

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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Chapter 5 and a part of chapter 6 were previously published as “A Jesuit Aristotle in Seventeenth-Century Russia: Cosmology and the Planetary System in the Slavo-Greco-Latin Academy,” in *Modernizing Muscovy: Reform and Social Change in Seventeenth-Century Russia*, ed. Jarmo Kotilaine and Marshall Poe (London: RoutledgeCurzon, 2004), 391–416. Similarly, across the book I have used parts of my article entitled “Greek Teachers, Jesuit Curriculum, Russian Students: The Slavo-Greco-Latin Academy of Moscow in Historiographical Perspective,” *Kyivs'ka Akademiia* 10 (2012): 90–116. In both cases, I have made occasional modifications to the originals. I am grateful to the editors for permission to reuse them in this book.

The reader is advised that I have employed the terms Orthodox East and Greek East throughout this book. The former denotes the larger Orthodox

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

Leichoudes were exponents of the rhetoric and natural philosophy prevalent in the curriculum of Jesuit colleges in Western Europe, and in much of the post-Byzantine, seventeenth-century Greek world. Closely copying the Baroque Jesuit college curriculum, the Academy's education emphasized knowledge of classical languages and rhetoric. Concurrently, it imparted to its students training in Aristotelian logic and natural philosophy as elaborated by Jesuit scholars by the middle of the seventeenth century. Such natural philosophy did not simply comprise the qualitative physics of Scholasticism but rather sought to incorporate some of the latest advances in the quantitative, "scientific" exploration of natural phenomena. In this way, the Academy advocated rational investigation of the physical universe. This was a significant novelty for seventeenth-century Russia, where such activity was generally frowned upon and did not normally constitute part of the educational activities that can be detected in the sources prior to the Academy's foundation.

The Academy's education validated learning as a necessary tool for both correct faith and for success in real life. External (that is, nonreligious) knowledge was no longer to be feared or seen as a priori antithetical to faith. Philosophy and theology were not anymore opposed, but rather could, even should, be combined to form an educated mind. This development signified a substantial departure from the predominantly religious culture of pre-Petrine (that is, before Peter the Great's reign) Russia, by emphasizing both the material and the spiritual life of the individual. The Academy, therefore, added a slew of secular (that is, partly philosophical and "scientific") dimensions to Russian elite culture, and its activity formed a constituent part of the Westernization of this elite culture during the late seventeenth century. Indeed, some of its graduates held important governmental posts in the administration of Peter the Great (r. 1682–1725; alone since 1689). Because of their training at the Academy, several among them were prepared to face the challenges that Peter the Great's Westernizing initiatives posed.

Equally important for understanding the Leichoudes as scholars and teachers is their own educational history and also the context of Greek-Russian relations within which they operated. Accordingly, in chapter 1 I survey Greek-Russian relations during the seventeenth century, and I analyze the concept of Orthodox Commonwealth that is prevalent in the historiography of the early modern Orthodox world. By examining critically the Orthodox Commonwealth (that is, the geographic areas of the Balkans and Eastern Europe where Eastern Orthodox population groups were partly located), I show that it was internally rent by conflict over definitions of Orthodox pious practice and matters of ritual, as a result of objective

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.

Jesuit colleges provided a complete program of studies starting with elementary instruction in languages (Latin and Greek) and proceeding through grammar, rhetoric, and logic to natural philosophy and theology. The Leichoudes emulated the same order of classes but, due to their removal from the Academy in 1694, they did not have the opportunity to teach theology. The rhetoric course as reflected in the textbooks that the two brothers authored or compiled is examined in chapter 4. Leichoudian rhetoric was influenced by Jesuit rhetorical theory in two ways: directly, through immediate borrowing from Jesuit treatises (especially that of the Frenchman Gerard Pelletier, S.J.); and indirectly through the two brothers' imitation of the manual written by Gerasimos Vlachos. The latter author had by all indications himself based his rhetoric on the handbook of Cyprian Soarez, S.J., the manual of choice in Jesuit colleges in the seventeenth century. Under such influences, the Leichoudes taught and practiced the Baroque rhetoric of the "grand style" as it had developed by the middle of the seventeenth century.

Philosophy was the last subject in which Ioannikios and Sophronios were able to offer lessons before their removal from Academy duties. As with rhetoric, the Academy's philosophy course was squarely based on Jesuit prototypes. In chapter 5 I first provide a reconstruction of the procession of instruction from logic through "general" to "special" physics. I begin with a review of Sophronios's textbook on logic, and I trace the models of Sophronios's work to the logical treatise of Gerasimos Vlachos and, ultimately, to that of Franciscus Toletus, S.J., the latter of which served as the authoritative manuals in the art of correct reasoning in Jesuit schools. Proceeding to a consideration of Ioannikios's commentaries on Aristotle's physical writings, I focus on the analysis of Leichoudian instruction in cosmology as a case study of the Academy's natural philosophy course. In expounding on the intricacies of the universe, the Leichoudes offered their Muscovite audience one of the many versions of Jesuit cosmology, that of the semi-Tychonic system. The two brothers did not blindly conform to Aristotle or to the medieval Christian scholastics in their classes. Rather, they imparted to their students an understanding of the cosmos that sought to accommodate firmly entrenched philosophical principles and axiomatic religious beliefs to some recent astronomical discoveries. Like its Jesuit archetypes, Leichoudian cosmology remained solidly within the framework of qualitative physics but allowed for at least some of the "novelties in the heavens" that the telescope had effected. Last, but not least, in chapter 6 I first relate the rhetorical and philosophical curriculum to Muscovite elite culture. Subsequently, I launch into a prosopographical study of some of the Leichoudian Academy's graduates, in which I trace the careers of selected students who went on to serve

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

much the result of the challenges and dilemmas presented to the Muscovite secular and ecclesiastical elite by a changing cultural environment. Jesuit education was, to one degree or another, the common lot of many Western Europeans, both aristocrats and non-aristocrats. When the reformist Peter “drove” (by nudging some of them, by forcing others) his own courtiers toward the West, at least some of them were prepared to meet their Western counterparts eye to eye, thanks in large part to the education they had received in the Leichoudian Academy.

A clarification is in order here regarding the terms elite and elite culture as utilized throughout this book. My conception of the Russian elite is expansive.⁵ It encompasses both the *gosudarev dvor* (the sovereign’s court, per se) and the *patriarshii dvor* (patriarchal court). The former includes both hereditary servitors (princes as well as non-titled lesser nobility, the latter called *dvoriane*) and the administrative personnel serving as secretaries (*d’iaki*) and undersecretaries (*pod’iachie*) in various *prikazy* (that is, administrative chancelleries) of the Muscovite state.⁶ The tsarist court was significantly expanded and partially restructured in the latter half of the seventeenth century. In the last third of the century, the court’s chamberlains (*spal’niki*, *komnatnye stol’niki*) acquired additional importance, when they were distinguished from the table attendants (*stol’niki*) as a distinct group. Concurrently, separate lists appeared for individuals serving in the courts of the tsar’s wife (*tsaritsa*) and of the royal male offspring (*tsarevichi*). It was precisely these servitors who later would appear among the members of the inner circle of the tsar, once he came of age and started ruling in his own right.⁷ On the other hand, the patriarchal court included both lay officers coming from boyar and lesser noble families, as well as clergymen and laymen serving in various administrative positions, including in the offices of, or under the practical control of, the patriarchal administration, as secretaries, clerks, scribes, and correctors. Thus, a member of the elite could be a princely scion or other lesser hereditary servitor, a clergyman in a position of authority in the patriarchal court and the monasteries in and around the Kremlin, or even a secretary or undersecretary in the bureaucracy supporting tsar and patriarch. The evidence regarding attendance in the Slavo-Greco-Latin Academy shows that a preponderance of the students were sons of lesser noble hereditary servitors and of the administrative personnel in the various chancelleries in the administration of tsar and patriarch. Belonging to the hereditary elite, both great and lesser noblemen were automatically expected to serve the tsar. In addition, the secretaries, undersecretaries, translators, scribes, editors, and correctors were not simply pen pushers. They were part of the administrative backbone of the Russian state

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

processes that were taking place in a variety of geographical regions to the west of Muscovy. Others have even proposed discarding it altogether with reference to Peter's policies, arguing for an imperial and universalist project on his part that sought prototypes and examples in a variety of settings, not necessarily only Western or European.¹⁰ I remain convinced that the term Westernization retains its analytical value for understanding the Academy's curriculum and its contribution to the culture of members of the Muscovite elite. The Jesuits had expanded their educational network outside of Europe by the middle of the seventeenth century and had come into contact with a variety of non-European cultures. Nevertheless, what the Leichoude brought to Russia were Jesuit rhetoric and natural philosophy as they had developed by mid-century in Western Europe during the Counter-Reformation period. It was Jesuit Western European culture and learning that the Leichoude—themselves Greeks from the “West of the Greek East,” that is, the Ionian Islands, at the time under Venetian control—acquired in educational institutions of Italy.¹¹ Moreover, despite the fact that the Leichoude offered it in Orthodox form, they were conscious of it as a product of Western origin, belonging to the different tradition of the Roman Catholic Church. That is why the Leichoude felt that they needed to revise it *orientali more* (in the Eastern, that is, in the Orthodox, manner), as Ioannikios put it in one of his writings. In the Leichoude's mental world, the religious divide between West and East was real, even if education created many bridges. This is not to deny the possibility that Peter's policies may have indeed had broader inspiration in sources that are still to be uncovered. However, insofar as the Academy's curriculum conformed to Jesuit lines, I argue that the term Western, much like the term Baroque, accurately reflects the character of the education that the Leichoude offered to their students.

Historiographical Excursus

Scholarly interest in the religious and cultural developments of the second half of the Russian seventeenth century flourished in the period between 1850 and 1917. Historians produced studies on the schism of the Old Belief, on the activities of Ukrainian and Belarusian emigrant churchmen in Russia, on the reinvigorated Greek-Russian relations as well as on the operation of the Slavo-Greco-Latin Academy. In retrospect, two factors appear to have primarily conditioned the overarching interpretative framework of such scholarship. One was the image of Peter the Great's reign (1689–1725) as a major break with old Muscovy. Nineteenth-century debates concerning the

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

from 1685 to 1700, when the Leichoudes and their students taught in the Academy, mainly in Greek; a “Latin” one, between 1700 and 1775, during which Ukrainian and Belarusian scholars dominated the teaching positions and Latin prevailed in the curriculum; and finally, a “Slavo-Greco-Latin” period between 1775 and 1814, in which all three languages were used in instruction. Smirnov based his periodization on what he considered to be the dominant linguistic tool in each phase, but went beyond that. Indeed, in what became a fairly common interpretative device in scholarship on the Leichoudes and the Academy, Smirnov extrapolated the cultural orientation of the Academy from the language of instruction.¹⁴ Accordingly, if Greek was the dominant language during the Leichoudes’ tenure in it, then the Academy imparted to its students a Greek culture. Smirnov was clearly aware of the precariousness of such an analytical criterion, for he went to great lengths to prove that what was true for the language (that is, its dominance in instruction) also applied to the very content of the education provided in it. He thus undertook an extensive overview of the Leichoudian corpus of texts, both polemical and educational. He acknowledged that the Leichoudes also taught Latin in the Academy and summarized (briefly and not always accurately) the main Leichoudian textbooks, pointing out their Scholastic character and their intellectual debt to Western authors.¹⁵ Still, he rather simplistically restricted the Western elements of Leichoudian education to the external, formal traits of the curriculum, leaving the content somehow purely Greek. Thus, he remained firmly convinced that the Leichoudes were teaching Greek culture to their students, although he failed to define what this Greek culture comprised.¹⁶

Several prerevolutionary Russian studies faithfully followed Smirnov’s view of the Leichoudian Academy as a bastion of Greek culture, even as they offered valuable new insights into seventeenth-century Russian religion and culture. Biographical examinations of major players in the ecclesiastical and cultural developments of the time deserve mention here. Petr Smirnov’s and Grigorii Skvortsov’s biographies of Patriarchs Ioakim (in office, 1674–1690) and Adrian (in office, 1690–1700) are useful for understanding the activities of the last two patriarchs of early modern Russia.¹⁷ Both Ioakim and Adrian were patrons of the Leichoudes, and their priorities partly conditioned the educational choices of the Leichoudes in the Muscovite Academy. Petr Smirnov offered a picture of Ioakim as an archconservative, “Grecophile” patriarch who found in the Leichoudes educated allies in his struggle against the “Latinophile” tendencies of the royal court and of Ukrainian and Belarusian scholars (such as Simeon Polotskii and his Russian disciple Sil’vestr Medvedev). Grigorii Skvortsov, on the other hand, provided a much more

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 Slavynetskii 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.

Interest in the Academy waned after the revolution even though Soviet and post-Soviet historians made significant advances in the history of Russian education. Between 1917 and the 1980s, very few studies touched upon the Leichoudian period of the Academy. By investigating the records of the Patriarchal Treasury Chancellery (*Patriarshii Kazennyi Prikaz*), A. Rogov brought to light new archival evidence concerning the Academy's student body.²¹ A. P. Bogdanov sought to analyze what he considered to be a "cultural struggle" between conservative obscurantism (as represented by the Leichoude and Patriarch Ioakim) and Western proto-rationalism (as personified in their opponents in the Eucharist conflict, primarily Sil'vestr Medvedev).²² In this way, Bogdanov utilized and built upon the already established Grecophile-Latinophile dichotomy and took it one step further by anachronistically presenting it as a conflict of the religious versus the secular. Additionally, in the first ever systematic study of any Leichoudian textbooks, Dmitrii Ialamas investigated the Greek grammatical works of the Leichoude and their sources.²³ Ialamas analyzed the linguistic views of the two brothers, unearthed significant new materials on the student body of the Academy, and published some of the Leichoudian orations. His valuable contributions primarily concerned the grammatical textbooks of the two brothers and did not generally examine the content of the Academy's curriculum as a whole. Moreover, his analysis placed these textbooks firmly within what he called the Byzantine and post-Byzantine Greek grammatical tradition, while offering only some tantalizing references to potential Latin influences appearing therein. Indeed, in his doctoral dissertation and other published works, the extent of Western, Latin influences remained untreated.²⁴ As a result, Ialamas, echoing Smirnov and Smentsovskii, ultimately remained convinced that the Leichoudian Academy was a bastion of Greek culture in Russia until its reorganization by Ukrainian teachers in the beginning of the eighteenth century.²⁵ The only serious exception to the monolithic Grecophile image of the Leichoude prevalent until the 1980s was V. P. Zubov, who surveyed the manuscripts of the Leichoude's physics and concluded that the two brothers, and especially Ioannikios, espoused a Western, largely Thomist, approach to natural philosophy.²⁶ With the exception of Zubov, Soviet scholarship generally adopted the "Grecophile" image of the Leichoude and their Academy and in some ways even enhanced it.

Certainly not all prerevolutionary historians adhered fully to the Grecophile-Latinophile camp when discussing the Leichoudian Academy. Although accepting a conflict between the camps over the general direction of the Academy, N. F. Kapterev was careful to note that eventually the Leichoude taught a version of Western education in Greek.²⁷ Some Russian

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 Leichoude's authorial output among Greek and Russian scholars alike.²⁹ It is noteworthy that over the years, Fonkich generally avoided making substantive arguments on the Leichoude's importance in the cultural life of seventeenth-century Muscovy. In his recent book on schools, Fonkich briefly asserted that the Leichoude's 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 Leichoude 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 Leichoude, 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

elements of Renaissance, Baroque, Mannerism, and even Classicism and adapted them to local tastes and traditions.³⁵

Western historians have utilized many of the advances in our knowledge of seventeenth-century Russian literature in order to understand developments in Russian elite culture. Paul Bushkovitch, in particular, charted Polotskii's and Slavinskii's contributions to the formation of new attitudes to learning and faith on the part of the Russian court and church elite. He demonstrated that, by the second half of the seventeenth century, the Muscovite secular and ecclesiastical establishment placed more emphasis on the practical application of Orthodox teachings in life and concomitantly disfavored monastic spirituality and the miracle cults. "Practicing" the faith actively by moral and pious acts rather than "experiencing" it through simple participation in ritual increasingly became the standard of acceptable behavior for the true Orthodox Christian, at least among the elite.³⁶ Application of the faith's teachings presupposed previous understanding of them, which in turn required active intellectual pursuit on the part of the educated believer. Faith thus became an essentially private matter that involved, indeed necessitated, individual erudition if the elite were to fulfill their function as leaders of society and guardians of Orthodoxy.³⁷

Cathy Potter investigated the official Russian Church's response to these developments in elite culture. By focusing on the patriarchates of Nikon (1652–1666) and Ioakim (1676–1690), she showed that their attempts to reorganize the church's administration were accompanied by concern over the spiritual renewal of Muscovite society. Further, Potter argued that these two aspects of the church's reformist program were linked by what she branded the theory of enlightenment (*prosveshchenie*). According to this theory, spiritual wisdom was bestowed by God upon the patriarch and through him down to the church hierarchy, which in turn transmitted it to the common believers. Enlightenment in this sense did not invalidate the activity of the human mind by positing the absoluteness of divine revelation. Rather, Potter maintained, "[it] involved the sanctification, or deification of the human mind and human learning. Divine grace elevated human wisdom, transforming it into spiritual wisdom. . . . At the same time, it elevated and legitimized human wisdom and learning as the material on which grace worked." Thus, the theory of enlightenment justified strict adherence to a hierarchical status within the church and bolstered its claims to a monopoly on learning.³⁸ As Potter clearly indicates, this enlightenment was religious, not of the eighteenth-century type associated with French secular thinkers. This type of enlightenment involved the acquisition of religious knowledge that was not necessarily hostile to any kind of external (that is, secular)

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.

Limning the Commonwealth

Of Greeks and Russians in the Seventeenth Century

Following the rejection by the Russians of the Union of Florence (1439), Russian contacts with the Orthodox East entered a hiatus until they picked up again in the early sixteenth century, when more regular communication was established, especially with the Patriarchate of Jerusalem and monasteries on Mount Athos.¹ The Muscovites resumed the practice of seeking advice from Greek clergymen in matters of faith, as is evidenced most notably by the case of Maksim Grek.² The legitimation of the Muscovite grand prince's title as tsar in mid-century and the establishment and recognition of the Patriarchate of Moscow by the Eastern patriarchs during and following the visit of Patriarch of Constantinople Jeremiah II to Moscow in 1588–1589 were two landmark occasions of even more intense exchanges with all Eastern patriarchates.³ After the Time of Troubles and particularly during the tenure of Patriarch Filaret (1619–1633), contacts became more numerous, frequent, and intensive. Ever more clergymen of various ranks from the Orthodox East began to flock to Moscow for alms and to become involved, sometimes deeply so, in the affairs of the Russian Church.⁴ Throughout the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, Muscovite grand princes/tsars regularly dispensed monetary donations to Orthodox monasteries and patriarchates, in return for prayers for the royal family.⁵ Beyond undergirding the perennially cash-strapped Eastern Orthodox clergymen, Tsar Aleksei Mikhailovich (r. 1645–1676) may have even been pleased to receive the paeans composed to him as a New Constantine, since he remained the only major independent Orthodox ruler. However, the theory of Moscow as the Third Rome (that is, the notion that Moscow had inherited the mantle of the center of true faith, in succession to the by then heretical original Rome, and the Ottoman-occupied Constantinople) hardly had any real impact on Muscovite foreign policy, nor was it systematically propagated by the Russians themselves. More widespread was the conception of Moscow as the New Jerusalem, which also followed Byzantine

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 hierarchy's less savory aspects, Gedeon wrote from the perspective of the ecumenicity of the church, and deplored what he viewed as the contemporary loss of prestige and authority of the Patriarchate of Constantinople. In an era of modernizing, secularizing, and nationalistic states, he forcefully asserted that the Great Church of Orthodoxy ought to retain its supranational and panorthodox character. In surveying the Ecumenical Patriarchate's past, Gedeon referred to three major tasks facing the patriarchate after the fall of Constantinople in 1453: the maintenance of churches and other religious buildings, the education of its flock, and the administration and financing of church activities. Gedeon argued for some significant continuity in administrative matters between the Byzantine and the Ottoman eras, surveyed the economic conditions of the patriarchate in the Ottoman period, and highlighted the church's difficulties in meeting its financial obligations toward the state. Gedeon also wrote from a pro-Russian perspective, much influenced by the late nineteenth-century developments in the relations between the patriarchate and the Russian government and by the so-called Bulgarian Schism.¹² In treating the early modern period, Gedeon underscored the munificence of Russian tsars to monasteries and churches of the Orthodox East and argued that the relations were always friendly. Finally, he also pointed out the diplomatic pressure that the Russians exercised on the Ottomans in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries in defense of the Orthodox in the Ottoman Empire. Interestingly, Gedeon covered extensively the issue of the confiscation of lands held by Athonite monasteries and the Patriarchate of Jerusalem in Bessarabia and largely justified Russian actions, thus focusing most of his discussion on the nineteenth century. Overall, his portrait of Russian-Greek relations in the early modern period was one of constant friendly contacts and of moderate financial support for the Greeks by the Russians.¹³

Much later, following in Gedeon's footsteps, Steven Runciman contributed his own version of the Great Church's history in the post-1453 period, by analyzing its administrative and educational activities, its relations with other confessions, and its place in the administrative machinery of the Ottoman state. Much like Gedeon, he detected substantial continuities with the Byzantine period, but also highlighted the new tasks that the church faced. With regard to Russian-Greek relations, Runciman started his discussion by presenting the conversion of the Rus' to Orthodoxy as the most important achievement of the Byzantine Church. Runciman also emphasized the Russians' conviction that they remained the only true Orthodox, since the Greeks betrayed the faith by accepting the union with Rome in the 1430s. He devoted extensive coverage to the subordination of the Russian

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

of the Romanian historian Nicolae Iorga) that some elements of Byzantine political culture remained even after the fall of the empire in the Danubian principalities (Moldavia and Wallachia).¹⁸

Following in the path of Obolensky, Paschalis Kitromilides first proposed in the late 1980s, and has since substantively investigated and elaborated upon, the existence of an “Orthodox Commonwealth” as an interpretative hypothesis for understanding the Orthodox world of the Balkans in the period between 1453 and roughly 1800. In his conception, this commonwealth was comprised of peoples who may have had ethnic differences but who shared common ideological, religious, and cultural conceptions, and recognized the spiritual primacy of the Patriarchate of Constantinople, as a result of a common Byzantine past and their subsequent inclusion into the Ottoman Empire. It was the rise of nationalism in the nineteenth century that internally rent apart the Orthodox Commonwealth into competing national camps with associated churches.¹⁹ Kitromilides explicitly based his conception of the Orthodox Commonwealth on that of Dimitri Obolensky. He admitted that the term appeared vague at the very basic level of definition, but insisted that it had an “experiential content [*viomatiko periechomeno*] springing from the historical experiences of individuals and communities in the wider area of Eastern Europe, where Orthodoxy constituted a defining factor of collective identity.”²⁰ In his view, the Orthodox Commonwealth comprised “the broad cultural and symbolic background, the framework of values and emotional and aesthetic affinities that shaped the sense of a common inheritance binding the peoples of Eastern Europe together.”²¹ This very existence of a common cultural heritage smoothed linguistic, psychological, and geographic boundaries, and made possible the coexistence and mutual acceptance of the peoples involved. Kitromilides’s geographic conception of the Orthodox Commonwealth eventually came to include the Orthodox peoples of the Balkans, Eastern Europe, Anatolia, and the Middle East, an area, as he indicated, much wider than Obolensky’s Byzantine Commonwealth. Thus, although his focus has remained Southeastern Europe and the Greek East, Kitromilides incorporated Russia into the commonwealth as well, despite Obolensky’s original qualifications regarding the Russian case. In this connection, Kitromilides has suggested that the most important event in the formation of the Orthodox Commonwealth was the baptism of the Russians.²²

Like Obolensky, in dealing with Russia Kitromilides confined the content of the Orthodox Commonwealth to the realm of culture. Indeed, Greek-Russian cultural and ecclesiastical relations constituted for him a part of the wider mission of the Ecumenical Patriarchate to safeguard doctrine through

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,

conflicts, and debates among the Orthodox themselves. As such, the concept is not necessarily useful for understanding Greek-Russian relations in the seventeenth century, because it smooths over significant cleavages within the Orthodox world of the pre-nineteenth-century period. Without necessarily being national or nationalistic in the modern sense, such cleavages clearly had an important ethnic and religious component to them. In fact, in several cases the ethnic component was accentuated because of Orthodoxy and in spite of its purported ecumenicity. Russian-Greek relations, as they are reflected in Russian sources and in some writings by Greeks, provide ample evidence of such tensions.

Orthodox Ethnography

In Russia and to a certain extent in the Balkans, at least some representatives of the administrative and educated elites had a clear understanding of the ethnic makeup of the peoples inhabiting the Orthodox *ecumene*. The existence of different ethnic communities (*ethnotikes omades*, ethnic groups in Kitromilides's phrase) was accepted well before the advent of the Enlightenment and the French Revolution. By the late sixteenth century, educated Greeks who were graduates of Western (mainly Italian) universities and colleges had begun pointing to the achievements of the Greek classical past as part of their heritage. Attempting to refute accusations that the "enslaved" contemporary Greeks exhibited no comparable achievements in learning, these educated Greeks published catalogues of scholars and schools funded and operated by Greeks. Moreover, some of them even argued that knowledge of Classical Greek was a prerequisite, if one were to study both Aristotelian philosophy and the early patristic sources, in contrast to Latin that lacked the subtlety of Greek.²⁵ Learned clerics associated with the Patriarchates of Constantinople and Jerusalem authored historical and polemical works, in which they incorporated the Byzantine past by employing a distinction between the secular and the ecclesiastical/religious. In their telling, the Byzantine Empire had fallen due to its own sins. In contrast, the church had survived and continued its salvific function because it was above and beyond this world. Such an approach instrumentalized the Byzantine past and sought to explain the place and role of the Orthodox Church in the Ottoman Empire.²⁶

The past existence of the Byzantine Empire did not however preclude an understanding that both it and the contemporary world were inhabited by various peoples. This is evident, for instance, in an appeal of Gerasimos

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

(*Rhomaïos, rum*) community (the *millet*, even though the actual term *millet* may not have been used regularly before the eighteenth century). The Rhomaic community included only those Orthodox who lived within the Ottoman Empire and excluded the Russians who lived in an independent state.³¹ Travel and trade proved that religious commonalities existed, but they also served as instances for detecting differences. At the same time, education led to explorations of the past and provided the vocabulary for conceptualizing the present, in terms that did not always adhere to the supra-ethnic religious terminology.³² Such tendencies were very pronounced among Balkan immigrants to Western Europe, whether they were there temporarily or permanently. Distinctions between different ethnic groups in the Balkans were regularly made by educated Greeks, many of whom hailed not from the Ottoman Empire, but from Venetian-held territories in the Eastern Mediterranean, and who ended up pursuing careers (mostly as clergymen and teachers) in Ottoman-held areas (such as Patriarch Nektarios of Jerusalem, 1660–1669) or in the West (such as Gerasimos Vlachos).³³ As a result, there were at least some articulate members of ethnic communities who saw distinctions among different people. Partaking of the “high culture” transmitted in Greek could also lead to self-identification as Greek. Although a product primarily of “high culture,” such ethnic distinctions did not necessarily reflect the sentiments and opinions only of the educated elite. As a result, the Rhomaic community could be internally differentiated, and the Rhomaic identity (imposed from above by the Ottomans) progressively became more flexible and internally malleable.³⁴ The resulting elasticity of ethnonyms could and did coexist with nascent or more solidified ethnic awareness, conditioned by travel, individual choice, and educational achievement. Already visible in the seventeenth century, this process of internal differentiation increased in the eighteenth century, as is evident from a variety of cases of Balkan immigrant communities, where Greeks and other ethnic groups started separating into distinct collectivities around their own church. Thus, what had been the united Greek community of Trieste in the Habsburg Empire by the end of the eighteenth century was broken up into two, following the rise in numbers and the wealth accumulated by Greek (*Greci*) and Illyrian (*Illirici*, made up of Orthodox Slav immigrants, mainly Serbs) factions, each with its own leadership, each asserting its own ethnic particularity and its own version of Orthodoxy.³⁵

The Russians did not need outsiders such as Vlachos to inform them as to who inhabited the Orthodox East. Admittedly, Russian bureaucratic sources regularly assigned to visitors (merchants and clergymen) from the Orthodox East the label Greek (*grek*), signifying primarily their religious

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,

does it preclude ethnic mobility, that is, transposing oneself from one ethnic community to another for reasons of social mobility, personal gain, and historical circumstances, among others.⁴⁰ What is of interest presently is not how such ethnic identity was constructed or how widespread it was among the inhabitants of Balkan mountains or plains. Rather, what is important is that some literati (in this case Greek) and some governments and ecclesiastical authorities (such as those of Russia) had knowledge of the existence of these ethnic communities and of the fact that their relations may not have always been amicable. Elements of the identities of these ethnic communities may have cut across the cultural spectrum of any given locality, but they are made visible through the writings and other public expressions of literate, articulate members of these groups. The Russians (that is, the articulate members of the Russian administrative and ecclesiastical elites whose voices are found in the documents) clearly differentiated themselves from those Balkan coreligionist ethnic communities. The extent to which such differentiation informed the attitudes of everyday Russians is difficult to gauge, but the sources certainly provide clues that the average lower-class Russian may have harbored strong suspicions as to the faith of their Balkan coreligionists. Russian awareness of their own difference was the result primarily of three factors: (1) a feeling that they had retained Orthodoxy untainted unlike the Greeks who betrayed Orthodoxy both in Florence and, lacking their own printing presses, by unwittingly accepting heretical Latin insertions in the Western-printed liturgical books that they used; (2) resentment at the way the Greeks portrayed themselves as the guardians of Orthodoxy and the teachers of the Slavs and others in Orthodoxy (this the Russians shared at least with some Serbs); and (3) the existence of an independent Russian polity. At a very basic level, such attitudes meant that the Russians viewed themselves separately from the contemporary Orthodox peoples of the Balkans and especially the Greeks, precisely because of their Orthodoxy.

Closer contacts established during the patriarchates of Theophanes of Jerusalem and Cyril Loukaris of Constantinople in the early seventeenth century ushered in even more intensive communication with the Russians as the century progressed.⁴¹ Prompted by an increased attention to the philological accuracy of liturgical texts (itself a post-Renaissance trend coming to Russia via Ukraine), the Russian Patriarchate with Nikon (1652–1666) at the helm initiated in the 1650s a program of reform of Russian liturgical books and ritual in accordance with contemporary Greek prototypes. At least some leading Russians, in other words, by that time did not necessarily share the negative view of the Greeks outlined above. These reformers faced fierce opposition from several segments of the Russian population

(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

scholar calls “cleansing” (*ochishchenie*) of their faith (ranging from rebaptism to anointment with myrrh to sending them to monasteries or churches under supervision for a period of time). Sometimes, this practice extended to Greek clergymen who had petitioned to stay in Russia as well.⁴³

In the 1650s, the Arab Patriarch Makarios of Antioch arrived in Russia in search of alms.⁴⁴ A description of his travels was authored by his son and archdeacon, Paul of Aleppo. On the occasion of the presentation of icons to Tsar Aleksei Mikhailovich by different hierarchs of the Russian Church, Paul took the opportunity to provide a description of Moldavian, Wallachian, and Russian attitudes toward the Greeks. He first noted that the Russians juxtaposed their own holy tsars to the heretical, iconoclastic Byzantine emperors. He continued:

Through these reports and such like, and the vices and deformities of the Greeks, at all times and in all places wherever they are found, we observed they are nowhere at all liked; and this fact we were continually confirming, by the evidence of our own eyes. In Moldavia, from their tyranny as Vasili’s Archons, and their viciousness and corruption, the whole of the population rose upon them, and, putting to flight or massacring them all, made plunder of their property. A similar fate has lately overtaken them, as we have just heard, throughout the whole of Wallachia. We did not see the Cossacks bear any love to them; and the Muscovites will not receive them, except through pity, and to give them alms. How many of them have they not banished to Siberia, and to the Monastery of the Sea of Darkness! And how many have been driven back from the frontier, by the Governors of Potiblia! And all this comes from the multitude of their vices, and the greatness of their crimes. . . . As for Heads of their clergy, God be merciful to us and to them! This saying of ours is not a private judgment of our own against them; but thus we heard them spoken of, wherever we came; and thus criminally did we see them conduct themselves.⁴⁵

To be sure, Paul went on to praise the Greeks themselves for the love and respect they showed to their hierarchs despite the hierarchs’ many shortcomings. But he had already made the point. Earlier on Paul had referred to the strict standards by which the Muscovites judged the behavior of visiting coreligionists, especially of hierarchs, and on this occasion as well set forth the bad example of the Greeks. According to Paul, the Russians expected all Orthodox believers to follow minutely the Russian liturgical and devotional practices. Otherwise, visitors were in danger of being sent to the land of darkness. Paul added: “in the frequent case of rambling Greek priests, who come among them and perpetrate all sorts of impurities . . .

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

A Russian monk, Arsenii Sukhanov, in 1650 repeated this and other similar arguments to Eastern Orthodox clergy. Sukhanov was on a government mission to the Orthodox East, which took him to Jerusalem and Mount Athos in search of Greek manuscripts. While in Moldavia (where he was held up for close to two years) in 1650, he engaged in a series of debates with several Greek ecclesiastics (including a patriarch) over the merits of Greek Orthodoxy. It is worth emphasizing here that this debate went on in one of the centers of “Byzance après Byzance.” The record of these debates (*preniia*), which Sukhanov appended to the memoir of his visit to Jerusalem, contains a whole array of Muscovite doubts over the Orthodoxy of the Greeks. In essence, in his account Sukhanov presents a complete set of Muscovite (and Serbian) complaints over the haughty attitude of Greeks toward their coreligionists, their arrogant claim of being the first teachers of the Slavs in Orthodoxy, and the suspect practices that cast doubt on their Orthodoxy.⁵²

Sukhanov prefaced his record of the debates with a very interesting story. As he was a guest in the *metochion* (dependency) of the Athonite Zographou Monastery, Arsenii held discussions with the hegumen (a Serb) and brothers. The said hegumen told him the story of the burning of Slavic liturgical books by Greek monks on Mount Athos. Specifically, a Serbian monk on Athos followed the Muscovite typicon, used books printed in Russia, and crossed himself in the Russian manner (that is, with two fingers). When the Greek monks on Athos found out about that, they admonished him and asked him to desist from following the Muscovite practice. The Serb answered that he also had at his disposal old Serbian manuscripts that were in agreement with the Russian ones and with the writings of Fathers of the Church. To this, the Greeks responded that Muscovite books were heretical, convoked a council of the Athonite brotherhood, condemned the Serb’s practices, and burnt both the Serbian and the Muscovite books. Commenting on the incident, the hegumen argued that the Greeks were full of pride and that the Serbs had hated them, since “we the Serbs, and the Bulgarians were baptized.” The hegumen went on to rework the Cyrillomethodian mission by recounting how the Greeks refused to create a Slavonic alphabet for the newly baptized in order to “keep us under their control.”⁵³ Luckily, however, God gave the new converts a teacher in the person of Cyril, who was born of a Bulgarian father and a Greek mother, and who knew Greek, Latin, and Slavonic. Cyril, the hegumen continued, appealed to the Greeks in Constantinople, but they refused to allow him to proceed with the creation of a Slavonic alphabet. In contrast, when he addressed the same appeal to Pope Adrian in Rome, Adrian blessed this undertaking. Cyril went on with his project despite the danger of being captured and put to death by the Greeks. He escaped and

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

was the so-called transubstantiation moment during the liturgy: the moment in which bread and wine turn into the body and blood of Christ.⁵⁶ In arguing for his position, Medvedev sought to undermine the Greeks' authoritative status by reference to heresy, writing: "when people [in Russia] see any book in Greek whether manuscript or printed, it is believed without the slightest deliberation and taken as authoritative—as if God had imbued that language with such virtue as to preclude anyone's writing heresy in it—forgetting, poor souls, that it was nowhere but Greece that the great heresies occurred, in Greek and above all on the part of ecclesiastics."⁵⁷ In another instance, citing the classic Russian locus, Medvedev argued that Greek Orthodoxy was suspect because the Greeks were obliged to print their books in the West. In other words, the Greeks themselves were in no position to serve as teachers to the Russians.⁵⁸

Defending Greek culture and the Greeks from the attacks of their opponents, the Leichoudes replied with a veritable paean to Greek education and the Greek language:⁵⁹

The Greeks have always been the light and always will be to the end of time, and all peoples received and receive light from the Greeks, either written or unwritten, either from Greek works and writings, or from [Greek] mouths through teaching; whatever the case may be, from them and through them [i.e., the Greeks] other peoples see [the light]; all philosophers are Greeks, all theologians are Greeks. . . . And, for this reason it is said, "anyone who is not Greek, is a barbarian."⁶⁰

Mutatis mutandis, Medvedev and Avvakum (Petrov), the Old Believer leader, arrived at the same conclusion, if by different routes. In addressing the Greek delegates in the Councils of 1666–1667 that tried Patriarch Nikon, Avvakum told the Orthodox patriarchs present: "Your Orthodoxy has become variegated on account of the Turkish Mohammed's violence. There is nothing astonishing in this. You've come to be weak. From now on, come to us to be taught. By God's grace there is autocracy here."⁶¹ Had he been alive, Avvakum may have made the argument to the Leichoudes as well. After all, in one his epistles to Tsar Aleksei Mikhailovich, he admonished the tsar: "For you, Mikhailovich, are a Russian [*rusak*], and not a Greek [*grek*], speak in your own native tongue; do not look down upon it neither in church, nor at home. . . . For God loves us no less than the Greeks, and gave us letters in our own language through Saint Cyril and his brother."⁶² Other Old Believers echoed Avvakum's criticism of the Greeks when they came into direct contact with them during pilgrimage in the Orthodox East

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

laymen to enter their churches, calling them unbelievers; Arsenii Sukhanov believed that the Russians enjoyed a monopoly in upholding Orthodoxy; Paul of Aleppo reported how much resentment there was against the Greeks in Moldavia and Russia; and finally, Avvakum declared that he was not a Greek, but a *rusak*. All this shows that a more nuanced understanding of the relations between the various Orthodox peoples is necessary.

Conscious of the fact that theirs was the only truly independent Orthodox state in the world, and rising in power internationally, seventeenth-century Russians remained convinced that theirs was the only untainted Orthodoxy. Even at the height of their attempt to reform their church in accordance with contemporary Greek practices, some leading Russians remained suspicious of the Greeks' motives and remained on their guard. In other words, the fact that the Russians felt they were the only untainted Orthodox made them the only truly Orthodox, not members of a commonwealth. Orthodoxy in this case was not a connecting link, but a separating one; it distinguished pure Russian from corrupt Greek Orthodoxy. This was something that the Old Believers would later exploit to their advantage.

A distinctive trait of being Russian in the early modern period was to be purely Orthodox, not Greek Orthodox. Kitromilides stresses the antinomy between Orthodoxy and nationalism in the Balkans until the late nineteenth century as evidenced in the policies of the Ecumenical Patriarchate of Constantinople vis-à-vis the attempts by the emergent Balkan states to form national churches. He also ties this policy to the existence of the Orthodox Commonwealth, whose community of believers encompassed the Balkan peoples as well as the Russians. Nevertheless, the Russian case proves that Orthodoxy could and did support a clear sense of group identity, which functioned to separate the Russians from the remaining Orthodox peoples. The Russians had their own independent state and a seemingly powerful monarch; they had their own army and were establishing their own schools. To be sure, Peter the Great's secularization of Russian elite culture and the multiethnic makeup of the Russian Empire added two very important elements to the picture of Russian identity and nationalism after 1700. But that is another story. For the seventeenth century, it is clear that many Russians indeed felt that they were somehow different from the subjugated Orthodox peoples of the Balkans. They acknowledged the importance of the Greeks, but they also operated within the framework of a love-hate relationship with them. It is in this context that I investigate the activities and contributions of the Leichoudes brothers in Russia.

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,

the Leichoudes brothers) “were latinized Greeks, i.e., they had gone through Latin schooling in western institutions and universities, although they more or less kept the teaching of the Eastern Church.”⁶ The study of sixteenth- and especially seventeenth-century Greek culture is far from complete, but the existing scholarship provides substantial insights into Western influences on the literary, philosophical, and theological production of the educated Greek elite of the time. Most educated Greek clergy who found their way to Russia would not have constituted a traditional and conservative force in Russia’s cultural framework. Instead, they can be better understood as representatives of a Western-educated Greek intelligentsia. As such, they formed a venue through which Western culture found its way into Muscovy, as Ikonnikov indicated.⁷

Ioannikios and Sophronios followed much the same education and career paths as the one outlined above. Until the late seventeenth century, in the absence of institutional education, Russia as a location rarely figured in the career plans of aspiring Greek teachers. The situation, however, had changed by the early 1680s. The Muscovite royal court and patriarchate expressed genuine interest in the establishment of a school in the Russian capital. In pursuing such a plan, Tsar Fedor and Patriarch Ioakim turned for assistance to the Orthodox sees of the East. This resulted in a Russian request that Patriarch Dositheos of Jerusalem procure teachers for the projected school. At the time (1681–1682) both Fedor and Ioakim were intensely involved in correspondence with Dositheos; the tsar was seeking the absolution of the deposed Patriarch Nikon (despite Ioakim’s opposition to it), while Ioakim had begun eyeing the inclusion of the Kievan metropolitanate (which was nominally an eparchy of the Patriarchate of Constantinople) into the Moscow Patriarchate’s jurisdiction. The détente in Russian-Turkish relations after the Muscovite-Tatar-Ottoman Treaty of Bakhchisarai (1681) facilitated closer communication with the Orthodox churches of the East and reinvigorated the relations of the Muscovite state and church authorities with the energetic Patriarch Dositheos. At that time, the brothers Ioannikios and Sophronios Leichoudes arrived in Constantinople seeking career opportunities.

The Leichoudes Brothers before Coming to Russia

The basic sources for the early biography of the Leichoudes brothers are their depositions in the Chancellery of Foreign Affairs (*Posol’skii Prikaz*) immediately after their arrival in Moscow,⁸ and a brief autobiographical sketch that they included in one of their anti-Roman Catholic polemical

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

addressed “by princely title” (*kniazhnim imenem*) and were named *stol’niki* (table attendants). Later on, Ioannikios’s sons served in Voronezh, in the shipbuilding enterprise of Peter the Great.¹⁶

Several scholars have attempted to explain the discrepancy between the Greek versions Leichoudes and Likoudes or Lykoudes (in Latin/Italian, Licudi), something the Russians did not fail to notice when Ioannikios’s children petitioned for the recognition of title. Ioannikios and Sophronios regularly used the version “Lykoudes” until the early 1690s both in their homeland and in Russia. The version Lykoudes (with the variants Likoudis or Likoudes, depending on the literacy level of the copying notary) appears in all of the notarial documents they signed in Kephallenia.¹⁷ Interestingly, while in Venice in the late 1680s as a Russian envoy, Ioannikios also used the name “Iannicio Sacromonaco Licudi de Lupis” (in Greek *lykos* means “wolf,” hence also the use of *lupus*, Latin for “wolf.”) Thus, the available evidence points to Lykoudes as an original form that was switched over to Leichoudes in the early 1690s in connection with the recognition of noble title for Ioannikios’s children in Russia. References to Lykoudes before the early 1690s have been carefully altered to the form Leichoudes in their manuscripts and in the formal letter of recommendation they had received from the Eastern patriarchs in 1683. The testimony by one of their early patrons, later turned enemy, is important in this regard. In a 1691 letter Patriarch Dositheos of Jerusalem praised their noble origin, but once he became their enemy, he impugned them for pretending to high genealogical origin when in reality they were humble commoners.¹⁸ The successful effort to switch over to the form Leichoudes was a conscious attempt to establish a link with a famous Byzantine family and patriarch and to enhance the family’s pedigree in status-conscious Russia. Such ploys at constructing links to famed personages were a common occurrence, especially so in the Ionian Islands, and sought to elevate one’s family status in the past, present, and future, thus appropriating a stake in the historical past and in the contemporary power structure.¹⁹

The evidence is sometimes confusing as to Ioannikios’s and Sophronios’s own studies, especially because in Russia they talked about the topic in general terms, in reference to both of them, with the exception of Sophronios’s doctoral degree. After receiving their elementary education in Kephallenia under the tutelage of a cleric, the Leichoudes note, they studied philosophy and theology in Venice under the guidance of Gerasimos Vlachos (1605/1607–1685), of Vlachos’s nephew Arsenios Kal(l)oudes (d. 1693) in the Cottunian College in Padua, and Sophronios also in the University of Padua.²⁰ Boris Fonkich has questioned part of this claim on the basis of what

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

him the abbacy of a monastery on the Greek island of Kerkyra (Corfu), another Venetian dependency. In Corfu, beyond serving as abbot, he also engaged in preaching and teaching until 1680 when he was appointed metropolitan of Philadelphieia (that is, primate of the Orthodox Church in Venice), a position he occupied until his death in 1685.²⁷ Partly educated at the dependency of Saint Catherine's of Mount Sinai in Chandax (Herakleion) in Crete and partly an autodidact, Vlachos was probably the most prolific Greek writer of the seventeenth century. He authored an immense number of works ranging from grammatical and rhetorical handbooks, to dictionaries and treatises on natural philosophy and scholastic theology, to sermons and *artes praedicandi* (manuals of preaching). Of these works only two were published, a quadrilingual dictionary titled *Thesaurus Tetraglossos* (Venice, 1659) and a bilingual collection of philosophical definitions and sayings called *Harmonia horistike ton onton* (Harmony of Definitions of Beings) (Venice, 1661).²⁸ Although none of his grammatical, rhetorical, or philosophical works was ever printed, they played an influential role in Greek education of the second half of the seventeenth century and throughout the eighteenth. During that period Greek schools used a number of Vlachos's textbooks for instruction in humanities and philosophy courses.²⁹ Nevertheless, Vlachos's philological, philosophical, and theological output still remains a largely uncharted territory. In particular, scholars have paid scant attention to the content and sources of his textbooks and treatises on philosophical and theological issues, preferring to describe him generically as a representative of Aristotelianism.³⁰ Such a label does little to help in understanding the Cretan scholar's thought since it overlooks the existence of many different kinds of Aristotelianism in post-Renaissance Italy as well as in the seventeenth-century Greek world. Vlachos had read widely and possessed a huge and varied library.³¹ His treatises on rhetoric and logic were particularly influenced by the work of contemporary Jesuit authors in their respective scholarly fields. To the extent that Vlachos used his own textbooks in the instruction of such subjects, it appears that the education Vlachos provided to his students was based on the curriculum of Jesuit colleges as it had evolved until the middle of the seventeenth century. Himself an ardent defender of Orthodoxy, the Cretan intellectual did not shrink from adopting what he must have considered useful and successful pedagogical materials. As will be shown below, Vlachos's textbooks and teaching played a decisive role in the Leichoudes' intellectual formation as well as in their curricular choices for the Slavo-Greco-Latin Academy.

