacts with Western (Roman Catholic and Protestant) clerical and intellectual circles were some of the factors that led to the establishment of the Patriarchal Academy in Constantinople as well as other schools in Athens, Mount Athos, Ioannina (in Epirus), and other locations in the Greek East. While some of these schools ran steadily, others were short-lived and rarely ventured beyond teaching the elements of grammar, syntax, and rhetoric. The schools of Athens, Constantinople, and Epirus appear to have been an exception in this regard, since they were among the first to introduce philosophy and theology as well as new subjects, especially in the late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries. Moreover, most of the teachers invariably had studied in the West, most

such a view on the prerequisites for civil office reflected current Muscovite elite attitudes is open to speculation. The existence of private tutors among members of the court elite and the presence of students originating from the noble and administrative elites in the Slavo-Greco-Latin Academy indicate that at least among some Muscovite courtiers education was not connected with religious practice only but was perceived as necessary for a successful career in the court and its administration as well.⁴⁴

It was not only the Greeks who postulated learning as an antidote to the problem of the Old Belief or to the dearth of linguistically skilled chancellery clerks. Ukrainian and Belarusian scholars residing in Muscovy held similar opinions on the issue of the schism.⁴⁵ By the mid-1660s, they were already applying in practice what the Greek clergymen were advocating in theory.⁴⁶ However, their activities did not necessarily signify the establishment of formal schools. Even Simeon Polotskii's teaching, apparently aimed at providing chancellery clerks with command of Latin necessary for diplomatic missions to the West, lasted for only four years (1663–1667). Epifanii Slavinetenskii appears to have taught those involved in the translation projects that he headed.⁴⁷ Nor should one exaggerate the level of the education provided. Attempts at schooling in the seventeenth century previous to the establishment of the Slavo-Greco-Latin Academy, whether with the help of Greek or Ukrainian and Belarusian scholars, went little beyond the teaching of grammar and rhetoric in Greek, Slavic, or Latin. Moreover, they were initiated with specific goals: the preparation of translators, correctors, and proofreaders of liturgical books, as well as the acquisition by chancellery clerks of skills in foreign languages.⁴⁸ This narrowly utilitarian approach to learning could not satisfactorily meet either the aims posed by the theory of *prosveshchenie* or the intellectual pursuits of an admittedly small but influential court elite. It was the Slavo-Greco-Latin Academy that was projected to accomplish this mission.

Planning an Academy in Moscow

Influenced by rigid conceptions of national culture as well as by discussions about Russia's relationship with Western Europe, prerevolutionary Russian historians concluded that on the eve of Peter the Great's reign a conflict occurred in Muscovy over the orientation of Russian culture. According to these scholars, the late seventeenth century was marked by a struggle between a "Grecophile" and a "Latinophile" camp, representing cultural conservatism and progressivism respectively. The church elite

Ioakim appropriated and revised the academy's charter so as to guarantee that potential teachers coming from the Ukraine and Belarus would have to prove their Orthodoxy before assuming teaching responsibilities. Reacting to Ioakim's revisions, Medvedev in turn added a provision that potential Greek teachers as well would be obliged to provide proof of their adherence to the Orthodox faith, and submitted the plan to Sophia. Meanwhile, though, Ioakim had already sought the help of the Eastern patriarchs and had secured the coming of the Greek brothers Ioannikios and Sophronios Leichoudes to Moscow. In this way, he managed to bypass the Latinizing court and Medvedev and, in a sort of coup, had the Leichoudes organize an academy in Moscow in 1685. The curriculum of the newly founded institution accorded well with the wishes of the "Grecophiles" since it was impeccably Orthodox and emphasized knowledge of Greek and Slavonic, rather than Latin.⁵¹

This narrative scheme appears in many subsequent studies of late seventeenth-century Russian culture,⁵² although individual scholars have expressed more moderate views. Thus, O. Strakhov correctly notes the inroads Baroque attitudes to language had made in the Greek East as well as their presence in Leichoudian works, but still argues that scholarly misgivings about the existence of the two camps may be misplaced because the term Latinophile is simply a construct resulting from scholarly attempts to name an opposing camp. As she puts it, "'Graecophile', on the other hand, certainly expresses the aspirations and the ideological orientation of Epifanii Slavinskii, the Leichoudes brothers and their adherents. The love for Christian Greece, that is, for Byzantium, its theological, cultural and literary heritage, and deep respect for the Greek language were the two cornerstones of the Graecophiles' particular literary and linguistic construct." Such an approach, however, does not completely define the parameters of post-Byzantine Greek culture and the ways in which Byzantium was represented within it. An additional complication results from the fact that several scholars have used the camps to characterize developments in Russian culture in the entire second half of the seventeenth century, not solely during the five-year period of the Eucharist conflict.⁵³ The terms "Grecophiles" and "Latinophiles" are scholarly constructs insofar as they are used to denote a struggle between two hostile "culture clubs," so to speak. Indeed, they do not appear as a pair in the sources of the period. In particular, the term *latinstvovati* (lit. "to latinize") is used in the sources to denote one "who adheres to the Latin doctrine, who espouses Latin views," thus carrying in Orthodox eyes heretical connotations.⁵⁴ In other words, the term "Latinophile" is clearly related only to matters of doctrine, not culture. Polotskii (died 1680) was

very well educated, was by no means an obscurantist, traditionalist patriarch. Rather, he was consciously following in the steps of Nikon in his attempt to safeguard the church's administrative autonomy from tsarist inroads, to assert the church's role in the reform of society, and to facilitate and control the spread of Christian principles to his flock according to the theory of enlightenment (*prosveshchenie*).⁶¹ Detecting few traces of cultural tension between a Westernizing court and a Grecophile patriarchate, Potter demonstrated that the alleged hostility between Polotskii and Ioakim was the result of the rewriting of history that occurred at the end of the 1680s during the peak of the Eucharist conflict. Accordingly, she convincingly refuted N. Kapterev's argumentation about the existence of polemics over the projected academy's language of instruction, a line of reasoning that no one had questioned until Potter. At issue were two polemical tracts, one titled *Dovod vkrate: Iako uchenie i iazyk ellinogrecheskii naipache nuzhno potrebyni nezheli latinskoi iazyk i ucheniia, i chem pol'zuem slavenskomu narodu* (Brief Argument: That the Hellenic-Greek Learning and Language are much more necessary than the Latin Language and Learning, and how they are useful for the Slavic people); the other is titled *Razsuzhdenie—uchitisia li nam poleznee grammatiki, ritoriki . . . i kotorogo iazyka uchitisia nam, slavianom, potrebnee i poleznshee, latinskogo ili grecheskogo* (Reasoning—is it more beneficial for us to study grammar, rhetoric . . . and in what language is more appropriate and more beneficial for us the Slavs [to do so], Latin or Greek).⁶² The former is a short scathing attack on Latin as an imitative language that moreover might lead to heresy; the latter is a rather more sophisticated piece using the same two arguments (Latin as an imitation of Greek, and a potential pathway to heretical teachings). Neither text, though, argues that knowledge of Latin is ipso facto heretical, and both allow for its usefulness after one has acquired a good command of Greek. It should be emphasized that neither tract survives in more than one contemporary copy, which suggests that their impact and circulation were limited, even if the Muscovite intelligentsia formed a close-knit circle. Moreover, the tracts' dating and authorship are unclear since the texts offer little concrete evidence to this effect.⁶³ Most scholars point to Evfimii Chudovskii as the author, since he appears to be the only educated Russian of his time to demonstrate fanatical preference for Greek over Latin. The Leichoudes did extol the virtues of Greek, but only when answering polemical arguments against themselves and the Greeks at large.⁶⁴ It will be remembered in this regard that Greek clergymen expressed no misgivings about teaching Latin (see Ligarides's orations above). In conclusion, as Potter convincingly argued, at issue was overall control of the academy's operation, not its intellectual orientation. This clarifies the tension

such a connection can be detected in most of the charter's articles. Indeed, the *Privilegiia* is replete with references to the benefits that the projected institution would accrue for both the civil and the spiritual well-being of Muscovite society. In accentuating concerted action by tsar and patriarch, the charter articulates a conception of education as a mission of both church and state, not a monopoly of the church. Concomitantly, it promulgates a notion of learning that is capable of operating separately but on a par with faith for the achievement of moral rectitude and material happiness.

After citing the biblical king Solomon's quest for wisdom (*mudrost'*), the *Privilegiia*'s introduction enumerates the tsar's duties and the benefits of wisdom:

[We, i.e., the tsar] have striven to govern with justice the Russian tsardom that was handed to us by the King reigning above all [kings] and to fulfill the tsarist obligations. Among them the first and greatest duty is the preservation of the Eastern Orthodox Faith, and the concern about its expansion. Similar to this [duty] is the zealous effort for the decorous governance and protection of the State. For we know that *wisdom* is the mother of the above and other tsarist duties and the inventor and executor of various benefits. For it is through *wisdom* more than any other way that the glory of God is multiplied; that our Orthodox Eastern Faith is preserved intact from evil, heretical wiles and expanded; that the barbaric peoples are enlightened with knowledge of God; that kingdoms belonging to different faiths turn to the real faith; that the Orthodox [kingdoms] achieve the most complete knowledge of the Faith's dogmas, and learn how to preserve their conscience pure. It is also through *wisdom* that all kingdoms achieve [domestic] decorous conditions, governance in justice, solid defense, and great expansion. In short we say: it is through *wisdom* that we distinguish between good and evil *in civil and in spiritual matters* [last emphasis mine].⁶⁸

Following the example of Tsar Aleksei Mikhailovich whom the Eastern patriarchs had urged to establish a Greek-Slavonic-Latin school in Moscow, and after consulting with Patriarch Ioakim, the tsar thereafter proclaims his intention to imitate King Solomon and the pious Emperors Constantine, Theodosius, and Justinian, "who had supported the liberal arts [*svobodnye mudrosti*]."⁶⁹ To this aim, he commands that an academy be established that would teach "the seeds of wisdom, that is the secular and religious disciplines [*nauki grazhdanskiia i dukhovnyiia*] including grammar, poetics, rhetoric, dialectic, logic, natural and moral philosophy, and also theology," as well as civil and canon law.⁷⁰

The charter's formulation of the tsar's primary responsibilities is a fairly traditional one: preservation of the faith and just governance. The innovation

for it.⁷² In addition, the articles indicate that the income of several monasteries and tsarist landholdings is to be channeled toward its financial upkeep, and private donations of money and clothing for the students are welcome.⁷³

The third article provides for the academy's staff, including a supervisor (*bliustitel'*) and teachers. They ought to "have been born and raised in the Eastern Orthodox Christian faith of the Russian and Greek people" ("rozhdennym i vospitannym vo pravoslavnoi Khristianskoi vostochnoi vere Rossiiskogo i Grecheskogo naroda"). Those coming from among the Greeks should have credible certification from the Eastern patriarchs of their irreproachable adherence to Orthodox precepts and will be tested on this when in Russia. The same measure is applied to those coming from the Ukraine and the Lithuanian state (that is, the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth). Those newly converted to Orthodoxy from other faiths are barred from these positions.⁷⁴ Kapterev attributed the provision about the Greeks to Sil'vestr Medvedev and the one about the Ukrainians to Patriarch Ioakim, and scholars have generally followed suit.⁷⁵ Even if we accept that Medvedev and Ioakim were behind these measures, there is no need to attribute them respectively to "Latinophile" or "Grecophile" feelings. Instead, they denote a concern about the preservation of Orthodoxy that permeates the charter. And in any case, both provisions reflect a time-honored practice on the part of the Muscovite authorities when it came to newcomers either from the Greek East or the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth.⁷⁶ Article four follows the reasoning of the previous one and specifies that all employees of the academy have to take an oath to uphold and preserve Orthodoxy. In case they break their promise, punishment will follow in accordance with the committed violation: if it involves doubts about, or unbecoming interpretations of the Orthodox faith, or even worse, teaching the principles of other faiths and heresies, then an investigation will be carried out and after credible evidence is presented the defendant is to be punished "according to his guilt" and banned from teaching. If, however, a teacher is found to have committed blasphemy (*khulenie*) and refuses to repent, he is to be burnt without mercy. In case he does repent, he is still to be punished (how is not specified) and lose his teaching position.⁷⁷ Article five prohibits the teaching of natural magic and similar subjects, again threatening death for such violations.⁷⁸

Article six is aimed at safeguarding the academy from competition by private tutors. Specifically, it prohibits the employment of tutors for studying Greek, Polish, and Latin without the previous consent of the academy's supervisor and teachers and on pain of confiscation of immovable property.

Article nine treats the tenure of lay teachers (*uchiteli china mirska*) in the academy. Specifically, it prohibits their transfer to the state administration without the knowledge and written consent of the supervisor and teachers. However, after a career of long and productive teaching, such individuals are guaranteed pensions by the tsar as a reward for their services.⁸¹ This is an important provision in that it clearly demonstrates that the projected academy was not to be staffed solely by clergymen. On the contrary, it shows that at least in theory instruction is not perceived as the exclusive domain of churchmen, but rather as an enterprise in which laymen are expected to serve as well. As a result, the charter clearly indicates that education is not solely a church affair.

The next article guaranteed generous rewards and upward social mobility for the academy's successful graduates. In particular, those who exhibited excellent performance in grammar and foreign languages as well as other liberal arts were assured careers in the royal administration. In contrast,

children of people of various ranks, *with the exception of the noble ones* [my emphasis], who have not studied the liberal arts, are not to be raised to our, the Tsar's, offices, i.e., to the ranks of Crown Agents [*striapchie*], Table Attendants [*stołniki*], and to others which are granted by us, the Great Sovereign, to noble children [*blagorodnye*, my emphasis], as a reward for no deeds other than study and distinctive service in wars and other state affairs, [service] that contributes to the enlargement of our Sovereign holdings [*chasti*] and to the expansion of our state.⁸²

In discussing this article, Potter correctly emphasizes the preferential treatment the academy's graduates would enjoy after completion of their study.⁸³ The article explicitly singles out grammar and foreign languages among the liberal arts as the two areas in which students' talents would enable them to ascend in the tsarist service. In other words, the article emphasizes the fulfillment of state demands and connects them to the academy's operation.⁸⁴

Articles eleven through sixteen recount a whole series of responsibilities delegated to the academy's staff. The supervisor and the teachers are to oversee the activities of foreign non-Orthodox experts in Muscovy. If the staff decides that their expertise is needed and deserving of rewards, these foreigners are to be allocated positions accordingly. If, however, they are found to have come with the aim of corrupting the true faith, then they are to be expelled from Muscovy. Sheltering foreigners in private homes is

A close analysis of the projected academy's charter proves that it is planned with the interests of both the state and the church in mind. It also demonstrates that in no way is the state allocated a secondary role in its operation and goals. On the contrary, the tsar remains actively involved in its function and has certain expectations of it. In the articles his presence is felt either as a prospective employer, a judge, or a financier. Moreover, control of the academy is never allowed to slip into the hands of the church. Both clergymen and laymen share responsibilities as teachers, administrators, or judges. Collective decision-making processes are emphasized in that the academy's staff in all cases are to act as a group. Civil courts are to intervene in most cases concerning foreigners, which is indicative of the intense state interest in protecting foreign experts from religious zealots. This is not to overlook the fact that the patriarch is accorded a consultative role in some cases. It could not have been otherwise, since the church would also profit from the academy's operation. However, there seems to be no reason to overstate presumed church attempts at controlling it.⁹² Simply put, the projected academy grows out of cooperation between church and state and aims to strike a balance between their respective interests.

More important than the issue of control is the charter's conception of learning. Although couched in religious language (and it could not have been otherwise in Muscovy at the time), presented here is an attitude toward knowledge that distinguishes between the religious and the secular without positing a conflict between them. Indeed, education is described as morally profitable because it informs and enriches both religious belief and lay activity in a harmonious whole that is ultimately pleasing to God. The curriculum envisioned for the proposed academy accords well with such a conception of learning. Its Christian humanist character was modeled on the post-Renaissance Baroque curriculum of Jesuit colleges and constituted no innovation in the Western European educational world.⁹³ For the Muscovite cultural context of the late seventeenth century, such learning had radical implications since it privileged human wisdom and the activity of the human mind in a society that was instructed to doubt the utility of secular learning. It thus carried within it the seeds of a secularized attitude to education.

The fate of the projected academy's *Privilegiia* is more or less known. Sophia seems to have taken no action on it by herself. In the meantime, the brothers Ioannikios and Sophronios Leichoudes appeared in Moscow. A result of church-state cooperation, the Academy that they set up in Moscow was in some respects similar to the one planned in the *Privilegiia*.

the Roman Catholic faith. Indeed, Jesuit educators shared with Protestant reformers several pedagogical and administrative models. The progression of the curriculum in standardized, distinct classes, the internal division of each class into hierarchical grades according to the achievement level of the students, as well as the adoption of competition (*aemulatio*) as a pedagogical device were all elements that the Jesuits borrowed from their opponents in the struggles of the Reformation period. More importantly, in their quest for the defense and propagation of the Roman Catholic faith, the Jesuits, like their opponents, concluded that adapted humanist knowledge could properly serve their ends. They thus undertook to teach a mixed humanist/scholastic curriculum that sought to instill in their students a Christian humanism. The ultimate goal of such education was the formation of an educated citizen who would simultaneously be a loyal and devoted member of the Roman Church.⁹⁷

A comparison of the Muscovite Academy with an average Jesuit college of the seventeenth century proves how closely the Leichoudes followed both the form and the content of the Jesuit college curriculum. The Leichoudes' was no mere grammar school, for the higher disciplines like philosophy were also taught. The Slavo-Greco-Latin Academy was not a seminary (since it did not focus primarily on theology) or a university.⁹⁸ Nor was it a full-fledged "academy" in the strict sense of the word. According to Western European standards, only such schools as could boast a papal or royal decree awarding them the privilege of degree conferral could properly title themselves "academies."⁹⁹ There is no such extant charter for the Leichoudian school, probably because none was ever issued. Even after its reorganization in 1701 by Tsar Peter's decree, the Muscovite school was not properly called an "academy" but rather "Latin" or "Slavo-Latin" school (*latinskie, slaviano-latinskie shkoly*).¹⁰⁰ There is no reason to expect great consistency among the scribes of the patriarchal or tsarist administration in educational terminology. Russia did not have a history of institutional education that could be referred to as need arose, nor was there terminological uniformity across Europe regarding the appellation "academy." Although Ukrainian and Belarusian scholars were clearly aware of how important such titles might be (see, for example, their petitions for the tsar's protection and for the confirmation of the right to teach philosophy and theology in the Kiev Mohyla Academy in the 1690s), the Russian government does not appear to have assigned particular importance to such titles, even though it normally reacted positively to the Kievans' requests.¹⁰¹ As K. Kharlampovich noted, even Peter's 1701 edict, which reconfirmed tsarist protection for the Kievan school first granted in 1694, does not title it an academy.¹⁰² Scholarly

financial interactions between the Academy and its sponsors, primarily the patriarchate but also the tsars (in the latter's names financing was provided through the Chancellery of Printing Affairs). They also disbursed the students' stipends (progressively larger as the students moved from one class to the next) and kept fairly detailed descriptions of certain occasions on which both teachers and students were rewarded financially for orations and speeches delivered in front of the patriarch on feast days. Mention of similar occasions in the royal court have also survived in documents from the chancelleries of the royal administration (primarily, the Chancellery of Foreign Affairs). These records include some (though not all) of the students' names, since some of them apparently did not receive stipends from these chancelleries, due to other sources of income or due to their social position. These bureaucratic sources help in reconstructing the progression of classes and the composition of the Academy's student body. The Leichoudian textbooks together with petitions that Ioannikios and Sophronios submitted to the tsars through the years serve as important supplements.¹¹¹

Following Jesuit prototypes, the Leichoudes divided the curriculum into two parts: the first part included grammar, poetics, and rhetoric; the second comprised philosophy (including logic) and theology.¹¹² During their tenure in the Academy (1685–1694), the Leichoudes taught all of these subjects except for theology.¹¹³ Building on the work of previous scholars, Dmitrii Ialamas has provided a clearer picture of the progression of classes. He notes that according to a remark that Sophronios included in one of his grammar manuals, the grammar classes were divided into three levels: lower, middle, and higher. The lower level was in turn divided into sub-forms, the inferior and the superior. Grammatical instruction was accordingly distributed among these three levels. Rhetoric, logic, and philosophy were taught in the middle- and higher-level classes (called in sources *srednye* and *vysshie shkoly* respectively). The middle and higher grades were also subdivided into two sub-forms, called in documents *pervaia stat'ia* (the upper level) and *vto-raia stat'ia* (the lower level), so as to differentiate the students according to their progress. Such divisions were also reflected in the students' stipends, as well as in the monetary rewards they were given after the delivery of orations in front of the patriarch. Scholars correctly point out that this type of organization corresponded in general to both Western European and, it would appear, to some contemporary Greek schools of the seventeenth century (although in the latter case, the absence of specialized studies for the seventeenth century makes such comparisons more tenuous).¹¹⁴ Indeed, the three-level external and two-level internal divisions of classes correspond precisely to those employed in Jesuit colleges in the distribution of the

and must have had firsthand knowledge about the Academy's instruction. Informed by Chrysanthos, Patriarch Dositheos addressed a letter to Patriarch Adrian in August 1694, in which he complained that Ioannikios and Sophronios, instead of teaching grammar and other subjects, "entertain themselves with physics and philosophy" in addition to teaching Latin, a language of heresy.¹²⁰ All these contemporary references appear to confirm Fedor Polikarpov's 1726 report that the Leichoudes did teach philosophy (physics) in the Academy. It is important to note here that all of the above evidence refers specifically to the higher class of students and applies only to them. There is no reason to believe, however, that students at other levels were projected to undergo a different curricular course.

Ioannikios and Sophronios remained the only teachers in the Academy in the period 1685–1694. Except for the duration of Ioannikios's absence in Venice (1688–1691), when Sophronios's teaching responsibilities must have increased, they shared the load of instruction. The existing evidence suggests that such sharing did not extend to strict specialization in the teaching of certain subjects, since both brothers authored or compiled textbooks for the same disciplines (for example, rhetoric). They read and commented on each other's works, and it seems plausible to assume that Ioannikios and Sophronios adopted each other's manuals in teaching, as needed. Nor is it easy to distinguish between the two in terms of what each authored, since the original authorship of certain works found in manuscripts and attributed to them remains unclear.¹²¹ Beyond their own textbooks, which form the subject of the following chapters, the two teachers made use of other educational materials as well. Dmitrii Ialamas has suggested that in their grammar and rhetoric courses Ioannikios and Sophronios utilized a wide variety of handbooks and original works by ancient authors, in addition to their own manuals. He has cited a 1687 delivery to the Academy of a substantial number of books (both by Renaissance and ancient authors) and has pointed out that the Leichoudes appear to have started authoring their own manuals only after 1688–1689.¹²² Ialamas's argument is well founded and should be extended to include logic and philosophy as well.¹²³ The combination of original texts (such as Cicero's orations, Aristotle's *Organon*) with handbooks or manuals (of rhetoric or logic, for example) as complementary explanatory material was a well-entrenched pedagogical practice in Jesuit schools, whence Ioannikios and Sophronios adopted it. The emphasis on ancient authors in the original was, of course, a hallowed principle of humanist pedagogical theory and practice. Direct exposure of the student to literary or philosophical texts aimed to produce firsthand familiarity with both their style and

indifference exhibited by some students, their lack of attention to the rules, and their occasional cheating. Sometimes, there were even threats of corporal punishment and denunciation to the patriarch as potential penalties for the students' apathy; at other times the carrot of praise to the patriarch and even to the tsars was also raised. Thus, these sources can serve as indirect reflecting mirrors of both the teachers' pedagogical methods, ranging from praise to public shaming, and as direct evidence of the mix of the Christian with humanist training provided in the Academy.¹²⁵ The immediate results of this training were publicly demonstrated in regularly occurring orations in front of royal personages and especially in front of the patriarch. In particular, on the occasion of Christmas and Easter, the Academy's best students repeatedly exhibited their skills in oratory, delivering speeches on various religious themes or simply presenting their good wishes to the Academy's patrons.¹²⁶

Ioannikios and Sophronios did not have knowledge of Slavonic or Russian when they arrived in Moscow in 1685. Two years into their teaching, they claimed that they still had not acquired the elements of Russian.¹²⁷ In 1726, Fedor Polikarpov asserted that the Leichoudes taught some subjects in Greek only, and others in both Greek and Latin. That Latin was taught in the Academy from its earliest stages is clear from references to the school as the "Greek-Latin school" in the sources.¹²⁸ The question is, which version of Greek did the Leichoudes use as a language of instruction, the "learned," scholarly one or the vernacular of their time? Dmitrii Ialamas has opted for the vernacular, but concedes that there is no clear evidence to this effect. In doing so, he assumes that the students learned vernacular Greek through everyday contact with their teachers and other members of the Greek community of Moscow.¹²⁹ The first seven students of the Leichoudes knew Greek since most of them had been exposed to it in the Typography School before being transferred to the Academy. Unfortunately, there is no clear indication as to the version of Greek they had learned under Timofei, the Typography School instructor.¹³⁰ Contemporary practices in the Greek East suggest that the choice of vernacular or "learned" Greek as a linguistic tool of instruction was very much a matter of individual choice in the schools of the seventeenth century.¹³¹ Ioannikios appears to have preferred "learned" Greek in his textbooks, whereas Sophronios wrote his works in both versions. Still, the Leichoudes' *Short Grammar* of Greek, the only grammatical work written during their tenure in the Academy, was of scholarly, "learned" Greek, a fact that would seem to undermine Ialamas's argument. In conclusion, it appears that students were taught to speak and write both versions of Greek, although the version used in instruction remains unclear.¹³² What



Bogoiavlenskii Monastery. Nineteenth century. From N. A. Naidenov, *Moskva. Sobory, monastyri i tserkvi*. 4 vols. Moscow: Tip.-lit. I.N. Kushnereva, 1882–1883. Courtesy of the Hillwood Estate, Museum & Gardens, Archives & Special Collections, Washington, DC. Photo by Brian Shearby.



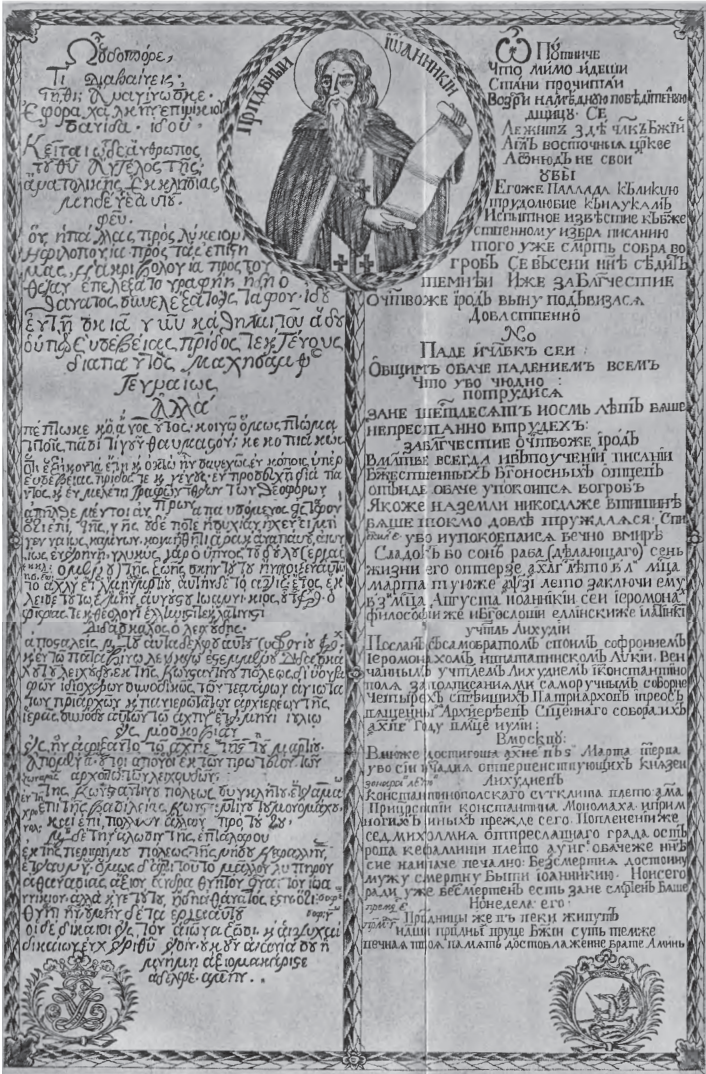
Zaikonospasskii Monastery, Church of the Savior. Nineteenth century. From N. A. Naidenov, *Moskva. Sobory, monastyri i tserkvi*. 4 vols. Moscow: Tip.-lit. I.N. Kushnereva, 1882–1883. Courtesy of the Hillwood Estate, Museum & Gardens, Archives & Special Collections, Washington, DC. Photo by Brian Shearby.



A school classroom. Late seventeenth century. From *Oktoechos*. Venice: Typ. Nikolaos ho Glykys, ho ex Ioanninon, 1683, p. 3. Courtesy of Gennadius Library, American School of Classical Studies, Athens, Greece.



Statue dedicated to the Leichoudes brothers. Bogoiavlenskii Monastery, Moscow. Erected 2007. Sculptor: Viacheslav Mikhailovich Klykov. Architect: Viktor Pasenko. Photo courtesy of Anna Sydorenko.



Portrait of Ioannikios Leichoudes accompanying epitaph by Sophronios Leichoudes in honor of his brother. Greek and Slavonic. Zaikonospasskii Monastery, 1717. From N. Likhachev, "Portret Ioannikiia Likhuda." *Pamiatniki drevnei pis'mennosti i iskusstva* CXLVI (1902).

The Curriculum in Action I

The Rhetoric Course

As a teachable set of theoretical principles and practical rules for speaking, rhetoric was a latecomer to Muscovy. Until the beginning of the seventeenth century, Muscovite attitudes toward the art of speaking were conditioned by rhetoric's (as well as the other arts') association with antiquity and hence with paganism. In such an ideological context, Muscovite bookmen considered simplicity in speech rather than eloquence (*khitrorech'e*, lit., "artificiality in speech") as the best way to praise God.¹ The Byzantine excerpt on speech amplification in the *Izbornik Sviatoslava* (Miscellany of Sviatoslav of 1073, a collection of religious and didactic texts), the references to genera of speech found in translated commentaries to patristic authorities, and, last but not least, the Bible itself appear to be the closest a Muscovite came to reading about principles and practices of oratory. It is true that during the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, under the sway of the so-called Second South Slavic Influence (a combination of religious and literary ideas that were transferred from the Orthodox Balkans to the East Slavs), a new style came to dominate Muscovite literature. This style involved artful word weaving (*pletenie sloves*) with a predominance of metaphors, synonymic and paronomastic series of words, and rhetorical figures. However, this new literary technique did not instigate any theoretical study of rhetoric as such, nor did it result in the composition of handbooks or textbooks of rhetoric.² Until the end of the sixteenth century, Muscovite bookmen did not exhibit any interest in the formal study of ancient Greek and Roman rhetoric.

Indeed, the first "Muscovite" treatise on rhetoric, the so-called "Rhetoric of Makarii" did not appear until the beginning of the seventeenth century, and then only as an adapted translation of a Western work. Still, it enjoyed widespread circulation throughout the century and testifies to a new approach toward questions of speaking and writing in Muscovy. At least for some Muscovite bookmen, rhetoric no longer contravened apostolic and

Both brothers authored rhetoric manuals, and Ioannikios based his own rhetorical textbook on that of Sophronios (see below). Sophronios modeled his own rhetoric on that of their erstwhile teacher. Both Sophronios and Vlachos tend to use interchangeably the terms *rhetorike dynamis* (rhetorical faculty) and *rhetorike technē* (art of rhetoric). At the same time, Sophronios compresses certain parts of Vlachos's rhetoric by omitting detailed treatments of Aristotle's opinions. For example, when discussing the matter (*hyle*) of rhetoric, Vlachos references various opinions of theoreticians of rhetoric, while Sophronios does not.⁹ Sophronios also rearranges some chapters, by including, for instance, the discussion of the *diorismeno* (*hypothesis/causa et controversia*, a "defined" issue that is accompanied by circumstances and hence is more concrete) and the *adioriston* (*thesis/propositum*, i.e., an issue that remains "undefined" and unconnected to any particular individuals or circumstances) in the chapter on rhetoric's matter, whereas Vlachos has a separate chapter on that topic, entitled *peri zeteseos posachos* (on the various ways of discovering the matter of rhetoric).¹⁰ Similarly, Sophronios condenses *peri etymologias* (on etymology) and *peri synemmenon* (on words that share a common root, but appear in different forms) into one chapter, whereas Vlachos has two different chapters on these topics (using the term *systoicha* [words that are coordinates, that is, they belong to the same genus but appear in various forms] instead of *synemmena*).¹¹ In this last case, Vlachos makes no mention of the examples about Ptolemy or Martin Luther that Sophronios adduces in his own work. Vlachos does not speak of *latinismos* when discussing eloquence, whereas Sophronios talks about both *hellenismos* and *latinismos* (that is, grammatically correct and elegant presentation in Greek and Latin).¹² Lastly, Vlachos's manual is comprised of three books, whereas Sophronios adds a fourth. Overall, however, the broader division of chapters in both rhetorics, that of Vlachos and that of Sophronios, is similar. Sophronios, therefore, based his manual on that of Vlachos, but also revised Vlachos's text and added materials from other Jesuit textbooks of rhetoric. This latter conclusion is further strengthened by the fact that Vlachos does not divide rhetoric into divine, heroic, and human, which is a basic division that Sophronios uses and which he borrowed from Jesuit sources.