Although the available information makes it possible to form a picture of Vlachos's scholarly interests, very little is known about his nephew and

faithful companion Arsenios Kal(l)oudes. 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)oudes 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)oudes 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 Leichoudes' 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

them.³⁶ To a certain extent, the Cottunian College was founded as a competitor to the Collegio Greco for the loyalty of the Greek prospective students who were citizens of Venice.³⁷ Its classes and organizational framework were thus a copy of a Jesuit institution of education. Cottunius and the Venetian authorities had decided to fight Jesuit propaganda by adopting the very same curriculum that their opponents used. In setting up their own school in Moscow, the Leichoudes would follow the institutional contours of the school in which they themselves had studied.³⁸

In addition to his studies under Vlachos and Kal(l)oudes, Sophronios received a doctorate in *iatrophilosophy* from the University of Padua. Starting in the fifteenth century, Padua had had a long history of innovative and, in some cases, radical approaches to Aristotelianism. With the study of law and especially medicine crowning its doctoral curriculum and with the Venetian authorities intent on preventing papal interference in the republic's affairs, the university enjoyed considerable freedoms and flourished. In the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries it became a haven for scholars who taught an Aristotle largely independent of theological constraints. The program of studies emphasized Aristotle's physical writings and scientific methodology, rather than his metaphysics. The result was a much more naturalistic qualitative physics than the dominant one in other schools, coupled with considerable attention to questions of method in the study of the natural world. By the time Sophronios enrolled, this kind of Aristotelianism was under attack by both Cartesians and experimental scientists. Moreover, it was under retreat at the University of Padua itself. To what extent the Paduan school of physics (whatever its contours may have been by mid-seventeenth century during the tenure of Cottunius and others there) had an impact on Sophronios is difficult to tell. It is instructive, however, that when Sophronios had to select a physics textbook for his students in Moscow, he utilized the one "authored" by his brother Ioannikios, which was thoroughly imbued with the Thomist readings of Aristotle characteristic of Jesuit thinkers. It was the Aristotelianism of the Jesuit schools that defined the philosophical orientation of the Slavo-Greco-Latin Academy's curriculum.³⁹

For the subsequent period of the two brothers' lives, between 1670 and 1683, the existing sources are fragmentary. In their own telling, Ioannikios and Sophronios claimed to have assumed teaching and administrative positions on Kephallenia, while Sophronios also taught for a short period of time in Arta, but the existing sources provide few details. In the 1670s, Ioannikios (under the name Ioannes, since he had not become a monk yet) served both as a priest in the Church of Saint Spyridon in Lexouri, and as a schoolteacher in Greek and Latin.⁴⁰ Elias Tsitseles questioned the

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

responsibilities in Moscow. Such an invitation cannot have been made without knowledge of the Russian authorities, but it appears to have come through private channels.

Second, when the Leichoudes brothers arrived in Constantinople, they did not necessarily come with a prearranged plan to move to Moscow. In a letter of Ioannes Karyophylles, at the time the Grand Logothete (a layman, second in command to the patriarch and responsible for all official communications with other ecclesiastical and lay authorities) of the Patriarchate of Constantinople, to Kyminites, dated probably 1683, Karyophylles makes mention of the Leichoudes (not by name, but it is clear that the reference is to them), to the effect that the Leichoudes were offered a teaching position at the patriarchal school, but given the turmoil there and the problems that the students were creating, the Leichoudes refused. Karyophylles characterized the Leichoudes as “trained sufficiently in the subjects [to be taught]” (*eskemenoi metrios mathemasin*). He also reported that the Leichoudes gave a teaching demonstration to the students, but because they became concerned by the students’ troublesomeness, they eventually declined the offer to teach there.⁴⁶

Smentsovskii provided by far the most detailed examination of the evidence on the Russian side, and subsequent scholars have generally followed suit.⁴⁷ Following Kapterev,⁴⁸ he insisted that the interest in, and invitation of, Greek teachers was an affair of Moscow’s Patriarch Ioakim (1674–1690).⁴⁹ Thus, he first cited the witness of Dositheos, patriarch of Jerusalem (1669–1707), alternatively the benefactor and scourge of the Leichoudes during their stay in Constantinople and Russia.⁵⁰ According to Dositheos’s letter to the tsars dated 1693 (that is, when his relations with the Leichoudes had already begun to turn sour—see below), Patriarch Ioakim had requested through Meletios, the Greek hierodeacon of the Nikol’skii Monastery in Moscow, that Dositheos procure a teacher of Greek.⁵¹ Dositheos also reported that Meletios asserted that such a request was in accordance with the tsar’s wishes. Meletios’s letter appears not to have survived, and its presumed date is not clear. It is true that Dositheos took great pains to aid the educational activities of Greeks in Moscow throughout his patriarchate. For instance, in a letter sent to Tsar Fedor in 1682, Dositheos first thanked the tsar for the alms sent to him and confirmed receiving the letters that Prokofii Voznitsyn brought with him as Russian ambassador to the Ottoman Porte (1681–1682).⁵² He then praised the tsar for permitting the operation of a school of Greek in Moscow (this was the so-called Typography School, headed by the monk Timofei) and engaged in a paean of Greek letters from the early Christian centuries down to Byzantine times.⁵³ Obviously, Dositheos was very

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 Leichoudes' 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 Leichoudes, 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 Leichoudes 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 Leichoudes 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 Leichoudes 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 Leichoudes 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 Leichoudes 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 Leichoudes did refer to a meeting with the patriarchs of Alexandria and Antioch in which the two prelates proposed that the Leichoudes go to Moscow. It is also true, as Smentsovskii (following Kapterev) remarked, that in this case the Leichoudes appeared to say that the tsar's request was relayed by Voznitsyn to these two patriarchs only.⁵⁶ The

actual wording of the text is: "To them, the Eastern patriarchs, according to the will of the Great Lords the Tsarist Majesties, was commanded through the envoy Prokofii Voznitsyn that educated persons be invited to the great reigning city of Moscow."⁵⁷ In other words, the Leichoudees suggested that Voznitsyn had addressed his request "to the Eastern patriarchs" without specifying whether to only two or all of the Eastern patriarchs. In addition, in the same testimony, the Leichoudees mentioned the common decision on the part of the Eastern prelates for their dispatch to Moscow.⁵⁸ As is evident, the constant elements of the Leichoudees' account were the oral request of Voznitsyn and the insistence on the conciliar decision of the Eastern patriarchs as to their mission (together with the reference to the conciliar letter). As for Voznitsyn's proposition, this might as well have been true, despite the fact that, as Kapterev noted, Voznitsyn's *stateinyi spisok* (that is, the orders given to him regarding his diplomatic mission) does not include any information to this effect. Nor is there any reference to such a request in the admittedly laconic, chronicle-like entries on important personal, political, and religious events by Ioannes Karyophylles, who must have been involved in the discussions with Voznitsyn in Constantinople.⁵⁹ The Leichoudees were not in Constantinople during Voznitsyn's sojourn there (1681–1682). Thus, it is possible that this story was relayed to them by one of the patriarchs. The fact that in almost all of the evidence the initiative was never that of the patriarch of Constantinople can be easily explained by the fact that Dionysios IV Mouselimes had a very tumultuous reign on the ecumenical throne (he was deposed and reinstated five times between the years 1671 and 1694).⁶⁰ During the 1680s, the affairs of the Ecumenical Patriarchate seem to have been primarily handled by Patriarch Dositheos.⁶¹ In this sense, it can be said that Dositheos was the prime mover behind the activities surrounding the Leichoudees' mission, and his two colleagues might have acted on his instructions. As Kapterev rightly pointed out, at this early stage, the Leichoudees had no reason to diminish Dositheos's role in their dispatch or to emphasize the activity of the other patriarchs.⁶² The information contained in the three polemical works of the Leichoudees does not contradict this version of the events. Finally, the absence of the patriarch of Antioch's signature in the Leichoudees' recommendation letter can be explained as a result of the uncertainty surrounding the succession to the Antiochian patriarchal throne at the time.⁶³ It is true that the Leichoudees' claim on Voznitsyn's oral request is hard to explain satisfactorily. Still, the fact that this claim is first mentioned in the hetman's letter indicates that the two brothers brought the story with them from Constantinople. Thus, they cannot be accused of contriving it themselves. It is possible that Hierodeacon

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

engage in trade in Moscow itself, but rather in Putivl' on the border, as was the case until 1647.⁶⁶

According to Kapterev, this second *ukaz* provoked a reaction from Patriarch Ioakim, since it created problems in the communication with clergymen from the Orthodox East. Thus, Ioakim submitted a petition to the tsar on March 18, 1678 (in reality 1679), in which he asked for the annulment of the provisions of the September 1676 *ukaz*, especially with regard to clergymen. Specifically, in his petition Ioakim emphasized the problems that the edict had created for contacts with the Orthodox East, but also for the liberation of prisoners of war as well as for the procurement of certain products. Thus, he asked the tsar to allow Greek clergymen access to Moscow provided that they had concessionary letters (*zhalovannye gramoty*) proving their right to periodic travel to Muscovy for alms. In addition, the patriarch requested the exception of all Greeks from the *ukaz's* provisions since they were coreligionists; many of them brought Muscovite prisoners of war whose freedom they had secured;⁶⁷ and, finally, they provided Moscow with various "precious goods" (*uzorochnye tovary*).⁶⁸ In response, the tsar ordered the necessary alterations to the September 1676 *ukaz*. According to the new stipulations, clergymen from Palestine (i.e., the Orthodox East), both black and white (i.e., monastic and secular), were permitted to come to Moscow in the designated years of their *gramoty*. Likewise, merchants bringing former prisoners of war were allowed entrance, but those trading in certain categories of goods (*zapovednye tovary*) were to engage in trade only in border towns. In all cases without exception, the border authorities were to check the documents of those wishing to enter Muscovy in order to ascertain that such travelers were coming in the designated year of their concessionary letters and that merchants brought only permitted products. A particular concern of this new tsarist *ukaz* was the possibility of a plague outbreak in Muscovy; thus, almost half of the *ukaz's* text dwelled upon the precautions that the border authorities were strongly cautioned to take so as to guarantee that the newcomers hailed from plague-free areas. In particular, these measures were to be applied in the case of prisoners of war.⁶⁹

There is no need to attribute to Tsar Fedor's and Patriarch Ioakim's actions any supposed Grecophobic or Grecophile sentiments. Instead, one can interpret these actions more fruitfully by considering the historical context. When he assumed the throne in 1676, Tsar Fedor was barely fifteen years old. As a youngster, he could hardly have had as personal and noticeable an effect on governmental measures concerning the Greeks as Kapterev and Smentsovskii suggest. More importantly, the new measures regarding Greeks coming from the East and their amendment are best understood

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

to travel to Russia. In his own report (*relazione*) to the Venetian Senate upon completion of his tenure as *bailo*, Donato indeed reported that he had established continuous contact with two Venetian subjects from Kephallenia, a monk and a hieromonk, whose last names he gives as Leucadi. That Donato might have strongly encouraged the Leichoudes to undertake the trip to Moscow is possible; in his report he stated that they were preparing to go to Moscow to teach the youth, but also emphasized that he had established steady collaboration with them and had furnished them with instructions and a cipher, suggesting a foreign policy investment on Donato's part. The Donato link thus adds a significant Venetian connection to the Leichoudes' mission to Moscow in the context of Greco-Russian contacts. In his *relazione*, Donato devoted a separate chapter to Ottoman relations with their neighbors and reported Ottoman concerns that the Muscovites were closing in on their territories.⁷⁵ It is hard to imagine that Ioannikios would have asserted that Donato had dispatched them to Russia, while he (Ioannikios) was in Venice in full cognizance of the fact that uncovering any such lie would be very easy for the Venetian authorities. In view of the above, Ioannikios's trip to Venice in 1688, and the quasi-diplomatic activities in which he became involved appear more comprehensible.

It took the Leichoudes almost two years to complete the trip. Their itinerary led them first to Wallachia and Moldavia, then to Poland and through the Ukraine to Russia. Several obstacles delayed them on the road. First, due to the Austro-Turkish War, they had to remain in Wallachia for about nine months. Their sojourn there does not appear to have been particularly burdensome. Especially after the end of the campaign in 1683, when Prince (*Hospodar*) Șerban Kantakouzenos returned to his capital Bucharest, the Leichoudes engaged in preaching and writing panegyrics, one of which was naturally in praise of the prince himself.⁷⁶ They were occupied with much the same activities during their subsequent three-month stay in the principality of Transylvania. It was there, according to their own testimony, that Ioannikios and Sophronios also engaged in learned disputations with Protestant scholars at a variety of locations, especially on the issue of the *filioque* (that is, the procession of the Holy Spirit from both the Father and the Son) and confession. In August 1684, they reached the court of Jan Sobieski (r. 1674–1696), king of the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth. Sobieski is said to have welcomed them but to have prevented them from continuing on their trip. The Leichoudes themselves attributed this reluctance wholly to Jesuit plots. Specifically, they asserted that Jesuits in the court of the Polish king vehemently opposed the establishment of a school in Moscow since it would undercut similar plans of their own. They believed that Muscovite

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

even meet the kings [the tsars] and the patriarch [of Moscow], and to encourage them in this affair.”⁸²

Sobieski's main concern was the possibility that the Leichoudes had been sent to Moscow at Ottoman instigation and with the connivance of the ecumenical patriarch in order to prevent the success of ongoing negotiations for common Polish-Muscovite action against the Ottomans.⁸³ Chatzkyriakes's mediation brought results since, according to his account, the king soon thereafter organized a farewell dinner for the Leichoudes, in which the participants drank to the health of the king and the Venetian doge. Another version, according to rumors circulating in Moscow, which Ioannikios would have to deal with later on in the 1680s, had them promising the Polish king to return after four months from Moscow. The Leichoudes themselves later, in *Mechets dukhovnyi*, reported escaping from the king's entourage in L'vov. This is the only point in which Chatzkyriakes's account contradicts that of the Leichoudes. Ioannikios and Sophronios were, of course, lying. It would not be to their benefit to boast of Sobieski's hospitality while they were in Moscow.⁸⁴ The day following the farewell dinner, Sobieski sent them off to Kiev in the company of Hetman Samoilovich's men and from there to Baturin where the hetman was and from whom they received a letter of introduction. From there on, they continued their trip without obstacle. They arrived in Moscow on March 6, 1685, accompanied by Hierodeacon (and later student in the Academy) Dionysios, as well as three companions.

“To Open the Eyes of the Muscovites”: Polemicists and Teachers,
1685–1694

In Moscow the Leichoudes were embraced by both the royal court and the patriarchate. Vasili Vasil'evich Golitsyn, the main supporter of the regent Sophia Alekseevna, welcomed and patronized them, as did Patriarch Ioakim.⁸⁵ At the same time, several other persons in and close to the court were less than pleased to see the two brothers treated as honored guests. The reason for this was partly the Leichoudes' own behavior. The Leichoudes could be deceitful and arrogant, as a number of conflicts preserved in the sources testify. Throughout their tenure in the Academy, they involved themselves in all kinds of shady deals with local Greeks and Russians, and more than once they had to resort to the protection of Golitsyn or Patriarch Ioakim in order to extricate themselves. A charge of espionage does not appear justified, however, at least in this first period of their stay in Moscow,

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

1680s as a personal one between the monks Sil'vestr Medvedev and Evfimii Chudovskii, both of whom were working as correctors in the Typography in Moscow.⁸⁷ Medvedev held that the transformation occurred with the words of Christ, whereas Evfimii supported the necessity of the priest's invocation of the Holy Spirit for its completion. Broadly speaking, the two positions corresponded to the teachings of the Roman Catholic and Eastern Orthodox Churches respectively, although both Medvedev and Evfimii as well as their supporters saw themselves as advocates of Orthodox doctrine. Thus, the dispute focused on interpretation of the liturgical practice, rather than on liturgical ritual. As Potter argues, there was an important subtext that eventually transformed this personal debate into a broader one that encapsulated the issue of spiritual and administrative authority in the Muscovite Church. According to her, Patriarch Ioakim, beyond his concern for the definition of doctrinal Orthodoxy, was also intent on upholding his office's dignity and control over the dissemination of church doctrine and spiritual enlightenment. Ioakim's policies vis-à-vis disobedient hierarchs, Old Believer dissenters, and challengers to his authority testify to the consistency of his efforts at asserting patriarchal authority in the church. Medvedev, on the other hand, was unwilling to acknowledge that such prerogatives belonged to the patriarch. In arguing for the words of Christ's efficacy, the monk Medvedev in essence assigned a lesser role to the priest in the performance of the liturgy and effectively undercut clerical authority. In such a view, the officiating priest was no longer an important mediating presence between the divine presence in the Holy Gifts and the flock of the faithful. His interjection was not needed for the completion of the transformation of bread and wine into the body and blood of Christ. In Medvedev's conception, each believer participated in the mystery of the transubstantiation individually through the grace bestowed on him by the Holy Spirit. In advocating such views, Potter argues, Medvedev was undercutting both the spiritual authority of the ordained clergy and their role as disseminators of the faith. Such a diminished role for the ordained clergy undermined contemporary efforts by Patriarch Ioakim to raise the status of the ordained clergy as spiritual leaders of the parish. By extension, Medvedev's claim challenged Patriarch Ioakim's attempts at imposing a clearly defined vertical hierarchical order in the church, in which patriarchal authority would rule supreme in both administrative and spiritual matters.⁸⁸

The conflict was played out in two phases. Sometime around 1683 to 1685, Medvedev authored a small pamphlet titled *Khleb zhivotnyi* (The bread of life), expounding his views on the Eucharist. This pamphlet does not seem to have excessively alarmed Patriarch Ioakim, though he must

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

dispute with the Leichoudes). The Apraksins must have been his primary patrons in facing Medvedev's attacks. Beyond working as a translator of diplomatic documents and interpreter in Russian embassies (he accompanied Fedor Alekseevich Golovin in his embassy to China in 1686), Belobotskii also engaged in the translation of Western theological and philosophical works and authored his own original compositions.⁹¹

Belobotskii's debate with the Leichoudes occurred in the presence of the Apraksin scions Petr Matveevich (*stol'nik* in the court of Tsar Peter I), Fedor Matveevich, and Andrei Matveevich, who were brothers of the widowed Tsaritsa Marfa Matveevna Apraksina (wife of the late Fedor Alekseevich); the nephew of Patriarch Ioakim, Ivan Alekseevich Musin-Pushkin;⁹² Nicolae Milescu Spafarii; and others.⁹³ As Smentsovskii remarks, the dispute must have indeed ended with victory for the Leichoudes and must have been a public demonstration of their Orthodoxy and their fitness for the Academy. According to the undoubtedly exaggerated account of the Leichoudes themselves, Belobotskii was left speechless by their arguments and was forced to concede that he was not well versed in theology. However, at the insistence of the boyars present, he was obliged to continue the disputation and shifted it to a discussion of the origins of the soul. Yet again, he was outdone by the Leichoudes.⁹⁴

The disputation with Belobotskii must indeed have been a public test of how prepared the Leichoudes were to assume the helm of the planned Academy as Orthodox scholars. Both religious and philosophical questions were brought up, although implying an absolute distinction between the two would be anachronistic for the time. As a public test, it is likely that the debate was staged, probably by Patriarch Ioakim.⁹⁵ It would be difficult to fathom that Belobotskii, in spite of all his past travails in Moscow, would have publicly and openly dared to espouse the Roman Catholic views on the Eucharist without the guarantee of some immunity from adverse consequences. The presence of Ivan Alekseevich Musin-Pushkin in the debate points to Ioakim's involvement in the organization of the event. The patriarch's nephew (and, according to some scholars, illegitimate son of Tsar Aleksei Mikhailovich) and future student of the Leichoudes would presumably inform Ioakim of the Leichoudes' performance and the debate's outcome. The question is why Ioakim would want to stage such a debate. The most likely answer is that he used the occasion to show Medvedev that he was not in charge, and that his opinions were not all that important. Even after Belobotskii's repentance of past sins and his forced confession of faith in 1681, Sil'vestr Medvedev saw him as a threat to his plans of heading the Academy. To further discredit him, Medvedev had written a detailed

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

premises as other than temporary. In June 1686, Patriarch Ioakim visited the Zaikonospasskii Monastery in search of a more suitable location for the Academy. As Potter correctly remarks, this visit was Ioakim's next step in his attempt to assert his authority over Medvedev. The Zaikonospasskii Monastery was headed by Medvedev and was home to his own school. Choosing it as the ideal place for the construction of the Academy's new building presaged Medvedev's final defeat.¹⁰⁰ Medvedev's connections to the royal court, especially the regent Sophia and Vasilii Vasil'evich Golitsyn, did not help him in his bid for the direction of the Academy. Apparently, Sophia was not ready or willing to antagonize the patriarch on the issue, although it is impossible to know what her real feelings were. V. V. Golitsyn, however, actively, if carefully, patronized the Leichoudes and appears to have supported or at least not opposed Ioakim's plans for the construction of a new building, although the extent of Golitsyn's involvement in the creation of the new building is not clear, as it rests primarily on the unreliable testimony of the Frenchman Foy de la Neuville.¹⁰¹ Nor could the Bogoiavlenskii Monastery's ties to the Golitsyns have escaped Ioakim's notice. The monastery was on Nikol'skaia Street in the Kitai-Gorod, was very close to the Kremlin and served as the burying place for boyars and princes from the Dolgorukov and Golitsyn families. V. V. Golitsyn's house was nearby on Tverskaia Street.¹⁰² Therefore, the transfer from the Bogoiavlenskii to the Zaikonospasskii Monastery may also be interpreted as part and parcel of Ioakim's efforts to lessen the dependence of the new school on Prince V. V. Golitsyn.¹⁰³ In this regard, it is worth emphasizing that the Leichoudes were, strictly speaking, on the state payroll, as their salary came out of the budget of the Chancellery of Printing Affairs. The same chancellery disbursed stipends to students, starting in September 1686, thus reflecting state support for the educational effort.¹⁰⁴ Throughout the seventeenth century (with the exception of the period of Nikon's patriarchate), the Chancellery of Printing Affairs was subject to the supervision of the *Prikaz Bol'shogo Dvortsa* (Chancellery of the Great Palace, that is, the royal court administration) and the *Prikaz Bol'shoi Kazny* (Chancellery of the Great Treasury, the court's financial headquarters). At the same time, reflecting the overarching authority that the Russian Orthodox Church had over printing in Russia, the edicts regarding printing matters were issued in the name of the tsar and countersigned by the patriarchal administration as well, thus making the Chancellery of Printing Affairs subject to the patriarchal administration, and especially in matters of financing, to the Patriarchal Treasury Chancellery.¹⁰⁵ Funded in part by the state and in part by the money left after Hierodeacon Meletios's death in 1686, the Academy's new building in the Zaikonospasskii Monastery was ready by the end of

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

as exemplified in the two most important works authored in the period, the Leichoudes' *Akos* and Medvedev's *Manna*. Arguing against Medvedev's positions, the two brothers sought to undermine both his understanding of the faith and his credentials as a scholar. In the process, Ioannikios and Sophronios employed to the utmost their Western learning. Thus, in addition to the all but expected references to Greek patristic sources, they adduced complex scholastic arguments heavily dependent on Aristotelian physics. The fundamental distinction between substance and form, as well as the interpretative tools of the four causes (material, formal, efficient, and final) informed the Leichoudes' argumentation. By all accounts, Medvedev, though not uneducated, lacked the specific training in philosophy that would enable him to fully grasp and respond to scholastic arguments. Moreover, in *Akos*, Ioannikios and Sophronios, at the direction of Ioakim, also sought to discredit the theological works of several Ukrainian and Belarusian clergymen, whose writings had long been in circulation both in Ruthenia and in Muscovy. The Ukrainians and Belarusians, of course, were more than prepared to battle the Leichoudes on Aristotelian turf, especially since many of them were graduates of the Kiev Mohyla College (since 1694, an academy practically in every respect except its formal title) and/or of other, mainly Jesuit-run, schools, where eclectic mixes of Aristotelianism reigned supreme.¹⁰⁸ However, they did so only in 1689, by which time Medvedev had already been dismissed from his position in the Typography. The overthrow of Sophia's government in September 1689 sealed Medvedev's fate and brought a political, rather than an intellectual resolution to the conflict.¹⁰⁹

It was not only scholastic argumentation that characterized this final stage of the Eucharist controversy. Both the Leichoudes and Medvedev also resorted to exaggerated *ad hominem* attacks. They accused each other of grammatical and linguistic ignorance and pointed out their opponent's alleged philological deficiencies. In the process, the issue of which of the two classical languages, Latin or Greek, properly and adequately expressed the meaning of the early Christian scriptural and patristic writings assumed a central place in the debate. Not unexpectedly, the Leichoudes argued for the superiority of Greek over Latin. Pointing out that Medvedev utilized Western, Latin works, Ioannikios and Sophronios counterposed Latin to Greek and found it largely deficient. Instead, they extolled Greek as the prototype of Latin and emphasized its primacy, since it retained the philosophical subtlety and nuances of the original apostolic and patristic works. Indeed, the Leichoudes argued, without knowledge of Greek one could be led astray since Latin translations often distorted the intended meaning of the word of God. For his part, Medvedev responded to the Leichoudian praise of

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

good reasons to believe that the Leichoudes were not above reproach. For example, Ioannikios prolonged his stay in Venice (until 1691) for reasons that were unknown to the Russian authorities, as an official report in the Chancellery of Foreign Affairs noted in 1690. After his return, Ioannikios tried to recoup supposed expenses of the trip by inflating the amount of money spent. The clerks of the Chancellery of Foreign Affairs conducted an inquiry into previous missions and demonstrated Ioannikios's exaggerated numbers. In addition, Ioannikios asked for back wages for his time in Venice, a claim to which, apparently under pressure from Patriarch Adrian, the authorities assented.¹¹⁴

Fall from Grace

Secure in their position as teachers in the Academy and “victors” in the Eucharist conflict, Ioannikios and Sophronios devoted most of their efforts to instruction until 1694. At the same time, they authored or compiled textbooks for their classes, engaged in translations from Greek for the Typography, and composed further anti-Latin polemics. The enjoyment of this rather comfortable status came to an end in 1694, when the two brothers were removed from the Academy and transferred to positions as correctors and translators in the Typography. Some scholars, both Russian but also Western, attribute the Leichoudes' expulsion to the reaction of a traditionalist “Grecophile” hierarchy that was opposed to the teaching of Latin in the Academy. In doing so, however, these scholars often fail to define precisely whether they are referring to the Russian or the Greek hierarchy, as well as neglecting to explain what that traditionalism entailed. Moreover, the same scholars tend to disregard very clear evidence that the eventual downfall of the Leichoudes was in fact the result of their attempted escape from Moscow following compromising behavior by one of Ioannikios's sons.¹¹⁵

In his biography of the Leichoudes, Smentsovskii provided a very clear and detailed account of the reasons for the Leichoudes' removal from instruction. He emphatically placed major blame on the shoulders of the Leichoudes themselves.¹¹⁶ Evidently rejoicing in their exalted status as the Academy's teachers and in their connections with the patriarchal and royal courts, the Leichoudes regarded themselves as leaders of the Greek community in the Russian capital. Patriarch of Jerusalem Dositheos was clearly cognizant of their activities, both in the Academy and outside of it, but appears to have condoned them since the two brothers were a particularly

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

patriarchs' will, the Leichoudes had introduced into the Academy the study of Latin, physics, and philosophy. Dositheos concluded his letter by exhorting Patriarch Adrian to take measures so that Ioannikios and Sophronios would concentrate on Greek and stop involving themselves in extra-academic activities (such as trade).¹²⁰

Patriarch Adrian appears not to have heeded Dositheos's exhortations. Meanwhile, a certain Bishop Arsenios (or Akakios), whom Dositheos had previously defrocked, appeared in Moscow in March 1693. Incensed at Dositheos's campaign against them, the Leichoudes took Arsenios under their protection, flagrantly disregarding the fact that Archimandrite Chrysanthos was still in Moscow and following their moves. This fact served as the last straw for Dositheos, for whom it became a matter of honor to have the Leichoudes removed from the Academy. Immediately after leaving Moscow, his nephew Chrysanthos started flooding Patriarch Adrian with letters requesting the final expulsion of the Leichoudes from the Academy and promising to send replacements as soon as possible.¹²¹

Throughout Dositheos's and Chrysanthos's assault on the Leichoudes, Patriarch Adrian does not appear to have wavered in his support of the two brothers. He may have been disturbed by the accusations, but he did not take any specific action. Following Patriarch Ioakim's example, Adrian certainly did not show any particular concern over the fact that the Leichoudes taught Latin and philosophy in the Academy.¹²² As a result, contrary to Dositheos's wishes, he allowed Ioannikios and Sophronios to continue their teaching activities until a particularly egregious incident forced him to dismiss them from the Academy. It appears that Ioannikios's son Nikolaos became involved in an affair with a young girl and kept her, presumably with the knowledge of the elder Leichoudes, in the Academy's building. According to the subsequent investigation, he later moved her to other accommodations under guard and threatened to kill her unless she agreed to dress like a man and learn Greek in the Academy. The young woman managed to get word to her father, who freed her and complained to the authorities. A clerk in the company of *strel'tsy* (musketeers) was sent to arrest Nikolaos who was at the time in the Academy's building. In the ensuing melee, Ioannikios and Sophronios with the assistance of their students succeeded in resisting the clerk and managed to barricade themselves behind the Academy's gates. Obviously afraid of the consequences of such an act, the two teachers with Ioannikios's children escaped from Moscow on August 5, 1694, but were quickly apprehended and returned to the capital. Interestingly, they were found in possession of letterhead with the royal coat of arms, which suggests

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

The Leichoudes' removal from the Academy was a result of their egregious behavior in the affair of Nikolaos. It was not brought about because of Dositheos's malicious campaign against them, nor by the actions of an imaginary traditionalist and conservative (Russian or Greek) church hierarchy. Following in the path of Patriarch Ioakim, Adrian and his prelates were not at all alarmed by the presence of Latin in the Academy. Nor, it should be emphasized, had Dositheos previously expressed any qualms about the Academy's curriculum, although he was no doubt well aware of its content. Dositheos was no traditionalist either and was not averse to sending his own hierarchs for study in Western Europe.¹²⁷ Moreover, Dositheos appears to have harbored a very elevated view of himself as arbiter of ecclesiastical affairs, and for the duration of his tenure he never stopped lecturing the Russians on a host of matters, while harboring rather condescending views about them as an *ethnos akakon* (an innocent people) who needed the direction and guidance of the Eastern patriarchs.¹²⁸ It was only when he saw his plans for a Greek printing press in Moscow thwarted that Dositheos changed his tune and attacked the Leichoudes. Obviously, the Jerusalem patriarch's accusations did not contribute to the Leichoudes' status, but it is extremely doubtful that they could have single-handedly brought about their downfall. Both the Russian royal and the patriarchal courts needed the educational services of the Leichoudes and paid little attention to what they probably considered a personal vendetta.

After their expulsion from the Academy and while serving as translators and correctors in the Typography,¹²⁹ the Leichoudes also offered private tutoring in Italian and possibly other languages. This instruction took on a more formal aspect in 1697 when Peter I ordered scions of boyars, lesser nobles, merchants and townsmen, and even soldiers from the Semenovskii Regiment to attend language classes in Italian under the guidance of the two brothers. The Italian school was under the control of the Chancellery of Military Service (*Razriadnyi Prikaz*) and students received stipends from the tsar's treasury (Chancellery of Great Treasury, *Prikaz Bol'shoi Kazny*), whereas the Leichoudes were supposed to be paid by the Chancellery of Printing Affairs. Study of Italian was connected to Peter's efforts at constructing a Russian fleet. Russians were ordered to work with Venetian masters (many of them of Greek or Dalmatian Slavic origin, as well as some Italians) in the construction of the Voronezh fleet. However, Leichoudian instruction in Italian faced a number of hurdles. Some prospective students receiving the call to appear at the school proved to be either too young or too old; some refused to appear citing the fact that they were married with children and/or that they had professional or business responsibilities; several

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,

but its veracity is doubtful. It is hard to fathom that in 1698 Evfimii would have concocted such a claim; if anything, he had been among the primary supporters of the Leichoudes until then. Moreover, contemporary Jesuit accounts and correspondence of the 1680s and 1690s hardly make mention of the Academy, and do not provide evidence of any particular Leichoudian connection to Uniate or Jesuit circles. Georgius David, S.J., who was in Moscow between 1685 and 1689, reported only briefly on the Academy and only that it did not have very much success. Very much in line with other examples among Western-educated Greeks of the time, the Leichoudes must have been subjected to Roman Catholic propaganda in Venice and in Padua, but they appear to have retained their Orthodoxy. Nevertheless, theirs was a Westernized Orthodoxy. Ioannikios and Sophronios were not above lying and cheating in many other matters, and it appears that what Artem'ev may have witnessed was just such an instance.¹³⁴

Between Novgorod and Moscow

Shaken by the accusations of Petr Artem'ev against his former teachers, in June 1698 Patriarch Adrian decided to transfer Ioannikios and Sophronios to the Novospasskii Monastery. This transfer certainly did not result in the complete removal of the Leichoudes from Russian intellectual life, or from teaching Italian. After all, their new place of residence was an important monastery in the Russian capital, whose cathedral served as the burial place of the Romanovs, the Russian royal dynasty. In the Novospasskii Monastery, the two brothers spent their time engaging in the composition of panegyrics and anti-Protestant polemical works. In 1704, by order of the tsar, they were removed from Moscow to Kostroma: the Russian government was expecting the arrival of the Ottoman ambassador and was taking measures to prevent any possible contact between Muscovite Greeks and the staff of the Turkish embassy. Ioannikios and Sophronios lived for two years in the Kostroma Ipat'ev Monastery (they wrote an extended version of their Greek grammar while there), until in 1706 the metropolitan of Novgorod, Iov, petitioned Tsar Peter to have them transferred to the capital of his eparchy. As one of the most enlightened hierarchs of his time in Russia, Iov was interested in the establishment of schools in his see and regarded the two Greek teachers as the persons for the job. Ioannikios and Sophronios duly obliged and contributed (especially the former) substantially to Iov's educational initiatives. Novgorod's school was founded on the prototype of the Slavo-Greco-Latin Academy, although it included instruction only in the lower courses of

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

Greek grammar for seven years and they could hardly translate a page from Greek.¹³⁸ Despite attempts by Sophronios to secure his brother's return to Moscow, Ioannikios remained in Novgorod until finally joining Sophronios in Moscow only in 1716.¹³⁹ Reunited, the two brothers served as members of the committee overseeing the translation of the Bible into Slavonic, an enterprise in which Sophronios had been involved since its inception in 1712. Ioannikios died at the age of eighty-four on August 7, 1717, and was buried in Moscow in the Zaikonospasskii Monastery. Sophronios continued his scholarly and teaching activities until 1722, when he was replaced at the Greek school by Athanasios Skiadas. Between 1718 and 1720, and then again after 1725, when the Greek school became part of the Slavo-Latin school (thus creating the unified Slavo-Greco-Latin Academy), Aleksei Kirillov Barsov, a former student of Sophronios's, also taught in the school. In 1723, Sophronios was appointed archimandrite of the Solotchinskii Monastery, in Riazan' eparchy. Old and sickly, he returned to Moscow in 1727, ostensibly as a supervisor of the Greek school, and died there in 1730.¹⁴⁰

Toward a Portrait of the Leichoudes Brothers

In the tombstone inscription for his brother in 1717, Sophronios called upon the passerby to remember the scholar, the brother, and the cleric:

Here lies a man of God, Messenger of the Eastern Church . . . who was chosen by Pallas Athena [i.e., Minerva] for a lyceum, by industriousness for the sciences, by exactitude for the Holy Scripture. Already death has taken him to the grave. Behold, he is currently residing in the shadow of Hades, he who always bravely fought in support of the piety of his homeland and his nation [*genos*].

In fact, Sophronios continued, Ioannikios had labored without fail for sixty-eight years as teacher of philosophy and theology in support of the piety of homeland and nation. The epitaph specified that, in July 1683, the four Eastern patriarchs had sent Ioannikios together with Sophronios, who held a doctoral degree from the University of Padua (*en to Patavino leukeio [sic] estemmenou didaskalou*), to Moscow. The two brothers, carrying a letter signed by all four patriarchs and by other hierarchs personally, arrived in Moscow on March 6, 1685. Finally, the epitaph reminded the reader that the two brothers hailed from "the high archons Leichoudes of the Constantinople Senate, in the year 1041" and from the "famous city of the island of Kephallenia" after 1453. Sophronios lamented that a man worthy

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,

they understood the rules of the game in a status-conscious society, and attempted to carve out as prominent a place in it for themselves as they could. In the early 1690s, they transformed their last name to make it sound more Byzantine and sought to establish a firm connection to a famed Byzantine patriarch. They were successful in doing so, which is evidence if not of the trust placed in them, then at least of the fact that the Russian authorities were willing to play along. This obvious perpetual concern with status is also evident in the image they sought to project both in Moscow and outside of it. In Moscow they were repeatedly accused of seeking to portray themselves as leaders of the Greek community. In correspondence with fellow scholars, they sought to provide an exalted image of themselves. Thus, when Nicolaus Comnenus Papadopoli, himself a professor at the University of Padua, called them *paidagogoi* (that is, in the parlance of the time, tutors to small children), they promptly countered this demeaning description of their work and emphasized their status as teachers in a royal academy.¹⁴³ They also successfully hunted for patrons so that Ioannikios's children could secure careers in Russia. All along, they emphasized their position as teachers in a royal and patriarchal school. Moreover, they utilized their connection as subjects of Venice, both while in Constantinople and later on, in the late 1680s, when Ioannikios traveled to Venice on family matters. The link to Venice seems to have helped them land the job in Moscow and also later to secure Ioannikios a temporary appointment as Russian envoy. Thus, they used the opportunities that the Russian framework provided to the maximum extent permitted. For them, as increasingly for many other Greek itinerant clerics of the time, Russia was a place of opportunity and wealth. In this sense as well, the Leichoudes were typical of educated Greek individuals who sought employment and a more comfortable life outside of the narrow confines of their homelands. At the same time, despite their long sojourn in Russia, they never seem to have lost their affection and connections with Kephallenia. Indeed, they kept regular contact with relatives on the island, and toward the end of their lives attempted to deal with inheritance issues, to take care of their relatives as well as to safeguard their family's reputation and status in their original homeland.

In the late 1680s and early 1690s, during their sojourn in the Academy, they also acquired a number of enemies. That the Leichoudes could be litigious, deceitful, and prone to machinations is beyond doubt. In his private correspondence, the merchant Chatzkyriakes Vourliotes, an early acquaintance of the Leichoudes, described them by using both regional stereotypes (Kephallenians were reputed to be adventurous and stubborn) and ascribed to them arrogance due to their links to the royal court.¹⁴⁴ From the very

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,

especially from such cash-strapped clergymen as the Eastern patriarchs. All evidence suggests that this was an internal conflict among Greeks, maybe one that Medvedev used for his own purposes. By December 1687 the Leichoudes petitioned to be allowed to leave Russia, as they were receiving death threats.¹⁴⁸

The Leichoudes weathered all these conflicts and by 1688 were enriching themselves through the largesse of patriarch, tsar, and noblemen (members of the Odoevskii family and others).¹⁴⁹ After the scandal of Nikolaos Leichoudes's egregious behavior broke, they seem to have initially believed that they could even resist arrest, and only later did they attempt to flee. When they were caught during their effort to escape, they carried a blank copy of the tsar's letterhead, which provided them with an obvious and compromising opportunity to instrumentalize their sojourn in Russia, possibly by forging documents. Nor did they endear themselves to Dositheos, most likely because they were not very helpful to his envoy and nephew Chrysanthos. Indeed, scandal seems to have followed Ioannikios and Sophronios into their older years, as the Artem'ev affair and the Zervos case show, but they survived it all. They continued to provide teaching and translation services through the 1690s and into the reign of Peter the Great.

Despite being hieromonks, the Leichoudes were far from the monastic hermits Dositheos would have wanted them to be, or even just the bookish professors at the Academy. Rather, they were men of the world, enterprising and involved fully in affairs that were economic, spiritual, educational, and even diplomatic (at least during the first five years of their sojourn in Russia). Their educational expertise and linguistic skills served them well, precisely because their services were needed in Russia. The Leichoudes faced repeated challenges of their own making and pressures by the Russian political and ecclesiastical authorities. Nevertheless, they adapted to their adopted Russian homeland and managed to manipulate their positions there, as much as they could, in order to survive. At the same time, they contributed fundamentally to the establishment of a Jesuit-influenced institutionalized education in Russia.

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

after all teaching in the more “liberal” environment of Venice) adapted their instruction to the needs and demands of the Muscovite Orthodox cultural environment. Thus, they generally prefaced their expositions with professions of adherence to Aristotle and insisted that they accepted his opinions insofar as they did not run contrary to the basic tenets of Eastern Orthodoxy. They extolled the virtues of Greek wisdom, be it ancient (as in Aristotle) or Orthodox Christian (as in the Fathers of the Church). Still, such disclaimers and proclamations were to a large extent superficial, since the two brothers fairly faithfully followed the lead of Latin authors in instruction. To be more precise, the Leichoudes sifted Greek wisdom from Western sources. When Ioannikios and Sophronios cited the Greek Fathers of the Church in their rhetoric and philosophy, they did so after the example of Western prototypes. Similarly, the Leichoudes’ Aristotle was not simply the original Aristotle (*pace* Leichoudian assurances to this effect) or the Aristotle of the Byzantines; rather, it was a Jesuit Aristotelianism, Thomist in its basic interpretative approach but also eclectic in that it incorporated elements from other philosophical systems as well as some of the astronomical and mathematical advances of the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries. Thus, the Leichoudian Academy’s curriculum was that of a seventeenth-century Jesuit college packaged in Orthodox guise.

Other Greek educational enterprises of the seventeenth century, both in the West and in the Greek East, were also largely based on Jesuit prototypes, even as they consciously strove to distance themselves from Latin teachings in the doctrinal and pious aspects of education. It could not have been otherwise since the Greeks acquired much of their education in the Latin West, or under scholars who had studied there. Viewed through this prism, the Leichoudian Academy falls squarely into the larger pattern of Greek secondary and higher education in the early modern period. It is only in this sense that the Leichoudes can be seen as representative of Greek elite culture as well. This was not an ossified Byzantine culture, focused on the study of the Greek Church Fathers and monastic spirituality. Rather, it was a culture heavily influenced by Renaissance and Baroque intellectual currents that left an indelible imprint on the Greek philosophical and theological output of the time. In the particular case of secondary and higher education, such influences partially translated into Greek imitation and adaptation of Jesuit educational patterns.² There is no comprehensive study of the debt that Greek Orthodox schools of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, whether in the West or in the Orthodox East, owe to specifically Jesuit educational patterns and practices. Certainly, these patterns are mentioned in the cases of schools established by Jesuits (or

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

as translated geographical and historical writings made their appearance, without however substantially upsetting the preponderance of religious literature.¹⁰ What in Western Europe came to be known as the liberal arts was largely absent in Russia until well into the second half of the seventeenth century. For example, Aristotle, the preceptor of all knowledge in the West, was very little known in Muscovy.¹¹ Kievan Rus' and Muscovite bookmen largely bypassed or even shunned Byzantine secular literature and as a result acquired at best a very limited and fragmentary knowledge of antique learning. Their attitude to the classics was formed by what they read in the church literature. Being mostly churchmen, they followed the letter of the Church Fathers in their repudiation of Greek philosophy and external knowledge, an attitude reflected also in the very limited presence of ancient themes in artistic production, and in the scant knowledge of Greek.¹² Foreigners' accounts uniformly attest to the low level of learning of the Muscovites, even if one must be aware of their prejudices and distortions regarding the nature of Russian education.¹³ The evidence appears to support their testimony, at least in the case of formal, that is, institutionalized, schooling. In the mid-sixteenth century, the Stoglav Council recommended the creation of schools by married clerics in various Russian cities, but this decision does not appear to have been applied in practice, although it reflects a recognition by the state of the importance of learning.¹⁴ For all intents and purposes, Kievan Rus' and Muscovite society showed few marks of formal schooling and even fewer of broad, liberal-arts learning until the latter half of the seventeenth century.¹⁵

Nevertheless, recently several Russian scholars have revisited the issue of the absence of formal education and have investigated the extent to which the existing structures (the primer system) adequately met the needs of Russian society. Although not a single grammar was printed in the second half of the seventeenth century,¹⁶ educational titles (*uchebnaia literatura*, that is, primers, breviaries, psalters, and so on) constituted more than one third of all printing output in Russia in the first half of the seventeenth century, and a third in the second half of the century. In the latter period, such literature constituted more than half of the total print run in numerical terms and included printings of the *kanonnik* (with hymns to God and the saints for daily usage) and distinct printings of breviaries and psalters for educational and for liturgical purposes. According to one interpretation, the breviary furnished some knowledge on the natural world and trained students on how to behave in a variety of social settings.¹⁷ Still other scholars have rejected the search for schools in the period before the mid-seventeenth century as a particular nineteenth-century concern that smacks of

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

practices into Russia from the late sixteenth century and has treated the prehistory of higher education in the premodern period as well. In particular, some studies have underlined the transfer of Jesuit patterns of schooling from Ukraine and Belarus into Muscovy in the case of schools set up by Orthodox brotherhoods starting in the late sixteenth century and culminating in the foundation and function of the Kiev Mohyla Academy in the mid-seventeenth century.²² Although such scholarship has rejected the label of latecomer in the case of Russia as not useful, there is no denying that Russia developed a system of higher education much later than other countries to its west. This fact needs to be explained and placed into context. In particular, why did the Russians become increasingly concerned about schools in the early modern period and how did they go about solving this issue?

After the Time of Troubles (1598–1613), the Russian government faced the demands of reorganization of its administration and military. By the 1650s the chancellery system had been expanded and further centralized.²³ If the state could rely on hiring foreign experts for the reform of the army,²⁴ for the conduct of day-to-day business it needed administrators with the necessary skills and at least some knowledge of foreign languages for missions abroad. For its part, the church had to confront similar tasks. First, its administration was faltering due in large part to the size of the eparchies and to the precarious control of the patriarch over the largely autonomous hierarchs. More importantly, preservation of doctrinal orthodoxy, uniformity of liturgical theory and practice, as well as leadership over the spiritual life of the populace required concerted action by educated clergymen. Simultaneously, the church had to safeguard its autonomy from the increasing inroads that the tsarist government was making in its affairs. Patriarch Nikon's (1652–1666) unsuccessful attempt to address these problems and the schism of the Old Belief demonstrated the church's failure to counter tsarist interference as well as its inability to claim sole authority over the dispensation of doctrinal truth and the application of liturgical practice. Communicating the message of the faith to the simple believer required previous understanding of it on the part of the clergy, a skill that, all evidence suggests, few possessed among the high prelates and even fewer among the common priests. Lack of educated clergy resulted in poor instruction in the tenets of Orthodoxy. Contemporary voices, both native and foreign, identified the intransigence of the Old Believers with just such a lack of education.²⁵ Deficiencies in the church's hierarchical structure and the need for learned understanding of the faith were all too obvious to ignore.

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 reform of ritual. It was exactly at that time that schools and education were emphasized as a solution to church and state needs. Time and again, Greek clergymen advised the Muscovites to set up schools where young Russians could study their own language as well as Greek and Latin. Only in this way could the Russian Church ensure that faith was preserved uncorrupted and that its message was passed on to the average believer in a comprehensible manner.³² Learning would thus overcome attachment to ritual and lead to an understanding of the meaning behind it. At the same time, schools would provide for state needs in terms of skilled bureaucrats and would facilitate Muscovy's ties with the West and the Orthodox world, thus raising its international status.

Such advice found its fullest expression in polemical works and orations by the visiting Eastern Orthodox clerics who participated in the Church Councils of 1666–1667. Convened by Tsar Aleksei Mikhailovich to decide the fate of Patriarch Nikon, the councils were attended by Patriarchs Paisios of Jerusalem and Makarios of Antioch.³³ However, the most active participant was Paisios Ligarides (1609–1678). A native of the Aegean island of Chios, Ligarides had studied in the West, where he had apparently joined the Roman Catholic Church. Upon returning to the East, he reconverted to Orthodoxy and became metropolitan of Gaza in Palestine. Arriving in Russia in 1662, he soon acquired great influence with Tsar Aleksei Mikhailovich and acted as his advisor throughout the Nikon affair.³⁴ In refuting the petition of priest Nikita (one of the leading figures among the Old Believers), Ligarides implored the tsar to counter the schism of Old Belief with the establishment of schools and libraries:

I too looked for the roots of this spiritual illness . . . and I found that it springs out of two sources, that is: from the lack and absence of popular schools, as well as from the dearth and insufficiency of holy libraries.³⁵

Ligarides went on to argue for setting up schools in each parish and monastery and funding them through money collected from monasteries and bishoprics. Students would study three languages: Greek, the language of holy scripture; Latin, the language that “now reigns in schools, in books, in princely houses, and which is considered common and spoken by almost all peoples as their usual [i.e., native] one”; and Slavic, since it was the language of the Slavs.³⁶ Recounting the story of Alcibiades, the fifth-century BCE Athenian general, who, when asked about the foundation of happiness, answered that it was “first: gold, second: gold, third: gold,” Ligarides exclaimed:

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

notably in Italy. The Academies of Constantinople and Athens constantly faced shortages of teachers and students, and were repeatedly reorganized. Thus, Greek clergy were correct in pointing out the migration of their compatriots to the West in search of education in their appeals to the Russians.⁴⁰ At the same time, they were interested in raising their influence with the Russians. If the Muscovites were to establish schools, where else could they look for teachers but in the Greek East? And if Greek were to be taught, then naturally the printing of Greek books would follow.⁴¹ Ligarides and the patriarchs could not have been unaware of previous Greek attempts to establish printing presses in Moscow and in the Greek East. Indeed, in their address to the tsar the patriarchs had referred to this issue as one of the problems the Greeks faced under Ottoman subjugation. Moreover, the Greeks were well aware of the rising status of Russia in Eastern Europe and they might have entertained hopes as to future Russian aid in their liberation as well.⁴² No matter what hopes the Greeks may have harbored, they were not reflected in any concrete Russian foreign policy measures until well into the eighteenth century. Moreover, until the 1670s Muscovite foreign policy was defensive and aimed at keeping the Ottomans and their vassal Crimean Tatars at bay rather than at attacking them. The Swedish threat in the first half of the seventeenth century, and the Polish front and the establishment of Muscovite control over the hetmanate in the second half, constituted some of the main Russian foreign policy priorities, not the liberation of the Greeks.⁴³ Beyond these self-serving aims, though, the Greeks also comprehended the tasks that the Russian church and state were currently facing.

For Ligarides and the patriarchs the schism was an issue of ignorance versus learning. According to them, the opponents of Nikon had rejected his revision of the liturgical texts and ritual out of benightedness as to the true meaning behind them. Knowledge of languages would help rectify this situation. On the one hand, it would provide the necessary skills for the philologically and doctrinally impeccable review of the liturgical manuals. In this way, it would aid the Muscovites in moving beyond slavish adherence to the letter of the books and the ritual and toward an understanding of their content and teachings. On the other hand, Ligarides's reference to Latin as the prevailing language among the peoples and princely houses of the time betrays his awareness of the needs of tsarist diplomacy. Indeed, his argument that education was the foundation of both ecclesiastical and civil office connected the tasks that church and state faced at the time. It accorded well with the Muscovite elite's changing perceptions of learning as indispensable for the practice of faith. More importantly, it posited education as a requirement for both ecclesiastical and civil office. To what extent

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

with Patriarchs Ioakim and Adrian at the head constituted the “Grecophile” camp, whereas the Russian court during the reign of Fedor Alekseevich and the regency of Sophia Alekseevna harbored the “Latinophile” camp.⁴⁹ The ranks of the “Grecophiles” included most clergymen from the Orthodox East since, as representatives of the ancient Orthodox churches, they must have been carriers of Greek culture. Correspondingly, Ukrainian and Belarusian clergy, originating from areas under the control of the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth, necessarily acted as purveyors of Western culture in Muscovy. The Greeks buttressed the position of a traditionalist, sometimes even obscurantist patriarchate intent upon upholding the old Muscovite practices and countering the Westernizing predilections of the court and its elite. Peter the Great’s forceful secularizing drive decisively overcame “Grecophile” resistance and sealed the Western orientation of Russian elite culture.

In addition to the Eucharist conflict, supposedly the struggle between the two camps was most vividly exemplified in a conflict over the foundation of an academy in Moscow in the 1680s. By detecting friction over the tsar’s charter for the academy (the so-called *Privilegiia*) and by drawing attention to alleged polemics over the language of instruction, most scholars asserted the existence of a conflict between the court and the patriarchate over the intellectual orientation of the academy. In broad outline, their argumentation runs as follows: in the late 1670s a progressive, Westernizing, and Grecophobic court with Tsar Fedor at the head sought to set up a school of higher education in Moscow without the cooperation of the traditionalist, Grecophile Patriarch Ioakim. To this aim, Simeon Polotskii, the former tutor of the tsar and an influential Latinizing force in the Muscovite court elite,⁵⁰ drew up a charter for the projected institution after the example of Jesuit colleges. Because of the subsequent deaths of Polotskii in 1680 and Tsar Fedor in 1682, as well as the unrest following the rebellion of the *strel'tsy* (the musketeers), the project stalled.

After the revolt subsided, the Latinizing monk Sil'vestr Medvedev, a corrector in the Typography and Polotskii’s student, took it upon himself to convince the regent, Grand Princess Sophia Alekseevna, to carry out the plan. Facing the threat of having an institution of Latin learning installed in their backyard, the “Grecophiles” went on the offensive. Evfimii, a monk of the Kremlin Chudov Monastery and colleague of Medvedev in the Typography, issued a scathing attack on the Latin language and warned of the potential heretical implications involved in teaching it. At the same time, he championed Greek as the language of Orthodoxy and as the progenitor of Slavonic, the liturgical language of the church. For his part, the obscurantist Patriarch

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

not openly accused during his lifetime of espousing Latin views. Additionally, there is no evidence of a Grecophile camp. Slavinetskii, for example, showed no particular attachment to the Greek language.⁵⁵ Instead, his student Evfimii Chudovskii was the only one among the Muscovite educated elite who showed such attachment and who probably polemicized against the Latin language, possibly even before the Eucharist conflict broke out. Still, his was a sole case and cannot be construed as representative of an existing “Grecophile” camp, however central Greek may have been in the linguistic preferences of Evfimii.⁵⁶

Several scholars have put the “two-camp” theory to test and have found it wanting.⁵⁷ First, it is too simplistic to withstand scrutiny in light of the sources. By examining the late pre-Petrine period from the vantage point of Peter’s policies, it posits a polarity between “old” and “new” Russia, traditionalism and progressivism respectively. Moreover, it overlooks the developments in post-Byzantine Greek as well as Muscovite culture in the seventeenth century. Finally, as already indicated, it is colored by nineteenth-century discussions over Russia’s place in European culture, and as such imposes anachronistic concepts on the evidence.⁵⁸ Literature specialists have convincingly shown that in the second half of the seventeenth century Russia’s court culture was permeated by Baroque influences that had an impact on the works of representatives of both supposed camps. Thus, even as ardent a Grecophile as Evfimii Chudovskii, let alone the Leichoudes, showed unmistakable influences from Baroque culture in their writings and as such can hardly be seen as representatives of a pure Grecophile camp.⁵⁹

This is not to deny that there may have been friction among the members of the Muscovite elite in the late seventeenth century. Theirs was a culture in flux, in which new values and habits coexisted, informed, and possibly often collided with established ones. Increasing contact with the West, the Ukraine, and the Greek East, as well as an influx of foreigners were leaving their imprint on Muscovite culture and were facilitating changing attitudes to faith and learning. Both the church and the court elite were affected in the process. Their responses were necessarily conditioned by their respective interests and their attempt to strengthen their position as secular and spiritual leaders of Muscovite society. Although the royal court and the patriarchate were sometimes at odds, most often compromise and concerted action characterized their activities.

The foundation of the Slavo-Greco-Latin Academy in Moscow in 1685 is an example of such cooperation between church and state. Cathy Potter sought to place the Academy’s establishment within her overall assessment of Ioakim’s patriarchate.⁶⁰ She showed that Ioakim, although personally not

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

between Ioakim and Sil'vestr Medvedev, without any recourse to Latino-ophile-Grecophile dichotomies.⁶⁵

An analysis of the foundation charter, the *Privilegiia*, provides further proof that there was no conflict over the projected academy's curriculum. The *Privilegiia* survives in only one copy from the 1680s, purportedly the one that Sil'vestr Medvedev submitted to Tsarevna Sophia in 1685.⁶⁶ The circumstances of its composition and its fate before 1685 remain unclear. The majority of scholars appear to agree that Polotskii drafted the charter sometime before he died in 1680. Later, it has been suggested, Ioakim and Medvedev successively reworked it before the latter submitted it to Sophia in 1685. Kapterev was the first scholar to have detected consecutive layers of revision, and others ever since have generally followed suit. It should be emphasized however that Kapterev's argument on the revisions was based on both paleographic criteria (detection of Sil'vestr Medvedev's handwriting in certain additions to articles) and on the purported existence of two camps, the Grecophiles and the Latinophiles, each vying for control of the projected academy. For Kapterev, the *Privilegiia* shows signs of a struggle between church and state over the academy's control and its cultural orientation. According to this line of reasoning, Patriarch Ioakim strove to ensure that overarching control of the academy as well as its curricular aspects would be firmly in "Grecophile" hands. Ioakim thus was bound to clash with the "Latinophile" court and Sil'vestr Medvedev, on these two counts. However, as discussed below, the charter's articles do not provide any clear evidence of a struggle between court and patriarchate over the academy's control or curriculum, no matter what the personal aspirations of Sil'vestr Medvedev might have been. At any rate, the issue of revisions is immaterial for the development of the succeeding argument about the academy's foundation as a church-state undertaking, since the discussion is based on the complete text, including the purported revisions, if indeed they ever took place.

The academy's charter betrays the state's awareness of education as necessary for both lay and religious life. Moreover, it emphasizes cooperation between church and state in the educational enterprise and underscores the benefits that both will enjoy from it. (This is not to imply a clear dichotomy between the secular and the religious spheres, since that would be anachronistic for the period under discussion.) The charter's main thrust concerns the preservation of Orthodoxy as the mission of both patriarch and tsar. While this formula expresses a traditional duty for the Muscovite ruler, going back to Byzantine precedents, it is important that this obligation of the tsar is expounded upon in extenso in the preamble to the charter and is explicitly connected with education and its advantages.⁶⁷ The implications of

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

lies in their correlation to learning and the implications such a connection carries. It is not enough for the tsar to adhere to Orthodox principles in order to be a successful sovereign and a pious defender of the faith. Indeed, it is not solely God's wisdom and grace that guide and assist the tsar's actions. Wisdom, enhanced by learning, is also indispensable if he is to fulfill successfully his duties as protector of Orthodoxy and just ruler. By drawing a link between learning and lay activity the charter's author appropriates the theory of enlightenment (*prosveshchenie*) and applies it to the secular realm as well. Thus, learning is not necessary solely for comprehending, upholding, and expanding the faith, but also constitutes a requirement for lay activity. Nor does seeking knowledge in any way militate against faith. For such a quest leads to harmony with the wisdom of God.

Quoted prior to the formula on the tsar's duties is the following passage from Wisd. 7:7–11:

Therefore I prayed, and understanding [*mudrost'*] was given me;
I called on God, and the spirit of wisdom [*premudrost'*] came to me.
I preferred her to scepters and thrones, and I accounted wealth as nothing in
comparison with her.
Neither did I liken to her any priceless gem, because all gold is but little sand
in her sight and silver will be accounted as clay before her.
I loved her more than health and beauty and I chose to have her rather than light
because her radiance never ceases.
All good things came to me along with her, and in her hands uncounted wealth.

The charter's author immediately adds: "And after many words [Solomon] concludes thus: 'for God loves nothing so much as the person who lives with wisdom [*premudrost'*]" (Wisd. 7:28). In other words, one can seek learning for its own sake but ultimately such a quest leads to acquisition of the wisdom of God. In this conception, learning carries with it moral benefits and is thus equated to faith in that it facilitates discernment of good from evil in both lay and religious affairs.⁷¹ Utterly convinced of education's advantages, the tsar acts in common with the patriarch in his efforts to promote the liberal arts in Muscovy.

The eighteen articles that follow this preamble articulate in detail the tsar's intentions and aspirations. They also betray a conscious attempt to strike a balance between state and church interests. The first and second articles detail plans for the physical plant of the academy, its finances, and the student body. They also note that the school is to be housed in the Zaikonospasskii Monastery where a special building will be constructed

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.

Those interested are urged (but not required) to seek such study in the academy. In this way, students would be protected from any possible threats to their Orthodoxy. The article does not ban all private tutoring. Instead, it empowers the teachers and the supervisor to oversee such activities and verify that they do not lead students astray in matters of faith. The patriarch is not specifically mentioned in this regard; rather, it is a decree of the tsar that will provide the framework for such supervision. Moreover, as will be seen shortly, the staff of the academy is never envisioned as being only composed of clergymen, a fact that would render them directly subordinate to the patriarch. Therefore, the article can be understood as a compromise between concern for the preservation of faith and the contemporary widespread practice by the court elite of employing private tutors in their homes.⁷⁹

The following two articles discuss the status of students and staff in the academy. Article seven postpones students' payment of parental debts until the completion of study. Obviously, this measure is aimed at providing an incentive for prospective pupils. In addition, students are accorded immunity from prosecution for any legal infringements, except murder and other similar cases. The next article elaborates on these provisions and applies them to the academy's staff. Specifically, it states that if the supervisor is accused of violations with regard to the faith or to other matters, he is to be tried by a court composed of the teachers and in the presence of tsarist and patriarchal representatives. If, however, such a case involves a teacher, then the supervisor together with the remaining teachers are to act as judges according to rules that will be drawn up by agreement between tsar and patriarch. Chancellery courts will have no jurisdiction over such cases (*ni kamo zhe inude v prikazy na sud da vozmetisia*). Finally, the supervisor and the teachers are to try students for legal violations according to the same projected rules. If murder or other similar acts are involved, then the chancelleries will judge the case but only after the supervisor is notified about it.⁸⁰

Concern for the unobstructed operation of the academy characterizes these articles. To this aim, they accord great independence to its supervisor and teachers in matters concerning faith and civil law. It is important to note, however, that criminal cases clearly fall within the purview of the state courts. Moreover, even where faith is concerned, the tsar's administration still reserves a place for itself as evident from the provision concerning participation of patriarchal as well as tsarist representatives in the proceedings. In other words, the state is unwilling to relegate complete control of the academy's operation to the patriarch. Rather, joint supervision is the aim.

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

allowed only with the permission of the supervisor and the teachers.⁸⁵ Moreover, the academy's staff ought to trace the existence of views hostile to Orthodoxy. Russians found espousing such opinions are to be immediately brought to the attention of the tsar. The tsar will then act in consultation with the patriarch and the staff on their case (how is not specified). Foreigners' utterances and writings contrary to Orthodoxy are also to be brought to the attention of the tsar, but in such cases the action planned is significantly different: first, the academy's staff are to give solid evidence under oath that such attacks on Orthodoxy did take place; then, a civil court (*gradskii sud*) will decide accordingly. The patriarch is not mentioned in any of these proceedings.⁸⁶ Further, converts to Orthodoxy are to be entered in a register kept by the academy's staff and their adherence to the faith's precepts closely followed. Whoever is found wanting in this regard is to be exiled to Siberia. If a recent convert decides to return to his previous faith *and* commits blasphemy against Orthodoxy, the individual is to be burnt.⁸⁷ Keeping books on magic, sorcery, and divination, acting according to them, and using them for teaching is strictly prohibited. Whoever has such books is obliged to burn them and to keep away from them in the future. Similarly, those uninitiated in the liberal arts are banned from having Polish, Latin, German, Lutheran, and Calvinist writings for fear of corruption of their faith. Rather, such books should be burnt or brought to the academy. Significantly, though, those who are "skilled in the liberal arts" are exempt from this latter provision. Nevertheless, if someone is proven with solid evidence to have practiced magic and sorcery even after the aforementioned provisions, that person is to be burnt without any mercy. If, however, someone *not* learned in the arts is caught having foreign heretical books and holding opinions contrary to Orthodoxy, he/she is to be punished according to the crime.⁸⁸ In addition, the academy's staff are to serve as a court in cases of blasphemy against Orthodoxy on the part of foreigners. If solid evidence is presented, the defendants should be burnt. Foreign and native Orthodox who convert to Roman Catholicism or Protestantism are to be burnt. However, Roman Catholics who convert to Protestantism are to be exiled.⁸⁹ Finally, the charter's articles seventeen and eighteen put the tsar's library at the disposal of the academy and postulate that the state would incur all the expenses for its physical plant.⁹⁰ In its conclusion, the *Privilegiia* reiterates the tsar's protection over, and intense concern with, the operation of the academy and threatens the enemies of learning with punishment in case they try to subvert such a useful enterprise.⁹¹

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 Leichoudian Academy

The school that the Leichoudes established in Moscow did not provide instruction in all the disciplines and all the languages envisioned in the *Privilegiia*. Still, it largely corresponded to the charter's plans, for with the exception of law and the Polish language, its projected curriculum included all other subjects mentioned in the charter.⁹⁴ In setting up the Academy, Ioannikios and Sophronios patterned their curriculum after a typical Jesuit college with higher-level disciplines. In the range of classes, subjects taught, and pedagogical goals, the Leichoudian Academy faithfully adhered to the contours of the type of educational institution that had spread across Roman Catholic parts of Europe but that had also gained a firm foothold in many other parts of the world thanks to the indefatigable activity of Jesuit missionaries.

In the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, "college" in Jesuit terminology referred to a dormitory, a place of accommodation for students who attended classes either outside it and/or in the college as well. By the middle of the seventeenth century it had come to be associated with an institution of secondary and some higher education, providing instruction in both the humanities (grammar, poetics, rhetoric) and in the university-level subjects of philosophy and theology. Jesuit curriculum had thus broken down the medieval division between the *trivium* (grammar, rhetoric, logic) and the *quadrivium* (arithmetic, geometry, music, astronomy) by providing for a program of studies that attempted to unify secondary schooling with elements of higher education, thus in many cases creating a sort of semi-university. In this form, a college could serve both as propaedeutic to other future university study and/or prepare candidates for Jesuit priesthood and missionary activity. For those who wished to pursue neither of the above, it provided the necessary secondary education for successful careers in fields such as notary public, where basic literacy would not otherwise suffice. Accordingly, the student body was varied and comprised of laymen as well as aspiring clergymen.⁹⁵ Not infrequently, Jesuit colleges evolved into full-fledged academies or universities. As such, they were granted a papal or royal decree that guaranteed them the right to confer academic degrees upon their students. In these cases, they often provided instruction in law (and later, in the eighteenth century, medicine) in addition to the other subjects enumerated above.⁹⁶

In the post-Tridentine period, Jesuit education adopted the form and adapted the content of Protestant schools (notably, those of the Brethren of the Common Life in the Netherlands) and put it to use for the defense of

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

attempts to minimize the quality of education provided by the Leichoudes are not convincing. Rehearsing the polemical statements of the Leichoudes' archenemy Sil'vestr Medvedev and his supporters, A. P. Bogdanov pointed out that in contemporary documents (the records of the Patriarchal Treasury Office), the school was not called an academy, but rather "Greek school," "ancient and modern Greek school" (*elinnogrechskie shkoly*), or "Greco-Slavonic school" (*grekoslovenskie shkoly*). Based on this fact, he argued that the school was not at all the university envisioned by the *Privilegiia* and that it taught a Greek curriculum.¹⁰³ Similarly, L. A. Timoshina investigated the records of the Patriarchal Treasury Chancellery and of the Chancellery of Foreign Affairs and uncovered a variety of names for the school, including *gretskaia* or *grecheskaia shkola* and *greko-latinskaia shkola*, but only once during the period of the Leichoudes' tenure did she encounter the use of the term *academy*.¹⁰⁴ It is unclear whether the *Privilegiia* envisioned a university in the Western European sense, although some scholars believe so.¹⁰⁵ The Leichoudes occasionally referred to their school as a *lykeion* (lyceum) in their textbooks (see, for example, the title page of Sophronios's logic and philosophy manual).¹⁰⁶ In addition, in at least one of their petitions (between 1690 and 1694) they referred to the Academy as *grekolatinskaia shkola* (Greco-Latin school).¹⁰⁷ Although the Leichoudes were no doubt aware of contemporary distinctions between a college or academy and a university in the Western European context, they did not use systematically one title for the school (assuming that the translated petitions accurately reflect their original wording). No matter what the Academy's appellations were in contemporary documents, it was the education it provided that was important. It is more fruitful to consider its actual curriculum and compare it with Western European models rather than to dwell on its name. In both the Orthodox East of the time and in Western Europe, the boundaries between the various levels of education could often be fluid, and the titles of schools sometimes did not reflect realities as much as they did the aspirations of their founders.¹⁰⁸ It is of course impossible to know how the school might have evolved had the Leichoudes stayed the full course in it. The best way to conceive of the Academy is as a school of secondary and higher education, traits that it shared with several of the academies and colleges of early modern Ukraine and Belarus.¹⁰⁹

There is no extant detailed description of the classes and the curriculum of the Academy. Nevertheless, a fairly clear picture of its organization can be acquired from several sources, including the files of the Patriarchal Treasury Chancellery, the Chancellery of Printing Affairs, and the textbooks of the Leichoudes themselves.¹¹⁰ The two chancelleries recorded all

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

curriculum's subject matter, and obviously presuppose elementary reading and writing skills. Jesuit colleges were accompanied by a school of basic literacy (in Italy called a *scuoletta*), which taught the alphabet and elementary writing skills (in Latin). In a similar manner, the Leichoudian Academy also had attached to it a school in which the elements of Church Slavonic were imparted to prospective students. In contemporary sources this school is referred to as the "school of Slavonic learned writing" (*shkola slovenskogo knizhnogo pisaniia*), an indication that it did not teach vernacular Russian (though it must have done so by implication). Timofei's Typography School played a similar role for Greek until 1687, when all of its advanced students were transferred to the Academy.

If the division of classes is clear, the duration of studies in the Slavo-Greco-Latin Academy is a slightly more complicated issue. In Jesuit schools grammar took up a period of between three and four years, followed by one year each for poetics and rhetoric. Philosophy (including logic) was taught for an additional two to three years and was succeeded by at least two years of theology.¹¹⁵ In the Academy's case, there is unfortunately no clear evidence as to the duration of teaching on each subject. Still, there are several sources that provide insights in this regard. Thus, in one of their petitions addressed to Tsars Ivan and Peter and to Tsarevna Sophia (dated 1687), Ioannikios and Sophronios asserted that students (of the higher level, it must be implied) had completed the study of Latin and Greek grammar, poetics, and part of the rhetoric course, and that they already could speak in Greek (both vernacular and the "learned," scholarly version) and Latin.¹¹⁶ Thus, even allowing for possible exaggeration on the part of the two teachers, it appears that by 1687, the more advanced students had embarked on the study of rhetoric. A note in the files of the Patriarchal Treasury Chancellery reports that on December 27, 1689, Sophronios and his students of "rhetoric, grammar and 'scholarly' Greek and Slavonic" delivered orations in the presence of Patriarch Ioakim.¹¹⁷ Some students studied logic and started the course in natural philosophy in 1690–1691 at the latest.¹¹⁸ In a deposition in the Typography on March 23, 1692, Nikolai Semenov Golovin, one of the Leichoudes' first disciples, is reported to be beginning the study of philosophy (*uchitsia v nachale thilosothii*).¹¹⁹ The natural philosophy course, at least for the higher class of students, must have continued until 1694 when the Leichoudes were relieved of their teaching duties and were transferred to duties in the Typography as correctors and proofreaders. Instructive in this regard is the testimony of Patriarch Dositheos of Jerusalem, whose nephew Archimandrite Chrysanthos had stayed in Moscow in 1692–1694

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

their content. Teachers would subsequently utilize handbooks or textbooks to clarify certain concepts, provide theoretical background, or explain particular literary phenomena or philosophical concepts, as necessary.¹²⁴

As in Jesuit colleges, in the Leichoudian Academy this method of instruction was coupled with an abundance of practical exercises designed to inculcate theoretical precepts. Memorization, competitive exercises, declamations, disputations, and compositions on a theme must have been an essential feature of a student's class time, in addition, that is, to the homework that he was to prepare. Class time included parsing (*technologia*, analyzing the grammatical and syntactic parts of a sentence) and transferring a text from the vernacular to Latin, from the ancient into vernacular Greek, from and to Slavonic, and vice versa, a practice the Greeks called *exege-sis* (*paraphrasis*, *metaphrasis*, also *thematographia*). Existing sources provide clear evidence of the importance assigned to parsing and *exege-sis* as tools for teaching and applying grammatical rules, for familiarizing students with stories culled from both biblical and classical texts, and for inculcating ethical and moral principles. As such, these practices also reflect both the class time and homework of students and some of the pedagogical methods that the Leichoudes employed. Such topics as friendship, charity, justice, hospitality, salvation, avoidance of drunkenness, honesty, dedication, studiousness, and love of knowledge appeared repeatedly in the language training offered by the two brothers, who on occasion explicitly stated the moral of the story in order to drive home the point. Thus, the case of Achilles and Patroclus was adduced to underscore the importance of friendship. On another occasion, students wrote about King David asking God which men were similar to him and elicited God's answer that those who were charitable, hospitable, and loved their neighbors reflected God's preferences. The magnanimity of Alexander the Great to the daughters of Darius was contrasted to Ham's mocking of his father. In addition, the power of fasting was contrasted with the destruction caused by drunkenness and gluttony. The eternal wealth of salvation was offered as a loftier goal than the accumulation of temporary, and hence corruptible, wealth. However, the respect and honor and even rewards that the students stood to gain from the authorities (tsars and patriarch) by progressing in their studies were also touted as a potential incentive. Even contemporary events such as the campaigns against the Tatars became topics of exercises in the school, with the students praising the two tsars' (Ivan and Peter's) decision to embark on these efforts. The alternation of classical and biblical themes reflected the humanistic and religious mix characteristic of the Academy's classes. At the same time, a recurring topic in these exercises was the teachers' disappointment with the

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

is important, however, is that Ioannikios and Sophronios were teaching in both Greek and Latin. Whether Greek or Latin was dominant is immaterial without a careful consideration of the actual content of the curriculum. Greek culture in the seventeenth century was far from static, and its most prominent representatives were educated in the West. Ioannikios and Sophronios Leichoudes were no exception to the rule, and their courses in rhetoric and natural philosophy in the Academy in Moscow testify to that fact.



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.



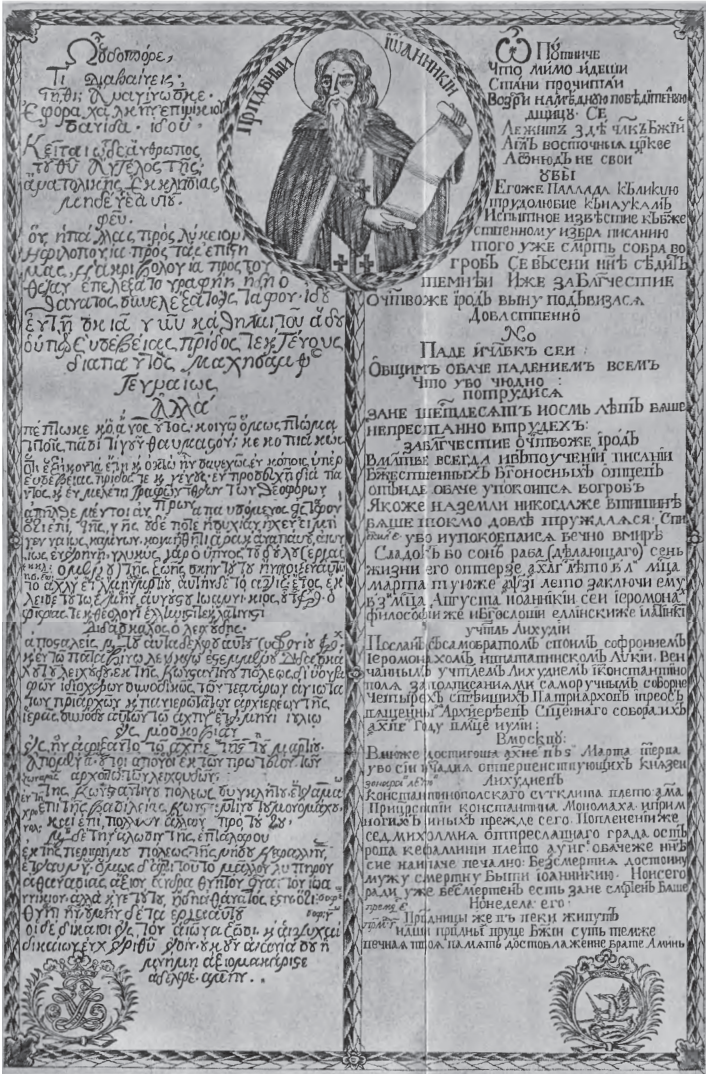
Zaikonospasskii Monastery, Church of the Savior. Nineteenth century. From N. A. Naidenov, *Moskva. Sobory, monastyri i tserkvi*. 4 vols. Moscow: Tip.-lit. I.N. Kushnereva, 1882–1883. Courtesy of the Hillwood Estate, Museum & Gardens, Archives & Special Collections, Washington, DC. Photo by Brian Shearby.



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.

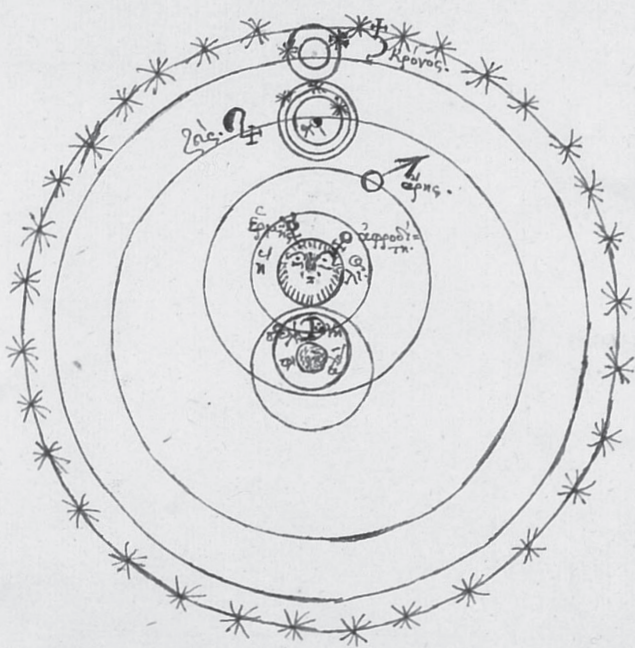


Portrait of Ioannikios Leichoudes accompanying epitaph by Sophronios Leichoudes in honor of his brother. Greek and Slavonic. Zaikonospasskii Monastery, 1717. From N. Likhachev, "Portret Ioannikiia Likhuda." *Pamiatniki drevnei pis'mennosti i iskusstva* CXLVI (1902).

σύστημα

5.

ΗΜΙΤΥΧΩΝΙΚΟΝ.



Τέλος ἢ θεῶν τοῦ ἀρχαίου μὲν δέχου ἔχοντι
 δόξα αἰδώς, ἦν δὲ ἀγαθὴν κέου καὶ θεοδόξου
 μερῶν ἢ παραχαίρου αὐτῶ μὲν, ἀχαριστία καὶ αἶνος
 αἰδώς, πάντες τοῖς ἀνθρώποις δωσόμενοι ἢ ἀγίοις. ἀρετῶν.
 ~ ~ Νότος τῆς σφαιρῆς. ~ ~

The semi-Tychonic planetary system. From Nikolaos Koursoulas, *Peri Ouranou*. RGB, f. 173, op. 1, no. 303 (Grech. 186), l. 134. Courtesy of the Russian State Library, Scientific-Research Department of Manuscripts, Moscow, Russia.

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

biblical simplicity, but rather could serve as a tool in the search for the *aptum* and *decorum* (fit and proper) in speech and the written word. Following its prototype, “Makarii” offered a pre-Baroque view of the role and usefulness of rhetoric, which placed emphasis on proper argumentation and clarity in style. In mid-century, however, Simeon Polotskii and Epifanii Slavinetkii gave new impetus to rhetorical knowledge in Muscovy by bringing with them the Baroque culture of the Counter-Reformation period that was already flourishing in the Ruthenian lands.³ By the time the Leichoudes started teaching their rhetorical classes in the Academy, rhetoric had already established a firm foothold in the tsar’s court. Moreover, its place in Muscovite culture was already being hotly debated by the Old Believers and their opponents.⁴

A Jesuit-influenced education had largely formed the Ukrainian and Belarusian emigrant monks’ rhetorical and poetic erudition.⁵ Theirs were the Baroque rhetoric and poetics of the first part of the seventeenth century as taught and practiced in Jesuit colleges. In this respect, the Leichoudes continued in the footsteps of scholars such as Polotskii and Slavinetkii. Leichoudian rhetoric was in both substance and form a distillation of Jesuit rhetorical theory and practice of the seventeenth century.⁶ First, the rhetorical manuals of both brothers are based on a Greek source that itself derives from Jesuit prototypes, the *Peri rhetorikes dynameos* (On the rhetorical faculty) of Gerasimos Vlachos, who was their teacher in Venice.⁷ Vlachos’s library (of about 1,115 titles) betrays an impressively wide range of interests. As a hieromonk and a teacher in Venice he was undoubtedly up-to-date with the latest advances in both sacred and civil oratory. More importantly, his *Peri rhetorikes dynameos* exhibits unmistakable influences from Cyprian Soares’s *De arte rhetorica* (On the art of rhetoric), the rhetorical manual of choice in Jesuit schools for nearly a century after its first publication in 1562. A comparison of Vlachos’s rhetoric with the Soares manual provides convincing evidence that Vlachos’s work is based on Soares’s: it is divided into three books treating invention, disposition, and elocution respectively; it relies heavily on Aristotelian distinctions for the relation between rhetoric and dialectic; finally, from among the ancient authorities cited, Cicero and Demosthenes are preferred. Moreover, the layout of books two and three in Vlachos’s rhetoric is very similar to that in Soares’s work. To be sure, Vlachos has adapted his manual to specific Greek concerns. Thus, Vlachos’s examples are culled from contemporary Greek reality: the Venetian polity and its relation to its Greek subjects, the subjugation of the Greeks to the Turks, Greek hopes for eventual Venetian help in their liberation, et cetera. In addition, where Soares uses examples from Virgil, Vlachos shows preference for Homer and Pindar, among other ancient Greek authors.⁸

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,

the works of two Jesuits, Gerard Pelletier's *Reginae palatium eloquentiae* . . . (The Palace of Queen Eloquence, first published Paris, 1641, with other editions thereafter)¹³ and Nicholas Caussin's *Eloquentiae sacrae et humanae parallela libri XVI* (Of Sacred and Human Eloquence 16 Parallel Books, first published 1619, with multiple editions thereafter), exerted significant influence on the two brothers. Following Jesuit prototypes, the Leichoudian textbooks distinguish among three kinds of rhetoric (sacred, heroic, and human), highlight imitation of great rhetoricians as a pedagogical strategy, and emphasize memory as a key faculty for the orator. Neither Soares nor Vlachos make the aforementioned distinction into three kinds of rhetoric, so the Leichoudes must have adopted it either directly from its first advocate Caussin or some other Jesuit source.¹⁴ Finally, despite their professed adherence to Aristotle's principles of the art, Leichoudian rhetorical manuals, oriented as they were toward teaching, constituted a combination of both theoretical principles and practical applications of precepts in the form of brief sample speeches, a characteristic they share with Vlachos's work. Most importantly, the Leichoudian manuals also betray the peculiar blend of humanistic and scholastic learning together with intense concern for high spiritual and moral values so characteristic of Jesuit education in general, and Jesuit rhetoric in particular.¹⁵ To be sure, despite its unmistakable Jesuit markings, Leichoudian rhetoric dons an Orthodox guise and adapts according to the needs of both the Orthodox Christian and the specific Muscovite environment. All told, this is a Baroque compilatory rhetoric, distilled from the latest Jesuit trends in the field, refined in Orthodox fashion, and proffered partially in Muscovite wrapping.¹⁶

Some scholars have argued that Sophronios Leichoudes based his rhetoric on the *Techne rhetorike* (Venice, 1681) of Phrangiskos Skouphos (1644–1697).¹⁷ Skouphos was born in Venetian-controlled Crete and was educated in the Saint Athanasius College (Collegio Greco) of Rome. After taking his doctorate in philosophy and theology from the Collegio in 1666, Skouphos became a Uniate priest, spent some time in Venice as a private tutor (1666–1672), and then returned to his alma mater as a teacher (1672–1681). He converted to Roman Catholicism in 1675 and in 1678 was appointed as vicar to a post in the see of the Latin archbishop of Kerkyra (Corfu). He was deeply influenced by the Jesuit-controlled education of the Collegio Greco. Skouphos's rhetoric is a rather condensed version of the typical rhetoric manual. The author prefers to start from short definitions of parts of rhetoric and its elements and proceed to very extensive, very detailed examples of particular uses or interpretations in practice. Its emphasis is on oratorical practice, whereas the Leichoudian rhetoric is much more theoretical. It appears

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

essential theoretical aspects of Sophronios's rhetoric and mainly affects the number of examples and sample speeches Ioannikios provides to illustrate precepts. The major difference is Ioannikios's addition of a long introduction on the virtues and uses of rhetoric and of imitating ancient authors. Smelovskii incorrectly regarded this introduction as Ioannikios's original composition.²³ On the contrary, it turns out that Ioannikios adopted both the title and large parts of the introduction and book 1 of his work almost verbatim from Gerard Pelletier's *Reginae palatium eloquentiae*.

Finally, it is clear that the Leichoudes also used other rhetorical textbooks and manuals, since they frequently refer their students to such sources in their own work. No direct evidence of the Academy library's holdings appears to have survived, but there are indirect indications of what these may have been. For example, in 1687 the two brothers received the following delivery of books:

From the Greek Anastas Ivanov, son of Mukhoi, were bought and given to Ioannikios and Sophronios Leichoudes in the new stone school, built in the Spasskii Monastery, the following Greek printed books: 6 dictionaries of Vlachos in four languages [Gerasimos Vlachos, *Thesaurus tes enkyklopaidikes vaseos tetraglossos* ... (Venice, 1659)], 8 Harmoniae of Vlachos in Greek and Latin [Gerasimos Vlachos, *Harmonia horistike ton onton kata tous Hellenon sophous* ... (Venice, 1661)], 12 Greek grammars of Lascaris [Constantinos Lascaris, *Epitome ton okto tou logou meron* ... (first published Milan, 1476)], 5 Latin grammars of Emmanuel [Manuel Alvares, *De institutione grammatica*, 3 books (Lisbon, 1572; first published in Italy in Venice, 1575)], 24 Rhetorical Candidates in Latin [most possibly, François Pomey's *Candidatus rhetoricae* (first published in 1659)], 24 Latin Floss, that is, Flower [most possibly, François Pomey's *Flos latinitatis* (first published 1666)], 26 Progymnasmata of Aphthonius in Latin, 16 Elegantsii in Latin [possibly, Lorenzo Valla, *Elegantiae linguae latinae* (first published 1471)], a Greek-Latin and Latin-Greek dictionary, a book of Aristotle on the birth of the animals, a Rhetoric of Aristotle in Greek and Latin, a Dialectic of Aristotle, the Olymbiach [sic—Olynthiacs] orations of Demosthenes in Greek and Latin, a book Stories of Arrian on the ascent of Alexander in Greek and Latin [Arrian's *Peri Alexandrou Anabaseos—De Ascensu Alexandri*], a book of Xenophon—all of it [*Kyrou Paideia?*], a book Epigrammatarion of Cottunius in Greek and Latin [Ioannes Cottunius, *Hellenikon epigrammaton vivlia dyo* ... /*Graecorum epigrammatum libri duo* ... (Padua, 1653)], a book by Heliodorus Ethiopian in Greek and Latin [Heliodorus's *Aithiopikes Historias biblia deka—Historiae Aethiopiae libri decem*], a book Grammar of Theodoros Gazes in Greek and Latin [Theodoros Gazes, *Institutionis Grammaticae* ... (Venice, 1495)].