Beyond their dependence on the rhetoric of Vlachos, the Leichoudes' rhetorical manuals and speeches also exhibit certain traits of one strand of French Jesuit rhetorical thought, characterized by special emphasis on the presence of emotions, passions, and gesticulation in oratory. Indeed, vehemence in delivery and ornamental virtuosity in vocabulary are trademarks of Leichoudian rhetorical theory and practice. Along these lines,

likely that Cyprian Soares served as Skouphos's prototype. Soares accepted the five-part division of rhetoric, but his manual focused overwhelmingly on the first three parts. Skouphos also treated memory and delivery only briefly, and instead elaborated on invention, elocution, and disposition. Like Soares and Vlachos, Skouphos focuses on epideictic orations and on amplification. Similarly, he combines an examination of theoretical precepts with exemplary speeches. Even more than Vlachos and Soares, however, Skouphos emphasizes the technicalities of specifically ecclesiastical oratory, by simplifying and condensing theoretical principles, and instead providing extensive and elaborate sample speeches, on classical, Hellenistic, and, most often, biblical themes.¹⁸ Skouphos's manual was published in 1681, long after the two brothers had started their teaching career. Moreover, there is no direct evidence of its existence among the books that the two brothers had at their disposal. Given the fact that Vlachos clearly served as a guide to the Leichoudes, and that Skouphos's work shows little relation to that of Vlachos, Skouphos clearly had no direct influence on the two brothers.¹⁹

The Manuals

For the rhetoric classes in the Academy, the Leichoudes used two kinds of sources: their own textbooks as well as manuals and editions of speeches by other contemporary or ancient authors. More specifically, Sophronios Leichoudes authored *Peri rhetorikes dynameos, etoi peri rhetorikes theias te kai anthropines vivlia tessera* (On the rhetorical faculty, namely four books on divine and human rhetoric).²⁰ Ioannikios in turn composed his own manual, titled *To tes vasilikes euglottias palation, eite gymnasiai, theoriai te kai rhetorika meletemata: Exegesis telaugestate pases tes rhetorikes dynameos para Ioannikiou ieromonachou Leichoudou tou Hamartolou poiethesa* ("The palace of queen eloquence, or exercises, theories, and rhetorical studies: Most lucid explanation of all the rhetorical faculty authored [lit. "made"] by the Hieromonk Ioannikios Leichoudes the sinner"—also divided into four books).²¹ As already indicated, both brothers' rhetorics are based on Vlachos's textbook, and through it, ultimately on Jesuit prototypes. As early as 1845 A. Smelovskii argued that a close reading between Sophronios's and Ioannikios's manuals proves that Sophronios's textbook formed the basis for Ioannikios's.²² Indeed, "The palace of queen eloquence" is essentially an adapted version of Sophronios's "On the rhetorical faculty." More specifically, Ioannikios copies parts of book 1 and the last three books of Sophronios's work almost unaltered. This adaptation leaves unchanged the

By Muscovite standards this list is impressive in both variety of titles and numbers. It is obvious that the characterization “Greek books” is a misnomer, since the list includes both Greek and Latin as well as bilingual and quadrilingual titles.²⁴ It also includes manuals of Latin language study that were very popular in Western European schools. As discussed below, there are frequent references in the Leichoudian manuals to some of these outside sources with direct instructions to students to look for additional information or examples in them.²⁵

Teaching

In order to present the Leichoude’s rhetorical teaching, it is necessary to investigate Ioannikios Leichoude’s *Palace of Queen Eloquence*, with references, wherever necessary, to Sophronios’s work in both its Greek and Slavic versions. Although Ioannikios compiled his work well after the two brothers were dismissed from their teaching positions in the Academy, there is no reason to believe that their views on rhetoric had substantially changed in the meantime. As will be shown, Ioannikios’s rhetoric is in essence an adapted version of his brother’s. By studying the two brothers’ works together one acquires a clear picture of what the Leichoude chose to emphasize and instill in their students in their rhetorical classes.

A. Book One

In the beginning of his manual Ioannikios indicates that he will first make some introductory remarks on rhetoric, then will analyze the main elements of rhetoric, and last, will provide the various “orations” (*logous, orationes*, that is, kinds of speech) into which one can divide public speaking.²⁶ For, as he explains further, not everyone is allowed into the inner depths of rhetoric, but only those who are well versed in both its nature and teachings.²⁷ For actions that derive from both nature and art in man are better and more exalted than those that are the result of nature only. Every action is based on an ability that man has. Skills acquired by education and the arts are meant precisely to enhance these many and varied natural human abilities. This is the point at which both education and the arts come together; they prepare man to perform his actions well. Rhetoric, in turn, develops two elements in man: it perfects and decorates the mind, and at the same time it beautifies speech and conversation. Or in more detail,

three activities: instructing (lit., “teaching,” *didaskein/docere*), delighting (*euphrainein/delectare*), and moving (*kamptein/movere*).³⁴ In other words, the rhetor by necessity ought to instruct his audience. In order to do that, he has to speak in such a manner as to please his audience. Only then can he succeed in moving his listeners and bending them toward his opinions, and as a result, claim victory. As for the subject matter of rhetoric, Ioannikios directly refers to Aristotle: any question (*pasa zetesis/circa quamlibet materiam*) can be the subject matter of rhetoric. In this sense, rhetoric is the counterpart to (*antistrophos, reciproca/vice versa*) dialectic. At this point, Ioannikios briefly comments that Aristotle meant *isostrophos*, that is, directing itself to the same things that dialectic does. “For the characteristic of rhetoric and logic is to converse and speak about any matter.”³⁵ Moreover, both aim at convincing, but they differ in that they follow different ways of speaking.³⁶

In the section titled “On the power and majesty of rhetoric,” Ioannikios strives to provide a tangible example of how rhetoric works. Taking as his paradigm a naturally eloquent speaker, Ioannikios explains how a good orator ought to “speak” both to the mind and the soul of his listeners. Accordingly, both the orator’s speech as well as his demeanor and gestures are of primary importance.³⁷ Ioannikios immediately proceeds with an elaborate description of how the perfect orator ought to perform using both his voice and his body movements. Such an orator persuades his audience of the truth of what he says with the power of both his arguments and his emotions as well as his gesticulation. For example, if he is upset and angry, the audience also feels the same; if he is raging, his listeners also become enraged; when he calms down, so does the audience. Such a speaker wins his listeners body, mind, and soul. Indeed, Ioannikios boldly asserts that the natural persuasive ability a good orator has is a gift that he “somehow” shares with the angels and God. For it is given by God and through it God is glorified. This “sharing” is not something that the other invented arts can boast of.³⁸ Moreover, a good orator stands out among other people by the power of his memory and his imagination, traits that are not shared equally by all men. More than that, only a good orator has all the characteristics that are individual traits of other artists and scientists (*technitais/epistemosin, in aliis*). For example, a naturally clever person, but with a bad memory, can become an excellent philosopher, but not necessarily a good speaker. Thus, the orator should possess prudence, good memory, quick and fertile imagination, as well as a stimulating, powerful, and “almost divine and heavenly” strength of mind.³⁹

Ioannikios devotes the next section of his treatise to imitation. Echoing the ideas of Soarez, Ioannikios underscores the importance of imitation

majestic.⁵² In contrast, a deliberative or judicial speech ought to deal with the specific issue at hand.⁵³ An able mind will easily find the appropriate subject for an oration, but an *educated* able mind will be much more at ease in doing so, “for education is the parent and wet-nurse of invention.”⁵⁴ Hence, Ioannikios insists, students should strive to learn the history and customs of various peoples, myths and apothegms, opinions and even hieroglyphics, from which they can cull subject matter for speeches. In addition, they ought to examine the works of rhetors, logographers (probably, paid professional judicial orators), and historians (especially those who are currently active) that can provide the students with an appropriate and subtle statement of proposition (*protasin*).⁵⁵ Ioannikios submits allegory as an example of such a statement, although he cautions his students that at the beginning stages of their speech writing it is better for them to start with simple *protaseis* (statements of proposition).⁵⁶ After the statement, it is incumbent upon the orator to provide the necessary arguments and opinions to support it. At this point, Ioannikios introduces a distinction between *vevaia* and *pithana epicheiremata*, that is, certain and possible arguments. *Certain arguments* are clear and logical (that is, they follow all the rules of syllogistic reasoning) whereas *possible arguments* appear to be true because they are accepted as such by the common people. Common people are more prone to believing possible arguments because they are mostly uneducated and thus have difficulty in comprehending demonstrative reasoning. Arguments are to be found in the rhetorical topics, which in turn are divided into internal and external. Internal topics are those that are already embedded in the statement of proposition, and are sixteen: definition, enumeration of the parts, etymology, *systoicha*, genus (*genos*), form (*eidos*), similarity, dissimilarity, opposites, *synemmena* (or *peristatika*, circumstances), *proegoumena* (preceding), *epomena* (following results), *antimachomena* (opposites), causes, effects, and comparison. External topics are those outside of the statement of proposition such as witnesses; laws; the authority of kings, saints, hierarchs, and judges; customs and myths of various peoples; holy scripture; parables; et cetera.⁵⁷ Having introduced the various rhetorical topics, Ioannikios skirts a detailed examination of each of the internal topics, discussing only definition, enumeration, and effects. (Interestingly, he also regards enumeration, genus, species, and results as “tropes” [*tropoi*] by which a definition can be offered.) His treatment starts from the definition of a particular topic and then moves to examples of it. These examples are culled from a wide variety of sources, including Christian and non-Christian authors. The case of certain topics can illustrate Ioannikios’s teaching and choices of examples.

reasoning). As an example of definition by effects Ioannikios offers the account of Ambrosius of Milan on drunkenness:

Drunkenness is the kindling [*anapsis*] of mania, the vapor-bath [*pyriama*] of pleasure, of licentiousness [*aselgeias*],⁶⁰ of intemperance, of philandery and pederasty, the poison of wisdom. Drunkenness transforms the senses and forms of humans. Through it humans from humans become whinnying horses.⁶¹

Undoubtedly, Ioannikios was well aware of the extent of alcohol consumption in Russia, and it is no surprise that he employed the theme in his teaching. This is only one of the Leichoude's frequent attempts to adapt their teaching to the needs and demands of their Muscovite environment.

As examples of the topic of enumeration (*aparithmesis*), Ioannikios refers to the constitutive parts of the human body, or to the various kinds of virtue implicit in the genus "virtue" (*arete*). It is noteworthy that here Ioannikios departs from his previous practice of providing short illustrative examples of topics and offers as further examples three speeches in which he employs enumeration.⁶² One of them is in essence an encomium of Metropolitan Iov, the patron of the Leichoude during their stay in Novgorod.⁶³ In an ornate and exaggerated manner, Ioannikios reworks the traditional themes of philanthropy and holiness so that they conform to a speech characteristic of enumeration. Using a descending social hierarchy, the author praises Iov for being a "sun of compassion and prudence" for the leaders (*tois men archousi kai protois*), a "prototype and example" for the middling strata (*tois mesazousin*), and a "great help . . . from God" to the lower strata of society. In a clear reference to himself, the author also adds that Iov is "a hope for the future" to those who live with him at home.⁶⁴

A comparison of book I of Ioannikios's rhetoric with book I of Sophronios's proves how closely Ioannikios followed his brother's lead. In the introduction to his manual, Sophronios also declares rhetoric "the queen of the arts" and distinguishes between divine, heroic, and human rhetoric.⁶⁵ Echoing Vlachos, Sophronios also accepts Aristotle's definition of rhetoric, and distinguishes two aims for rhetoric, internal and external. The external aim, "on the part of the rhetor," is to find the persuasive arguments appropriate to the matter at hand; the internal, "on the part of the judges or the listener," is for the speech to actually convince its audience.⁶⁶ At first glance, it would seem that in their definition of rhetoric, the two brothers part ways: Sophronios appears as a much "stricter Aristotelian" than his brother. However, such a conclusion is unwarranted, since as noted above Ioannikios, despite his rather un-Aristotelian definition of the art, eventually does distinguish between the

and memory in the acquisition and retention of rhetorical skills, and, like his brother, discusses the internal and external topics of invention, to the end of book 1. Significantly, both Ioannikios and Sophronios diverge from Vlachos as regards the way one can become a good orator: for Vlachos, education and study can perfect oratorical skills only when the potential orator already is innately predisposed toward rhetoric. The Leichoudes do not posit innate rhetorical ability as a prerequisite for excellence in oratory.⁷¹

The comparison between the two brothers' works confirms that Leichoudian teaching on the definition, aims, utility, and constituent parts of rhetoric falls squarely within the Jesuit rhetorical tradition as it had developed in the late sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. Thus, Leichoudian rhetoric is an art that finds its prototypes in the heroic orations of the Bible and the Church Fathers, but also in ancient authors (especially Cicero and Demosthenes). Its double aim is to find the necessary persuasive arguments in any matter at hand and to convince the listener of their accuracy and strength. But arguments are not the only tools of rhetoric. Persuading the audience requires manipulation of their emotions and feelings as well. Thus, the rhetor ought to be conscious of both *what* he says and *how* he says it; both words and body language can and should contribute decisively to the orator's ultimate aim, the captivation of the audience body, mind, and soul. The emphasis on emotion can be connected both to the requirements of effective preaching in an era of interfaith conflicts and to Ignatius Loyola's insistence on the necessity of directing the emotions in his *Spiritual Exercises*. Ecclesiastical rhetoric's emphasis on emotion was carried over to the rhetoric of both judicial courts and the royal court.⁷² One could argue, therefore, that Sophronios and Ioannikios, without naming it as such, become adherents and teachers of the "grand style" so characteristic of late seventeenth-century, Baroque Jesuit rhetoric.⁷³ Within this framework, invention becomes largely dependent on amplification so as to succeed in overcoming the individual intellectual and emotional "resistance" of the listener by winning over his/her mind and rousing his/her emotions through gesticulation and theatricality. The end result is that elocution receives more emphasis over invention in the manuals of rhetoric and even "rises up" in the treatment of rhetoric's constituent parts, since it usually precedes the discussion of disposition.⁷⁴

B. Book Two

In the beginning of the second book of his manual (*peri euphradeias*—"On Elocution"),⁷⁵ Ioannikios notes that "elocution teaches the tropes [*tropous*]

virginity? Pray! Do you desire, oh Christian, to carry the wreath of steadfastness? Pray!”⁸³ Most of Ioannikios’s other examples are also of the same ethical and moralistic character. As an illustration of *lysis* (dissolution, i.e., omitting conjunctions between words or phrases), the author grasps the opportunity to praise education: “the study of letters nurtures youth, guides old age, adorns the happy ones, avoids misfortunes, pleases the relatives [lit., *oikeiakous*, “those living under the same roof”], keeps vigil with the students [lit., *holonyktei meta ton spoudaion*].” There is a consistent sprinkling of references to ancient authors (with or without attribution), in whose works Ioannikios obviously was well versed. For instance, as an example of *epanalepsis* (repetition), Ioannikios cites “the one [lit., ‘that’], whom the people of Rome accused; whom the senate accused; whom everyone’s opinion accused.”⁸⁴ The same can be said of Ioannikios’s presentation of yet another category of figures, that of “opinions” (*schemata ton gnomon eite apophanseon, eite kata dianoian*).⁸⁵ In treating *synchoresis* (consent or agreement), the author offers the case of a young man caught stealing from his father’s money chest.⁸⁶ Illustrating *deesis* (beseeching, entreaty) and *diaporesis* (wondering, perplexity), he adduces blessed Joseph’s begging his brothers and Saint Susanna’s pondering her actions in the face of false accusations, respectively.⁸⁷ In the cases of *klimax* (climax, mounting by degrees) and *aposiopesis* (becoming silent midspeech), he cites examples from Demosthenes.⁸⁸ Occasionally, Ioannikios uses reworked stories of ancient authors, which, clothed in Christian garb, thus become appropriate tools in the rhetorical education of Christian youth. Such is the case with Lucian’s dialogue of the bed with the night-light.⁸⁹ More interestingly, sometimes Ioannikios provides examples that may be explicit references to, but also veiled criticisms of, the conditions around him. As an illustration of *apostrophe* (addressing someone directly), the author uses the case of holy shrines:

To the dust of the saints. Groan, oh holy dust [lit., dusts, *koneis*] if there is some sense in you. Groan pious hills, holy graves, venerable monuments of temples, which ought to be revered due to the burial [therein] of holy relics. These altars and temples, which have been sanctified by you, now the insolent and sacrilegious men defile irreverently.⁹⁰

It is possible that Ioannikios in this case implicitly criticizes the disrespect shown by some contemporary Russians toward holy relics.⁹¹

After the extensive treatment of figures of speech, Ioannikios moves on to a consideration of the “period” and the way it contributes to elocution.⁹² He discusses the amplification of simple periods by use of various rhetorical

were both hieromonks and had received their education primarily under the guidance of clergymen. Instead, it is to emphasize that the Leichoudes propagated an understanding of learning that was novel in the Russian context. They may not have been the first to introduce this view in Muscovy, but they certainly were among the first who consistently labored to drive home the point. This novel conception of learning did not view all external knowledge (that is, nonreligious knowledge, *thyrathen sophia*, *vneshniaia mudrost'*) as inherently suspect and counterproductive for man's salvation, but instead emphasized its usefulness for both personal development and social advancement. In this way the arts became complementary to, indeed necessary for faith, and not de facto inimical toward it. Far from challenging and undermining faith, education thus could support and strengthen it.

Along these lines, it comes as no surprise that Ioannikios focuses on the maxim "the beginning of knowledge is fear of God" (*arche sophias phobos kyriou*, Prov. 1:7) in the immediately ensuing discussion of the simple and complex periods.⁹⁹ Wisdom, the author argues, elicits true praise. One should hold wisdom as dear as the divine character of the eternal *nous*, not so much out of fear of punishment but as a pious duty.¹⁰⁰ "Wisdom should not be violated by any mistake but [should be practiced] prudently and in a holy manner and pious fear." As is evident, there are limits to human wisdom, but wisdom per se is not axiomatically incompatible with piety. This is a far cry from the predominant suspiciousness of all nonreligious knowledge in both Kievan and Muscovite literature until the middle of the seventeenth century.

Nevertheless, religious, especially monastic, moralism is ever present in Ioannikios's teaching. In the same section, he returns to it in discussing a complex period and addresses drunkenness and women in a single example:

"Wine and women make wise men apostatize"

(*ho oinos kai hai gynaiikes tous sophous anthropous apostatein poiouσι*)

1st colon: When was there, or can exist, a man of such a brave soul, and of such a virtuous and self-controlled nature?

2nd colon: Whom the incontinence of gluttony, and the excessive symposiums did not honorlessly drop from his natural state?

3rd colon: Or who is of such an elevated mind, of such perfection of knowledge, and of such praiseworthy eminence of wisdom?

4th colon: Whom the shameless love of women, and the sensual desire bringing abominable pleasures did not denude of honor, order, and use of his rational faculty?¹⁰¹

advises the students to look up other examples in Aphthonius, a further indication that the two brothers used Aphthonius's work in teaching). Even given his criticisms of the myth, in supporting the assertion that Apollo did indeed love and unite with Daphne, Ioannikios first cautions his audience to be careful in going against (ancient) poets since this by definition involves opposing the Muses. He then argues that it can be said that Daphne was born from the earth and water: "after all, do not all things have their beginning in earth and water? Do not the elements [*stoicheia*] provide the seeds [*spermata*] in all things?"¹¹² Of course Daphne was beautiful, the author continues, since everything that first springs up from the earth is adorned with its own specific beauty. And it is possible the so-called god was attracted by Daphne's beauty since everything that is beautiful is given by the so-called gods. Anyway, beauty among all "goods" is the first to be loved and sought after. Still, Ioannikios also emphasizes the moral twist of his story. One could see Daphne as virtue personified and Apollo as the lover of virtue who has to overcome many obstacles before attaining it.¹¹³ Moreover, Daphne the tree¹¹⁴ justifiably became the symbol of prophecy; as many poets hail Daphne's prudence and self-control, it is appropriate that the tree named after her can provide omens (i.e., prophecies) since "to offer omens is an outcome of self-control." Yet, the author returns to natural philosophy by asserting that mother earth fittingly accepted her daughter back since all mortal things necessarily return to where they came from. To take back and to give are "both main and specific functions of the earth [*kyria erga oikeia te* (variant on margin: *edika tes, tes ges) tes ges*], for it is necessary that men fall under the earth, and that the trees spring from it."¹¹⁵

The use of Aphthonius's reworked Apollo-Daphne myth in an interpretative oration (whether affirmatively or negatively) is a clear illustration of one of the main characteristics of Leichoudian rhetoric: that it combines religious and moral tenets with contemporary "scientific" (that is, natural philosophical) thought and ancient literature in a conscious attempt to create a product acceptable to both intellect and faith. Of course, the degree to which each of the aforementioned elements was present in each case varied depending on the issue at hand. Accordingly, in the treatments of *chreia* (maxim)¹¹⁶ and *gnome* (opinion, pronouncement, apothegm)¹¹⁷ that follow, Ioannikios employs a mostly moral and ethical vocabulary, understandably so since at issue are themes of piety and virtue. Occasionally, this vocabulary is unexpectedly mild and realistic. Thus, the first example of a maxim's interpretation is a statement from Eccles. 10:19, "money meets every need" (*tois chremasi panta hypokeintai*).¹¹⁸ Ioannikios matter-of-factly describes the human striving for wealth and the security, glory, and respect

speech, he instructs the students to take extreme care in its composition.¹³⁰ He reserves special comment for gaining the benevolence of the audience. To this aim, he emphasizes that both rhetor and defendant¹³¹ should keep a modest and orderly demeanor, and show respect for justice (especially in courts, as he notes) and the polity.¹³² Ioannikios then examines the proemiums of the epideictic oration. Attributing great importance to the person of the orator, he devotes a substantial amount of space to the composition of proemiums “from circumstances concerning the author.”¹³³ In this part, the examples come almost exclusively from ancient authors and rhetors. For instance, Ioannikios submits the hypothetical case of a small-bodied and common-faced orator and proceeds to rework in a rhetorical manner Lucian’s dialogue between the bed and the night-candle.¹³⁴ Illustrating the technique “from the circumstances of events,” he cites the story of Dio advising the Athenians on how to establish a well-run polity.¹³⁵ He then moves on to a brief examination of the prologue to a deliberative speech, giving only one example addressed to the men of “Neapolis,” that is, Novgorod.¹³⁶ Before closing the investigation of the first part of a speech, Ioannikios briefly refers to the “short” (*aperrhegmena kai syntoma*) proemiums and emphasizes that they are very useful in addressing emperors and leaders. It is noteworthy that immediately before this final part, Ioannikios places a chapter on judicial proemiums. However, the only remark he makes is the following: “in the judicial species there are many, varied and somber [*varea*] [proemiums], but they are not useful for you, and that is why they are left aside.”¹³⁷ This is yet another indication of the extent to which Ioannikios (and Sophronios) adapted their teachings to the prevailing conditions of Russia at the time.

Narration, the main part of a speech, is the object of Ioannikios’s attention next. He first presents the various kinds of narration that theoreticians of rhetoric have distinguished and their definition,¹³⁸ as well as the characteristics of bad¹³⁹ and good¹⁴⁰ narration. In distinguishing a perfect and embellished from a simple and flat narration, Ioannikios grasps the chance to comment on the difference between historians and rhetors: for historians, it suffices to narrate events clearly and as they happened; but rhetors should expose these events in bright colors so as to move the audience. Subsequently, the author presents four short narratives, one that is “poetic,” one historical, one historical “told in rhetorical manner,” and one political (i.e., that deals with matters pertaining to the affairs of a city).¹⁴¹ The examples are supposed to speak for themselves since Ioannikios does not belabor the point any further.

Instead, the author proceeds to a consideration of argument as such. This is one of the most technical aspects of the rhetoric and must have

encomium to God ought to be solemn and modest, and not exaggerated and ornate; it ought to reflect admiration rather than outright praise for God. “For it is not necessary to belabor the elements of God’s [characteristics] very much,” since one understands only a small number of God’s actions. Particularly important is the feeling of joy and gratefulness that the speaker should emphasize and try to instill in his audience, especially in the case of the major feasts such as Easter and Christmas. After singling out Synesius and Gregory of Nazianzus as providing appropriate techniques for this aim, Ioannikios refers his students to an outline of this type of speech in the form of a “tree.”¹⁵³ He then moves on to an enumeration of other subjects that can be praised, and focuses on virtue (*arete*) as the most appropriate of these.¹⁵⁴ Accordingly, he offers two kinds of praise for virtue, “in general” and “of a single virtue.”¹⁵⁵ As an illustration of a single virtue, Ioannikios presents an encomium of virginity.¹⁵⁶ Next come outlines of encomiums for any one art or science, cities and animals, and, finally, of any one action or event (*ergon*).¹⁵⁷ The author investigates this latter kind of oration in detail along the lines of the seven “circumstances” (*synemmena* or *peristatika*): “who, what, where, by whose assistance, what for, how, when.”¹⁵⁸ He then applies these elements to an encomium of Saint Alexios (the fourth-century CE holy fool) “who left his bride.”¹⁵⁹ The section closes with a consideration of the main elements of an encomium of kings and queens.¹⁶⁰

The panegyric is the object of the next and final section of Ioannikios’s treatise. He distinguishes five main parts to it (proemium, statement, narration, construction, and epilogue) and discusses each one separately.¹⁶¹ It is in this section that he pays particular attention to speeches on the occasion of the “birthday” and “welcoming” of an important person (in this case, the tsar).¹⁶² It is not surprising that Ioannikios devotes special attention to this kind of epideictic oration, since it was one of the major characteristics of court culture in both Western Europe and in Russia at the time. Both Ioannikios and Sophronios had composed several panegyrics in honor of both Sophia Alekseevna and Ivan and Peter Alekseevich at various times during their stay in Russia. Ioannikios makes frequent references to them or to other themes that were connected with Russian circumstances. For instance, in his outline of narrative strategies, Ioannikios employs the case of Saint Aleksei, the patron saint of Muscovites, as “the perfect idea of an archhierarch”¹⁶³ and also the case of Saint Nicholas’s intervention against the Poles and on behalf of the Muscovites.¹⁶⁴ As an illustration of a birthday speech, Ioannikios advises the students to read his own speech on the birthday of Peter the Great, and cites the beginning of it:

The Curriculum in Action II

Investigating the Heavens

In Kievan Rus' and Muscovy, religious belief dominated perceptions about the structure and function of the natural world.¹ Indeed, whatever elements of ancient views on the universe were present in the extant sources were normally filtered and cleansed of any perceived pagan or anti-Christian element.² It could not have been otherwise, since these sources comprised mainly the works of Church Fathers and later ecclesiastical authors and commentators. Sources that could potentially provide information on cosmological and astronomical subjects were (1) the encyclopedic work *Lutsidarius* (a translation most probably of a German original, titled *Lucidarius*, through Polish into Church Slavonic), which appears to have attracted the wrath of Maksim Grek, but extant copies of which are dated only to the seventeenth century; (2) the *Khronika* (*Chronicle*) of Martin Bielski (first published Cracow, 1551), several translations of which appeared in Russia beginning in the mid-seventeenth century; (3) various other cosmographies, all translations of one, usually geographical, work or compilations from various sources; and (4) the *Selenographia* (*Description of the Moon*) of Johannes Hevelius (published 1647), which was translated by Stepan Chizhinskii in the late 1670s. Almost invariably these texts are attested in Russia from the middle of the seventeenth century onward. In addition, they are mostly reworked or edited translations in which the meaning of the original is sometimes unintelligible. It is unlikely that these texts were known to a wide audience: a very cursory look at the relevant information in reference works gives one the impression that their availability could not in any way have been wider than that of the *Shestodnev* variants (commentaries on the six days of creation), the *Izborniki*, or the *Christian Topography* (on which more shortly).³

A word or two is in order here about astrological texts as well. It is incontestable that a wide variety of astrological and divinatory texts were available in Kievan Rus' and especially Muscovy. Beyond the emphasis on the stars,

detailed exposition of Aristotle's natural philosophy. To be sure, despite their professed adherence to Aristotle, the Leichoudes did not always share the ancient philosopher's views. Instead, in accordance with Jesuit commentators they interpreted Aristotle's physical works in a largely Thomistic light and strove to reconcile the axiomatic beliefs of Christianity with the principles of speculative philosophy.⁷ The result was that their cosmology was at its very basis Aristotelian, but it also incorporated conclusions that late sixteenth- and early seventeenth-century Jesuit and other astronomers and mathematicians had contributed to the study of the natural body and the cosmos. They thus imparted to their students a more sophisticated interpretation of the universe than the one predominating in Muscovite literature at the time. In this way, the Academy's curriculum paved the way for the subsequent importation of more up-to-date scientific knowledge into Russia during the Petrine period.

In order to understand the place of the study of nature in the Slavo-Greco-Latin Academy's educational program, it is first necessary to examine the structure of philosophical instruction in Jesuit educational institutions. During the seventeenth century, the typical philosophy course in a Jesuit college started with logic, proceeded to physics, and ended with metaphysics. More specifically, the first year of the philosophy curriculum included logic and introductory lessons in physics. The second year was taken up by Aristotle's eight books on physics, his cosmology, and his first book on generation. The third and final year started with instruction in the second book on generation, proceeded to psychology, and ended with moral philosophy and metaphysics. Jesuit educators normally divided the physics section into two parts. The first, called *physica generalis* (general physics), concentrated on the study of Aristotle's *De naturali auscultatione* (i.e., his eight books of physics). Its aim was to acquaint the students with basic conceptions about the physical world and introduce general principles about the essence and properties of the mobile body. In the second part, titled *physica particularis* (special physics), instruction focused on particular aspects of the operation of the natural world as Aristotle had discussed them in individual treatises, such as *De caelo* (*On the Heavens*), *De generatione et corruptione* (*On Generation and Corruption*), and the *De anima* (*On the Soul*). The philosophy course ended with the consideration of ethical and metaphysical questions yet again on the basis of the respective Aristotelian works.

In the class of logic, Jesuit teachers preferred to use specially prepared introductory handbooks and/or detailed commentaries on particular questions associated with the art of reasoning before venturing into more intensive study of specific parts of Aristotle's *Organon*.⁸ In physics, on the

heavens—the only two texts specifically covering cosmological questions in the entire collection of Leichoudian manuscripts; and one treatise on generation and corruption authored by their erstwhile teacher Gerasimos Vlachos.¹⁴ The fact that Ioannikios’s commentaries on “general physics” and on the soul appear together in two manuscripts would at first glance suggest that the Leichoudes taught the *De anima* right after explaining the eight books of Aristotle’s physics. However, this is by no means certain. As indicated above, the Jesuit curriculum placed instruction in psychology in the third year of studies, largely because of the complexity of the subject and its affinity to metaphysical questions. Pedagogically, it would thus make sense for the Leichoudes to start with Aristotle’s eight books of physics and continue with his treatise on the heavens before proceeding to the intricacies of psychology. It is on the basis of such an assumption that “special physics” are examined below. Following a brief summary of Leichoudian teaching on logic, “general physics”, and the soul, the analysis focuses on a detailed examination of the two treatises on cosmology as expressive of Leichoudian views, and hence of the Academy’s instruction, on the subject.