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,

Rhetoric directs and perfects the mind so that it can invent with sharpness, divide correctly, define according to established precepts and fittingly, distinguish carefully, on the one hand to ascertain and assert its own [opinions], and on the other to dismantle, refute, and check [the opinions of] others, to deliver, construct, and beautify one's own orations, so that she [that is, rhetoric] pronounces [them, that is, the speeches] not confusingly but in an orderly, clear, ornate, and distinct manner.²⁸

Of course, as is customary for both brothers, Ioannikios emphasizes that he will follow the Aristotelian teachings on rhetoric (since Aristotle was the light that enlightened the world).²⁹ He also promises to keep his exposition brief and succinct (though he does not always deliver on this point) and to proceed from simple to more complex issues, as most contemporary students of the art do.³⁰

In defining rhetoric, Ioannikios first presents the opinions of Plato and Aristotle. Thus, according to Plato, rhetoric is "a guide of the soul" (*psychagogos*, *flexanimam*) since it leads (*agei*) the souls and hearts of men. Aristotle, however, calls rhetoric the ability to distinguish that which is able and fit to convince.³¹ For Ioannikios himself, rhetoric is "an instruction [*didaskalia*], or art [*technē*], which teaches how to speak well, in a well-arranged and orderly manner."³² Speaking well rather than persuading thus becomes the primary concern of rhetoric. Consequently, in his own definition Ioannikios chooses to emphasize the skills that rhetoric develops in the expression of speech. In doing so, he momentarily departs from Aristotle's insistence that rhetoric's function as an art is to discover the available means of persuasion in any matter at hand.

Nevertheless, this departure from the strict Aristotelian definition of rhetoric soon gives way to Aristotelian orthodoxy. In common with the other arts, Ioannikios argues, rhetoric has several rules that, if followed, lead to success. But it is unique among the arts in that only rhetoric safeguards eloquence and clarity in a speech or oration that has been conceived in the mind. As a result, rhetoric (that is, the ability to speak well) becomes indispensable to any art in order for it to perform its function.³³ Following the previous distinction between natural and acquired abilities, Ioannikios continues by differentiating between natural and artificial rhetoric (*physike* and *technike*, *naturalis* and *artificialis*). The former is part of one's own nature, the latter is characterized by a set of technical rules and thus can be acquired. Returning to the Aristotelian fold, Ioannikios distinguishes between the duty (*kathēkon/officium*) and aims of artificial rhetoric: the former is to speak fittingly, the latter to convince. To speak fittingly in order to convince encompasses

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

for novices and beginners in the study of rhetoric. Imitation involves three separate actions: invention (*epheuresis/inventio*), disposition (*diathesis* or *diataxis/dispositio*), and elocution (*euphradeia/eloquutio*).⁴⁰ Each one of them corresponds to the three parts of rhetoric. Invention is occupied with finding the necessary subtlety and clarity of thought. Disposition in turn deals with the arrangement of the oration's different parts, its beginning and end.⁴¹ Finally, elocution involves the various patterns of speech and their function.⁴² Ioannikios then provides a detailed examination of the construction of sentences, that is, the various parts that a complete sentence (a period, in rhetorical parlance, from the Greek *periodos*) can be divided into.⁴³ The author first discusses the definitions of the parts of a sentence and the punctuation marks used to distinguish them,⁴⁴ and then proceeds with examples.⁴⁵

A consideration of the various kinds of rhetoric comes next. There are three of them, Ioannikios argues: the divine or sacred, the heroic or semi-divine, and the human. Divine rhetoric is not taught in schools but is given directly by God through the Holy Spirit.⁴⁶ It does not use flowery vocabulary but speaks directly to the inner senses. It was divine rhetoric that spoke through Moses and the apostle Paul (who for this reason was called *Theorhetor*). Divine rhetoric is a gift of God, and as such, it is not at all fitting that it be included in the manuals of rhetoric.⁴⁷ Heroic rhetoric, on the other hand, is employed by the Fathers of the Church (such as John Chrysostom, Basil the Great, and Athanasius the Great) in their homilies and encomiums. Lastly, human rhetoric is that which Aristotle, Demosthenes, Theophrastus, and many others have commented upon or practiced. Ioannikios declares that he will speak only of the latter two kinds as they appear in courts and schools,⁴⁸ and are applied in the holy sermons.⁴⁹ Thus, his intention is to treat both ecclesiastical and secular oratory.

Before doing so, however, Ioannikios informs the reader that he will talk about rhetorical ability in general, and then about the particular species of epideictic, deliberative, and judicial orations. What follows is partially a repetition of his earlier comments on the constitutive parts of rhetoric. Ioannikios reiterates that a rhetor's job consists of five parts: invention, disposition, elocution, memory, and delivery (*heuresis, diathesis, euphradeia, mneme, ekphonesis*).⁵⁰ One's nature, intellect, and body, as well as knowledge of the arts and finally, practice and imitation, all contribute to the success of the rhetor in all five of these areas.⁵¹ Ioannikios then proceeds to a discussion of invention and its "internal topics" (*esoterikoi topoi*), that is, of the rhetorical topics that the orator can employ in his speech. He cautions that in the epideictic or encomiastic oration, the subject should be honorable and

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.

In his discussion of definition (*horismos*), Ioannikios first characterizes *horismos* as an “account [*logos*] that clarifies the nature of a thing.” A definition by genus and difference (*diaphora*) is a main definition (*kyrios horismos*). It is mostly philosophers rather than rhetors who provide such definitions. After clarifying genus and difference, Ioannikios offers the example of human beings as rational animals:

Peter is a rational animal. He shares his being animal with all the animals. By his being rational he shares with all human beings, but differs from all the irrational animals, since these are all irrational and without intellect. Human beings and angels are rational animals with intellect. Rhetors extremely rarely make use of such a definition, because it offers little wealth [of argument] to its users. [Instead] rhetors have at their disposal other means by which they can clarify things in more detail. [As for example] when the philosopher or the rhetor defines human being by his causes, or effects, or by whatever else. E.g., that [the human being] is an animal born for immortality; that it is an icon of divine majesty. These are mainly descriptions and not definitions. For your better understanding I add also, that genus is that which is characteristic of many things that are different in species, as in the case of animal, which is employed for a human being, a lion, a horse, an eagle, et cetera.⁵⁸

In discussing difference Ioannikios adduces the example of rhetoric itself. After citing Aristotle’s own definition of rhetoric, he explains that in this case rhetoric is the definable, and *dynamis* (ability, faculty) is the genus of the definition. For rhetoric shares the genus with such other faculties as grammar, poetics, and dialectic. But it differs from the other arts in that only rhetoric has the function of discovering the available means of persuasion in the matter at hand. Still another example is that of the cross: one could define the cross after John Chrysostom and describe it as the hope of Christians, the guide of the blind, the hope of the desperate ones, et cetera.⁵⁹

In discussing definition by effects, Ioannikios first explains the concept of cause (*aitia*), since it is causes that produce effects. Accordingly, he distinguishes between material cause (*aitia hylike*), formal cause (*aitia eidike*), efficient cause (*aitia poietike*), and final cause (*aitia telike*). Referring to specific passages of Aristotle’s physics and metaphysics, he explains briefly that these four causes are true and necessary for all things. Hence, it is easy, the author asserts, to find effects that can be used to provide a definition. These effects, however, should not be very nuanced and detailed (presumably, because the rhetor is not a dialectician concerned with strict demonstrative

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 Leichoudes' 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 Leichoudes 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

“duty” and the aims of rhetoric. This distinction echoes his brother’s division of rhetoric’s external and internal aims. Moreover, Sophronios likens rhetoric’s utility to the utility of the art of war and provides a vivid description of how a good rhetor can move his audience, body and mind, in the same way that an eloquent leader can move and encourage his soldiers at the time of battle.⁶⁷ He accepts “any matter” as the province of rhetoric, but unlike Ioannikios, goes into a brief discussion of what might constitute such “matter.” Indeed, Sophronios, like Vlachos who follows Aristotle’s line,⁶⁸ provides a treatment of *thesis* and *hypothesis* as means of defining any issue at hand.⁶⁹ A *thesis* involves consideration of abstract and universal questions not limited by specific circumstances, such as time, place, or any particular individual. A *hypothesis*, however, is conditioned precisely by such circumstances and thus constitutes consideration of a particular issue. Either kind of question, universal or particular, is thus the province of rhetoric, since as Sophronios has already argued, rhetoric can deal with any matter. Although Sophronios does not explicitly compare rhetoric and dialectic here (indeed, he does not even mention dialectic by name), his comments on *thesis* and *hypothesis* should be seen in the context of the ancient debate over the relationship between the two arts. The relationship between rhetoric and dialectic was a perennially debated problem at least from the time of Plato and Aristotle. Among the issues involved was whether invention (with its “topics” [*topoi*]) was properly a part of dialectic or rhetoric. Aristotle had distinguished between dialectic and rhetoric as faculties that deal with philosophical and concrete questions respectively. He also treated invention in both his *Rhetoric* and in *Topics*. Cicero had subordinated dialectic to rhetoric, although he placed invention primarily in the realm of rhetoric. Still later, Boethius turned rhetoric into an auxiliary of dialectic; common topics were properly the concern of the latter, whereas particular topics were the concern of rhetoric. Reacting to the Boethian scholastic tradition, Renaissance thinkers for the most part revived and revised the Ciceronian views; in doing so, they were more interested in style and elocution than invention. Some notable thinkers, like Lorenzo Valla, even went as far as totally absorbing dialectic into rhetoric.⁷⁰ One should also bear in mind that the Jesuit curriculum included both rhetoric and logic as distinct disciplines, although there was a certain overlap where invention was involved. The Leichoudes brothers would eventually follow the Aristotelian view and see rhetoric and dialectic as parallel verbal arts that deal with any matter at hand but in different ways; for example, Ioannikios distinguishes between certain and possible arguments and also between a philosophical (that is, dialectical) and rhetorical definition. Finally, Sophronios also accepts the quintuple division of rhetoric, emphasizes the role of imitation

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*]

and figures [*schemata*] [of speech], both the tropes of composing periods and of widening and amplifying various speeches and pronouncements [*pantoiōus logous, kai apophanseis*].⁷⁶ Ioannikios acknowledges that he diverges from universal practice in treating elocution before disposition (usually, one finds the reverse in manuals of rhetoric) and asserts that he does so for the benefit of his students, since new orators have difficulties if they do not study eloquence first.⁷⁷ He divides elocution into elegance (*kompsoteta*), worth (*axian*, that is, usefulness), and composition (*synthesin*). Elegance guarantees that speech is clear and distinct, and in turn includes *hellenismos* and lucidity (*hellenismos* and *sapheneia*). *Hellenismos* cleanses speech from any solecism or barbarism, whereas lucidity assures that speech is expressed by use of both common (*synethe*) and specific (*idia*) terms, that is, words that appear in common, everyday practice, but also are specific to the matter at hand. Ioannikios advises his students to seek examples of clarity in the ancient languages and in the teachings and writings of ancient authors.⁷⁸ As for elocution's worth, it is evident in the tropes and figures of speech. The author distinguishes two categories of tropes: monolectic and periphrastic (lit., composed "of many words").⁷⁹ There are seven kinds of monolectic tropes: metaphor, synecdoche, metonymy, use of an appellation instead of a proper noun (*antonomasia*), onomatopoeia, analogical application of a word (*katachresis*), and substitution of one word for another (*metalepsis*). Periphrastic tropes, on the other hand, are allegory, circumlocution (*periphra-sis*), transposition of words (*hypervaton*), and hyperbole (*hypervole*). In each case, the author provides a definition for each trope and then an example (usually, his own or from an ancient author) as an illustration.⁸⁰

Thereafter, Ioannikios moves to a discussion of figures of speech. He argues, in a somewhat opaque manner, that they differ from tropes in that they result from the use of words as such, without any "transfer or change" in their primary meaning.⁸¹ There are three ways of constructing figures of speech: by addition (*kata prostheken*), by reduction (*kat' aphairesin*), and by similarity (*kath' homoioteta*).⁸² For each, Ioannikios provides a definition and an example. For instance, in discussing *symploke* (repeating of the first and last word or phrase in a sentence over successive sentences, one after the other), he notes that it brings together *epanalepsis* (repetition of the same word/phrase at the beginning and end of a sentence) and *epistrophe* (repetition of the same word/phrase at the end of successive sentences), that is, "when the sentence begins and ends using the same word," and emphasizes that it is most appropriate for use in speaking on virtue. He uses the following as an example: "Do you desire, oh Christian, to rein in pleasure? Pray! Do you desire, oh Christian, to crush the enemy of

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

topics (*topoi*).⁹³ The same mixture of moralistic, religious references, and stories from antiquity characterizes this section as well.⁹⁴ Thus, as a case of amplification “by circumstances” (*dia synemmenon*), Ioannikios provides the statement: “God responds with benefits to virtue” (*Ho Theos anteuergetei ten areten*) and proceeds to amplify it by adding the “circumstances” of by whom, how, when, for what reason.⁹⁵ More interesting is another example the author uses:

“the uneducated are looked down upon” (*hoi apaideutoi kataphronountai*)

- the uneducated: those, that is, who are ignorant of the sciences, and have no share in learning, dwell in the greatest ignorance of the most wonderful things.
- are looked down upon: in every nation they have the last place. They find themselves not sharing in any honor at all, and not only are they overlooked by all as useless and foolish, but cast down to the extreme condition of men, they are also discarded to the mill of ignorance.

Negatively (*apophatikos*)

- the uneducated: those who have no understanding of letters; are not adorned with any praise of the sciences; are not equipped by any brightness of learning.
- are looked down upon: most of the time these [i.e., the unlearned] do not find themselves distinguished in any title of honor; are not eminent in any encomium; are not able to gain entrance to any rank of worth; nor do they have any urging in themselves [coming] from some hope to gain some glory; they live honorless and lowborn; they are not glorified in any place whatever.⁹⁶

This is a very strong indictment of ignorance and its concomitant evils. It reflects the Leichoudes brothers’ philosophy of education and the ideas about learning that they wished to instill in their students.⁹⁷ It is noteworthy that Ioannikios does not include any moral or religious references among the evils that follow ignorance. Although he speaks in very general and abstract terms, the main thrust of his argument revolves around two themes: one is the social contempt that uneducated persons face, and the other their inability to advance socially and attain high office. It is evident that Ioannikios’s concept of education is very far from the suspiciousness and avoidance of learning that appear predominant in Russia until the middle of the seventeenth century. Indeed, Ioannikios’s reflections correspond well to the intense concern with education on the part of the Russian secular and ecclesiastical elite of the late 1600s and early 1700s.⁹⁸ This is not to say that Ioannikios (and Sophronios, for that matter) advocated knowledge’s worth in completely secular terms. They

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

In the following chapter, Ioannikios treats the amplification of a sentence with reference to the work of “various sophists.”¹⁰² In practice, however, he restricts himself to a summary and paraphrase of Aphthonius’s theory on amplification. After citing Aphthonius’s definition of *koinos topos* (common place or topic), Ioannikios proceeds with a consideration of the various amplification techniques following his prototype’s division into ten chapters.¹⁰³ He advises the students to read “old stories and old examples” (presumably, ancient authors) since even the theoreticians of amplification discussed it with reference to the opinions, beliefs, and customs of older periods. Accordingly, the students should actively seek these old stories as a balance to the “evil customs and corruption” of the present time.¹⁰⁴ The author’s discussion in this part is brief, terse, and almost hurried. This is the closest that he ever gets to treating elements of judicial speech. Indeed, throughout his rhetoric Ioannikios is much more concerned with the deliberative and epideictic species of oration. Accordingly, he pays exclusive attention to the composition of homilies, exegetical pieces, and encomiums.¹⁰⁵ The one example he adduces that is fairly reminiscent of judicial oratory is a speech against a rebellious person who has risen up against his fatherland.¹⁰⁶ He does treat *anaskeue* (refutation, i.e., a case against) and *kataskeue* (construction, i.e., a case for), which are necessary parts of a judicial speech. He also sketches an outline of major points according to which an orator should compose either kind of speech.¹⁰⁷ However, it bears emphasis that his illustration (a paraphrase from Aphthonius) comes from mythology and has no connection whatsoever to an actual court case. Ioannikios gives his students a “case against” and a “case for” the myth of Apollo’s union with Daphne.¹⁰⁸ Following step-by-step the aforementioned outline, he “composes” (that is, borrows from Aphthonius) two speeches replete with arguments based on physics and commonly held ideas (for example, a man is stronger physically than a woman), as well as religious beliefs. For instance, refuting as impossible the union of the earth with the river Ladon (the fruit of which was Daphne, according to the myth), he reminds the students that Daphne, the earth, and the river are of a different nature. In addition, marriage is one of those things that are apprehended by the senses (*ho men gar gamos ton aistheton estin*); the earth and the river, however, “do not partake of any sense at all.”¹⁰⁹ Moreover, to ascribe to a god (“even a so-called god”) the most grave characteristics of human nature (such as sexual desire) would amount to impiety, for then there would be no difference between god and man.¹¹⁰ And how could a man running after a woman not be able to catch up with her? “For men surpass women [in speed] and a woman outdid a so-called god?!”¹¹¹ (Notably, at the end of the example, Ioannikios

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

that it brings. He even goes so far as to assert that the happiness that money brings is greater than the joy of a mother with her newborn child. The only veiled reference to problems that money can cause is the following statement: “each and every thing that occurs in people, whether good or bad, occurs through wealth.”¹¹⁹ The other illustration of a maxim is a speech on Gen. 50, “Then Joseph threw himself on his father’s face and wept over him and kissed him.”¹²⁰ This is in essence a sermon on death and, especially, the sadness caused to the relatives of the deceased. Taking the story of Joseph as his main theme, Ioannikios repeatedly uses Old and New Testament references¹²¹ in an attempt to justify mourning and shedding of tears in the face of a beloved person’s death.¹²² The last and most pointed example the author offers is an altered version of the story of Diogenes the Cynic who wandered around in broad daylight with a candle searching for “man.”¹²³ In an ornate manner, Ioannikios reworks the ancient story into a powerful indictment of the inhumanity he perceives among his contemporaries. He reviews all kinds of virtues that are absent in humans and contrasts them with the sins and passions that prevail. He also cautions his students not to be charmed by outward appearances because in many cases a beautiful face hides a hideous nature.¹²⁴ Further, he refers to the destruction of Sodom by God and concludes that Diogenes’s candle should not cause laughter, but rather admiration since it is a symbol of his wisdom.¹²⁵ The moralistic tone is equally evident, and even stronger at times, in Ioannikios’s illustrations of apothegms: “love not things [i.e., possessions] but the friend who loves you”; “virtue cannot establish itself in the kingdom of pleasure”; “only the good are happy, and not the evil”; “luck fears the strong, and crushes the weak”; “a woman’s evil is greater than a man’s”;¹²⁶ “it is easy to be victorious over somebody who does not fight back”; “stick and censure bring [lit., “give”] wisdom”; “things acquired in an evil manner are lost in an evil manner.”¹²⁷

In concluding the second book of his treatise, Ioannikios urges his students to seek strategies of enhancing and embellishing their speeches in both the internal and external topics. In addition, he advises them, no matter where they are, to keep their eyes open and their minds alert for inspiration. As an illustration thereof he uses simple domestic furniture to compose (once again) an encomium of education and a censure of ignorance.¹²⁸

C. Book Three

As Ioannikios forewarned the reader, the third book focuses on the disposition or arrangement of the various parts of a speech.¹²⁹ After providing the etymology and definition of proemium, the first part of any one

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

seemed long overdue to the students, especially since some of the terms discussed had been introduced earlier on in the work but without clarification. (It will be recalled that the author, following Aristotle, had already drawn some parallels between rhetoric and logic in the beginning of his treatise.)¹⁴² Ioannikios distinguishes seven kinds of argumentation: syllogism (*sylogismos*), induction (*epagoge*), “enthymeme” (*enthymema*), example (*paradeigma*), argument (*epicheirema*), “sorites” (*sorites*), and dilemma (*dilemma*).¹⁴³ Although he briefly defines and comments upon all of them, he singles out enthymeme and arguments as especially important, because, as he notes, these two “are the arrows of the rhetors.”¹⁴⁴ Enthymeme is an “imperfect syllogism.” It is common practice among orators to emphasize only the major or minor part of a complete syllogism, and thus, to employ enthymeme very frequently.¹⁴⁵ “Argument,” on the other hand, is a “dialectical syllogism and is a short syllogism.”¹⁴⁶ The author also affords special consideration to dilemma, since it is especially appropriate for refutations.¹⁴⁷ This part of Ioannikios’s work is in essence a mini-treatise on rhetorical and dialectical argumentation and is followed by a brief consideration of the epilogue, which brings to a close the third book of rhetoric.¹⁴⁸

D. Book Four

The fourth and last book of Ioannikios’s rhetoric is a detailed investigation of the various kinds of speech subsumed under the category of epideictic.¹⁴⁹ Not surprisingly, Ioannikios focuses on encomiums and homilies (*didachai*—the Russian equivalent would be *poucheniia*). The author first offers a brief history of encomiastic speech. He extols Plato and Isocrates for providing the first powerful speeches and teachings on eloquence.¹⁵⁰ Noting that some contemporaries of Plato were not satisfied with his lofty views of rhetoric, Ioannikios refers to others who “lightened up and loosened” rhetoric: these are the sophists (or *logodaidaloi*) as Socrates called them, “not in a hateful, but in an honorable manner [lit., “name”] in the Platonic dialogue *Phaedrus*.” Ioannikios praises highly the encomiastic kind of oration, but also cautions that it is more appropriate in a procession or in a situation where one employs lavishness in speech, rather than in a court or in an adversarial situation. He concludes this brief history of epideictic speech by citing the other names that can be applied to it such as “panegyric” and “praise” (*epainos*).¹⁵¹

Subsequently, Ioannikios embarks on a consideration of the subject matter of an encomium. He begins with praise to God, “as Theocritus said.”¹⁵² An

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:

Triumph, oh Muscovites! Jump with joy, oh Greeks; fear enemies, be horrified barbarians, retreat! For the hitherto sterile Constantinople gave birth to her own lion and sees her own emperor.¹⁶⁵

In concluding his treatise, Ioannikios advises his students to pay particular attention to the great teachers of the Orthodox Church, and to study his textbook in conjunction with them. By studying it from beginning to end repeatedly, they will be able to understand the art of rhetoric and thus become able orators.¹⁶⁶

In comparison to Vlachos, the Leichoudes were much more oriented toward a “court” rhetoric, one that would respond to the needs of the royal and patriarchal courts of Russia. At the same time, Leichoudian rhetoric conformed to the teachings that were then prevalent in both Western Europe and the Greek world. It was not original or groundbreaking in any sense. In rhetoric, as in the other subjects that they taught, the Leichoudes were compilers and adapters rather than original authors. This should not, however, detract from the value of their work in the Russian context. From the perspective of the Russians, the Leichoudes were the first known systematic teachers and propagators of rhetoric in Muscovy. More importantly, their rhetoric was deeply influenced by Jesuit rhetorical currents of the seventeenth century. It was a Baroque rhetoric in the grand style that aimed to captivate both the mind and the emotions of its audience. As a result, Leichoudian rhetoric focused primarily on elocution and amplification at the expense of invention. To be sure, the two brothers made a concerted effort to adapt the material to the needs and demands of the Orthodox Muscovite environment. They treated subjects of particular interest to Russians (for example, drunkenness), but also to themselves as Greeks and emigrants (Russia’s supposed protective and/or liberating role for the subjugated Greeks). Throughout, the Jesuit inspiration and sources of their rhetoric are unmistakable.¹⁶⁷

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,

some of these texts also contained cosmological and astronomical information. Indeed, since the boundaries between astrology and astronomy in the medieval and early modern periods (both in Russia and in the rest of Europe) were not clearly delineated, such texts can also be seen as providing astronomical and cosmological knowledge that was presumably accessible (especially through oral transmission and by custom) to a wider audience than the *Shestodnev* or the cosmographies. Finally, mention should be made here of the apocryphal *Kniga Enokha* (Book of Enoch), which provided the reader with a fascinating ascent through the heavenly spheres all the way to God's throne; of the *Prenie Panagiota s Azimitom* (Dialogue of Panagiotes with an Azymite), an anti-Latin polemical tract dating from the thirteenth century in which the issues of heavenly spheres and the magnitudes of the stars appear; and of two excerpts (in a *Zlatoust* [miscellany containing excerpts from didactic and epideictic works by, or ascribed to, Saint John Chrysostom] and in a *Kratkaia Khronograficheskaia Paleia* [compilation of stories from the Old Testament and other chronicle entries]) on the heavenly spheres, containing the Arabic names of the planets.⁴ Still, the main sources, in terms of popularity and wide distribution, of information on the creation and operation of the physical world, well into the second half of the seventeenth century, were the *Izborniki* (of 1073 and 1076 CE), the *Shestodnev* section of the *Tolkovaia Paleia* (retelling of biblical stories in a pronounced polemical tone with commentary), together with various other versions of commentaries on the six days of creation, and the *Christian Topography* of Kosmas Indikopleustes, in addition to the text of Genesis.⁵ Using the Genesis narrative as a yardstick, these texts presented a Christian view of the cosmos sprinkled with a simplified and watered-down version of Aristotelian or Neoplatonic physics. Central to this Christian view was God's creation of the world. Questions concerning the earth's flatness or sphericity, the existence of three or more heavenly spheres, the motion of the sun and the planets, and the like were answered variously by individual early Church Fathers at different times. Whatever their answers to these questions were, theirs was a conception of the universe built upon pagan foundations but very much in agreement with scripture. In Russia, until the middle of the seventeenth century, this shared Christian legacy remained devoid of any of the intricate scholastic (natural-philosophical) and later astronomical and observational commentary encountered in Western Europe.⁶

The Slavo-Greco-Latin Academy constituted a clear departure from this state of affairs in that its curriculum offered precisely such a complex understanding of the natural world. The Leichoudes went beyond the rudiments of ancient Christian physics and provided young Muscovites with a

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

other hand, in addition to their own textbooks or commentaries, instructors utilized more extensively the original Aristotelian texts. The Jesuit program of studies (the *Ratio Studiorum*) strictly prescribed the order and allotted time for the philosophy course as for the other parts of the curriculum. In practice, however, teachers adapted their instruction to local circumstances and needs as well as (in at least some cases) to their own individual preferences, especially with regard to “special physics.” The overall sequence of study, though, remained largely unchanged and proceeded from the general to the particular, from Aristotle’s logical works to the eight books of physics to detailed consideration of his individual treatises on aspects of the operation of the natural world.⁹

In the case of the Slavo-Greco-Latin Academy, the extant sources dating from the Leichoudes’ tenure do not provide detailed information on the progression of classes in the philosophy course. Still, all evidence indicates that in expounding the intricacies of correct reasoning and of the natural world, Ioannikios and Sophronios adopted much the same approach to instruction as that practiced in Jesuit colleges. It is certain that they started with logic as a propaedeutic course in the art of speculative thinking.¹⁰ It is likewise incontestable that the two brothers continued into natural philosophy proper. Accordingly, they started with a commentary on Aristotle’s *De naturali auscultatione* and proceeded to teaching parts of “special physics,” although which parts is not exactly clear. What follows is an attempt to provide a reconstruction of the Academy’s instruction in “special physics” on the basis of the existence of relevant texts among the manuscripts written by, or available to, the Leichoudes during their tenure in the Academy.

There is incontrovertible evidence that, during his sojourn in Venice between 1688 and 1691, Ioannikios “wrote” two commentaries, one on “general physics” and another on the soul, which appear together in at least two manuscripts.¹¹ Attributing original authorship of these works to Ioannikios is problematic. As Zubov cautioned long ago¹² and as previously noted in the case of the Leichoudes’ rhetoric textbooks, they appear to have borrowed verbatim whole segments of their works from other sources. In the case of both the treatise on the soul and on physics, it is conceivable that Ioannikios followed the same practice. Since authorship of these works is dated to Ioannikios’s Venetian trip, it is safe to assume that the natural philosophy course started in the Academy only after his return to Moscow in the spring of 1691, and presumably proceeded until the two brothers were expelled from the Academy in 1694.¹³ In addition to Ioannikios’s commentary on the soul, the two brothers had at their disposal materials covering additional aspects of “special physics.” More specifically, they possessed two commentaries 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*

Logic, first published Rome, 1572) had served as the logical manuals of choice in the curriculum of Jesuit colleges since the late sixteenth century.¹⁹ In both the treatment of the syllogistic and in his epistemological positions, Vlachos followed Toletus's lead closely.²⁰ As a result, Leichoudian logic, as expounded in Sophronios's treatise, is in essence a compilatory version of Toletus's logical works. Such derivativeness finds its most pointed expression in Sophronios's views on the nature and aims of logic as a discipline.

In his textbook, Sophronios defines logic as an art that helps man judge and infer correctly. "[Logic] directs [*dieuthynei*] the mind by providing some rules and precepts in the same manner as any other art [*pasa oun alle ton technon*] does in its own field [*ergon*]; some call these rules entities of reason [*onta tes dianoisias*], but we [call them] actions [*energeiai*] of the mind, because we do not want to posit the entity of reason [as existing] in the nature of being."²¹ According to Sophronios, logic is concerned not with the "entities" of reason, as, for example, the Thomistic tradition would have it, but with the actual operations of the human mind in its search for truth. Simply put, logic's domain are the ways of knowing (*modi sciendi*, that is, defining, dividing, and reasoning) rather than the general concepts and categories that the human mind uses to classify the world around it. In thus circumscribing logic's subject matter, Sophronios follows an anti-Thomistic approach characteristic of Jesuit logical thinking.²² It is noteworthy that despite their sustained advocacy of Thomas Aquinas's philosophy and theology, several Jesuit logicians (including Toletus) had parted ways with Aquinas and had opposed the fact that he posited the entities of reason (*entia rationis*) as logic's primary concern. Moreover, the same thinkers had underscored logic's "directing" role (*dirigibilitas*) in the human quest to distinguish between valid and invalid conclusions. They thus broadened logic's applications into the realm of all intellectual investigations as practiced by other sciences.²³ The result was that logical instruction went beyond the strictly defined domain of formal logic (that is, the rules of the syllogistic only) and extended into epistemological and even metaphysical issues. It was this kind of logic that the Leichoudes taught in the Slavo-Greco-Latin Academy.

Having offered their students the necessary foundations in the complicated operations of the human mind, Ioannikios and Sophronios proceeded to the study of slightly more tangible subjects regarding the physical world. There was no single, uniform Jesuit teaching on natural philosophy, especially as regards cosmology. Rather, Jesuit scholars exhibited a wide variety of opinions even on cosmological matters touching upon axiomatic tenets of faith, within the general framework of Aristotelian natural philosophy as a method for studying the natural world.²⁴ In the Slavo-Greco-Latin

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

Leichoudian Cosmology

Leichoudian cosmological views can be culled from two commentaries on Aristotle's *De caelo* found in manuscripts in the possession of the two brothers. Dated 1690, the first is a Greek commentary on Aristotle's work and is titled *Eis ta tou Aristotelous Vivlia peri Ouranou* (On Aristotle's Books on the Heavens; hereafter *Peri Ouranou*).³¹ Its author, Nikolaos Koursoulas (1602?–1652), a graduate of the Saint Athanasius College (Collegio Greco) of Rome, was yet another Western-educated Greek scholar of the seventeenth century. After becoming “doctor philosophiae et theologiae” in Saint Athanasius College in 1625, Koursoulas appears to have started studies in law in Padua, but did not complete them. He returned to his native Zakynthos in the Ionian Islands and became a hieromonk. He then moved to Alexandria where he worked as a teacher until 1637 when he became teacher of Latin (*preettore latino*) in Kerkyra (Corfu) and later on back in Zakynthos. After an unsuccessful attempt to become bishop, he is said to have retired to Mount Athos where he died in 1652. Although his biography is known in general outline, very little has been written on his philosophical works. Yet, if one is to judge by the number of manuscripts in various repositories in the Greek East, his commentary on Aristotle's *De caelo* seems to have enjoyed widespread circulation in those regions.³²

The second treatise is an anonymous work in Latin and is titled *De Mundo: In Libros Aristotelis Stagiritae de Mundo, et Caelo* (On the Universe: [Treatise] on the Books of Aristotle the Stagirite on the Universe and the Heavens; hereafter *De Mundo*).³³ According to Boris L. Fonkich, both texts are Ioannikios's autographs.³⁴ The fact that Ioannikios copied Koursoulas's treatise in 1690 further suggests that the two brothers planned to teach cosmology to their Muscovite students. Between Ioannikios's return from Venice in 1691, and their expulsion from the Academy in 1694, the Leichoudes would have had sufficient time to cover both the “general” and the “special physics” parts of the philosophy course, namely cosmology and psychology, if not metaphysics and ethics as well. Although the Leichoudes might have had access to other relevant materials, *Peri Ouranou* and *De Mundo* are the only two complete works on cosmology found among the manuscripts the two brothers had at their disposal in Russia. As such, they can be seen as comprising the Leichoudes' cosmological instruction.

The *Peri Ouranou* manuscript also contains (1) Gerasimos Vlachos's commentary on Aristotle's *De generatione et corruptione*; (2) an excerpt in Greek from an introductory astronomical textbook, most probably

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

and, as a result, it is impossible to gauge the extent to which Ioannikios copied, or might have been influenced by, Cottunius's work.⁴¹ In conclusion, given the current state of the evidence, it is more likely that Ioannikios was not the author of the treatise *De Mundo*, but that he copied it from one of the countless Jesuit textbooks (probably part of a *cursus philosophicus*) that were in circulation at the time. Indeed, the frequent invocation of the authority of Thomas Aquinas as well as the almost exclusive reference to the works of Jesuit natural philosophers and astronomers would support such a proposition.⁴²

Both *Peri Ouranou* and *De Mundo* are typical Scholastic commentaries on Aristotle's *De caelo*.⁴³ They follow the familiar pattern of Renaissance and post-Renaissance commentaries on Aristotle's philosophy. First comes an exposition of the Aristotelian thesis on each issue treated. This opinion is then checked against the judgments of Aristotelian commentators and, when needed, scriptural texts. Each separate discussion generally ends with the approval of the Aristotelian thesis, either in its original form or with adaptations necessitated by recent advances in astronomy and cosmology, or by scriptural and doctrinal constraints. In this way, both treatises adduce three kinds of arguments: physical, metaphysical, and scriptural, depending on the question treated.

There is, however, one significant difference between *Peri Ouranou* and *De Mundo*. Koursoulas almost exclusively emphasizes the Greek commentators of Aristotle with particular preference for the opinions of the Neoplatonist Simplicius, although he occasionally mentions Alexander of Aphrodisias and Ioannes Philoponos as well.⁴⁴ *De Mundo*, in contrast, is replete with references to Christopher Clavius, Raphael Aversa, Christopher Scheiner, and Giovanni Battista Riccioli, almost all of whom were Jesuits (with the exception of Aversa who was a Carmelite priest) and natural philosophers (though Riccioli was more of a "technical astronomer and scientist").⁴⁵ However, this is not to say that either treatise ignores other, medieval, commentators since the names of Thomas Aquinas and Duns Scotus as well as of Arab philosophers frequently appear in the discussion.⁴⁶ Indeed, beyond the emphasis on the Greek commentators, Koursoulas's work differs from *De Mundo* on few other essential points. The two texts mainly diverge in the amount of space devoted to some issues, for example, Koursoulas hardly discusses comets, but considers extensively the problem of whether the heavens are a simple and unmixed body. All in all, *Peri Ouranou* also gives the impression of a typical Western commentary on Aristotle's *De caelo*. This is not surprising since Koursoulas had studied in the Saint Athanasius

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

Despite the fact that for the Western European context the content of such philosophical and “scientific” instruction might already have been under attack, for the Russian context it carried rather radical consequences.⁵⁰ Theology, or to be more precise, religious belief, was no longer the sole purveyor of all truth. Rather, philosophy and “science” could and did explain the structure and function of the universe. The implications of such education were twofold: it sanctioned philosophical and “scientific” investigation as tools for understanding the material world; it also signified the first steps toward the institutionalization of scientific education in Russia. As a consequence, the Academy’s education potentially laid the groundwork for a more receptive attitude toward science (either in its more traditional qualitative, or its more recent, experimental form) on the part of the Muscovite educated elite. In this sense, it can also be connected with later attempts by Peter the Great to introduce some of the applied sciences at his new specialized schools.⁵¹

To be sure, the Leichoudes do not appear to have been advocates of a philosophical understanding of the nature and function of the universe, separate from religious considerations. In both *Peri Ouranou* and *De Mundo*, when the theme under discussion comes under the purview of religion and is directly connected to doctrine, as is often the case, then faith and even direct references to the Bible and the Fathers of the Church are taken into account. Indeed, both works strive to uphold both faith and reason by adapting philosophical investigation to the axiomatic requirements of Christian doctrine. Oftentimes, however, this adaptation works in the opposite direction as well. Both treatises frequently and consciously interpret scriptural authority in a symbolic or metaphorical manner, to allow for the truth of the conclusions arrived at by qualitative physics.⁵²

Nowhere is this more evident than in the discussion of the creation and nature of the heavens. Both works strive to explain the incongruity between the Aristotelian conception of the heavens as uncreated, eternal, and incorruptible, and the Christian belief in God’s creation of the heavens and their finiteness, by finding recourse in the Aristotelian dichotomy between substance and accidents. First, the treatises discuss the nature of heavens: they are composed of matter and form, and celestial matter and form are different from those of sublunar bodies.⁵³ Moving on to the problem of incorruptibility, in *Peri Ouranou*, Koursoulas asserts that both Aristotle and Pseudo-Dionysius declare the heavens to be incorruptible. Since the heavens are the place where God resides, it befits them to be eternal and ungenerated; since they are circular, there can exist no opposite motion that could counter their circular motion. Moreover, no alteration to the heavens has

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

of the astronomers' opinions, and has recourse to Aristotle's explanation: they are dry exhalations of earth and occur only in the aerial sphere, and hence, are sublunar phenomena. As for comets being divine portents and omens, he noncommittally states that some people think that way, without elaborating further.⁶³

Proceeding to the issue of celestial fluidity or solidity, *De Mundo* cites Tycho Brahe's preference for fluidity, while at the same time admitting that Aristotle posited the heavens' solidity. The treatise presents as "more satisfactory" a middle solution that would allow for the solidity of the firmament and empyrean spheres, but would assign fluidity to the planetary sphere. Thus, the scriptural passages speaking of the solidity of heavens should be taken as referring to the empyrean orb or the firmament, and not to the lower (planetary) spheres. In arguing for this solution as "the more likely," the author cites the judgments of Riccioli and Scheiner, among others.⁶⁴ This explanation would also account for Mars's motion as well as for the appearance and disappearance of comets, provided, of course, that one were to accept that comets are celestial phenomena.⁶⁵ Interestingly, the author continues by stating that Aristotle was wrong in his reasoning on celestial solidity. He notes that Aristotle had argued that the planetary spheres are solid, since they are moved by Intelligences.⁶⁶ But the telescope (which Aristotle lacked, the author emphasizes) has proven that the planets rotate around themselves. However, the author also indicates that one should not be too quick to condemn Aristotle for erring in something for which he lacked adequate instruments.⁶⁷ Still, it is more probable that the heavenly spheres are moved by Intelligences, rather than by their intrinsic form, since both Aristotle and Thomas Aquinas, as well as Pseudo-Dionysius and physical principles support such a likelihood.⁶⁸ As for the shape and number of the heavens, *De Mundo* posits that they are spherical and, in accordance with scripture, accepts three celestial spheres: those of the planets, the firmament, and the empyrean. When Aristotle spoke of eight heavens, it was because he posited one sphere for each of the seven planets.⁶⁹

Koursoulas spends more time establishing that the heavens are a simple body and not mixed than does *De Mundo*, although like the Latin author, he argues that celestial matter and form are different from those of sublunar bodies. He adds, however, that in terms of matter, the heavens are more perfect than man. In terms of essence, though, man is more perfect since he is adorned with soul and life.⁷⁰ Again echoing the Latin treatise and Aristotle, Koursoulas posits the existence of seven heavens (one for each planet), an eighth one of the fixed stars (firmament), and lastly the empyrean sphere. However, he adds that some astronomers argue for the existence of

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

cases in which the demons appear to fear certain herbs and to be affected by the appearance of certain stars: “this they [the demons] do artificially and on purpose . . . for the deception of the simpler and uneducated folk [*anthroparion*].” Finally, the stars and the heavens can be studied as signs of future natural phenomena such as rain, drought, and wind. However, “they are neither signs [*semeia*], nor causes [*aitia*] of our own actions and of those things that are under the control of our own will.”⁷⁴ *De Mundo* echoes the spirit (if not always the letter) of Koursoulas’s argumentation, and provides a clear refutation of judicial astrology, asserting that it is vanity to engage in predictions of the future. Indeed, the author argues, whenever such predictions have proven successful, it is by luck and not because of the intrinsic abilities of judicial astrologers.⁷⁵

By teaching a Jesuit cosmology, the Leichoudes proceed beyond the sophisticated understanding of the nature and function of the heavens and the stars, and deal directly with one of the main concerns that the study of the stars posed in Muscovy: that of their potential influence on human actions and their utilization for the prediction of the future. Divinatory astrology was practiced in Russia as is evident from the repeated condemnations of it found in conciliar decisions (such as the *Stoglav*) and in the treatises, homilies, and letters of several clergymen.⁷⁶ The Leichoudes reject any kind of predictive use of the stars, but they do so almost exclusively in “scientific,” not in religious terms. Thus, divinatory astrology is worthless not because it is pagan and runs contrary to Orthodoxy, but because it is baseless in terms of natural philosophy. It is worth emphasizing this point since it clearly shows the extent to which Leichoudian teaching provided its Muscovite audience with alternative ways of understanding the natural world. This understanding was not meant to undermine religious belief. Instead, it sought to eliminate common and crude perceptions of the cosmos and its influence on human life. In doing so, it necessarily ventured into the realm of religion, and although not seeking to act as a substitute for it, this new “scientific” explanation definitely chipped away at religion’s absolute and authoritative hold on the Muscovite conception of nature.

This is not to say that Leichoudian teaching was anything but scholastic. As already noted, the treatises they had at their disposal were on natural philosophy, not on applied or experimental science. The Leichoudes’ aim was to provide physical interpretations for all issues. Nevertheless, they did not offer philosophical solutions only. Theology and faith still extended answers or disproved philosophical speculation when the line of reasoning turned to questions directly related to doctrine. Leichoudian rhetorical teaching, after all, underlined the usefulness of secular wisdom

(*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

how the eclipses of the sun and the moon occur.⁸² Koursoulas thus makes a clear distinction between natural philosophy and the three branches of “scientific” investigation that deal with the nature and function of the celestial bodies. Equally important, he also separates astronomy, astrology, and mathematics and assigns a specific interpretative function to each. As already noted, this distinction hearkens back to the Aristotelian division of sciences. *De Mundo*, as discussed above, uses evidence from astronomy and mathematics to buttress physical arguments. Along these lines, after positing the sphericity of the planets and stars, its author refers readers to the works of Christopher Clavius for further information. Indeed, *De Mundo* exhibits a particular respect for the conclusions of mathematicians (no doubt because of the stature of Clavius and Riccioli), provided, of course, that such conclusions do not come into direct conflict with physical principles or scriptural authority.⁸³

The final part of both treatises is devoted to the six planetary systems known in Western Europe by the middle of the seventeenth century. First, both works emphasize the variety and diversity of planetary systems proposed by philosophers and astronomers. They then proceed to a brief presentation of the Ptolemaic, Platonic, Egyptian, Copernican, Tychonic, and semi-Tychonic systems. In each case, they trace the antecedents and first propagators of the individual theory and provide a description of the position of the planets. The exposition is accompanied by schematic representations of each system.⁸⁴

The description of the planetary systems is almost identical in the two treatises. There is, however, a very important difference; they diverge in the choice of their preferred system. In vouching for the semi-Tychonic system, *De Mundo* states:

We are more satisfied with this system than with others because we maintain that the Planetary Heaven [i.e., planetary spheres] is fluid. More about these [systems] is the business of Astronomers whose [job] it is to explain them more extensively and more meticulously.⁸⁵

In other words, the author, following the general Jesuit line of the mid-seventeenth century, expresses his preference for the semi-Tychonic, geoheliocentric system. He also justifies his choice by the fact that the semi-Tychonic system upholds the fluidity of the heavens.

Koursoulas, on the other hand, appears to vacillate between two systems, the Ptolemaic and the semi-Tychonic:

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

produced after the 1633 decree [of the condemnation of Galileo] a flood of pro-Tycho literature which continued until the closing decades of the seventeenth century.”⁹¹ Keeping in mind that Ioannikios and Sophronios were in essence teaching a Jesuit curriculum in Orthodox guise to their students, there is nothing surprising in the advocacy of the semi-Tychonic system in Leichoudian cosmology. The Leichoudes were certainly acquainted with the variety of planetary systems available in the West in the seventeenth century. The fact that Ioannikios copied Koursoulas’s treatise in 1690 suggests that the two brothers planned to teach cosmology, including the planetary system, in the Academy. That the Leichoudes most likely were real adherents of the semi-Tychonic system would appear to be a natural outcome of the system’s partial geocentricity, its acceptance of the planetary spheres’ fluidity, and, of course, its ultimate agreement with scriptural authority. Both *Peri Ouranou* and *De Mundo* are in agreement in all these points.

De Mundo ends the presentation of the planetary systems with the following statement: “Let this exposition be adequate concerning the heavens, about which it is scarcely possible to be certain on any point, and most of the time we are obliged to guess, because pure reason is not enough, nor is the mode of operation [of the planets] certain.”⁹² At first glance, this statement appears to revert to faith, given the stated inability to discuss the heavens with any certainty using reason. Significantly, however, the author (and following him) the Leichoudes do not bring religion into this concluding remark. If anything, the author advises the readers to turn to the astronomers for more information on the planets since they are the specialists. To which astronomers, the treatise does not mention.⁹³ Thus, Leichoudian cosmology provides an overall reflection of the Academy’s philosophical education: it is a transitional blend of old and new, the Scholastic and the “scientific.” The potential implications of this combination on the mentality and intellectual outlook of the Academy’s students are not always easy to gauge. As far as natural philosophy and cosmology are concerned, however, the Academy acquainted students both with the theoretical framework of natural philosophy, its vocabulary and terminology, as well as with several of the latest advances in astronomy, albeit in a cursory manner, and with very elementary concepts of mathematics. In this sense, the Academy’s curriculum can be interpreted as the first attempt at institutional, formal education in “science” in Russia, which would later be followed by the establishment of Moscow’s Navigation and Mathematics School.⁹⁴

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 legitimate them in front of an audience that had been traditionally warned to avoid them as inimical to faith. Philosophy no longer carries purely negative, pagan connotations. Nor is it solely the highest level of wisdom attained by divine grace.⁴ Accordingly, Leichoudian astronomy and astrology are not idle, dangerous, and heretical occupations; this is not the astrology that drew the wrath of Maksim Grek and the condemnation of the *Stoglav* Council, or featured in the lists of prohibited books.⁵ Nor for that matter is it the astrology of the *gromniki* and the *lunniki*—the meteorological and calendrical divinatory texts popular in Russia well into the modern period.⁶ Rather, this kind of astrology is a “science” of its own, connected to mathematics.⁷

This distinction between religious belief, philosophical speculation, and “scientific explanation” is most vividly exemplified in the case of the Leichoudian teaching on the planetary system. From among the six versions of it that Ioannikios and Sophronios are acquainted with, they declare their preference for the Ptolemaic and semi-Tychonic geocentric systems. Importantly, however, both *De Mundo* and *Peri Ouranou* do present the Copernican heliocentric system and trace its antecedents to the philosophers of antiquity.⁸ Although both treatises at the disposal of the Leichoudes take scriptural authority into consideration, they simply expound upon the different planetary systems proposed by philosophers and astronomers, and indicate their preference, but in neither case is the final choice justified explicitly or solely in religious terms.⁹

The Leichoudes were not modern scientists. The cosmology they espoused was one of the countless versions of Jesuit scholastic natural philosophy. They exhibited an awareness of the role played by observation and experience that fits well with Jesuit “science” of the seventeenth century. Accordingly, the Leichoudes accepted the data and validity of some astronomical observations. But more often than not, they reverted to speculative arguments and qualitative physics. For the Muscovite cultural context, Leichoudian teachings on natural philosophy and the “sciences” added impetus to the Western education and culture that the Ukrainian and Belarusian scholars had first introduced in the 1650s and 1660s. Simeon Polotskii had advised the audience of his sermons to seek an informed faith through learning. In his poems, he extolled philosophy as a guide to moral improvement. He thus paved the way for a symbiotic relationship between secular knowledge and religious faith. The Leichoudes drove home and enhanced the argument that differentiated religious faith and secular learning, and likewise attempted to join the two into a harmonious whole. More importantly, they did so in the institutional framework of a school that was supported by both the state

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,

and second-in-command after the prince), nephew and eventual successor of Șerban, Constantin Brâncoveanu (r. 1688–1714).¹⁵ Both Șerban and Brâncoveanu were known patrons of religious and educational institutions, and Sophronios does not miss the opportunity to exploit this fact in his panegyric. Thus, the speech, beyond being an expression of gratefulness for the hospitality afforded the two brothers in Wallachia, can also be interpreted as a way of currying favor with the two princes for their future advantage. The speech is in demotic Greek, as the Wallachian court was multilingual and Greek was both a language of the court and of education.

In the dedicatory note, Sophronios presents the speech as a description of the “praises, glory, and majesty of our most pious and most illustrious leader [*authentēs*] Lord Ioannes Servanos,” and calls on Constantin Brâncoveanu to accept it as a gift and as a sign of goodwill. In the preface, Sophronios compares the return of Șerban to his capital with the sun’s rise at dawn; if the rising sun spells the beginning of life in the world of flora and fauna, how much more happy can humans be (who are rational beings and have the ability to think) at the return of the prince. The author proclaims that God, “the prime and great mover of all things,” created the prince and his rule in the utmost perfection. However, it was not only God who participated in the formation of this perfect product of divine agency. Indeed, the planets, nature, and the arts contributed “greatly” under the command of God as never before. The Moon provided the prince with sweetness of heart, Mercury adorned him with eloquence, the Morning Star offered magnificence, the Sun gave Șerban the ability to illuminate and bring joy to those around him, Mars granted him warlike qualities, Jupiter offered perfect gentlemanship (*kalokagathia*) and Saturn governing qualities. Nature, as well, adorned the prince with all the excellence inherent in it, and the arts with all the benefits that can be acquired through them. The result, Sophronios concludes in this first part of the speech, is that “[his] illustriousness became a new miracle of the arts, nature, the planets, and God in this worldly life.”¹⁶

Reading through the exaggeration and flattery inherent in a panegyric, one notes several interesting characteristics in the opening parts of the speech. First, the presentation of God as the prime mover and the reference to humans as rational beings immediately betray Sophronios’s scholastic Aristotelian education. Likewise, the roles that nature and the arts are assigned in the formation of man show the direct influence of Aristotelian natural philosophy and ethics. Metaphors involving planetary imagery should be noted in this regard, especially because the Leichoudes made repeated use of them in their orations. More importantly, though, the way in which Sophronios weaves this imagery in his speech is indicative of both

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

with equals and admonishment to those below, and finally prudence and foresight. To be sure, these qualities of Şerban's character are accompanied by external virtues such as bravery, health, and magnificence of complexion, the latter able both to bring joy to anyone "like the sun" and to frighten enemies "like a most terrible comet." The prince is admirable both for his exploits on the battlefield and his magnanimity, but also for his magnificent building activities and his patronage of a great monastery.²¹ But Sophronios does not stop here. He even goes so far as to compare the prince with a "school" (*gymnasion*) that provides adequate instruction in all three main areas of education: ethics, politics, and "economics" (that is, housekeeping—yet another Aristotelian distinction). The result, the author asserts, is that none of the disciplines of the *trivium* and the *quadrivium* (which he duly enumerates) can adequately interpret, measure, and express the magnificence and excellence of the prince's character, family, ethical makeup, and exploits.²²

In preparation for the conclusion of his speech, Sophronios yet again employs references to learning, this time in a bid to justify the panegyric's title, "The Common Joy." After rather humorlessly asserting that he has now decided that winter is the best season (for winter afforded him the opportunity to finally see Prince Şerban), Sophronios proclaims that everybody and everything around him appear to be participating in a common joy, both people and the arts, at the sight of the prince. Thus, Şerban's subjects are joyful under the protection of his double-headed eagle.²³ The Greek language itself is joyous in that both the arts and the present panegyric use it as a tool of expression. More than that, history, poetics, rhetoric, logic, arithmetic, geometry, painting, sculpture, music, and astrology, even law and justice, are all in a state of extreme joy, for all of them will reach new heights of perfection in their attempt to study, explain, and present the prince's excellence.²⁴

In concluding his speech, Sophronios first compares the prince with several Old and New Testament leaders and personages who were chosen by God for positions of leadership: Noah, Abraham, Aaron, David, and John the Baptist.²⁵ He continues by offering his prayers to God to keep the prince, his wife Maria, and all his family safe, healthy, and successful into old age. Finally, he reverts yet again to the *topos modestiae* and expresses his sadness that he cannot speak the language of angels, for that would be the best way to express the prince's many virtues. Being a silent language, the angelic tongue is the most appropriate one for the prince's ineffable excellence, for anyone else's exploits are preached and written, but Şerban's can only be admired in silence.²⁶

The panegyric in honor of Prince Şerban already shows several characteristics that regularly recur in the Leichoudes' orations. To begin with, it

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

sciences (including the planetary imagery) points to the Jesuit tradition of study of the natural sciences.²⁷

Sophronios's portrait of Șerban Kantakouzenos certainly contains several common traits with other princely panegyrics. The prince is compared, directly or indirectly, to the sun. He is praised for his military exploits, his prudent governance, his just rule, and his magnificent presence. At the same time, Sophronios shows an acute awareness of the specific circumstances surrounding his subject; thus, he makes sure to emphasize the Byzantine origins of Șerban's family as well as his use of the double-headed eagle, while avoiding any direct reference to the prince's overlords, the Ottoman Turks. The only veiled reference to them appears to be the remark that the prince shows obeisance "to those greater [than himself]" and has managed to survive several plots against his life.²⁸ Sophronios is also conscious of Brâncoveanu's presence and influence in the court as well as his and his uncle's patronage of the arts. Hence, he does not miss the opportunity to exhibit his own erudition in a speech replete with references to classical imagery, hopeful that the message will not be lost on his addressee and the audience. The implication is that both Sophronios's (and Ioannikios's) speeches and orations are always calibrated according to the circumstances at hand and never appear to be simply standard textbook examples of the art of rhetoric.

This same awareness of the political environment around them is evident in the chronologically next surviving speech of the Leichoudes, which was authored by both brothers. It is a congratulatory speech on the occasion of Sophia Alekseevna's birthday in 1686. Dated September 16, the speech was originally composed in Latin.²⁹ According to contemporary records, it was delivered at a private audience in the chambers of the tsarevna on the eve of her name day.³⁰ Titled *pokhval'noe slovo* (speech of praise) in the files of the Chancellery of Foreign Affairs, the oration is an encomium to Sophia Alekseevna and her rule as well as a call for her to persist in her and her brothers' struggle against the Tatars and their overlords, the Ottoman Turks.

The Leichoudes begin their oration by citing the apostolic commands "honor the king"³¹ and "all authority is from God."³² Powerful and strategically placed, this statement cannot be interpreted as anything but a Leichoudian affirmation of Sophia's rightful presence on the throne of Muscovy. By it, the authors immediately proclaim their loyalty to Sophia's rule. They assert that just "honoring" her (despite the fact that this is what the holy scripture commands) would not bring adequate pleasure and would not do justice to her virtue. In the well-established pattern of the *topos*

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

Sophia and her defense of Muscovy and Christianity against the Tatars and the Ottomans.

Still, in an obvious attempt to strike a balance between the powers that be in Muscovy, the Leichoudes utilize the motif of Christian rulers fighting Christianity's opponents in order to include in the speech the co-reigning brothers of Sophia. Since as some philosophers would say, "all triads are perfect," Sophia, Ivan, and Peter are presented as leading the fight with great success. Referring to all three, the authors proclaim:

For in your strength, and in your efforts, and in your terrible power [*groznoi derzhave*] lies the hope of all Christianity. You are like an indestructible, sturdy, and powerful wall, [like] a rampart [*predstenie/propugnaculum*] that fights at the forefront [*predboraet*] against beastly fury, and indomitable dishonorable people, so that they would not attack and destroy the servants of Christ in the Western lands. The creator of human salvation has placed you as a fence and a wall of a castle against the face [of those] hostile to Christian piety.⁴⁰

Turks and Tatars do not fear any other Christian lords and rulers, the Leichoudes assert, which is the reason that those rulers offer their prayers to God for the success of the Muscovites. Even more so do the patriarchs of the Eastern Churches pray with one voice and one mind. In the conclusion of the speech, the authors add their voices to those prayers in beseeching God to grant persistence in the fight against the enemies of Christianity, longevity in this world, and salvation in the world to come.⁴¹

The portrait of Sophia that the Leichoudes present on this occasion contains several stereotypical elements found in princely encomiums. The authors proclaim their inability to do justice to their subject's many virtues. Many of these virtues are ones traditionally associated with a ruling monarch: magnanimity and justice, for example. Since the subject is female, the presence of humility, chastity, charity, and temperance are all but expected. Still, the authors add several interesting twists to this otherwise standard praise of a queen. They emphasize the warlike abilities and military exploits of Sophia, together with her gifted reason and interest in the arts. Indeed, the main focus of the speech is the struggle of Sophia's government against the enemies of Christianity, East and West. Along these lines, Sophia's military plans are presented as a direct continuation of her father's policies, thus adding an element of legitimacy to her rule. Her defense of Christianity against the Tatars and the Ottomans is singled out for particular praise, especially since—in the Leichoudes' recounting—it is recognized as such both by Western Christian rulers and by the Eastern patriarchs, and hence by all

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

for the first time in a Leichoudian speech the ancient link between the royal families of Byzantium and Rus' is emphatically presented as a way of praising a Russian royal personage and making reference (albeit veiled in this case) to current and potential Russian foreign policy designs. More specifically, the author remarks that in the paternal line, Peter derives his lineage from Saint Vladimir, whereas in the maternal line "from the root of the most saintly and powerful Romanos, the so-called Child [*Pedii*, Gr. *paidi*], the autocrat of Constantinople," whose daughter Anna married Vladimir.⁴⁷ This fact can only bring joy, consolation, and hope to the author since "although the wheel of our Greek empire has fallen from there [i.e., Constantinople], here through its successor (who is your Serenity) without doubt it has arisen greater."⁴⁸ But one could also say, the author continues, that just by looking at Peter it is apparent that the Russian royal lineage is from the heavens themselves. The tsar is an example of God's granting all kinds of virtues: bodily beauty (as in the star of Venus), chastity, clean consciousness (like that of the "clearest" Moon), serenity, persistence, glory (similar to the Sun's), reason (similar to Mercury's), bravery (like Mars's), magnificence (like Jupiter's), and justice (similar to Saturn's).⁴⁹ Indeed, one could assert that Peter is the example of the true king among all the kings of the world,

For whoever needs him [i.e., Peter], will find him: this God-saved kingdom [will find him] as its beloved groom, the most glorious senate as its true shepherd, a good person as his friend, a bad person as his corrector, a wise person as his elder advisor, a rich person as his provider, an uneducated person as his tutor, a lowly person as his John the merciful, a grateful person as his Alexander the Macedonian, a simple person as his consolator, a young one as his Solomon, an old one as his Abraham, the soldiers as their Achilles, the priests as their Constantine the First the autocrat of the flag of the honorable cross, the magnificence of all the Orthodox kingdoms as a successor, and finally the Holy Church as its defender.⁵⁰

Such are the reasons for the author's joy that is shared not only by all the Russian state, but also by the whole of Christendom.⁵¹ However, God's blessings are not limited to the aforementioned. Peter was also blessed with an excellent wife, Evdokiia, who is adorned with all kinds of external and internal virtues. Or as her name denotes, she is full of grateful goodwill.⁵²

In preparation for the conclusion of the speech, the author announces that he is afraid to speak any further "since [he] is speaking in a foreign language and not [his] own" and thus runs the risk of annoying his

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.

Finally, this speech is yet another example of the skillful combination of religious and classical imagery by the Leichoudes. Such a mixture had certainly been long present in the West and had already been tested (with very little opposition) in Russia. The extent to which its audience, including Peter himself, could grasp it is an open question. It might have sounded unfamiliar and outlandish, even outright heretical, to some ears, but it is impossible to tell. Still, it is certain that it was this kind of speech writing that the Leichoudes taught their students, and thus provides insight into the content of rhetorical education in Russia at the time. To begin with, Leichoudian rhetoric, in conformity with Western patterns, did not involve an a priori rejection or distrust of all non-Christian, non-biblical, and non-patristic texts and their content. Nor did it advocate simplicity of expression, in the presumed examples of patristic authors. On the contrary, it sought to enlarge the stock of rhetorical sources by incorporating materials from history, mythology, and natural philosophy. The Leichoudes repeatedly and explicitly urged their students to utilize ancient myths and classical imagery in composing their speeches. These students represented a cross section of Muscovite society, and a clear preponderance of them were associated with the courts of tsar and patriarch. Thus, it seems fair to assume that for a large number of them, the mixture of Christian imagery with mythological references and philosophical ideas would have seemed natural and expected, and would hardly have caused them to raise an eyebrow. This is not to say that all such references were immediately grasped by the Leichoudes' audience. What is important is that these references were made publicly on official occasions of the Muscovite court and were accepted, as far as it is possible to tell, as natural complements of Christian imagery.

Leichoudian rhetorical theory and practice was a distillation of seventeenth-century Jesuit rhetorical thought. The Leichoudes' manuals were in both substance and form modeled after the post-Renaissance Jesuit rhetorics and taught mainly the rhetoric of the "grand style." The orator's primary aim was to speak well in order to captivate his audience. Accordingly, in teaching rhetoric the Leichoudes predominantly emphasized amplification and elocution and treated in detail the tropes and figures of speech, since these were the most significant tools an orator could employ in his effort to win over his listeners. Rhetoric thus served to do much more than just convince the audience. It was not simply invention of appropriate topics for a speech and correct argumentation. It also involved ornament, erudition, knowledge of stories and myths, symbols and hieroglyphics. It required passionate and emotional gesticulation. Accordingly, its aim became to captivate the

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

preclude continued attendance in later years as well. Sons of the lesser nobility, however, are attested both for the late 1680s and the early 1690s.⁵⁹ The Leichoude appear to have taught few scions of the “power elite” of Muscovy, that is members of the Duma ranks.⁶⁰ It is also conceivable that the two brothers acted as private tutors to the children of the Muscovite elite, although no hard evidence of this has been found. In his 1726 report, Fedor Polikarpov claimed that in 1687 more than forty sons of boyars and “lesser nobles” (*sigklitskie i boiarskie deti*) were ordered to study in the Academy.⁶¹ Even with the assumption that an edict to this effect was issued, it is possible to verify aristocratic presence in the Academy’s ranks only in a very small number of cases. The Leichoude could boast of teaching princely offspring such as Prince Aleksei Borisovich Golitsyn, Prince Iurii Iur’evich Odoevskii, and Prince Aleksandr Petrovich Prozorovskii. Students from the lesser Moscow nobility (*dvoriane*) included Ivan Vasil’ev Bukhvostov, Fedor Mikhailov Glebov, Ivan Vladimirov Eropkin, Konstantin Timofeev Litvinov, Petr Kondrat’ev Lunin, and finally, Petr Timofeev and Timofei Timofeev Savelov.⁶²

The small number of names in the above groups of students can be misleading at first glance. Nevertheless, one should always remember that the available records do not cite the names of all the students, even when nobles are concerned. For example, in the case of the Easter 1687 orations, after referring to the rewards of the other princely students, the note continues, “da Timotheiu Savelovu s tovarishchi trinattsat’ chelovekom” (“and to Timofei Savelov with his companions thirteen people [in total]”).⁶³ The text’s wording suggests that not all the names of lesser nobles were included in this enumeration. The rewards were given for the March 30, 1687, visit.⁶⁴ A draft note from a chancellery that is not indicated (but must be the *Posol’skii Prikaz*) lists the numbers, but not the names, of school students who visited the tsars on March 30, 1687, during Holy Week. The text reads: “two teachers, two black clergymen, one deacon of the teachers, three *komnatnye stol’niki*, thirteen *stol’niki* and other *tsaredvortsy*, seventeen school students of the patriarch and of others.”⁶⁵ Thus, not all the names of *stol’niki* are included in the documents. In addition, when reporting the occasions of orations in front of the patriarch, the records normally refer to the lower (grammar) class students only by aggregate number and do not provide their names. It also bears emphasizing that Russia’s elite was a close-knit and circumscribed circle of people. The fact that the Leichoude taught several members of this circle thus assumes greater importance than the sheer number of students would suggest. Ioannikios and Sophronios taught noble scions serving in the courts of the two young tsars, Ivan and Peter, and their wives,

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

Scions of the lesser Moscow nobility (*dvoriane*) who attended the Academy included Ivan Vasil'ev Bukhvostov, Fedor Mikhailov Glebov, Petr Kondrat'ev Lunin, and Ivan Vladimirov Eropkin, and also probably Vasilii Poltev.⁷¹ Fedor Mikhailov Glebov was likely the son of Mikhail Ivanovich Glebov, who was a boyar in the patriarchal household.⁷² Moreover, Ivan Vladimirov Eropkin, Konstantin Timofeev Litvinov, Petr Kondrat'ev Lunin, and the brothers Timofei and Petr Timofeev Savelov were *stol'niki* of Tsaritsa Praskov'ia Fedorovna (née Saltykova), the wife of Tsar Ivan V (r. 1682–1696).⁷³ The father of the Savelovs, Timofei Petrovich Savelov, was *dumnyi dvorianin* and served as judge in the patriarchal household (*Patriarshii dvor*) between 1676/1677 and 1680/1681. In addition, Timofei and Petr Savelov were nephews of Patriarch Ioakim, and their sister Mavra Timofeevna married Ivan Alekseevich Musin-Pushkin, yet another Leichoudian student.⁷⁴ Ivan Vasil'ev Bukhvostov was the son of Vasilii Borisovich Bukhvostov, who was *striapchii* in 1667–1668, and then *stol'nik* between 1671 and 1686. Under Peter, Vasilii Borisovich assumed Duma rank and became a *dumnyi dvorianin*, served as a *voevoda* in various cities, and also became *okol'nichii* (Duma rank below boyar) in 1698. Ivan Vasil'ev Bukhvostov also became *stol'nik*. His nephew (son of his eldest brother) Sergei Leont'evich was the “first Russian soldier” of Peter’s Preobrazhenskii regiment.⁷⁵ In fact, many *stol'niki* from among the *dvoriane* later became military leaders in the reorganized Petrine army.⁷⁶

Ivan Alekseevich Musin-Pushkin (1671–1729) became *stol'nik* in 1676–1677 when he was only five years old, *okol'nichii* when he was eleven in 1682, and “judge” (*sud'ia*) in 1684–1685 and 1686–1688 in the *Sibirskii Prikaz* (Siberian Chancellery, responsible for the administration of Siberia). He served in Smolensk (1688–1690), then Astrakhan' (1693–1699), and was named a boyar in 1698, *tainnyi sovetnik* (secret councilor) in 1709, and senator in 1711, becoming the longest-serving senator of Peter’s reign by keeping the office until Peter’s death in 1725 and retiring only in 1726. Some scholars believe that he was an illegitimate son of Tsar Aleksei Mikhailovich from his liaison with Irina Mikhailovna Musina-Pushkina, née Eropkina, and thus a stepbrother to Peter the Great. He was a member of the Council of Five.⁷⁷ Otto Pleyer, the representative of the Holy Roman Empire in Russia for twenty years, characterized him as “a lover of philosophical and theological sciences,” adding that Ivan Alekseevich had learned Latin with Jesuit teachers. Presumably Pleyer, who first arrived in Moscow in 1692, was not aware of Musin-Pushkin’s time in the Academy, but he correctly detected the nature of Musin-Pushkin’s education.⁷⁸ Starting in 1701, I. A. Musin-Pushkin headed the revived *Monastyrskii Prikaz* (Chancellery of Monastery Affairs),

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

whose linguistic tool was Slavonic, Polikarpov struggled to accept easily the simpler Russian vernacular preferred by Peter and characteristic of the new secular path that the tsar was determined to take.⁸⁸ The fact remains that Polikarpov headed the Muscovite Typography for a long time, which indicates that Peter thought of him as useful and appropriate for the position. It is less obvious that his difficulty in accepting the Russian vernacular can be attributed to a Grecophile Muscovite tradition that valued literalism in translation, and held up the primacy of Greek over Latin. In the Academy, Polikarpov had studied Latin and vernacular Greek, as well as ancient Greek. Ultimately, as his dictionary proves, Polikarpov recognized that Latin was necessary in the civil and scholarly affairs of his time.⁸⁹ He had therefore moved beyond any kind of strictly Grecophile position that distrusted Latin as a language of heresy, and had accepted it as a language of education and of administration and diplomacy, even if his personal preference was for Greek and Slavonic. He was obviously not comfortable with the use of the vernacular Russian, either in original compositions or in translation, and because of this the translation of the *Geographia Generalis* (General Geography) of Bernhard Varenius was handed over to Sophronios Leichoudes to correct.⁹⁰ Polikarpov is ultimately an example of the possibilities of resistance to Petrine initiatives in the realm of language, but also of the compromises that some of Peter's collaborators had to make. Rather than interpreting him as a representative of old Muscovite bookishness characterized by slavish devotion to Slavonic, it is more fruitful to see Polikarpov as representative of the Baroque education and culture that he came to acquire in the Academy. This culture did not differentiate between the secular and the religious, but sought to combine them into a coherent whole, thus creating an educated person. Polikarpov's case was one of personal, ultimately deeply held, scholarly preference, an indication that an educated person could have his own ideas about language and translation. In other words, Polikarpov's was a principled resistance to Peter's choices, based on scholarly study and on linguistic expertise, not some form of blind adherence to the older Muscovite religious tradition of distrust toward Latin or all secular knowledge. As he noted in his preface to the republication of Meletii Smotritskii's grammar manual, grammar was necessary in order to understand the order and "discuss the power of reason" behind the language and for accurate translation.⁹¹ The Academy's education had paid off in this regard.

The case of another student, Moisei Arsen'ev, is instructive of ways in which the Academy's education prepared a *prikaz* secretary to make a long career out of the knowledge he had acquired under the Leichoudes. Arsen'ev attended both the Academy (he indicates that he studied grammar, poetics,

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.

Among them, he highlighted the fact that starting in 1724 he worked as an archivist of the hundreds of Greek-language documents archived in the Chancellery of Foreign Affairs. Thus, Arsen'ev is an example of a new kind of chancellery secretary. Like his predecessors in similar positions, he had knowledge of languages (Italian, Greek, Latin), but he differed from most of them in that he had a broader scholastic-humanistic education, which proved useful for the various positions in which he served. Here was the son of an urban dweller (probably a merchant) from Tula, a recent immigrant to Moscow, who sought education in the Academy of his own volition (at least as he put it) once his father died. Arsen'ev's case is an example of the limited upward social mobility that the Academy's education provided for some newcomers to Moscow. It also reflects the confidence in their skills such education instilled among some students lower down in the social hierarchy, a confidence that allowed them to actively pursue careers in the heady reformist time of Peter the Great.

The only information that readily exists for the majority of the Leichoudian students is their names, and it is not always possible to find exact matches in the published reference works.⁹³ To the extent that Arsen'ev's case is representative, perhaps the contribution of the Academy's education was more important for the careers not of the aristocratic elite and lesser nobility in Russia, but rather for those who were born among or sought to enter the administrative secretarial elite.⁹⁴ Indeed, the Academy's education provided a widening of cultural horizons beyond the strictly specialized training that secretaries would have received in the *prikazy*, if they had not entered the Academy. Such a widening and the accompanying immersion into Western-style education served them well in facing the challenges of Petrine initiatives, and depending on personal predilections, also allowed them to grasp at new opportunities offered by Peter's policies and cultural choices. As I. Fediukin has recently stressed, Peter's views about education remained premodern and did not seek to impose the kind of social disciplining that characterized elite education in some other European countries.⁹⁵ Clan relations, intellectual affinities, career choices, material interests, personal contacts, and readiness to collaborate conditioned what Fediukin calls the "administrative enterprise" (*administrativnoe predprinimatel'stvo*) of the Petrine era. Beyond the tsar and the narrow circle of the top elite, there were a series of Peter's collaborators whose origins placed them lower down the social scale and who ended up initiating and/or participating in policy making. Individuals such as A. A. Kurbatov (a former serf of boyar B. P. Sheremet'ev), Leontii Magnitskii (author of the first Russian arithmetic), as well as secretaries in Moscow's bureaucracy and also some merchants

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

by Peter's Westernizing choices. He received his doctorate after only three years of study. While abroad, he repeatedly procured books, medicines, and scientific instruments for the tsar's court. In 1698, after Peter's visit to England, Postnikov was left behind for a time in order to inspect schools (*dlia osmatrivaniia akademiei*).¹⁰³ After his return from France in 1710, he worked in the Chancellery of Foreign Affairs and also translated a number of books on diplomatic protocol and the Koran from the French.¹⁰⁴ At the same time, Postnikov constitutes an example of an early modern Russian with a lifelong passion for scientific matters and respect for intellectualism. It is unclear whether Postnikov was interested in bureaucratic service right after graduation. Although he did eventually act as a sort of diplomatic agent and joined the staff of the Chancellery of Foreign Affairs (following in the footsteps of his father), he initially, at least, appears to have been more interested in the wider academic world he came to know outside of Russia (Postnikov visited or stayed for various periods of time in Italy, France, Holland, and England in the late 1690s and 1700s). Thus, he spent the two years after graduation from Padua honing his skills in medicine and pursuing academic endeavors in Paris and Leiden. His letters from this period offer few details as to these endeavors, since they are replete with information sent to his superiors in Moscow regarding military and political matters in Europe. Nevertheless, they are indicative of his intellectualism and his adherence to the rules of Baroque epistolography. Classical references to Hippocrates and Democritus's views on the issue of human nature's propensity for work and biblical references alternate with Baroque rhetorical tropes and news of political and military affairs, an indication that Postnikov had absorbed quite well the knowledge imparted to him during his studies. A "traditional" Muscovite who avoided external knowledge would not have expressed himself in this way, and in that sense Postnikov reflects the appreciation of intellectualism taught in the Slavo-Greco-Latin Academy and further developed by his doctoral studies in Padua.¹⁰⁵ He certainly could hold himself well in scholarly company. He visited the schools set up by the German Pietist August Hermann Francke in Halle and held scholarly discussions with him, during which they considered some problems with Heinrich Wilhelm Ludolf's *Grammatica Russica* (Russian Grammar) (Oxford, 1696), as Francke himself reported in a 1698 letter to Gottfried Wilhelm von Leibniz.¹⁰⁶ Delving into his own scholarly interests was not something that served the state's interests, however, and the time had come for Postnikov to make good on his readiness to serve his sovereign.¹⁰⁷ Postnikov knew Latin, French, Greek, and Italian. In particular, his Greek came in handy for the Russian delegation at the negotiations of the Treaty of

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 cases of Polikarpov, Arsen'ev, Ageev, and Postnikov are not identical, nor are they necessarily reflective of the careers of all the Academy's students. They are, however, strongly indicative of how the Academy's education groomed them to transition to the new ethos and the Westernizing culture promoted by Peter. It was not a uniformly easy transition, nor was it devoid of tensions, as Polikarpov's example indicates. But it was facilitated by the education that the Academy had offered. Deep appreciation of learning (both religious and secular) as such, valuable skills in language, training in public speaking, and knowledge of natural philosophy created a firm basis for the students' subsequent careers. The education that the students received in the Academy prepared them, to one degree or another, for Peter's initiatives.

Postnikov's sustained pursuit of scholarly interests may indeed have been exceptional, since the Academy's curriculum did not advocate learning for its own sake. Still, it did propagate education as necessary for both the spiritual welfare and the career advancement of the individual. Although Ioannikios and Sophronios left no tract in which they expounded their philosophy of education and pedagogical aims, their course materials provide substantial insights in this regard. The Leichoudes were not innovators in any way since they taught an Orthodox version of the Christian humanism that was prevalent in Jesuit colleges throughout Europe and beyond. As an ultimate aim, this Christian humanism sought to make the students pious and eloquent conforming members of the Roman Catholic Church and loyal citizens of the absolutist state. The road to this aim involved a thorough training in languages, both Latin and Greek, and emphasized a philologically rich understanding of scripture. It hammered the students with minute exercises in parsing, memorization, and imitation of ancient authors in an effort to turn them into articulate and persuasive speakers. It did teach philosophy as distinct from theology, but still ensured that philosophical precepts were reconciled with axiomatic requirements of the faith. In the process, the curriculum made sure to distinguish between the heretical and the orthodox, and cleansed or explained away ancient wisdom. The result was that individual student initiative was not particularly encouraged, unless prescribed by certain carefully delineated rules.¹¹⁰

Naturally, in the Leichoudian Academy loyalty to the Orthodox Church and to the tsar were the ultimate aims, although the road to them was much the same. In the case of Russia, however, this road had important consequences. First, it privileged education as a worthwhile pursuit in a cultural environment that was gradually overcoming its suspiciousness of learning as a detriment to faith. In doing so, the Academy's curriculum built upon

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.

Education, Westernization, and Secularization in Early Modern Russia

Reflecting the dominant historiographical view, A. Iu. Andreev recently concluded that there was no continuity (*preemvstvennost'*) between the Leichoudian period of the Academy and the reorganized Slavo-Greco-Latin Academy after 1701.¹ Indeed, following the received wisdom from nineteenth-century scholarship, he saw a new era during which the Academy followed the example of its counterpart in Kiev. It is rather early to pronounce on these issues since the Muscovite Academy's curriculum in the early eighteenth century has not been systematically analyzed. Much the same can be said regarding a potential comparison of the Slavo-Greco-Latin Academy with the Kiev Mohyla Academy. Since the nineteenth century, there have been several scholarly contributions to the study of the Kievan Academy's educational activities. In particular, prerevolutionary scholars focused on its early history, its significance for the religious and social history of the Ukraine, and also on the formal aspects of its curriculum. Much less attention was paid to the actual content of courses taught, with the exception of the works of some of its most famous representatives, such as Stefan Iavorskii or Feofan Prokopovich. Due in large part to the dearth of sources and, in Soviet times, to the sociopolitical environment, until the 1960s there were very few attempts to actually study the content of its education, and especially the philosophical curriculum in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. More was accomplished in this regard in the Ukraine in the 1960s and 1970s, primarily by historians of philosophy. Such studies have considerably multiplied since the early 1990s, and scholars have also ventured into social histories of the Kiev Mohyla Academy in the eighteenth century and into comparative examinations of the curriculum in other Orthodox colleges of the Ukraine in the same period.²

Knowledge of the formal aspects of the Kievan Academy's activity (division of classes, teaching and disciplinary methods, employment of dramatic performances and disputations, disciplinary measures, et cetera) comes from nineteenth-century studies, primarily the works of M. Linchevskii

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

ways in which philosophical eclecticism and dialogue with Thomism, largely within Jesuit philosophical parameters, characterized approaches to metaphysics and ethics in the Kievan Academy in the late seventeenth and throughout the eighteenth centuries.⁹ It remains to be seen whether similar conclusions can be drawn for courses in natural philosophy as well, or for all branches of philosophy. For example, in his philosophy course taught in the mid-1640s, Inokentii Gizel' adopted an eclectic approach that did not necessarily follow Jesuit teachings in all philosophical questions, although it remained firmly within the scholastic framework. However, Gizel's course appears to have been atypical of the philosophical curriculum in the Kiev school.¹⁰ Based on such studies of the Kievan Academy's organization and curriculum in the seventeenth century, it appears that the two Academies, Muscovite and Kievan, from their foundation followed similar lines, that is, those of the Jesuit colleges and their curriculum, with the exception of individual teachers such as Gizel' who may not fit this pattern completely. Which Jesuit curricular textbooks were used (and there were many) especially in the rhetorical and philosophical courses requires further investigation.

Some years ago Max Okenfuss analyzed the Jesuit origins of Petrine education. He surveyed the schools set up in Russia in the period after 1700 (including the Moscow Academy after 1701) and correctly traced their origins to Jesuit models. Concurrently, Okenfuss argued that, despite the interlude of Ukrainian humanism in the second half of the seventeenth century, attitudes toward childhood and practices of elementary education in Slavonic persisted into the Petrine era and permeated the primer education provided even in schools founded in Peter's time. Nevertheless, Okenfuss concluded that the Petrine combination of the Old Muscovite (what he calls the *Domostroi*) way of raising children with technical education did produce individuals of new and different attitudes to childhood and to life.¹¹ However, when discussing the Leichoudian period of the Academy, Okenfuss assigned to it a "Greek" character, although he was clearly cognizant of the fact that scholastic philosophy and Latin were also taught in it.¹² The argument of this book, by contrast, is that the "Greekness" of the Academy needs rethinking, even in its Leichoudian period, both in its formal framework (progression of classes, pedagogical methods, and so on) and in its curriculum. All Russian institutional education began on the Jesuit model, and in this sense, the reorganization of the Slavo-Greco-Latin Academy under the guidance of Ukrainian and Belarusian monks from the Kiev Mohyla Academy may in fact signify more a continuation of the Leichoudian curriculum than a break with an alleged "Greek" first period of its operation. Sergei Smirnov was right in discerning a "Latin" period in

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.

Undoubtedly, Patriarch Ioakim was intent on upholding his office's dignity and on enforcing obedience to his authority within the church. Sil'vestr Medvedev challenged the patriarch's policies during the Eucharist conflict, and Ioakim's response was slow, but methodical.¹³ However, this was a dispute between clergymen over who had the authority to define theological doctrine, not a clash between church and state. Medvedev could boast the protection of Tsarevna Sophia and possibly V. V. Golitsyn, but neither of them appears to have been willing or able to antagonize the patriarch for the sake of their protégé. After all, the Leichoudes also enjoyed the patronage of Prince Golitsyn. In any case, the controversy over transubstantiation was a liturgical and theological conflict, not a cultural one. Though not well educated himself, Patriarch Ioakim was no reactionary, and did not attempt to micromanage the newly established Academy. He certainly did not object to the teaching of Latin by the Leichoudes, nor to being praised by the Academy's students in Latin orations. As head of the Russian Church, Ioakim was intensely interested in the spiritual renewal of Muscovite society, and he saw the Muscovite Academy as an institution that would aid him in pursuing this goal. In Ioakim's conception the school would produce a number of learned clergymen who would interpret and disseminate the message of the faith to the laity in an informed manner, while upholding doctrinal Orthodoxy.

For their projected academy, the Russians searched for and found teachers from among the Greeks. The contemporary Greek intelligentsia, of which the Leichoudes were an integral part, were carriers of the intellectual and cultural impulses coming from post-Renaissance Western Europe. After all, Greeks in search of education attended the academies and universities of the Latin West. As such, they brought back to their homelands the learning they had acquired in a Western cultural environment. They acted as conduits through which Aristotelianism and Scholasticism in all their various versions flowed into the Orthodox East. Most of these Greeks were clergymen, and many assumed positions of authority within or without the administrative machines of the Eastern patriarchates. Some of them renounced their Orthodoxy, whereas others remained steadfast and engaged in a vigorous defense of their ancestral faith against both Protestant and Roman Catholic encroachments. Nevertheless, they had acquired the weapons they employed in such confessional struggles in the educational institutions of that same West whose creeds they were battling. They may have been Orthodox but theirs was an intellectualized version of Orthodoxy, shaped by long apprenticeships in Western schools or with Western-educated teachers.

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 higher-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

the exception of the philosophy of Theophilos Korydalleus, much remains unstudied. The assumption seems to be that, despite its early condemnation, Korydallism reigned supreme in the later seventeenth and throughout the eighteenth centuries in the Greek East. However, Korydalleus's approach owed much to his studies under Cesare Cremonini and clearly aimed to analyze Aristotle without reference to faith, thus rendering philosophy autonomous from theology. A recent study of Korydalleus's philosophy interprets it as an antidote to Jesuit Scholasticism, officially promoted by the anti-Roman Catholic and pro-Calvinist Cyril Loukaris, patriarch of Constantinople, against the inroads of Jesuit education (especially natural philosophy) and missionaries in the Greek East.¹⁷ As the present study has shown, this was not the approach of the Leichoudes. Moreover, the works of Gerasimos Vlachos and Nikolaos Koursoulas as well as other authors were circulating in the Greek East and among the Greek teachers in the West along with the ones by Korydalleus. It seems clear therefore that Korydallism was not dominant in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries in the Greek East, and that there was another parallel trend (or even trends), represented by the works of Koursoulas and Vlachos. As such, the distribution of Koursoulas's and Vlachos's works in a school setting may be indicative of a more general current in seventeenth-century Greek education that reflected intensive Jesuit influence.¹⁸ If that proves to be the case, then one could argue that the Leichoudes belonged to this latter current. To the extent that one can tell from the existing level of knowledge, the Jesuit system had been adopted in other schools as well. But did any two courses in philosophy match? Did teachers share the exact same teaching materials? Much needs to be done before it is possible to answer these questions with any certainty. In this sense, the Leichoudian school can be used as a comparative yardstick.

As an example of the dissemination of Jesuit education through the classroom, the curriculum of the Leichoudian Academy provides insights into the cultural world of a significant number of individuals among the Petrine noble and administrative elite.¹⁹ It is difficult to discern the extent to which the students' educational experience was formative of their intellectual makeup. Certainly, the cultural environment outside of class did play a role as well. Received wisdom would assign to external Muscovite cultural impulses a traditionalist influence, and thus juxtapose them to the influence of the Academy. Scholars of the early modern period have repeatedly argued that there was limited cultural exchange (in the sense of learned discussions in a variety of disciplines) outside the schools. For example, L. W. B. Brockliss, speaking about France in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, argued that the environment outside the school was of limited

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

What is clearer at this point is that like in the Leichoudian Academy, the student body in the first third of the eighteenth century was varied, although it may be argued that there was a certain “plebeianization” in comparison to the Leichoudian period. Indeed, two reports sent to the Synod in 1727 and 1729 on the Academy’s student body suggest that very few children of noble origin attended its classes. Moreover, the newly appointed Ukrainian and Belarusian teachers of the Slavo-Greco-Latin Academy brought with them a number of relatives and students from Kiev. Until 1729, more than one-third of the Academy’s students were sons of priests (*popovtsy*), and another third were children of soldiers (*soldatskie deti*). The remaining came from among “people of various ranks” (*raznochintsy*), children of undersecretaries (*deti pod’iachikh*) and peasants or boyar dependents (*krest’iane i boiarskikh liudei deti*). Only a bit more than 1 percent came from the nobility (*dvoriane*). After 1729, entrance to the Academy was restricted to children of clergymen, administrators (*chinovniki*), and “people of various ranks,” thereby blocking peasant offspring. Similarly to the Leichoudian period, its students appear to have found employment in state and church administration (including entering the clergy) even before completing their studies, or to have transferred to the more technical schools of mathematics or medicine. Truancy and loss of students to other schools constantly worried the Academy’s authorities. According to R. Larionov, the Academy acquired the status of a university and its students were guaranteed judicial immunity, very much in accordance with European “pre-classical” universities.²² Among the Academy’s graduates one finds numerous tutors of Russia’s aristocratic offspring as well as the “peasant” Mikhail Vasil’evich Lomonosov, a poet, literary theorist, and natural scientist.²³ In this sense, the Slavo-Greco-Latin Academy continued its role as an educational center that produced members of the administrative, cultural, and, in part, ecclesiastical elite of the tsar-reformer Peter the Great and his successors. It was Ioannikios and Sophronios Leichoudes who first set the Slavo-Greco-Latin Academy on this course.