Leichoudian Logic, Physics, and Psychology

The Leichoudes started their logic course with an introduction to the syllogistic (the so-called *summulae*) and proceeded to an examination of some epistemological issues (*quaestiones*) concerning logic as a discipline and its relation to the other sciences. They then moved to a discussion of Aristotle’s *Categories* prefaced, as was customary, by the *Isagoge* (Introduction) of Porphyry.¹⁵ At this stage, students were exposed to certain metaphysical concepts concerning being and existence through a preliminary consideration of the Aristotelian universals. The logic section ended with a discussion of Aristotle’s *Posterior Analytics*, which aimed at offering rules for the application of ratiocination in the search for knowledge.¹⁶

As in the case of Leichoudian rhetoric, Gerasimos Vlachos also influenced the two brothers’ approach to logic. Indeed, Sophronios’s introductory textbook to Aristotle’s *Organon* is closely modeled after his Venetian teacher’s work, and can be properly described as an adaptation of it.¹⁷ In turn, Vlachos’s logic exhibits the unmistakable imprint of Jesuit prototypes.¹⁸ More specifically, Vlachos based his own logical handbook on the works of Franciscus Toletus, S.J. (1532–1596). Toletus’s *Introductio in Dialecticam* (*Introduction to Dialectic*, first published Rome, 1561) and *Commentaria . . . in Aristotelis Logicam* (*Commentaries . . . on Aristotle’s*

Academy, the Leichoudes offered their students a version of the countless and variable commentaries on Aristotelian natural philosophy as these had developed within Jesuit circles by the middle of the seventeenth century. The first part of the course centered on an acquaintance with the basic features of Aristotle's physics as expounded in *De naturali auscultatione*. In common with Aristotle and their Scholastic contemporaries, the Leichoudes started their course by defining natural philosophy as the study of the mobile body.²⁵ They first brushed aside as baseless any potential objections regarding its scientific status. Such doubts concentrated on whether the study of nature could be properly viewed as a science (*episteme, scientia*) since singular and changing entities were its proper subject matter. By pointing out that natural philosophy investigated the universal nature of singular bodies, the Leichoudes asserted that it fulfilled Aristotelian criteria as to what constitutes scientific knowledge.²⁶ Following this brief discussion of philosophy's definition and aims, the Leichoudes examined in sequence the three principles of matter, form, and privation; the four elements (earth, wind, fire, water); and the concepts of motion, change, time, place, and infinity. Finally, and most importantly, Ioannikios and Sophronios expounded Aristotle's doctrine of hylomorphism by investigating its cornerstone, the four causes: material, efficient, formal, and final.²⁷ Their teaching was overall Thomistic in its approach, as the frequent references to Thomas Aquinas's writings indicate. Such reliance on the medieval thinker is not surprising since the Jesuits were major proponents of parts of Thomas Aquinas's philosophy in their colleges.²⁸ What is interesting, though, is that in one of its versions Ioannikios's psychology commentary proclaims even in its very title that Aristotelian thought will be explained "according to the doctrine of the Angelic Doctor." It is worth emphasizing the open declaration of the course's Thomistic framework, because in other versions of this work and of his works on natural philosophy Ioannikios tends to eliminate references to Thomas Aquinas by name. Apparently, the two brothers must have felt it was not safe to openly advertise the Thomism of their take on psychology and on natural philosophy in general in the Orthodox environment of Russia. Thus, they presented their teachings generally cleansed from open references to Western authors and gave them an acceptable Orthodox form, a practice that seems to have been prevalent among Orthodox scholars adopting Western teachings in the seventeenth century.²⁹ As for the actual content of instruction, not unexpectedly and in accordance with the (discrete) Thomist prism, the Leichoudes placed particular emphasis on the soul's immortality. Refuting any assertions to the contrary, they pointed out that this judgment was consonant with faith and scripture and was adhered to by Aristotle himself.³⁰

Alessandro Piccolomini's *De la sfera del mondo* (On the Sphere of the Universe) (first published 1540) with information on the magnitudes and distances of stars;³⁵ and (3) a brief note on the degrees of relation that permit or prohibit marriage among relatives. As indicated above, the *Peri Ouranou* was authored by Nikolaos Koursoulas.³⁶ Koursoulas's treatise remains unpublished and is extant in at least thirteen other manuscripts that date from the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries and appear to have been scattered all over the Greek East.³⁷

A comparison between the manuscript copied by Ioannikios and at least two other manuscripts containing Koursoulas's work proves that they only partly coincide. Ioannikios's copy is based on the two books of Koursoulas's original treatise, entitled *Hypomnemata kai Zetemata eis to Aristotelous peri ouranou* (Remarks and Topics in Aristotle's *De caelo*). Generally, Ioannikios presents a condensed form of the original by omitting certain parts of its prototype, rearranging the number and internal division of various chapters, and condensing some of them into paragraphs or dropping them altogether. Thus, much of Koursoulas's discussion on motion in general and on the movement of stars in particular is left out.³⁸ One may conclude, therefore, that for teaching purposes, Koursoulas's treatise was not used necessarily intact, but rather circulated in shortened versions.

The Latin miscellany containing the second treatise on the heavens also includes (1) an exchange of arguments on the immortality of the soul, (2) a treatise on the elements of natural bodies, (3) and a tract on the birth and death of natural bodies. In other words, this miscellany appears to be a fairly typical Renaissance and post-Renaissance collection of commentaries on major themes of Aristotelian philosophy. Whether Ioannikios himself is the author of the tract on the heavens is an open question. It is likely that, in preparing this manuscript, he simply copied the contents of a collection (or collections) of Aristotelian commentaries during his studies in Venice in the 1660s. A comparison of the cosmological treatise with the titles, incipits, and explicits provided in catalogues of relevant manuscripts has not produced an exact match.³⁹ However, the miscellany's treatise on the soul is actually an exchange of arguments on the immortality of the soul culled from the works of Fortunius Licetus and Antonius Roccus.⁴⁰ In addition, Ioannes Cottunius, in whose college both Leichoudes studied while in Padua, was a professor of philosophy in the University of Padua and author of several commentaries on Aristotle's works. Unfortunately, Cottunius's philosophical output is little studied

College in Rome and therefore had most certainly studied under the Jesuit curriculum. At the same time, Koursoulas's work avoids excessive reference by name to Latin medieval and patristic commentators, most likely so that its author could avoid any possible charges of Latinism. This difference aside, both treatises share substantial conclusions as regards the nature and operation of the heavens and can thus be seen to provide a unified core of instruction on the subject.

Understanding the Heavens

Following Jesuit prototypes, the Academy's "general physics" course was Thomistic in its approach and accorded a predominant role to natural philosophy (that is, qualitative physics) as a tool for understanding the natural world. Likewise, Leichoudian cosmology, as represented in the two treatises on the heavens copied by Ioannikios, was also largely based on Jesuit cosmological instruction. As such, it sought to incorporate "science" (astronomy, astrology, mathematics) into the domain of natural philosophy.⁴⁷ Briefly summarized, the Leichoudes taught that the earth was located at the center of the universe, and the moon, the sun, the planets, and the stars resided (fixed or moving) in translucent, concentric heavenly spheres that revolved around the earth. Certainly, as faith would have it, God created heavens and earth at a specific moment in time. Accordingly, and in keeping with the distinction between substance and accidents, the universe became finite both in terms of space and in terms of time.

By Muscovite standards, even such an explanation of the nature, form, and function of the universe can be considered as a substantial novelty. First of all, it provided the students with a detailed explanation of the Aristotelian conception of the universe. This was indeed a very different Aristotle from the one usually found in Kievan Rus' and Muscovite literature, who was a pagan, a hippiatrist, a practitioner of divination, or even the pagan prophet of Christ's coming.⁴⁸ This new Aristotle naturally followed the Leichoudian teaching on logic, which was also based upon a Jesuit reading of the philosopher's works. More importantly, the Leichoudes taught Aristotelian natural philosophy in one of its Jesuit versions, in detail, from a position of authority, in the institutional framework of a school, as part of a formal curriculum that had the sanction of both church and state. In this way their instruction added and expanded upon the presumed knowledge of the court and church elite, which might have first heard approving echoes of Aristotelian teachings in the sermons and poems of Simeon Polotskii.⁴⁹

ever been reported. Finally, the heavens are not subject to the motions of sublunar bodies.⁵⁴ Echoing these arguments, *De Mundo* cites both Aristotle and (instead of Pseudo-Dionysius) Thomas Aquinas, and adds yet another explanation “from daily experience” (*ex diuturna experientia*): no one has reported any alteration to the lunar orb because of its proximity to the heavenly orb of fire. This last argument is presented as the most effective defense against astronomers who detect the appearance and disappearance of new stars.⁵⁵

But how is one to reconcile these propositions with scriptural authority? Koursoulas’s answer is that the heavens are corruptible not by nature but supernaturally, by the command of God. Moreover, whenever scripture refers to the destruction of the heavens, this is corruption in terms of accidents. For instance, when David says that “the heavens are the work of your hands. They will perish, but you endure,” he means not the substantial, but the accidental destruction of the heavens, that light will disappear during the second coming of Christ.⁵⁶ This and other scriptural passages, Koursoulas continues, should thus be explained as referring to the eventual transformation of the heavens into “a better and more perfect result.”⁵⁷ *De Mundo* almost verbatim follows the same line of reasoning. Such “explaining away” of scriptural passages constituted staple argumentation among natural philosophers.⁵⁸

Having established the accidental corruptibility of the heavens, *De Mundo* proceeds to a consideration of new stars and comets, and the number of heavenly spheres as well as their solidity or fluidity. It emphasizes the variety of views on the issue of new stars (*novae*) and comets.⁵⁹ Referring to the opinions of “many experienced astronomers,” the author rejects the possibility that the new stars are really comets. If not, how can one explain their appearance? Some say that they are stars that approach the eighth celestial sphere and then retreat; but this would presuppose that the firmament is fluid, which is not true, as the author will argue shortly. The best explanation is provided by the Conimbricenses, that is, the Coimbra Jesuits, who explain the new stars as miracles.⁶⁰ In his omnipotence, God can create whatever he wishes. Orthodox believers, the author suggests, will accept this explanation; after all, scripture oftentimes refers to new stars (such as that of the Nativity) and to eclipses.⁶¹ Still, the author remains uncomfortable with the persuasive power of this solution. Therefore, “if one is unwilling to embrace this explanation,” let him believe that new stars appear by accidental mutation of the heavens. In other words, when a part of the heavens becomes opaque, some parts of it retain the light and thus appear as stars.⁶² As for the comets, the author again underlines the multiplicity and variety

yet another immovable sphere between the firmament and the empyrean. Despite the fact that these astronomers speak of this additional sphere “somewhat illogically” (*alogos pos*), the author accepts it as the place of the North Star. This is the philosophically permissible scheme for Koursoulas, but interestingly he also provides an alternative for readers “who wish to follow the more recent opinion of those who theologize in accordance with Holy Scripture.” Such readers can believe that there are three heavenly spheres: the fluid planetary one in which “the planets sail like fish in the sea”; the firmament, where the fixed stars are; and finally the empyrean, in which the angels reside and where the heavenly paradise is, as Paul proclaimed.⁷¹ As is evident, the two alternative schemes are not mutually exclusive, and Koursoulas, in his eagerness to uphold Aristotle’s opinion, allows for the validity of both views.⁷² As for the motion of the heavenly spheres, the author diverges slightly from *De Mundo* and ascribes such motion to a separate substance, but certainly not to the intrinsic form of the heavens.⁷³

Both treatises pay special attention to heavenly influence on the sub-lunar world. This was a vexing and delicate problem since it involved issues concerning the human soul and will, as well as judicial astrology and predictions of the future. Both Koursoulas and *De Mundo* concede that heavenly bodies affect natural phenomena. Thus, the lower stars (the planets) and the North Star do appear to influence earthly matter. It has long been observed that the moon affects rainfall and the sea tides, and that the Arctic Pole attracts the magnet. Also, as simple experience proves, light and heat come from the sun. However, in accordance with physical arguments and with Christian faith, the authors flatly deny the stars any *direct* influence on the human soul, will, and intellect. Still, citing Galen and medical doctors, they posit indirect influence on the human body’s humors. Specifically, according to Koursoulas, “the heavens and the stars act accidentally [*kata symvevekos*] on both the intellect and human will,” because the latter two are dependent upon each other in their actualities [*energeiai*]. As well, “the heavens and stars in themselves [*kath’ auta*] act on the human body and its fluids and the bodily qualities and the organs of the senses,” and hence also on the senses themselves on which the intellect and will depend in terms of their actualities. However, since soul, intellect, and will are immaterial, the material stars and heavens do not affect them. Still, accidentally the stars do influence human autonomy (*autexousion*) to the extent that they arouse anger and disturb imagination and, thus, lead someone to act rashly and hastily. As for the demons and angels, they are affected neither accidentally nor in themselves since they are immaterial and incorporeal. Koursoulas insists that one should pay no attention to

(*ek ton exo sophon*) for learning but also cautioned the student to verify such knowledge through references to scripture.⁷⁷ However, the relation between physical and religious arguments was not unidirectional; that is, scripture did not always shape the contours of the physical argumentation. Indeed, often scriptural passages were necessarily explained away with reference to physical principles. The prime example is the issue of celestial incorruptibility. Leichoudian teaching first provided an array of ancient philosophical answers and then considered faith, affirming that God did create the universe at a fixed moment in time and can destroy the world. The heavens however will be destroyed only accidentally and not substantially. Likewise, the Leichoudes offered their students two alternatives on the number of heavenly spheres containing the celestial bodies: either the Aristotelian multi-sphere or the scriptural three-sphere heaven. In addition, as investigated below, the “subordinate sciences” also played an important role in the shaping and argumentative strength of physical principles. Thus, *De Mundo* did not shy away from declaring Aristotle wrong on planetary motion because the telescope had provided some new evidence that the planets rotate around themselves.

Planetary Systems in Leichoudian Cosmology

Leichoudian teaching in natural philosophy ventured into a discussion of planetary systems as well. Indeed, after the lengthy discussion on the nature and shape of the heavens, both *De Mundo* and *Peri Ouranou* pick up the issue of the stars and the planets. They treat the forms, motions, and numbers of the stars, as well as their classification, according to the signs of the zodiac.⁷⁸ The treatises end with a detailed presentation of the six planetary systems that had been developed from antiquity to the middle of the seventeenth century. It is in this part of their exposition that Koursoulas and *De Mundo* significantly diverge from purely theoretical natural philosophy and rely more heavily on astronomy (with mathematics) and astrology, that is to say the practical sciences, in the investigation of the heavenly bodies and their motions.

In treating the shape of the stars and the planets, Koursoulas refers to Aristotle’s opinion that they are spherical. However, he adds that this fact can be confirmed “through astrological observations” as well.⁷⁹ Moreover, astrology’s aim is to categorize stars and planets according to their size.⁸⁰ It is mathematics that measures the distances between the planets.⁸¹ Astronomy studies the celestial bodies closer to the earth and provides answers as to

And this last system [i.e., the semi-Tychonic] as well as the first one, that of the Chaldaeans, which is commonly called Ptolomaic [*sic*] we accept and embrace with pleasure.⁸⁶

Since Koursoulas does not provide any particular justification for his choices, how is one to explain them? It is possible that, in his eagerness to show his adherence to the opinion prevailing in the Greek East, Koursoulas adds the reference to the Ptolemaic system as a safeguard against any possible accusation of innovation. In this way, he tries to appeal to the Greek Orthodox milieu for which the Ptolemaic system was generally an article of faith, certainly in the seventeenth century, but also for most of the eighteenth century.⁸⁷ Simultaneously, Koursoulas cannot but also side with the semi-Tychonic system, one would think because of its partial geocentricity, but also because it preserved as much of the Aristotelian cosmology as was possible after the blows dealt to it by the discoveries of both Tycho Brahe and Galileo. His main concern was to safeguard the Aristotelian view of the universe as intact as possible. Hence, for example, the reminder to his readers that epicycles were fictional mathematical devices, contrived by astronomers, that did not correspond to objective reality.⁸⁸ Thus, Koursoulas's simultaneous pro-Ptolemaism and pro-Tychonism seem to spring out of both his eagerness to uphold Aristotle's cosmological conception and his desire to remain faithful to scripture and his Greek audience's views.⁸⁹

The semi-Tychonic system was developed by Tycho Brahe's followers and circulated in many different versions throughout the seventeenth century. According to Christine Jones Schofield, the semi-Tychonic system's inventor was either David Origanus in 1609, or Longomontanus (Tycho's student), who published his views in 1622. By the early seventeenth century, preference for the heliocentric or the geocentric system was transformed from a matter of individual choice into an issue of public policy by the Roman Catholic Church, most notably in the decrees of 1616 and 1633 that censured the Copernican theories. For many scientists, the semi-Tychonic system was an acceptable compromise between the need to adhere to scriptural authority and ecclesiastical policy on the one hand, and the necessity of incorporating new discoveries on the other.⁹⁰ By the middle of the seventeenth century, the geoheliocentric semi-Tychonic system was the one favored in the Jesuit curriculum as well. It posited celestial fluidity and allowed for more recent advances in the study of celestial phenomena such as comets and new stars, while at the same time preserving a form of geocentricity. As Schofield argues, "Whatever their innermost convictions, the Jesuits

Rhetoric, Physics, and Court Culture in Late Seventeenth-Century Muscovy

Leichoudian Natural Philosophy in the Muscovite Context

From among the variety of opinions potentially available to the educated Westerner by the middle of the seventeenth century, the Leichoudes in their cosmology chose to adhere to the qualitative and speculative understanding of natural philosophy. They were not “modern,” in that they had not broken out of the Aristotelian spell and moved on toward scientific experimentation as exemplified by Galileo’s telescope. Thus, they imparted to their students the scholastic version of natural philosophy that was already starting to retreat in the West under pressure from the experimental scientists.¹ Nevertheless, the acceptance of new scientific discoveries was only gradual even in the West, and there were many different varieties of Aristotelianism and Scholasticism.² Significant aspects of Leichoudian cosmology betray an awareness of some of the latest discoveries. Only by placing Leichoudian cosmological teachings within the Muscovite cultural framework is it possible to analyze their potential implications for their students.

The Leichoudes make clear distinctions between scripture, philosophy, and “science,” the latter in this case encompassing astronomy (a part of mathematics) and astrology.³ They employ all three, whether individually, in pairs, or in unison in order to provide explanations for the structure and function of the universe. They attribute most natural phenomena to natural causes and furnish physical or quasi-scientific interpretations. Not unexpectedly, when scriptural statements are at issue, philosophy and “science” adapt accordingly. Oftentimes, though, the opposite is also true, and scripture is creatively interpreted, in accordance with physical arguments. It is notable that the Leichoudes offer their students alternatives to faith. In this way, they raise the status of philosophy, astronomy, and astrology

and the church in Russia. Thus, they addressed their message to a wider audience within the confines of the Muscovite court elite than Polotskii had done. Polotskii had taught a number of students, mainly sons of *d'iaki* and Typography clerks, but does not appear to have established a formal school. In contrast, the Leichoudes instructed a student body that was far more numerous and included princely, lesser noble, and merchant offspring, as well as clergymen and sons of *d'iaki*. The Leichoudes were actually teaching the sons what Polotskii had only urged their fathers to value in his orations and poems.¹⁰

Rhetoric in Practice: Court Speeches of the Leichoudes

The one area of the Academy's education that appears to have produced immediate results was the delivery of orations on important dates in Muscovite religious and court life. Shortly after the Academy began functioning, the two teachers and their students regularly visited the tsar's and patriarch's courts to deliver congratulatory speeches on the occasion of a major feast (such as Christmas or Easter), or of the birthday of the tsar or a member of his family.¹¹ At present, only one extant speech can be safely attributed to a student.¹² Indeed, the overwhelming majority of the available orations come exclusively from the Leichoudes' pen. This section provides an analysis of some representative speeches of the two brothers and offers some thoughts on the ways in which the Academy's rhetorical curriculum may have influenced their students.¹³

As already established, in their rhetorical textbooks the Leichoudes placed great emphasis on the composition and delivery of encomiastic and panegyric speeches as well as on homilies. They themselves authored many such orations during their stay in Russia. A comparison between their speeches and the guidelines that the Leichoudes provide in their rhetorical textbooks proves that they adhered closely to the theoretical framework and practical rules of rhetoric that they taught their students to follow. Such a comparison provides insights into what the students not only were taught but also actually heard being delivered by their teachers.

The first extant Leichoudian oration was authored by Sophronios and dates from their pre-Muscovite period. It was delivered in December 1683 during their sojourn in Wallachia on the way to Russia. Entitled "The Common Joy" ("He Koine Chara"), the speech is a panegyric in honor of the Wallachian prince Șerban Cantakouzenos (r. 1678–1688) upon his return from war.¹⁴ It is dedicated to the *megalos spatharios* (head of the army,

Baroque rhetorical tropes and his own philosophical education. It seems plausible to connect this frequent use of planetary motifs with the Jesuit tradition of emphasis on the study of the natural world. Accordingly, God is described as the Prime Mover. In this position, he commands and the rest of creation acts in accordance with the commands but without the direct action of God. Or as Sophronios put it, “with him [i.e., God], the creator of all things visible and invisible, commanding, the planets, nature, and the arts contributed to the utmost degree [to the making of the perfect prince].”¹⁷ Such a conception of God’s involvement in the natural world and in human affairs puts emphasis on the perfection of God’s creative initiatives but does not assign to him the entire creative process, affording at the same time substantial roles to nature and the arts in the formation of human personality. Human nature is not a static condition given by God, but the product of dynamic development in which both nature and the arts participate actively.

Apparently in an attempt to avoid referring to the history of the Kantakouzenos family (either out of sincere effort to keep the speech short, or out of partial ignorance of the family’s history),¹⁸ in what follows Sophronios declares that he will not obey the guidelines of rhetoric and, thus, will not speak about the great progenitors of Şerban. The more so, since the subject matter of his speech is beyond human excellence, and hence cannot be adequately tackled by human knowledge. (Still, Sophronios manages to refer to the two Byzantine Kantakouzenos emperors, Ioannes and Matthaïos, as well as to Şerban’s nephew, Constantin Brâncoveanu. In doing so, Sophronios emphasizes the family’s illustriousness and Brâncoveanu’s wisdom, bravery, and prudence).¹⁹ Rather, the author asserts, he will praise Şerban mostly on his own merits, as “another Apollo.” Naturally, Sophronios immediately adds—in a typical application of the rhetorical *topos modestiae* (conventional modesty)—that he (Sophronios) is not at all able to express adequately all the virtues and merits of his subject. Still, in accordance with rhetorical rules, he proceeds with a consideration of Şerban’s childhood. Thus, Sophronios extols Prince Şerban for exhibiting ever since childhood the same characteristics as his eponymous great ancestor, the emperor. Indeed, the author proclaims, the prince was not the first born, not even the second born, but rather was born third in line because in this way he could acquire the throne not according to succession rules but rather on his own merits and virtues and only gradually.²⁰ As a youngster, the prince followed the example of Hercules and chose the road of virtue; unlike Paris, he offered his preference to Minerva, who in turn granted him the principedom of Wallachia. As a result, the prince was adorned with all kinds of virtue: justice, piety, honor to parents, obedience to those above in the hierarchy, concord

is very closely patterned after their actual teaching on the composition of panegyrics. Specifically, it contains a proemium, a *protasis* (proposition) followed by the *diegesis* (narration), the *kataskheue* (or *vevaiosis*, confirmation/proof) and finally the epilogue. According to the theoretical precepts found in Leichoudian rhetoric, Sophronios's proemium takes advantage of a specific fact or occasion (the prince's return to his capital) in order to present exaggerated expressions of joy; the epilogue, in contrast, is formed around the offering of prayers and wishes for the prince's well-being. Following the proemium is the *protasis*, which reads: "[we] say that [God] has granted you a precious and incomparable perfection." The narration and confirmation that follow are accordingly geared toward exposing the elements of the prince's perfection, and proving their incomparable magnitude. The use of exaggerated and ornate language (the most common forms of which are compound words and superlatives) is a further characteristic of Leichoudian orations. To the modern ear, such vocabulary sounds hopelessly overstated; modern listeners or readers also cannot, in most cases, gauge the reaction of the audience or the addressee to the speech. Still, for the orators themselves, their panegyrics, beyond being instruments of currying favor with powerful real or potential patrons, were also demonstrations of their oratorical abilities and their mastery of the art of rhetoric. Moreover, such speeches contained what in theory at least were the expected characteristics and elements of an exceptional leader and his rule.

It is precisely these elements of a good and just ruler that underlie an imbalance between religious and secular imagery. Sophronios places much more emphasis on the military and civic exploits of Șerban than on his piety and support of religious institutions. To be sure, religious imagery appears in the speech, more pointedly in the aforementioned main proposition. Moreover, Sophronios makes sure to refer to the Christian piety of the prince and his patronage of monasteries. He also places the prince in a long line of God-chosen leaders from biblical history. Still, such references pale in comparison to Sophronios's use of classical and scientific imagery. Indeed, the bulk of the speech revolves around the two ways in which the arts and sciences are associated with the prince. First, they are presented as unable to grasp Șerban's magnificence and excellence, and somewhat later they reach new heights in their quest to do precisely that. Moreover, Sophronios assigns a special role to nature and its constituents (for example, the planets) in the formation of the prince's external appearance and his character. Such imagery was part of the stock of early modern rhetoric, but its intensive use by Sophronios cannot be adequately explained by this consideration alone. Instead, such overwhelming utilization of the arts and

modestiae, they add that it would be easier for them to start rather than to finish such a speech.³³ Respectfully asking permission to do it, the authors then proceed with a eulogy of her father, Tsar Aleksei Mikhailovich. This appears as yet another attempt on the part of the Leichoudes to emphasize the legitimacy of Sophia's rule, the more so, since they overlook the reign of Fedor Alekseevich, who succeeded Aleksei. They also choose to emphasize not only the familial, but also the military link between the two rulers in their fight against the Tatars and Ottoman Turks.³⁴ In doing so, they briefly but pointedly refer to the many wars and military exploits of Sophia's father by asserting that he spent a great part of his life in battle against the enemies of Christianity, and acquired glory throughout the world as the most Christian and most glorious autocrat. Sophia, for her part, the Leichoudes continue, imitates her father in her own exploits. This is a direct reference to the recently announced preparations for the first Crimean campaign.³⁵ The Leichoudes thus show themselves as skillful observers of the Muscovite political scene and able to exploit their observations for their own aims.

Still, they could not stop at the connection between father and daughter in terms of foreign policy, the more so since the rules of rhetoric demanded that they laud their subject on her own merits. They first praise Sophia for her acuity and her rational abilities. Not only was she born gifted and astute, but she has also striven all her life to train her intellect through the arts. It could not have been otherwise since she was named after "sophia," that is, the wisdom of divine things. Hence, she is known for being able also to distinguish the causes of many other (nonreligious) subjects by using the three parts of the intellect, as the philosophers would say. The result is, the Leichoudes assert, that the grand princess can deal effectively with things past, present, and future.³⁶

As for her moral virtues, the Leichoudes first emphasize her justice (*pravda*) and her fairness in dealing with both foreigners and her own subjects. This cannot be but a direct reference to their own position and the benefits they themselves have reaped from their association with Sophia. But the Leichoudes add an array of other virtues such as magnanimity, humility, chastity, temperance, *grazhdanstvo* (sophistication),³⁷ love of truth, and charity, all virtues found in ethics textbooks based on the ideas of Aristotle.³⁸ Sophia was not only born with these intellectual and moral characteristics, but she also has sought to enhance them through the arts (*iskusstvom*). As a result, the Leichoudes will not stop singing her praises, the more so, since at the sound of her name, the enemies of Christianity tremble.³⁹ The speech thus appears to have come full circle by reverting to the warlike qualities of

Christianity. Still, the Leichoudes could not help but be cognizant of Sophia's precarious claim to the Russian throne. Hence, they make sure to temper their powerful initial statement that all power is from God, by incorporating her two brothers into the picture of defenders of Christianity. In what amounts to a clever twist of philosophical ideas about the number three, they present the three siblings as one indestructible wall on which the hopes and aspirations of all Christendom lie. Still, the listener would be left without any doubt that the main buttress of this wall was Sophia herself.

Although this speech lacks the classical imagery so characteristic of Leichoudian rhetoric,⁴² it still exhibits several traits betraying the philosophical education of its authors. The Leichoudes adduce several references to philosophical axioms (e.g., the number three) and even to Aristotelian philosophy (as in the division between Sophia's intellectual and moral qualities) in an apparent attempt to curry favor with an educated and cultured royal personage. In praising Sophia for her rational abilities, they underline her interest in the arts. Still, such remarks do not take away from the major emphasis the speech places on Sophia as a holy warrior, an emphasis replete with excessive Leichoudian use of superlatives.

A further example of Leichoudian oratory is a speech delivered on the occasion of Tsar Peter's birthday on May 30, 1689.⁴³ The author first expresses his pleasure at being able to stand in front of Peter again, as in the previous year, by comparing the occasion to a table gathering of ancient Greek gods.⁴⁴ He then likens Peter to the eye of the world and proclaims him the sun of all the other rulers on the earth. In what must have sounded like an amusing twist to Peter and his court, he even asserts that it would not be out of place to say "according to the mythical author" that Peter was "a toad with Zeus, a raven with Apollo, an owl with Minerva, Paris with the goddesses, and Hesiod with the Muses."⁴⁵ As in the case of Alexander the Great whom only Apelles could paint, there are no limits for Peter on the face of the earth. After conceding the by now familiar inability to express adequately all the virtues of his subject, the author requests the help of Peter himself and asserts that "whoever wants to extol in the most correct manner what is crowned by God and granted by God" will have to climb to the heavens. From there he will be able to see the reactions of both people and nature to the birth of Peter. What follows is an ornate description of precisely this reaction in paradisaical terms. And although the author was not in Russia on the day of Peter's birth so as to be able to join in the common joy, he is able to participate in the current celebrations.⁴⁶

The major point the author makes in lauding Peter is his genealogy. There is a clear element of self-interest on the part of the author here since perhaps

subject by some slip of the tongue.⁵³ Still, before closing, he expresses his sincere gratitude to Peter for the latter's goodwill and benevolence "to us," meaning both the brothers, and offers his prayers to God for the tsar's happiness and longevity.⁵⁴

This is a brief but very pointed example of Leichoudian calibrated rhetorical skill. The emphasis is placed on Peter as the prototype of a monarch. His portrait, though, is painted in bright, to be sure, but very general colors. Beyond the reference to Peter's ancient Byzantine progenitors, there is very little concrete content in the speech. It will be noted that Peter's parents are not mentioned, nor is his immediate family except for his wife. The tsar's praises are sung with the help of both classical and religious imagery, but again in general terms. Indeed, Peter appears to be able to be anything and anybody to anyone. He can be a teacher to the wise and Achilles to the army; a protector of the church and a patron to teachers. There is nothing new or original in these virtues as far as princely portraits are concerned. However, this very absence of concrete references to Peter's activities as a monarch or as a person is interesting on several counts. First, it confirms yet again the Leichouides' custom of adapting their official pronouncements (especially, their panegyrics and congratulatory speeches) according to the circumstances at hand. Peter was a young monarch whom the Leichouides had met on some court occasions, but with whom they most probably had little contact. They had composed praises to him on his birthday at other occasions, but had no experience of him as a ruler with concrete policies. Hence the easiest way out is an ornate portrait of a just and magnificent monarch that, while conforming to all the rules of the art of rhetoric, has very little specific content.

The speech is interesting on another account, because it presents an example of a long series of Leichoudian statements on the connections between Russia and the Greeks. In 1686, the two brothers had praised the three Russian co-reigning monarchs, and Sophia in particular, as the defenders of Orthodoxy and the hope of the whole of Christendom. In the late 1690s, after the Azov campaigns (which opened Russia's long path toward maritime power status), the Leichouides openly proclaimed Peter the liberator of the Greeks. They appear to have utilized the same motif in the 1680s as well. Still, Peter had not yet shown his cards in terms of foreign policy, and any insistent suggestions in this regard might have been premature. As a result, the author of the present speech chose the safest route: a reference to the connection of the Byzantine with the Russian imperial families and a vague remark as to the continuation of the Byzantine imperial line in Russia.

audience mind, body, and soul, be it on the occasion of a homily or a panegyric. The Leichoude were not the first practitioners of this kind of rhetoric in Russia, but they were the first to teach it *ex cathedra*, within the context of a school to a varied student body.