A once-dominant historiographical approach maintained that Peter the Great imposed his reforms and his drive to the West on otherwise reluctant Russians, be they the top elite or members of the administrative personnel. Within this interpretative tradition, Peter’s initiatives have been conceptualized as a cultural revolution, comprised of a Westernizing secularization driven primarily from above, with Peter himself in the role of demiurge.²⁴ Some scholars have criticized the emphasis on the elite culture of the Petrine era as insufficient and have instead argued that outside of Moscow and Saint Petersburg, the older “traditional” Muscovite culture reigned supreme long after Peter.²⁵ Peter’s driving force and the Western orientation of many of

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, Vasili (1685)
24. Avramov, Vasili (1688)
25. Borisov, Prokhor/Prokofii (1688)

26. Bukhvostov, Ivan Vasil'ev (1686), *dvorianin*, *tsaredvoret's*, *stoľnik*, son of Vasilii Borisovich Bukhvostov (who served as *striapchii*, *stoľnik*, *dumnyi dvorianin*, and *okol'nichii*)
27. Denisov, Andrei (1692)
28. Dionysios, hierodeacon (1686)
29. Dmitriev, Ivan (1690)
30. Dokturov, Fedot (1690), likely *stoľnik*
31. Ermolaev, Stefan/Stepan (1688)
32. Ermolaev, Timofei (1688)
33. Ermolaev, Vasilei (1688)
34. Eropkin, Ivan Vladimirov (1686), *dvorianin*, *stoľnik*
35. Evdokimov, Ivan (1688)
36. Evdokimov, Petr (1688)
37. Evstaf'ev, Evsevii (1692)
38. Evstaf'ev, Mark (1690)
39. Fedorov, Andrei (1688)
40. Fedorov, Fedor (1688)
41. Fedorov, Karp (1688)
42. Fedorov, Petr (1688)
43. Fedotov, Aleksei (1691)
44. Fedotov, Karp (1690). May be the same person as no. 41.
45. Firsov, Ignatii (1688)
46. Gavrilov, Firs (1692)
47. Gavrilov, Petr (1690–1692)
48. Gerasimov/Garasimov, Fedot (1685). Probably Fedor Gerasimov Poletaev, who later worked at the Typography and also as a teacher in the Novgorod school.²
49. Gerasimov, Leontii (1688)
50. Glebov, Fedor Mikhailov (1686), *dvorianin*, *stoľnik* likely the son of Mikhail Ivanovich Glebov, boyar in the patriarchal court.
51. Golitsyn, Aleksei Borisovich, Prince (1686), *blizhnyi stoľnik*, *komnatnyi stoľnik*
52. Grigor'ev, Fedor (1690)
53. Grigor'ev, Petr (1692)
54. Grigor'ev, Vasilii (1692)
55. Iakovlev, Andrei (1688), likely *stoľnik*
56. Iakovlev, Nikita (1692), likely *stoľnik*
57. Iakovlev, Pavel (1688), likely *stoľnik*
58. Ierodionov, Kuz'ma/Kozma (1688)
59. Ignat'ev, Faddei/Fatdei (1690)

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*, *tsaredvoret's 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)

100. Mikhailov, Aleksei (1688)
101. Mikhailov, Andrei (1688)
102. Mikhailov, Dmitrii (1690)
103. Mikhailov, Grigorii (1691)
104. Mikhailov, Mikhail (1692)
105. Mikhailov, Pavel (1692)
106. Mikhailov, Petr (1693)
107. Musin-Pushkin, Ivan Alekseevich, *stoĭ'nik*, *okol'nichii*, boyar, *tainnyi sovetnik*, senator (1688?)
108. Nazarev, Aleksei (1690)
109. Nikitin, Aleksei (1688)
110. Nikitin, Andrei (1690). May be the same person as no. 109.
111. Nikitin, Danila (1688)
112. Nikitin, Grigorii (1688)
113. Nikitin, Ivan, *pisets pravil'noi palaty* (scribe of the Correction Chamber of the Typography) (1686)
114. Nikitin, Petr (1688)
115. Nikitin, Petr (1690)
116. Odoevskii, Iurii Iur'evich (1686), *komnatnyi stoĭ'nik/spal'nik*
117. Odoevskii, Mikhail Iur'evich, Prince (1686), *komnatnyi stoĭ'nik/spal'nik*
118. Odoevskii, Petr Iur'evich, Prince (1686)
119. Ovdokimov, Boris (1685), likely *stoĭ'nik*
120. Paladii, hierodeacon (1687). Probably, Paladii Rogov.
121. Paramonov, Nikifor (1688)
122. Perevodchikov, Fedor Konstantinov (1686), *tsaredvorets*
123. Polikarpov, Fedor (1685)
124. Poltev, Vasilii (1690), likely *dvorianin*
125. Posnikov/Postnikov, Petr Vasil'evich (1686), *tsaredvorets*
126. Prokhorov, Ivan (1690)
127. Prozorovskii, Aleksandr Petrovich, Prince (1687), *blizhnyi stoĭ'nik*
128. Rodionov, Iakov (1692)
129. Savelov, Petr Timofeev (1686), *stoĭ'nik*
130. Savelov, Timofei Timofeev (1686), *stoĭ'nik*
131. Semenov, Daniil (1688)
132. Semenov, Fedor (1690)
133. Semenov, Ivan (1690)
134. Semenov, Nikita Andreev (1686), *tsaredvorets*
135. Semenov (Golovin), Nikolai (1685)
136. Sergeev, Fedor (1688)

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 katekheticheskaja 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 Meĭnikov, "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*).

17. Smirnov, *Ioakim Patriarkh Moskovskii*; Skvortsov, *Patriarkh Adrian*.
18. Pevnitskii, "Epifanii Slavinskii"; Tatarskii, *Simeon Polotskii*.
19. Mirkovich, *O vremeni presushchestvleniia*.
20. Smentsovskii, *Brat'ia Likhudy*; also, Smentsovskii, *Tserkovno-istoricheskie materialy*. See also Nikolai Kaptelev's review of Smentsovskii's book: *Otzyv o knige M. Smentsovskogo*.
21. Rogov, "Novye dannye."
22. Bogdanov, "K polemike." Bogdanov spoke of *mudrobortsy* (roughly, "enemies of wisdom, enemies of education") with regard to, among others, the Leichoude brothers.
23. Ialamas, "Filologicheskaia deiatel'nost'."
24. See, for example, Ialamas, "Srednevekovaia grecheskaia grammaticheskaia traditsiia."
25. Ialamas insists on calling the Academy a "sanctuary [*zapovednik*] of Greek culture in Russia" without clarifying what this Greek culture comprised. He also asserts: "The students, as carriers of the cultural-linguistic ideal of Orthodoxy were incorporated [*vkliuchalis*] in the Russian cultural system, strengthening in this way the positions of the Great Russian–Muscovite (so-called 'grecophile') current in the struggle with the representatives of the Ukrainian–Polish current, who, naturally, had analogous relations with their own cultural signpost-ideal [*orientirom-idealom*], i.e., with the Latin language and culture." Ialamas, "Znachenie deiatel'nosti brat'ev Likhudov," 42–43. Finally, he also argues that the theological debate on the Eucharist was transformed into a cultural debate between two parties. See p. 50.
26. Zubov, "Fizika' Aristotelii," 642–46.
27. Kaptelev, *Kharakter otnoshenii*, 497–99. Cf. Platonov, *Moskva i Zapad*, who also, however, speaks of a reaction by Muscovite higher clergy (aided by Greek clergymen) to the "Latinism" of the court and especially of the Ukrainian and Belarusian migrant monks.
28. Sazonova, "Poeticheskoe tvorchestvo Evfimii Chudovskogo," but cf. her "Vostochno-slavianskie Akademii," 3:46–61, in which she still employs the binary model Grecophile–Latinophile, although she avoids any characterizations of the Leichoude themselves in this regard; see also her *Literaturnaia kul'tura Rossii*, 85–112, for a more detailed discussion of the commonalities found between supposed Grecophiles and Latinophiles. Kraft carefully notes that viewing the Leichoude as carriers of Greek cultural influence in Russia is problematic, given that they were Western educated. He thus sees them as carriers of a culture that was not exclusively Greek. Still, he does not specify what this not-exclusively Greek culture encompassed beyond professed adherence to Orthodoxy and citations of Greek patristic authorities. See *Moskaus griechisches Jahrhundert*, 179–80. Finally cf. Strakhov, *Byzantine Culture*, ch. 2, who also sees the Leichoude as culturally "Grecophile" and bearers of post-Byzantine Greek culture. Strakhov allows for Baroque influences on the output of both camps, but ultimately argues that the Grecophiles showed particular attachment to the Byzantine literary, theological, and cultural heritage. This argument, however, works best when applied to polemical theology and to linguistic views and methods (the latter primarily resulting in literalism of translations from Greek). It is less convincing concerning any purported Byzantine cultural influence. Moreover, Strakhov focuses primarily on the case of Evfimii Chudovskii (a translator and corrector in the Muscovite Typography and the only important figure in the theological debates of the 1680s to exhibit almost exclusive attachment to the Greek language). One could interpret Evfimii as a prototypical Grecophile. Still, this does not necessarily mean that his case can be equated in all its parameters to that of the Western-educated Leichoude brothers.
29. Fonkich, "Novye materialy"; also published in Greek as "Nea stoicheia."
30. Fonkich, *Greko-slavianskie shkoly*, 237. See also Timoshina's review, "Greko-slavianskie shkoly," and Fonkich's response in his *O sovremennykh metodakh issledovaniia*, 115–78.
31. Ramazanova, "Brat'ia Likhudy," 57; Andreev, *Rossiiskie universitety*, 148; Andreev, *Russkie studenty*, 107.
32. Yet again, this trend is far from dominant: a number of scholars still tend to use the term Grecophile and to assign to it imitation of Greek cultural prototypes, without delving into their nature. See, for example, Vasil'eva, "Traditsionalizm."
33. See the discussion in Sazonova, *Literaturnaia kul'tura Rossii*. Specifically, on Epifanii Slavinskii, see Likhachev, *Slovar' knizhnikov i knizhnosti*, s.v. "Epifanii Slavinskii"; Bushkovitch, *Religion and Society*, 152–60. On Simeon Polotskii, see *ibid.*, 163–75; Likhachev, *Slovar' knizhnikov i knizhnosti*, s.v. "Simeon Polotskii"; Robinson, *Simeon Polotskii*.
34. Panchenko, *Russkaia stikhotvornaia kul'tura*; Eleonskaia, *Russkaia oratorskaia proza*; Robinson, *Bor'ba idei*; Demin, "Russkie pesy." On theatrical performances, see Jensen and Maier,

“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 retseptsiu”

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 Vasiliu 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 poslaniia 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

by clerics in the Orthodox East, see Angelomate-Tsoungarake, “To phainomeno tes zeteias.” For the role of merchants in these monastic networks of collection, see Carras, “Emporio, Politike kai Adelphoteta,” 427ff.

6. Ostrowski, *Muscovy and the Mongols*, 219–43; Bushkovitch, “Formation of a National Consciousness”; Sinitzyna, *Tretii Rim*; Rowland, “Moscow—the Third Rome or the New Israel?” On the spread of the idea of New Jerusalem in Ruthenia, see Berezhnaya, “Topography of Salvation”; Chesnokova, *Khristianskii Vostok i Rossiia*.

7. Potter, “The Russian Church,” esp. vol. 1; Papadopoulos, *Hoi patriarchai*, 75–159; Strakhov, *Byzantine Culture*, 31–34; Kapterev, *Patriarkh Nikon*; Alexandropoulou, *Ho Dionysios Iverites*; Alexandropoulou, “Ho ekchristianismos”; Alexandropoulou, “The History of Russia.”

8. This is the famous or notorious problem of the “intellectual silence” of medieval and early modern Russian culture. See Georges Florovsky, “The Problem of Old Russian Culture”; Thomson, “The Corpus of Slavonic Translations.”

9. See Kapterev, *Kharakter otnoshenii*, 276–348.

10. Kapterev, *Kharakter otnoshenii*; Nitsche, *Nicht an die Griechen*.

11. Gedeon, *Historia ton tou Christou peneton*. Gedeon also authored a multitude of other studies that treated the history of the patriarchate and the church at large.

12. Stamatopoulos, “Ho M. Gedeon.” The 1872 schism resulted in the creation of the Bulgarian Exarchate, an autocephalous Bulgarian Church, independent from the Patriarchate of Constantinople.

13. Gedeon, *Historia ton tou Christou peneton*, 2:217–46.

14. Runciman, *The Great Church in Captivity*, 320–37.

15. Obolensky, *Byzantine Commonwealth*, 1–3.

16. See the reviews by Paul J. Alexander in the *American Historical Review* 77, no. 5 (1972): 1433–35, and Peter Charanis in *Speculum* 48, no. 2 (1973): 394–96.

17. Obolensky, *Byzantine Commonwealth*, 367.

18. *Ibid.*, 369. In 1935, the Romanian historian Nicolae Iorga proposed an analytical scheme that he branded “Byzantium after Byzantium.” He analyzed political, ecclesiastical, and cultural developments in the first two post-Byzantine centuries (less so, the eighteenth century) as a period that saw the mantle of Byzantium passed into the hands of the *hospodars* (leaders, princes) of the Danubian principalities of Moldavia and Wallachia and of the ecumenical patriarch. He thus concluded that the period between 1453 and 1821 in the Danubian principalities and in the history of the Ecumenical Patriarchate should be considered as “Byzantium after Byzantium.” Iorga argued that especially in the seventeenth century, and within the confines of Ottoman suzerainty, the Moldavian and Wallachian princes became protectors—and managed the finances—of the Ecumenical Patriarchate of Constantinople. They styled their courts after the Byzantine example and, like the Byzantine emperors, presided over church synods. Finally, they even sponsored Greek education by supporting princely academies in Jassy and Bucharest. At the same time, the Ecumenical Patriarchate, as an institution of the Ottoman state, continued the other half of the work of the former Byzantine emperors, by providing spiritual leadership for the *Rhomaioi*, the Christian Orthodox inhabitants of the empire, and thus maintained a link with the previous Byzantine period. In other words, a sort of Byzantine world did survive the Ottoman capture of Constantinople. By highlighting the administrative, financial, and cultural support and leadership provided to the Orthodox churches by the Romanian princes, Iorga argued that these princes claimed to continue the role of Byzantine emperors. He also incorporated the Romanian lands into the grand narrative of Byzantine imperial continuity, and accorded them a prominent place in early modern Balkan history, writing at a time when nationalism sought precisely such unbroken continuities. See Iorga, *Byzance après Byzance*; Iorga, *Byzantium after Byzantium*. See also Mureşan, “Revisiter la Grande Église.”

19. For an early statement of the concept, see Kitromilides, “Imagined Communities,” 184–85. Also, published in Modern Greek as “Noeres koinotetes.” For a collection of articles pertaining to the concept, see Kitromilides *An Orthodox Commonwealth*, and especially the introduction, pp. ix–x.

20. See Kitromilides, “Apo ten Orthodoxe Koinopoliteia,” quote on p. 145 (my translation); also published in English translation as “From the Orthodox Commonwealth,” section 6:1–18, quote on p. 4, where the term *viomatiko periechomeno* is rendered “existential meaning.”

21. Kitromilides, “Apo ten Orthodoxe Koinopoliteia,” 146; Kitromilides, “From the Orthodox Commonwealth,” 4.

22. “Apo ten Orthodoxe Koinopoliteia” was first published in Modern Greek in 1994 in a collective volume celebrating one thousand years of Greek-Russian relations.

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

into Russia. On anti-Greek violence in the Danubian principalities, see Falangas, "On Greek-Romanian Antagonism."

46. Paul of Aleppo, *The Travels of Macarius*, 1:265; Paul of Aleppo, *Puteshestvie*, 192–93.

47. On Russian clerical attitudes to tobacco, see Chrissidis, "Sex, Drink, and Drugs."

48. Strakhov, "Attitudes to Greek Language," 127, citing Kapterev.

49. *Ibid.*; Paul of Aleppo, *Puteshestvie*, 278–79. Paul remarked that ever since the visits of Patriarchs Jeremiah and Theophanes, the Russians had become more used to foreigners.

50. Kallistos, *Eustratios Argenti*, 65–107.

51. Cited in Strakhov, "Attitudes to Greek Language," 125.

52. Sukhanov's "Preniia s Grekami" is published in *Pravoslavnyi palestinskii sbornik* 7, no. 3 (1889): 327–59. See also Kirillina, "Ocharovannye stranniki," 237–40. Fonkich argues that the disputations on Greek and Russian practices were at least partially the reason for which Gavriil Vlasios, the metropolitan of Naupaktos and Arta, was sent to Moscow shortly thereafter, in an attempt to smooth relations. See *Greko-slavianskie shkoly*, 58–60, but cf. 62 where Fonkich concedes that such issues were not discussed in Moscow after all. For Serb complaints against Greeks on Mount Athos from the middle of the sixteenth century, as reflected in correspondence of the Chilandar and Saint Panteleimon's Monasteries with Russian authorities, see Kashtanov, *Rossiia i Grecheskii Mir*, 179–86.

53. Sukhanov, "Preniia s Grekami," 327–29, quotes on p. 328.

54. *Ibid.*, 329.

55. *Ibid.*, 330, 333, 339, 345, 349, 356, 357.

56. See below, chapter 2.

57. Strakhov, "Attitudes to Greek Language," 128.

58. For Medvedev's comments in the polemical work *Manna*, see Prozorovskii, "Sil'vestr Medvedev," 4:490.

59. See Frick, "Sailing to Byzantium," for the argument that such declarations on the part of the Leichoudes were a polemical trick adopted from battles over sacred philology in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries.

60. The original reads: "vsegda svet bysha gretsy, i budut dazhe do skonchaniia veka. i ot grek svet priiakhu i priemliut vsia iazytsy, ili pisano, ili nepisano, ili ot trudov i spisaniia grecheskikh, ili iz ust ot ucheniia ikh. kako libo ni est', ot nikh, i chrez nikh vidiat inyiia iazyki, vsi filosofy gretsy, vsi bogoslovy gretsy. . . . i sego radi rechesia i sie vsiak ne ellin varvar." RGB, f. 173, op. 1, n. 480, l. 37. For what one scholar calls the compensatory strategies of Greeks toward the accusations of Westerners regarding the condition of Greeks and their learning under Ottoman control, see Makrides, "Greek Orthodox Compensatory Strategies," 264–87.

61. Cited in Ševčenko, "Byzantium and the Eastern Slavs," 16.

62. Robinson, *Zhitie Avvakuma*, 10.

63. See the case of Ioann Luk'ianov who went on pilgrimage to the Holy Land in 1701–1703 in Kirillina, "Ocharovannye stranniki," 240–45; Panchenko, "Staroobriadets v Levante."

64. On Barskii, see Kirillina, "Ocharovannye stranniki," 36–39 and passim; Grishin, "Bars'kyj and the Orthodox Community."

65. Kirillina, "Ocharovannye stranniki," 233–40.

Notes to Chapter Two

1. See the map of educational centers preferred by the Greeks published in Podskalsky, *Griechische Theologie*, 51.

2. Arvanitakes, "Theos, mneme, historia," 269–71.

3. Stergelles, *Ta demosieumata*, 11–18; Bompou-Stamate, *Ta katastatika tou somateiou*; Tzivara, *Apo ten engrammatosyne ste logiosyne*, 69–96; Arvanitakes, "Spoudazontas ste Venetia." Soteriades calls Padua the New Athens for the Greeks of the time (p. 433) and a place of pilgrimage, a focus of their national higher education. Soteriades, "Hellenika kollegia en Patauo," 433–34.

4. Chatzopoulos, *Hellenika scholeia*, 58–59. On the Greek students of the University of Padua, see primarily Podskalsky, *Griechische Theologie*, 49–58 (with a very good bibliography); Tipaldos, "Hoi en to Panepistemio"; Fabris, "Professori e scolari greci"; Tsourkas, *Gli scolari greci*; Ploumidis, "Gli scolari 'oltramariani"; Ploumidis, "Gli scolari Greci"; Ploumidis, "Hai praxeis engraphes ton

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

the early eighteenth century, long after the composition of the main text, thus making it doubly untrustworthy. Finally, Fonkich also advances the argument that Ioannikios's handwriting resembles that of Vlachos, whereas Sophronios's does not.

22. See, for example, Karathanases, *He Phlangineios schole*, esp. 253–54, for examples of students of the Phlangineian College (a boarding school for Greeks in Venice) as young as nine years old. Also, see del Negro, “Letà moderna,” 141, for the range of 12 to 15.

23. Ploumides, “Hai praxeis engraphes ton Hellenon spoudaston tou Panepistemiou,” 270–75.

24. This hypothesis is suggested by Pentogalos, “Ioannes (Ioannikios) kai Spyridon (Sophronios),” 41–42.

25. Ploumides, “Gli scolari ‘oltramarini,’” esp. 267; Iastrebov, “Brat’ia Likhudy,” 218–22. Some scholars indicate that the Leichoudes received degrees in theology. No evidence has so far surfaced to support this claim.

26. As Smentsovskii (*Brat’ia Likhudy*, 52n1) remarks, the Leichoudes also speak about Vlachos being their teacher in *Akos*, one of the polemical works they wrote during the Eucharist conflict. See RGB, f. 173 (Moskovskaia Dukhovnaia Akademiia), op. 1, no. 480, ll. 35–38, esp. 35ob.–36. This part of *Akos* countered the charge of Sil’vestr Medvedev (the opponent of the Leichoudes in the dispute) that the Greeks had lost both their faith and their eminence in education under the Turks. In response, the Leichoudes provided a list of teachers and schools throughout the Greek East and in Italy, and emphasized the cultivation of the arts in them. *Akos* was published in *ChOIDR* (1896), 4:538–77.

27. Tatakis, *Gerasimos Vlachos*, 3–27.

28. *Ibid.*, 134–49.

29. See Skarvele-Nikolopoulou, *Ta mathemataria*, 89, 141.

30. Tatakis provides extensive overviews of some of Vlachos's works (rhetoric, logic, *Harmonia*) and points out their reliance on Western authors. However, he does not go into a detailed analysis of Vlachos's Western sources, instead focusing on his use of Aristotle and other ancient Greek and Byzantine authors. In effect, this makes Vlachos appear much more dependent on Greek authors and largely obscures the debt that he owed to contemporary Western interpretations of ancient philosophers and rhetoricians. See, for example, *Gerasimos Vlachos*, 79, 95. Thanases Papadopoulos—to my knowledge the only scholar to have attempted a preliminary analysis of Vlachos's natural philosophy—has portrayed the Cretan teacher as a pantheist (in the philosophical sense). Papadopoulos's materialist approach to seventeenth-century philosophy obscures more, I think, than it explains. See Papadopoulos, *He Neohellenike philosophia*, 221–31.

31. Tatakis, *Gerasimos Vlachos*, 28–35.

32. See Ploumides, “Hai praxeis engraphes ton Hellenon spoudaston tou Panepistemiou,” 37:270–77 and 38:197; Sathas, *Neohellenike philologia*, 351–52; Legrand, *Bibliographie hellénique*, 2:116–17, 137–40, 166, 261–62, 317, 356, 413. Kal(l)oude's only work with wide popularity in the Greek East was the description of the Holy Land titled *Proskynetarion ton Hieron Topon . . .* (first published Venice, 1653). Evfimii Chudovskii produced an adapted Slavonic translation of the 1679 edition. See Strakhov, *Byzantine Culture*, 107–8.

33. On Cottunius, see Lohr, *Latin Aristotle Commentaries*, 2:105; Tsirpanles, *Hoi Makedones spoudastes*, 126–59; also Tsirpanles, *To Helleniko Kollegio*, 397–99; Tsirpanles “He these ton Makedonon Metrophane Kritopoulou (1589–1639) kai Ioanne Kottouniou (1572–1657).” Tsirpanles traces Cottunius's studies and career (all the way up to the position of professor of philosophy in the University of Padua). Also, see Papadopoulos, “Libri degli studenti Greci,” esp. 320–21. Cottunius's philosophical output has barely been analyzed. See the judicious article of Myares, “Ho philosophos tou 17ou aiona Ioannes Kottounios.” Myares points out the dearth of analytical studies of Cottunius's works, and also comments on the ideological uses of Cottunius's case in order to prove the Greekness, Orthodoxy, or contributions by Greeks from the geographic region of Macedonia to civilization. For a recent attempt at analysis of Cottunius's work on the soul in the context of the Second Scholasticism, see Fyrgios, “Ioannes Cottunios di Verria.” On Cesare Cremonini, see Kuhn, *Venetischer Aristotelismus*. See also Küçük, “Early Enlightenment in Istanbul,” 132–51. On Cottunius's break with his teacher's philosophical approach, see *ibid.*, 142–44 and esp. 143n7; cf. Papadopoulos, *He Neohellenike philosophia*, 201–6 (Papadopoulos sees Cottunius as an early materialist).

34. For an institutional history of the Cottunian College's foundation in the context of Venice's educational policy, see del Negro, “Letà moderna,” 135–49.

35. See Stergelles, *Ta demosieumata*, 52–53.

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 *Kephalleniaka symmikta*, 1:352. See also Ialamas, "Rekomendatelnaiia gramota."

42. See several such cases cited by Tsitseles, *Kephalleniaka 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, *Kephalleniaka 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,

Snosheniia Ierusalimskogo patriarkha Dosifeia; Kapterev, *Snosheniia Ierusalimskikh patriarkhov*, 222–373; Fonkich, “Ierusalimskii patriarkh Dosifei”; Fonkich, *Grechesko-russkie kulturnye sviazi*, 205–11; Fonkich, “Grecheskoe knigopisanie v Rossii,” 53–58.

51. A native of Chios, Meletios repeatedly acted as a messenger of the Eastern patriarchs to Moscow during the affair of Patriarch Nikon in the 1660s. After Nikon’s deposition in 1666, he settled in Russia. See Fonkich, “Meletii Grek”; cf. Timoshina, “Greko-slavianskie shkoly,” 666–68 (who doubts that Meletios created a school of church singing); Parfent’ev, “Master grecheskogo peniia.” For a fictional composite portrait of Greeks based on Meletios’s case, see Chrissidis, “Greeks in Seventeenth-Century Russia.” On the Nikol’skii Monastery, see Gavriil, *Moskovskii Nikolaevskii grecheskii vtoroklassnyi monastyr’*; Alexandropoulou, *Ho Dionysios Iverites*, 44–50; Alexandropoulou, “He hellenike Mone Hagiou Nikolaou ste Moscha.”

52. Voznitsyn’s diplomatic orders (*stateyni spisok*) as well as the documents relating to his embassy (*posolskaia kniga*) are preserved in RGADA, f. 89 (Snosheniia Rossii s Turtsiei), op. 1, d. 21 and kn. 20 respectively. They are replete with information on political and diplomatic issues, but also on the everyday life of both the Muscovite and the Ottoman Empire, and deserve closer inspection. Voznitsyn’s mission was to secure the ratification by the Ottoman Porte of the Muscovite-Tatar-Ottoman Treaty of Bakhchisarai (1681) and to obtain the absolution of Patriarch Nikon by the Eastern patriarchs (to the latter of which the current Muscovite patriarch, Ioakim, was opposed).

53. For the Greek original of the letter, see RGADA, f. 52 (Snosheniia Rossii s Gretsiei), op. 2, no. 658 (dated 1682), l. 1; also published in *SGGD* 4:417–24. A substantially amended translation of the letter by Evfimii Chudovskii, which enhances the praise of the Greek language, was included in Evfimii’s *Book against the Slanderers of the Holy Bible, or A Defense of the Seventy Translators* in the late 1690s. See Strakhov, *Byzantine Culture*, 179–81. (Yet another confirmation of Evfimii’s being the main “Grecophile” voice in the Russian court in the 1680s and 1690s.) It is noteworthy that in his 1682 letter to Tsar Fedor, Dositheos informs him that he took care of the patriarchal letters of absolution “according to aims of your authority” and immediately adds that he finds it fitting that Nikon is being forgiven, especially since he repented at the end (this latter assertion is incorrect). Dositheos also commends the tsar for “acting in ecclesiastical matters in unison with the Church.” “Beseeching [Tsar Fedor] with full spiritual courage,” he advises the tsar to act in the same manner in the future as well, that is, together with the Church: if it is a minor matter, then the tsar should consult the Muscovite Patriarchate; if a major matter, then he should seek the advice of the patriarchs of the East, as his father had done. Obviously, Dositheos knew of Ioakim’s disagreement with Fedor on the matter of Nikon’s absolution. See Kapterev, *Snosheniia Ierusalimskikh patriarkhov*, 241–49; Papadopoulos, *Hoi patriarchai*, 177–83. For a paleographic study of the Russian translations of Nikon’s absolution letters and of other patriarchal letters sent to the Russian tsar, as well as publications thereof, see Timoshina, “Gramoty vselenskikh patriarkhov 1682 g.”

54. Smentsovskii, *Brat’ia Likhudy*, 53–55. See also Ramazanova, “Mechets dukhovnyi.”

55. Hetman Samoilovich’s letter is in RGADA, f. 159, op. 2, ch. 1, d. 2991, ll. 15–15ob. (Ruthenian version) and ll. 16–18 (Russian version); it has been published in Smirnov, *Istoriia moskovskoi Slaviano-greko-latinskoi akademii*, 405.

56. Smentsovskii, *Brat’ia Likhudy*, 54; Kapterev, *Snosheniia Ierusalimskogo patriarkha Dosifeia*, 131–34.

57. “. . . im vselenskim patriarkhom po vole velikikh gosudarei ikh tsarskogo velichestva veleno prizyvav’ v tsarstvuiushchii velikii grad Moskvu uchenykh liudei chrez posla d’iaka Prokothia Voznitsyna.” For the Leichoude’s deposition, see RGADA, f. 159, op. 2, ch. 1, d. 2991, ll. 1–5, quote l. 2.

58. *Ibid.*, l. 2. Cf. Kapterev, *Snosheniia Ierusalimskogo patriarkha Dosifeia*, 132.

59. See Karyophylles, *Ephemerides*, 30.

60. Specifically, Dionysios was patriarch of Constantinople during the following dates: October 8, 1671–August 14, 1673; July 29, 1676–August 2, 1679; July 30, 1682–March 10, 1684; March 1686–October 12, 1687; August 1693–April 1694. See Podskalsky, *Griechische Theologie*, 400; *ThEE* 5, s.v. “Dionysios ho Tetartos. Patriarches Konstantinoupoleos.” On the frequent alternation of patriarchs on the throne of Constantinople, see Stathe, “Allaxopatriarcheis ston throno tes Konstantinoupoles.”

61. Patriarch Dositheos of Jerusalem never set foot in the Holy Land during the last eighteen years of his patriarchate, a wise move on his part since the Ottoman authorities’ decision-making was taking place in Constantinople. Dositheos also handled the issue of the subjection of the Kievan metropolitanate to Moscow in the mid-1680s.

62. Kapterev, *Snosheniia Ierusalimskogo patriarkha Dosifeia*, 132–33.

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’tso* (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 nobile 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.

80. Papastratou, *Ho Sinaites Chatzekyriakes*, 134.

81. The prefix Chatze- to the name of a Christian at that time denoted his completion of pilgrimage to the Holy Sites in Jerusalem. See Izmirlieva, "Christian Hajjis."

82. Papastratou, *Ho Sinaites Chatzekyriakes*, 135. I try to convey the letter's authorial style in the translation.

83. For the background to Sobieski's efforts after the successful defense of Vienna against the Turks in 1683, see Sulima Kaminski, *Republic vs. Autocracy*; also Hughes, *Sophia Regent of Russia*, 182–93; Solov'ev, *Sochineniia*, 7:355–66.

84. See Smentsovskii, *Brat'ia Likhudy*, 60 and 254–55 (for a 1688 Leichoudian petition to Prince V. V. Golitsyn on account of rumors concerning their previous activities in Sobieski's court).

85. On V. V. Golitsyn, see Hughes, *Russia and the West*; Hughes, *Sophia Regent of Russia*; Smith, "The Brilliant Career of Prince Golitsyn"; Lavrov, *Regentstvo tsarevny Sof'i Alekseevny*.

86. For a discussion of the doctrinal dimensions, see Meyendorff, *Byzantine Theology*; Pelikan, *Spirit of Eastern Christendom*, 290–92; Tzirakes, *He peri metousioseos (transubstantio) eucharistiakae eris*.

87. On Sil'vestr Medvedev, see Likhachev, *Slovar' knizhnikov i knizhnosti*, s.v. "Sil'vestr"; Kozlovskii, "Sil'vestr Medvedev"; Prozorovskii, "Sil'vestr Medvedev"; also, Bogdanov, "Sil'vestr Medvedev." On Evfimii Chudovskii, see Likhachev, *Slovar' knizhnikov i knizhnosti*, s.v. "Evfimii," and Strakhov, *Byzantine Culture*, esp. chs. 4–5.

88. Potter, "The Russian Church," vol. 2, ch. 9. For earlier discussions, see Smentsovskii, *Brat'ia Likhudy*, 85–244; Mirkovich, *O vremeni presushchestvleniia*.

89. Potter, "The Russian Church," 2:463–64.

90. On the Bogoiavlenskii Monastery, see Snegirev, *Bogoiavlenskii monastyr' v Moskve*.

91. Tsvetaev, *Pamiatniki k istorii protestantstva*, 1:196–242 and esp. 240–42 for a publication of the excerpt from *Akos*; Likhachev, *Slovar' knizhnikov i knizhnosti*, s.v. "Belobotskii Ian"; Gorfunkel, "Andrei Belobotskii"; Gorfunkel, "Ispovedanie very," 7:116–35; Gorfunkel, "Ispovedanie very," 8: 226–54 and 9:164–210 (for the actual text of Belobotskii's confession of faith). See also Ciccarini, *Ultimi roghi*.

92. On the Apraksins, see Dolgorukov, *Rossiiskaia rodoslovnaia kniga*, 2:115–20; and on Musin-Pushkin, *ibid.*, 1:311 and chapter 6 below.

93. Poe, *The Russian Elite*, 1:387; RGB, f. 173, op. 1, n. 480, l. 40; Smentsovskii, *Brat'ia Likhudy*, 63. Nicolae Milescu Spafarii (1636–1708) was a Moldavian emigrant to the Russian court and an interpreter in the *Posol'skii Prikaz*. He became involved in court intrigues in his native Moldavia in the early 1660s, after which he was obliged to leave for Constantinople. He was educated there and possibly in Italy. Widely traveled and multilingual, he settled in Moscow in 1671 and was employed in the *Posol'skii Prikaz* until his death in 1708. In the late 1670s, he was sent on an embassy to China. He translated and authored (in a mostly compilatory manner) works from both Greek and Latin. His relations with the Leichoudes do not appear to have been good, and he kept his distance from them. In the late 1690s, when Peter I asked Spafarii to send his son to the Italian school of the Leichoudes, Spafarii declined, citing as reasons that he himself was teaching his son and that he had not been on good terms with the Leichoudes (*prezhniaia nedruzhsba*). See Lukichev, "K istorii russkogo prosveshcheniia," quote p. 17; Chesnokova, "Dokumenty po istorii," 288–89 and 307–8; Chesnokova, "Shkola ital'ianskogo iazyka," 140–41. On Spafarii, see Likhachev, *Slovar' knizhnikov i knizhnosti*, s.v. "Nikolai Gavrilovich Spafarii (Milesku)."

94. In *Akos*, the Leichoudes claimed resounding success. RGB, f. 173, op. 1, n. 480, l. 40. Smentsovskii correctly points out that subsequent opponents of the Leichoudes never brought up this debate as an example of the inadequacy of the Leichoudes's erudition, in *Brat'ia Likhudy*, 64.

95. But cf. Kul'matov, "K voprosu o dispute," for an argument that the public dispute was initiated by its participants, and not through any official channels.

96. Gorfunkel, "Andrei Belobotskii," 200–201; Tsvetaev, *Pamiatniki k istorii protestantstva*, 219–40 (text of Medvedev's denunciation).

97. See Fonkich, "Privilegiia na Akademiiu," 278.

98. On Timofei's school, see Volodikhin, *Knizhnost' i prosveshchenie*, 9–79; Fonkich, *Greko-slavianskie shkoly*, 99–187 and 164–66 for remarks on the program of studies; also, Pozdeeva et al., *Moskovskii pechatnyi dvor*, 2:577–87, for publication of documents from the Chancellery of Printing Affairs, regarding the Typography School.

99. Ramazanova, "Bogoiavlenskaia shkola," 216–19.

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.

122. In his correspondence with Chrysanthos after the latter's departure, Patriarch Adrian ignored the repeated exhortations of Chrysanthos to have the Leichouides removed. See Kapterev, *Snosheniia Ierusalimskikh patriarkhov*, 306–8 and n1.

123. Smentsovskii, *Brat'ia Likhudy*, 292–93.

124. Smentsovskii, *Brat'ia Likhudy*, 296–97 and 309–10.

125. Koutmanes, “*To Trito Eidōs*”; Gedeon, *Typaldou Stae symmorria*.

126. Little is known of the early life of the monk Iov (d. 1721) other than that he studied under the Leichouides. In 1696, he was under guard in the Novospasskii Monastery for reasons that remain unclear. In 1699, already released, he briefly headed the Academy. In 1700, he was sent to Kholmogory, near Archbishop Afanasii, as a translator, but a year later found himself again under guard, this time in the Solovetskii Monastery. Still later, in 1713, he was invited by Metropolitan Iov of Novgorod to teach in the school started by the Leichouides there. See Likhachev, *Slovar' knizhnikov i knizhnosti*, s.v. “Iov”; Skvortsov, *Patriarkh Adrian*, 279 and n4. On Rogov, see Likhachev, *Slovar' knizhnikov i knizhnosti*, s.v. “Palladii Rogov (Rogovskii)”; Tsirpanles, *To Helleniko Kollegio*, 691; Smirnov, *Istoriia moskovskoi Slaviano-greko-latinskoi akademii*, 78–81; Skvortsov, *Patriarkh Adrian*, 282–87, 339–43; Shmurlo, “Russkie katoliki,” 1–17; and also Iastrebov, “Venetsianskii sled.” (My thanks to Father Iastrebov for furnishing me with a copy of his work.) On Nikolai Semenov Golovin and Fedor Polikarpov, see below, chapter 6.

127. For example, Dositheos's nephew, Archimandrite Chrysanthos, in 1697 studied philosophy, theology, and canon law in Padua under the Roman Catholic convert Nicolaus Connenus Papadopoli. See Podskalsky, *Griechische Theologie*, 317–18; Stathe, *Chrysanthos Notaras*, 82–91.

128. Sarris, “Ena ‘ethnos akakon’”; and more broadly, Sarris, “Hiere Historia.”

129. This overview of Leichoudian activities after their removal from the Academy draws on Smentsovskii, *Brat'ia Likhudy*, 299–459, as well as other materials as cited. In October 1694, the Leichouides were ordered to live in the house of undersecretary Gleb Afanašev, which had been confiscated from its owner for embezzlement. See Lukichev, “K istorii russkogo prosveshcheniia.”

130. On the Italian school, see Lukichev, “K istorii russkogo prosveshcheniia”; Chesnokova, “Dokumenty po istorii”; Chesnokova, “Shkola ital'ianskogo iazyka” (Chesnokova indicates that the main burden of teaching appears to have fallen on Sophronios, 135; she also disputes the title “school” for this undertaking, rather presenting it as tutoring in a private setting; on the Voronezh connection, see 147–50); Guzevich, “Ital'ianskie mastera”; Ramazanova, “Ital'ianska shkola”; Ramazanova, “He Ital'ike Schole”; Ramazanova, “Paleograficheskoe issledovanie”; Ramazanova, “Istochniki dlia izucheniia.”

131. Chesnokova, “Dokumenty po istorii,” esp. 312–13 (for a request by the Leichouides to Peter the Great bemoaning the indifference of many students and pointing out the successes of a few of them, dated 1698), and 313–16 (for list of students with indications of their progress in the acquisition of Italian language skills and a certificate thereof); Chesnokova, “Shkola ital'ianskogo iazyka,” 144–45; Ramazanova, “Istochniki dlia izucheniia,” 301–11 (petitions of students, reports and petitions of Leichouides).

132. Turilova, “Memuary russkogo raznochintsia,” 12.

133. Di Salvo, “Bombe intelligenti per Pietro il Grande.”

134. On the Artem'ev affair, see Smentsovskii, *Brat'ia Likhudy*, 315–17; Shmurlo, “Russkie katoliki,” esp. 17ff.; Panich, “‘Otvēt’ Evfimiia Chudovskogo”; Panich, “Polemika Evfimiia Chudovskogo.” The documentation on the affair can be found in GIM, Sinodal'noe sobranie, no. 393. On David, see David, *Status Modernus Magnae Russiae*, esp. 106–7 for his brief mention of the Academy. David's derogatory presentation even went as far as impugning the Leichouides' knowledge of Latin. On Jesuit correspondence, see Arkeogeograficheskaia kommissiia, *Pis'ma i doneseniia izevitov*, although the letters in this collection are mostly from the beginning of the eighteenth century. On Russian relations with the Vatican, see Santich, *Missio Moscovitica*, a mostly compilatory work, which concludes that Jesuit influence in Russia until the end of the seventeenth century was negligible; see also Pierling, *La Russie et le Saint-Siège*, esp. 4:82–83, 103, 160. Based on Pierling's account, and barring any future archival discoveries, it appears safe to conclude that the Leichouides did not enter into any contact with the Vatican or Jesuit circles.

135. Smentsovskii, *Brat'ia Likhudy*, 333–74. On the Novgorod school, see Strakhov, “Novgorodskaia shkola brat'ev Likhudov”; Voznesenskaia, “Grecheskie shkoly,” 86–140; Grigor'eva and Salonikov, “Novgorodskaia shkola brat'ev Likhudov kak vostochnoslavianskaia akademiia,” (esp. 84–85, for evidence of instruction in Latin; some of the arguments regarding the Leichoudian schools' [in both Moscow and Novgorod] continuation of Byzantine traditions are disputable); Salonikov, “Novgorodskaia shkola brat'ev Likhudov v 1717–1723 gg.” (for the period after Ioannikios's departure

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

Orthodoxy in the seventeenth century under the influence of Western Scholastic trends, especially with regard to the Kiev Mohyla Academy. See his *Puti russkogo bogosloviia*, 44–56; also translated as *Ways of Russian Theology*, pt. 1:64–85. For a polemical restatement and amplification of Georges Florovsky's argument with particular reference to the theological and philosophical output of the Greeks in the period after 1453, see Giannaras, *Orthodoxia kai Dyse* (and its English translation as *Orthodoxy and the West*). Giannaras castigates the “westernization” of both Greek theology and the modern (that is, after the creation of the modern Greek state in the early nineteenth century) Greek way of life at large. For a critique, see Wendebourg, “Pseudomorphosis.” Wendebourg rightly points out that the historicity of pseudomorphosis is not a given and needs to be proven. See also Thomson, “Peter Mogila's Ecclesiastical Reforms”; Kalaitzides, “He anakalypse tes Hellenikotetas.” For another angle, see also Florovskij, “Le conflit de deux traditions.” For a judicious analysis of Western influences on Greek penitential theory and practice, see Tsakiris, *Die gedruckten griechischen Beichtbücher*.

3. See Chatzopoulos, *Hellenika scholeia*, 50 (on the Catholic school of Chios), 82–84 (on the short-lived Catholic-run school on Mount Athos), 179–80 (on the Saint Athanasius College of Rome), 188–89 (on the Phlangineian College of Venice during Ioannes Patousas's teaching tenure there in the period 1703–1712). One of the popular textbooks used in the schools of the Greek East in the eighteenth century, the *Encyclopaideia* of Ioannes Patousas was based on the Jesuit program of study. Avdale studied Patousas's work, compared it with Jesuit school programs, and concluded that Western influences guided his choice of texts. However, Avdale argued that such Western influences had all the elements of the Byzantine tradition that contributed to the Renaissance. See Avdale, *He “Enkyklopaideia Philologike,”* 16–17, 122–23. Such a description of the *Encyclopaideia* sounds suspiciously close to the Jesuit curriculum, partly Hellenized in order to be more easily adopted. For references to direct or indirect Jesuit influences on mathematical education in Greek schools of the early modern period, see Kastanes, “Ta ideologika plaisia,” 275–78, 280–81. Regarding the academies and colleges set up in Eastern Orthodox Eastern Europe in the seventeenth century, historians have more readily acknowledged and debated their debt to Jesuit influences since the nineteenth century.

4. I follow here Gary Marker's distinction in his “Literacy,” 74–89, esp. 74–76.

5. Sobolevskii, *Obrazovannost' moskovskoi Rusi*.

6. See, for instance, Luppov, *Kniga v Rossii XVII veka*. For a more guardedly optimistic argument by a Western historian, see Okenfuss, *The Discovery of Childhood*, 10–12. On the extent of Renaissance influences on some Muscovite and Novgorodian circles as early as the end of the fifteenth century, see Likhachev, *Kul'tura Rusi*, 50; Lur'e, “Cherty Vozrozhdeniia,” 157–61; for an overview, see Petrov, *Problema Vozrozhdeniia*.

7. See Marker, “Literacy,” esp. 87–89; Marker, “Russia and the ‘Printing Revolution,’” 266–83; Stevens, “Belgorod.”

8. Mirkovich, “O shkolkakh i prosveshchenii”; Kapterev, “O greko-latinskikh shkolkakh”; Gorskii, “O dukhovnykh uchilishchakh”; Golubinskii, *Istoriia russkoi tserkvi*, 1:720, according to whom Muscovy probably had high literacy (*gramotnost'*) but little real learning (*prosveshchenie*).

9. Sometimes students proceeded further to the study of the Gospels and the Acts of the Apostles. See Bragone, *Alfavitari radi ucenija malych detej*; on the Ukrainian-Belarusian influence, see Korzo, “O strukture i sodержanii”; Korzo, “Religiozno-nravstvennoe obrazovanie.” See also Ramazanova, “Slaviano-greko-latinskii bukvar”; Izvekov, “Bukvarnaia sistema obucheniia”; Mordovtsev, “O russkikh shkolknykh knigakh”; Cleminson, “East Slavonic Primers”; Okenfuss, “Education in Russia,” 114–212; for a historiographical review and taxonomic discussion, see Marker, “Literacy,” 77–78, and also his “Primers and Literacy.” For an interesting comparison between Russia and Western Europe, with particular references to the establishment of printing presses, see Potter, “The Russian Church,” 1:27–42. Utilizing the findings of scholars who studied inscriptions in printed books and manuscripts of parish churches in the Russian north, Potter argues that any text available could be used for instruction, not only those associated with the primer system. The argument is well taken, but needs further consideration with regard to the geographical distribution and the dating of such inscriptions. For a summary on elementary education among the early modern Greeks, see Tzivara, *Apo ten engrammatosyne ste logiosyne*, 33–38.

10. Bushkovitch, *Religion and Society*, 4.

11. Ryan, “Aristotle and Pseudo-Aristotle”; Ševčenko, “Remarks on the Diffusion.”

12. See *Sermons and Rhetoric*, trans. Franklin, lx–lxi; Franklin, “The Empire of the *Rhomaioi*”; Franklin, *Writing, Society, and Culture*, 101–6, esp. 102; Franklin, “Greek in Kievan Rus”; Franklin and

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 poslaniia 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*.