Career Patterns of the Academy's Graduates

Scholars have long emphasized the diverse nature of the Academy's student body. Indeed, the available evidence suggests that students came from all walks of life, starting with some of Russia's top princely scions, sons of lesser noblemen, members of the patriarchal administration, children of secretaries, and including Greeks and even a baptized Tatar.⁵⁵ Considering the fact that Russia had no history of institutional education, the initial numbers in the Academy were substantial: in December 1685, there were twenty-eight students; in December 1687, ninety-one students (plus twenty-three in the Slavonic school). The total number of students in April 1688 was 164. For the complete duration of the Leichoude's presence in the Academy, one scholar has provided names for 147 of them, based on the records of the Patriarchal Treasury Chancellery, the Chancellery of Printing Affairs, and the Chancellery of Foreign Affairs.⁵⁶ In all likelihood, some students simply preferred to complete only part of the curriculum (grammar and some elements of rhetoric) without proceeding to the study of logic and philosophy, hence the fluctuation in numbers. The very first students that the Leichoude taught (between 1685 and 1687, when the Academy was still housed in the Bogoiavlenskii Monastery) were transferred to their tutelage from the Typography School. These were Aleksei Kirillov, Nikolai Semenov Golovin, Fedor Polikarpov, Iosif Afanašev, Fedot Ageev, Vasilii Artem'ev, and Fedor Gerasimov. In October 1685, four more students were added, including Petr Artem'ev.⁵⁷ Nikolai Semenov Golovin and Fedor Polikarpov replaced the expelled Leichoude as teachers in the Academy in 1694.⁵⁸ Members of Patriarch Ioakim's immediate circle and clerks of the Typography also attended the classes of the Leichoude in some cases as early as 1686; among them was the hieromonk Ilarion (*domovoi ieromonakh*, that is, hieromonk serving in the household of the patriarch), the monk Iov of the Chudov Monastery (described as *knigopisets* [book scribe]), and the scribe (*pisets*) Ivan Nikitin.

The presence of princely individuals in the Academy can be attested only for specific years in the late 1680s, although this does not necessarily

Praskov'ia and Evdokiia, as well as the sons of bureaucrats or clerics who aspired to serve in the Muscovite royal and patriarchal administration. A consideration of the family background and career patterns of some of the Academy's students can help illustrate the extent to which the Leichoude educated representatives of the contemporary and future (Petrine) political and cultural elite of Russia.⁶⁶

Most of the Academy's graduates whose biographies can be traced pursued lay careers. To begin with the aristocratic students, Aleksei Borisovich Golitsyn (1674–1713) was a *komnatnyi stol'nik* of Tsar Peter I and later became a *polkovnik* (colonel) in the army. In 1697, he accompanied Tsar Peter on his Grand Embassy to Europe among the group of *volonter*y (volunteers) sent to study navigation. Prince Aleksei Borisovich's father, Boris Alekseevich Golitsyn (a cousin of Vasilii Vasil'evich Golitsyn) was one of Tsar Peter I's tutors and, from 1685, head of the *Prikaz Kazanskogo Dvortsa* (Chancellery of the Kazan' Palace, responsible for the administration of the lower Volga regions).⁶⁷ He was also a member of the Naryshkin faction in the court politics of the 1680s and 1690s and was raised to boyar rank in 1690.⁶⁸ He remained influential into the Petrine period as head of the Kazan' Palace Chancellery and as a member of the Council of Five (group of five boyars in charge of the government) during Peter's absence from Russia. Children of boyar Prince Iurii Mikhailovich Odoevskii, the Princes Mikhail Iur'evich and Iurii Iur'evich Odoevskii were also *komnatnye stol'niki* of Tsar Peter, and came from a family of distinguished players in Muscovite politics of the seventeenth century. The elder Odoevskii princes and their children played a leading role during the wedding ceremony of Tsar Aleksei Mikhailovich and his new wife, Natal'ia Naryshkina, the mother of Peter the Great. The connection to the Naryshkins appears to have continued since Prince Iurii Iur'evich also participated in Peter the Great's All-Drunken Synod (a group of boon companions of the tsar).⁶⁹ Prince Aleksandr Petrovich Prozorovskii was the son of Prince Petr *menshoi* ("junior") Semenovich Prozorovskii, and nephew of Prince Petr Ivanovich Prozorovskii, another member of the Council of Five in 1697. A. P. Prozorovskii was *komnatnyi stol'nik* of Tsar Ivan Alekseevich in 1692, was among the *stol'niki* sent abroad, first to England and Holland, and he eventually ended up in the Russian embassy to Vienna in 1701. He seems to have spent his time learning French, and also maintained contact with Prince B. I. Kurakin. He was accused of being involved in the affair of Tsarevich Aleksei (Aleksei's abortive attempt to overthrow his father Tsar Peter) in 1718, but he never returned to Russia and seems to have died in Vienna in 1720.⁷⁰

which took over the administration of church courts and lands after the de facto abolition of the Muscovite Patriarchate.⁷⁹ As head of the Monastery Chancellery, Musin-Pushkin also supervised the Typography (*Pechatnyi Dvor*). His children were sent for study to Halle.⁸⁰

Throughout the seventeenth century, the Typography was an important center of culture in Russia, counting among its employees many of the most educated individuals (usually clerics, since church involvement in it was strong) of the realm.⁸¹ During the first quarter of the eighteenth century, it remained one of the handful of printing houses operating in Russia and produced many of the secular titles and prints that flooded Russia at Peter's command.⁸² Fedor Polikarpov and his fellow students Nikolai Semenov Golovin, Fedor Gerasimov, Iosif Afanas'ev, and Fedot Ageev started their careers in the Typography under the administration of Patriarch Adrian in the 1690s.⁸³ In the period 1701–1731 (with a hiatus of about four years between 1722 and 1726, when he was removed for bribery and embezzlement), Fedor Polikarpov actually headed the Typography.⁸⁴ Born in 1670, Polikarpov spent at least nine years studying under the Leichoudes in the Academy before replacing them, together with Nikolai Semenov Golovin, as teacher in the period 1694–1698. He became a scribe in the Typography in 1690, while still a student, was promoted to corrector in 1698, and assumed its leadership in 1701.⁸⁵ In 1715, I. A. Musin-Pushkin came to the aid of Sophronios Leichoudes in a conflict the latter had with Fedor Polikarpov. As head of the Typography, Polikarpov also supervised the functions of the Greek and German schools that were under the jurisdiction of the *Monastyrskii Prikaz*. Polikarpov was not impressed by the progress of the Greek school's students under the direction of his old teacher, Sophronios, and he openly said so. Musin-Pushkin warned Polikarpov to stop humiliating, and show respect to, their aging former teacher, or face consequences, although he assured Polikarpov that the warning was “not out of malice, but out of love.”⁸⁶ Polikarpov was also the author of a trilingual dictionary (Slavonic, Greek, and Latin), a work reflecting the importance of the three languages for Russian culture at the time.⁸⁷

Polikarpov was indeed a transitional figure in a transitional period between Muscovite culture and the culture of the Petrine period. He faced major dilemmas and experienced difficulties fully accepting Peter the Great's language reforms (the move toward a simpler Russian, as distinct from Slavonic), and this is sometimes attributed to his education in the Academy. According to this argument, Polikarpov was schooled to place emphasis on Greek and to produce literal, or at least close, translations from Greek into Slavonic. Steeped as he was in the religious Muscovite culture

and rhetoric) and the Leichoude's Italian school. He copied the *Grammatika musikiiskogo peniia* (Grammar of musical singing) of Nikolai Diletskii, a musical theorist from Ukraine, while still in school. The manuscript treated the new *partesnoe penie* (polyphonic singing) and, as such, may reflect at least partial interest in the new-style singing that originated in Ukraine. Steeped in contemporary Baroque notions of the relationship between language and music, Diletskii's *Grammatika* must have been quite comprehensible to Arsen'ev. In his treatise, Diletskii compared the musician-composer with a rhetorician, and emphasized the importance of broad knowledge as a source for inspiration and amplification of a musician's job. Moreover, Diletskii presented his work as a musical grammar that taught one both to sing and to compose, and therefore to be both a performer and composer, much like a rhetorician should be. Many of Diletskii's teachings also borrowed terminology from contemporary rhetorical manuals, especially on invention, on amplification, and on vivid expression.

Such ideas would have been familiar to the rhetoric-trained Arsen'ev, since they reflected concepts about rhetoric that the Leichoude taught him. Subsequently Arsen'ev served as a translator at the Chancellery of Foreign Affairs starting in 1700, and between 1702 and 1708 he spent six years as a secretary in the employ of the Russian Ambassador to the Ottoman Porte, P. A. Tolstoi. In the 1710s, he translated much of the correspondence of the Eastern patriarchs with Peter's government. In the late 1690s and early 1700s, he repeatedly petitioned Tsar Peter or his closest courtiers, such as Aleksandr Menshikov, and humbly (in the old Muscovite manner) but resolutely announced his linguistic skills and his readiness to serve his sovereign. He tried unsuccessfully to be sent to Amsterdam to study mathematics, an indication that Arsen'ev was ready to go abroad for further study in order to acquire additional skills and to improve his social status. With the support of Aleksandr Menshikov, he approached F. A. Golovin, who told him that the state did not at the time need more mathematics specialists, but ordered him to present himself as a translator in the Chancellery of Foreign Affairs. Capitalizing on his foreign language knowledge, he promptly did so and underwent an examination in Italian by Nikolai Milescu Spafarii. He passed the exam, but Milescu Spafarii, aware of Arsen'ev's knowledge of Greek and Latin as well, obliged him to write a new petition this time around asking to be considered as translator in all three languages. The end result was that he was hired to translate all three languages, but with the salary for one language only, an offense that still reverberated with Arsen'ev in 1737.⁹² In his report containing an overview of his career and contributions, composed in the same year, Arsen'ev emphasized his many services to his government.

are representative examples of such cases.⁹⁶ In the School of Mathematics and Navigation Kurbatov promoted men (among them, Magnitskii) with a Baroque-style education, who at the same time belonged to circles formed by personal relations and comparable cultural predilections. Christian humanism, knowledge of Latin and other languages, and active pursuit of careers characterized these individuals. Kurbatov's circle included the merchant I. I. Korotkii, who sponsored the translation of Sophronios Leichoudes's rhetoric into Slavonic by Kosmas Iverites, an Athonite monk and longtime resident in Moscow. Moreover, Fedor Polikarpov played a crucial role in the publication of Magnitskii's *Arithmetic*, itself an example of Baroque culture.⁹⁷ Finally, Kurbatov's circle included Fedot Ageev, one of the first Leichoudian students, for whom, as for Polikarpov, the Academy's education played a formative role. In 1692, Ageev was appointed copyist in the Chancellery of Printing Affairs (Typography). To add to his Academy education, Ageev also petitioned to study in the Italian school of the Leichoudes (as did another erstwhile student of the Leichoudes, Stepan Ermolaev), and later on was sent to Voronezh with the *okol'nichii* A. P. Protas'ev to help in translation from Italian in the efforts to build a Russian navy.⁹⁸ Ageev, therefore, proved appropriate for Kurbatov's projects and is another example of the role that the Academy's education played in student careers. Beyond material security, the Academy also opened doors for them into a world of milieux with a common, Baroque culture. Students educated in the Academy of the Leichoudes and their successors, because of their knowledge of Latin and other languages and their overall cultural orientation, were useful in the projects that such circles pursued.

Finally, mention should be made of another student of the Leichoudes brothers whose example can serve as an illustration of the Academy's contribution to a widening of intellectual horizons. The son of Vasilii Timofeevich Postnikov, a *d'iak* in the Chancellery of Foreign Affairs, Petr Vasil'evich Postnikov (d. after 1716) left the Academy in 1692 to travel to Venice.⁹⁹ That same year, most likely at the recommendation of the Leichoudes and of Iakovos Pylarinos (Jacobus Pylarinus, 1659–1718), a doctor in Peter the Great's service,¹⁰⁰ Postnikov enrolled in the University of Padua from which he graduated in 1695 with a doctorate in philosophy and medicine, thus becoming the first Russian "doctor."¹⁰¹ During Peter's trip to Europe in 1697–1698, Petr Postnikov served as interpreter and contact person at the tsar's various destinations. Finally, in the first decade of the eighteenth century he acted as unofficial diplomatic resident in France, before returning to Russia in 1710.¹⁰²

Postnikov's education in the Academy must have groomed him well in order to face up to the challenges posed by both the University of Padua and

Karlowitz (1699), since the Ottoman ambassador was the Greek Alexandros Maurokordatos, himself a graduate of the University of Padua. After Peter's hurried return to Russia in 1698 (on learning of the *strel'tsy* rebellion), the head of the Russian delegation in Vienna, Prokofii Voznitsyn, repeatedly commanded Postnikov (at the time in Venice) to return to Vienna and join the Russian delegation in the impending negotiations. Postnikov wrote back that he was going to Naples, roughly "in order to paralyze [lit. "deaden"] live dogs and bring them back to life again" (*zhivyykh sobak metrvit', a mertvykh zhivit'*).¹⁰⁸ Postnikov's scholarly endeavors did not convince Voznitsyn, who threatened Postnikov with the tsar's anger, and thus forced him to join the Russian delegation.

It was in the Leichoudian Academy (at least in part) that Postnikov received the preliminary training that equipped him with both the linguistic tools and the theoretical background to pursue advanced studies and eventually serve state needs. This was no mean feat in a country in which institutional education had just started taking its first steps.¹⁰⁹ Illustrative in this sense is a letter to his Muscovite superiors in 1703. While asking for money for a new carriage befitting his position as agent in France, Postnikov wrote: "I for one would have liked to live in a philosophical manner, but now I have to live according to my title" ("ia sam soboiu po filosofski khotel bykh zhit', no nyne po zvaniu nadobno me zhit'"). Obviously, in this case Postnikov contrasts the phrase "in a philosophical manner" to the pomp and circumstance required in his duties as a diplomatic representative; in his mind, the "philosopher" does not lead a comfortable life, but rather lives as he pleases, frugally but according to his own will. Behind the statement, however, one may even detect a certain dissatisfaction on Postnikov's part with his current duties and a longing for other, scholarly pursuits, even if they are accompanied by fewer rewards. "To live in a philosophical manner" thus involves pursuit of learning as an end in itself, for personal fulfillment, and not necessarily for state service. This is not the strictly utilitarian learning that Peter the Great had in mind when, starting in the late 1690s, he repeatedly ordered members of the Russian elite to school. Even though Postnikov desired another kind of life, he had to capitulate and follow a bureaucratic career. Nor is this kind of academic learning restricted to religion, although it does not exclude it either. Admittedly, it would be an exaggeration to attribute Postnikov's attitude to knowledge to the Academy's education only, especially since Postnikov underwent additional schooling in the University of Padua and his appears to be a singular case. Still, it was in the Academy that Postnikov received a substantial part of his education.

the growing concern with education on the part of the Russian and ecclesiastical elite in the latter half of the seventeenth century. The Leichoudes thus propagated a view of external (nonreligious) knowledge as a necessary complement to faith.¹¹¹ Their goals remained partly transcendent (firm adherence to Orthodoxy), but the education they offered had wider implications as well. Ioannikios and Sophronios sought to provide students with a thorough command of classical languages and to turn them into eloquent speakers. They familiarized their students with works of classical antiquity and acquainted them with Aristotelian philosophy. In short, they imparted to the sons of the Russian social and administrative elite a culture that was part of the shared educational experience of lawyer, notary, cleric, and noble in Western Europe. By the time the Leichoudes established the Muscovite Academy in 1685, Russia had already many open “windows to the West.” The Academy added yet another one, but there was an important difference: the Academy’s “Western” education was an institutionalized one, supported by both the church and the state of Muscovy, and provided to members of the court, patriarchal, and administrative elite and its personnel. As such, it imparted to its students elements of that same West that Peter the Great would shortly choose to bring more extensively into Russia. The Academy prepared several of Peter’s future collaborators to rise to the challenge.

and N. Petrov, and more recent scholarship has advanced little beyond them. Linchevskii discussed the Jesuit origins of the formal structure of the Academy's curriculum and its pedagogical methods, primarily in comparison to other Jesuit schools based in the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth.³ Noting that Linchevskii was overwhelmingly basing his conclusions on eighteenth-century evidence (which was more abundant for the Kiev Mohyla Academy), Petrov sought to expand upon and correct some of Linchevskii's apparent anachronisms. Thus, Petrov provided a detailed analysis and comparison of both Jesuit and Piarist schools of contemporary Poland-Lithuania. In his conclusions, he pointed out that the Kievan Academy from its inception was based on the Jesuit model of middle and higher education. Still, Petrov focused primarily on the external characteristics of the Academy (division of classes, administration, disciplinary methods, student body, and so on) and was much less concerned with the actual content of its teaching beyond its main outlines.⁴ S. O. Sieriakov has reconfirmed Petrov's conclusions utilizing more recent scholarship on Jesuit schools in Poland-Lithuania.⁵ Moreover, the library of Petro Mohyla himself was composed of titles authored by Jesuits or by authors favored by the Jesuits.⁶ It would thus appear that the Jesuit influence was paramount in the organization of the school, at least in its formal and administrative contours.

Regarding the actual content of courses taught in the Kievan Academy, more studies are needed before safe pronouncements can be made. As M. Symchych has noted, the valuable work that has been done since at least the 1960s is in large part fragmentary and has tended to assign to philosophers of the Kievan Academy views that sometimes turn them into deists, pantheists, or even proto-materialists *avant la lettre*. Still, some tentative conclusions can be drawn. To begin with, all recent authors appear to agree that the Kievan Academy's philosophy betrayed little originality given that its character was conditioned by its place in a school curriculum. To put it differently, Kievan teachers were not creating new philosophical answers, but rather teaching their students the main elements (sometimes to considerable depth) of already acceptable scholastic views present in textbooks by mainly Jesuit scholastic authors.⁷ Second, much like the main contours of the structure of its classes and its pedagogical methods, the Kievan Academy appears to have adopted Jesuit approaches to the actual curriculum as well. The extent of such adoption is more difficult to ascertain, however. As far as logic is concerned, for example, Symchych has argued that Jesuit approaches were dominant in the textbooks "authored" by teachers in the Kievan Academy from the late seventeenth century and throughout the first half of the eighteenth century.⁸ In addition, V. Kotusenko has pointed out the various

the Moscow school's history, but was wrong in dating it from 1701. If one thinks in terms of actual education imparted to the students, the Academy was Latin from its very inception.

By the time of their deaths, Ioannikios and Sophronios Leichoudes had contributed in multiple ways to the intellectual and cultural life of Russia. In retrospect, however, their most important bequest to their adopted homeland remained the school they established in 1685 in Moscow. It was through that school that the Leichoudes shaped the foundations for the subsequent development of secondary and higher education in Russia. The Academy's curriculum instructed many sons of hereditary noblemen, lesser noblemen, and administrative personnel in the ways of Western learning, enabling them to walk more easily along the Westernizing path that Tsar Peter was determined to take.

The Slavo-Greco-Latin Academy's foundation was the end result of half a century's concern on the part of the Russian elite with the benefits of education. The rising international status of Russia after approximately 1650 and the schism of the Old Belief had presented new challenges for the Russian secular and ecclesiastical elite. When discussions over the establishment of a school of middle- and higher-level education intensified in the late 1670s to 1680s, tsar and patriarch were in agreement as to the goals of the school and its curriculum. Church and state clearly understood the need for skilled officials who would be ready to assume responsible positions of leadership in their respective administrative machines. The projected academy would educate young men to be good subjects of the tsar, efficient and informed administrators, learned hierarchs, and loyal members of the Russian Orthodox Church. Such goals called for cooperation, not dissension, and both the royal court and the patriarchate clearly understood that and acted accordingly. Prince Vasilii Vasil'evich Golitsyn and Patriarch Ioakim supported the Academy and, by all appearances, encouraged members of the boyar, bureaucratic, and clerical elite to attend its classes. The varied student body was comprised of scions of the boyar and lesser nobility who held various offices in the courts of Tsars Ivan and Peter, of current or prospective clerks in the royal and patriarchal administrations, and of the offspring of various lower social strata (about whom little is known). On several occasions the Academy's students exhibited their newly acquired skills in oratory in the royal court or in front of the patriarch. No matter what friction developed throughout the 1680s between Patriarch Ioakim and the government of Tsarevna Sophia on domestic and foreign issues, these problems did not affect the educational work of the Academy. Cooperation rather than antagonism characterized church-state relations in the realm of education.

Despite their tumultuous early years in Moscow and their attempted flight, the Leichoudes suffered relatively few repercussions, and they succeeded in forging careers in Russia. Possessing multiple capabilities as translators, teachers, private tutors, and editors, the Leichoudes offered services that the Russians needed. In their intellectual makeup, Ioannikios and Sophronios Leichoudes were no different from the average educated Greek of their time. Having attended the classes of Gerasimos Vlachos and, in the case of Sophronios, of the University of Padua, they acted in Russia as conduits of Western intellectual currents. More precisely, the two brothers brought to Russia a Greek version of Western education. This was the education that a student went through in a typical middle- and high-level Jesuit college. In both its outward organizational elements and in its curriculum the Slavo-Greco-Latin Academy was largely a copy of a Jesuit college. The Leichoudes based their own textbooks on non-Greek prototypes, adopted the Jesuit curriculum, and copied a number of Jesuit logicians, natural philosophers, and rhetoricians. Thus, they imparted Greek wisdom through a Jesuit lens, teaching and expounding upon Aristotle in the manner of Jesuit teachers of the seventeenth century. To be sure, the Leichoudes offered the final product to their Muscovite students in Orthodox guise. It is a matter for theologians to discuss whether such education acted as a factor contributing to the “pseudomorphosis” (a sort of corrupt and artificial alteration) of early modern Orthodox thinking or not.¹⁴

Ioannikios and Sophronios were not original thinkers. But how much originality was to be expected at the time, especially from a school such as the one they set up? As K. M. Koumas noted in his concluding remarks to the translation of W. G. Tennemann’s history of philosophy, all modern Greek philosophy (to his time in the early nineteenth century) was basically an imitation of the European Aristotelian-Scholastics and other modern philosophers.¹⁵ The Leichoudes authored primarily textbooks for a school. Much like the majority of Jesuit teachers, the Leichoudes were not interested in producing new knowledge. Rather, in their college teaching they sought to impart a body of solidified, organized knowledge that had the imprimatur of the church and that would create educated believers.

To what extent was the Leichoudian Academy representative of Greek education of the time? The immediately obvious answer is that it is not yet possible to tell because of a lack of individual case studies of Greek schools of the same level across the Greek East for the seventeenth century.¹⁶ At best, there are the biographies and lists of works by individual teachers, but not more, for the seventeenth and much of the eighteenth centuries. With

cultural exchange and thus could not in any way have been as important as that of the school class. Similarly, Alkes Angelou maintained that intellectual inquiry occurred only in schools in the Greek-speaking world of the post-Byzantine period, thus rendering them the only centers of such inquiry until the advent of the Enlightenment.²⁰ One may dispute the absolute validity of such views, since intellectual discussions may well have taken place in monastic scriptoria or in various associations of learned individuals. In the case of Russia, in particular, an important center of cultural life in the seventeenth century was the Typography, whose clerks and scribes produced a number of polemics and other works and thus constituted a domestic intelligentsia. The Typography, however, did not at any point have a large number of students, nor does it seem to have moved beyond the teaching of skills in grammar and rhetoric. It would then seem plausible to suggest that the Academy may have functioned as another main center of Russian intellectual life of the period. Some of its graduates certainly made their mark in a variety of ways.

The “post-graduation” activities of some of the students provide clues in this regard. Career records exist for some of the Leichoudian students. Not all of them were educated solely under the guidance of the Leichoudes, to be sure. In the subsequent period, many of them proceeded to become collaborators of Tsar Peter in his Westernizing initiatives. Former students of the Academy were prepared to face these initiatives, to one degree or the other. Because they had been exposed to Western culture in their Academy years, they could more easily assimilate the new impulses and influences coming from Western Europe.

The reorganized Slavo-Greco-Latin Academy, which after 1701 was under the control of teachers hailing from the Kiev Mohyla Academy, to a certain extent continued in the path that the Leichoudes had first paved in their own Academy. By 1725, it consisted of three schools, one Slavonic/Russian, one Greek, and one Latin. Its program of studies prescribed an identical sequence of classes all the way up to and including theology, but few students appear to have reached the higher classes of philosophy and theology. Its curriculum was also similar to that of the Leichoudian period, but emphasized knowledge of Latin, as the number of students in Latin classes show. As for the actual content of the curriculum, this has not been yet fully examined. To the extent that Feofilakt Lopatinskii’s (teacher from 1704, rector between 1708–1722) course is representative of the first quarter of the eighteenth century, the philosophy classes (when taught) reflected an overall scholastic Aristotelianism, although any comparison will actually have to wait more detailed study of its curriculum before safe conclusions can be drawn.²¹

his initiatives are not in doubt. As a result, concepts such as Westernization and secularization can retain their interpretative validity if they are used in a context-specific manner. Much of the culture of Peter and his closest companions and collaborators in the Russian political and administrative elite was infused with Baroque elements, including Christianized conceptions of the Roman historical past, notions of divinely approved personal charisma, and influences from esotericism and from astrological theories.²⁶ Petrine Russia was a culture in flux, not least because of the continuing impact of various facets of European Baroque trends. The aim of this book has been to uncover the role played by specifically Baroque Jesuit education in the intellectual formation of at least some members of the Muscovite political and administrative elite. Precisely because it valued nonreligious knowledge, the Academy taught Greek and Latin, acquainted students with the classical past, and exposed them to rhetoric and natural philosophy characteristic of Christian humanism. As such, it contributed to a growing appreciation of both learning for learning's sake and for career success. This was an education in which the secular and the religious interlocked, united, and acquired explanatory roles and functions for those who had been exposed to it. In this sense, it contributed to the acceptance of secular elements in Russian elite culture. Certainly Peter the Great was not a great supporter of the more theoretical aspects of this education. It is equally certain that he appreciated the linguistic skills, extended intellectual horizons, and practical abilities that it offered in the preparation of cadres for his administration and that he eagerly sought to put them to use for his own purposes.

Appendix

Students in the Slavo-Greco-Latin Academy, 1685–1694. Year in parentheses indicates date of first mention in the sources.¹

The majority of listed last names (excepting the cases of princes, some lesser nobles, and some other individuals, such as Petr Postnikov) are most likely patronymics, not necessarily family names. Clergymen are referred to by first name only (except Paladii Rogov).

1. Afanas'ev, Afonasei (1688)
2. Afanas'ev, Iosif (1685)
3. Afanas'ev, Ivan (1690–1692)
4. Afanas'ev, Moisei (1693)
5. Afanas'ev, Timofei (1693)
6. Ageev, Fedot (1685)
7. Alekseev, Aleksei Maksimov (1686), *tsaredvoretz*
8. Alekseev, Petr (1688)
9. Alekseev, Prokopii (1690–1692)
10. Alekseev, Stefan (1693)
11. Anan'in, Kozma (1688)
12. Anastasii, [Greek] (1687)
13. Andreev, Grigorii (1688)
14. Andreev, Trifon (or Trofim) (1690)
15. Anikeev, Koz'ma/Kuz'ma (1688)
16. Anisipov/Anisimov, Ivan (1692)
17. Apostolov, Stepan (1688)
18. Arsen'ev, Moisei (1689?)
19. Arkhipov, Aleksei (1693)
20. Artem'ev, Ivan (1690)
21. Artem'ev, Luka (1688)
22. Artem'ev, Petr (1685)
23. Artem'ev, Vasilii (1685)
24. Avramov, Vasilii (1688)
25. Borisov, Prokhor/Prokofii (1688)

60. Ignat'ev, Georgii (1688)
61. Ilarion, *domovoi ieromonakh* of Patriarch Ioakim (1686)
62. Ilarionov, Meletii (1691)
63. Il'in, Grigorii (1688), likely *stol'nik*
64. Iona, hieromonk (1690)
65. Iosifov, Petr (1688)
66. Iov, monk (1687)
67. Ipatov, Vasilii (1688)
68. Irodionov/Rodionov, Avvakum (1688)
69. Ivanov, Aleksei (1690)
70. Ivanov, Andrei (1690)
71. Ivanov, Evfimii (1690)
72. Ivanov, Ivan (1688)
73. Ivanov, Ivan (1690)
74. Ivanov, Kozma (1693)
75. Ivanov, Mark (1691)
76. Ivanov, Moisei (1691)
77. Ivanov, Nikita (1690)
78. Ivanov, Nikita (1691)
79. Ivanov, Vasilii (1687)
80. Ivanov, Vladimir (1688)
81. Kharlamov, Evfimii (1685), likely *stol'nik*
82. Kharlamov, Stepan (1685), likely *stol'nik*
83. Kirillov, Aleksei (1685)
84. Kirillov, Dmitrii (1688)
85. Klimov/Klimontov, Vasilii (1688)
86. Kononov, Asson (1690)
87. Kornikov, Aleksei (1688)
88. Kornilov, Luk'ian (1688)
89. Kuz'ma/Koz'ma, hierodeacon (1688)
90. Larionov, Aleksei (1688)
91. Leont'ev, Khristofor, Greek from Nezhin (1685–1686)
92. Litvinov, Konstantin Timofeev (1686), *stol'nik*
93. Loginov, Maksim (1687), likely *stol'nik*
94. Lunin, Petr Kondrat'ev (1686), *dvorianin*, *tsaredvoretz*, *stol'nik*
95. Maksimov, Aleksandr (1690). May be the same person as no. 96.
96. Maksimov, Aleksei (1688)
97. Markov, Fedor (1688), likely *stol'nik*
98. Martynov, Ivan (1691), likely *stol'nik*
99. Matveev, Mitrofan (1692)

137. Stefan, hieromonk, Moldavian (1687)
138. Stepan, priest (1686)
139. Stepanov, Aleksei (1690)
140. Terent'ev, Ivan (1693)
141. Timofeev, Mikhail (1693)
142. Timofeev, Vasilii (1693)
143. Vasil'ev, Andrei (1691)
144. Vasil'ev, Ekim (1688)
145. Vasil'ev, Garasim/Gerasim (1691)
146. Vasil'ev, Ilarion/Larion (1688)
147. Vasil'ev, Nikita (1693)
148. Vasil'ev, Osip (1688)
149. Volodimerov, Fedor (1693)
150. Zinov'ev, Petr (1692), likely *stol'nik*

Notes

Notes to Introduction

1. This is a translation of *Slaviano-Greko-Latinskaia Akademiia*. I have decided to utilize the rendering Slavonic-Greco-Latin Academy, although technically closest to the original would be the translation Slavonic-Greek-Latin Academy. Slavonic was the learned language of the Russian Orthodox Church. Therefore, the reader is advised that Slavonic in the Academy's name refers to Slavonic, the learned ecclesiastical language of early modern Russia.

2. Other such venues were the activities of Ukrainian and Belarusian graduates of schools in Kiev and also in other parts of the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth, both before and after the Muscovite control of Kiev was established; private tutoring; and also technical and on-the-job training provided in Muscovite administrative chancelleries.

3. Korzo, "Osvoenie katolicheskoi traditsii"; Korzo, *Ukrainskaia i belorusskaia katekheticheskaia traditsiia*; but cf. also Korzo, *Obraz cheloveka*, for the limits of such adoption especially evident in sermons.

4. Beyond their polemics on the Eucharist conflict, the theological views of the Leichoudes have been studied very little, and only from the perspective of their purported debt to the Byzantine apophatic theological tradition. See Grigor'eva and Mel'nikov, "K voprosu o vizantiiskoi traditsii."

5. For a discussion of the concept of the sovereign's court, see Zakharov, *Gosudarev dvor Petra I*, 7–15; Sedov, *Zakat moskovskogo tsarstva*, 53–54.

6. See Poe, *The Russian Elite in the Seventeenth Century*, 1:12–13.

7. Sedov, "Praviashchaia elita Russkogo gosudarstva," esp. 414–17; Sedov, *Zakat moskovskogo tsarstva*, 77.

8. With the exception of the few years that Simeon Polotskii's own printing press operated in Muscovy in the late 1670s, the Muscovite Typography remained the only printing press in Russia well into Peter the Great's reign. Even after Peter founded other printing presses, the Muscovite Typography retained its preeminent status.

9. For treatments of the social position of chancellery secretaries, see Novokhatko, *Razriad v 185 godu*, 556–77. For previous studies, see Bogoiavlenskii, *Moskovskii prikaznyi apparat*, esp. 390–97, quote on p. 396; Demidova, *Sluzhilaia biurokratiia v Rossii*, 80–89.

10. Zitser, "The Difference That Peter I Made" (my thanks to the author for sharing a copy of his forthcoming article with me); Hughes, "Secularization and Westernization Revisited."

11. Arvanitakes, "The Institutions of the Communities," 21.

12. For a helpful bibliography on the Leichoudes and their activities, see Salonikov and Grigor'eva, "Bibliograficheskii ukazatel'."

13. Smirnov, *Istoriia moskovskoi Slaviano-greko-latinskoi akademii*.

14. *Ibid.*, 15.

15. *Ibid.*, 40–69.

16. In his comprehensive study of intellectual life in Petrine Russia, Petr Pekarskii was the first to follow Smirnov's lead. He thus saw the Leichoudes and their Academy as representatives of a Byzantinism that would and did resist Peter's sweeping initiatives. See *Nauka i literatura*, 1:2, where the Leichoudes are presented as supposedly being "even more than the Russians, sworn enemies of everything that reminded them of the West" (*zakliatye vragi vsego, chto napominalo im Zapad, bolee russkikh*); but cf. 1:113, where it is curiously asserted that the Leichoudes were evicted from the Academy by representatives of that same Byzantinism (*udaleny po proiskam predstavitelei vizantiiskogo zhe elementa*).

“Orpheus and Pickleherring.” On the use of Latin sources in translations by Epifanii Slavinskii, see Podtergera, “Zum lateinischen Hintergrund.” On the inroads of Baroque theology into Russia mainly from the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth, see Oparina, “K predystorii retseptsi”

35. For an assessment, see Buseva-Davydova, *Kul'tura i isskustvo*. Buseva-Davydova quotes Dmitrii Likhachev's verdict that the Ukrainian, Belarusian, and Polish Baroque assumed the role and functions of the Renaissance that never was in Russia. See quote on p. 133. See esp. 132–33 on the debate over the extent of Baroque influences, and also 113–15, on the various types of adoption of Western models in Russian artistic production. Cf. also the cautionary remarks of Hughes in “Secularization and Westernization Revisited.”

36. Bushkovitch, *Religion and Society*, 100–127 and 152–75.

37. This new more personal religiosity in which direct contact with God was valued was also reflected in the artistic production of the seventeenth century. See Buseva-Davydova, *Kul'tura i isskustvo*, 149–70.

38. Potter, “The Russian Church,” 1:4–5, quote p. 5, and 1:157–64.

39. On the development of this new ethos, see Kiseleva, *Intellektual'nyi vybor Rossii*; Kiseleva and Chumakova, “Vkhozhdenie Rossii.”

Notes to Chapter One

1. The most comprehensive treatment, despite its obvious anti-Greek bias, still remains Kapterev's *Kharakter otnoshenii*. See also Kashtanov, *Rossii i Grecheskii mir*; Ševčenko, “Byzantium and the Eastern Slavs”; Strakhov, *Byzantine Culture*, ch. 1, especially useful for the seventeenth century; von Scheliha, *Russland und die orthodoxe Universalkirche*.

2. Maksim Grek was one of the most important religious writers of sixteenth-century Russia. Born Michael Trivoles about 1470 in Arta, a town in Ottoman Epirus, he was educated in Corfu and then Venice where he was associated with the humanistic circles of Aldus Manutius and Pico della Mirandola. He became a Dominican monk, but reverted to Orthodoxy upon his return to Greece and entered the Vatopedi Monastery on Mount Athos. In 1518 he arrived in Moscow in response to a request by Grand Prince Vasili III for a learned monk to oversee the translation of liturgical books. There he was tried twice for heresy in 1525 and 1531. His second trial was followed by a long incarceration in a monastery until 1547. While in confinement, he kept working on translations and original works and produced tracts on theological issues, monasticism, astrology, and even wrote poetry. See Likhachev, *Slovar' knizhnikov i knizhnosti*, s.v. “Maksim Grek”; Papamichael, *Maximos ho Graikos*; Denisoff, *Maxime le Grec*; Sinitsyna, *Maksim Grek v Rossii*; Sinitsyna, *Maksim Grek*; Bulanin, *Perevody i poslaniiia Maksima Greka*.

3. For a comparative overview of the world of Orthodoxy in the early modern period, see Chrissidis, “The World of Eastern Orthodoxy.” There was intensive contact with the Greeks during the reign of Fedor Ivanovich (1584–1598) when the Russians achieved the elevation of the Muscovite metropolitanate to the status of patriarchate. See Dmitrievskii, *Arkhiepiskop elassonskii Arsenii*; Shpakov, *Gosudarstvo i tserkov'*; Demetrakopoulos, *Arsenius Elassonos*; and Gudziak, “The Sixteenth-Century Muscovite Church.” Some scholars have argued for a more important role on the part of the Patriarchate of Constantinople in Russian ecclesiastical and political affairs earlier in the sixteenth century. See Mureşan, “Penser Byzance à l'aube de la Russie”; Năsturel and Mureşan, “Denys II de Constantinople.” On Russo-Greek ecclesiastical relations, see also Senyk, “The Patriarchate of Constantinople.”

4. Gruber, *Orthodox Russia in Crisis*; Murav'ev, *Snosheniia Rossii*, for the first half of the seventeenth century; Bushkovitch, *Religion and Society*, 52; Strakhov, *Byzantine Culture*, 21–31; Kraft, *Moskaus griechisches Jahrhundert*; Papadopoulos, *Hoi patriarchai*, 37–73, still useful as it is partly based on primary sources from the Patriarchate of Jerusalem. See also Floria, “Vykhodtsy iz balkanskikh stran”; Floria, “K istorii ustanovleniia”; Fonkich, *Grechesko-russkie kul'turnye svyazi* and “Grecheskoe knigopisanie v Rossii,” 18–62; Chentsova, *Ikona Iverskoi Bogomateri*.

5. Chesnokova, *Khristianskii Vostok i Rossii*, ch. 3. The Moldavian and Wallachian princes were much more generous in their sustained support in this regard. See Chrysochoides, “Athos kai Rosia,” who also concludes that Athos survived economically due to revenues and donations from the Balkans, rather than from Russia, until the mid-eighteenth century. Therefore, prerevolutionary Russian historians' arguments about the Russian support appear exaggerated. On almsgiving trips

23. Kitromilides, "Apo ten Orthodoxe Koinopoliteia," 154.
24. Kapterev, *Kharakter otshosenii*. Kapterev also heavily influenced Ševčenko, "Byzantium and the Eastern Slavs," and Strakhov, "Attitudes to Greek Language."
25. Orthodoxy was deemed intellectually uninteresting by some Western thinkers, especially in polemical works, because it lacked Scholasticism and an established network of educational institutions. The lists of scholars and active centers of schools compiled in private correspondence and/or published in various books (some of them polemical) are actually indicative that the Greeks really took seriously the charge that scholarship and learning had died due to Ottoman control. For statements defending Greek educational achievements, see Anastasios Michael, *Periegematikon Pyktation* (Amsterdam, 1706?) as reprinted in Menaoglou, *Ho Anastasios Michael ho Makedon*, 87–193; Psemmenos, "He martyria tou Alexandrou Helladiou" and "He 'Epitetmemene eparithmesis."
26. Kyriakantonakes, "Historikos logos" (my thanks to Ioannes Kyriakantonakes for kindly sharing his dissertation with me); Kyriakantonakes, "Between Dispute and Erudition," 161–78.
27. Only the Russian translation has survived and was published by Daniel Waugh. See Uo [Waugh], "Odolenie na Turskoe tsarstvo," text on 97–107; facsimile edition in Laskarides, *He stase tes Rosias*, 331–92. For a discussion of Greek hopes for Russian help in the mid-seventeenth century, see Chesnokova, *Khristianskii Vostok i Rossiia*, ch. 5. For similar fifteenth- and sixteenth-century petitions by Greek literati, see Manousakas, *Ekkleseis*.
28. Uo [Waugh], "Odolenie na Turskoe tsarstvo," 103.
29. *Ibid.*, 107.
30. For a survey of the terminology Hellene, Roman, and Graikos in the Byzantine period, see Paul Magdalino, "Hellenism and Nationalism in Byzantium"; for more focused discussion, see Page, *Being Byzantine*, esp. 40–67.
31. See Detrez, "Pre-National Identities," 13–18 (for interaction and syncretism), 21–23 (for cultural convergences), 28–29 (for the exclusion of Russians from the Rhomaic community), 40 (on the flexibility of the Rhomaic identity), 50–51 (for the distinction between high and low culture).
32. See the discussion of the terms Romioi, Graikoi, Hellenes in Demaras, *Neohellenikos Diaphotismos*, 82–86; Svoronos, *Helleniko Ethnos*, 58–64; Gounarides, Genos Rhomaion; Konortas, "Romanités et hellénismes."
33. On the case of Nektarios, see Kyriakantonakes, "Historikos logos," 97, 199.
34. Detrez, "Pre-National Identities," 44–46, who however concludes that such polysemy did not necessarily preclude awareness of ethnic identity in a limited sense.
35. See Katsiarde-Hering, *He Hellenike Paroikia*, 1:103–17.
36. See Oparina, *Inozemtsy v Rossii*, 14.
37. On the case of merchants in Hungarian lands of the Habsburg Empire, see Mantouvalos, "Metanasteutikes diadromes," 181 (my thanks to the author for furnishing me with a copy of the article).
38. See, for example, the differing information provided by the immigrants themselves and by others, as treated in Oparina, *Inozemtsy v Rossii*, ch. 6 (Iurii Trapezundskii) and ch. 7 (the case of a convert from Judaism, Ivan Selunskii).
39. Roudometof, "From *Rum Millet* to Greek Nation," citing Smith, *Ethnic Origin of Nations*, 12.
40. Roudometof's discussion shows how class considerations influenced such transpositions among the Balkan bourgeoisie.
41. Much of the substantial literature on Loukaris is tinted by confessional preferences. For a starting point, see Todt, "Kyrillos Lukaris," 2:617–58. The unsurpassed analysis remains that of Hering, *Ökumenisches Patriarchat* and its updated Greek translation *Oikoumeniko Patriarcheio*. See also more recently Olar, "Héresie, schisme, Orthodoxie." The older overview by Runciman is still useful: Runciman, *The Great Church in Captivity*, 259–88.
42. On the nation as an "imagined community," see Anderson, *Imagined Communities*.
43. Oparina, "Ispravlenie very grekov."
44. On the contacts between Russia and the Patriarchate of Antioch, see Panchenko, "Rossiia i Antiokhiiskii Patriarkhat."
45. Paul of Aleppo, *The Travels of Macarius*, 2:45–46; Paul of Aleppo, *Puteshestvie*, 354. The reference is to Vasile Lupu, Prince of Moldavia (1634–1653), and the revolt against him by disgruntled Moldavians who felt left out of power. See Iorga, *Byzance après Byzance*, 163–86. The Monastery of the Sea of Darkness is Solovetskii. Potiblia is Paul's rendering of Putivl, the point of entry of Balkan visitors

Hellenon spoudaston tou Panepistemiou”; Ploumides, “Hai praxeis engraphes ton Hellenon spoudaston tes Padoues.”

5. For a sample of clerics coming from the Ionian Islands and their relations with the Ecumenical Patriarchate, see Polychronopoulou-Klada, “Heptanesioi klerikoi.”

6. Ikonnikov, *Opyt' issledovaniia*, 556.

7. Gerhard Podskalsky's work on Orthodox theology in the post-Byzantine period is invaluable, though his opinions are frequently debatable. See his *Griechische Theologie* and also his “Die Rolle der griechischen Kirche,” for corrections and additions to the previous title. See also Maloney, *History of Orthodox Theology*; Runciman, *The Great Church in Captivity*; Henderson, *Revival of Greek Thought*; Giannaras, *Orthodoxia kai Dyse* and its English translation, *Orthodoxy and the West*. Giannaras's is a polemical account bemoaning what he sees as the destructive influences of Western Scholasticism on Orthodox theology and ecclesiology. For the older view of Renaissance influences on Russia (and Ruthenia, i.e., Ukraine and Belarus) in the early modern period, see Medlin and Patrinelis, *Renaissance Influences*.

8. RGADA, f. 159 (Prikaznye dela novoi razborki), op. 2, ch. 1, d. 2991, ll. 1–376 (*Dela ob ieromonakhkh brat'iakh Ioannikii i Sofronii Likhudakh*): ll. 24–27 (dated March 6, 1685).

9. Likhud and Likhud, *Mechets Dukhovnyi*, 26–35. The note was first added to the polemical work in the early eighteenth century.

10. Smentsovskii, *Brat'ia Likhudy*, 51.

11. In addition to Smentsovskii, in the Russian bibliography, see also Fonkich, “Novye materialy” and its Greek version “Nea stoicheia,” where the relevant older bibliography is critically assessed. In the Greek bibliography, see the paean-like article by Laskaris, “Historike eposis”; Tsitseles, *Kephallenika symmikta*, 1:351–62 (based on Laskaris's article but more sober and with some useful remarks on their life in Kephallenia); Karathanases, “Ioannikios kai Sophronios adelphoi Leichoude”; Stergiopoulos, “Ho hieromonachos Sophronios Leichoude”; Pentogalos, “Ioannes (Ioannikios) kai Spyridon (Sophronios)”; Asemakopoulos, “He Helleno-graikike Akademia” (a judicious historiographical article).

12. The exact date appears in the text of Ioannikios's tombstone inscription.

13. Pentogalos, “Ioannes (Ioannikios) kai Spyridon (Sophronios),” 40–45, and also the published notarial records on 51–58, followed by sample images of the signatures. See also Angelomate-Tsougarake and Tselikas, *Notariakes praxeis*, 204–5 and xxxv–xxxviii.

14. The note is published in Smentsovskii, *Brat'ia Likhudy*, appendix, pp. i–ii.

15. On Konstantinos Leichoude, see *ODB* 1, s.v. “Constantine III Leichoude.”

16. RGADA, f. 159, op. 2, ch. 1, d. 2991, ll. 48–54; Smentsovskii, *Brat'ia Likhudy*, 252–53; Ramazonova, “Brat'ia Likhudy,” 98–99.

17. See Stergiopoulos, “Ho hieromonachos Sophronios Leichoude” esp. 425–30; Tsitseles, *Kephallenika symmikta*, 1:351–53; Pentogalos, “Ioannes (Ioannikios) kai Spyridon (Sophronios),” 38–41; Fonkich, “Novye materialy.” For the patriarchal recommendation letter, see its Greek version in EVE, MPT 194, ff. 9–10v: the last names have been excised. For publication of the letter, see Ialamas, “Rekomendatel'naia gramota,” 303–6. Ialamas argues that the change to the spelling Leichoude was almost natural due to the linguistic environment of the Ionian Islands under Venetian control. See “Znachenie deiatel'nosti brat'ev Likhudov,” 10–11. On the contrary, the name alteration was deliberate and served the interests of the two brothers and their relatives in Russia. See also Di Salvo, “Vokrug poezdki.” The first scholar to note Ioannikios's use of the name “de Lupis” was Shmurlo, “Otchet o dvukh komandirovkhakh,” no. 4:250.

18. Ramazonova, “Brat'ia Likhudy,” 110–12; Ialamas, “Rekomendatel'naia gramota,” 310, for the text of the 1691 letter.

19. Arvanitakes, “Theos, mneme, historia,” 266–68; see also the discussion of the cases of Ioannes Komnenos and others, who in the late seventeenth century had resorted to similar claims of ancient lineage, in Pantos, *Ioannes Komnenos*, 63–83. Ioannes Komnenos (1657–1719), as a layman, served as a medical doctor in the tsarist court in the period 1691–1694. After he left Russia, he was ordained and became metropolitan of Drystra, under the name Hierotheos.

20. For a survey of the main contours of private and public education in Venice's eastern Mediterranean possessions, see Tzivara, *Apo ten engrammatosyne ste logiosyne*, 33–68, and esp. 38–39 for an instruction contract from the island of Kephallenia in 1679.

21. Fonkich, “Novye materialy,” 61–62. Fonkich adds that, beyond being a later composition, the autobiographical note attached to the *Mechets Dukhovnyi* only appears in the manuscripts from

36. Saint Athanasius College was founded in 1576 by Pope Gregory XIII. Between 1622 and 1773 it was run by the Society of Jesus, although even before then its curriculum had been modeled after Jesuit prototypes. See, primarily, Tsirpanles, *To Helleniko Kollegio*; also Chatzopoulos, *Hellenika scholeia*, 170–80. Cottunius was a graduate of Saint Athanasius College. See Tsirpanles, *To Helleniko Kollegio*, 397–99.

37. See Chatzopoulos, *Hellenika scholeia*, 180–84; Karathanases, *He Phlangineios schole*, esp. 26nn1–2; 67–68.

38. Karathanases noted the absence of any reference to the Leichoudes in the files of the Cottunian College, but argued that this might simply mean that they lived there during Sophronios's study at the University of Padua, a practice he considered common for Greek students at the time. He also emphasized that only Sophronios is attested as having received a doctorate from Padua, in "Ioannikios kai Sophronios adelphoi Leichoude," 181.

39. On Aristotelianism in the University of Padua, see Poppi, *Introduzione all'aristotelismo padovano*; Poppi, "L'articolazione delle scienze," in *Aristotelismo Veneto e Scienza Moderna*, as well as the other articles in the collection; Randall, *The School of Padua*; Kuhn, *Venetischer Aristotelismus*, 487–97, for the successors of Cremonini.

40. Likhud and Likhud, *Mechets Dukhovnyi*, 29; Pentogalos, "Ioannes (Ioannikios) kai Spyridon (Sophronios)," 43–45. On education in Kephallenia in the seventeenth century, see Moschopoulos, *Historia the Kephallonias*, 200–216. Moschopoulos considers as plausible the information that the Leichoudes taught on the island.

41. It is worth noting here, however, that Patriarch Parthenios I of Alexandria (in office 1678–1688) is the first signatory of the letter of recommendation that the Leichoudes carried with them to Russia. See RGADA, f. 159, op. 2, ch. 1, d. 2991, ll. 6–14 (Russian translation of the letter) and l. 13 (signature). For the Greek version of the letter, see Papadopoulos-Kerameus, *Hierosolymitike Vivliotheke*, 4:167–70. Conceivably, as Tsitseles notes, Parthenios delegated to Ioannikios the handling of some of his interests in Kephallenia, but it is not at all clear what these were. See *Kephallenikia symmikta*, 1:352. See also Ialamas, "Rekomendatelnaiia gramota."

42. See several such cases cited by Tsitseles, *Kephallenikia symmikta*, vol. 1, passim. The Leichoudes make special reference to the judicial system in Venice's Greek dependencies in *Akos*. See RGB, f. 173, op. 1, no. 480, ll. 38–38ob.

43. In *Akos*, the two brothers also assert that besides Arta, they taught students in Kephallenia, Veroia, and Thessalonike. RGB, f. 173, op. 1, no. 480, l. 36. On Arta's school, see Stergiopoulos, "Ho hieromonachos Sophronios Leichoudes"; Chatzemanou, "La vie et l'oeuvre," 350 and 362–65. Arta and Ioannina (in Epirus) had a long history of educational activity. See Kyrkos, "Paideutike paradose"; Kourmantza-Panagiotaou, "He ekpaideuse sta Giannena."

44. RGADA, f. 159, op. 2, ch. 1, d. 2991, l. 27. For the letter, see Moschopoulos, "Mia anekdote epistole," 356–59. The two brothers also transferred to Eustathios Lykoudes and another relative their voting rights in the councils of two churches on the island. In 1709, only Sophronios was in Moscow, but he seems to have signed for both brothers. The no-longer-functioning Monastery of Panagia Hieraia (or Gereia) is near the small village of Vovikes in Kephallenia. Its foundation is dated to the middle of the seventeenth century, so it must have been in need of resident monks when the Leichoudes entered. Although it quickly became a rather wealthy monastery, several financial and administrative problems led to its downfall in the late eighteenth century. See Tsitseles, *Kephallenikia symmikta*, 2:341–44; Moschonas, "Phorodotikos pinakas tes Kephalonias," 103 and 111.

45. Kolia, "Ho Sevastos Kyminetes," 287. Kyminetes's negative answer was first published in Gedeon, "Timotheos Hagioreites," 91–92; see also Fonkich, *Greko-slavianskie shkoly*, 108–9, for republication of the letter. On Kyminetes, see Karanasios, *Sevastos Trapezuntios Kyminetes*, esp. 12–13, for the problems he was facing with students in the patriarchal school. At the time, the Patriarchal Academy was in turmoil, because the students had repeatedly antagonized the school's teachers.

46. Kolia, "Ho Sevastos Kyminetes," 285–86 (on date) and 294–95 (text). On Karyophylles, see Chalastanes, "Ioannes Karyophylles."

47. Smentsovskii, *Brat'ia Likhudy*, 52–57.

48. Kapterev, *Snosheniia Ierusalimskogo patriarkha Dosifeia*, 131–40.

49. On Patriarch Ioakim, see Smirnov, *Ioakim Patriarkh Moskovskii*; Potter, "The Russian Church," esp. vol. 2.

50. On Patriarch Dositheos, see Todt, "Dositheos II. von Jerusalem," 2:659–720; Dura, *Ho Dositheos Hierosolymon*; Palmieri, *Dositeo*. On Dositheos's relations with Moscow, see Kapterev,

63. The circular (recommendation) letter the Leichoudes brought with them to Russia does not carry the signature of the patriarch of Antioch. In the 1680s, there were two contenders to the Antiochian patriarchal throne, Neophytos (incumbent patriarch, 1672–1685) and Kyrillos. Both were in Constantinople to present their case to the Ecumenical Throne (itself in tumult at the time!) and to the Porte. See Chrysostomos Papadopoulos, *Historia tes ekklesias Antiocheias*, 15–18; also Haddad, “Constantinople over Antioch.” It is worth noting that Kyrillos was the son of Paul the deacon, who together with Patriarch Makarios of Antioch had played an important role in Patriarch Nikon’s deposition in 1666.

64. Later on, in 1687, in one of the endless conflicts that the Leichoudes appear to have had with other Greeks in Moscow, a certain Georgios Zervos accused them of borrowing money from him in order to pay for the patriarchal circular letter. See below on this affair.

65. See earlier in this chapter.

66. Kapterev, *Kharakter otnoshenii*, 268–69; Smentsovskii, *Brat’ia Likhudy*, 53–54. The text of the August 24, 1676, edict is published in *AAE* 4:290–91.

67. This was a very common function of the Greek merchants at the time. They would pay ransom money to the Ottomans or the Crimean Tatars for Muscovite prisoners of war and then carry them to Moscow. The tsar and the patriarch would repay the Greeks the ransom plus additional money for their efforts (the ransom was called *polonianie den’gi*). See Kapterev, *Kharakter otnoshenii*; also, Carras, “Emporio, Politike kai Adelphoteta,” 405–21.

68. On *uzorochnye tovary*, see Savvaitov, *Opisanie starinnykh russkikh utvarei*, 154–55.

69. Kapterev, *Kharakter otnoshenii*, 270–71. Ioakim’s petition and the new provisions resulting from it are in *RGADA*, f. 52, op. 1, d. 7, ll. 1–4. Kapterev dates Ioakim’s petition and the new edict to 1678, but in reality they are both dated 1679. Indeed, 1678 was not an auspicious time for alterations to the tsar’s policy vis-à-vis the Greeks. Because of information from Moldavia, fears of a Turkish attack on Muscovy were so prevalent that tsar and patriarch together with boyars convened a meeting in which precautionary measures were discussed in addition to various means for preempting and avoiding a Turkish strike. See Potter, “The Russian Church,” 2:375–76. One should also remember that a Russian embassy left for Constantinople in 1679, making it a favorable moment for Ioakim to press his case with the tsar. There is no other way to explain why Ioakim had to wait three years in order to opt for the amendment of the provisions regarding the Greeks.

70. See Solov’ev, *Sochineniia*, 7:208–20.

71. See the edicts and letters in *SGGD* 4:277–342. The last document in this series, a report of Muscovite merchants to leading boyars on the silk trade, is dated February 23, 1676. *Ibid.*, 337–42.

72. See *SGGD* 4:260.

73. For the thesis that Tsar Fedor continued his father’s policies in many areas of governance, see Zamyslovskii, *Tsarstvovanie Fedora Alekseevicha*. On Fedor’s reign, see Solov’ev, *Sochineniia*, 7:173–251; Sedov, *Zakat moskovskogo tsarstva*. Russian measures regulating contact with the East may also have been connected to fears for the health of the tsar in particular, and of the Muscovite population, in general. At the very least, the existing sources bear witness to heightened concern over the health of the fragile Fedor. Documents of the time repeatedly mention the need for precautionary measures on the borders against the plague. Moreover, an edict prohibited *chinovniki* (officials) in whose households contagious diseases were known to have occurred from entering the *postel’noe kryl’iso* (the tsar’s inner chambers). See *SGGD* 4:375–76. Of course, it would be a far cry to directly connect such localized fears with comprehensive trade measures. Still, the emphasis on precautions from the plague is striking in the regulation of trade with the Greek East (and with Poland—see, for example, *SGGD* 4:378).

74. See Volodikhin, *Knizhnost’ i proveshchenie*, 27–29. Timofei’s school was financed by both the state and the patriarchal treasuries.

75. See Di Salvo, “Vokrug poezdki,” esp. 222; Donato, “Relazione del nobil uomo,” 344 (Leucadi), 343–45 (Ottoman worries regarding the Muscovites). On Donato, see Ghisalberti, *Dizionario biografico degli Italiani*, vol. 40 (1991), s.v. “Donà (Donati, Donato), Giovanni Battista.”

76. See below chapter 6.

77. Smentsovskii, *Brat’ia Likhudy*, 59–60 (Smentsovskii follows the Leichoudes’ account in *Mechets Dukhovnyi*).

78. On Chatzekyriakes, see Papastratou, “Hoi Adelphoi Leichoudes sten Polonia”; Papastratou, *Ho Sinaites Chatzekyriakes*.

79. The letter’s credibility is enhanced by the fact that it is also very frank in its assessment of the Leichoudes and their conduct during the early years of their stay in Moscow. See below.

100. Potter, "The Russian Church," 2:464–65.
101. See Smentsovskii, *Brat'ia Likhudy*, 67–68; Bogdanov, "Sil'vestr Medvedev," 95. De la Neuville, who had visited Russia as an agent of the Polish king, claimed that Golitsyn ordered the construction of a magnificent building and invited twenty scholars from Greece to work in it. See de la Nevill', *Zapiski o Moskovii*, 165; also available in English translation as *A Curious and New Account of Muscovy in the Year 1689*, edited by Lindsey Hughes.
102. Sedov, *Zakat moskovskogo tsarstva*, 239 and 239nn220–22.
103. There is very little information on the building's appearance at the time. Rozanov provides a historical and architectural overview, but it covers mostly the eighteenth century and later. See RGB, Fond N. P. Rozanova, papka I, no. 4: N. P. Rozanov, "Zaikonospasskii Monastyr' i Slaviano-Greko-Latinskaia Akademiia, Istoricheskii Ocherk" (author's typescript, with handwritten remarks and corrections by the author). See also Smirnov, *Istoriia moskovskoi Slaviano-greko-latinskoi akademii*, 40.
104. Ramazanova, "Brat'ia Likhudy," 215. During the previous years, stipends were paid from the Patriarchal Treasury Chancellery.
105. Dadykin, "Prikaz knigopechatnogo dela," 1:130–31.
106. Smentsovskii, *Brat'ia Likhudy*, 65–70.
107. Potter, "The Russian Church," 2:467–69; Solov'ev, *Sochineniia*, 7:373–78; Kapterev, *Snosheniia ierusalimskikh patriarkhov*, 252–67, for the correspondence with the Eastern patriarchs. The patriarchs were forced to agree to the Muscovite demands because they were pressed by the Ottomans, who were at the time interested in averting a joint Polish-Russian campaign against the Ottoman Empire.
108. Henceforth in the present volume, the school will be referred to as Kiev Mohyla Academy. On the Kiev Mohyla Academy, see Khyzhniak and Man'kivs'kyi, *Istoriia Kyievo-Mohylians'koi akademii*; Golubev, *Kievskii Mitropolit Petr Mogila*; Sydorenko, *The Kievan Academy*; also, the articles in Pritsak et al., *The Kiev Mohyla Academy*.
109. Potter, "The Russian Church," 2:470–89.
110. *Ibid.*, 2:484–98; see also Frick, "Sailing to Byzantium," for an argument that in essence, both sides were employing the polemical ploys and tricks of Reformation and Counter-Reformation debates over sacred philology.
111. On the trip and its diplomatic aspects, as well as the Viennese affair of Ioannikios's children, see Smentsovskii, *Brat'ia Likhudy*, 255–62; Di Salvo, "Vokrug poezdki." For a paleographic overview of the documentation, see Ramazanova, "Brat'ia Likhudy," 82–96 and 97–98; also, Ialamas, "Poslanie Ioannikiia Likhuda."
112. On the overthrow of Sophia's government, see Hughes, *Sophia Regent of Russia*, 221–41; Lavrov, *Regentstvo tsarevny Sof'i Alekseevny*, 157–82.
113. On Patriarch Adrian, former metropolitan of Kazan', see Skvortsov, *Patriarkh Adrian*.
114. See Smentsovskii, *Brat'ia Likhudy*, 280–81.
115. See, for example, Pekarskii, *Nauka i literatura*, 1:113; Rogov, "Shkola i prosveshchenie," pt. 2, esp. 154; Vucinich, *Science in Russian Culture*, 1:23–24; Hughes, *Sophia Regent of Russia*, 165, who, however, insists that the removal was specifically due to Patriarch Dositheos's opposition to teaching Latin in the Academy.
116. Smentsovskii's account is an expanded version of Smirnov, *Istoriia moskovskoi Slaviano-greko-latinskoi akademii*, 32–6. See also Solov'ev, *Sochineniia*, 7:469.
117. See Kapterev, *Snosheniia ierusalimskikh patriarkhov*, 287–306. On Chrysanthos, see Stathe, *Chrysanthos Notaras*, esp. 154–63 for the Russia connection. On the printing press project, see Fonkich, "Ierusalimskii patriarkh Dosifei"; Fonkich, "Popytka sozdanii grecheskoi tipografii"; Ialamas, "Gramota ierusalimskogo patriarkha Dosifeia," 228–38, for the original Greek and a modern Russian version of Dositheos's letter requesting the printing of the materials Chrysanthos carried.
118. Smentsovskii, *Brat'ia Likhudy*, 284. The Russian version of the letter was published in Likhud and Likhud, *Mechets Dukhovnyi*, 40–41.
119. Smentsovskii, *Brat'ia Likhudy*, 285–86. The letter was published in Smirnov, *Istoriia moskovskoi Slaviano-greko-latinskoi akademii*, 406–8. Smentsovskii also adds that Dositheos was angered by the Leichoudes because Ioannikios had not extended help to the Athonite archimandrite Isaiah during his (Ioannikios's) travel through Vienna where Isaiah had been incarcerated. Smentsovskii, *Brat'ia Likhudy*, 284–85.
120. Smentsovskii, *Brat'ia Likhudy*, 286–87. The letter to Adrian was published in Kapterev, *Snosheniia ierusalimskogo patriarkha Dosifeia*, appendix 19.
121. Smentsovskii, *Brat'ia Likhudy*, 288–92; Skvortsov, *Patriarkh Adrian*, 276–77.

from the school; also, the students appear to be clergymen or to be holding some church position); also, Voznesenskaia, “Novgorodskaia arkhieieiskaia shkola” (arguing that the school may have continued functioning until the 1740s). On the translation projects, see Voznesenskaia, “Rukopisnye uchebniki brat’ev Likhudov”; Voznesenskaia, “Perevody s grecheskogo iazyka”; Voznesenskaia, “Perevodcheskii i knigopisnyi tsestr.” On manuscripts dating from their Novgorodian period, see Ialamas, “Znachenie deiatel’nosti brat’ev Likhudov,” 83–85, and Ramazanova, “Brat’ia Likhudy,” 50.

136. See Peter I, *Pis’ma i bumagi*, vol. 7, vyp. 1:251 and 253, respectively.

137. Voznesenskaia, “Moskovskaia grecheskaia shkola,” 379–97.

138. See Smentsovskii, *Brat’ia Likhudy*, 375–77; Voznesenskaia, “Grecheskie shkoly,” 25–27, 59–65, 148–76.

139. See the letters of Sophronios in Ialamas, “Neizvestnaia perepiska brat’ev Likhudov,” 336–40. Dated July 1710, all three letters are addressed to clerical officials in the employ of Metropolitan Iov of Novgorod, and they reflect both the connections of the Leichoudes in Novgorod as well as the resistance of Iov to Ioannikios’s departure.