24. Keep, *Soldiers of the Tsar*, ch. 4; Hellie, *Enserfment and Military Change*.
25. The literature on Nikon and on the schism of the Old Belief is voluminous. As a starting point, see Kapterev, *Patriarkh Nikon*; Makarii [Bulgakov], *Istoriia russkoi tserkvi*, esp. vol. 12; Michels, *At War with the Church*; Bushkovitch, *Religion and Society*, ch. 3; Potter, "The Russian Church," esp. vol. 1; Lobachev, *Patriarkh Nikon*.
26. Baron, "Origins"; Orlenko, *Vykhodtsy iz Zapadnoi Evropy*.
27. Kapterev, *Kharakter otnoshenii*; Kraft, *Moskaus griechisches Jahrhundert*.
28. Hrushevs'kyi, *Istoriia*, 6:444–564, 7:402–25; Sysyn, *Between Poland and the Ukraine*; Frick, *Meletij Smotryc'kyj*; Isaievych, *Bratstva ta ikh rol'*, revised and updated in English as *Voluntary Brotherhood*, 141–89; also, Isaievych, "Greek Culture in the Ukraine"; Shustova, "Shkola L'vovskogo Uspenskogo stavropigiiskogo bratstva"; Shustova, *Dokumenty*; Kharlampovich, *Zapadnorusskie pravoslavnye shkoly*; Medynskii, *Bratskie shkoly*; and Medlin and Patrinelis, *Renaissance Influences*, 73–149.
29. Hrushevs'kyi, *Istoriia*, vol. 8, pt. 2: 83–101; Golubev, *Kievskii Mitropolit Petr Mogila i ego spodvizhniki*; Ihor Ševčenko, "Many Worlds of Peter Mohyla," 9–44, as well as the other articles included in the same volume; Sydorenko, *The Kievan Academy*.
30. On Aleksei Mikhailovich's reign, see Longworth, *Alexis*.
31. See Coulter, "Church Reform," for attempts at raising the standards in the case of parish clergy.
32. For such Greek advice to the Muscovites, see Floria, "Vopros o sozdanii grecheskogo uchilishcha"; see also Fonkich, *Greko-slavianske shkoly*, passim and esp. 16–27; Chentsova, "Chelobitnaia paleopatrskogo mitropolita Feofana" and "Chelobitnaia paleopatrskogo mitropolita Feofana ob organizatsii" (Chentsova rightly insists on uncovering the wider diplomatic, political, and confessional/polemical context of such requests on the part of the Greeks), but cf. Fonkich, *O sovremennykh metodakh issledovaniia*, 35–42. See also Lavrent'ev, "Patriarshaia gramota," 111–28.
33. On the councils, see Bushkovitch, *Religion and Society*, 67–69; Potter, "The Russian Church," 1:206–33; for the older view, see Kapterev, *Patriarkh Nikon*.
34. On Ligarides's life and activities in Russia, see Papadopoulos, *Hoi patriarchai*, 88–143; Hionides, *Paisius Ligarides*.
35. Subbotin, *Materialy dlia istorii raskola*, 9:233.
36. *Ibid.*, 236–46, quote p. 239.
37. *Ibid.*, 234.
38. *Ibid.*, 280–84.
39. See Floria, "Vopros o sozdanii grecheskogo uchilishcha"; Fonkich, *Greko-slavianske shkoly*, 20; Chentsova, "Chelobitnaia paleopatrskogo mitropolita Feofana," 102–7, and "Chelobitnaia paleopatrskogo mitropolita Feofana ob organizatsii," 67.
40. On the history of Greek education in the Ottoman period, replete with bibliographical references, see Chatzopoulos, *Hellenika scholeia*. On education in Venetian-controlled areas inhabited by Greeks, see Pentogalos, "Kephalleniaka engrapha" (the elementary education provided was very similar to that in Russia). On the schools of Epirus, see Kyrkos, "Paideutike paradose." On education in Constantinople, including in the Patriarchal Academy, see Meletiadis, *He ekpaideuse sten Konstantinoupole* (Meletiadis provides a critique of nineteenth-century attempts to find established schools where none appears to have existed, charts the rise of the position of the *grand rhetor*, an official of the patriarchate, as a teacher, and also examines the extent to which Western intellectual currents affected the educational activities of individual teachers in the sixteenth century); Ziogas, *Problemata paideias tou hellenismou* (Ziogas covers some of the intellectual currents but exaggerates the level of instruction provided in schools in the century and a half after the capture of Constantinople); Gritsopoulos, *Patriarchike Megale tou Genous Schole* (for the traditional view on the Patriarchal Academy); and Chatzemanou, "Ho logios kai didaskalos Athanasios Liontares" (on the teaching of philosophy in the Patriarchal Academy in the late seventeenth century). For a critique of the historiographical tradition that nurtured the myth of the *krypho scholeio* (secret school) due to an alleged Ottoman policy of not permitting the establishment of schools by Greeks, see Angelou, *To Krypho Scholeio*; Patrinelys, "To 'Krypho Scholeio' kai pali"; cf. Anastasopoulos, "Mia martyria."
41. Subbotin, *Materialy dlia istorii raskola*, 9:278. On Greek efforts to set up printing presses, see Papadopoulos, *Hoi patriarchai*, 41–55; Vranoussis, "Post-Byzantine Hellenism."
42. Greek hopes for Russian help in their liberation seem to have gathered force by the mid-seventeenth century. See Kapterev, *Kharakter otnoshenii*, ch. 4; Kapterev, *Snosheniia ierusalimskikh patriarkhov*, chs. 2–3; Chentsova, *Vostochnaia tserkov*; Fonkich, "Russia and the Christian East";

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 shkolakh,” 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 shkolakh.”

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 shkolakh,” 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 shkolakh 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

also (and we are using here the current term) ‘Westernizers’ [*zapadniki*], [who] were introducing various kinds of innovations” (ibid., 247).

59. For a cogent discussion, see Sazonova, *Literaturnaia kul'tura Rossii*, 85–112.

60. Potter, “The Russian Church,” 2:384–94; 434–49.

61. Ibid., chs. 6–8.

62. Kapterev, “O greko-latinskikh shkolkakh.” *Dovod vkratse* was published as an appendix to Kapterev’s article, 672–79; *Razsuzhdenie* was published in Smentsovskii, *Brat'ia Likhudy*, appendix, vi–xxvi. See Fonkich, *Greko-slavianские shkoly*, 232–67, for discussion of the manuscript traditions and for publication of these texts anew.

63. For discussions of these tracts, see Kapterev, “O greko-latinskikh shkolkakh,” 650–55; Galkin, *Akademiia v Moskve*, 35–41; Smentsovskii, *Brat'ia Likhudy*, 264–71; Bogdanov, “K polemike,” 195–99.

64. See their *Akos*.

65. Potter, “The Russian Church,” 2:439–43.

66. GIM, Sinodal'noe Sobranie, no. 44 (*Privilegiia* of the projected academy), ll. 1–21. There is also another copy from the eighteenth century. The *Privilegiia* has been published repeatedly. See Amvrosii, *Istoriia rossiiskoi ierarkhii*, 1:515–43; *Drevniaia rossiiskaia vivliothika*, 16:397–420 (hereafter cited as *DRV*); Fonkich, “Privilegiia na Akademiuu,” 279–97. Kapterev (“O greko-latinskikh shkolkakh,” 655–71) remains the only scholar to have questioned Polotskii’s authorship of it with argumentation. For its refutation, see Smentsovskii, *Brat'ia Likhudy*, 26–30; Shmurlo, “Kriticheskie zametki,” 254–56 and n6. For an earlier consideration of the problem, see Smirnov, *Istoriia moskovskoi Slaviano-greko-latinskoi akademii*, 15–16 and n21. Bogdanov has attributed the *Privilegiia* solely to Sil'vestr Medvedev but without offering any evidence (“K polemike,” 204). The majority of scholars appear to agree that Polotskii drafted the charter and that Ioakim and Medvedev reworked it before the latter submitted it to Sophia. But cf. Fonkich, “Privilegiia na Akademiuu,” who argues that the text as it has come down to us reflects an initial draft by Polotskii, and subsequent reworking by Medvedev, without any type of intervention by the patriarch or other supposed Grecophiles. Fonkich disputes the argument that the single surviving copy from the seventeenth century was the one submitted, and also posits the existence of another copy, which was the one submitted to Sophia. See also Fonkich, *Greko-slavianские shkoly*, 189–231, for an aggregate of Fonkich’s argumentation, including yet another publication of the *Privilegiia*’s text. See also Andreev, *Rossiiskie universitety*, 140–48.

67. On the political culture of medieval and early modern Russia, see Kollmann, *Kinship and Politics*; Bushkovitch, “Formation of a National Consciousness”; Rowland, “Muscovite Literary Ideology”; Rowland, “Moscow—The Third Rome or The New Israel?”; Kivelson, “The Devil Stole His Mind” and *Autocracy in the Provinces*; Chrisidis, “Whoever does not drink”; cf. Keenan, “Muscovite Political Folkways.”

68. *DRV*, 6:398–99, quote p. 399. The word wisdom (*mudrost'*) is emphasized in the manuscript itself. GIM, Sinodal'noe Sobranie, no. 44, l. 2. Wisdom (*mudrost'*) refers invariably to learning, erudition, and the arts, and not to the “wisdom of God,” which is represented by the word *premudrost'* (“utmost wisdom”). On the motif of wisdom and its meanings in court poetry and panegyrics of seventeenth-century Russia, see Sazonova, *Literaturnaia kul'tura Rossii*, 413–18; Zelensky, “Sophia the Wisdom of God.”

69. *DRV*, 6:401.

70. Ibid., 401–2.

71. The message of this preamble bears resemblance to the content of some of Simeon Polotskii’s poems. For example: “Wisdom pleases me, I will live with her / And I will not think of wealth” (quoted in Bushkovitch, *Religion and Society*, 171). Of course, quotations from the Wisdom of Solomon were a cliché in Russian literature.

72. The monastery was founded in 1600 by Tsar Boris Godunov in honor of the icon of the Savior Not-Made-by-Hands (*Spas Nerukotvornyi*). It came to be known as Zaikonospasskii, because it was situated behind the stalls selling icons on Nikol'skaia Street near the Kremlin. See *Sviatyni drevnei Moskvy*, 28; Kovalev, *Istoricheskoe opisanie*.

73. *DRV*, 16:402–5.

74. Ibid., 16:405–6, quote p. 405.

75. Kapterev, “O greko-latinskikh shkolkakh,” 590ff.; Smentsovskii, *Brat'ia Likhudy*, 31–32; Kharlampovich, *Malorossiiskoe vliianie*, 401; Potter, “The Russian Church,” 2:389–90.

76. See, for example, Kapterev, *Kharakter otnoshenii*, 245–67, for the case of Arsenii Grek in the middle of the seventeenth century.

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

universities and colleges in France; Rüegg, *Geschichte der Universität*, 2:56–73, and esp. 68–70; Ganss, *Saint Ignatius' Idea of a Jesuit University*, 33–34, for Saint Ignatius's understanding of the term university. On Venice's policies toward the Jesuits, see Sangalli, "Gesuiti senza università," and Zanardi, *I gesuiti e Venezia*.

97. See Scaglione, *The Liberal Arts*, 51–52 and 72–73; Brizzi, "Strategie educative," 1:899–920, esp. 907–14; Bauer, *Jesuitische ars rhetorica*, 21–22, with reference to the fundamental works of Paul Oskar Kristeller, who first spoke of "religious humanism." Cf. O'Malley, "Renaissance Humanism." For an examination of the pedagogical methods of the Renaissance and an argument that humanism replaced Scholasticism because it (humanism) corresponded well with the rise of the absolutist state in the Counter-Reformation period, see Grafton and Jardine, *From Humanism to the Humanities*. For a review of debates over Renaissance education, see Black, "Italian Renaissance Education."

98. Chatzopoulos argues that the middle-level schools in the Greek world of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries were in essence theological seminaries. "From the 'Greek School,'" 49–59. Intriguing as this argument is, it overlooks a number of facts: not all students of these schools stayed for the theology course, nor were all students necessarily headed for a clerical career; the involvement of the official Church was primarily supervisory (the patriarch or bishop issued a confirmatory letter making the school's establishment formal), as most of these schools had been established through funding from individual wealthy lay donors. It seems more fruitful to compare them to Jesuit middle-level colleges, meant for the education of the youth, primarily of the elite.

99. For a discussion of the term academy, see Frijhoff, "Patterns," 2:47–51; Rüegg, *Geschichte der Universität*, 2:63–68. Rüegg notes that the boundaries between secondary and higher education were unclear in many cases and depended upon a lot of factors, including national and local variations. Thus, the term "academy" could be employed invariably for a college with some higher courses, or even a university.

100. See Smirnov, *Istoriia moskovskoi Slaviano-greko-latinskoi akademii*, 80–81. Based on a 1706 *ukaz* by Peter the Great conferring judicial immunities on the students of the Academy, Rodion Larionov argues that it was then that the Academy was finally awarded university status. See Larionov, "Moskovskaia Akademiia na pereput'e," esp. 153–54; Larionov, "Studenchestvo."

101. Posokhova points to the variety of titles used for the schools established in Ukrainian and Belarusian lands in the early modern period, as well as to the frequent alternation of the terms academy, school, and college in administrative documents. "Transformatsiia obrazovatel'noi traditsii," 36–41. It should also be noted that even Mikhail Lomonosov referred to the Slavo-Greco-Latin Academy as a school and not an academy in many of his writings. Usitalo, *The Invention of Mikhail Lomonosov*.

102. Kharlampovich, *Malorossiiskoe vliianie*, 405–9 and 411–12.

103. Bogdanov, "K polemike"; but see also his *Moskovskaia publitsistika*, 309–25, where he presents a more moderate view, accepting that the Leichoudes taught a Western curriculum, but still insisting that the Leichoudes' school was not an academy and employing terms such as "enemies of wisdom" (*mudrobortsy*) with regard to Patriarch Ioakim.

104. Timoshina, "Sistema obrazovaniia" 271–79, and esp. 278 for the specific reference to the academy. Timoshina credits Volodikhin for first noting this reference.

105. For example, Andreev, *Rossiiskie universitety*, 143–44.

106. RNB, f. 906 (Sobranie Grecheskikh Rukopisei), Grech. 152, p. 1—I cite this manuscript in pages, rather than folios, following the scribe's pagination.

107. RGADA, f. 159, op. 2, ch. 1, d. 2991, l. 257 (the document is a 1691 petition of Ioannikios to the tsars for an increase of his salary).

108. In the Greek world, one encounters the terms *lykeion* (lyceum), *akademia* (academy), *phrontisterion* (place of study), *paidagogeion* (school for the youth), *mouseion* (museum, i.e., place where the Muses are served), *hellenomouseion* (hellenic [i.e., offering study of Ancient Greek] museum), *pangenes* (general school), *kollegion* (college). See Angelou, "He ekpaideuse," 11:306; Chatzopoulos, *Hellenika scholeia*, 329–30. Bakouros (*Foi philologikes-didaktikes*) argues that the terms *mouseion*, *hellenomouseion*, *schole*, or *akademia* referred to schools that were preparatory for further study of philosophy and theology and thus these schools acquired the status of higher education institutions (24); see also Tzivara, *Apo ten engrammatosyne ste logiosyne*, 57–58, for terms used to identify public schools in Corfu in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries.

109. Posokhova, "Transformatsiia obrazovatel'noi traditsii," 49–50, where she argues that the Kievan Academy and other colleges had traits of the pre-classical universities.

110. On the Patriarchal Treasury Chancellery, see Shimko, *Patriarshii kazemnyi prikaz*.

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

education during the period 1453–1821, meant philosophy and theology. See Skarvele-Nikolopoulou, *Ta mathemataria*, 181. Dositheos was among the signatories to this *sigillion*.

121. Ialamas, “Znachenie deiatel’nosti brat’ev Likhudov.” Zubov argues for distinguishing the authorial output of the two brothers (“Fizika’ Aristotelia”).

122. Ialamas, “Filologicheskaiia deiatel’nost’” 27–28; Ialamas, “Dva neopublikovannykh panegirika,” esp. 210–11. For the titles of the books delivered to the Leichoudes and their identification, see below, chapter 4.

123. Still, as will be evident in the discussion of the textbooks themselves, the originality of Leichoudian works needs to be carefully assessed.

124. See the comments of Scaglione, *The Liberal Arts*, 97, with regard to logic. Also, for examples from France, see Brockliss, *French Higher Education*, 60. Brockliss suggests that the practice became less frequent in France as the seventeenth century progressed, because some Jesuit educators recognized that some ancient works were far too complex for introductory level courses. *Ibid.*, 126–27.

125. See, in particular, NBU, f. 312, no. 717/576s, ll. 5ob.–6ob., 8–8ob., 10ob.–12, 12–13, 16–16ob., 17–18, 22, 23ob.–24, 64ob.–65, 165 and *passim* (the manuscript probably dates from the period before the death of Tsar Ivan Alekseevich in 1696). The manuscript is replete with transfers from one language to the other, some into both vernacular/demotic Greek and also into Church Slavonic, the latter ones probably corrected/checked by more advanced students of the Academy or by the teacher at the Slavonic school. For a miscellany containing, among other texts, such exercises by the Leichoudes’ student Nikolai Semenov Golovin, see Voznesenskaia, “Rukopisnyi sbornik.” See also Ialamas, “Filologicheskaiia deiatel’nost’,” 110–11, 122, 124, for examples of parsing appearing in other sources as well. Such homework was also a well-entrenched practice in Jesuit colleges (see Scaglione, *The Liberal Arts*, 85, 96) and in the schools of the Greek East. See Skarvele-Nikolopoulou, *Ta mathemataria*, 293–302; Bakouros, *Hoi philologikes-didaktikes*, 17–48.

126. Smentsovskii, *Brat’ia Likhudy*, 79; Ialamas, “Filologicheskaiia deiatel’nost’,” 24–25; Ialamas, “Privetstviia uchenikov,” 513–19; Ialamas, “Znachenie deiatel’nosti brat’ev Likhudov,” 33; Ramazonova, “Bogoiavlenskaia shkola,” 223–25; Zapol’skaia and Strakhova, “Zabytoe imia.”

127. In the aforementioned petition of 1687, the Leichoudes claimed that they did not know the “Russian dialect” (*nevemyi rosskim dialektom glagolati*). RGADA, f. 159, op. 2, ch. 1, d. 2991, l. 231. However, they must have started learning it, since they signed a receipt of money in ungrammatical Russian in that same year. See Ramazonova, “Bogoiavlenskaia shkola,” 221. Even so, as late as the 1720s, Sophronios was said to speak little Russian by one of his then students. See Voznesenskaia, “Grecheskie shkoly,” 170.

128. Ramazonova, “Bogoiavlenskaia shkola,” 225.

129. Ialamas, “Filologicheskaiia deiatel’nost’,” 109–10. Ialamas also points to a manuscript (Mount Athos, ms. Iveron 202) containing parsing exercises by a Leichoudian student from vernacular to scholarly Greek. However, this does not constitute evidence that vernacular Greek was the language of instruction, only that students engaged in parsing. See also Ialamas, “The Significance of Standard Greek.”

130. Timofei’s former teacher in Constantinople, Sevastos Kyminetes, had urged him (Timofei) to teach students vernacular Greek (*ten koinen glossan*); see Fonkich, *Greko-slavianskie shkoly*, 109.

131. Skarvele-Nikolopoulou, *Ta mathemataria*, 174–77.

132. Note the assertion of the Leichoudes above that their students could speak and read in both.

Notes to Chapter Four

1. The term “bookman” is a convenient scholarly construct. At its very basic level, it refers to those who could read and write, which in Muscovy of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries meant primarily monks and other clergymen, who wrote, translated, copied, and read mainly religious literature.

2. On the Second South Slavic Influence and *pletienie sloves*, see Terras, *Handbook of Russian Literature*, s.v. “Old Russian Literature”; also Terras, *History of Russian Literature*, 48–49.

3. For a discussion of various aspects of Baroque influence in Ukraine and Russia, see the contributions in Kiseleva, *Chelovek v kul’ture*.

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 kerygmato*; 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

Influence"; Battistini, "I manuali di retorica," 84–93; and Moss, "The Rhetoric Course"; Bauer, *Jesuitische "ars rhetorica,"* esp. chs. 4–5.

9. EVE, MPT 696 (Vlachos's rhetoric), pp. 283–84; EVE 3323 (Sophronios Leichoudes's rhetoric), ff. 8v–10.

10. EVE 3323, ff. 8v–10; EVE, MPT 696, pp. 284–85.

11. EVE 3323, ff. 15–18v.; EVE, MPT 696, pp. 293–94.

12. EVE, MPT 696, p. 416; EVE 3323, f. 53.

13. I use the edition published Lugduni, 1657.

14. Mouchel, *Cicéron et Sénèque*, 261–70; also, Fumaroli, *L'âge de l'éloquence*, 279–98 and 362–70; Conley, *Rhetoric in the European Tradition*, 155–57. Little is known about Gerard Pelletier, S.J., other than that he was the tutor of Louis de Bourbon, duke of Enghien since 1636, and that he taught in the Jesuit college of Bourges. See Fumaroli, *L'âge de l'éloquence*, 343–49. Conley, "Greek Rhetorics," 281, notes the potential debt of the Leichoudes to Caussin.

15. On the humanistic elements of Jesuit education, including rhetoric, see Bauer, *Jesuitische "ars rhetorica,"* 21–44; Barner, *Barockrhetorik*, 327–39.

16. On the manuscript tradition of Leichoudian rhetoric, see Ramazanova, "Brat'ia Likhudy," 52–54 (for paleographic remarks); Ramazanova, "Novyi grecheskii spisok"; Ialamas, "Znachenie deiatel'nosti brat'ev Likhudov," 118–29 and 194–205; Ialamas, "Filologicheskaiia deiatel'nost'," 117–21; Vomperskii, *Ritoriki v Rossii*, 60–62; Annushkin, *Istoriia russkoi ritoriki*, 65–79; Annushkin, "Tekstologiiia i soderzhanie"; Eleonskaia, *Russkaia oratorskaia proza*, 47–53; Markasova, "Figuratsiia pokhvalnykh slov."

17. See, for example, Smirnov, *Istoriia moskovskoi Slaviano-greko-latinskoi akademii*, 53; Vomperskii, *Ritoriki v Rossii*, 61; Ramazanova, "Brat'ia Likhudy," 52.

18. On Skouphos, see Tsirpanles, *To Helleniko Kollegio*, 608–10; Manoussacas, *Ho Grammatophoros*, 23–40; Tatakis, *Skouphos, Meniates, Voulgares, Theotokes*, 1–15, 35–37 (biography) and 49–124 (extensive excerpts from Skouphos's *Techne rhetorike*). Tatakis (*Skouphos, Meniates, Voulgares, Theotokes*, 12–13) notes Skouphos's debt to Western works. Citing Skouphos's quintuple division of rhetoric into invention, disposition, elocution, memory, and delivery, Tatakis acknowledges that this was a common trait of Western rhetorics, but does not attempt to trace Skouphos's sources to specific authors. On Skouphos's rhetoric, see Manoussacas, *Ho Grammatophoros*, 60–83; Conley, "An 18th-Century Greek *Triplex modus praedicandi* Treatise," 197–210, esp. p. 209 for a passing comment that Skouphos's rhetoric is "thoroughly Aristotelian," and n25, where its format is characterized as "more nearly resembl[ing] 16th- and 17th-century western rhetorics." Conley does not specify what these Western rhetorics might be.

19. Annushkin, *Russkaia Ritorika*, 147, has also argued that Sophronios's rhetoric is not based on Skouphos's.

20. RNB, f. 906 (Sobranie Grecheskikh Rukopisei), Grech. 506, ll. 42–164, most possibly copied by a Leichoudian student, end of seventeenth century. The rhetoric is incomplete: book 4 and also parts of the other books are missing. Preceding the rhetoric is a Leichoudian manual of letter writing (*ars dictaminis*) in catechetical form, titled *Peri tes ton Epistolikon Charakteron Methodou . . . (On the Method of Epistolary Characters . . .)*. Instruction in the art of letter writing, a part of the medieval curriculum, also formed part of the curriculum in Jesuit colleges. On the manuscript tradition of the Leichoudes' rhetorical works, see also Ramazanova, "Brat'ia Likhudy," 52–54; Ialamas, "Znachenie deiatel'nosti brat'ev Likhudov," 194–98. Sophronios's rhetoric was translated in 1698 by Kosmas Iverites (of the Iveron Monastery on Mount Athos) into Church Slavonic. See GIM, *Sobranie Uvarova*, no. 98; RGB, f. 310 (Undol'skoe Sobranie), op. 2, no. 1013 (beginning of the eighteenth century). On this translation, see Annushkin, *Russkaia Ritorika*, 84–101 (Annushkin cites thirty-three copies of it in various repositories, 85–86); Annushkin, "Tekstologiiia i soderzhanie"; and the very detailed presentation-description of its content in Mamontova, "Ritorika' Sofroniia Likhuda" (my thanks to the author for kindly furnishing me a copy of her work). On Kosmas Iverites, see Ialamas, "Filologicheskaiia deiatel'nost'," 142. It is interesting to note here that Kosmas's translation features among the manuals of rhetoric in the Vyg community of Old Believers in the eighteenth century. See Zubov, "K istorii russkogo oratorskogo iskusstva," esp. p. 300. Smentsovskii, *Brat'ia Likhudy*, 74–78, gives a brief overview of yet another manuscript containing Sophronios's rhetoric (from the collection of Florishcheva Pustin', no. 133/707). It is possible that what Smentsovskii refers to is a manuscript copy of Kosmas's translation now in Vladimir. See Vladimiro-Suzdal'skii muzei-zapovednik, no. 5636/422, 116 ll. On l. 116ob. the following note appears: "Glory to God amen.

[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 tosou-ton 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 agno-sia 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.

34. This is Cicero's (in *Orator*) recasting of Aristotle's original distinction between three means of proof, i.e., argument, *ethos* (speaker's character), and *pathos* (the audience's emotional reaction). See Kennedy, *Classical Rhetoric*, 100.

35. RGB, f. 173, op. 1, no. 329 (Grech. 184), pp. 23–26. It is interesting to note the conflation of logic and dialectic in this passage. Ioannikios seems to identify the two, although Sophronios distinguishes them in his logic. However, this identification is most possibly only apparent: the two terms were regularly used as synonymous until well into the seventeenth century. Ioannikios was no doubt aware that Aristotle never used the term “logic” to define the art, and must have known that dialectic was, strictly speaking (i.e., in terms of Aristotelian epistemology), the art of philosophical disputation. On the issue of *antistrophos*, see Aristotle, *On Rhetoric*, 28.

36. Here Ioannikios adds that this is the reason the philosopher Zeno compared dialectic with a closed fist and rhetoric with an extended, open palm. On the use of Zeno's comparison in the Renaissance, see Howell, *Logic and Rhetoric in England*, 14-5, 33-4.

37. RGB, f. 173, op. 1, no. 329 (Grech. 184), pp. 27–36; cf. Pelletier, *Reginae palatium eloquentiae*, 2–3.

38. RGB, f. 173, op. 1, no. 329 (Grech. 184), pp. 37–38; cf. Pelletier, *Reginae palatium eloquentiae*, 3.

39. RGB, f. 173, op. 1, no. 329 (Grech. 184), pp. 47–54, quote p. 49. The Greek text of p. 51 continues on p. 71, according to a small note on the left margin. On p. 71 after the end of the text, another note refers the reader to the continuation of the text on p. 53. Also the text on p. 43 starting with “akymantos” continues on p. 59, in the second half of the page. On the last quote, see Fumaroli, *L'âge de l'éloquence*, 347. Cf. Pelletier, *Reginae palatium eloquentiae*, 3–7.

40. RGB, f. 173, op. 1, no. 329 (Grech. 184), pp. 55ff.; cf. Pelletier, *Reginae palatium eloquentiae*, 9ff. In speaking about imitation, Ioannikios begins with two examples, one of the sculptor Zeuxis and the other of Virgil and Homer. Speaking on Virgil and Homer, Ioannikios provides some (if somewhat idiosyncratic) notes on history and geography on the margins: “Carthage [*Karchedon*] is a city neighboring the Italians in Africa [*en Aphrois*]. The Carthaginians [*Karchedonioi*] are called Africans [*Aphroi*] after Aphros who had reigned in Libya. The Libyans are Franks [*Phrankoi*] residing in the West.” RGB, f. 173, op. 1, no. 329 (Grech. 184), p. 59. These remarks provide evidence that in their rhetorical classes, the Leichoudes went beyond rhetoric and taught their students some rudiments of history and geography as well. This was a well-entrenched practice in Jesuit rhetorical courses. See the remarks of Dainville, “L'évolution de l'enseignement,” 187–88.

41. Ioannikios notes that he will soon speak about disposition in more detail. Interestingly, on p. 63 he introduces the concepts of syllogism and *enthymema* (enthymeme) without however defining them. He discusses them later on in the treatise.

42. RGB, f. 173, op. 1, no. 329 (Grech. 184), pp. 55–70; Pelletier, *Reginae palatium eloquentiae*, 12.

43. RGB, f. 173, op. 1, no. 329 (Grech. 184), pp. 73–88; cf. Pelletier, *Reginae palatium eloquentiae*, 17ff. On p. 73 the Latin version of the text (copied from Pelletier) is discontinued. Also, on p. 73 a marginal note accompanying the figure of a small hand with the finger pointing to the text reads: *hora kai touto o spoudaie* (“look at this as well, oh student”). This gives us a glimpse into the way the Leichoudes taught: their students used the Leichoudes' own textbooks for study, and the teachers alerted them to pay attention to particular issues by employing the aforementioned device. Also, on p. 73 there is above the Greek word *kataskeue* (construction), the Russian *stroenie* (construction), in the same hand in which the Greek text is written. Since the manuscript is Ioannikios's autograph, this is an indication that he made some effort to learn Russian, although this argument should not be taken too far since it is by no means clear how much Russian either of the two brothers learned. For other examples, see p. 98, *ischerpnuti vozmozhet* (you will be able to complete); 100, *vostanut* (will rise, the *u* is written in a very Greek manner and corresponds to Ioannikios's *u*); 108, *obitanie* (dwelling); 238 (some illegible Russian note, but in the same handwriting as the others); 254, *danie* (giving, in Russian) *e tous phorous* (or the taxes, in Greek) *posline* (Russian for taxes, but in Greek characters); 274, *khristos voskres* (Christ is risen, in Russian); 287, *podani* (those subject to authority, in Russian).

44. Here Ioannikios makes sure to distinguish between Greek and Latin ways of punctuating a text. See, for example, p. 85, on the question mark.

45. The example the author uses to illustrate his point is a *troparion* (hymn) to the Mother of God. He distinguishes between the punctuation of a speech or oration, and of a *troparion*, especially in the use of *stigma* (a stop) in a *troparion* to help with the musical harmony. *Ibid.*, pp. 86–87. There

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 hearkens 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

has pointed out that the Leichoudes chose some of their examples from Russian reality. See *Brat'ia Likhudy*, 76–78.

62. RGB, f. 173, op. 1, no. 329 (Grech. 184), pp. 112–19. The speeches are the encomium of Metropolitan Iov (113–15), an oration on King Herod's murder of the infants (116–17), and a praise of a garden (118–19). See publication of the encomium to Iov, in Ialamas, “Znachenie deiatel'nosti brat'ev Likhudov,” 201–3. On the symbolic use of the garden in the European context, with particular reference to Simeon Polotskii's use of it, see the remarks of Lidiia Sazonova, in *Vertograd mnogocvetnyj*, 1:xliv–xlix; also, Sazonova, *Literaturnaia kul'tura Rossii*, 524–58, for the motif of the garden in court poetry in Russia. At the time of Ioannikios's writing, both in Moscow but mainly in St. Petersburg, landscaping was picking up (due to European influences) as an interest of both Tsar Peter and various wealthy individuals, both Russian and non-Russian. See James Cracraft, *The Petrine Revolution in Russian Architecture*, 182–85. Thus, the garden example can be construed as one more instance in which Leichoudian teaching appears connected with the reality around it. On Russian gardens in general, see Chernyi, *Russkie srednevekovye sady*, and esp. 92–101 on the gardens of tsar, patriarch, and noblemen.

63. RGB, f. 173, op. 1, no. 329 (Grech. 184), pp. 113–15. On the Leichoudes' stay in Novgorod, see chapter 2 of this volume and Smentsovskii, *Brat'ia Likhudy*, 333–74; on Metropolitan Iov, see Likhachev, *Slovar' knizhnikov i knizhnosti*, s.v. “Iov (um. 1716).” There is still no monographic study of this remarkable individual.

64. RGB, f. 173, op. 1, no. 329 (Grech. 184), pp. 113–14; see also Ialamas, “Dva neopublikovannykh panegirika,” esp. 213. Ioannikios also adds compassion for widows and orphans, and care for strangers and monks. Even conceding the undoubted exaggeration inherent in an encomium addressed to a patron, Ioannikios's praise of Iov's activities does not appear to be very far from the truth. Indeed, the existing evidence proves that he was one of the “enlightened” hierarchs of the Petrine period, who devoted a lot of energy to supporting educational activities and social welfare in his diocese. Even considering that the latter was a traditional obligation of a Russian hierarch, Iov appears to have added a considerable new twist to it both by establishing hospitals and old-age homes separate from monasteries and by consistently pressing the state authorities to support them financially. Indeed, Iov's social welfare activities deserve further study since they appear to be one of the very first (if not the first) attempts in Russia to create an institutionalized system of social welfare.

65. RNB, f. 906, Grech. 506, ll. 42–45, quote on l. 42ob.; RGB, f. 310 (Undol'skoe Sobranie), op. 2, no. 1013, ll. 1–7.

66. RGB, f. 310, op. 2, no. 1013, ll. 7–8.

67. RNB, f. 906, Grech. 506, ll. 47–48; RGB, f. 310, op. 2, no. 1013, ll. 9–10. In the commentary on the relation between rhetoric and leadership, especially in wartime, one detects echoes of Jesuit pugnaciousness in defense of the Roman Catholic Church during the post-Tridentine period. See in this regard the remarks of McGinness, *Right Thinking*, ch. 1 and esp. 14–15.

68. EVE, MPT 696, pp. 284–85.

69. RGB, f. 310, op. 2, no. 1013, ll. 10ob.–12.

70. See Kennedy, *Classical Rhetoric*, esp. 60–82 (on Aristotle), 82–85 (on dialectic/rhetoric in general), and 196–213 (for Renaissance solutions to this problem); see also Conley, *Rhetoric in the European Tradition*, 78–80 (on Boethius), 124–33 (on Renaissance scholars such as Rudolphus Agricola and Petrus Ramus); and Howell, *Logic and Rhetoric in England*. The Jesuits did not share Agricola's efforts at creating a unified *ars disserendi* (art of arguing or analyzing something in all respects) that would encompass dialectic and rhetoric: Bauer, *Jesuitische “ars rhetorica,”* 137. Soarez certainly did not have much to say about the relationship between rhetoric and dialectic (see Moss, “The Rhetoric Course,” 144), but he did distinguish between dialectical (*ad faciendam fidem*) and rhetorical (*ad animum movendum*) arguments, and did devote a considerable part of his rhetoric to invention and “topics,” thus betraying at least some influence of Renaissance humanist ideas on rhetoric. Bauer, *Jesuitische “ars rhetorica,”* 157.

71. RGB, f. 310, op. 2, no. 1013, ll. 12–53ob. As already noted, Sophronios's discussion is much more extensive and detailed than Ioannikios's, especially concerning some topics, such as comparison and *anagrammatismos* (rearranging a word's letters to create a new word). With regard to the latter, it is noteworthy that Sophronios provides the example of Martin Luther's name which, with repositioning of the letters, turns out to mean an “evil snake.” *Ibid.*, 18. On Vlachos's approach, see EVE, MPT 696, p. 279.

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.

85. RGB, f. 173, op. 1, no. 329 (Grech. 184), pp. 137–77. Under this rubric come *allegoria* (allegory), *antithesis* (opposition), *apostrophe* (turning away), *synchoreisis* (consent, agreement), *diorthosis* (correcting the word after expressing it), *deesis* (entreaty, supplication), *epimartyria* (calling to witness), *dianome* (distribution), *diaporesis* (perplexity), *ekphonesis* (exclamation), *apergasia* (completion), *klimax* (“mounting by degrees through linked words or phrases”), *hypotyposis* (vivid description), *ethopoia* (character portrayal, putting oneself in someone’s shoes), *katara* (curse), *hermeneia* (explanation of a saying or deed in accord with the interests of the speaker), *erotesis* (rhetorical question), *eironia* (irony, derision), *parrhesia* (frankness), *paralepsis* (omission), *proso-popoia* (personification, impersonation), *aposiopesis* (stopping suddenly in midspeech), *dialogismos* (speaking as if pretending to be someone else), *hypomone* (remaining behind), and *metavasis* (brief transitional statement). Ioannikios attributes to them extreme usefulness in urging something unto one’s audience. *Ibid.*, 137.

86. *Ibid.*, pp. 144–46.

87. *Ibid.*, pp. 149–51 and 152–56.

88. *Ibid.*, p. 159.

89. *Ibid.*, pp. 167(1)–68.

90. *Ibid.*, p. 142.

91. It bears attention here that Ioannikios copies his example of *apostrophe* from his brother’s manual; see RGB, f. 310, op. 2, no. 1013, ll. 68–68ob. Ioannikios simply adds the term “Novgorod,” which is missing in Sophronios. Despite the derivativeness of Leichoudian rhetoric, it is likely that the example refers to contemporary reality. Peter the Great’s avoidance of pilgrimages and visits to shrines of saints is well known. See Hughes, *Russia in the Age of Peter*, 348–51, esp. 350.

92. Ioannikios has already spoken about the period and its constitutive parts. It is noteworthy that he starts his exposition by promising to speak of the various definitions of period given by rhetors at various times. Eventually, he restricts himself to the definition by Hermogenes, who connected the period with breath. RGB, f. 173, op. 1, no. 329 (Grech. 184), p. 179 (the beginning of another definition on the same page is crossed out); cf. RGB, f. 310, op. 2, no. 1013, ll. 91–93ob., where Sophronios’s treatment is much more extensive.

93. RGB, f. 173, op. 1, no. 329 (Grech. 184), pp. 178–93. These topics (*topoi*) are *dia tou horismou* (“by definition,” i.e., by giving the speech a particular direction), *dia tes ton meron aparithmeseos* (by enumeration of parts), *dia tes metaphraseos* (saying something using not one, but several words), *dia tes auxeseos* (by using synonyms), *dia ton synemmenon* (by circumstances, i.e., who, what, where, by the help of whom, for what reason, how, and when).

94. In treating the enhancement of a sentence *dia tou horismou* (by definition), the author refers to Cicero’s *Pro Milone*, and notes in the margin on Milo: “citizen of Rome, murderer of Publius Clodius, the mayor, or demagogue, the defender of the people against the patricians” (*ibid.*, p. 182).

95. *Ibid.*, pp. 192–93.

96. *Ibid.*, pp. 190–92. The part rendered “nor do they have any urging in themselves [coming] from some hope to gain some glory” is partially illegible, especially in the word “urging”: only the first letter of this word is clearly legible and I have reconstructed the rest of it by taking the context into consideration. It should also be noted that in the beginning of the example an asterisk points the reader to a note inserted on pp. 183–84 (the other half of which is found tucked in between pp. 191 and 192). The note has to do with the quotation “the uneducated are looked down upon”: Ioannikios here reminds himself (and the reader) that since this statement has two parts, each part can be amplified, as in the just quoted example. The word “affirmatively” (*kataphatikos*) appears here referring to the first part of the example. Cf. the same example in Sophronios, RGB, f. 310, op. 2, no. 1013, ll. 99–99ob.

97. Interestingly, Ioannikios also refers to himself prior to the quoted example. In illustrating how one can enhance the word “learn” (*spoudazo*) he says: “1. <person> With useful effort in the space of several years I continuously went around the most illustrious academies of Italy and attained advancement in the excellent arts. 2. <aim> However, in order to attain better understanding and richer fruits from learning, I went around all the academies. 3. <means> Through such great bodily effort and through so much examination and study of my mind, that I am unable to describe. 4. <matter> All the books that may pass by my hands, even if they are full of thorns difficult to understand, in this way I roll them away and, reading them, I tear them to pieces [i.e., because of intense use]. 5. <time> Also that time which is given for the comfort of the soul, and which ought to be spent in the restoration of strengths, I oftentimes set aside and spend [lit. “destroy”] all [this time] on the study of

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 dyskolou* (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*

(informational, premonitory), *haple* (simple), *synthetos* (complex), *pithane* (possible), *alethes* (true), *epipheromene* (one that enhances veracity). *Ibid.*, pp. 243–47.

118. *Ibid.*, pp. 224–30.

119. *Ibid.*, quote p. 225. In the same speech, Ioannikios refers to two statements, by Hesiod (*chremata gar psyche peletai*, “a man’s money is his life”—see Liddell and Scott, *A Greek-English Lexicon*, s.v. “chrema”) and Menander (*dynamis pephyken tois brotois ta chremata*, “for humans material possessions are their power”—author’s translation) as well as to the ancient Greek custom of uttering the words “out with hunger, in with wealth and health” and brandishing a stick as Greeks pretended to chase away hunger from their homes: “hosper ek palaiou para Graikois synthes en ravdois diokein ten peinan exo ton oikion auton, legontes: exo boulimon, eso plouton kai hygeian” (As in olden times it was the custom among the Greeks to chase hunger away from their houses, all the while saying: out with ravenous hunger, in with wealth and health). RGB, f. 173, op. 1, no. 329 (Grech. 184), pp. 229 and 228 respectively.

120. *Ibid.*, pp. 230–34.

121. The other biblical references are to the Prophet Samuel mourning Saul, King David mourning Ammon and Abessalom, and the Apostle Paul’s injunction to rejoice with those that rejoice and cry with those that cry. Ioannikios also cites the proverb: *hoi agathoi ton anthropon eisi philodakreis* (good people are given to weeping) (*ibid.*, 232). It should be noted that he seems to be using *Graikoi* to refer to the modern as well as ancient Greeks (normally, the latter were at the time referred to as *Hellenes*). Cf. also p. 263: *hypo graikon kai varvaron* (by Greeks and barbarians), in a reference to the battle of Marathon. To be sure, *Hellenike* means the ancient language only. This might be a result of the Leichoudes’ use of Latin prototypes, where the word *Graecus* would appear with both meanings.

122. This is an interesting divergence from the traditional Orthodox position, which tended to discourage overt mourning (at least in theory) and instead focused on the hope and promise of resurrection. The divergence may explain the almost exclusive reliance of Ioannikios on Old Testament material.

123. *Ibid.*, pp. 235–43; comparison of animals and men, p. 240.

124. *Ibid.*, p. 239. It is here that Ioannikios enumerates a series of characteristics supposedly found in some animals: “all’ esoterikos eisi metellagmenoi eis diaphora theria, pleion tes asymmetrou epithymias, eper ek tou potou tes Kirkes· alloi men endyontai ten apatelen physin ton alopekon· alloi de mimomounei ten arpagen ton lykon, kai alloi ten hedonen ton alogon, ten lyssan ton tigrion, ten sovaroteta tou leontos, to pharmakion ton opheon, ton onon ten anoian, ten argian kai elaphroteta ton peteion, ten anaesthesia ton ichthyon, ten tou Taonos yperephaneian.” (But internally they are transformed into various animals, more from immeasurable desire than from the drink of Circe. Some adorn the deceitful nature of foxes. Others [are transformed] by imitating the rapacity of wolves, and still others the pleasure of horses, the rabidness of tigers, the seriousness of the lion, the poison of snakes, the foolishness of donkeys, the laziness and lightness of roosters, the insensitivity of fish, the pride of the peacock.) *Ibid.*, pp. 239–40. A marginal note explains who Circe was: “gyne mantis he tous Odysseos synodoiporous eis choirous metavalousa” (Circe, a sorceress who transformed Odysseus’s companions into pigs).

125. *Ibid.*, pp. 243–44. A couple of interesting twists are noteworthy here: first, with reference to the destruction of Sodom, Ioannikios emphasizes that among all the inhabitants of the city, only one man was saved and “no woman, indeed” (*ibid.*, 242). Second, referring to “the wandering of God in mind (*to noi*) around the various famous climates [i.e., parts] of the earth,” in search for virtuous men, Ioannikios gives the following marginal note explaining “climates”: “He Europe esti en he periechontai he Germania, Gallia, he Italia, Olanda, Anglia; Aphrike, esti en he periechetai, he Varvaria, Ispania; Asia.” (Europe is [the land] in which Germany, France, Italy, Holland, and England are located; Africa is [the land] where Varvaria [=Egypt], Spain are located; Asia.) Cf., p. 288, left margin: “gon [i.e., triton] meros tou kosmou,” explaining Asia in the main text.

126. This tendency on the part of Ioannikios to demonize women is not surprising for his time and age, especially given the fact that he was a hieromonk.

127. *Ibid.*, pp. 243–47. It is worth noting that on p. 244, there is a list of what appear to be assignments of Ioannikios to his students for the composition of exegetical speeches. All except one are passages from the Psalms. The one exception is “know thyself,” attributed to an ancient Greek sage. Some of the names listed appear in the register of Novgorodian students in Ialamas, “Filologicheskaiadeiatel’nost;” 163.