140. Ioannikios’s children appear to have pursued careers in the Russian navy. Thus, in 1697–1700, Nikolaos and Anastasios Leichoudes participated in Peter’s building of a naval fleet. A Greek merchant by the name of Iurii Iur’ev Karakles unsuccessfully sought to have the claim for a loan of 500 rubles owed to him by Nikolaos Leichoudes adjudicated in Moscow: his request was turned down since Nikolaos was in Voronezh and not allowed to leave. In any case, the two brothers on August 9, 1697, submitted a petition requesting that the tsar order that all cases involving the two brothers that were still pending in various *prikazy* be remanded to the *Vladimirskii Sudnyi Prikaz* (Vladimir Judicial Chancellery, in charge of the shipbuilding), so that the two brothers did not have to go back to Moscow and deal with them there. Nikolaos and Anastasios, once they had their princely title recognized (Nikolaos is referred to as *stol’nik* in the documents), were registered in the lists of lesser Moscow servitors. They served as translators from the Italian in Voronezh, and Nikolaos was in charge of a large number of specialists and workers, providing timber for shipbuilding. However, Nikolaos was accused of taking bribes from the workers in order to ease their load of work (one of Peter’s edicts specifically instructed Nikolaos to take good care of the workers and to avoid taking bribes). See Chesnokova, “Dokumenty po istorii,” 291–92, petition on 305–6 (it was granted). Elagin, *Istoriia russkogo flota. Period Azovskii. Prilozheniia*, appendix 4, pp. 367, 370–72; Phillips, *Founding of Russia’s Navy*, 64, 73, 82–83.

141. Sophronios wrote the epitaph in Greek, which was then translated into Slavonic, adorned with a portrait of Ioannikios, and placed on the latter’s gravestone. The epitaph has been published multiple times. See, for example, Likhachev, “Portret Ioannikiia Likhuda”; Fonkich, “Zametki po grecheskoi epigrafike Moskv,” reprinted in Fonkich, *Grecheskie rukopisi i dokumenty*, 345–48.

142. Ialamas, “Neizvestnaia perepiska brat’ev Likhudov,” 336–40, and esp. 338, where Sophronios emphasizes the two brothers’ fear that they would die without seeing each other, strangers as they were in a foreign land.

143. Karathanases, “Ioannikios kai Sophronios adelphoi Leichoude,” 193–94.

144. Papastratou, *Ho Sinaites Chatzekyriakes*, 134–35.

145. See Smentsovskii, *Brat’ia Likhudy*, 254–55, 257–61, 278–79 for such cases.

146. On Meletios and his testament, see Fonkich, “Meletii Grek”; Fonkich, *Greko-slavianskie shkoly*, 99–100; Ramazanova, “Brat’ia Likhudy,” 64–82 (an overview of the surviving documentation); Voznesenskaia, “Grecheskie shkoly,” 54–55; and also Chatzekyriakes’s comments in Papastratou, *Ho Sinaites Chatzekyriakes*, 134–35.

147. On the affair, see Ialamas, “Dva pis’ma greka Khadzhhikir’iaka.” On the Leichoudes relations with Spafarii, see Chesnokova, “Dokumenty po istorii,” 307–8.

148. Ialamas, “Znachenie deiatel’nosti brat’ev Likhudov.”

149. *Ibid.*, 64.

Notes to Chapter Three

1. Demidova, “Prikaznye shkoly nachal’nogo obrazovaniia.”

2. Some modern theologians bemoan such Western influence and its consequences for Eastern Orthodox theology and doctrine and, in some cases, for Greek culture at large. Father Georges Florovsky, one of the most eminent Russian émigré theologians, spoke of a “pseudomorphosis” of

Mavroudi, "Graeco-Slavic and Graeco-Arabic"; Dmitriev, "Ob otnoshenii"; the studies in Thomson, *Reception of Byzantine Culture*; Hannick, "La reception de la culture antique"; also Bulanin, *Perevody i poslania Maksima Greka* and *Antichnye traditsii*, 17–22 and 77–83. In the latter work, Bulanin emphasizes that in the seventeenth century the perception of ancient culture changed qualitatively in Russia due to the effects of Baroque culture. Buseva-Davydova has suggested that, in the seventeenth century, there was a "churching" (*vosserkovlenie*) of antiquity through the incorporation of ancient themes in pedagogical and prophetic literature and in some artistic depictions. She has also argued that a number of ancient figures were calibrated anew (centaurs, sirens) through Western influences in artistic renderings. *Kultura i isskustvo*, 124–32. Be that as it may, Greek still seems to have been known very imperfectly and then only by a few people mainly associated with the chancelleries. See Strakhov, *Byzantine Culture*, 28–29, citing cases of Muscovites being sent to Constantinople to study Greek from the period 1550–1650. Strakhov correctly indicates that instruction of Greek in these cases seems to have been connected to utilitarian purposes, i.e., government service. She further concedes that Maksim Grek's activities seem to have involved a very small circle of people around him and were soon discontinued because of his incarceration. I would also add that knowledge of Latin was largely confined to the chancelleries until the arrival of the Ukrainian and Belarusian monks in the middle of the seventeenth century. See also Okenfuss, *Rise and Fall of Latin Humanism*, 21–37. Okenfuss's main thesis is that Muscovite aversion to Latin humanism continued into the end of the eighteenth century.

13. See, for example, Mirkovich, "O shkolakh i prosveshchenii," 3–4; Black, *Citizens for the Fatherland*, 27–28, for references to foreigners' accounts. For an interpretive scheme of foreigners' accounts, see Poe, "A People Born to Slavery."

14. Kollmann, "The Stoglav Council," 67–68; Kosheleva, "To Discipline Those Who Teach," 319. Kosheleva indicates the persistence of non-institutionalized (that is, free from state control) forms of primary education in Peter's time, even after Peter's initiatives of the mid-1710s to create specialized technical schools.

15. For the Kievan period, see esp. Franklin, *Writing, Society, and Culture*, 202–6. Richard Hellie argued that the expansion of the chancellery system starting in the first half of the seventeenth century caused a "literacy revolution"; see his *Slavery in Russia*, 240. Marker disputed this hypothesis on the basis of the admittedly incomplete publishing records and instead suggested an "education revolution" in the second half of the century ("Literacy," 83–84, 88–89), which involved a shift to an emphasis on writing skills. He still concluded that, by any standards of comparison, reading and writing skills were traits of a very small minority in Muscovite society.

16. Pozdeeva, "Moskovskoe knigopochatanie nakanune Novogo vremeni," 1:6; Pozdeeva, "Mezhdru Srednevekov'em i Novym vremenem," 1:62–67; and Dadykin, "Istoriia izucheniia i publikatsii dokumentov," 1:30.

17. Gradoboinova, "Chasovnik kak kniga"; cf. Marker, "Primers and Literacy," 6–8. On the education of the tsar's offspring, see Bogdanov, "Ucheba tsarskikh detei," but cf. the critical remarks and more concrete information provided by Sedov, "Detskie gody tsaria," 84–89. See also Pogosian and Smorzhevskikh-Smirnova, "Kniga liubvi znak."

18. See, for example, Kosheleva, "Fenomeny shkoly i uchenichestva," esp. 91–92 (Kosheleva's article is a concise overview of nineteenth-century Russian historiography on the question of the existence of schools in medieval and early modern Russia); Kosheleva, "What Should One Teach?"; Kosheleva, "Obuchenie." In the latter article, Kosheleva correctly attributes the absence of formal schooling to Russian Orthodoxy's aversion to external knowledge in the medieval period. Such aversion should be restricted to Russian Orthodoxy, and not to Orthodoxy at large, as the cases of Byzantium and the post-Byzantine world show.

19. Timoshina, "Sistema obrazovaniia"; Brown, "Muscovite Arithmetic." For an example of teaching in a private setting, that of a Russian teacher in Pskov teaching an English merchant in the 1680s, see Stefanovich and Morozov, *Roman Vilimovich*.

20. Kiseleva, "Intellektualy v pravoslavnykh monastyrakh"; Kiseleva, *Intellektual'nyi vybor Rossii*; also Kiseleva and Chumakova, "Vkhozhdenie Rossii."

21. Sapozhnikova, *Russkii knizhnik*; also Romanchuk, *Byzantine Hermeneutics and Pedagogy*.

22. See Andreev, "Nachalo universitetskogo obrazovaniia"; Andreev and Posokhov, *Universitet v rossiiskoi imperii*, 81–122; Andreev, *Rossiiskie universitety*, 95–172. See also Posokhova, "Transformatsiia obrazovatel'noi traditsii."

23. See Leont'ev, *Obrazovanie prikaznoi sistemy*, esp. 21–73; Brown, "Early Modern Bureaucracy"; Plavsic, "Seventeenth-Century Chanceries"; Demidova, *Sluzhilaia biurokratiia v Rossii*.

Hionides, *Paisius Ligarides*, 95–98; Floria, *Sviazi Rossii*, 27–99; Prousis, *Russian Society*, 1–6; Smirnov, *Rossia i Turtsiia*, esp. vol. 2.

43. For an analytical discussion of these matters, see Pisses, “He anatolike ekklesia”; and for Peter the Great’s time, see Pisses, “Tropes tes ‘rosikes prosdokias.”

44. See my discussion of the *Privilegiia* (foundation charter of a planned school in the early 1680s) in the present chapter.

45. Simeon Polotskii expressed such views in *Zhezl Pravleniia* (Moscow, 1667). Both he and Epifanii Slavinetskii were actively involved in the reforms of Patriarch Nikon; see Potter, “The Russian Church,” 1:121–87.

46. Epifanii Slavinetskii had come to Muscovy with the aim of assisting with the translation and correction of liturgical books. He taught students Greek and composed a Greek-Slavic-Latin lexicon, but his main occupation was still translation and correction; see Potter, “The Russian Church,” 2:385–86.

47. For previous unsuccessful attempts at establishing schools in Muscovy, see Kapterev, “O greko-latinskikh shkolkakh,” 588–615. See also Fonkich, *Greko-slavianskie shkoly*, passim and 46–47 on Slavinetskii.

48. Kapterev has convincingly shown that, before the late 1670s, one can hardly speak of the existence of organized schools in Muscovy. “O greko-latinskikh shkolkakh.”

49. On Sophia’s regency, see O’Brien, *Russia under Two Tsars*; Hughes, *Sophia Regent of Russia*; Lavrov, *Regentstvo tsarevny Sof’i Alekseevny*.

50. His tutoring of Tsar Fedor has been challenged by Sedov, *Zakat moskovskogo tsarstva*, 181.

51. Kharlampovich, *Malorossiiskoe vliianie*, 401–2; Kapterev, “O greko-latinskikh shkolkakh,” 625–50; Gorskii, “O dukhovnykh uchilishchakh,” 148–72; Smirnov, *Istoriia moskovskoi Slaviano-greko-latinskoi akademii*, 392–400; Smentsovskii, *Brat’ia Likhudy*, 25–32; Mirkovich, “O shkolkakh i prosveshchenii,” 19–29; Zabelin, *Pervoe vodvorenie v Moskve*, 6–15; Demkov, *Istoriia russkoi pedagogii*, 1:205–11; Lappo-Danilevskii, *Istoriia russkoi obshchestvennoi mysli*, 210–28 (written in the beginning of the twentieth century); Galkin, *Akademiia v Moskve*, 43–52. One also wonders how the educational conditions in the Russian Orthodox Church in the late nineteenth century and its contemporary attitudes to various intellectual currents might have influenced scholarly assessments of the church in the late seventeenth century.

52. Bogdanov, “K polemike”; Rogov, “Shkola i prosveshchenie”; Uspenskii, “Raskol i kul’turnyi konflikt,” 2:333–67, esp. 342–43; Ialamas, “Filologicheskaiia deiatel’nost’”; Ekonomtsev, “Predystoriia sozdaniia Moskovskoi Akademii”; Black, *Citizens for the Fatherland*, 17–18; Hughes, *Sophia Regent of Russia*, 129. See also Okenfuss, *Rise and Fall of Latin Humanism*, 54n128 (citing Kharlampovich) and 78 (referring to the inevitability of teaching Latin in the Academy). Okenfuss thus seems to hold an ambiguous stance on the issue.

53. Strakhov, *Byzantine Culture*, 49–55, quote on p. 42, opening statement on the Eucharist conflict, p. 43.

54. See, for example, the use of the terms *latinomudrstvuiushchii* and *latinstvuiushchii* in GIM, Sinodal’noe Sobranie, no. 393 (Proceedings against the deacon and former Leichoudian student Petr Artem’ev), l. 43ob. and 64ob., respectively.

55. See Bushkovitch, *Religion and Society*, 152–60.

56. Strakhov, *Byzantine Culture*, chs. 2, 3, and 6.

57. Sazonova, “Poeticheskoe tvorchestvo Evfimiia Chudovskogo,” 244; Bushkovitch, *Religion and Society*, 173–75; Potter, “The Russian Church,” 1:384–85 and 2:435–49. Mention should be made here of Brailovskii, “Odin iz ‘pestrykh’ XVII veka.” In this work, devoted to Karion Istomin (1640–1718/1722), secretary of Patriarchs Ioakim and Adrian, Brailovskii presents a more balanced view of the patriarchates of Ioakim and Adrian through his discussion of Istomin’s activity. In the process, Brailovskii is careful to note the influence of Western trends in Russian culture of the late seventeenth century and largely avoids the pitfalls of the two-camp struggle. Hence his characterization of Istomin as *pestryi*, meaning “varied, multi-colored one,” since Istomin does not fit easily into either the “Grecophile” or the “Latinophile” camp. Brailovskii counts Karion Istomin among the students of the Leichoudes in the Academy, but no evidence has surfaced to confirm this: see Likhachev, *Slovar’ knizhnikov i knizhnosti*, s.v. “Karion Istomin.”

58. Illustrative of this point is Evgenii Shmurolo, “Kriticheskie zametki.” Referring to the alleged struggle between the two camps, Shmurolo notes: “Involuntarily our attention is arrested by the passionate polemic, the irreconcilable hostility of the two sides. . . . The latinizers, as is well-known, were

77. DRV, 16:407–8.

78. DRV, 16:408.

79. Pointing to the presumed revision of the article by Ioakim, Potter interprets it as reflecting “Patriarch Ioakim’s belief in the need for control of education to assure that instruction would be uniformly Orthodox, as defined by the Church”; see “The Russian Church,” 2:391. For examples of private tutors in the employ of Russian aristocratic families, see Kharlampovich, *Malorossiiskoe vliianie*, 415–16.

80. DRV, 16:409–10.

81. *Ibid.*, 16:410–11.

82. *Ibid.*, 16:411–12. The offices of *stol’nik* and *striapchii* did not indicate boyar rank, that is, they did not permit participation in the Boyar Duma, the tsar’s council of noblemen. Still, they were important inasmuch as they entailed proximity to the personal courts of the tsars and their wives. On the Boyar Duma in the seventeenth century, see Crummey, *Aristocrats and Servitors*.

83. Potter, “The Russian Church,” 2:392. She also argues that Ioakim had no reason to oppose such a provision since he had supported the abolition of *mestnichestvo*. According to this precedence system, one’s ancestry, seniority within one’s own family, and past family service determined a nobleman’s position in tsarist service; see Crummey, *Aristocrats and Servitors*, 136–37.

84. Potter also argues that “assuming control of the academy would remain in the hands of the Patriarch, such guaranties to its graduates would assure the dissemination of enlightenment throughout the chancellery system. Church enlightenment would be carried to the secular world, informing its activities at the very highest levels.” See Potter, “The Russian Church,” 2:392. My reading does not assume that the academy would be solely under patriarchal control.

85. DRV, 16:412–13.

86. *Ibid.*, 16:413–15.

87. *Ibid.*, 16:415.

88. *Ibid.*, 16:415–17.

89. *Ibid.*, 16:417–18.

90. *Ibid.*, 16:418.

91. *Ibid.*, 16:418–20.

92. As in the councils over *mestnichestvo* and as was the tradition in Russia, boyars and clergy took part in common sessions. This tradition and approach seems to appear here as well since tsar and patriarch are to be working in tandem. It also accords well with the theory of *symphonia* (concord) between tsar and patriarch. For church-state relations in early modern Russia, see Ševčenko, “A Neglected Byzantine Source”; Bushkovitch, “*The Life of Saint Filipp*.” Potter’s assessment presents the academy’s founding as essentially an act of the church, specifically of Ioakim himself. In discussing the charter’s articles, she emphasizes Ioakim’s presumed revisions and interprets them as evidence of the patriarch’s attempt to safeguard the church’s monopoly on the dissemination of education not only against potential encroachments by any individual clergyman (like the monk Sil’vestr Medvedev) but also against those of the state. As shown above, many provisions underscored the state’s direct involvement in, and expectations from, the proposed academy’s operation.

93. On Jesuit schools, see Dainville, *L’éducation des jésuites*; Cesareo, “Quest for Identity”; Scaglione, *The Liberal Arts*, 51–109. See also, in general, Duminuco, *The Jesuit Ratio Studiorum*.

94. The Leichoudes did not teach theology before they were expelled from the Academy. Still, the abundance of theological works, both by Gerasimos Vlachos and perhaps by the Leichoudes themselves (although their authorship should be further investigated), among the manuscripts the two brothers brought to, or “authored” in, Russia suggests that they had plans to teach this subject to their students.

95. On the term college as understood in Jesuit terminology, see Ganss, *Saint Ignatius’ Idea of a Jesuit University*, 31–32; Koch, *Jesuiten-Lexikon*, s.v. “Kolleg”; Farrell, *The Jesuit Code of Liberal Education*; for an overview of scholarship on Jesuit education, see Scaglione, *The Liberal Arts*.

96. See Frijhoff, “Patterns,” 2:43–110, for a judicious essay regarding the criteria for assigning the label university and the fluctuation thereof, and esp. 68–69 on typology; Hengst, *Jesuiten an Universitäten*, esp. ch. 1, for a very helpful discussion of Jesuit distinctions between college and university; also, Müller, “The Jesuitensystem,” for an overview focusing on Germany, and esp. 105–6, for a description of some colleges as semi-universities; Brizzi, “Les jésuites et l’école en Italie (XVe–XVIIIe siècles),” for a discussion of the reaction of established Italian educational institutions to the creation of Jesuit colleges in Italian university towns; Julia, “Jésuites et universités,” on the similar struggle between

111. Most of these sources have been previously put to good use by scholars. My discussion of them is based partly on their work and partly on the documents themselves, as deemed appropriate for the elucidation of particular points. For records from the Patriarchal Treasury Chancellery and the Chancellery of Printing Affairs, see Zabelin, *Materialy*, columns 391–94, 401–2, 1043–46. Ialamas studied files of the Patriarchal Treasury Chancellery for the period of the Leichoude's tenure in the Academy and provided a first valuable list of the students. See "Filologicheskaiia deiatel'nost'," 14–15; Ramazanova, "Bogoiavlenskaia shkola," 229–35. Further study of the same sources by Ramazanova has also added and expanded the list. See her "Ucheniki Ioannikiia i Sofroniia Likhudov," 358–64, for the most up-to-date list of student names. See also the appendix to this volume.

112. Brizzi refers to the completion of the grammar-rhetoric part of the curriculum as a rite of passage, after which the student entered the world of adults. See "Strategie educative," 1:913–14.

113. Fedor Polikarpov (full name: Fedor Polikarpov Orlov), one of the very first group of students of the Leichoude and future head of the Muscovite Typography (*Pechatnyi Dvor*), wrote a brief report on the Moscow Academy in 1726, apparently as part of a contemporary effort to assemble materials on the school's history. Referring to the curriculum under which he studied, Polikarpov remarked that "the disciplines [*nauki*] were taught in both languages, grammar and poetics only in Greek, rhetoric, dialectic, logic, and physics in both [i.e., Greek and Latin]" (*nauki prepodavatisia na oboikh dialektakh, gramatika i piitika, tokmo na grecheskom, ritorika zhe, dialektika, logika i fizika na oboikh*). See *DRV*, 16:295–302, quote p. 299. This statement on the languages of instruction appears to contradict what Polikarpov says a little earlier in the same report: "and the teachers [i.e., the Leichoude] were commanded to teach all the liberal arts in Greek and Latin gradually" (*i veleno im uchiteliam padavat' vse svobodnyia nauki na Grecheskom i na Latinskom iazykakh postepenno*), *ibid.*, 298. Polikarpov's account is too brief and too far removed in time to be fully trusted (it contains chronological inaccuracies as well), despite its unique value as a personal student recollection of the early period of the Academy. See below for further discussion of its information in conjunction with other sources.

114. Ialamas, "Filologicheskaiia deiatel'nost'," 22; Ramazanova, "Stanovlenie sistemy prepodavaniia"; Zabelin, *Materialy*, cols. 401–2 (January 29, 1687) and cols. 1043–1044 (December 25, 1687) for such occasions. Students who were clerics normally received a bigger reward than that of their lay counterparts.

115. See the diagram in Hengst, *Jesuiten an Universitäten*, 67; also Scaglione, *The Liberal Arts*, 87. It should be noted here that poetics and rhetoric were normally regarded as comprising a sort of unified rhetorical cycle. This unit sought to teach style and eloquence and covered some moral treatises (most often by Cicero) and some history authors; see Scaglione, *The Liberal Arts*, 85.

116. RGADA, f. 159, op. 2, ch. 1, d. 2991, l. 231: "nyne Gosudari uzhe tretie leto ispol'niaetsia, ezhe zhivem v sem blagochestiveisem tsarstvuiushchem grade Moskve . . . i rabota nasha velikaia iavna est' vsem chrez preduspeniem uchenikov nashikh kotoryia vyuchili grammatiku ellinskuiu i latinskiuiu, poetiku, i chast' ritoriki, iazyk zhe nash prostyi i ellinskii i latinskii glagoliushe ispravno i dobre." In a previous petition in November 1686 (that is, when they were still teaching in the Bogoiavlenskii Monastery), the Leichoude report that the higher class has finished grammar, but they do not specify in what language. *Ibid.*, l. 333.

117. "ieromonakh Sofronii i s nim ucheniki ego Grecheskago iazyka ritoricheskago, grammaticeskago i knizhnago Grecheskago i Slovenskago ucheniia." Zabelin, *Materialy*, 393.

118. Smirnov, *Istoriia moskovskoi Slaviano-greko-latinskoi akademii*, 56, referring to the dates of manuscript RGB, f. 173 (Moskovskaia Dukhovnaia Akademiia), op. 1, no. 300 (Grech. 182): it is a holograph version of Sophronios's logic textbook, and parts of it are dated 1690–1691. Another manuscript, containing Sophronios's logic and parts of a philosophy course, is also dated 1690. RNB, f. 906 (Sobranie Grecheskikh Rukopisei), Grech. 152.

119. The deposition has been published by Belokurov, "Ob obuchenii Nikolaia Semenova," 34.

120. "zabavliaiutsia okolo fiziki i filosofii"; see Smentsovskii, *Brat'ia Likhudy*, 286. Of course, Dositheos was unhappy with the Leichoude for many other reasons, chief among which seems to have been their unwillingness to cooperate with his envoy, Archimandrite Chrysanthos (Dositheos's nephew and successor) in the attempt at establishing a Greek printing press in Moscow (see above, chapter 2). Dositheos cannot but have been feigning displeasure against the two brothers for their teaching of philosophy. The patriarchal school in Constantinople had been reorganized (better: reopened) in 1691, and the *sigillion* (patriarchal and synodal letter of foundation) containing the curriculum expressly included "scientific subjects," which, in the opinion of one specialist on Greek

4. On rhetoric in Russia, see Uspenskii, "Otnoshenie k grammatike," 2:7–25 (also published in condensed form as "The Attitude to Grammar," 485–97); Eleonskaia, *Russkaia oratorskaia proza*; Picchio, "Osservazioni sulla nuova retorica"; Vomperskii, *Ritoriki v Rossii*; Annushkin, *Russkaia Ritorika*. On the "Makarii Rhetoric," named thus because of erroneous attribution of authorship to Makarii, metropolitan of Novgorod and Velikie Luki (died 1626), see Eleonskaia, *Russkaia oratorskaia proza*, 27–30; Likhachev, *Slovar' knizhnikov i knizhnosti*, s.v. "Makarii (um. 12.IX.1626)"; Lachmann, *Die Zerstörung*, esp. pts. 2 and 3; for a facsimile edition see Lachmann, *Die Makarij-Rhetorik*. See also Annushkin, *Pervaia russkaia ritorika*; Annushkin, "Sozdanie nachal'noi redaktsii." Written in catechetical form, "Makarii's" rhetoric, according to Annushkin, is based on Lucas Lossius's reworked edition of Philip Melancthon's *Elementorum rhetorices libri duo* (first published 1519).

5. For example, scholars have traced the themes of the overwhelming majority of Simeon Polotskii's poems in *Vertograd Mnogotsvetnyi* to Jesuit sources, namely Matthias Faber's *Concionum opus tripartitum*; the *Hortulus Reginae sive Sermones Meffreth fidei Catholicae in Misnia praeconis quondam celeberrimi*; the *Magnum speculum exemplorum* in the edition of Jan Major; and the *Hortus pastorum* of Jacobus Marcantius. See Polockij, *Vertograd Mnogotsvetnyi*, 1:liiii–lvi.

6. For a comprehensive history of rhetoric, see Conley, *Rhetoric in the European Tradition*. On Jesuit rhetoric, see *ibid.*, 152–57; Bauer, *Jesuitische "ars rhetorica"*; Barner, *Barockrhetorik*, esp. 321–66 for the seventeenth century; Dainville, "L'évolution de l'enseignement," 185–208; Battistini, "I manuali di retorica"; Scaglione, *The Liberal Arts*, esp. 51–74, 75–109 (on Jesuit colleges in Italy), 120–27 (on Jesuit rhetoric in France); Lang, "The Teaching of Rhetoric." On Italian rhetoric, see also Vasoli, *La dialettica e la retorica*. On French rhetoric, including Jesuit, see also Fumaroli, *L'âge de l'éloquence*. For treatments of various aspects of Renaissance and Baroque rhetoric, see, among others, Plett, *Renaissance-Rhetorik/Renaissance Rhetoric*; Mouchel, *Cicéron et Sénèque*; Abbott, "The Renaissance," 84–113, a bibliographic study that focuses on English rhetoric, but provides references to national surveys; Vickers, *In Defence of Rhetoric*, esp. ch. 5; Vickers, "On the Practicalities," 133–41; Castelli, *Retorica e Barocco*; and the articles in parts 2 and 4 of Horner and Leff, *Rhetoric and Pedagogy*. For a title list of rhetorical works published until 1700, see Murphy, *Renaissance Rhetoric*; for additions and corrections to this work, see the reviews cited in Vickers, *In Defence of Rhetoric*, 256n8. All translations of Greek and Latin literary and rhetorical terms are borrowed and/or adapted (based on Leichoudian definitions) from the following: Anderson Jr., *Glossary*; Lanham, *Handlist of Rhetorical Terms*; Donker and Muldrow, *Dictionary of Literary-Rhetorical Conventions*; Taylor, *Tudor Figures of Rhetoric*; Sonnino, *Handbook*; and Lausberg, *Handbook of Literary Rhetoric*, which is magisterial in its breadth and detail of coverage.

7. See Tatakis, *Gerasimos Vlachos*, ch. 3, for an outline of Vlachos's rhetoric, which remains unpublished. Tatakis provides the manual's division into books and chapters and, in addition, extensive quotations from it. Vlachos's work sometimes is titled *Peri rhetorikes technes* in the surviving manuscripts; however, the content remains the same, despite the variant titles. See Bompou-Stamate, "Paratereseis sta cheirographa," 99–103. On Greek rhetoric in the period 1453–1821, see Conley, "Greek Rhetorics"; Chatzoglou-Balta, *Metavyzantine kai neohellenike rhetorike*; Kourkoulas, *He theoria tou kerygmatos*; on preaching in the Greek community in Venice in the same period, see Karathanases, "He ekklesiastike rhetorike."

8. My conclusions are based on a comparison between Vlachos's rhetoric in manuscript in EVE, MPT 696 and Cyprian Soares, *De arte rhetorica* (Dilingae, 1624). In general, Tatakis emphasizes the ancient Greek and Byzantine authors that Vlachos cites in his rhetoric. Although he concedes that his discussion is preliminary, nowhere does he mention the possibility of Western, Jesuit sources for Vlachos's manual. Tatakis does not provide the complete list of Vlachos's library, but rather presents some titles selectively (i.e., focusing mostly on the ancient Greek and Byzantine authors). See *Gerasimos Vlachos*, 28–35. In fact, the library included many Western Scholastic authors, including Jesuits. For a digitized version of the catalogue of Vlachos's library, see http://194.177.217.107/gr/showpic.asp?pic-path=0236_reg_092_000_fr&curtable=boundmaterials&currerecord=236&vorder=1&vmode=first. It should be noted that Cyprian Soares's rhetoric manual does not appear in Vlachos's library catalogue. At the same time, the catalogue includes a number of works by Jesuit authors such as Franciscus Soares, Antonio Possevino, and Franciscus Toletus, as well as the commentaries on Aristotle's physics by the Conimbricenses (the Coimbra Jesuits), and editions of orations by Jesuits. See ff. 35, 37, 47–48v., 49 of the list of Vlachos's library. Cyprian Soares's treatise has been translated into English. See Flynn, "The *De Arte Rhetorica*"; also Flynn, "The '*De arte rhetorica*' of Cyprian Soares"; Flynn, "Sources and

[This rhetoric] was written [i.e., copied] in the year 7207 [1699] in the month of July by the student Vasilii Sokhinskii.” This note must be referring only to the final part of the manuscript since the text is actually written in various hands.

21. Title also appears in Latin: *Reginae Palatium Eloquentiae. Exercitationes oratoriae. Expositio lucidissima universae Rhetoricae facultatis ab Ioannicio sacromonacho Lichudi peccatore facta*. RGB, f. 173 (Moskovskaia Dukhovnaia Akademiia), op. 1, no. 329 (Grech. 184), dated on p. 3 as “Sept. 2, 1712” (of the beginning of writing—I cite this source by page rather than folio, following Ioannikios’s original pagination). An autograph of Ioannikios, the text is in Greek (the learned [*logia*] archaicizing version of the seventeenth century with numerous glosses and variants from demotic Greek) and Latin on opposing pages. The Latin version (containing large verbatim borrowings from Pelletier’s *Reginae palatium eloquentiae*) breaks off on p. 72 and appears in many places to be a condensed version of the Greek. For example, where the Greek says “kata ton Platona, hostis men hypergeros tosouton spoudaios, tou Sokratous mathetes, oson de sophos tou Aristotelous didaskalos, ten rhetorikon psychagogon onomasen, epeideper o rhetor agei tas psychas te kai kardias ton anthropon, kampton hopoi an bouletai, dia tes rhetorikes dynameos,” the Latin version just reads “secundum Platonem, qui quidem senex tam studiosus Socratis discipulus, quam doctus Aristotelis praeceptor, artem voluit esse flexanimam.” In other words, the Latin text does not contain the explanation of the Greek word *psychagogos* (guide of the soul) that appears in the Greek text (ibid., 15–17). I have also consulted the following copies of Ioannikios’s work: RGB, f. 173 (Moskovskaia Dukhovnaia Akademiia), op. 1, no. 324 (In. 3149), dated to the beginning of the eighteenth century, which contains the rhetoric’s second book on elocution in Greek and Latin; and RGB, f. 173 (Moskovskaia Dukhovnaia Akademiia), op. 3, no. 3, dated to the beginning of the eighteenth century, which contains, in Greek and Russian parallel texts, the fourth book (see Ialamas, “Filologicheskaia deiatel’nost,” 119–20, for the identification of these manuscripts with Ioannikios’s rhetoric). In both of these latter copies, the text has several gaps in at least one of the languages used. Finally, Ioannikios’s rhetoric survives also in Slavonic translation: *Palata tsarskogo blagoiazychiia* . . . (RNB, Sofiiskoe Sobranie, n. 1557), dated after 1712. On Ioannikios’s rhetoric, see also Voznesenskaia, “Rukopisnye uchebniki brat’ev Likhudov,” 372–73.