128. RGB, f. 173, op. 1, no. 329 (Grech. 184), pp. 248–50. The speeches are incomplete.

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

the Great was crowned [i.e., honored] in the heavens, for he suffered greatly for Orthodoxy; hence, the Most Reverend Patriarch Ioakim, who suffered greatly for Orthodoxy, must also be crowned in the heavens." Ibid., p. 292. Athanasius the Great, patriarch of Alexandria in the fourth century, repeatedly fell afoul of the court in Constantinople for his staunch opposition to Arianism, and was deposed five times. See *ODB* 1, s.v. "Athanasios." The reference to Ioakim (also found in Sophronios's rhetoric) is an obvious tribute on the part of the Leichoude to one of their staunchest patrons in Russia.

144. RGB, f. 173, op. 1, no. 329 (Grech. 184), p. 293. Aristotle had proposed example and enthymeme as properly rhetorical tools. His student Theophrastus had redefined "argument" (epicheireme [*epicherema*]) as a complete rhetorical argument. See Kennedy, *Classical Rhetoric*, 80.

145. On the concept of enthymeme, see Aristotle, *On Rhetoric*, 297–98.

146. RGB, f. 173, op. 1, no. 329 (Grech. 184), p. 294.

147. Ibid., pp. 295–96.

148. RGB, f. 173, op. 1, no. 329 (Grech. 184), p. 297; cf. in Sophronios, RGB, f. 310, op. 2, no. 1013, ll. 166ff.

149. In Vlachos's rhetoric, this discussion appears in book 1. See EVE, MPT 696, pp. 326–63.

150. One wonders how much Plato would have agreed with this assertion given his well-known negative attitude toward rhetoric. See Aristotle, *On Rhetoric*, 10–11.

151. RGB, f. 173, op. 1, no. 329 (Grech. 184), pp. 297–304. Ioannikios also cites the etymology of those other names and provides references to the ancient authors who discussed them. He defines "praise" (*epainos*) as a short encomiastic speech, and "encomium" (*enkomion*) as a rhetorically enhanced encomiastic speech. Further, he defines panegyric as an "encomium" of an important individual (saint, king, archhierarch). Interestingly, he also draws a distinction between hymn ("said to God") and encomium ("said to the mortal men"): this distinction appears in Aphthonius (see Rabe, *Aphthonii Progymnasmata*, 21). Further on in his discussion, however, Ioannikios appears to be using the terms *epainos* and *encomium* interchangeably.

152. RGB, f. 173, op. 1, no. 329 (Grech. 184), p. 302.

153. Ibid., pp. 302–5; the "tree" is on p. 320. On the use of "trees" in rhetorical manuals, see Dieter, "Arbor Picta," 123–44. One is tempted to see here a certain apophaticism, more characteristic of Orthodox patristic thought than of the Leichoude's works, especially their polemical writings. At the same time, such injunctions are regularly found in Jesuit teaching, especially in their polemics against Protestantism.

154. RGB, f. 173, op. 1, no. 329 (Grech. 184), pp. 305–7. Among other things, he also refers to kings, archhierarchs, cities (such as Moscow and Constantinople), et cetera.

155. Ibid., pp. 307–12 and 313–14.

156. Ibid., pp. 313–17. Each example is followed by its own outline in the form of a tree.

157. Ibid., pp. 322, 322–24, 325, and 325–30 respectively.

158. Ibid., pp. 327–30. Each one of the "circumstances" is discussed in detail, and in some cases, illustrated by examples. For instance, in treating "who," Ioannikios advises attention to the etymology of a person's name: as in the case of Nikolaos, who can be called *nike laou* (victory of the people), or Athanasios, who is a reminder of *athanasia* (immortality). Ibid., p. 326.

159. Ibid., pp. 331(1)–335. The reference is to "Alexios anthropos Theou," known in Russia as *Aleksei chelovek bozhii*. See *ODB* 1, s.v. "Alexios Homo Dei"; for the use of the motif in Russia and its role in court culture, see Sazonova, "Rannekhristianskaia legenda," and esp. 76 for its place in the rhetoric of Sophronios Leichoude.

160. RGB, f. 173, op. 1, no. 329 (Grech. 184), pp. 335–36. He emphasizes that these royal encomiums are a special kind of speech and should include references to magnanimity, justice, generosity, piety, good governance, and martial virtues (in the case of kings), and to piety, motherly love, obedience to their spouses, prudence, and perseverance (in the case of queens).

161. Ibid., pp. 337–55.

162. Ibid., pp. 349–55.

163. Ibid., p. 343. On Saint Aleksei, metropolitan of Rus', see Likhachev, *Slovar' knizhnikov i knizhnosti*, s.v. "Aleksei (Aleksii)."

164. RGB, f. 173, op. 1, no. 329 (Grech. 184), p. 345.

165. Ibid., p. 351. Above the word "retreat" a note reads: "Turks." Ialamas, "Filologicheskaiia deiatel'nost'," 120, publishes this excerpt in Greek; Eleonskaia, *Russkaia oratorskaia proza*, 52–53, publishes the excerpt's Slavonic translation. The complete speech, to the best of my knowledge, is not

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. "Khristsianskaia 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

covered logic. He adds that first he will write his lectures in Latin, and then in Greek, “to the benefit of our students in the reigning and imperial great city of Moscow, the most Christian and most Orthodox.” See RGB, f. 173 (Moskovskaia Dukhovnaia Akademiia), op. 1, no. 303 (Grech. 186), ll. 1–10b. For a discussion of the contents of the manuscript, see below.

11. The manuscripts are (1) Manuscript RGB, f. 173 (Moskovskaia Dukhovnaia Akademiia), op. 1, no. 316 (In. 2133), in Latin, undated (but see following manuscript). It includes two treatises by Ioannikios on Aristotle’s eight books of physics (ll. 1–188) and on the soul according to the teachings of Saint Thomas Aquinas (the latter is titled *In tres libros de anima iuxta Principis Peripateticorum Doctoris Angelici doctrinam expositio*, ll. 191–268). At the end of the second treatise, a dedicatory note offers the work to “Valentinus” (l. 268). Smirnov has hypothesized that Valentinus was a Venetian rather than a Muscovite individual. On this basis, he denies that the Leichouides taught psychology in the Academy. One suspects that the reference to Thomas Aquinas’s “doctrine” did influence Smirnov’s conclusion since it did not fit well with his presentation of the Leichouides as “Grecophiles.” See Smirnov, *Istoriia moskovskoi Slaviano-greko-latinskoi akademii*, 60. This manuscript contains the complete text of the two treatises, parts of which appear in the following manuscripts; (2) Manuscript RGB, f. 173 (Moskovskaia Dukhovnaia Akademiia), op. 1, no. 310 (In. 3136), two paginations, Ioannikios’s autograph. On p. 1 of both paginations the date is given as 1689 (that is, during Ioannikios’s sojourn in Venice). This miscellany contains (a) a Latin draft version of the commentary on physics, pp. 1–217; (b) additional notes by Ioannikios referring to specific parts of the commentary, pp. 219–357; (c) a Latin translation of Saint John Damascene’s letter to Bishop Kosmas (which is found in manuscripts containing the saint’s “Dialectic”), pp. 358–60; (d) a Latin version of Ioannikios’s treatise on the soul, pp. 1–94 (of the second pagination); (e) additional Latin notes to some parts of the treatise on the soul, pp. 95–170. The remaining pages (171–210) must have been initially projected only as an index of philosophical terms. There is such an index, but also excerpts (in both Greek and Latin) on a variety of themes: on circumcision, on Christ the Archpriest, et cetera. In a note on p. 185 marking the end of his labors Ioannikios offers his gratitude to the Mother of God and adds that the commentary on the physics was intended “in future aid of the youth, so that they can study this discipline in reigning Muscovy, which is gleaming and flourishing in genuine Orthodoxy” (*ad iuvementum iuvenum futurum ut studeant huic [crossed out: presenti] scientiae in Moscovia imperante, et orthodoxia vera ardente, ac florente*). Parts of Ioannikios’s general physics commentary appear in two other Leichoudian manuscripts. These are (1) Manuscript RGB, f. 173 (Moskovskaia Dukhovnaia Akademiia), op. 1, no. 311 (In. 3137), 160 ll., undated (but must be posterior to no. 1 above, since it includes Greek translation). It contains, in Greek and Latin, the first two books and parts of the third book of Ioannikios’s treatise on physics; (2) Manuscript RNB, f. 906, Grech. 152 (dated December 1690), pp. 353–90.

12. Zubov, “Fizika’ Aristotelia,” 642–43.

13. Potential doubts in this regard based on the date of manuscript RNB, f. 906, Grech. 152, can be easily resolved. The initial section of this manuscript contains the first part of Sophronios’s logic on pp. 1–127. At the end of the logic, there is a scribal note with the date “December 1, 1690.” Following this first part are commentaries on specific parts of the logic, only after which comes the excerpt from Ioannikios’s physics on pp. 353–90. Since Ioannikios returned from Venice in the spring of 1691, one can presume that the scribe of the manuscript (most likely, one of the Leichouides’ students) had in the meantime completed the logic parts and then embarked on copying the physics parts. It is worth recalling here that in his deposition in the Typography (*Pechatnyi Dvor*) on March 23, 1692, Nikolai Semenov Golovin, one of the Leichouides’ first disciples, declared that he was studying the first parts of philosophy: see the published deposition in *ChO IDR* (1908), 1, *smes*, 34.

14. Finally, they presumably had access to the original Aristotelian treatises as well.

15. Porphyry was a third century CE pagan author whose *Isagoge* was written as an aid to the study of Aristotle’s *Categories*. The *Isagoge* was translated into Latin by Boethius. Starting in the twelfth century, when the discussion on the universals was intense, Porphyry’s little opus normally accompanied Aristotle’s *Organon*. See Audi, *Cambridge Dictionary of Philosophy*, s.v. “Porphyry”; for an English translation, see Porphyry the Phoenician, *Isagoge*.

16. The study of theoretical logic fared only slightly better than rhetoric in Kievan Rus’ and Muscovy. Although there is evidence of interest in logic as the study of dialectic and syllogistic reasoning, such interest does not appear to have extended beyond the translated parts of Greek and Western works. The encyclopedic *Izborniki* of 1073 and 1076 included an article on the categories (probably authored by Theodore of Rhaithou, seventh century [?]). In the late fifteenth century, Novgorodian heretics known as the “Judaizers” were in possession of a *Logika*, which was a translation of parts of

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.

26. RGB, f. 173, op. 1, no. 311 (In. 3137), ll. 2ob.–6ob. For Aristotle's classification of the sciences, see Ross, *Aristotle*, 65–66; Barnes, *Cambridge Companion to Aristotle*, ch. 4.

27. RGB, f. 173, op. 1, no. 311 (In. 3137), ll. 120–44.

28. Still, Jesuits did diverge from Thomas Aquinas on individual issues, as already noted with regard to logic. See Brockliss, *French Higher Education*, 338, for cases of disagreement among French Thomists on issues of matter and form in natural philosophy; see also Hellyer, *Catholic Physics*, 78.

29. On the Thomist approach of the Leichoudes and on the cleansing of references to Thomas by name, see Zubov, “‘Fizika’ Aristotelia,” 644–45.

30. RGB, f. 173, op. 1, no. 311 (In. 3137), pp. 76–83 (on scripture) and 83–86 (on Aristotle's opinion). Aristotle appears to think that only active reason, that is, only one of the elements of the human soul, remains in existence after death. See Ross, *Aristotle*, 137–38. The debate on the immortality of the soul had had a long history in Western thought, especially in the University of Padua where Pietro Pomponazzi (1462–1525) had initiated a naturalistic interpretation of Aristotle's relevant opinions and had advocated the soul's mortality. This tradition reached its pinnacle in the thought of Giacomo Zabarella (1532–1589) and Cesare Cremonini (1550–1631). Thereafter, the school of Padua appears to have reverted to a less radical Aristotelianism, whose parameters however are little studied. See Randall, *The School of Padua*; Poppi, *Introduzione all'aristotelismo padovano*. For a translation of Saint Thomas's commentary on the *De anima*, see Aquinas, *A Commentary*.

31. RGB, f. 173 (Moskovskaia Dukhovnaia Akademiia), op. 1, no. 303 (Grech. 186), ll. 97–134, dated on l. 2: “1690 a di 8. Giugno.” See Fonkich, “Novye materialy,” 68 (also in Greek, Fonkich, “Nea stoicheia,” 237).

32. On Koursoulas, see Michalaga, “He zoe kai to ergo”; Podskalsky, *Griechische Theologie*, 242–44 (Podskalsky does briefly discuss Koursoulas's theology); Papadopoulos, *He Neohellenike philosophia*, 163–73, which should be used with caution, since Papadopoulos uncritically sees Koursoulas's philosophy as a regression to medieval Scholasticism; Tsirpanles, *To Helleniko Kollegio*, 444–45, which includes references to previous literature as well; and the discussion in Petsios, *He Peri Physeos*, 172–80. On issues pertaining to the manuscript tradition of Koursoulas's and Vlachos's works, see Benakes, “He cheiropgraphe paradose.”

33. RGB, f. 173 (Moskovskaia Dukhovnaia Akademiia), op. 1, no. 319 (In. 3144), pp. 1–79 (of the second pagination; the manuscript has two different paginations): *Tractatus in Libros Aristotelis Stagiritae de Mundo et Caelo, ac de Generatione et Corruptione, una cum dubiis, et Quaestionibus hac tempestate in scholis agitari solitis cum 3ci indice; quorum primus quaestiones omnes Primi Tractatus amplectitur; Secundus, 2i; 3us, 3ii. eodem ordine quo agitantur* (Treatise on the Books of Aristotle the Stagirite on the Universe and the Heavens, together with uncertain issues and Questions which are currently [and] customarily deliberated upon in schools, together with triple indices; of which [indices] the first includes the questions of the First Treatise; the Second, of the second; the Third, of the Third. [I]n the order in which they [i.e., the questions] are treated). Date on p. 78 reads: “MDCLXIII, XXV Septembris more venet[o]” (1663, September 25, Venetian Style [=according to the Venetian calendar]).

34. See Fonkich, “Novye Materialy,” 68, and unpublished *opis'* 1 of RGB, f. 173. For some other manuscripts containing works by Gerasimos Vlachos in Russia, see Fonkich, “Tria autographa.”

35. A professor in the Universities of Padua and Siena, Alessandro Piccolomini (1508–1579) authored and published a number of works on ethics, physics, and rhetoric. See Lohr, *Latin Aristotle Commentaries*, 2:329–30; also Lattis, *Between Copernicus and Galileo*, 34–36.

36. See above. Fonkich also notes the existence of the other texts, both the treatise on the heavens and the excerpts on star sizes and the degrees of relation permitted in a marriage, but does not address directly the issue of the *Peri Ouranou's* authorship.

37. See Karas, *Hoi epistemes sten Tourkokratia*, 2:211–15. The earliest copy cited by Karas is dated 1639. Karas does not cite Ioannikios's copy of Koursoulas's treatise. Koursoulas also wrote commentaries on Aristotle's physics and on his *De generatione et corruptione*. Karas, *Hoi epistemes sten Tourkokratia*, 2:207–20.

38. The comparison is based on manuscripts EVE 2950 and EVE 2387, both of which contain Koursoulas's treatise. Whether these manuscripts contain the complete form of Koursoulas's work is an open question, since the manuscript tradition of Koursoulas's authorial output has not been studied. Interestingly, EVE 2950 and EVE 2387 do not include the cosmological charts, rather ending with the issue of whether the stars influence man, angels, and demons.

39. Lohr, *Latin Aristotle Commentaries*, vol. 2; Lohr, *Latin Aristotle Commentaries*, vol. 3.

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

could differentiate themselves from practical scientists, such as astronomers and mathematicians). Still, one detects in Koursoulas's language a certain authorial pride for the accomplishments of another Greek, i.e., Aristotle. Such a feeling seems to point to a general characteristic of seventeenth-century Greek thought: an intensification of the rediscovery (already started in the sixteenth-century Greek world) of ancient Greek philosophy as a part of the Greeks' own historical past. See Karas, *Hoi thetikos epistemes*, 40–41. On Aristotelian commentators in general, see Audi, *Cambridge Dictionary of Philosophy*, s.v. "Commentaries on Aristotle."

47. According to Aristotle (*Metaphysics*, book 13, ch. 2; *Physics*, book 2, ch. 2), astronomy was a branch of mathematics, which in turn (in its pure, non-applied form) was not a "science" since it did not utilize causes for arriving at conclusions. Still, starting with Christopher Clavius in the late sixteenth century, the Jesuit colleges' curriculum exhibits a sustained emphasis on mathematics for its practical utility. See Lattis, *Between Copernicus and Galileo*, 32–38; Dear, "Jesuit Mathematical Science." The distinction between astronomy and astrology was first introduced by Ptolemy and was gradually refined in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. In the late medieval and early modern periods, astronomy usually signified the science that studied the magnitudes and motions of celestial bodies. Astrology was occupied specifically with the motions and phenomena associated with the stars and their effect on the terrestrial world, and thus could be also employed in prognostication. See Heninger, *The Cosmographical Glass*, 7. For an argument against a too rigid distinction between astronomy and judicial/divinatory astrology, see Garin, *Astrology in the Renaissance*. For a discussion of astrology in the Muscovite period, see Ryan, *The Bathhouse at Midnight*, ch. 15. Ryan notes that "[a]strology and astronomy are not terminologically distinguished in a consistent way in Church Slavonic or Old Russian until the eighteenth century, a little later than in the rest of Europe" (385). See also Simonov, *Russkaia astrologicheskaja knizhnost'*.

48. On Aristotle in Russia, see primarily Zubov, *Aristotel'*, 332–49 (of the reprint edition). See Ryan, "Aristotle and Pseudo-Aristotle," for an argument that "[f]or the most part . . . Aristotle is not known in Muscovite Russia for his philosophy or science, as we know it from genuine Aristotle texts or commentaries, but from the biographical information in literature such as the Alexander Romance . . . and from a few pseudo-Aristotelian works . . ." (103); Ševčenko, "Remarks on the Diffusion." On ancient sages, including Aristotle, as "harbingers of Christ's incarnation," within the iconographic theme of the Tree of Jesse, see *ODB* 3, s.v. "Philosopher"; Spetsieres, "Eikones Hellenon philosophon"; Lamp-sides, "Mikra symvole." For examples from Russia, see Dmitriev, *Moskovskii pervoklassnyi Novospasskii Stavropigialnyi monastyr'*, 43 (the Transfiguration Cathedral of the Novospasskii Monastery was the burial place of the Romanovs); also Kazakova, "Prorochestva ellinskikh mudretsov," for connections of the iconographic theme with the text *Prorochestva ellinskikh mudretsov* (Prophecies of ancient Greek sages) found in chronographies and miscellanies in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries.

49. On Polotskii's references to philosophy, see Bushkovitch, *Religion and Society*, 163–75; Zvonareva, "Naturfilosofskie predstavleniia Simeona Polotskogo"; Bylinin, "Poesia docta Simeona Polotskogo," 246–60; Sazonova, *Literaturnaia kul'tura Rossii*, 398–401.

50. Cartesianism and applied science had already been challenging the predominance of speculative philosophy for some time. Still, Newton's *Principia*, arguably the death blow to medieval speculation, was published only in 1687. Moreover, the Jesuit curriculum proved remarkably adept at incorporating new ideas into its overall Aristotelian framework. See Reif, "The Textbook Tradition"; Grant, *In Defense of the Earth's Centrality*; Baroncini, "L'insegnamento della filosofia naturale, 163–215, especially 192–202 on the relation between mathematics and physics, and 202–14 on physics itself; and on Jesuit responses to the Copernican system, see the revisionist article by Russell, "Catholic Astronomers."

51. On the history of astronomy in Russia, see Vorontsov-Vel'iaminov, *Ocherki istorii astronomii*; Chenakal, *Ocherki po istorii russkoi astronomii*. For a very helpful bibliography on astronomical and astrological subjects in Kievan Rus' and Muscovy, see Khromov, "Astronomiia i astrologiia," 290–310. See also Okenfuss, "Jesuit Origins." Okenfuss rightly emphasizes that not all schools set up by Peter the Great (among which was the reorganized Slavo-Greco-Latin Academy after 1701, although its new curriculum has yet to be studied in detail) provided instruction in applied science. Rather, he correctly points out that most of these schools were organized along the lines of Jesuit colleges. Still, in briefly discussing the Leichoudian period of the Academy, Okenfuss stresses its "Greek" character, allegedly on the basis of the victorious "Grecophile" Muscovite Church party's preference for Greek education (he does not specify what the "Greekness" of education entailed). To be fair, Okenfuss does note that Latin (and Aristotle's *De anima*) was part of the curriculum, but

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.

74. Ibid., 123–27.

75. RGB, f. 173, no. 319 (In. 3144), pp. 63–64.

76. See the references to Maksim Grek and to the works of (or ascribed to) Patriarch Ioakim, in Ryan, “Magic and Divination”; Ryan, *The Bathhouse at Midnight*. For a recent discussion, see Kivelson, *Desperate Magic*. For astrology and its connection to temperament and body ailments in Peter the Great’s court, see Collis, “Stars Rule over People”; Collis, “Using the Stars”; Zitser, “The Vita of Prince Boris.”

77. See, for example, the remarks of Sophronios Leichoudes in his first book of rhetoric, EVE, no. 3323, f. 44–44v.

78. RGB, f. 173, no. 319 (In. 3144), pp. 65–70; RGB, f. 173, no. 303 (Grech. 186), ll. 110ob.–114ob.

79. RGB, f. 173, no. 303 (Grech. 186), ll. 114–114ob.

80. Ibid., ll. 120ob.–121.

81. Ibid., l. 114ob.

82. Ibid., ll. 114ob.–116.

83. RGB, f. 173, no. 319 (In. 3144), pp. 65–70. The author refers to the commentary Clavius wrote on the *Sphere* of John of Sacrobosco. See Lattis, *Between Copernicus and Galileo*, 40–42. It is interesting to note in this regard that early on in its discussion, *De Mundo* posited that the earth in physical (but *not* in mathematical terms) is actually a terraqueous globe (30–31); see also the reference to mathematicians as “non tam veritatis quam novitatis sectatores” (followers not so much of truth as of novelty) following a clear mention of the condemnation of the heliocentric system (pp. 28–29). On the issue of the terraqueous globe, see Grant, *In Defense of the Earth’s Centrality*, 22–32; on Jesuit mathematics, see Giard, *Les jésuites*, part 4.

84. RGB, f. 173, no. 303 (Grech. 186), ll. 128ob.–134; RGB, f. 173, no. 319 (In. 3144), pp. 70–78. It is noteworthy that Koursoulas studiously avoids any reference by name to Galileo, unlike *De Mundo*. On knowledge of Galileo’s theories in Russia, see Zhigalova, “Pervye upominaniia o Galilee,” 91–93.

85. “Hoc systemma [sic] pro caeteris magis nobis arridet, dum Celum Planetarium liquidum esse defendimus. Plura de his pertinent ad Astronomos, quorum est ea fusius et enucleatius explicanda.” RGB, f. 173, no. 319 (In. 3144), pp. 72–73. *Peri Ouranou’s* version posits the firmament, then the spheres of Saturn and Jupiter with their satellites; the Earth lies at rest at the center of the universe with the Moon circling around it; Mars, Mercury, and Venus orbit around the Sun. *De Mundo* presents the same version as in *Peri Ouranou*.

86. “Kai touto to eschaton systema [i.e., the immediately preceding semi-Tychonic system] hosper kai to proton to ton Chaldaion to koine legomenon ptolomaikon [sic] asmenos dechometha kai aspazometha.” RGB, f. 173, no. 303 (Grech. 186), l. 129ob.

87. For a recent overview of the historiography on Greek scientific works in the period 1453–1821, see Dialetis and Nicolaidis, “Issues in the Historiography.” On the debate between geocentrism and heliocentrism as reflected in Greek authors, see Kondyles, “To heliokentriko systema”; Dialetis, Gavroglu, and Patiniotis, “The Sciences,” esp. 48–49 (on the absence of any reference to the heliocentric system in the works of Theophilos Korydalleus, an eminent Greek natural philosopher of the seventeenth century) and 51–59 (on the views of Greek authors in the eighteenth century); Petsios, *He Peri Physeos*, 191–229; Nicolaidis, *Science and Eastern Orthodoxy*, 145–54; Karas, *Hoi thetikos epistemes*, 246–54. Karas argues that Chrysanthos Notaras, the nephew and successor of Dositheos as patriarch of Jerusalem (1707–1731), was the first to acquaint a Greek audience with the Copernican system, in his *Eisagoge eis ta Geographika* (1716). Himself a proponent of the Ptolemaic system, Chrysanthos also discussed and refuted Copernicus’s views on the basis of scripture, although he did acknowledge the validity of Copernicus’s astronomical measurements. Karas’s argument should be restricted with reference to published works, since the Copernican system appears to have been available in Greek manuscripts at least in the seventeenth century (if not earlier), as the case of Koursoulas’s treatise on *De caelo* shows. See Karas, *Hoi thetikos epistemes*, 249.

88. RGB, f. 173, no. 303 (Grech. 186), l. 109. Koursoulas does not refer to Ptolemy by name in this case, but it is obvious that he has primarily him in mind. As Russell notes, Ptolemy’s epicycles and equants went against any strict interpretation of the Aristotelian conception of the universe. “Catholic Astronomers,” 368n8.

89. See, for example, a copy of Koursoulas’s treatise in Manuscript 294 of the Monastery of Saint John Theologos of Patmos, ff. 113–116v. (I thank I. Melianos for furnishing me with images of these folios). On this manuscript of Koursoulas’s work, see Karas, *Hoi epistemes sten Tourkokratia*, 2:215.

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*

knizhnosti, s.v. “Posnikov Petr Vasil’evich”; also, below in this chapter. As for other orations delivered by students, but which cannot be attributed to a particular student, see *DRV* 8:357–60 (in honor of Patriarch Adrian; on the occasion see Pisarev, *Domashnii byt russkikh patriarkhov*, 208–9); Ialamas, “Privetstviia uchenikov,” for two short speeches in honor of Patriarch Ioakim. One of them is trilingual—Greek, Latin, and Slavic (the Latin version was inaccessible to the editor). Ialamas does not provide any conclusive evidence of the students’ independent authorship of the orations.

13. For lists of Leichoudian orations, see Smirnov, *Istoriia moskovskoi Slaviano-greko-latinskoï akademii*, 64; Smentsovskii, *Brat’ia Likhudy*, 301–38; Likhachev, *Slovar’ knizhnikov i knizhnosti*, s.v. “Likhudy Ioannikii (1633–1717) i Sofronii (1652–1730),” esp. 302–3; Ialamas, “Slovo na Rozhdestvo Khristovo,” 514–16. See also the collection of Leichoudian speeches included in the miscellany in Vladimiro-Suzdal’skii muzei-zapovednik, no. Kr-388/B-5636/112 (*Sbornik slov pokhval’nykh*), dated to the end of the seventeenth century. For publications of Leichoudian speeches from this miscellany, see Bogdanov, *Pamiatniki obshchestvenno-politicheskoi mysli*, vol. 2, nos. 17–19 and 27; also Ialamas, “Slovo na Rozhdestvo Khristovo.”

14. On Șerban Kantakouzenos and his relations with the Ecumenical Patriarchate, see Iorga, *Byzance après Byzance*, 187–90. On Brâncoveanu, see Cernovodeanu and Constantiniu, *Constantin Brâncoveanu*. On princely patronage of the arts in Wallachia and Moldavia, see Camariano-Cioran, *Les Académies princières*. On Greeks in the Wallachian court, see Karathanases, *Hoi Hellenes logioi ste Vlachie*. The concluding chapter of this book has also been published separately as Karathanasis [Karathanases], “La Renaissance culturelle Hellénique.” On the foreign relations of the Wallachian court at the end of the seventeenth century, see Cernovodeanu, “Bucarest.”

15. The speech appears to have survived only in one copy in the library of Gavriel Destounis, a prominent Greek professor and scholar in St. Petersburg at the end of the nineteenth century. It was published in Papadopoulos-Kerameus, *Texte grecești*, 195–98. Papadopoulos-Kerameus does not specify whether the title was in the manuscript, but it appears that it was, judging by the reference to it made in the dedicatory note written by Sophronios himself. In Papadopoulos-Kerameus’s publication, the speech is subtitled *logos panegyrikos* (panegyric speech). See also Papadopoulos-Kerameus, *Scrieri și documente grecești privitoare la istoria Românilor din anii 1592–1837*, xiii and 175–79 (for a Romanian translation of the speech).

16. Papadopoulos-Kerameus, *Texte grecești*, 195–96.

17. *Ibid.*, 195.

18. The latter explanation would seem to be undermined by the reference to the progenitors of the family, Ioannes and Matthaios Kantakouzenos, emperors in the late fourteenth and early fifteenth centuries. On the Byzantine Kantakouzenos family, see *ODB* 2, s.v. “Kantakouzenos.”

19. Papadopoulos-Kerameus, *Texte grecești*, 196.

20. *Ibid.*, 196. Here there is an indirect comparison of the prince with the sun: as the heavenly spheres first send out the star of Venus, then the dawn and finally the sun, likewise the prince’s mother first gave birth to two other children and then Prince Șerban. See below the comparison of the prince’s face with the sun.

21. *Ibid.*, 197. On these activities of the prince, see Iorga, *Byzance après Byzance*, 187–90.

22. Papadopoulos-Kerameus, *Texte grecești*, 197. Interestingly, in his enumeration of the disciplines and their inability to be useful in the prince’s case, Sophronios refers to astrology as being unable “to foretell the offices that the blessed providence [that is, divine providence] has in preparation for you.” The implication is that normally, astrology would be able to provide such answers. I am inclined to see Sophronios’s statement as a mere rhetorical ploy, rather than an expression of deeply held convictions. In any case, the statement contravenes the teachings of the Leichoudes in the Academy’s natural philosophy course, where they deny astrology any ability to predict the future. See chapter 5.

23. On the double-headed eagle’s adoption by Șerban, a clear sign of Byzantine imperial pretensions on his part, see Iorga, *Byzance après Byzance*; Ionescu, “Ideal and Representation.” It should be noted that contrary to accepted wisdom, the double-headed eagle was not the Byzantine imperial symbol until very late in the Byzantine period, the thirteenth or fourteenth century. See the pioneering study of Lampros, “Ho Dikephalos Aetos tou Vyzantiou.”

24. Papadopoulos-Kerameus, *Texte grecești*, 197–98.

25. Conley notes that the emperor had regularly been compared to the biblical David in Byzantine imperial praises. See *Rhetoric in the European Tradition*, 67.

26. Papadopoulos-Kerameus, *Texte grecești*, 198.

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 rozhdstvo 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.

49. *Ibid.*, l. 57. The word used for “example” is *paradigma*.

50. *Ibid.*, ll. 57–57ob.

51. The author proclaims that his joy is grounded on “immovable roots and immovable stone,” an allusion to Peter’s name coming from the Greek *petra*, stone.

52. *Ibid.*, l. 58.

53. Most probably, the author spoke in Latin, as there is ample evidence that the two brothers delivered speeches in Latin in front of members of the royal family. See the speech in honor of Sophia above. Another more remote possibility is that the speech was delivered in Slavonic, although to what extent Sophronios had mastered it by 1689 is not at all clear.

54. *Ibid.*, ll. 58–58ob.

55. Smentsovskii, *Brat’ia Likhudy*, 64–67 and 70–72; Rogov, “Novye dannye,” 140–47; Ialamas, “Filologicheskaia deiatel’nost’,” 14–15 and 18–20; Ialamas, “Students of the Leichoudis”; Ramazonova, “Ucheniki Ioannikiia i Sofroniia Likhudov.” It should be noted here that some scholars include among the students of the Academy the metropolitan of Suceava (in Moldavia) Dositheos (1624–1694). This is a mistake since Metropolitan Dositheos never set foot in Russia, although he was in close contact with the Muscovite authorities in the 1680s and early 1690s, during his unsuccessful attempts to place Moldavia under Muscovite protection and to counter Uniate activities. A note from the Patriarchal Treasury Office states that in April 1690, it was the hieromonk Iona, “sent from Dositheos Sochavskii,” who was a student of the Academy and was awarded one ruble after the delivery of orations on the occasion of Easter. See Zabelin, *Materialy*, col. 1045. On Metropolitan Dositheos, see Cheban, *Dosifei mitropolit Sochavskii*, esp. 43, and 47–56 for his contacts with Moscow. Cheban does not make any mention of the Slavo-Greco-Latin Academy.

56. Ramazonova, “Ucheniki Ioannikiia i Sofroniia Likhudov,” 358–64. The appendix to the present volume lists 150 students because of the addition of Moisei Arsen’ev, Hieromonk Iona, and Hierodeacon Dionysios.

57. See Ialamas, “Students of the Leichoudis”; Ramazonova, “Brat’ia Likhudy,” 215–17. See also appendix in this volume.

58. Pozdeeva et al., *Moskovskii pechatnyi dvor*, 2:105–8.

59. Based on the years referred to in the list provided by Ramazonova, “Ucheniki Ioannikiia i Sofroniia Likhudov,” 358–64.

60. The phrase “power elite” belongs to Robert Crummey, *Aristocrats and Servitors*, 5.

61. *DRV* 16:298. The original reads: “v to zhe vremia [i.e., in 1687, when the Academy was transferred to its new premises in the Zaikonospasskii Monastery] ukazano Sigklitskim i Boiarskim detiam uchitisia v toi zhe shkole, kotorykh sobrano be bol’she 40 chelovek, krome prostykh” (at that time it was commanded that sons of Boyars and offspring of *boiarskie deti* [that is, of the lower nobility] study in the same school, more than forty of whom were picked out, in addition to [sons] of the lower social layers). It should be noted here that no such edict has come to light, although Polikarpov’s testimony is frequently cited by historians as evidence of the elite’s presence in the Academy.

62. Following are the references to noble students: a note from the *Posol’skii Prikaz*, dated December 25, 1686, naming students rewarded for delivering speeches in front of the tsars, including Petr and Timofei Savelov, Fedor Glebov, Ivan Eropkin, Konstantin Litvinov, Ivan Bukhvostov, Petr Postnikov, Nikita Semenov, Fedor Perevodchikov, Petr Lunin, Aleksei Alekseev (RGADA, f. 159, op. 2, ch. 1, d. 2991, ll. 337–38); a petition of the Leichoudes dated 1687 that refers to Aleksei Borisovich Golitsyn as “our student” (*ibid.*, l. 232); two notes, draft and final copy respectively, from the *Posol’skii Prikaz*, dated April 16, show that on the occasion of Easter 1687, for speeches in front of the tsars (on March 30, see l. 348), the following students are given material rewards: *blizhnye stol’niki* (Prince Aleksei Borisovich Golitsyn, Prince Iurii Iur’evich Odoevskii, Prince Aleksandr Petrovich Prozorovskii) and Timofei Savelov “with his companions” (*ibid.*, ll. 349–50 and l. 351); a note from the *Posol’skii Prikaz*, dated April 2, 1688, affirms that A. B. Golitsyn, now a *komnatnyi stol’nik*, is (belatedly) rewarded further for the delivery of orations in front of the tsars on the occasion of Easter 1687 (*ibid.*, l. 240); in a report of the two brothers about their income in the last three years, dated 1688, they state that “from the most honorable Prince Boris Alekseevich [Golitsyn] and from other boyars [*boliar*] who have their children in the school” they have received 250 rubles (*ibid.*, l. 230); a note, with no indication of the chancellery in which it originated, dated December 25, 1688, refers to orations in front of the tsars by Ivan Alekseevich Musin-Pushkin and Konstantin Litvinov, among other students, and compares (l. 252) the monetary rewards to those of a similar occasion in the year 1686—that year among the students “who delivered orations” were Fedor Glebov and Timofei and

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 patriarskhikh 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 menshoi, 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..

76. Sedov, "Praviashchaia elita Russkogo gosudarstva," 491–92.

77. Cf. Guzevich and Guzevich, *Pervoe evropeiskoe putesthestvie*, 64–65. They argue that it was actually a group of four—minus Prince F. Iu. Romodanovskii, whose responsibility was only Moscow and who had investigatory powers (*gosudarstvennyi syisk*).

78. On Musin-Pushkin, see Poe, *The Russian Elite*, 1:425; Crummey, *Aristocrats and Servitors*, 205; Dolgorukov, *Rossiiskaia rodoslovnaia kniga*, 1:311; Bogoiavlenskii, *Moskovskii prikaznyi apparat*, 159–60, 265; Sedov, *Zakat moskovskogo tsarstva*, 113 and n4; Serov, "Pravitel'stviushchii Senat," 105, 107–13; Bushkovitch, *Peter the Great*, 227n31 (for the original quote in German: "ein liebhaber der philosophischen und theologischen wissenschaften"), 262–63, and passim. Peter often addressed him as "brother" (*bruder*) in his correspondence with him. See, for example, Peter I, *Pis'ma i bumagi*, vol. 8, vyp. 1:59; vol. 9, vyp. 1:50. Paul Bushkovitch doubts the story of Aleksei Mikhailovich's liaison and Musin-Pushkin's illegitimate birth. See his *Peter the Great*, 271n33.

79. See Hughes, *Russia in the Age of Peter*, 338–39. On the *Monastyrskii Prikaz*, see Gorchakov, *Monastyrskii prikaz*.

80. Andreev, *Russkie studenty*, 123.

81. See Panchenko, *Ruskaia stikhotvornaia kul'tura*; Bushkovitch, *Religion and Society*, 140–45; Rogov, "Knigopечатание," pt. 2:155–69; Marker, *Publishing, Printing*; and esp. Pozdeeva et al., *Moskovskii pechatnyi dvor*.

82. See Hughes, *Russia in the Age of Peter*, 318–21.

83. See Ialamas, "Students of the Leichoudis."

84. For a study of cases of bribery and other criminal activities of some of Peter's collaborators, see Serov, *Stroiteli imperii*.

85. On Polikarpov, see Likhachev, *Slovar' knizhnikov i knizhnosti*, s.v. "Feodor Polikarpov Orlov"; Pozdeeva et al., *Moskovskii pechatnyi dvor*, 2:108.

86. For the original and an English translation of the letter, see Ialamas, "Students of the Leichoudis," 127n64.

87. Ramazanova, "Leksikon treiazychnyi," 161–62. Presentation copies of the dictionary were sent to Tsar Peter, Aleksandr Menshikov, Stefan Iavorskii, Rafail Krasnopolskii (then rector of the Academy and collaborator in the dictionary), and Boris Alekseevich Golitsyn.

88. Cracraft, *The Petrine Revolution in Russian Culture*, 285–87; Zhivov, *Language and Culture*, 61–64, 99–102, 106–7.

89. Zhivov, *Language and Culture*, 62.

90. *Ibid.*, 69–71 and passim.

91. Cracraft, *The Petrine Revolution in Russian Culture*, 284; Zhivov, *Language and Culture*, 9. On the problems with the *History of Russia* by Polikarpov, see Pogosian, *Petr I*, 188–206. It should be noted that the Typography was headed between 1731 and 1732 by Aleksei Kirillov Barsov. He was yet another student of Sophronios Leichoudes, this time around in the Greek School in Moscow, and in 1718 he was appointed a teacher in it under the supervision of Sophronios. In 1729, he became a corrector in the Typography, and between 1731 and 1732 its director, succeeding Polikarpov. He translated into Russian Apollodoros's *Library* by order of Peter the Great, published in 1725. He is not to be confused with his namesake, Aleksei Kirillov, who was among the first students of the Leichoudes in the 1680s. See Voznesenskaia, "Grecheskie shkoly," 29–30; Zhivov, *Language and Culture*, 71–72, 76–77.

92. See Fonkich, "Moisei Arsen'ev"; Turilova, "Memuary russkogo raznochintsia," esp. 12–14 for Arsen'ev's retrospective on his career; Chesnokova, "Dokumenty po istorii," 288; Jensen, *Musical Cultures*, ch. 5 for Diletskii, esp. 106–7n6, for Arsen'ev's copying of the manuscript, and 121–30 for the relationship between music and the liberal arts, especially rhetoric. Diletskii, incidentally, may have studied at the Jesuit college of Vilnius.

93. See for example, Demidova, *Sluzhilaia biurokratiia*; Veselovskii, *D'iaki i pod'iachie*.

94. For an attempt at uncovering the ways in which a member of the aristocratic elite self-fashioned in view of Peter's initiatives, see Zitser, "The Vita of Prince Boris."

95. Fediukin, "Learning to Be Nobles," 97.

96. Fediukin, "Rol' administrativnogo predprinimatel'stva," esp. 86–96.

97. See Lavrent'ev, "Arifmetiki uchitel'"; Sazonova, *Literaturnaia kul'tura Rossii*, 395–96, 417–18. On Kosmas Iverites, see *Slovar' knizhnikov i knizhnosti*, s.v. "Koz'ma," and above, chapter 4.

98. Chesnokova, "Dokumenty po istorii," 290 and 312 (Ageev), 289 and 306–7 (Ermolaev); Ramazanova, "Istochniki dlia izucheniia," 301 (on Ermolaev, who in 1692 was a student in the middle or second-level class; most likely this meant that he had finished the rhetoric course and was probably

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. “Posnikov 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 Utermohlen, “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

and the education they provided, though in Slavonic, prove that this type of educational literature was responsive to and reflected a combination of both Orthodox and secular ideas about nature, childhood, upbringing, and personal dignity. Kosheleva, "Traditsii i novatsii," 21–23; Kusber, *Eliten- und Volksbildung*, 62–67.

12. Okenfuss, "Jesuit Origins," esp. 114–15.

13. See Potter, "The Russian Church," vol. 2, ch. 9.

14. Florovsky, *Puti russkogo bogosloviia*, 44–56; *Ways of Russian Theology*, pt. 1:64–85, for the English version.

15. Koumas, *Synopsis tes historias*, with concluding remarks titled "Peri tes eis ten neoteron [sic] Ellada katastaseos tes philosophias," 289–96.

16. Even the fundamental work on the princely academies in Moldavia and Wallachia is descriptive rather than analytical in its approach to the curriculum and, in any case, deals primarily with the eighteenth century. See Camariano-Cioran, *Les Académies princières*.

17. See Pateniotes, *Stoicheia physikes philosophias*, 152–53 and 160–65; cf. Tsourkas, *Les débuts*.

18. Petsios, "Ho mesaionikos-scholastikos aristotelismos"; Petsios, *He Peri Physeos*, 169–79; Papanoutsos, *Neohellenike philosophia*, 1:11–19.

19. Ernest Zitser has recently called for precisely this kind of investigation. See his "The Difference That Peter I Made."

20. Brockliss, *French Higher Education*, 4–5; Angelou, *Platonos tychai*, 13.

21. Smirnov, *Istoriia moskovskoi Slaviano-greko-latinskoi akademii*, 78ff.; for an attempt at presenting Lopatinskii's philosophical teaching, see Panibrattsev, *Filosofia*. According to Panibrattsev, Lopatinskii accepted the Tychonic system (89) and advocated a variant of the theory of double truth (121).

22. See Rogov, "Novye dannye," 140–47, esp. 143–44, for the first quarter of the eighteenth century; Kharlampovich, *Malorossiiskoe vliianie*, 647–49, for students coming from the Ukraine; Smirnov, *Istoriia moskovskoi Slaviano-greko-latinskoi akademii*, 107; Bryner, *Der geistliche Stand*, 122–27; Larionov, "Studenchestvo," 31–33; Larionov, "Moskovskaia Slaviano-Greko-Latinskaia Akademiia," 33–34; Voznesenskaia, "Moskovskaia Slaviano-Greko-Latinskaia Akademiia."

23. See Pekarskii, *Nauka i literatura*, 1:111–12 for a list of lay students whose career paths included service as tutors of aristocratic families, teachers in parochial schools, correctors in the Typography, translators in the Chancellery of Foreign Affairs, interpreters in embassies, et cetera. M. Lomonosov contributed significantly to the founding of Moscow University in 1755. The literature on him is immense, and hence of quite varied quality. See as a starting point Terras, *Handbook of Russian Literature*, s.v. "Lomonosov"; Menshutkin, *Russia's Lomonosov*; and Usitalo, *The Invention of Mikhail Lomonosov*.

24. Cracraft, *The Petrine Revolution in Russian Culture*; Cracraft, *The Petrine Revolution in Russian Imagery*; Cracraft, *The Petrine Revolution in Russian Architecture*. And in summary, Cracraft, *The Revolution of Peter the Great*.

25. Okenfuss, *Rise and Fall of Latin Humanism*; Waugh, *Istoriia odnoi knigi*; Waugh, "We have never been modern."

26. Zhivov, "Kul'turnye reformy"; Bushkovitch, "The Roman Empire"; Bushkovitch, "Cultural Change"; Zitser, *The Transfigured Kingdom*; Collis, *The Petrine Instauration*.

Notes to Appendix

1. Based on Ialamas, "Students of the Leichoudis"; Ramazanova, "Ucheniki Ioannikiia i Sofroniia Likhudov"; and adapted with indication of noble status (or likelihood thereof), and the addition of Moisei Arsen'ev, Hieromonk Iona, and Hierodeacon Dionysios..

2. See *Slovar' knizhnikov i knizhnosti drevnei Rusi*, vyp. 3 (XVII v.), ch. 3, s.v. "Poletaev, Fedor Gerasimov."

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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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