22. Smelovskii, “Brat’ia Likhudy,” esp. 77ff. Sergei Smirnov repeated this argument in his *Istoriia moskovskoi Slaviano-greko-latinskoi akademii*, 51–56. Ialamas has questioned Smirnov’s assessment but without offering any evidence. See his “Dva neopublikovannykh panegirika,” 210.

23. Smelovskii, “Brat’ia Likhudy,” 77–78. For an overview of the literature on the issue of the similarities between the two brothers’ works, see Mamontova, “Ritorika’ Sofroniia Likhuda,” 53–62.

24. See Ialamas, “Filologicheskaia deiatel’nost,” 26, citing Pisarev, *Domashnii byt russkikh patriarkhov*, 197–98. I checked Pisarev’s book itself, but from the way he presents the quotation from the source, it is not immediately clear whether the characterization “Greek” belongs to Pisarev himself or to his source.

25. For example, see the references to the *Candidatus*, in Sophronios’s rhetoric: EVE 3323, ff. 130–32v.

26. From here on I give both the Greek and the Latin terms as they appear in the manuscript. When the Latin term is not given, this means the corresponding Latin text is missing (that is, it does not exist in the manuscript) or the Greek term is used in the Latin text as well.

27. RGB, f. 173, op. 1, no. 329 (Grech. 184), pp. 5–6.

28. Ibid., pp. 11–12. The terms “directs” and “construct” are authorial insertions into the text above the line. The Latin text reads: “Rhetorica quippe dirigit perfectitque intellectum, ut acute invenire, recte dividere, vite definire, accurate diiudicare, sua confirmare, aliena refellere, suasque orationes ac sermones perficere, ut non confuse, sed distincte, clare et ornate proferatur.” Interestingly, Sophronios gives the very same definition for logic in his manual of logic. RNB f. 906, Grech. 152, pp. 3–4.

29. “aeiper te Aristotelike didaskalia hepomenoi, hostis phosteros diken, ten oikoumenen agnosia kratoumenen, ephotisen.” RGB, f. 173, op. 1, no. 329 (Grech. 184), p. 15.

30. Ibid., 13–15.

31. Aristotle’s formulation reads: “esto de rhetorike dynamis peri ekaston tou theoresai to endechomenon pithanon.” See Aristotle, *The Art of Rhetoric*, 1.2.2.

32. RGB, f. 173, op. 1, no. 329 (Grech. 184), pp. 16–18. Cf. Pelletier, *Reginae palatium eloquentiae*, 2.

33. RGB, f. 173, op. 1, no. 329 (Grech. 184), pp. 18–20. The Latin text reads: “Nos autem dicimus, definiendo, Rhetoricam esse doctrinam, vel artem bene concinne, ornateque dicendi docentem.” This is the Ciceronian definition of rhetoric. See Pelletier, *Reginae palatium eloquentiae*, 2.

are indications that the Leichoudes taught their students Orthodox chanting and that they had them display such skills in front of the patriarch on several occasions. See Ialamas, “Filologicheskai deiatel’nost’,” 24–25.

46. As examples, the author refers to the Holy Spirit guiding the children to praise Christ and inspiring Kerykos, the son of Ioulitte, who spoke the name of Christ in front of Alexander, the leader of Tarsos in Kilikia, p. 88. On Kerykos and Ioulitte, see Sophronios Eustratiades, *Hagiologion tes Orthodoxou Ekklesias*, 250–52 (they are commemorated on July 15 in the Greek Orthodox Church). Ioannikios also notes that the power of divine rhetoric was different from that of Orpheus, p. 89. This mixing of the Christian and mythological elements in the exposition of Ioannikios, a trait common in Western European education, must have sounded quite novel to at least some members of the Leichoudes’ Muscovite audience. Cf. Caussin, *De eloquentia sacra*, 1–3.

47. Literally, “it is not fitting for it to be referred to by any means in the interpretations of the art [of rhetoric]” (*ouk harmodion esti kat’ oudena tropon en tais hermeneiais tes technes anapheresthai*). The word *hermeneia* here has the meaning of commentary, manual on a specific art. RGB, f. 173, op. 1, no. 329 (Grech. 184), p. 90.

48. Despite Ioannikios’s promise to speak about judicial rhetoric, he appears mostly to skirt the subject throughout his work, most likely because he understood that it would be of little use in Russia’s court system of the time.

49. RGB, f. 173, op. 1, no. 329 (Grech. 184), pp. 88–90.

50. It will be recalled that the first three are functions of *mimesis* (imitation); as a note on p. 91 alerts the reader, there has been already a brief discussion of these three earlier on.

51. *Ibid.*, pp. 92–93. A marginal note on p. 92 reads: “hōde anagnosteon to tou Herakleiotou Zeuxipou exairetou zographou peri mimeseos paradeigma” (at this point should be read the example on imitation concerning the excellent painter Zeuxipos from Herakleia). The note suggests that in the part of the text starting with *peri mimeseos* there is a sort of interruption of the text’s flow containing notes of the author to himself as well parts of the rhetoric to be taught later on.

52. Students are advised to study the encomiums of famous orators on trifling subjects as simple exercises in speech writing rather than as serious attempts at praise. Ioannikios cites as examples Virgil’s encomium of the mosquito and Catullus’s of the parrot, among others. *Ibid.*, pp. 97–98. On the pedagogical use of such praises of trivial subjects in the Jesuit curriculum, see Battistini, “I manuali di retorica,” 95–96.

53. RGB, f. 173, op. 1, no. 329 (Grech. 184), p. 98. This is one of the few references by the author to a judicial speech, again characterized by brevity and lack of elaboration.

54. *Ibid.*, p. 98.

55. *Ibid.* It is unclear what Ioannikios has in mind by referring to logographers. In Aristotle’s *Rhetoric* logographers are the composers of judicial speeches for a fee. The preceding reference to a judicial speech by Ioannikios would suggest that this is the meaning of the word here too. It is possible, however, that the term refers to any speech writer, both classical and Christian. For instance, in the *Enkyklopaideia Philologike* of Ioannes Patousas, 4 vols. (Venice, 1710), one of the popular humanities teaching manual in Greek schools of the eighteenth century, vol. 3 is devoted to “logographers” and includes speeches by Lysias, Plutarch, Synesius, Basil the Great, Isocrates, Maximus of Tyrus, et cetera. See Karathanases, *He Phlangineios schole*, 188. As for *protasis*, although Ioannikios does not define it, from the context it is obvious that it corresponds to the Aristotelian *prothesis*, that is, the statement of proposition in the beginning of a speech.

56. Since there is always the danger of exaggeration and ridicule in allegory, students are advised to employ it only after they have had some experience in speech writing. RGB, f. 173, op. 1, no. 329 (Grech. 184), p. 100.

57. *Ibid.*, pp. 101–2. This distinction harkens back to the Aristotelian distinction between *entechmoi* and *atechmoi pisteis*, that is “artistic” (created by the speaker) and “non-artistic” (preexisting and adopted by the speaker) proofs or means of persuasion.

58. *Ibid.*, p. 103.

59. *Ibid.*, pp. 106–7.

60. A note in Italian above the word *aselgeias* reads: *contra naturam con la moglie* (unnatural act with the wife).

61. *Ibid.*, pp. 108–9, quote p. 109. Ioannikios dryly adds: “From the aforesaid now you know the effects of drunkenness and the whole cause of them.” Cf. Sophronios’s sample speech on drunkenness with reference to “common topics,” in RNB, f. 906, Grech. 506, ll. 115–17. Smentsovskii also

72. Conley, *Rhetoric in the European Tradition*, 154–55.

73. For a discussion of the emotional and aesthetic effects in sixteenth- and seventeenth-century rhetoric (focusing mostly on English examples), see Debora Shuger, “Sacred Rhetoric” 121–42. On the grand style, see Fumaroli, *L'âge de l'éloquence*, 147–48, 155; and esp. with regard to preaching in the seventeenth century, Manuel Morán and José Andrés-Gallego, “The Preacher,” 126–59.

74. See the remarks of Dainville, “L'évolution de l'enseignement,” 194–95; Vickers, “On the Practicalities,” esp. 136–37, and in more detail, his *In Defence of Rhetoric*, esp. 282–93. In Gerard Pelletier's *Reginae palatium eloquentiae* elocution is even treated in the first place: see Scaglione, *The Liberal Arts*, 125.

75. I use the term elocution in its Renaissance and Baroque meaning of the third part of rhetoric that deals with questions of style. Ancient Greek rhetoricians had used the terms *lexis* or *phrasis* to refer to the part of rhetoric dealing with style. Since his rhetoric is based on prototypes primarily written in Latin, Ioannikios translates the term *elocutio* with the novel (in Greek rhetoric) term *euphradeia*. On elocution, see Donker and Muldrow, *Dictionary of Literary-Rhetorical Conventions*, s.v. “Elocutio”; also, Vickers, *In Defence of Rhetoric*, 282–86.

76. RGB, f. 173, op. 1, no. 329 (Grech. 184), p. 121. A note on the lower margin reads: “apophansis esti logos t' alethes e to pseudes semainon, synistamene ex onomatos kai rhematos, hoion anthropos esti zoon. eti apophansis esti gnome tinos anthropou, hoion ho Arethas en te Apok[alyptosei], ke [that is, chapter 25 of Arethas's work], physikos de thanatos esti chorismos tes psyches apo tou somatos, kata ten aparaiteton apophasin tou pantokratoros theou” (a pronouncement [assertion or declaration] is an account signifying the true or the false, comprising of a noun and a verb, as for example, man is animal. Also, pronouncement is the opinion of any human, as for example by Arethas, in the [commentary to the] Apocalypse, [ch.] 25, [that] natural death is the separation of the soul from the body, according to the necessary pronouncement of the omnipotent God). On Arethas (ninth–tenth century), see *ODB* 1, s.v. “Arethas of Caesarea.” This reference is an example of Ioannikios's use of authors from the Middle Byzantine period.

77. RGB, f. 173, op. 1, no. 329 (Grech. 184), p. 121. Ioannikios is obviously copying his brother here; see the same remarks in Sophronios's rhetoric in RGB, f. 310, op. 2, no. 1013, ll. 54–54ob. Interestingly, the Leichoudes here do not follow Vlachos, whose second book is on disposition and not on elocution. See EVE, MPT 696, p. 364. Since books 2 to 4 of Ioannikios's treatise are in essence a copy of Sophronios's manual, hereafter I will be citing Sophronios's work only when deemed necessary, including for clarification of sources or for pointing out any significant divergence.

78. He does not specify which, but it is safe to assume that he has in mind Greek and Latin, ancient and medieval. Ioannikios refers only to *hellenismos*. Sophronios had also added *latinitas* (*latinstvo*). See RGB, f. 310, op. 2, no. 1013, l. 55. With the exception of this difference, the texts are otherwise identical.

79. The original reads: “to genos ton tropon ditton estin, allo men esti ekeinon ton tropon, hoitines en mia lexei ginontai. allo de estin ekeinon ton tropon hoitines en pollais lexeisin ginontai.” (The genus of the tropes is of two kinds, one constituted by those made in one word, another by those made in many words).

80. RGB, f. 173, op. 1, no. 329 (Grech. 184), pp. 122–27. The concepts of tropes and figures of speech were unknown to Aristotle but were developed by later rhetoricians and became major concerns in medieval rhetoric. See Aristotle, *On Rhetoric*, 307.

81. RGB, f. 173, op. 1, no. 329 (Grech. 184), p. 128.

82. By addition includes *epanalepsis* (repetition of word or phrase in the beginning of a sentence), *epistrophe* (repetition of a closing word or phrase at the end of sentences), *symploke* (combination of one or more instances of *epanalepsis* with one or more instances of *epistrophe*), *dipliasmos* (doubling), *polyptoton* (play upon words in different grammatical cases), *synonymia* (synonym use), and *polysyntheton* (repeated use of conjunctions to connect successive clauses). By reduction includes *synekdoche* (use of whole for part, or part for whole), *zeugnis* (joining many sentences to one verb only), *lysis* (use of loose sentence construction, without conjunctions). Finally, by similarity includes *paronomasia* (play upon words that sound similarly), *homoiototon* (use of words in the same case), *homoioteleuton* (use of words with similar endings), and *isokolon* (use of sentences with equal length).

83. RGB, f. 173, op. 1, no. 329 (Grech, 184), pp. 130–31.

84. *Ibid.*, pp. 129–30. For the praise of education, see the equivalent text in Sophronios's manual, RGB, f. 310, op. 2, no. 1013, l. 64.

the sciences.” RGB, f. 173, op. 1, no. 329 (Grech. 184), pp. 189–90; cf. the same example in Sophronios, RGB, f. 310, op. 2, no. 1013, ll. 98ob.

98. One wonders how aware Ioannikios was of the contemporary efforts by Peter toward a more meritocratic system in state service.

99. RGB, f. 173, op. 1, no. 329 (Grech. 184), pp. 194–96, discussion of the maxim on p. 195; cf. in Sophronios, RGB, f. 310, op. 2, no. 1013, ll. 101–101ob.

100. One should note here the Aristotelian echoes of the eternal *nous* (mind), which becomes God in Christianity.

101. RGB, f. 173, op. 1, no. 329 (Grech. 184), pp. 196.

102. There were many of them, he says, both Greeks and Latins (*ouchi monon Graikoi alla kai Latinoi*). Ibid., p. 197. The term here evidently does not include only those of the Sophistic movement, but any theoretician of rhetoric. Cf. in Sophronios, RGB, f. 310, op. 2, no. 1013, ll. 108–13; Sophronios’s discussion is more extensive.

103. These are *ex enantiou* (from opposites), *ekthesis* (exposition), *synkrisis ton elattonon ptaismaton* (comparison of the minor transgressions), *gnome (ekousios kakourgia)* (judgment, voluntary evil act), *parekvasis* (digression), *eleous ekvole* (banishment of pity), *nomimon* (legal), *dikaion* (just), *sympheron* (advantageous), and *dynaton* (possible). RGB, f. 173, op. 1, no. 329 (Grech. 184), pp. 197–203. Aphthonius (late fourth–early fifth century) was a rhetorician from Antioch, author of, among other works, the rhetorical exercises known as *Progymnasmata*, which were extremely popular among teachers of rhetoric in both Byzantium and Renaissance Europe. On Aphthonius, see ODB 1, s.v. “Aphthonios”; see also Rabe, *Aphthonii Progymnasmata*; for an English translation of the *Progymnasmata*, see Nadeau, “The Progymnasmata of Aphthonius”; on the use of the *Progymnasmata* in rhetorical instruction, see Clark, “The Rise and Fall of Progymnasmata.”

104. This advice is given within the context of discussing *ex enantiou* (from opposites).

105. Nevertheless, one could still argue that Ioannikios offered his students guidance on how to compose speeches useful for any adversarial situation.

106. RGB, f. 173, op. 1, no. 329 (Grech. 184), pp. 203–7. At the end of the example on the rebel, there is one of those few instances in which it is possible to get a glimpse of the pedagogical methods of the Leichoudes, admittedly not a very attractive one. After reminding the students that they should study repeatedly the various enhancement techniques so as to assimilate them, Ioannikios adds: “whoever among you overlooks continuous study of them [i.e., the techniques] will not become a rhetor but an ass [*onarion*], as I have told in other places both the archhierarch [i.e., Metropolitan Iov] and all of you. And may this [warning] be for your final correction and understanding.” Ibid., pp. 207–207(1).

107. For *anaskeue*: “undermining the trustworthiness of the opposing speaker,” “description of the matter at hand,” *ek tou asaphous eite avevaiou* (from the vague or uncertain), *ek tou apistou eite apithanou* (from the unproven or unlikely), *ek tou adynatou eite dyskoulou* (from the impossible or difficult), *ek tou anepomenou eite anakolouthou* (from the non-following or inconsistent), *ek tou aprepous* (from the indecent), *ek tou anophelous eite asymphorou* (from the non-beneficial or unprofitable). For *kataskeue*: *phaneron* (obvious), *piston* (proved), *dynaton* (possible), *akolouthon* (that which follows), *prepon* (appropriate), *ophelimon e sympheron* (beneficial or advantageous). Ibid., p. 207(3).

108. Ibid., pp. 208–14 and 216–221(1), respectively. Cf. in Sophronios, RGB, f. 310, op. 2, no. 1013, ll. 117–20ob.

109. RGB, f. 173, op. 1, no. 329 (Grech. 184), pp. 210–11.

110. Ibid., pp. 212–13.

111. Ibid., p. 213.

112. Ibid., p. 217.

113. Ibid., pp. 218–19.

114. *Laurus nobilis*, the laurel.

115. Ibid., pp. 219–20.

116. Ibid., pp. 221(1)–43. Ioannikios distinguishes between phonetic, active, and mixed *chreia*. Also, *chreia* can be enhanced according to the following outline: *ek tou enkomiasitikou* (from the praiseful), *paraphrastikou* (through more detailed explanation), *aitias* (from cause), *ex enantiou* (from opposites), *ek paravoles e homoioy* (from comparison or similarity), *ek paradeigmatos* (from example), *martyrias ton palaion* (from testimony of ancients), *vracheos epilougou* (from a brief epilog). Ibid., p. 221(2). Cf. in Sophronios, RGB, f. 310, op. 2, no. 1013, ll. 122ff.

117. RGB, f. 173, op. 1, no. 329 (Grech. 184), pp. 243–50. The author provides the following categories of *gnome*: *protreptike* (hortatory), *apotreptike* (preventive, dissuading, deterring), *angelitike*

129. Ibid., p. 251. The constitutive parts of a speech are *prooimion* (proemium), *diegesis* (narration), *epilogos* (epilogue). Cf. in Sophronios, RGB, f. 310, op. 2, no. 1013, ll. 130ob.

130. RGB, f. 173, op. 1, no. 329 (Grech. 184), pp. 252–55. Ioannikios also briefly discusses the parts of the proemium itself (although he notes that there is no common agreement among the rhetoricians on this point) and provides a list of defects that students are told to avoid in proemiums: these are *chydaion* (commonplace), *koinon* (common, i.e., that is one that can be used for and against), *metavolikon* (“one that denotes the change according to place”), *makry* (long drawn out), *kechorismenon* (separated), *metephermenon he metakomisthen* (transferred or moved, i.e., one that does not fit the matter at hand), *enantion ton kanonon* (against the rules, hence it does not win over the listener). On the other hand, the virtues of a proemium are subsumed under the headings of *posotes* (perfect length) and *poiotes* (organized in such manner that it leads in a clever way to the main narration).

131. This is one more of those fleeting references to a judicial speech and setting. It seems out of place here, although one could justify its mention since Ioannikios speaks generally about the proemiums.

132. RGB, f. 173, op. 1, no. 329 (Grech. 184), pp. 256–57.

133. Ibid., p. 259.

134. Ibid., pp. 262–63. Another example is that of Dio’s *Olympian*, pp. 260–61. On Lucian and Dio, see Hornblower and Spawforth, *The Oxford Classical Dictionary*, s.v. “Lucian” and s.v. “Dio Cocceianus.”

135. RGB, f. 173, op. 1, no. 329 (Grech. 184), pp. 264–65. Other examples include the battle of Marathon, a funeral oration, and a story from Pausanias. Ibid., pp. 263–69.

136. Ibid., pp. 270–71. This example is abstract and contains no concrete references.

137. Ibid., pp. 271–72.

138. Ibid., pp. 273–76. The kinds of narration are *prote kai kyria* (main narration, which includes all important information), *antidiegesis* (opposite narration, i.e., one that differs from a regular narration), *merike diegesis* (one that focuses on the parts of an event), *paradiegesis*, *hypodiegesis* (“a narration that is attached to the main issue that needs to be proven”), *katadiegesis*, *epidiegesis* (a narration that offers additional information on something treated beforehand), and *diaskeue*. Ioannikios suggests as the best strategy in an epideictic (encomiastic) speech the use of *katadiegesis* (“the whole speech is narrative”) and *diaskeue* (“which does not so much explain as enhance [i.e., embellish] things”). Ibid., p. 276. Some of the examples are quite interesting. As an illustration of *paradiegesis* (“which introduces some things to the events that are outside of the matter at hand, but still not useless for supporting the matter at hand”), Ioannikios says: “as when somebody could talk about the apostasy of Mazepa, that is, [talk about] some details concerning his ambushes and deceptions” (ibid., pp. 274–75). Ivan Mazepa (1639–1709) was hetman of the Left-Bank Ukraine. While the Northern War (1700–1721) was in progress, Mazepa switched his loyalties from Peter the Great in 1707–1708 and supported Russia’s enemies, Sweden and Poland.

139. As is the case with the proemium, the author also refers to potential defects of narration: length, ambivalent meanings, repetitiveness, et cetera. He offers the following example of ambivalent use of words: “phasi ton Leopoldon tous Tourkous nikesai en touto to polemo.” The ambivalence arises here out of the fact that both the subject and the object of the infinitive are in the accusative (which is grammatically correct, as far as Greek is concerned). Thus, this sentence can be read either as “they say that Leopold defeated the Turks in this war” or “they say that the Turks defeated Leopold in this war.” Ibid., 277.

140. These are clarity, concreteness, precise choice of words, and so on. It is interesting to note here that Ioannikios advocates choosing words that are common and understandable to all, and also ones that are specific (*idia*) to the matter at hand. Hence, his advice is to seek out words in the works of speech writers of old times (*logographoi*). Ibid., p. 280.

141. These are respectively: the account of the provenance of the rose as it appears in the myth of Adonis and Aphrodite (ibid., p. 282—borrowed from Aphthonius); the account of the war between Cyrus and Tomiris (283–85); the story of two women defacing themselves in order to escape violation (285–87); and an excerpt from one of Cicero’s orations (287–89).

142. Cf. in Sophronios, RGB, f. 310, op. 2, no. 1013, ll. 162ob. ff.

143. RGB, f. 173, op. 1, no. 329 (Grech. 184), pp. 289–96. Once again, Ioannikios provides some interesting examples, which presumably were clear to the students since they were culled from the reality around them. Thus, Ioannikios defines *paradeigma* as “an imperfect induction in which we argue from one similar thing to the other” and offers the following example: “Athanasios

extant: see Likhachev, *Slovar' knizhnikov i knizhnosti*, s.v. "Likhudy Ioannikii (1633–1717) i Sofronii (1652–1730)," esp. 302.

166. *Ibid.*, p. 355.

167. See below, chapter 6, for Leichoudian rhetoric in practice.

Notes to Chapter Five

1. This chapter is a modified version of Chrissidis, "A Jesuit Aristotle"; also published in Russian as "Aristotel' Iezuitov."

2. For treatments of Russian scientific education in the medieval and early modern periods, see Pekarskii, *Nauka i literatura*, esp. vol. 1; Raikov, *Ocherki po istorii*, esp. chs. 1–9; Rainov, *Nauka v Rossii*; Vucinich, *Science in Russian Culture*; Graham, *Science in Russia*, which focuses on the nineteenth and twentieth centuries.

3. See Likhachev's *Slovar' knizhnikov i knizhnosti* and Raikov's *Ocherki po istorii*, in particular, for this estimation.

4. Of course, this list is far from complete. For example, the materials contained in various *florilegia* (compilations of excerpts from various writings) and miscellanies, once studied, might potentially provide new sources.

5. For publication of sources and interpretative treatments, see Milkov and Polianskii, *Kosmologicheskie proizvedeniia*; the contributions in Barankova, *Drevnerusskaia kosmologiya*; Gromov and Mil'kov, *Ideinye techeniia drevnerusskoi mysli*, and Gromov and Mil'kov, *Filosofskie i bogoslovskie idei*. For a discussion that combines textual, visual, and material sources, see Caudano, "Let There Be Lights." On the *Shestodnev*, see Ioann, *Shestodnev Ioanna ekzarkha Bolgarskogo*, and Likhachev, *Slovar' knizhnikov i knizhnosti*, s.v. "Shestodnevny"; on the *Izborniki*, see *ibid.*, s.v. "Izbornik 1073 g" and "Izbornik 1076 g"; on the *Christian Topography*, see *ibid.*, s.v. "Khristianskaia Topografiia Kozmy Indikoplova"; on *Lutsidarius*, see *ibid.*, s.v. "Lutsidarius"; on the *Khronika*, see *ibid.*, s.v. "Khronika Martina Bel'skogo"; on cosmographies, see *ibid.*, s.v. "Kosmografiia"; on the *Selenographia*, see Rainov, *Nauka v Rossii*, 438–48; on the *Kniga Enokha*, see Likhachev, *Slovar' knizhnikov i knizhnosti*, s.v. "Apokrif o Enokhe," and on the *Prenie*, see Ševčenko, "Remarks on the Diffusion," 337; on the excerpts in *Zlatoust* and in *Paleia*, see Vodolazkin, "K voprosu," where the author concludes that the Arabic terms are mainly of a decorative character, and do not necessarily suggest direct contact with an Arabic cultural milieu. For the quality of translations, see the remarks of Raikov concerning *Lutsidarius* in *Ocherki po istorii*, 19–20. On questions of text circulation and accessibility, see *ibid.*, ch. 3, and Ryan, *The Bathhouse at Midnight*, ch. 15. For references to astronomical phenomena (lunar eclipses, et cetera) in Russian chronicles, see Sviatskii, *Astronomicheskie iavleniia*. For a linguistic study of the Russian translation of Abraham Ortelius, *Theatrum Orbis Terrarum* (first published 1595), see Kosta, *Eine Russische Kosmographie*.

6. See Koyré, *From the Closed World*; Grant, *Planets, Stars, and Orbs*; Osler, *Reconfiguring the World*.

7. On the Thomist framework of Leichoudian natural philosophy, see Zubov, "Fizika' Aristotelia," 642–46. Scholars have indicated that the Thomism of Jesuits was eclectic, and that it incorporated both nominalist elements and also more recent scientific advances. See Murphy, "Jesuit Rome and Italy," 74; Caruana, "The Jesuits"; Cessario, *A Short History of Thomism*, 76–77.

8. Since the sixth century CE, the term *Organon* signified the sum of Aristotle's logical writings: *Categoriae* (*Categories*), *De interpretatione* (*On Interpretation*), *Analytica Priora* (*Prior Analytics*), *Analytica Posteriora* (*Posterior Analytics*), *Topica* (*Topics*) and *Sophistici Elenchi* (*Sophistical refutations*).

9. See Scaglione, *The Liberal Arts*, 87; Farrell, *The Jesuit Code*, 343, referring to the *Ratio Studiorum* of 1599, which remained essentially unchanged until 1832; Brockliss, *French Higher Education*, 337, for the curriculum of French educational institutions, including Jesuit; Hellyer, *Catholic Physics*, 72–89, for Jesuit schools in Germany; Baldini, "Levoluzione della 'fisica,'" esp. 245–47, for the initial distinction between a commentary and a manual, which was blurred in the seventeenth century. For Aristotle's natural philosophy, see Ross, *Aristotle*, ch. 3; Barnes, *Cambridge Companion to Aristotle*, esp. chs. 4–5, with references to selected bibliography.

10. See above, chapter 3, for Fedor Polikarpov's statements. Leichoudian manuscripts themselves furnish additional evidence. In an introductory note to one of his manuscripts, Ioannikios makes a statement to the effect that he will proceed to teaching natural philosophy having already

Moses Maimonides's work. In the sixteenth century, when John Damascene's *Fountain of Knowledge* was rendered anew into Church Slavonic, the translator felt the need to append a translation of parts of Johann Spangenberg's *Trivii Erotemata* . . . (first published Wittenberg, 1542), in order to help the reader cope with the nature and use of the syllogistic method. Interest in logic appears to have picked up after the mid-seventeenth century and is associated, as in the case of rhetoric, with the arrival of Ukrainian and Belarusian emigrant monks at the Muscovite court. On logic in Russia, see Popov, Simonov, and Stiazhkin, "Logicheskie znaniia na Rusi"; Simonov and Stiazhkin, "Istoriko-logicheskii obzor"; Popov, Simonov, and Stiazhkin, "O kharaktere logicheskogo znaniia"; Anellis, "Theology against Logic," a largely compilatory article, which is to be used with great caution, especially since it abounds in typographical and other errors. On the logic of the "Judaizers," see Parain, "La logique dite des Judaisants"; on the Slavonic translation from Spangenberg's work, see Eismann, *O silogizme vytolkovano*; for the Slavonic translation of John Damascene's *Fountain of Knowledge*, see Weiher, *Die Dialektik*.

17. The manuscripts containing Sophronios's logic are (1) Manuscript RGB, f. 173 (Moskovskaia Dukhovnaia Akademiia), op. 1, no. 300 (Grech. 182), dated 1690–1691, in Greek, Sophronios's autograph. According to Boris Fonkich, ll. 183ob.–186ob. and 194–240ob. were written by Sophronios in 1669 and subsequently bound into the manuscript in Moscow; (2) Manuscript RGB, f. 173 (Moskovskaia Dukhovnaia Akademiia), op. 1, no. 299 (Grech. 183), dated 1690–1691, in Greek. It contains the complete version of Sophronios's logic. According to Fonkich, the scribe was Nikolai Semenov Golovin; (3) Manuscript RNB, f. 906, Grech. 152 (dated December 1690). It contains parts of Sophronios's logic in Greek on pp. 1–350, and in Latin on pp. 391–532, as well as excerpts from Ioannikios's physics. It was probably written by one of the Leichoudian students. See Fonkich, "Greskoe knigopisanie v Rossii," 49–50; Ramazanova, "Brat'ia Likhudy," 54–56.

18. See the description of a copy of Vlachos's treatise in Camariano-Cioran, "Kodikies periechontes didaktika encheiridia," 3:16–28, esp. 23–26 (the manuscript is dated 1784). Tatakis has also provided a description and extensive quotations from another manuscript (dated 1653) that contains only the discussion of specific epistemological issues concerning logic. See Tatakis, *Gerasimos Vlachos*, 96–133. As is the case with many of his works, Vlachos's logic remains unpublished.

19. Toletus, *Introductio in Dialecticam Aristotelis*. I have used the edition published in Venice, 1588. Toletus also authored a commentary on specific questions concerning logic titled *Commentaria una cum quaestionibus in universam Aristotelis Logicam* . . . (Rome, 1572). I have used the edition published Cologne, 1607. On the publication history of Toletus's works, see Risse, *Bibliographia Philosophica Vetus*. On Toletus's logical teaching, see Risse, *Die Logik der Neuzeit*, 1:382–85; Schmitt et al., *Cambridge History of Renaissance Philosophy*, 163–64; Roncaglia, *Palaestra Rationis*, 117, 119, 223–25; Ashworth, *Language and Logic*, 19–20.

20. Cf., for example, the discussion of whether logic is properly a science (*scientia*) in the sense of an autonomous discipline with its own subject of study and rules of investigation: Toletus, *Commentaria*, 7–8; Tatakis, *Gerasimos Vlachos*, 110–13; Sophronios: RGB, f. 173, op. 1, no. 299 (Grech. 183), ll. 43ob.–46.

21. RGB, f. 173, op. 1, no. 299 (Grech. 183), l. 4; cf. the Latin version of Sophronios's logic: RNB, f. 906, Grech. 152, p. 394.

22. Cf. Vandoulakes, "Apo te Venetia ste Moscha," 32–38; Vandoulakes, "Materialy dlia izhucheniiia," 353–56. Vandoulakes points out the Leichoudes' debt to Vlachos on logic and also its scholastic character, but does not refer to any Jesuit influences.

23. Garber and Ayers, *Cambridge History*, 1:105–6.

24. See Blum, "Der Standardkurs."

25. RGB, f. 173, op. 1, no. 311 (In. 3137), l. 2–2ob. For a summary of Leichoudian philosophy, see Shkurinov, *Filosofia Rossii XVIII veka*, 52–56. Shkurinov's account is unreliable since it is based mostly on the secondary literature regarding the Academy. The only Leichoudian manuscript he cites extensively is a Latin anthology of philosophical definitions and terms (in essence, a philosophical dictionary) that dates from the pre-Muscovite period of the Leichoudes' life (RGB, f. 173, [Moskovskaia Dukhovnaia Akademiia], op. 1, no. 302 [In. 3129]: *Apanthisma philosophicum per quaestiones ac resolutiones Sophronii Lichoudae Cephalleni sacromonachi Philosophiaeque ac Theologiae doctoris*). Based on the references in the philosophical dictionary, Shkurinov concludes that the Leichoudes were influenced by such diverse authors as Averroes, Thomas Aquinas, Peter Abelard, Duns Scotus, and Al-Farabi. He also asserts (without evidence) that a host of seventeenth-century authors such as Innokentii Gizel, Simeon Polotskii, and Iurii Krizanich also influenced Leichoudian philosophy.

40. Antonius Roccus (Rochus, Rocco, d. 1653) studied in the Jesuit Collegio Romano and in Padua under Cesare Cremonini. He served as professor of ethics in Venice and was influenced by Scotism. Fortunius Licetus (1577–1657) was professor of logic and physics in the University of Pisa and subsequently of philosophy in Padua (until 1637). Between 1637 and 1645, he taught philosophy at the University of Bologna, and from 1645 onward medicine in Padua. On Roccus, see Lohr, *Latin Aristotle Commentaries*, 2:388–89. On Licetus, see *ibid.*, 222–23; http://www.treccani.it/enciclopedia/fortunio-liceti_%28Dizionario-Biografico%29/.

41. Cottunius was himself a graduate of Saint Athanasius College. Edward Grant positions Cottunius among the scholastic predecessors of the authors he discusses extensively (the last of which is Melchior Cornaeus, whose *Curriculum philosophiae peripateticae* was published in 1657). See Grant, *In Defense of the Earth's Centrality*, 17n53. Cottunius's *Commentarii in IV Libros De Caelo una cum quaestionibus* was published in 1653. *De Mundo* does refer to Riccioli's work *Almagestum Novum* (1651), but not to Cornaeus. As already mentioned, Ioannikios "wrote" the text in 1663. Thus, the period in which *De Mundo* was "authored" can possibly be narrowed down to between 1651 and 1663. Potentially, *De Mundo* could actually have been influenced by Cottunius's ideas. Certainly, Cottunius's work is a detailed commentary on Aristotle's original, whereas *De Mundo* is much less detailed and takes the form of a manual for use in schools; thus, it uses the pattern of thesis, response, and objection found in scholastic manuals of the seventeenth century. The author of *De Mundo* is quick to emphasize points of agreement between Eastern Orthodox and Roman Catholic tenets of the faith wherever he can find them (see below), a trait found in many of Cottunius's works. According to Tsirpanles, Cottunius was on good terms both with the Roman Catholic Church and with the Orthodox circles of Venice and Padua; he does not appear to have thought of the two churches as irreconcilable, although the specifics of such a stance are not clear from Tsirpanles's account. See *Hoi Makedones spoudastes*, 146–47 and 154–55. A word of caution is in order here: any pronouncement on the possible debt of *De Mundo* to Cottunius is merely guesswork since Cottunius's works have not been extensively studied, not even by Italian scholars who have written on Aristotelianism in Padua. See, for example, Poppi, *Introduzione all'aristotelismo padovano*. On the spread of Cottunian philosophy among intellectual circles in the Ottoman Empire, see Küçük, "Natural Philosophy and Politics."

42. It is interesting to note that the title of *De Mundo* appears to be closest to the titles of similar commentaries in Latin produced by Jesuits in Spain, the Spanish-speaking world, and Portugal. See Lohr, *Latin Aristotle Commentaries*, vol. 2.

43. The works are typical in terms of their overall Aristotelian framework and scholastic in terms of their methodology, i.e., the "systematic and sequential commentary or . . . systematic formulation of questions based on a specific text." See Grant, *In Defense of the Earth's Centrality*, 3–4. The characterizations typical and scholastic should not be taken to imply total uniformity of either questions posed or answers given. See also Schmitt, *Aristotle and the Renaissance*, esp. ch. 1, where the author speaks of "Renaissance Aristotelianisms"; Reif, "The Textbook Tradition," esp. 19–20.

44. Koursoulas consistently exhibited the same preference for Simplicius in his other works, as well. He singled out Simplicius because of the latter's belief in the soul's immortality. See Koursoulas's comments in an excerpt from his physics commentary in Legrand, *Bibliographie hellénique*, 5:266–68; also, Benakes, "He cheirographe paradoxe," 153–54. A pagan Neoplatonist, Simplicius (sixth century CE) believed in the eternity of the world and attacked his contemporary Christian Ioannes Philoponos on this account. Alexander of Aphrodisias (c. 200 CE) wrote extensively on Aristotle's works and influenced their medieval interpretations. See Audi, *Cambridge Dictionary of Philosophy*, s.v. "Simplicius," "Johannes Philoponos," "Alexander of Aphrodisias."

45. On Christopher Clavius, the preeminent Jesuit mathematician in the late sixteenth century, see Lattis, *Between Copernicus and Galileo*; Baldini, "Cristoforo Clavio"; on Aversa, Scheiner, and Riccioli, see primarily Grant, *In Defense of the Earth's Centrality*, 3, 16, 21–2, 27, 29–31, 61–62 and 12 for the quote on Riccioli; also Grant, *Planets, Stars, and Orbs*.

46. This is mostly the case in the Latin treatise. It is not surprising that Thomas Aquinas was the favored medieval commentator, since the Jesuits were, generally speaking, staunch proponents of his theological and philosophical views. In the *Peri Ouranou*, when Latin and Arabic commentators are mentioned, they are usually, but not exclusively, referred to as a group, for example *hoi Latinoi* (the Latins), *hoi peri Thoman* (those around Thomas [Aquinas]), whether approvingly or disapprovingly. Indeed, the Greek treatise shows a clear preference for the Greek commentators and refers to Aristotle as "our Aristotle." To be sure, such pronouncements with regard to Aristotle were common among natural philosophers both in the Latin West and in the Greek East (usually, so that natural philosophers

attributes the downfall of the Leichoudes to their teaching such subjects. For an attempt at charting the Slavo-Greco-Latin Academy's instruction regarding the cosmos in the beginning of the eighteenth century, see Panibrattsev, "Ideia mirozdanii."

52. In this way, both authors avoid the pitfalls of "double truth," one coming from reason and the other from faith. Koursoulas especially was known to be an implacable enemy of the theory of double truth. See Benakes, "He cheirotrophe paradose," 154–55, with references to Koursoulas's invectives against Theophilos Korydalleus, a major proponent of double truth in the Greek East.

53. RGB, f. 173, no. 303 (Grech. 186), ll. 99–103; RGB, f. 173, no. 319 (In. 3144), pp. 33–35. Both treatises posit that the heavens are a fifth element, or quintessence (l. 98 and pp. 39–40 respectively); *De Mundo* adds that the heavens and three elements share some qualities and accidents (the heat of the earth, the transparency of the water, and the light and warmth [of fire]) but proceeds to argue that these qualities and accidents are not shared in the same way (p. 40).

54. RGB, f. 173, no. 303 (Grech. 186), ll. 104–104ob.

55. RGB, f. 173, no. 319 (In. 3144), pp. 43–45. Almost all of these arguments go back to Aristotle's original argumentation. See Ross, *Aristotle*, ch. 3.

56. Ps. 102:25–26.

57. RGB, f. 173, no. 303 (Grech. 186), l. 105–105ob.

58. On the incorruptibility of the heavens, see Grant, "Were There Significant Differences"; and in more amplified form, "Celestial Incorruptibility."

59. Tycho Brahe (1546–1601) was a Danish astronomer whose studies of the New Star of 1572 and of the comet of 1577 had dealt a prominent blow to the assumptions of scholastic cosmology on celestial incorruptibility and on comets as sublunar phenomena. See Grant, "Celestial Incorruptibility," 108–9. On Tycho Brahe, see Dreyer, *Tycho Brahe*.

60. On the Jesuit Coimbra school of natural philosophy, whose collectively authored textbooks were extremely influential in the late sixteenth and throughout the seventeenth centuries, see Lohr, *Latin Aristotle Commentaries*, 2:98–99; Randles, "Le ciel chez les jésuites," 129–44.

61. This is one of the occasional instances in which *De Mundo* refers to the Eastern Orthodox faith. Another one occurs early on in the treatise where the author discusses the number of the worlds, and concludes that both the Orthodox and the Roman Catholic faiths teach us that we cannot deny God the power to make other worlds, although, since God is one, he made one cosmos. RGB, f. 173, no. 319 (In. 3144), pp. 4–7.

62. RGB, f. 173, no. 319 (In. 3144), pp. 46–48. Specifically on the nova of 1572, our author appears to be undecided: he cites other authors' defense of Tycho's discoveries, says it was a miracle, and finally admits that he cannot provide a final answer. On opacity and transparency as qualities of the heavens, see Grant, "Celestial Incorruptibility," 113–14.

63. RGB, f. 173, no. 319 (In. 3144), pp. 49–51. On comets as portents, see Viguerie, "L'influence des corps célestes." On comets in seventeenth-century Muscovite translations of Western texts, see Nikolaev, "Komety v perevodnoi literature." These translations overwhelmingly ascribed to comets the character of divine omens. On the variety of approaches to comets in Western Europe, see Schechner, *Comets*.

64. On the use of the "more likely" (*probabilius*) in natural philosophy textbooks, see Reif, "The Textbook Tradition," 30. Referring to the early seventeenth century, Lattis argues that "this expression of probability is characteristic of Jesuit philosophical teaching in the period and in contrast with the more absolutist Aristotelians of the sixteenth century." See *Between Copernicus and Galileo*, 76, citing William Wallace, "Galileo's Early Arguments for Geocentrism and His Later Rejection of Them," in *Novita celesti e crisi del sapere: Atti del Convegno Internazionale di Studi Galileiani*, ed. Paolo Galluzzi (Florence: Giunti Barbèra, 1984): 31–40. See also Hellyer, *Catholic Physics*, 46. Both *De Mundo* and *Peri Uranou* make frequent use of the expression in their arguments.

65. RGB, f. 173, no. 319 (In. 3144), pp. 51–53.

66. Actually, Aristotle had not provided a definitive answer on the issue. See Ross, *Aristotle*, 98.

67. RGB, f. 173, no. 319 (In. 3144), pp. 53–54.

68. *Ibid.*, 54–58.

69. *Ibid.*, 59–60.

70. RGB, f. 173, no. 303 (Grech. 186), ll. 99–102.

71. 2 Cor. 12:2.

72. RGB, f. 173, no. 303 (Grech. 186), ll. 109ob.–110.

73. *Ibid.* 107–8. Both treatises had already established that the heavens are inanimate.

90. See Schofield, “The Tychonic and Semi-Tychonic”; also, Schofield, *Tychonic and Semi-Tychonic*, 172–83 on the semi-Tychonic system, 264–308 for the religious aspects of the controversy, and esp. 277–89 for the Jesuit contributions; also, Howell, *God’s Two Books*, 73–108.

91. On the gradual acceptance of a version of the Tychonic system or its variants by the Jesuits, see Lattis, *Between Copernicus and Galileo*, 205–16; Lerner, “L’entrée de Tycho Brahe,” 145–85; Baroncini, “L’insegnamento della filosofia naturale,” 176–79; Russell, “Catholic Astronomers”; Schofield, “The Tychonic and Semi-Tychonic,” 41.

92. “Atque haec de Mundo, et Caelo sint satis, in quibus vix certi aliquod potest haberi, et saepe saepius divinare cogimur, cum vera ratione non suppetat, nec certus effectus.” RGB, f. 173, no. 319 (In. 3144), p. 78.

93. *Ibid.*, p. 73. Pages 73–78 contain plans of the planetary systems. Thus, the reference to the astronomers and the statement on guessing flank, so to speak, the plans.

94. See Boss, *Newton and Russia*, 79–80 (on the School of Mathematics and Navigation), and 234 for an argument that there was a “total absence in Russian society at the end of the seventeenth century of even the most rudimentary formal training in science and mathematics,” which however does not take into consideration the Academy’s teaching.

Notes to Chapter Six

1. Solov’ev, *Sochineniia*, 7:469–70; Smentsovskii, *Brat’ia Likhudy*, 25–32; Lappo-Danilevskii, *Istoriia russkoi obshchestvennoi mysli*, 210–28; Rogov, “Shkola i prosveshchenie.”

2. See Hall, *The Revolution in Science*, 117–46; Grant, *In Defense of the Earth’s Centrality*.

3. This distinction accords well with corresponding ones appearing in the *Privilegiia*, which also differentiated between religious and secular disciplines.

4. On the term “philosophy” in early Slavic literatures, see Ševchenko, “The Definition of Philosophy”; see also Mil’kov, “Opredeleniia filosofii Ioanna Damaskina,” 44–78; Franklin, “O ‘filosofakh’ i ‘filosofii’”; Franklin, *Writing, Society, and Culture*, 223–28. The following literature on Russian philosophy of the medieval and early modern periods utilizes the term “philosophy” very loosely and should be used with caution: see Nichik, *Iz istorii otechestvennoi filosofii*; Zamaleev, *Filosofskaia mysl’*; Zamaleev, *Lektsii po istorii*; Gromov, *Struktura i tipologiia*; Gromov and Kozlov, *Russkaia filosofskaia mysl’*; Hors’kyi, *Narysy z istorii*.

5. For a brief overview, see Raikov, *Ocherki po istorii*, ch. 3. See also Collis, “Maxim the Greek.”

6. On the *gromniki* and the *lunniki*, see Ryan, “Magic and Divination”; Ryan, *The Bathhouse at Midnight*, ch. 14.

7. As already noted, *Peri Ouranou* is followed by two mathematical tables containing the distances of the stars from the earth as well as measurements of the stars’ different positions for every twenty-four-hour period of the week. RGB, f. 173, no. 303 (Grech. 186), ll. 135–38.

8. As Raikov notes, the heliocentric system had been known in Russia since the translation of Joan Blaeu’s *Theatrum Orbis Terrarum sive Atlas Novus* (Amsterdam, 1645) by Epifanii Slavinetskii in the 1650s. Only one copy of the complete translation was apparently made, though its introductory cosmographical part (where Copernicus’s theory appears) is found separately in several copies from the end of the seventeenth century. *Ocherki po istorii*, ch. 5, esp. 84 and n3. Raikov does not seem to have worked firsthand with Leichoudian manuscripts and relies only on the secondary literature for his presentation of Leichoudian philosophy. As a result, he does not discuss the presence of the planetary systems in Leichoudian manuscripts.

9. This is not to downplay the religious dimensions of the problem. As already noted, *De Mundo* early on made a clear reference to Galileo’s condemnation of 1633. Still, it is interesting that this reference has come early on more as a safeguard.

10. On Polotskii’s sermons and poems, see Bushkovitch, *Religion and Society*, 170–71; Sazonova, *Literaturnaia kul’tura Rossii*; Kiseleva, *Intellektual’nyi vybor Rossii*. Members of the Russian court elite also had the opportunity to see the ceiling of the Kolomenskoe Palace, built by Tsar Aleksei Mikhailovich, which is reported to have been adorned by a painting depicting the heavenly spheres, planets, and stars. See Raikov, *Ocherki po istorii*, 77–78. See also Shustova, “Interpretatsiia simvoliki Zodiaka.”

11. Ialamas, “Filologicheskaiia deiatel’nost,” 24–25; also chapter 3 above.

12. This is a short speech in honor of Patriarch Ioakim by Petr Vasil’evich Postnikov (died after 1716), in which he makes reference to Pythagoras and Aristotle. See Likhachev, *Slovar’ knizhnikov i*

27. On the presence of the study of the natural world in the Jesuit curriculum, see chapter 5.
28. *Ibid.*, 221.
29. RGADA, f. 159, op. 2, d. 2991, ll. 352–61. The speech was in honor of Sophia on her name day, which also happened to be her birthday. The word used for “authored” is *izdano*, cf. Greek *ekdothen*, which could mean “written” as well as “published” at the time. Cf. Tatakis, *Gerasimos Vlachos*, 40n1. The Latin original has been published by Lermontova, “Pohval’noe slovo Likhudov.” Apparently, a Russian translation of the speech was made by Nicolae Milescu Spafarii at the time. See Ramazanova, “Brat’ia Likhudy,” 27–28.
30. RGADA, f. 159, op. 2, d. 2991, l. 329. After remarking that Ivan and Peter together with Sophia commanded that the Leichoudes be rewarded with a special gift and be given food from the palace, the note reads: “they appeared in front of the great lady and faithful Tsarevna and Great Princess Sophia Alekseevna in her chambers [*v komnote*]. And they delivered orations [*govorili ratsyi*] congratulating the great lady on September 16th of the present 7195 [1686] year.”
31. 1 Pet. 2:17.
32. Rom. 13:1
33. RGADA, f. 159, op. 2, d. 2991, ll. 352–55.
34. Here, Leichoudian knowledge of Muscovite wars stands on rather shaky ground. Aleksei Mikhailovich never waged war against the Ottomans, and fought their vassals, the Crimean Tatars, only when the Tatars were allied with the Poles.
35. According to Hughes (*Sophia Regent of Russia*, 197), the first Crimean campaign was announced on September 5, 1686. Hence the Leichoudes must have known about Sophia’s plans. On the foreign policy of Sophia’s government, see *ibid.*, 179–217.
36. RGADA, f. 159, op. 2, d. 2991, ll. 355–57.
37. The Latin equivalent is *urbanitas*. See Polikarpov, *Leksikon treiazhychnyi*, s.v. “grazhdanstvo.”
38. RGADA, f. 159, op. 2, d. 2991, l. 358. The Leichoudes elaborate on her charity and mercy by proclaiming that Sophia exceeds in them over all the other reigning queens of the time.
39. *Ibid.*, l. 359.
40. *Ibid.*, ll. 360–61. The last sentence can also be translated as “against the devil’s face who is hostile to Christian piety” although the word *vrazhii* usually is found together with the word *sila* when referring to the devil. The Latin text reads: “ac turrim fortitudinis a facie inimici Christianae pietatis.”
41. *Ibid.*, l. 361.
42. Hughes notes the almost exclusively religious imagery of the court panegyrics and poetry of the 1680s (*Sophia Regent of Russia*, 168–70), although her remarks should be restricted to the court literature with Sophia as its subject or addressee. The Leichoudes did utilize classical themes in speeches for Peter the Great as well as for other individuals of the royal family. See Smentsovskii, *Brat’ia Likhudy*, 305–8, for a discussion of the mixture of classical with religious themes.
43. The speech, in Slavonic, survives in the miscellany Vladimiro-Suzdal’skii muzei-zapovednik, no. Kr-388/B-5636/112 (Sbornik slov pokhval’nykh), end of the seventeenth century, ll. 55–58ob. It is titled *Slovo pokhval’noe na preslavnoe rozhdestvo tishaishago i bogom venchannago, nashego velikago gosudaria, tsaria i velikago kniazia Petra Aliksievicha* [sic] *vseia velikia i malyia i belyia Rossii i inykh mnogikh tsarstv i zemel’ severnykh vostochnykh i zapadnykh samoderzhtsa derzhavneishago*. (Laudatory speech on the glorious birthday of the most serene and God-crowned, our great lord, Tsar and Grand Prince Peter Alekseevich of all great and little and white Russia and many other kingdoms and lands, northern, eastern and western, most powerful autocrat.) The speech refers to Peter’s wife, which means that it was delivered after January 1689, the date of Peter’s marriage. There is no mention of Peter’s son, Aleksei, born in February 1690. There is also a reference to the author’s having delivered another speech in front of Peter “in the previous year” (*v preshedshee leto*). Thus, the most probable date for the speech is May 1689. Peter was at the village of Preobrazhenskoe on May 30, 1689. See Bogoslovskii, *Petr I*, 1:66–67.
44. The speech is delivered in the singular, with only one reference in the plural at the end. It must have been authored by Sophronios alone since Ioannikios at the time was away in Venice.
45. Vladimiro-Suzdal’skii muzei-zapovednik, no. Kr-388/B-5636/112, ll. 55–55ob.
46. *Ibid.*, ll. 56–56ob.
47. *Ibid.*, l. 56ob. On Anna, see *ODB* 1, s.v. “Anna, Princess of Kiev,” and on Romanos, see *ibid.*, 3, s.v. “Romanos II.” Romanos had ascended the throne at a very young age, hence the reference to him as a “child.”
48. Vladimiro-Suzdal’skii muzei-zapovednik, no. Kr-388/B-5636/112, ll. 56ob.–57.

Petr Savelov (*ibid.*, ll. 251–52); an undated note, but written between 1688 and 1690, since it refers to Patriarch Ioakim and Sophronios only—Ioannikios was in Venice at the time—containing a list of *stol'niki* (Timofei and Petr Savelov, Fedor Mikhailov Glebov, Ivan Vladimirov Eropkin, Konstantin Timofeev Litvinov) and *tsaredvortsy* (Ivan Vasil'ev Bukhvostov, Petr Vasil'ev Postnikov, Nikita Andreev Semenov, Fedor Konstantinov Perevodchikov, Petr Kondrat'ev Lunin, Aleksei Maksimov Alekseev) together with the amount of money awarded (the occasion is not specified) (*ibid.*, l. 336). It is likely that Fedot Dokturov, Petr Zinov'ev, Grigorii Il'in, Maksim Loginov, Boris Ovdokimov, Evfimii and Stepan Kharlamov, and Andrei, Nikita, and Pavel Iakovlev also belonged to the Moscow lesser nobility.

63. RGADA, f. 159, op. 2, ch. 1, d. 2991, l. 351.

64. See *ibid.*, l. 348.

65. “dva uchiteli, dva sviashchennika chernye, odin diakon uchitel'skoi, tri cheloveka stol'nikov komnatnykh, trinattsat' chelovek stol'nikov i prochikh tsaredvortsev, semnattsat' chelovek uchenikov shkolnykh patriarshikh i inykh.”

66. On the political factions and politics of Peter's reign, see Bushkovitch, *Peter the Great*.

67. On Aleksei Borisovich Golitsyn, see Dolgorukov, *Rossiiskaia rodoslovnaia kniga*, 1:287; Ivanov, *Alfavitnyi ukazatel'*, 92; Bogoslovskii, *Petr I*, 2:12–13 (for A. B. Golitsyn's trip to Europe); Guzevich and Guzevich, *Velikoe posolstvo*, 372, 443; Peter I, *Pis'ma i bumagi*, vol. 8, vyp. 1:372, 562; Zakharov, *Gosudarev dvor Petra I*, 284. On Boris Alekseevich Golitsyn, see LeDonne, “Ruling Families,” esp. 236 and 254–55; Bushkovitch, “Aristocratic Faction”; Lavrov, *Regentstvo tsarevny Sof'i Alekseevny*, passim; Bogoiavlenskii, *Moskovskii prikaznyi apparat*, 330.

68. The Naryshkins were relatives of Tsaritsa Natal'ia Naryshkina, Tsar Aleksei Mikhailovich's second wife, and mother of Peter the Great.

69. On the Odoevskii family, see Crummey, *Aristocrats and Servitors*, 91, 96, 113, 120–26, 129–33, 139, 143, 148, 153–155. See also Ivanov, *Alfavitnyi ukazatel'*, 303; Dolgorukov, *Rossiiskaia rodoslovnaia kniga*, 1:55; Ageeva, “O vzaimootnosheniakh russkogo monarkha,” 72, 76; Sedov, *Zakat moskovskogo tsarstva*, 60–61n31, 119.

70. On A. P. Prozorovskii, see Dolgorukov, *Rossiiskaia rodoslovnaia kniga*, 1:191; on his presence in the Vienna embassy see Peter I, *Pis'ma i bumagi*, 5:574; also, Guzevich and Guzevich, *Velikoe posolstvo*, 319; Zitsler, “The Vita of Prince Boris,” 178; Platonov, “B. I Kurakin,” 239–42. On Petr *meshoi*, see Crummey, *Aristocrats and Servitors*, 202; Bogoiavlenskii, *Moskovskii prikaznyi apparat*, 325. He served as *stol'nik* for twenty-four years. On Petr Ivanovich, see LeDonne, “Ruling Families,” 254–55; Lavrov, *Regentstvo tsarevny Sof'i Alekseevny*, passim.

71. See Dolgorukov, *Rossiiskaia rodoslovnaia kniga*, 4:84–92 (on the Glebovs), 4:8–11 (on the Eropkins), and 4:317 (on the Bukhvostovs). On the Bukhvostovs, see also Savelov, *Rodoslovnye zapisi*, 249–50 (Ivan Vasil'ev must be the grandson of Boris Grigor'evich Bukhvostov, and son of Vasilii Borisovich, who served as a *dumnyi dvorianin* and *voevoda* in various places). On the Poltevs, see Bogoiavlenskii, *Moskovskii prikaznyi apparat*, 275–76. This is not an exact name match, but three members from a family with the same name served as *striapchii s kliuchom* and *prikaz* judge, *dumnyi dvorianin*, and again *striapchii s kliuchom* respectively. See also Sedov, *Zakat moskovskogo tsarstva*, 59, 73, 75, 81, 353, 356; Poe, *The Russian Elite*, 1:433.

72. Poe, *The Russian Elite*, 1:396 for M. I. Glebov. A Fedor Mikhailov Glebov is listed as a *stol'nik* serving as *v Bolshom polku otiutant* (adjutant in the Great regiment) in the Boyar List of 1706. See Zakharov, *Gosudarev dvor Petra I*, 303.

73. On Litvinov (*stol'nik* between 1686–1692), see Lobanov-Rostovskii, *Ruskaia rodoslovnaia kniga*, 1:329; Ivanov, *Alfavitnyi ukazatel'*, 230; on Eropkin, see *ibid.*, 132. Both served as *stol'niki* in the court of Tsaritsa Praskov'ia. Lunin served as *stol'nik* in the courts of both Tsaritsa Evdokia Lopukhina (first wife of Peter the Great) and Tsaritsa Praskov'ia. *Ibid.*, 241. On Tsaritsa Evdokia, see Efimov, “Evdokia Lopukhina”; on Tsaritsa Praskov'ia see Semevskii, *Tsaritsa Praskov'ia*.

74. See Savelov, *Savelkovy i Savelovy*. Timofei Timofeev (1668–1741) and Petr Timofeev (1672–1737) served as *stol'niki* in the court of “the Ladies Tsaritsy” from 1680; later as *stol'niki* in the court of Tsaritsa Praskov'ia Fedorovna between 1691 and 1696, and 1692 and 1699, respectively. They pursued a career in the army and served as *fliegel'-adiutanty* (flank adjutants) of Field Marshal B. P. Sheremet'ev. See *ibid.*, 20–21. See also Bogoiavlenskii, *Moskovskii prikaznyi apparat*, 284; Poe, *The Russian Elite*, 1:443.

75. Poe, *The Russian Elite*, 1:392; Petrov, *Istoriia rodov russkogo dvorianstva*, 2:223–24; Bogoslovskii, *Petr I*, 1:58..

moving toward the philosophy course). On Ageev, see also Pozdeeva et al., *Moskovskii pechatnyi dvor*, 2:113–14; Ramazanova, “Brat’ia Likhudy,” 294–95; Lukichev, “K istorii russkogo prosveshcheniia”; Likhachev, *Slovar’ knizhnikov i knizhnosti*, s.v. “Fedot (Fedor) Ageev.”

99. Vasiliĭ Timofeevich Postnikov was “a highly experienced diplomat . . . one of a growing team of middle-rank bureaucratic specialists” in the Chancellery of Foreign Affairs, had participated in a number of diplomatic missions, and hailed from a family of secretaries. See Hughes, “V. T. Postnikov’s 1687 Mission,” 454–55, quote p. 454.

100. On Pylarinos, a pioneer of smallpox inoculation, see Alivizatos and Pournaropoulos, “To peri ‘eulogiasmou’”; and Karathanases, *Hoi Hellenes logioi ste Vlachia*, 182–86.

101. Karathanases published a 1693 letter of the Leichoudes to Nicolaus Comnenus Papadopoulos, a Greek professor at the University of Padua. In it, the two brothers expressed their satisfaction at the news that their former student was progressing well in his studies. See “Ioannikios kai Sophronios adelphoi Leichoude,” 193–94.

102. On Postnikov, see Likhachev, *Slovar’ knizhnikov i knizhnosti*, s.v. “Postnikov Petr Vasilevich”; Shmurlo, “P. V. Postnikov”; Tsvetaev, *Mediki v Moskovskoi Rossii*; Bychkov, “Novye materialy”; Zapol’skaia and Strakhova, “Zabytoe imia”; Zapol’skaia, “P. V. Postnikov”; Balotina, “Poluchil ia chest’.” On Postnikov’s participation in the Grand Embassy of Peter the Great in 1697–1698, see Guzevich and Guzevich, *Velikoe posol’stvo*, 67, 120–21, 124, 129–34, 148–49, 184, 187, 210, 213, 254–55, 276–78, 312–13. Incidentally, his brother, also called Petr, enrolled in the University of Leipzig in the early eighteenth century. See Andreev, *Russkie studenty*, 124 and 379.

103. Guzevich and Guzevich, *Velikoe posol’stvo*, 213; Bogoslovskii, *Petr I*, 2:379.

104. Shmurlo, “P. V. Postnikov,” 103–4.

105. Postnikov started his oration on the occasion of Christmas (probably dated 1687, that is, during his years of study in the Academy) with a reference to Pythagoras and later on cited Aristotle’s metaphysics, in addition to a variety of biblical citations. See Zapol’skaia and Strakhova, “Zabytoe imia,” 135–39 (commentary) and 142–48 (text).

106. Postnikov was also the recipient of some books by Francke and by Johann Arndt. See Utermöhlen, “Die Russlandthematik im Briefwechsel,” 115–16; for the original of Francke’s letter to Leibniz, see Leibniz, *Sämtliche Schriften und Briefe*, 15:769–70.

107. Bychkov, “Novye materialy,” 43–51. See also Solonin, “Italiia i Padua,” 204–6.

108. Shmurlo, “P. V. Postnikov,” 104–7, quote p. 106.

109. *Ibid.*, 182–83, quote p. 183.

110. On Jesuit pedagogy, see Garin, *L’éducation de l’homme*, 183–89; Dainville, *La Naissance de l’humanisme*, 1:71–360; Scaglione, *The Liberal Arts*, 80–81 and 94–95.

111. See, for example, Ioannikios’s remarks concerning education in his rhetorical textbook as discussed above in chapter 4.

Notes to Conclusion

1. Andreev, *Rossiiskie universitety*, 157.

2. For a useful overview, see Symchych, *Philosophia rationalis*, 9–32. For the eighteenth century see Posokhova, *Na perekhrestii kul’tur*; Yaremenko, “*Akademiiky* ta *akademiia*.” See also Chrissidis, “Greek Teachers,” 90–116.

3. Linchevskii, “Pedagogiia drevnykh brat’skikh shkol.”

4. Petrov, *Kievskaia Akademiia*, 66–110, and his conclusions on 110–15.

5. Sieriakov, “Kharakterni rysy.”

6. Charipova, “Orthodox Reform.”

7. Tkachuk, “Filosof’ski kursy”; Symchych, “Do pytannia”; Zaitsev, “Kievo-Mogilianskaia Shkola.” Zaitsev does not offer much that is new to the discussion of influences.

8. Symchych, *Philosophia rationalis*.

9. Kotusenko, “Tomizm i ioho retseptsiiia.”

10. See Pitch, “Tractatus de anima”; Stratiy, “Interpretatsiia problemy”; Symchych, “Problema rozriznen.”

11. Okenfuss, “From School Class to Social Caste,” 335–38. The reference is to the *Domostroi*, a manual of upbringing and morals written in the sixteenth century. See Pouncy, *The Domostroi*. Although the *Domostroi* did not treat ideas about childhood in any detail, newer analyses of primers

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List of Abbreviations

AAE	<i>Akty, sobrannye v bibliotekakh i arkhivakh Rossiiskoi imperii Arheograficheskoiu ekspeditsieiu imperatorskoi Akademii nauk</i>
ChOIDR	<i>Chteniia v Imperatorskom obshchestve istorii i drevnosti rossiiskikh pri Moskovskom universitete</i>
DRV	<i>Drevniaia rossiiskaia vivliofika</i>
EVE	<i>Ethnike Vivliotheke tes Hellados (Athens)</i>
GIM	<i>Gosudarstvennyi Istoricheskii Muzei (Moscow)</i>
NBU	<i>Natsional'na biblioteka Ukraïny im. V. I. Vernads'koho (Kiev)</i>
ODB	<i>Oxford Dictionary of Byzantium</i>
RGADA	<i>Rossiiskii Gosudarstvennyi Arkhiv Drevnykh Aktov (Moscow)</i>
RGB	<i>Rossiiskaia Gosudarstvennaia Biblioteka (Moscow)</i>
RNB	<i>Rossiiskaia Natsional'naia Biblioteka (St. Petersburg)</i>
SGGD	<i>Sobranie gosudarstvennykh gramot i dogovorov</i>
ThEE	<i>Threskeutike kai ethike enkyklopaideia</i>
TODRL	<i>Trudy otdela drevnerusskoi literatury</i>
ZhMNP	<i>Zhurnal ministerstva narodnogo prosveshcheniia</i>

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